DIVERGING CAREER PATHS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS: A COHORT OF THE STUDENTS WITH LITERARY TALENT IN THE SAHN MADRASAS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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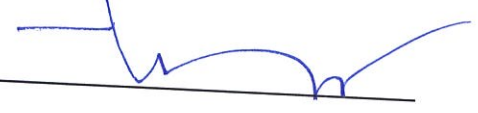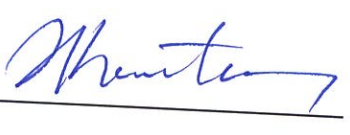OF
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BY

ABDULLAH KARAARSLAN

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History

Examining Committee Members:

	DECISION	SIGNATURE
Assoc. Prof. Abdurrahman Atçıl (Thesis Advisor)	Accepted	
Assist. Prof. Yunus Uğur	Accepted	
Assoc. Prof. Hasan Karataş	Accepted	

This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences of İstanbul Şehir University.

Date
07.08.2019

Seal/Signature

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and standards of ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and standards, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

First Name, Last Name: Abdullah Karaarslan

Signature

ABSTRACT

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WITH LITERARY TALENT IN THE SAHN MADRASAS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Karaarslan, Abdullah

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In the present thesis, the careers of ten students in the literature class of Karamani Mehmed Efendi at Sahn-ı Seman Madrasas between 960-962 (1553-1555) were examined. Baki, Hoca Sadeddin, Nevi, Remzizade and Hüsrevzade were included in the *mevali* (high dignitary) class, while Mecdi, Nevi, Valihi, Muhyi, Cami and Cevri turned to the *kasabat kadılık* (town judgeship). The main argument of the thesis is that the differentiation of these students in their careers can be explained by social ties they have such as their *mülazemet* (novitiate status) tie, *tarikat* (Sufi order) tie, kinship tie, professional support tie, friendship tie and literary tie along with distinct social networks they are involved in. The thesis analyzes these ties using social network analysis method and visualizes them with UCINET software. In addition to the *ilmiye* (Ottoman learned establishment) network, Sahn graduates engaged in literature networks, palace networks and Sufi networks, and they became important actors in these networks. The biographical dictionaries of scholars and poets compiled in this period are the main sources of this thesis.

Crucial to the present study, the complex social network structure of the *ilmiye* class in the second half of the sixteenth century is marked by being a self-contained organization and a hierarchical bureaucracy. In the period of institutionalization, the relations between *ulema* have become increasingly important and have been influential in their professional life. Sahn graduates played an important role in the construction of High Literary Turkish with their poems and proses. The palace network developed due to the permanent residence of the sultan and the royal family

in the palace, increased its weight in the state administration and began to compete with the bureaucracy. This thesis investigates different camps and groups in the aforementioned social networks and highlight the presence of alternative circles outside of Istanbul.

ÖZ

AYRILAN KARİYER YOLLARI VE SOSYAL AĞLAR: XVI. YÜZYILDA SAHN MEDRESESİ'NDE EDEBİ YETENEĞE SAHİP BİR GRUP ÖĞRENCİ

Karaarslan, Abdullah

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Bu tezde, 960-962 (1553-1555) yılları arasında Karamani Mehmed Efendi'nin Sahn-ı Seman Medresesi'ndeki edebiyat sınıfında bulunan on öğrencinin kariyerleri incelenmiştir. Bu öğrencilerden Baki, Hoca Sadeddin, Nevi, Remzizade ve Hüsrevzade mevali sınıfına dâhil olurken, Mecdi, Nevi, Valihi, Muhyi, Cami ve Cevri kasabat kadılığına yönelmişlerdir. Bu öğrencilerin kariyerlerindeki farklılaşma, kurdukları mülazemet bağı, tarikat bağı, akrabalık bağı, profesyonel destek bağı, dostluk bağı, edebi bağlar ve dâhil oldukları farklı sosyal ağlarla açıklanmıştır. Bahsedilen bağlar, sosyal ağ analizi yöntemiyle tartışılarak, UCINET programı yardımıyla görselleştirilmiştir. Sahn mezunlarının ilmiye ağına ek olarak, edebiyat ağları, saray ağları ve Sufi ağlarına dâhil olarak, bu ağlarda önemli aktörlere dönüştükleri tespit edilmiştir. Bu dönemde telif edilen alim ve şair biyografileri bu tezin ana kaynaklarını oluşturmaktadır.

XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında müstakil bir teşkilata dönüşerek hiyerarşik bir bürokrasiye kavuşan İlmiye sınıfı, bu dönemde karmaşık bir sosyal ağ yapısına sahip olmuştur. Kurumsallaşma döneminde ulema arasındaki ilişkiler giderek önem kazanmış ve ulemanın profesyonel yaşamlarında etkili olmuştur. Sahn mezunları da şiir ve nesirleriyle yüksek edebi Türkçe'nin inşasında önemli bir rol oynamışlardır. Sultanın ve haremin sarayda kalıcı olarak ikamet etmeleri sebebiyle saray ağı gelişmiş, devlet yönetiminde söz sahibi olmuş ve bürokrasiyle rekabete başlamıştır. Bu tezde, bahsi geçen sosyal ağlardaki kamplar ve gruplar tespit edilmiş, İstanbul dışında alternatif çevrelerin varlığına da işaret edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı İlmiyesi, Sosyal Ağ Analizi, Baki, Hoca Sadeddin, Nevi

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Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to my parents, Mehmet Karaarslan and Atike Karaarslan, for their endless affection, support and encouragement. It is to whom I dedicate this thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATAYI   Nev'îzâde Atâyî, *Hadâiku'l-Hakâik Fî Tekmileti'ş-Şakâ'ik*, ed. Suat Donuk (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2017)

DIVAN   Nev'î Yahya, *Divan*, ed. Mertol Tulum and Ali Tanyeri (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1977)

IA   Islam Ansiklopedisi (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1986)

SELANIKI   Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999)

TDVIA   Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (online)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ten bright students, whose career paths were to cross numerous times in the future, came together first, when they became students of Karamani Mehmed Efendi (d. 1566) at Sahn-ı Seman Madrasas between 960-962 (1553-1555). Karamani Mehmed Efendi helped these students, who were considered as the most talented young poets of the age, to improve their literary skills, in addition to teaching them usual madrasa courses such as jurisprudence, rational theology, Quranic exegesis etc. Although they kept their passion for poetry throughout their life, they all entered professional careers in the *ilmiye* path. Some of the students were to become more successful than others in their careers. Five of them including Baki (d. 1008/1600), Hoca Sadeddin Efendi (d. 1008/1599), Nevi Efendi (d. 1007/1599), Remzizade (d. 1006/1597-98) and Hüsrevzade (d. 1000/1592) began their careers with a teaching job in the madrasas reaching the high dignitary positions. Rest of the five students consisting of Mecdi Mehmed Efendi (d. 999/1590), Valihi (d. 1009/1600), Cami (d. 997/1588-89), Muhyi and Cevri followed the other path and became town judges.

After graduating, these fellow students, who shared interest in literature and poetry, formed different social ties and participated in different social networks. This study examines the ego-networks of these students and aims to reveal the reasons behind the differentiation of their careers. The main argument of this study is that professional careers of these students were shaped in accordance with their fortunes at social networking.

During the sixteenth century, the *ilmiye* (Ottoman learned establishment), literary community and organization of imperial palace underwent a significant transformation. This contributed to the emergence and entrenchment of novel networks and social ties.[1] Once these networks and social ties gradually came out and

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[1] There is a considerable literature on the the creation of a new Ottoman imperial vision, For representative studies, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State, a Canon for the Arts:

became established, they also served to the acceleration of transformative processes and institutionalization of them. As such, the formation of new networks and transformations went hand in hand in a mutually constitutive manner. Hence, the initial core of the networks functioned as the triggering mechanism for transformations while they also established during the transformation processes. In this regard, Nan Lin argues that powerful transformation processes begin with social networking. When a number of connected actors share alternative rules and values, the network would sustain their shared interest through solidarity and reciprocal reinforcement. Hence, networking is the first and essential step in developing collective consciousness.[2] Based on Lin's point of view, it can be argued that the early networking activities assisted the witnessed a great transformation in commencement of transformations while transformations contributed to the entrenchment and expansion of networks. Consequently, with the application of *mülazemet* system, the *ilmiye* class turned into a separate organization and became a hierarchical bureaucracy leading to the establishment of *ilmiye* network consisting of people who held *mülazemet*.[3] Additionally, the transformation in the literary community increased the importance of being a graduate of madrasas, thereby contributing to the entrenchment of a literary network composed of scholarly poets. Finally, as the palace became the heart of the administration, palace network consisting of members of royal family and favourites became influential. The following part will further explain the historical context within which these transformations occurred.

1.1. Establishment of the *Ilmiye* Network

The establishment of *ilmiye* network is directly related to the institutionalization of the *ilmiye* in the sixteenth century where the *ilmiye* class appeared as a distinct and

Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *Soliman Le Magnifique et son Temps: Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais 7–10 mars 1990 Soliman le Magnifique*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 195–216; Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleymân," in *Soliman Le Magnifique*, 159–77 ; Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Suleyman Narrating the Sixteenth Century Ottoman World*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[2] Nan Lin, *Social Capital* (New York: Cambridge Universty Press, 2001), 195.

[3] Abdurrahman Atçıl, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bürokrasi ve Ulema," *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. 38 (2017), 89-121.

hierarchically organized bureaucracy.[4] Abdurrahman Atçıl demonstrates this transformation in the *ilmiye* in his study of scholar-bureaucrats "who affiliated with the Ottoman government through an institutional framework that was protected by laws and established precedents."[5] His research reveals that these scholar-bureaucrats were connected to each other through several ties and the *ilmiye* bureaucracy actually displayed network properties. Additionally, new social ties have been introduced among the *ilmiye* members as part of the transformation of Ottoman *ilmiye* in the sixteenth century.

Ottoman *ilmiye* bureaucracy created an indigenous certificate system that became an alternative Islamic educational and judicial institution of the early modern period through *mülazemet* which was "a licence to enter the path of *ilmiye* and have the right to be registered on the waiting list for the office."[6] The Ottomans began to recruit and retain actors who had acquired *mülazemet* as an institutional capital which represents an "identification and association of prevailing ideology and power."[7] All members of the *ilmiye* had to be connected to each other through *mülazemet* ties in order to grant a position in the *ilmiye* bureaucracy. After a while, *mülazemet* as an institutional capital were also required for other scholars coming from Persian and Arab lands. Every graduate student of the *ilmiye* formed a *mülazemet* tie with high dignitary scholar bureaucrats after the sixteenth century which led to the creation of a dense social network among scholar-bureaucrats during the transformation period of *ilmiye*. Apart from *mülazemet* ties, there were familial ties, marriage ties, teacher and student ties, literary ties and *tarikat* ties between scholar-bureaucrats which strengthened the structure of the *ilmiye* network. This study argues that the institutionalization of Ottoman *ilmiye* went hand

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[4] For studies primarily on *ilmiye*, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı,* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988); Richard C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy,* (London: Ithaca, 1986), 27–72.

[5] Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 6.

[6] Atçıl, "The Route to the Top in the Ottoman *İlmiye* Hierarchy of the Sixteenth Century", *Bulletin of SOAS*, 72, 3 (2009), 496.

[7] Lin, *Social Capital*, 105; 195.

in hand with the formation of the sophisticated social networking among the ulema in the sixteenth century.

1.2. Establishment of Literary Network

The rise of literary network has a lot to do with the transformation of the literary tradition in the Ottoman Empire. As Selim Kuru clarifies, the specific literary tradition called the Literature of Rum has been introduced in Anatolia and Rumelia in the sixteenth century.[8] As the Ottoman Empire consolidated its power in the sixteenth century, an imperial project and a universalist ideology were adopted. Accordingly, educational and bureaucratic institutions became increasingly more established and complicated. Additionally, Ottoman Turkish has been elevated to the status of imperial language.[9] This transformation further contributed to the establishment of a new literary network by allowing them to produce unique literacy pieces distinct from Arabic and Persian literature.[10]

In parallel to the socio-political, economic, bureaucratic, educational developments in the sixteenth century, Ottoman elites created their own literary tradition distinct from Persian and Arabic literature via imageries, metaphors and most importantly new forms and genres in poetry and prose within the Ottoman culture. The present study contends that, on the one hand, the major actors of this literary transformation were scholarly poets who graduated from newly built madrasas by learning Arabic, Persian and literature during the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the increasing number of scholarly poets also changed the structure of literary networks in the second half of the sixteenth century. I contend that alongside with their professional career, students of a literature class at Sahn Madrasas at 960-962 (1553-1555) produced the most prominent literary works in this period, engaged in all these

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[8] Selim S. Kuru, "The literature of Rum: The making of a literary tradition (1450–1600)," *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Vol. 2, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 549.
[9] Ferenc Péter Csirkés, "Chaghatay Oration, Ottoman Eloquence, Qizilbash Rhetoric": Turkic Literature In Şafavid Persia" (Ph.D. Thesis, Chicago University, 2016), 363.
[10] For the evaluation of this new language with new genres and forms see Kuru, "The Literature of Rum," 566-577.

transformational processes during the second half of the sixteenth century and became part of the established literary network.

1.3. Establishment of Palace Network

The entrenchment of the palace network came with the transformation of the imperial administration.[11] Following the reign of Süleyman the Magnificient, Ottoman sultans gradually settled in palaces due to the shift in the state policy from territorial expansion to centralization of the power.[12] Moreover, other members of imperial family also started residing in the palace. Hence, the palace increased its centrality in the administration and accommodated many royal residents. Palace network enlarged dramatically in the sixteenth century due to the centralization of the empire.[13] On the other hand, sultans became secluded in the palace and allocated his powers among grand vizier, chief judge and royal favourites.[14] The seclusion of sultan also increased the centrality of royal members and favourites in the palace who began to play a mediation role between the sultan and the outer world. Royal favourites sought to further their influence in the administration by curbing the authority of the grand vizier. The tension escalated between palace network and bureaucracy due to the enlargement of networks during the second half of the sixteenth century.[15]

After the ascension of Murad III, royal favourites of the sultan created a powerful palace network and made alliances against Sokullu who had accumulated enormous political power during his grand vizierate and finally removed him from his position.[16] As a result of this, the members of palace networks have increased their centrality and influence in the administration during the last two decades of the sixteenth

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[11] Günhan Börekçi succinctly demonstrated this new administrative framework of the Ottoman court in his paper, see "On the Power, Political Career and Patronage Networks of the Ottoman Royal Favourites (Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries)," accessed from Academia.edu.

[12] Gülru Necipoğlu, Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), 16–19.

[13] Atçıl, Scholars and Sultans, 125-26.

[14] Günhan Börekçi, "Ottoman Royal Favourites," 2.

[15] Ibid, 6-9.

[16] For the anti-Sokollu faction, see Cornell Fleischer, Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali, 1541–1600 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 71-74, 76.

century.[17] Palace network also transformed with the participation of new actors in the network and new balances were established. In that regard, the networks in the sixteenth century had a dynamic structure and interconnection. High *ilmiye* members were also engaged in these networks in order to increase their influence. As a result of the ongoing struggles between networks, structural balance of the administrative networks changed frequently.[18]

The main objective of the present study is to understand the participation of individual actors in the social networks, their roles and positions within these networks, and nature of their social ties during the second half of the sixteenth century. The main argument of the study is that, networks and institutions came to the fore as two basic inseparable elements of society and bureaucracy in the sixteenth century. New social ties and networks have been introduced and existing networks have enlarged and transformed, new actors emerged during the period of bureaucratization and institutionalization. I will demonstrate the role of the individual actors in the period of transformations through a discussion of the social networks and careers of Sahn graduates with an egocentric approach.

1.4. Methodology: Social Network Analysis

In the present study, I will employ the method of Social Network Analysis (SNA) to analyze Ottoman networks in the sixteenth century.[19] SNA is a useful tool in understanding the structure of the Ottoman society and analyze the impact of the bureaucratic, literary and administrative transformations in the early modern period. I will make a visual representation of these networks using NetDraw which is a

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[17] Börekçi, "Ottoman Favourites," 9.
[18] Cornell Fleischer demonstrated the factional struggle during this period via his biography on Mustafa Ali, see Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 71-77.
[19] For some studies on Social Network Analysis, see John Scott and Peter J. Carrington, *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (Los Angeles [etc.]: SAGE publications, 2014); Christina Prell, *Social Network Analysis* (Los Angeles [etc.]: SAGE Publications, 2012); Garry Robins, *Doing Social Network Research* (Los Angeles [etc.]: SAGE Publications, 2015); Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Song Yang et al., *Social Network Analysis Methods and Examples* (Los Angeles [etc.]: SAGE Publications, 2017); Borgatti et al., *Analyzing Social Networks* (Los Angeles [etc.]: SAGE Publications, 2013).

visualization package within SNA software, UCINET.[20] I will also use concepts of graph theory in which actors will be represented as nodes and ties will be represented edges in figures.[21] In the present study, I will examine only a group of students and their social networks. I will provide ego-networks of these actors which focuses on personal networks of focal agents.[22] Since, my network data is incomplete due to the limited numbers of actors as well as paucity of primary sources, I will apply ego-centric approach and focus on the nature and quality of ties and how those relations serve the structure of the actors' professional careers.[23] By doing so, I will be able to compare students' career with their social networks and contextualize the role of scholar-bureaucrats within the transformations in the early modern period.

The relationship between any two actors is called a dyad, which is the simplest network. This relationship can be undirected, mutual or directed. If the third actor engages in that relationship, it would become a triad with which a true social system begins.[24] There were two types of relations in the Ottoman networks: (1) state relations that had a degree of permanency and durability and (2) event relations which were more temporary. *Mülazemet* ties, familial ties, *tarikat* ties or literary ties can be considered as state relations. However professional support ties were more temporary sorts of relations that can be named as event relations.[25]

Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats had similar patterns of relationships with each other which is called structural similarity. This structural similarity makes social network analysis more meaningful for analyzing social ties of scholar-bureaucrats.[26] Networks in the Ottoman society were all clustered and segmented into groups or sets.[27] These clusters and groups were all related with each other. The present study will try to

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[20] For a detailed information about the application of UCINET, see Borgatti et al., *Analyzing Social Networks*; Prell, *Social Network Analysis*, 229-237.

[21] For more information about Graph Theory, see Prell, *Social Network Analyis*, 9-12.

[22] John P. Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A handbook* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2000), 69-70.

[23] For the review of SNA and concrete example of Historical Social Network Analysis, see Charles Wetherell, "Historical Social Network Analysis," *International Review of Social History* 43, no. S6 (1998): 125–44.

[24] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks*, 26.

[25] Prell, *Social Network Analysis*, 9.

[26] Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks*, 49-50.

[27] Ibid, 44-48.

demonstrate the segments of scholarly, literary, Sufi and palace networks and their mutual relationships in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Social network studies put emphasis on the importance of meeting places for actors. Propinquity the principle of being in the same place at the same time, enhances the interaction between actors and strengthens the networks' power according to SNA.[28] In the same way, Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats were meeting at schools, taverns, literary assemblies, gardens where they were exchanging intellectual ideas or poetics, as well as forming new ties to support each other. Common intellectual background and common literary tastes threw these actors together in these meeting places. *Homophily* is another concept that can shed light on the assembly culture of these actors during the sixteenth century. Homophily can be defined as "the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people."[29] People who had the same characteristics –literary taste, educational attainment, social background etc.– were more likely to be connected in these assemblies or vice versa. Hence, these assemblies produced homophily among the members and they formed strong ties with each other within the Ottoman networks.[30]

One other SNA concept crucial to this study is eigenvector centrality. It is a measure of degree centrality of an actor's alters.[31] When someone first joins a network, he has to find one particular member who knows many people in the network. In the Ottoman network cases, actors mostly relied on other actors' ties in order to increase their access in the network. I will also discuss positions and roles of actors within the networks. Since most of the networks in the Ottoman society were exclusive and

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[28] Ibid, 18.

[29] Miller Mc Pherson et al., "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks," *Annu. Rev. Sociol* 27 (2001): 415-44.

[30] For a detailed information on propinquity and homophily, see Prell, *Social Network Analysis,* 129-133.

[31] Prell, *Social Network Analysis,* 101. For other centrality measures, see Prell, *Social Network Analysis,* 96-113.

discrete, one needs to find a broker to grant an access to the network. Gatekeeper brokerage role is highly crucial for the present study in that regard.[32]

1.5. Primary Sources

The main sources for this study are biographical dictionaries written in the sixteenth century. Biographical dictionaries of poets called *Tezkires* began to be composed in the early decades of the sixteenth century.[33] The authors who were also poets themselves, served the function of demonstrating the superiority of poets of Rum, setting certain criteria and canonizing Turkish poetry.[34] *Tezkire*s typically provide valuable information about the social networks of poets: information on the place of birth, familial ties, educational background, literary ties, friendships and enmities can be found in them.[35] Therefore, a detailed social network analysis based on *tezkire*s can shed light on the nature of literary networks and can reveal different literary perceptions and literary factions of poets.

I used biographical dictionaries of scholars and Sufi masters written in the second half of the sixteenth century. A member of a prominent scholarly family, Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi (d. 1561) initiated this genre in the Ottoman realm with his canonical book *Şakaik-ı Numaniye fi Devlet-i Osmaniye* where he presents detailed information collected from scholarly circles about the biographies of Ottoman scholars and Sufis.[36] *Şakaik* was quickly appreciated and began to circulate among the sixteenth century audiences.[37] Several scholars wrote continuations and translations of it throughout the sixteenth century.[38] Mecdi Mehmed Efendi's translation *Hadaik* with

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[32] Prell, *Social Network Analysis,* 125-128.

[33] For a detailed discussion on tezkires, see Harun Tolasa, *Sehî, Lâtîfî ve Âşık Çelebi Tezkirelerine Göre 16. Yüzyılda Edebiyat Araştırma ve Eleştirisi* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2002).

[34] Kuru, "The Literature of Rum," 587.

[35] For general information on biographical dictionaries of poets, see John Stewart-Robinson, "The Ottoman Biographies of Poets," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 24, 1–2 (1965), 57–74. Mustafa İsen et al., eds., *Şair Tezkireleri* (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları, 2002).

[36] Taşköprüzade, *Eş-Şekaiku'n-Numaniye fî Ulemai'd-Devleti'l-Osmaniyye,* ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat, (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985).

[37] For several copies of Al-Shakaik from the sixteenth century, see Behçet Gönül, "İstanbul Kütüphânelerinde Al-Şakâ'ik al-Nuʿmaniya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7–8 (1945): 136–55.

[38] Atçıl, Scholars and Sultans, 11.

an ornamented Turkish became the model for Turkish *Şakaik* genre.[39] Later on Nevizade Atayi wrote a Turkish continuation of *Şakaik* named *Hadaiku'l-Hakaik* taking *Hadaik* as model.[40] Atayi, who was son of Nevi Efendi, had many connections within the scholarly, literature, and Sufi networks thanks to his father. He also collected a great deal of information about the appointments of scholars and recorded them fastidiously. Atayi's biographical dictionary is the main source for this study including the biographies of Sahn students and their networks.

1.6. The Outline of Chapters

The present thesis is organized into four chapters, each of which deals with a biography and social networks of a Sahn student. I will discuss several type of social ties and structure of social networks in each chapter. Chapter II contextualizes Baki's literary networks and his professional career as a scholar-bureaucrat. Although he was deprived of strong familial ties, he succeeded in forming extraordinary literary ties in the sixteenth century. He used poetry successfully to form professional support ties and came out on top of the Ottoman *ilmiye* bureaucracy. Gatekeeper brokers always played significant roles in the life of Baki who introduced him to the influential networks. While he became a chief judge of Rumelia, he and his allies engaged in factional struggles with rival networks.

The third chapter examines the life account of Hoca Sadeddin who had strong connections with the palace. Hoca Sadeddin's career and networks were directly related to the transformation of the palace administration and palace networks. While palace networks increased their centrality and power, Hoca Sadeddin, who succeeded as a tutor of the Murad III, would become one of the most central actors in the administrative networks. He also formed his own ego-network in the *ilmiye* bureaucracy.

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[39] Mecdî Mehmed Efendi, H*adāikü'ş-Şekaik,* ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989).
[40] Nev'îzâde Atâyî, *Hadâiku'l-Hakâik Fî Tekmileti'ş-Şakâ'ik*, ed. Suat Donuk (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2017).

The fourth chapter deals with another student of the same cohort, Nevi Yahya Efendi who had engaged in multiple networks in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although he was a good poet, his unsuccessful attempts to form professional support ties via presenting odes demonstrate that forming social ties with grandees requires sharing literary tastes. During the reign of Murad III, Nevi joined several Halveti networks, while Halvetis established ties with palace circles. Thanks to his Halveti connections and same literary tastes with sultan, Nevi succeeded in becoming a royal favourite of Murad III.

The last chapter of this study focuses on the rest of the Sahn students including Mecdi, Valihi, Muhyi, Camcızade Cami, and Cevri. They had similar professional careers with one another. Since, there are not enough primary sources for these scholar-bureaucrats, I will mainly discuss Mecdi and his network preferences. Mecdi who was the author of *Hadaik*, was able to establish a Turkish *Şakaik* genre in the sixteenth century, preferred to return to his hometown Edirne and engaged in a literary circle there. While examining this literary circle, I will try to indicate that there were multiple literary networks competing with each other during the sixteenth century. I will also emphasize the diverging literary styles and productions of different networks during the sixteenth century. Last but not least, I will discuss the effect of insufficient social ties on the professional careers of scholar-bureaucrats.

CHAPTER II

AN AMBITIOUS SCHOLAR-BUREAUCRAT WITH A LITERARY GENIUS: BAKI EFENDI

In this chapter, I will attempt to present an account of Baki's life and analyze his social networks. As he lived throughout the reigns of four sultans, I will try to examine his life and career in each reign separately. Poet and scholar-bureaucrat, Baki formed many different social ties throughout his life. Hailed as a "*sultanu'ş-şuara* (the sultan of poets)" during his lifetime, he played a crucial role in the Ottoman poetry thanks to his extraordinary poetic talent, being a bridge between earlier and next generations.

Primary sources used for this chapter includes biographical dictionaries and historical accounts written in the sixteenth century, as well as Baki's poems, especially his odes dedicated to top-ranking members of the state. Along with Baki's ego network, I will also explore networks of other scholars within the *ilmiye* bureaucracy of the second half of the sixteenth century. This will allow me to discuss the structure of *ilmiye*, focusing on the various steps that led to the formation of an Ottoman elite: madrasa education, novitiate status, appointments of scholar-bureaucrats, professional supports of high dignitaries and grandees' roles and positions as Ottoman elite, as well as types and natures of social ties.

2.1. First Years, Meeting with Zati Before the Sahn

Baki was born in 933 (1526-1527) as the child of a poor man named Mehmed, one of the *müezzins* (the person who undertakes the task of calling for prayer) of Fatih Mosque.[41] Baki worked as apprentice to *serrac* (lamp maker) during his childhood. Then, he decided to study at a madrasa for a while. This experience could have raised his awareness on his personal intellectual abilities, where he must have at some point considered leaving the reaya class and join the ruling one. As a *müezzin's* son, Baki had only one path: to be included in the *ilmiye* class, which is open to all Muslims. In

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[41] IA, II, 243-53. TDVIA, v. 4, 537-40. ATAYI, v.2, 1173-1189.

this way, he would be able to rise in the Ottoman bureaucracy with professional options including professorship and judgeship.

We do not know where Baki took his first madrasa education. At the time, after the training in the *Haric* Madrasa, in which Arabic grammar, logic, theology, rhetoric, and religious sciences are taught, he should have continued to the *Dahil* Madrasa, where specialized training is given. Following the preparatory stage of the Sahn Madrasas called *Tetimme* Madrasas, he was included in 960 among the disciples of Karamani Mehmed Efendi in *Sahn-ı Seman*, the pinnacle of Ottoman madrasas.

Before his *Sahn* years, Baki's most important attempt was to form a tie with Zati who was shown as one of the most prominent poets of the sixteenth century.[42] The great poet, who had seen three sultans and wrote numerous poems, joined in the councils of many statesmen, was then getting old and writing poems in return for small sums in the *remilci* shop at the courtyard of Beyazıt Mosque. He nevertheless continued to guide young poets in his shop, still very much considered a school of poetry. Baki wrote some poems, went to Zati and soon drew the master's admiration. In fact, the master poet completed a couplet of Baki and put it in his *Divan*, wrote *nazire*s (parallel poems) to the latter. In this way, Zati introduced the young poet to poetry circles and helped him to meet many poets including Hayali (d. 964/1556-57) and Taşlıcalı Yahya (d. 990/1582).

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[42] For the biography and literary evaluation of Zati, see Sooyong Kim, *The Last of an Age: The Making and Unmaking of a Sixteenth Century Ottoman Poet* (London; New York: Routledge, 2018). See also, Vildan Serdaroğlu, Sosyal Hayat Işığında Zati Divanı (İstanbul: İSAM, 2006).
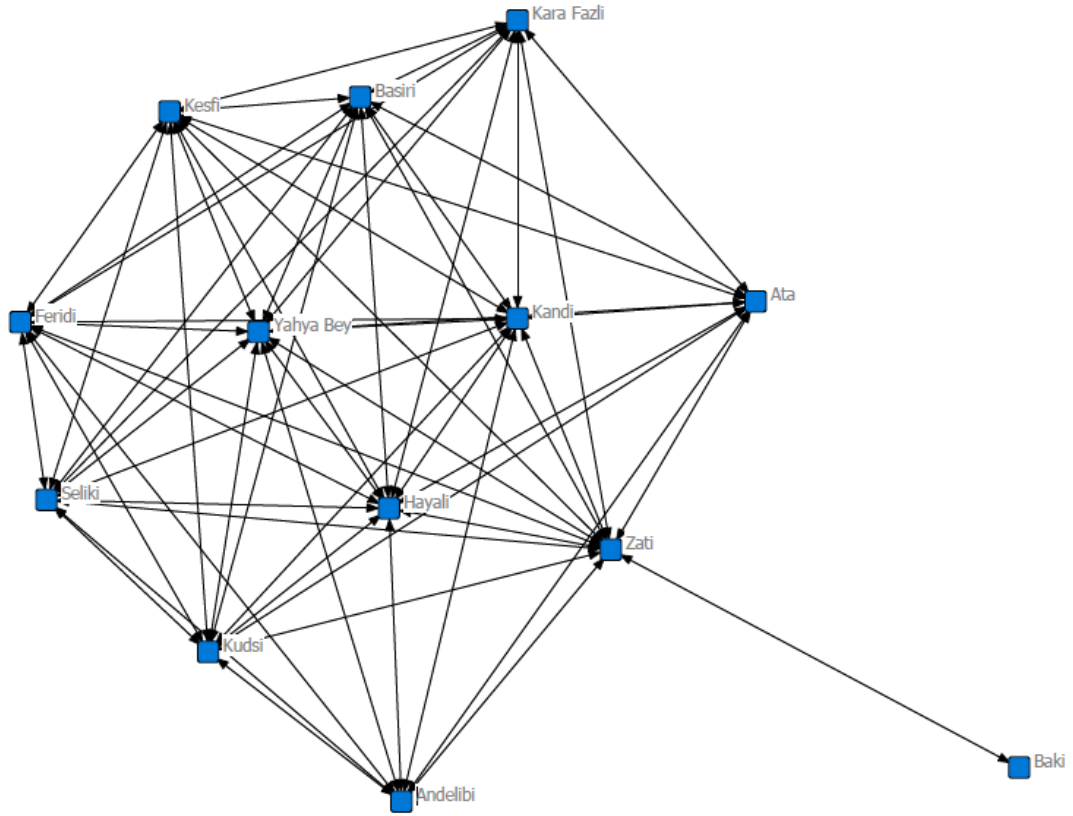
Figure 2.1. Literary ties of Zati and other poets. Source: *Tezkires* of Latifi and Aşık Çelebi.

Forming a tie with Zati was the best way to enter Istanbul's poetry circle for the young poet Baki. As we can see, Zati's eigenvector was the most central one. He was connected with many poets in Istanbul and his shop was also a center serving as a gathering point of poets.[43] Baki's ability to access new ties thus dramatically increased. In other words, he relied on Zati's ties, meeting many poets in the master's shop. If we look at the whole network of poets, going beyond the immediate ties of each individual, Zati was once again the actor with the most central positioning. Zati has the biggest betweenness centrality number, which gave him a potential control over the flow of poetry among poets.[44] Zati was positioned between many poets and an isolated young talent Baki, whose betweenness centrality increased thanks to this single tie.

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[43] Christina Prell, *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory & Methodology,* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2015) 101.

[44] Ibid, 103. Betweenness centrality represents the degree to which nodes stand between each other. In other words it measures the shortest paths through the network. Zati who has the biggest betweenness centrality means that he controls the flow of information in this network.

After meeting with Zati, Baki increased his centrality in the poetry circles of Istanbul. *Pervane Bey Mecmuası*, a collection of parallel poems (*nazire*) compiled in 1560, clearly shows the centrality of Zati and increasing role of Baki among poets especially young generation.[45] It moreover demonstrates the interaction between poets in the first half of the sixteenth century.
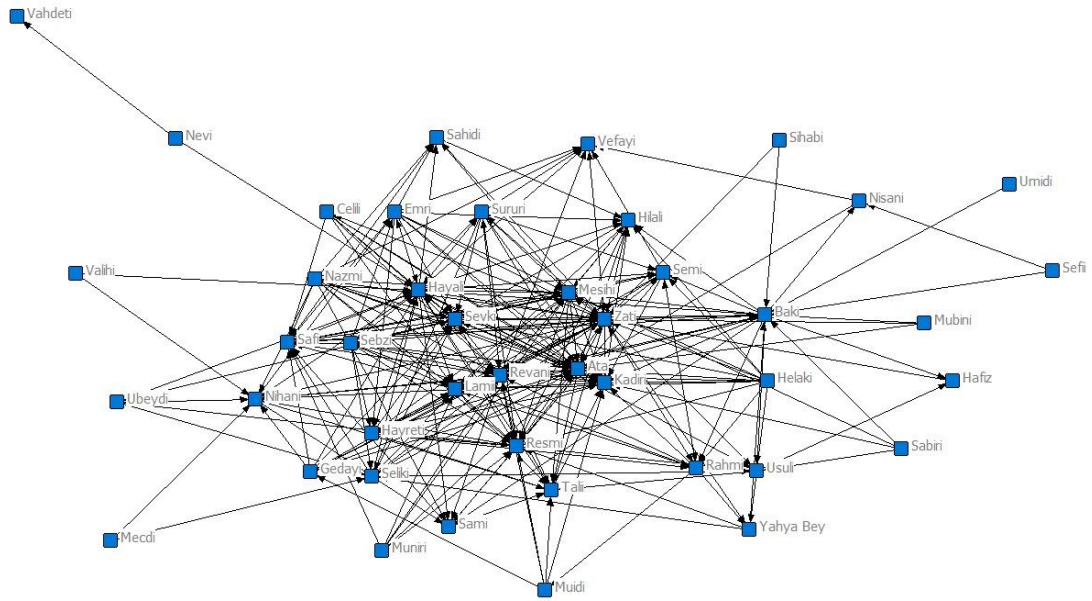
Figure 2.2. Literary ties in Pervane Bey Mecmuası. Source: *Pervane Bey Mecmuası*.

In "Core and Periphery Analysis" Baki was shown as one of the core actors in the Ottoman poetry network. It is seen that young poets began to wrote parallel poems to Baki which indicates the popularity of Baki at his very young ages. On the other hand, his friends from Sahn Madrasas, Mecdi, Valihi and Nevi were in the periphery of the poetry network at that time.

Latifi, who was born in 953/1546, speaks of Baki as a young artisan with the ability of a poet and introduces him with the poem Zati admired.[46] Since Baki was an artisan at the time when Latifi wrote the *Tezkire*, it can be concluded that he headed towards the path of the *ilmiye* at a relatively late age, when he perhaps became aware of his

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[45] Pervane b. Abdullah, *Pervane Bey Mecmuası: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 406*, ed. Kamil Ali Gıynaş (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Valiliği, 2014).

[46] Abdüllatif Çelebi Latifi, Tezkiretü'ş-Şuara ve Tabsıratü'n-Nuzama: (İnceleme-Metin), ed. Rıdvan Canım, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2000), 186.

sharp mind and extraordinary talents, and decided to study at the madrasa. We are not yet to know what role Zati played in this decision. Zati may have prompted Baki to further his education at the madrasa. In any case, Baki had the opportunity to meet the famous poets of the era and became one of the core actors of the Ottoman poetry network before the Sahn years.

It was narrated that Baki was a cheerful, enthusiastic, and amusing conversationalist, he became the life and soul of the Istanbul's drinking and entertainment scene from a young age. In winter, he proceeded to pothouses in Balat, Samatya and Galata, never missed the poetry assemblies in the *boza* houses, and spent summers in Kağıthane, Beşiktaş and Tophane gardens.[47] These must have been the places where poets could build a common culture, exchange information, and establish new patronage relations.

2.2. A Famous Poet in the *Ilmiye*

When he was around 26 years old, as a well-known and admired poet, he joined the circle of students around Karamani Mehmed Efendi in *Sahn-i Seman*. Baki became classmate of Hoca Sadeddin, Nevi, Mecdi, Valihi, Hüsrevzade, Remzizade, Camcızade, Muhyi-i Karamani and Cevri.[48] During this period, he dedicated "Sünbül Kasidesi" to his teacher and his fame increased among scholarly circles.[49] Two years later, upon the appointment of Karamani Mehmed Efendi to Edirne, he began attending the lessons of Kadızade Şemseddin Ahmed Efendi, who was appointed to the newly established Süleymaniye Madrasas, new summit of Ottoman education hierarchy.

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[47] IA, II, 243-53.
[48] ATAYI, v.2, 1174.
[49] Esma Şahin, "Baki'nin Sünbül Kasidesi Şerhi," *Hikmet Akademik Edebiyat Dergisi*, v. 4 (2018) 415-450.
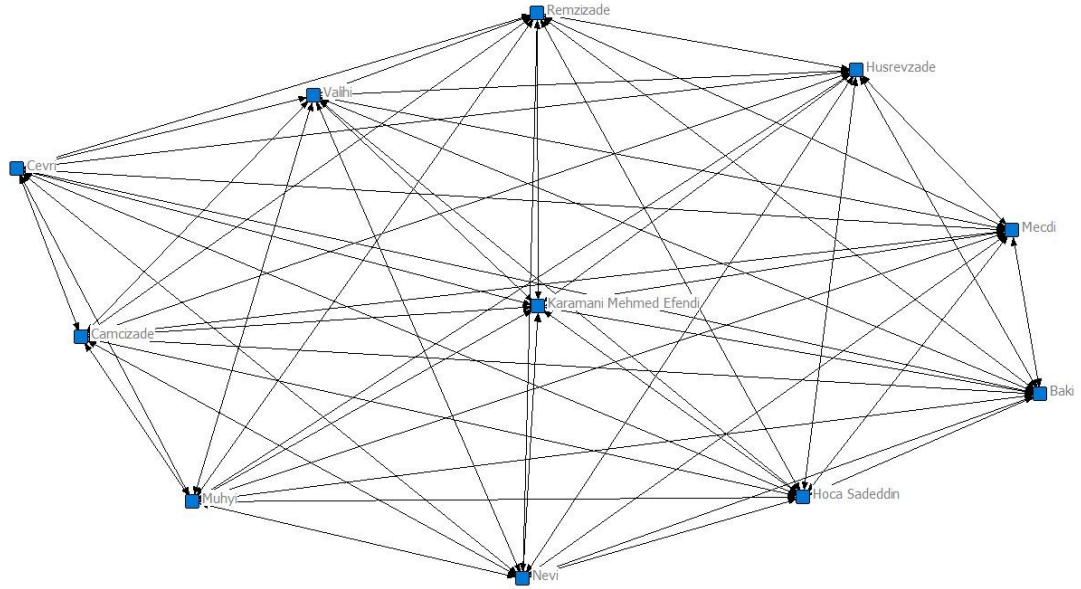
Figure 2.3. Karamani Mehmed Efendi and Sahn students. Source: ATAYI.

In the meantime, carrying out the duty of construction officer of the Süleymaniye Madrasas, he was fed up with living in the madrasa cells as he had for years. He took a chance to draw the Sultan's attention, writing an ode to the latter, who was coming back from the 962 (1555) Nahcivan Campaign. In his eulogy, Baki states that he stayed in the madrasa cells for three years, and that all his peers came to high levels in *ilmiye*. Although Nevizade Atayi says that Baki first aroused Kanuni's interest by this poem, he did not mention how the sultan complimented Baki.[50] We do not know how this first poem was met by Sultan; it is plausible that no positive feedback was given as 963 (1556) is the year Baki traveled to Aleppo. He served as the deputy (*naib*) of his teacher, who had been appointed judge of the city. I think that he couldn't get a positive result because in 963 (1556), when his teacher was appointed as the judge of Aleppo, he went to Aleppo as his deputy (*naib*) and stayed there for four years.

While Baki started to earn reputation with his poems, how did he settle for a long time away from Istanbul at a moment when he was expected to receive the *mülazemet* (novitiate status) after the madrasa education? Could it be that Baki, now thirty years old, could not tolerate the harsh life conditions in Istanbul? Did he see

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[50] ATAYI, v.2, 1174-1175.

Aleppo as an escape? Or, as Fuat Köprülü says, was he driven by a love affair to Aleppo?

Fuat Köprülü claims that Baki had a great interest in Yusuf, the son of Kadızade, and that he therefore went to Aleppo longing for him. The ghazels he wrote about Yusuf became notorious.[51] It seems difficult to explain Baki's four-year stay in Aleppo only with a love affair. For a graduate of *Sahn-ı Seman*, famous in poetry and willing to rise in the *ilmiye*, this decision could have been caused by the accumulation in the *ilmiye* bureaucracy and the general difficulty of obtaining the novitiate status in the second half of the sixteenth century. Baki, who could not tolerate staying longer in the madrasa cells, must have wanted to save time in Aleppo. As a matter of fact, when he returned from Aleppo, he immediately started to look for ways to obtain *mülazemet,* which means acceptance of scholars to the *ilmiye* bureaucracy. From the first years of the 16th century onwards, the authority to give the *mülazemet* were the high-ranking scholar-bureaucrats, often called *mevali*. However, in some special cases, sultans, pashas and gentlemen could also grant a *mülazemet*.[52]

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[51] IA, II, 246.
[52] Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 102-113. TDVIA, v.31, 537-539.
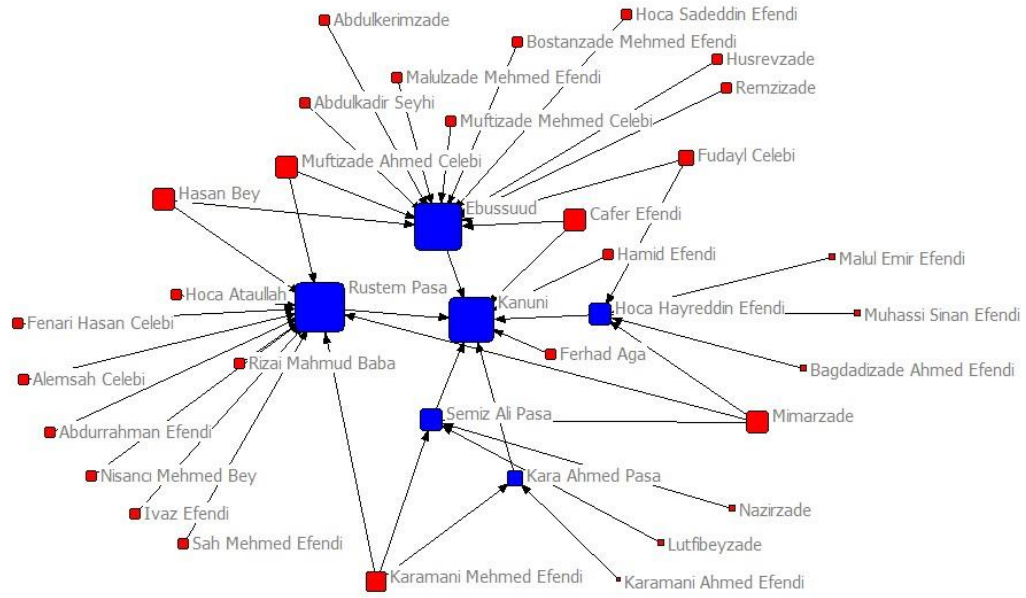
Figure 2.4. Professional Support Ties during the reign of Süleyman I. Source: ATAYI.

This figure indicates the network of professional support in the *ilmiye* Bureaucracy around the second half of the 16th century. Grandviziers, chief jurists and tutors of the sultan were main actors in the *ilmiye* alongside with the Süleyman I. Baki was to form a tie with either one of them in order to get a novitiate status as quickly as possible.

According to the *Kadıasker* surveys, the second half of the sixteenth century saw an important increase of applicants in the *ilmiye* path. *Danişmend*s who had received the *mülazemet* were assigned to a queue and started to wait to be appointed. It is also possible that the appointment procedures were prolonged due to the accumulation of madrasa graduates in this period.[53] In 944 (1537), while Ebussuud Efendi (d. 982/1574) was chief judge of Rumelia, separate *mülazemet* registers were kept on regular basis in order to take care of the defect in *ilmiye* appointments.[54]

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[53] Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam (XVI. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 37-42.
[54] Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 45-48.

Ebussuud Efendi also enacted that high-level *ilmiye* officials gave the *mülazemet* on an occasion called *nevbet* once every seven years. There were also other options rather than nevbet in order to get the mülazemet.[55]

The teaching assistance (*muidlik*) was the most outstanding form of *mülazemet*. The professors (*müderris*) employed their most distinguished students as teaching assistants, and gave *mülazemet* to them in the first place. The children of high-level scholars were given a special *mülazemet* called *müstakil*. They started to work in madrasas paying higher salaries. As a matter of fact, Baki's classmate Hoca Sadeddin, whose father was Hasan Can a royal favourite of Selim I, was appointed to a 30 aspers madrasa with a *mülazemet* from Ebussuud Efendi at the age of twenty. Intercession of sultans, pashas and gentlemen was another option. But at the end of the sixteenth century, the intercession gradually decreased and its weight decreased significantly at the entrance to the *ilmiye*.[56]

Baki thus faced two alternatives to pursue in the *ilmiye* hierarchy: the first one is to become a town judge (*kasabat kadılığı*) the second to become a *müderris* for being a high dignitary (*molla*).[57] Baki knows when he chooses the former path he cannot rise to higher positions in the *ilmiye*. Then, he made a lot of effort to become a *müderris*. Baki was able to overcome these challenges with his desire for ascension, his indomitable nature, extraordinary talent in poetry and his social networks.

Until the year 982 (1574), the grand vizier was in charge of the appointment of the *müderris*es, *muftis* and *mevalis*, before it was left to the chief jurist's choice. While chief jurists were appointing the *mevali*s, the chief judges were interested in the appointment of lower rank professors and judges.[58] Under these circumstances, aware of his lack of strong familial ties, Baki opted to form a tie with either a grand vizier or a chief jurist for a professional support.

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[55] Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 141. Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 179.
[56] Beyazıt, *İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam*, 91. Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 185.
[57] Atçıl, "The Route to the Top," 490.
[58] Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 179.

On his way back from Aleppo, Baki demanded assistance from Mehmet Efendi (d. 971/1564), the son of Ebussuud Efendi, whom he had met in Konya, by presenting an ode to him. In return he received a letter of recommendation from him to his father.[59] According to the social network theory, Mehmed Efendi played a brokerage role for Baki and granted an access for Baki to his father. When he arrived in Istanbul he also presented an ode to Ebussuud Efendi. Chief jurist Ebussuud Efendi was the most influential figure in the *ilmiye*.[60] The *mülazım*s of Ebussuud Efendi were more fortunate than other graduates, as they were able to reach the highest positions of the *ilmiye* Bureaucracy. If Baki could get a novitiate status from him, he would have pursued a comfortable career in Istanbul. However, this dream must not have been realized, there is no indication that he received a direct support from the chief jurist.
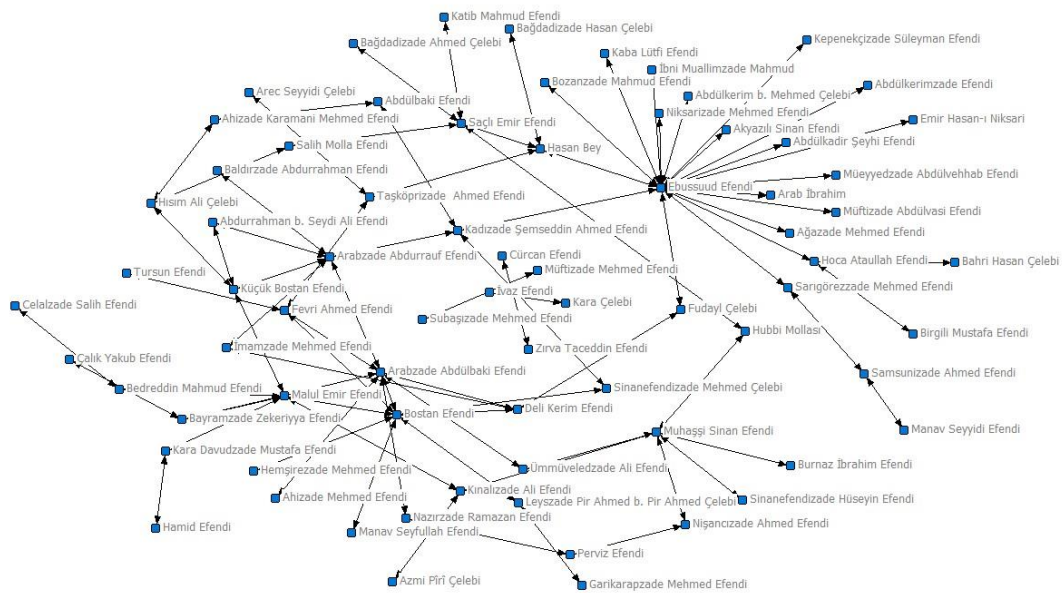
Figure 2.5. Mülazemet Ties between scholar-bureaucrats circa 960 (1553). Source: ATAYI.

This figure shows the ties of *mülazemet* and professorship among Ottoman High *Ulemas* around 960. Ebussuud Efendi's *mülazım*s and students constituted the core elements of the Ottoman ilmiye bureaucracy at that time. Alongside with him, Bostan Efendi (d. 977/1570), Arabzade Abdülbaki Efendi (d. 971/1564), Arabzade Abdurrauf

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[59] TDVIA, v.4, 537.
[60] TDVIA, v.10, 365-371.

Efendi (d. 1009/1600), Malul Emir Efendi (d. 963/1555) and Saçlı Emir Efendi (d. 963/1555) are other *mevalis* prominent at that time.
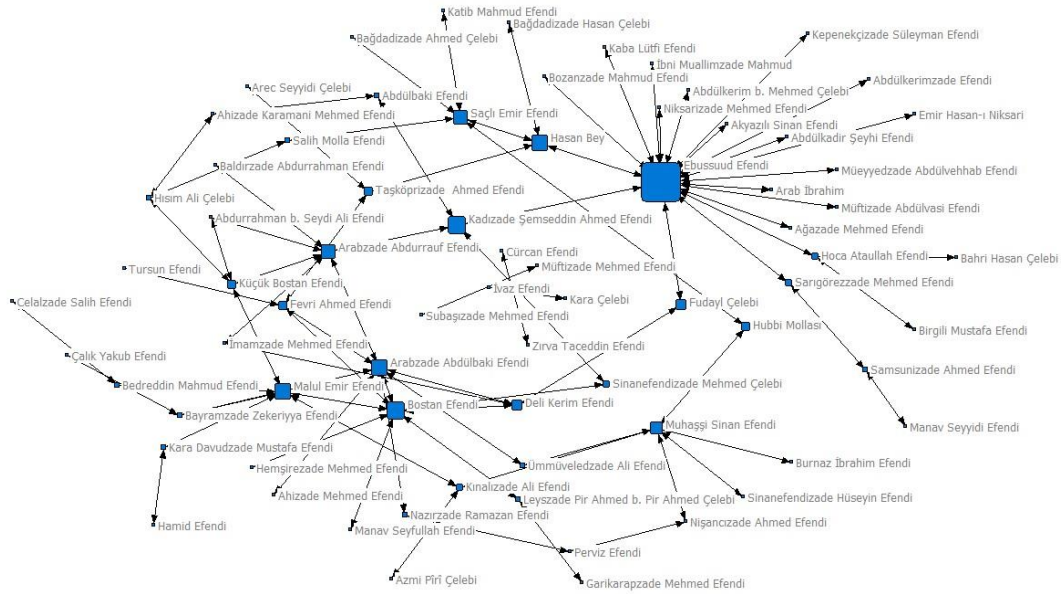
Figure 2.6. Betweenness Centrality in the ilmiye network circa 960 (1553). Source: ATAYI.

With regard to the measure of the betweenness centrality of Ottoman Ulemas, it can be clearly seen that Ebussuud Efendi is the most central actor within the network. It means that he could control the flow of positions. In fact, more than half of the top-ranking bureaucrats who entered *ilmiye* after 1550 were initiated by Ebussuud Efendi.[61]

Baki's search for a professional support did not rely on Ebussuud Efendi. He tried to approach Grand Vizier Rustem Paşa (d. 968/1561), another influential figure in the *ilmiye*. Rüstem Paşa, once the patron of Karamani Mehmed Efendi, built madrasas in several cities such as Istanbul, Tekirdağ, Kütahya and Medina and took many professors under his protection. It is understood from the *kazasker* registers that the Madrasa of the Rustem Pasha professors had a privileged position, after Sultan madrasahs, in giving the *mülazemet*.[62] We learn from the biographical sources that

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[61] Atçıl, "The Route to the Top," 497.
[62] Yasemin Beyazıt, İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam, 57-63.

there are many protagonists such as Fenari Hasan Çelebi, Ebussuudzade Ahmed Çelebi, Mimarzade, Abdurrahman Efendi, Nişancı Mehmed Bey, Şah Mehmed Efendi, Hasan Bey, and Alemşah Çelebi gained professional support from Rustem Paşa throughout their career.[63]

Instead of writing directly towards Rustem Paşa who was not known to like poetry and poets, Baki wrote two panegyrics to Şeyh Rızai, the tutor and favorite of Rustem. However, these efforts also remained unsuccessful and he could not obtain the Grand Vizier's support. After the death of Rustem Paşa, Baki immediately presented an ode to the new grand vizier Semiz Ali Paşa and managed to attract his attention.[64] With the support of Semiz Ali Paşa, Baki became a *danişmend* in 1561 (969). Baki, at the age of 36 years old, still could not have acquired the *mülazemet*. He saw that his classmates had become professors in higher positions, and he used his poetry to form new strong social ties to gain a professional support. Baki, who got no return for his efforts to form a social tie with neither Grand vizier Rustem Paşa, chief jurist Ebussuud Efendi, nor Kanuni at the beginning, finally attracted the attention of new grand vizier Semiz Ali Paşa thanks to his ode. This new connection brought *danişmendlik* to Baki.

Baki's ultimate target was the sultan himself, however he needed a gatekeeper broker around the palace to grant him an access to Sultan.[65] Finally, Baki somehow met Mirahur Ferhad Ağa (d. 1004/1595). Ferhad Ağa became a gatekeeper broker for Baki and brought his poems to the Sultan. Kanuni admired Baki's poems and when he learned that Baki was a *danişmend*, he immediately ordered to accord him a *mülazemet*. Chief Judge of Rumelia Hamid Efendi opposed this appointment by saying that it was against the law. However, the Sultan insisted and Baki was assigned to the Madrasa of Silivri with 30 aspers. Baki, who was registered as a *mülazım* by the Sultan himself, entered the *ilmiye* with an exceptional privilege.[66]

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[63] ATAYI, 542; 758; 796.
[64] Sabahattin Küçük, *Baki Divanı Tenkitli Basım* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2011), 44-48.
[65] Christina Prell, *Social Network Analysis*, 127.
[66] ATAYI, v.2, 1175.

A short time later, Baki was assigned to Murad Pasha Madrasa and got the opportunity to come to Istanbul. He was now writing *nazire*s (parallel poems) on the sultan's poems under the latter's protection. On one hand his fame was increasing in poetry and on the other hand he was progressing in his profession. As Selaniki quoted from Ferhad Ağa, the Sultan found himself fortunate because he found and revealed a poet like Baki. He considered this episode as one of the happiest of his reign.[67] At the age of about 37, giving strong examples of poetry he dedicated his *Divan* to the Sultan. This three-year fortunate period ended with the death of Kanuni in 974 (1566). Baki was no longer under a personal professional support.

The professional support ties are by nature personal in the early modern Ottoman Empire. These ties are limited with the supporter's lifetime. When the node dies, the relationship also ends. In this case, when Kanuni died, the professional support ties between Kanuni and Baki also ended. Baki had to form a new strong professional support tie for his career.

2.3. Selim II Years

Right after Selim II's ascension to the throne, the *ilmiye* bureaucracy faced a harsh intervention. Hoca Ataullah Efendi (d. 979/1571), who had a strong influence on the new sultan, quickly brought his relatives to the positions of chief judgeship, important judgeships and professorships.[68] Muallimzade Efendi, the son-in-law of Hoca Ataullah, was first brought to the position of the chief judgeship of Anatolia instead of Perviz Efendi, and later on became the chief judge of Rumelia. Hasan Bey, a protégé of Hoca Ataullah, was appointed to the judgeship of Istanbul. Leyszade Pir Ahmed Çelebi, the son of Hoca Ataullah's teacher, also rose to the Rüstem Paşa Madrasa. Hoca Ataullah's brother's son in law, Küçük Bostan Efendi is also among those who climbed the ladder thanks to Hoca Ataullah Efendi. Hoca Ataullah Efendi's fellow townsman Birgili İbrahim Efendi was also assigned as a tutor to Prince Murad.

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[67] Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), 858; hereafter SELANIKI.
[68] ATAYI, v.1, 566-570.
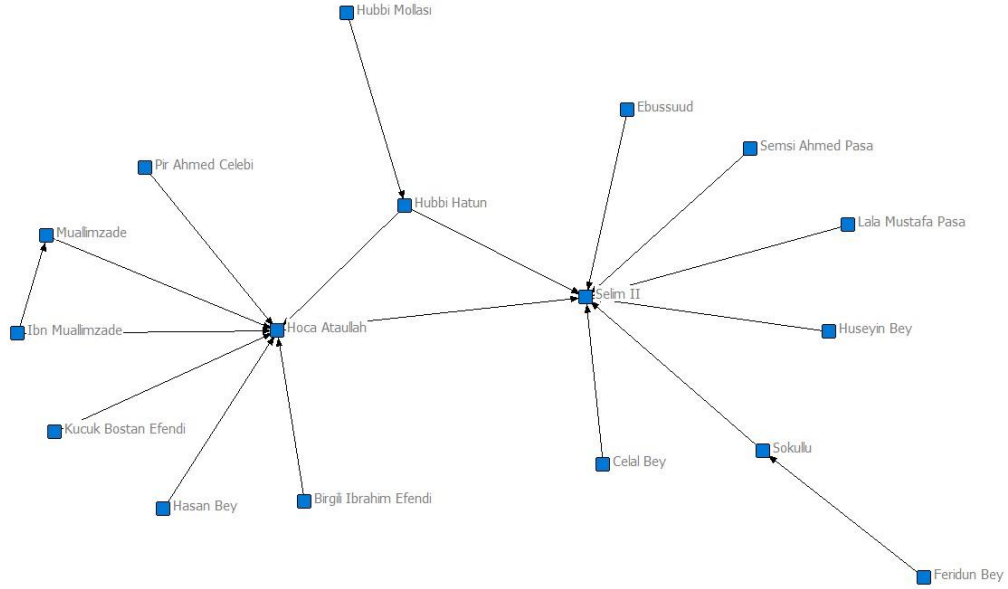
Figure 2.7. Professional support ties of Hoca Ataullah Efendi. Source: ATAYI.

It seems that when his pupil Selim II ascended to the throne, Hoca Ataullah Efendi prioritized his kinship ties in the appointment of high *ilmiye* bureaucracy. The dismissed names include chief judge of Rumelia, son in law of Çivizade, Hamid Efendi as well as his close friend, chief judge of Anatolia Perviz Efendi and Vani Efendi, one of Hamid Efendi's *mülazıms*. As it is seen, many linked names were influenced by these assignments. Meanwhile, Baki's position in the Murad Pasha Madrasa was given to Ibn Muallimzade, the son of Hoca Ataullah Efendi's son-in-law.

The interference of Hoca Ataullah Efendi to the appointments of high-dignitaries, which were under the authority of chief jurist, grandvizier and chief judge of Rumelia, appears to be contrary to the laws and customs. Chief jurist Ebussuud Efendi, at an advanced age, seemed to be desperate and disappointed at these appointments.

Ataullah Efendi's teacher, chief jurist Ebussuud Efendi expressed his discomfort with these appointments. Ataullah Efendi broke his teacher's heart by breaking the appointment chain of *ilmiye*. According to Peçevi's statements, when Selim II ascended to the throne, Hoca Ataullah Efendi increased his influence among the ulema day by day. He was a student of chief jurist Ebussuud Efendi, but did not

respect his teacher, and as a result got his curse.[69] Mustafa Selaniki also criticized the intervention of Hoca Ataullah Efendi in the *ilmiye* chain with an implicit language. These defects are increasing even in the Ulama path. Selaniki states that "it is our apocalypse when ulema, as role models for the public to be imitated, move away from ordering to do what is good and right."[70]

According to Nevizade's narrative, Ataullah Efendi fell out with his teacher chief jurist Ebussuud Efendi. Upon his invectives towards Ebussuud, Hoca Ataullah had a nightmare. In his dream sitting in a majlis, a sheikh reprimanded him three times by saying "O nasty person, get out of my assembly." When Hoca Ataullah Efendi asked who this person was, he learned that it was Sheikh Muhyiddin Iskilibi, Ebussuud Efendi's father. When Hoca Ataullah Efendi woke up from the dream, he found himself ill. Then he asked the help of Muslim sheikhs to recover from his illness. Muslim sheikhs answered him that he brought his relatives who did not deserve the high offices, neglected the capable *ulemas* to come to the high authorities and was thus cursed for his cruelty. Sheikhs told him "if you give up this attitude, you will be healed by god willing". When Hoca Ataullah Efendi heard this answer, he said that what we did was to protect and watch the people behind us and to pay court to them. Soon after, in 979, Ataullah Efendi died.[71]

According to the statements of Atayi, upon the illness of Ataullah Efendi, his son-in-law Muallimzade Efendi, who had been brought to chief judgeship of Rumelia, was immediately dismissed by his enemies.[72] This also demonstrated the reaction of appointments towards Hoca Ataullah's closely relateds. The disguised criticism of Selaniki, the expressions of Peçevi and the story elucidated by Atayi indicate that Hoca Ataullah Efendi's intervention in appointments was met with discomfort by Ottoman elites and intellectuals.

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[69] İbrahim Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1283/1866), 458.
[70] SELANIKI, 87-88.
[71] ATAYI, 568-569.
[72] ATAYI, 589.

Baki who lost his most precious social tie retired soon after the ascension of the new sultan. He was among those who suffered from Hoca Ataullah Efendi's prioritization of his kinship ties. Baki once again needed professional support to be reassigned in those years. Baki formed a strong tie with Feridun Bey, Grand vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha's secret clerk (*sır katibi*) and one of his closest men. Feridun Bey was also a poet and prose writer and one of the admirers of Baki, so much that he ornamented the sitting room of his pavilion with Baki's ode dedicated to him.[73] With the help of Feridun Bey, Baki was appointed to the Mahmud Pasha Madrasa in 1569 after a three-year retirement. In 1571, he was appointed to the Eyüp Madrasa under the auspices of Feridun Bey. Feridun Bey also introduced Baki to his patron grandvizier Sokullu Mehmed Paşa. Once again, Baki found a gatekeeper broker for himself. Sokullu became his guardian angel until the very end of his life. Fortunately, Baki formed a tie with the strongest statesman at that time. Baki's social targets were always only top-ranking statesmen or sultan.

Thanks to his connection with Sokullu, Baki was able to meet with Selim II. Sultan sent his ghazels to Baki to compose parallel poems (*nazire*). According to Atayi, in 981 (1573), the sultan wanted a *musahip (*companion*)* to accompany him and have a nice conversation. Sokullu recommended either Baki or Kani. Thereupon Selim II met with Kani and Baki at the Çubuklubahçe Mesiresi and they presented their poems to the sultan. However, Selim's favorites kept them away from the Sultan. Eventually, Şemsi Ahmed Paşa one of Sokullu's rivals became *musahip* for Selim II. Rain or shine, Baki was now under the protection of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha who has been the most influential person in state administration. Apart from Baki, Sokullu introduced many of his relatives into bureaucracy and created an enormous network of clients.

2.4. Murad III Years

With the accession of Murad III to the throne, the balance of power between the Ottoman elite and the new sultan's household was reorganized. Each sultan would come to the capital with his households and enter a serious struggle with the old

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[73] Sabahattin Küçük, *Baki Divanı*, 73-74.

sultan's cadre. The new sultan needed to establish his own sovereignty while negotiating with the high-ranking Ottoman elite. For this reason, the first years of the new sultan passed with an intense factional struggle.[74] The bureaucracy of *ilmiye* also would be influenced from this new development. Several powerful actors who were favorites of the Sultan joined the palace network and changed the structural balance of networks. Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, who dominated the Ottoman administrative apparatus from the beginning to the end of the reign of Selim II, encountered with a new network positioning nearby the Sultan Murad III. This new network's most influential names were Şemsi Paşa, Gazanfer Ağa, Canfeda Hatun, Nurbanu Sultan, Lala Mustafa Paşa, Şeyh Şüca and Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, these people tried to curb the authority of Sokullu from the very beginning of the reign of Murad III and succeeded. More than thirty officials who were members of Sokullu clique lost their posts, salaries and personal property after the struggle between these two groups.[75]
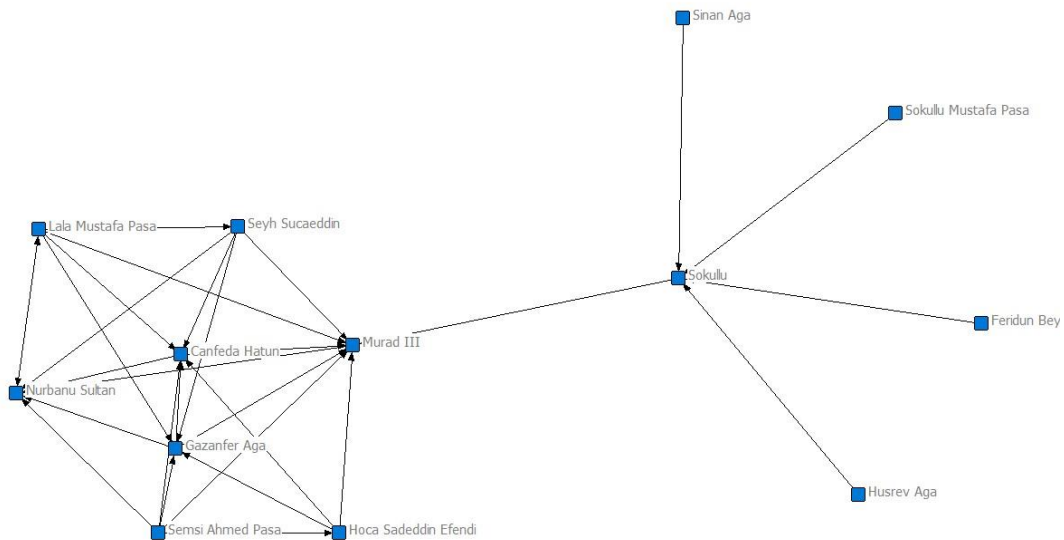

Figure 2.8. Political Alliances in the Ottoman Court Network during the first years of Murad III's reign. Source: ATAYI.

As a member of Sokullu camp, Baki also suffered from this new configuration. Baki was a *müderris* of the Süleymaniye Madrasas, the highest professorship position,

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[74] Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power*, 33.
[75] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 73.

having a comfortable time in the protection of Sokullu. Baki became the target of palace camp soon after the accession of Murad III. Some people, most probably the members of rival network of Sokullu, showed Sultan a poem of Baki in which Murad III was chastised. They caused Murad's rage. The Sultan had him dismissed from his position and immediately repelled from Istanbul. However, some people from Baki's network persuaded the sultan that the poem belonged to a poet named Nami and appeased him. In fact, this poem was in many manuscript copies of his *Divan*. Apparently, his friends attributed this poem to Nami to save Baki. Primary sources did not give any name about this occasion, however as might be expected it was a contestation of two rival camps. However, Baki's connections could not prevent him from being repelled from Istanbul. He was appointed as a *müderris* of the Selimiye Madrasa in Edirne. After a short stay in Edirne, he was appointed to Mecca as a judge and then to Medina. This would however prove too remote for Baki to acclimate. People of the region also made a complaint about Baki. Thereupon, he was dismissed from judgeship and was recalled to Istanbul. Overwhelmed by living far away from the Ottoman capital, Baki welcomed this decision and came back to Istanbul.

While he was in Mecca, Sokullu Mehmed Paşa ordered him to translate *Fazail-i Mekke*.[76] Unfortunately, Sokullu was assasinated before the return of Baki. Baki once again lost his most powerful professional supporter and had to form or reinforce his social ties. During his grand vizierate Sokullu had gained many enemies because of his ambitious politics such as Lala Mustafa Paşa, Şemsi Ahmed Paşa and Semiz Ahmed Paşa, the structural balance of the court network has changed after the death of Sokullu. Doğancı Mehmed Paşa, Şemsi Ahmed Paşa and Gazanfer Ağa became the new main protagonists in the Ottoman court. Seemingly, Baki had no connection with these new rising favorites. Instead of them, Baki asked for help from his old supporters and friends who had some connections with palace. He met with his old acquaintance Ferhad Paşa, his classmate from *Sahn-ı Seman* Hoca Sadeddin Efendi and Siyavuş Paşa and they helped Baki regain his reputation in front of the Sultan. Moreover, Baki dedicated his translation and a few ghazels to Murad III to propitiate

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[76] Halil Sercan Koşik, "Baki'nin Arapça'dan Tercüme Mensur Bir Eseri Fezail-i Mekke Yahut el-İlam bi-Alami Beledillahi'l-Haram Tercümesi," *Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları*, v.10 (2014), 131-148.

him. His new connections were also close to the sultan and influential enough for *ilmiye* appointments. Baki was appointed as the judge of Istanbul thanks to his new supporters at 1584. But a year later he was removed from this position and forced to settle in Üsküdar. We do not know the exact reason of this compulsory residence order. Shortly thereafter, Baki was brought back to judgeship of Istanbul, and after a while he was promoted to the rank of chief judgeship of Anatolia. Two years later he was dismissed. This time, three years after being retired he was brought back to chief judgeship of Anatolia in 1591.

Following the ascension of Murad III, the royal favorites of Sultan increased their political power in the Ottoman imperial establishment. The Sultan gave them official authority to limit the power of viziers. The death of Sokullu, as Günhan Börekçi aptly puts it, marks the beginning of a new period: the era of favourites (1580-1650).[77] Royal favorites who entered the sultan's private quarters and formed strong ties with him could easily increase their political power and eliminate their rivals. In social network terms, they played a gatekeeper brokerage role in the Ottoman court. They had a strong eigenvector centrality due to their proximity to the Sultan. On the other hand, factional struggles among favorites and viziers accelerated at this period. These struggles caused structural imbalance of court network. The grand vizierate changed hands ten times between six viziers in the sixteen-year reign of Murad III due to the political struggles. High *ilmiye* members were also influenced from rise of favorites in the Ottoman court. During this time, the *ilmiye* range occasionally changed overnight. According to the statements of Selaniki, these sudden changes at the top of the *ilmiye* bureaucracy astonished everyone.[78] The high scholar-bureaucrats, who were closely associated with the palace network and the viziers, were in the midst of fierce power struggles. The members of the *ilmiye* had to continue their search for strong ties. This applies not only to *ilmiye* but also to the highest levels of the bureaucracy.[79]

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[77] Börekçi, "Ottoman Royal Favourites,"10.
[78] SELANIKI, 87-88; 141.
[79] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 97-98.

Baki was appointed as chief judge of Rumelia three times. Chief judgeship institution seems to have lost its former power in this period. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the long-term occupation of the chief judges began to decrease during the last decades of the century. The incumbency of the chief judges during the first part of the sixteenth century decreased dramatically throughout the sixteenth century. Moreover, new actors from the palace network intervened in the chief judge's jurisdiction. The appointments and dismissals of the top bureaucratic posts turned into an arena of competing networks. For the nineteen years between 987 (1579) and 1007 (1598), the office of chief judgeship of Rumelia changed hands twenty-seven times. The average term of office was fourteen months.

While Baki was chief judge of Anatolia, some judges complained to him about the Sultan. In response, Baki claimed that these judges were incited by cihef jurist Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1006/1598) to replace him with Bostanzade Mustafa Efendi (d. 1014/1605), the brother of chief jurist. After the dispute between Baki and Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi, chief jurist Bostanzade accused him with blasphemy showing some of his couplets as evidence and wanted him to be expelled and exiled. Otherwise he would leave his office and go to another sultan's country. Having been offended by the words of Bostanzade, Murad III dismissed him and appointed Zekeriyya Efendi as chief jursit and Baki as chief judge of Rumelia.[80] Baki's old friend and classmate Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, the tutor to the Sultan and the arch enemy of the Bostanzade assisted Baki to get appointed as chief judge of Rumelia. These friendship ties once again helped Baki come to the top bureaucratic post before the chief jurist.

The triad between Baki, Bostanzade Mehmed and Hoca Sadeddin Efendi let Baki come to the chief judgeship of Rumelia office. Namely, there was a reciprocal positive tie between Baki and Hoca Sadeddin Efendi going back to *Sahn*, whereas both had negative ties towards Bostanzade Mehmed. Accepting negative ties as absent ties, the aforementioned triad had a structural balance that resulted in the dismissal of

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[80] TDVIA, v.6, 311.

Bostanzade and the appointment of Baki.[81] Unfortunately, three months later Baki retired. All these incidences of reappointment and dismissal worn him down and now the aging poet was drawn to the corner of his disgruntled state.

Cornell Fleischer states that unlike the reign of Süleyman I and Selim II, reigns of Murad III and Mehmed III witnessed a dramatic increase in factionalism among major actors.[82] I have tried here to approach this phenomenon via social network analysis. With the bureaucratization of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, social networks also dramatically enlarged and became sophisticated and functional. Scholar bureaucrats were linked to each other via several strong ties such as *mülazemet* and familial ties. Different groups flourished in the Ottoman court and bureaucracy simultaneously in the second half of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the palace network became denser and got involved in bureaucratic appointments. Sometimes these networks faced each other off and became rivals.

2.5. Mehmed III Years

Baki retreated to his corner in a disgruntled state in 1595. With the accession of new Sultan Mehmed III in 1595, he was once more hopeful for his dream of being chief jurist and immediately presented odes to him. In return for this endeavor, he was reappointed to chief judgeship of Rumelia.

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[81] Chirstina Prell, *Social Network Analysis*, 145.
[82] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 98.
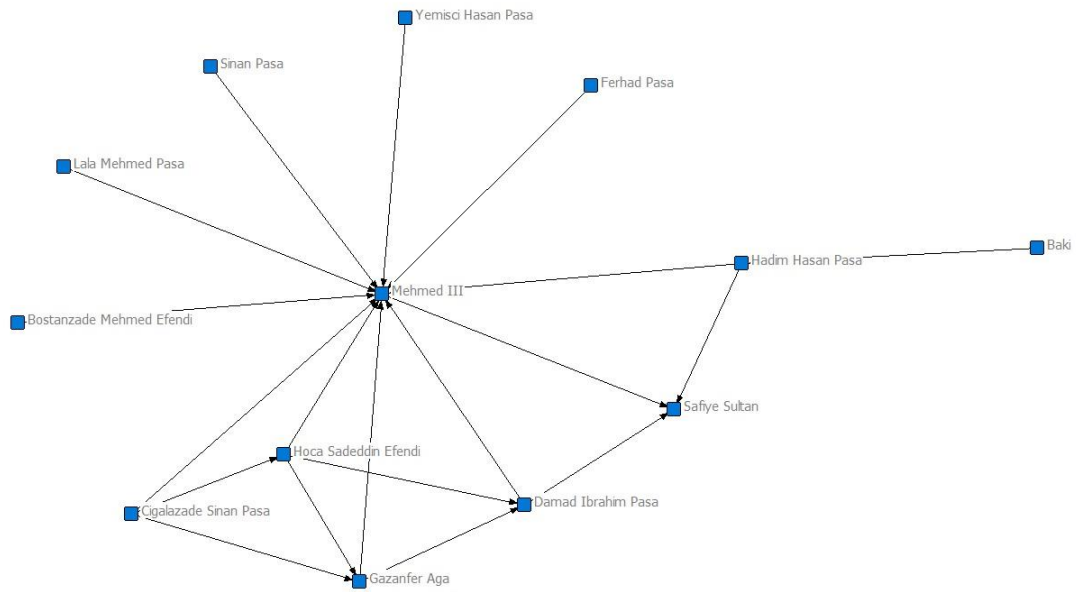
Figure 2.9. Palace Network during the reign of Mehmed III. Source: ATAYI.

Although Baki made some alliances against chief jurist Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi, this time Bostanzade became successful and made him dismissed from chief judgeship of Rumelia. Thereupon, he joined the network of Hadım Hasan Paşa (d. 1006/1598) who was an old rival of Hoca Sadeddin. For the third time, he retrieved the office of chief judgeship of Rumelia with the support of Hadım Hasan Paşa.

There was then a dispute on the post of grand vizier, with Hoca Sadeddin Efendi supporting Sinan Paşa against Damat Ibrahim Pasa, son in law of Safiye Sultan. Thereupon Safiye Sultan also intervened in this appointment and succeeded to make her son in law Damat Ibrahim Pasa grand vizier. This episode changed the balance of the network because Hoca Sadeddin Efendi fell in disfavor with Safiye Sultan and the queen mother discredited him in front of Sultan. He was dismissed from the post of tutorship. Baki thought that his friend did not support him for the appointments and got disappointed with him. Baki thus allied with Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi against Hoca Sadeddin and together they tried to expel the latter to Mecca. However, Mehmed III, the pupil of Hoca Sadeddin frowned at the idea of exile. Sadeddin's retirement lasted instead fourteen months, he then made up with the mother queen and sultan. Meanwhile, Damat Ibrahim Pasa was dismissed from the grand viziership,

replaced by Hadım Hasan Paşa.[83] Baki's last attempt to form a social tie was connecting with Hadım Hasan Paşa. Hadım Hasan Paşa favoured Baki and insisted on his being chief jurist. However, Mehmed III made his tutor as chief jurist with great pleasure.

In return for that, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi took revenge from Hadım Hasan Paşa and made him dismissed from grand viziership. So, Baki lost his last professional supporter and had to leave his office. After the death of Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, Baki's gleam of hope of being chief jurist vanished with the appointment of Sunullah Efendi. This last disappointment thoroughly ruined Baki's nerves and he became ill. Soon after he passed away on November 7, 1600 (1008).

2.6. Conclusion

Throughout his professional career, Baki used his poetry talent as human capital and turned it into social capital by forming strong social ties to gain professional support from Sultans and grandees. He moreover formed a tie with prominent poet Zati in the first half of the sixteenth century and increased his centrality dramatically in the Ottoman poetry network. During his lifetime, as a "*sultanuşşuara*" he strongly renovated Ottoman Poetry.

As the son of a muezzin, lacking strong family ties, Baki had at a rather early stage difficulty to enter the path of ilmiye. However, thanks to his extraordinary poetry talent he became one of the favorites of Süleyman I and got an exceptional *mülazemet* from Sultan. He was suffered from Selim II's ascension because of Hoca Ataullah Efendi's intervention on the *ilmiye* positions and his prioritization of his own familial ties. Later on, he was supported and protected by Sokullu Mehmed Paşa, the strongest statesman in the Empire for a long time. At the beginning of his life, Baki had always needed gatekeeper brokers to access these powerful actors. Ferhad Ağa and Feridun Bey played a brokerage role for Baki. During the reigns of Murad III and Mehmed III, the structural balance of Baki's network was lost. Sokullu Mehmed Paşa

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[83] TDVIA, v.15, 5.

and his clique were eliminated by favorites of the palace. Baki had to form new social ties in order to keep his position at that time. However, he engaged on factional struggles and temporary event relations. He positioned himself against his old friend and classmate Hoca Sadeddin Efendi and lost the battle. While he was on the verge of being chief jurist, he lost his professional supporters, the balance of network changed against him and he died in a disappointed situation.

CHAPTER III

RISE OF A ROYAL TUTOR: HOCA SADEDDIN EFENDI

This chapter examines the ego network of Hoca Sadeddin. Hoca Sadeddin became one of the key figures in the Ottoman court during the reigns of Murad III and Mehmed III. As Günhan Börekçi states in his seminal article, Murad III and Mehmed III who had become increasingly secluded from the outer world, employed royal favourites as power brokers in order to curb the authority of viziers during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Börekçi names this rising period of favourites as "the first era of favourites (ca. 1580 – ca. 1650)".[84] As a tutor of the sultan, Hoca Sadeddin acted as a power broker, limited the authority of the viziers, and engaged in political and military affairs. He created a huge network of clients including his sons and many prominent literati. I will try to examine the rise of Hoca Sadeddin in the first era of favourites with the terms of social network theory. The chapter organized as follows: First, I will briefly show his social ties while narrating his life account. Then, I will try to analyze the historical background of tutorship and show the increase in the importance of tutors in the Ottoman court from the reign of Süleyman the Magnificient. I will also demonstrate roles and positions of Hoca Sadeddin in the factional struggles during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Finally, I will touch on the ego-network of Hoca Sadeddin Efendi as a professional supporter.

3.1. Childhood around the Palace and Early Education

Sadeddin was born in 1536 in Istanbul.[85] His father Hasan Can and his grandfather Hafız Mehmed Cemaleddin Isfahani were brought by Yavuz from Iran to Anatolia after the battle of Çaldıran in 1514. His father Hasan Can became one of the favourites of Yavuz. Sadeddin listened to many accounts about the Ottoman dynasty from his father who had very good connections around the palace. Hasan Can planted the seeds of knowledge about Ottomans on Sadeddin, who later would produce fruits as literary and historical works later on. In other words, Sadeddin gained his first human

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[84] Börekçi, "Ottoman Royal Favourites," 10.
[85] TDVIA, v. 18, 196-198. ATAYI, v.2, 1163-1168. Barbara Flemming, "Khodja Efendi," EI[2], V, 27-28.

capital from his father Hasan Can. Fortunately, Sadeddin was born having a privileged status in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, who put him on the government payroll right after his born. Hasan Can was paid 70 aspers a day, Sadeddin and his brother were paid 20 aspers a day.[86]

3.2. Sahn-ı Seman and First Years of Professional Career in the *Ilmiye*

Upon his interest and obvious talent in literature, he joined the literature class of Karamani Mehmed Efendi at *Sahn Madrasas* in 960 at a relatively young age. Later on, dropping out of the *Sahn* class after two years, he started attending the lectures of Ebussuud Efendi, the chief jurist who was the most central actor controlling the *ilmiye* bureaucracy. Sadeddin got *mülazemet* from Ebussuud Efendi. Apart from him, two students from Sahn class, Remzizade and Hüsrevzade who were members of prominent ulema families also got *mülazemet* from Ebussuud. Remzizade was a member of Müeyyedzade family who had critical roles in the Ottoman *ilmiye*.[87] Hüsrevzade was the grandson of Molla Hüsrev, who was the tutor of Mehmed II and the chief jurist during his reign.[88] This indicates that students who had strong familial ties had a chance to form strong *mülazemet* ties in the second half of the sixteenth century. Less fortunate students who had no strong familial ties such as Baki, Nevi, and others could not acquire *mülazemet* from Ebussuud Efendi, and had to pay their dues for years before being appointed as a *müderris*. Sadeddin was appointed to Murad Pasha Madrasa with 30 aspers which gave him an edge over his peers in the professional career. He advanced in his career rapidly with the professorships in Yıldırım Beyazıt Madrasa, Bursa Sultaniye Madrasa and Sahn Madrasas.[89] He ascended to the professorship of Sahn Madrasas at the age of thirty-six in 979 (1571) where he accumulated a considerable amount of human capital. As a child of a royal favourite, Sadeddin started following the *ilmiye* path on a privileged status. In the

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[86] Abdurrahman Daş, *Şeyhülislâm Hoca Sadeddin Efendi'nin tarihçiliği ve münşeatı* (Kayseri: Kimlik Yayınları, 2018), 46.

[87] For information about Müeyyedzade family, see Emine Arslan, "Müeyyedzâde Abdurrahman Efendi'nin Fetvâ Mecmûası ve Kaynaklarının Değerlendirilmesi" in a *Sahn-ı Semân'dan Darülfünûn'a Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası* (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2017).

[88] For a detailed account of Molla Hüsrev and his network, see Murtaza Korlaelçi, "Molla Hüsrev'in İlmi Çevresi ve Şahsiyeti" in a *Molla Hüsrev Mehmed Efendi (1400-1480)* (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1992).

[89] ATAYI, v.2, 1163-1164.

next section, I elaborate on the historical background of familial ties in the Ottoman Empire.
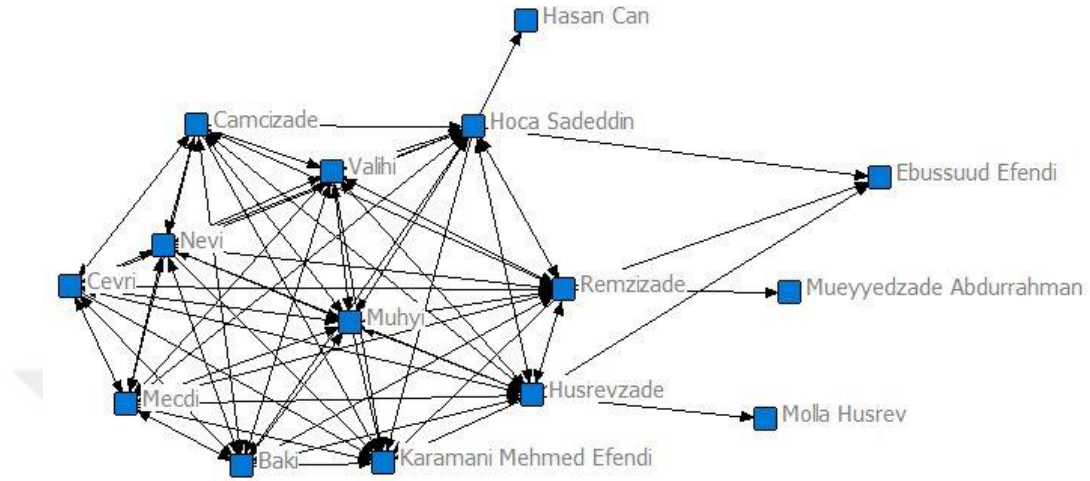
Figure 3.1. Familial ties of Sahn students who got mülazemet from Ebussuud Efendi. Source: ATAYI.

3.3. Familial Ties

The Ottoman law, enacted at the instigation of the royal tutor, Hoca Hayreddin Efendi during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificient, required that the children of high dignitaries have a privileged status on the *ilmiye* path. Accordingly, the sons of dignitary scholar-bureaucrats (*mevali*) began their careers in *ilmiye* in a position above their peers. The first privilege in the *ilmiye* path was given to the descendants of Fenari Family and this privilege was extended to other children of *mevalis* progressively.[90] In the second half of the sixteenth century, apart from Fenarizades, graduates from Müeyyedzade family, Çivizade family, Ebussuud family, Taşköprizade family, Arabzade family enjoyed a right given by the law just as Remzizade and Hüsrevzade from Sahn. Hoca Sadeddin's family also would be one of the most outstanding ulema families during the seventeenth century.[91]

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[90] İsmail Hakkı Uzuncarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 71-76.
[91] Hocazade Mehmed and Hocazade Esad would become chief jurist, Hocazade Salih advanced to chief judge of Anatolia and Hocazade Abdülaziz ascended to chief judge of Rumelia.

Bostanzade Mehmed (d. 1006/1598) was a classmate of Sadeddin who also studied under Ebussuud Efendi. Upon graduation, both Bostanzade and Sadeddin were expecting to get a *mülazemet* as a teaching assistant. The post of teaching assistant was the most prestigious form of *mülazemet*, which the professors reserved for their most distinguished students. Although Sadeddin had strong familial ties, his father was not a member of *ilmiye* after all. Ebussuud Efendi gave the position to Bostanzade out of respect for his father Bostan Efendi (d. 977/1570), who was in the position of chief judge of Rumelia between 954-958. Sadeddin was heartbroken and considered Bostanzade Mehmed as an adversary for the rest of his life. The rivalry between the two affected the careers of both them.[92]

In the second half of the sixteenth century, there were many negative dyadic ties just as between Hoca Sadeddin and Bostanzade affecting the careers of Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats and the structure of *ilmiye* network. The negative dyadic relation between Hoca Sadeddin and Bostanzade has influenced the *ilmiye* network while they were advanced in their careers. When the third actor involved in this dyadic relation, the structural balance of the network changed and they formed an alliance against each other. I will analyse these relations in terms of triads in social networks.

3.4. At the Court of Prince Murad

Two years after graduating from the Sahn, becoming famous for his knowledge and a knack for literature, Sadeddin was appointed as tutor to the prince Murad at 981. He went to Manisa and stayed there for twenty months with the prince. He became one of the closest favourites of the prince. This appointment was the turning point of Hoca Sadeddin's career. Unlike other scholar-bureaucrats, he got a chance to form a strong tie with the sultan and other royal favourites. In other words, he turned his human capital into social capital by being a favourite of the sultan.

Until the reign of Murad III, the custom was to send the eldest prince to a provincial governorship before his accession to the throne. This experience allows the prince to

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[92] Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam (XVI. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 53.

establish his own network that would become the core of his future government.[93] This group of royal favourites would append themselves to the Ottoman court network as new actors and the structural balance of the court network changes with factional struggles between new and old governments. This study argues that the court network acquires dynamism with the engagement of new actors rather accusing them as corrupt actors.

3.5. Tutor of the Sultan

In the second half of the sixteenth century, tutors were fostering their political power and involved in appointments of viziers and top *ilmiye* bureaucrats as a royal favourite of the sultan. I will try to analyze the historical background of tutorship and show the increase in the importance of tutors in the Ottoman court from the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. According to Fatih Kanunnamesi, the tutor of the sultan was valued above the viziers except grand vizier and seen equal to the chief jurist.[94] Epithets of tutor were as the same as those of the chief jurist. They were also giving *mülazemet* on the *nevbets* just as chief jurists. However, their authorities and responsibilities were not defined as other bureaucrats.[95] In other words, they were extra-political officials attached directly to the palace.[96]

During the reign of Süleyman, the tutors began to give *mülazemets*. This increased their centrality in the Ottoman *ilmiye*. Atayi narrates that since Hoca Hayreddin had no students, he was taking many talented students of other professors to give *mülazemet* during *nevbets*. The number of *mülazemet* that a high dignitary could acquire directly shows his power and bureaucratic rank in the *ilmiye*.[97]

Beginning from Hoca Hayreddin Efendi, the tutor of Süleyman, tutors enhanced their political power as a result of the transformation in Ottoman ruling institutions. During

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[93] Börekçi, "Ottoman Royal Favourites," 25.

[94] "The chief jurist (*seyhulislam*) is the head of scholars, and the sultan's tutor is also the chief of scholars." Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 72.

[95] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 145-149.

[96] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 160.

[97] ATAYI, v.1, 775.

the reign of Süleyman, a new type of sultan and a new form of the political framework was introduced. The secluded sultan created royal favourites as gatekeeper brokers between him and the outside world in the newly established imperial court.[98] Hoca Hayreddin Efendi enjoyed the rise of royal favourites as being a tutor to the sultan and began to give *mülazemets* just as the same number that chief jurist gave. In Chapter II, I mentioned the intervention of Hoca Ataullah Efendi the tutor of Selim II to the appointments of high *ilmiye* ranks earlier. I argue that Hoca Sadeddin Efendi as a tutor of sultan accumulated an unprecedented political power in the Ottoman court.

3.6. The Palace of Murad III

Murad ascended to the throne on 8 Ramazan 982 (22 December 1574). Alongside with Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, several favourites came to Istanbul with Murad III such as Sheikh Şüca, treasurer Kara Üveys and Raziye Kalfa.[99] They formed a clique with the other royal favourites Şemsi Ahmed Pasha and Gazanfer Ağa who joined the palace circle before the ascension of Murad III against Sokullu Mehmed Pasha who had accumulated an enormous political power as a grand vizier. Soon after, they curbed the authority of Sokullu and dismissed many protégés of him from administrative positions. Finally, this struggle ends with the assassination of Sokullu.[100]

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[98] Börekçi, "Ottoman Royal Favourites," 5-6.
[99] TDVIA, v. 18, 196-198. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 72-73.
[100] Börekçi, "Ottoman Royal Favourites," 7.
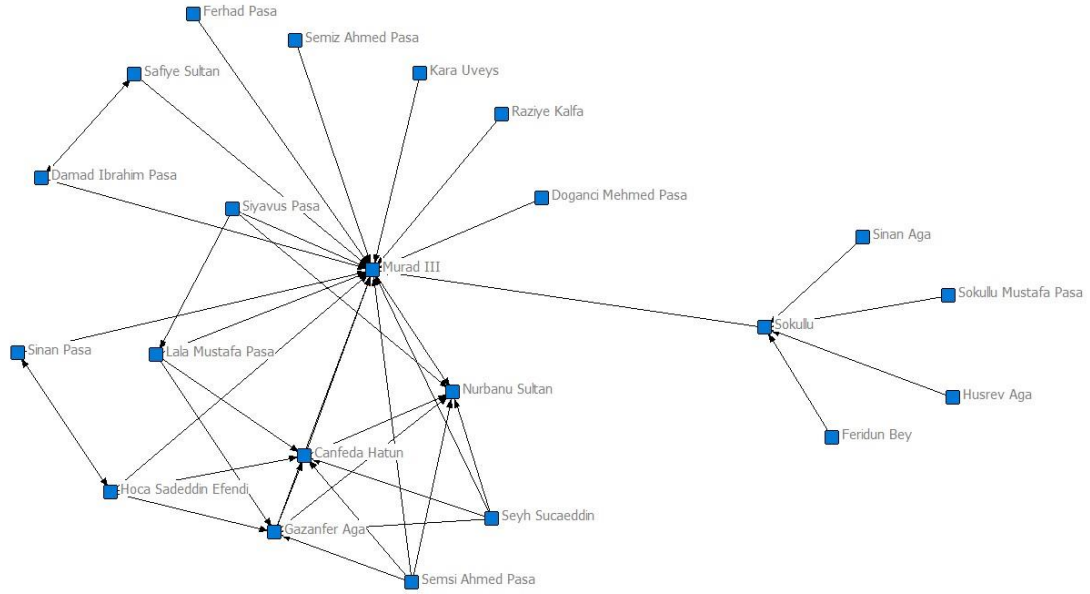
Figure 3.2. Palace network during the reign of Murad III. Source: ATAYI.

3.7. Rising Factional Struggles at Mehmed III's Court

Upon the death of Nasuh Efendi, the tutor of Mehmed III, two days before Mehmed's ascension, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi remained on the post of "*Hace-i Sultani* (Tutor of the Sultan)" and able to continue his position in the court network. As it was mentioned before, most of these ties were personal in nature. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi was fortunate in that sense. Moreover, he established good relations with Mehmed's mother Safiye Sultan (d. 1028/1619) and increased his centrality and power in the palace network. As it might be expected, he began to discredit his archenemy, the chief jurist Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi. Soon after, the sultan ordered that Hoca Sadeddin be consulted on the appointment of viziers and *ilmiye* ranks. Cornell Fleischer states that these two most important ulema, royal tutor Hoca Sadeddin and chief jurisconsult Bostanzade, made the *ilmiye* hierarchy a battleground in their struggle. Each demanded and received from the sultan important positions for their sons and brothers who were too young and not eligible. The scholars of the time reacted to these appointments and showed their displeasure.[101] Uncharacteristically, the tutor of the sultan was once again equipped with extraordinary political power. More than that, he personally played an active role in military campaigns.

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[101] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectua*l, 160.
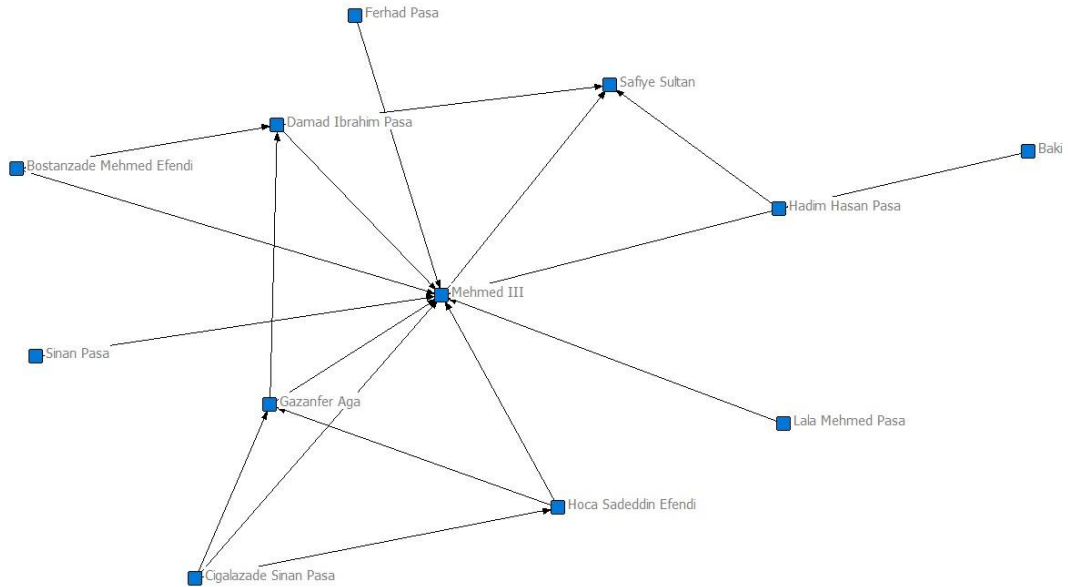
Figure 3.3. Palace network during the reign of Mehmed III. Source: ATAYI.

On the way to the Eğri Campaign, Hoca Sadeddin attempted to have his son Esad Efendi appointed as the judge of Istanbul. This appointment caused indignation among ulema and many people protested it. Hadım Hasan Pasha, who was in charge in Istanbul during the time of the campaing, did not let Hocazade Esad to enter Istanbul. Hadım Hasan Pasha had Ahizade Abdülhalim Efendi appointed as the judge of Istanbul. When Hoca Sadeddin heard the news, he was very grieved by this situation and became ill. Therewith Mehmed III gave Hocazade Esad the *paye* of chief judge of Anatolia in order to placate his tutor.

As Hoca Sadeddin Efendi fell into disfavour in 1005 (1597) and was suspended from tutorship, his son Hocazade Mehmed (d. 1024/ 1615) was also dismissed from the post of chief judge of Anatolia.[102] Hoca Sadeddin, who gained power again by becoming chief jurist at 1006 (1598), enabled his son Mehmed Efendi to be brought to the position of the chief judge of Rumelia.

Once there was a dispute on the post of grand vizier, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi supported Cigalazade Sinan Pasha (d. 1014/1606) against Damat İbrahim Pasha (d. 1010/1601), Safiye Sultan's son-in-law, who had supported Bostanzade Mehmed the arch-enemy

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[102] SELANIKI, 445.

of Sadeddin.[103] However, Cigalazade Sinan Pasha became grand vizier only for forty-five days. Safiye Sultan intervened in this appointment and succeeded to make her son-in-law Damat İbrahim Pasa grand vizier.[104] This incidence changed the balance of network and Hoca Sadeddin Efendi fell in disfavour with Safiye Sultan. Then, the queen mother discredited him in front of the sultan and he was dismissed from the post of tutorship. Baki, who thought that Hoca Sadeddin did not support him for his advancement in career, had been offended by his old friend. Therefore, Baki allied with Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi against Hoca Sadeddin and they tried to expel him to Mecca. However, the pupil of Hoca Sadeddin, Mehmed III frowned upon this idea of exile. His retirement lasted for fourteen months, and he made up with the queen mother and the sultan.[105] This study argues that the return of Hoca Sadeddin is related to the restoration of the balanced triad of Safiye Sultan, Mehmed III and Hoca Sadeddin. Behind Hoca Sadeddin's success lies the power of this triad. If he lacked any positive tie with either the queen mother or the sultan, he would have lost his political power for good. Hence, as soon as Damat İbrahim Pasha lost the support of Safiye Sultan, he was dismissed from the grand vizierate. İbrahim Pasha dismissed some of the favourites of Safiye Sultan. In response, Safiye Sultan had Hadım Hasan Pasha appointed as grand vizier at November 1597.

Safiye Sultan was one of the most influential power brokers in the Ottoman court network. She supported Kuş Yahya Efendi (d. 1013/1604) and enabled him to be appointed as the chief judge of Anatolia.[106] Raziye Kadın was another favourite of Murad III. She had a high eigenvector centrality in the Ottoman court due to her closeness to the sultan. She supported many scholars and bureaucrats according to Selaniki.[107] Her son-in-law, Mehmed Efendi advanced his career thanks to the professional support of Raziye Kadın. Mehmed Efendi was called as Damad Efendi (d. 1022/1613), indicating the marriage tie with Raziye Kadın.[108] After the death of Raziye

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[103] TDVIA, v.7, 525-526.
[104] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 169.
[105] SELANIKI, 555.
[106] SELANIKI, 659. ATAYI, v.2, 1360-1364.
[107] SELANIKI, 695.
[108] ATAYI, 1444-1447.

Kadın, Damad Efendi who lost his gatekeeper broker was also dismissed from chief judge of Anatolia at 1597.[109] However, after a while, he was appointed as a chief judge for several times.

The relation between Hadım Hasan Pasha (d. 1006/1598) and Hoca Sadeddin Efendi was also bitter because of the aforementioned appointment dispute of Hocazade Esad (d. 1034/1625). The death of chief jurist Bostanzade triggered the rivalry among competing groups in Ottoman court: grand vizier Hadım Hasan Pasha, Baki, and Karaçelebizade on one hand; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi and Gazanfer Ağa on the other. Hasan Pasha insisted on the sultan to appoint either Baki or Karaçelebizade Hüsam Efendi (d. 1007/1598) as the chief jurist. However, Mehmed III appointed his tutor Hoca Sadeddin as the chief jurist in April 1598.[110]
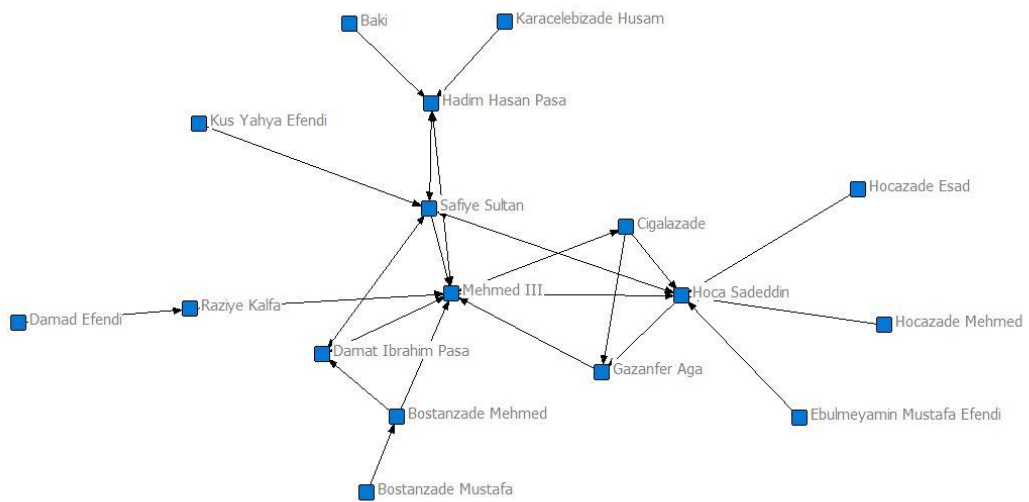

Figure 3.4. Rival camps in the Ottoman court network in the reign of Mehmed III. Source: ATAYI.

Hoca Sadeddin Efendi's rise in the Ottoman court once again changed the structural balance of the network. Later on, he started exacting revenge from Hasan Pasha with the help of Gazanfer Ağa who was also an archenemy of Hasan Pasha. Hasan Pasha,

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[109] SELANIKI, 698.
[110] SELANIKI, 731.

who was known to have presented gifts to Safiye Sultan every week during his grand viziership, was accused of bribery by Gazanfer Ağa. Based on these accusations, Hadım Hasan Pasha was arrested and executed in April 1598. Baki also had to leave his office of chief judge of Rumelia upon the death of his most powerful professional supporter at that time, Hadım Hasan Pasha.

Finally, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi eliminated his political enemies with the support of the other royal favourites and became the most central and powerful actor in the *ilmiye* bureaucracy and Ottoman court network. While he was at the peak of power, he passed away on 12 Rebiülevvel 1008 (2 October 1599).

3.8. Hoca Sadeddin as a Professional Supporter and Gatekeeper Broker

Hoca Sadeddin Efendi supported many names by including them in the *ilmiye* network, foremost among them were his five sons. He gave *mülazemet* to all of them and enabled them to advance in their careers very quickly. Also, Azmizade Haleti, Ebülmeyamin Mustafa Efendi, Ahizade Hüseyin Efendi enjoyed professional support of Hoca Sadeddin. Moreover, he supported literature, art and scientific works during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Gelibolulu Ali, Şehnameci Lokman, Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, Takiyüddin Mehmed Efendi were prominent names dedicating their works to him. In network theory terms, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi played a cutpoint role for many names as a gatekeeper broker who incorporated them into the court and *ilmiye* networks. He enabled his sons to be appointed as judges at very young ages. [111]

When Hoca Sadeddin Efendi was discredited in front of the sultan and was dismissed from the tutorship, his connections were also influenced by this event. For instance, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi's loss of position in the Ottoman Court network had a direct impact on his sons' careers. Right after his dismissal in 1005 (1597), Hocazade Mehmed was also dismissed from the chief judgeship of Anatolia. When Hoca

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[111] Hocazade Mehmed was appointed as the judge of Istanbul at the age of twenty-eight. Hocazade Esad became a judge of Edirne at the age of twenty-six. Hocazade Abdülaziz was appointed as the judge of Istanbul at the age of twenty-nine.

Sadeddin gained his power again by being appointed as the chief jurist, his son Hocazade Mehmed also advanced to chief judge of Rumelia in 1599. Hoca Sadedddin's professional support for his sons caused reaction of the Ottoman elites at that time. However, Hoca Sadeddin stood his ground on the appointments of his sons.
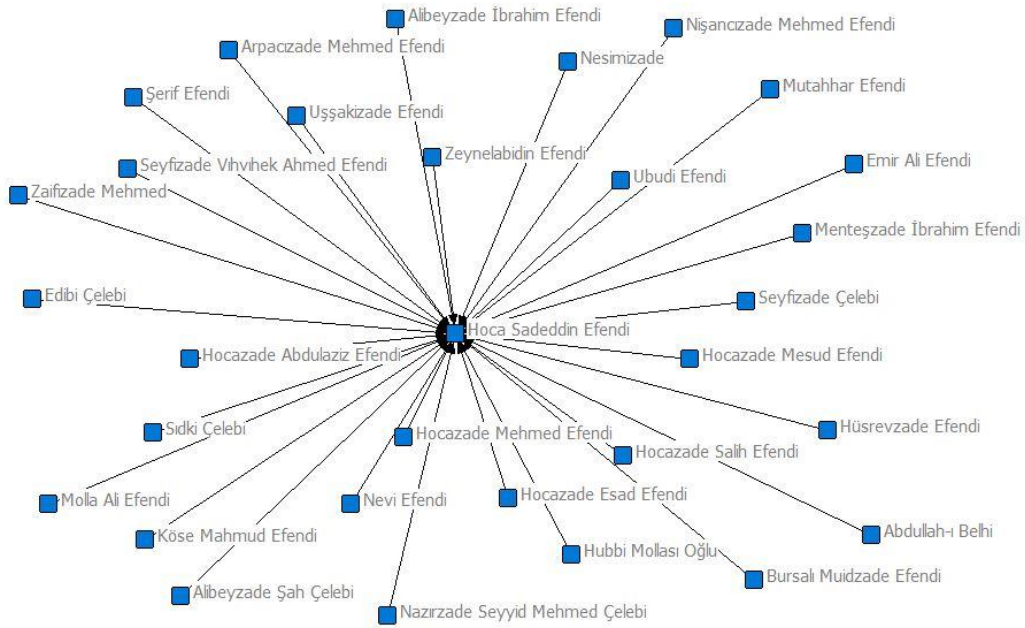
Figure 3.5. Professional support ties of Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. Source: ATAYI.

3.9. Conclusion

Hoca Sadeddin had strong familial ties, different from Baki and Nevi. His father was a royal favourite. Fortunately, he was chosen as a tutor to Murad III and he could turn his human capital (historical and literary knowledge) into social capital. The royal favourites began to rise in the Ottoman court during the reign of Murad III and Hoca Sadeddin benefited from this political development. He engaged in high political activities, made alliances and increased his centrality power day by day. He joined in the anti-Sokullu camp and played a key role in eliminating Sokullu faction. After Sokullu, he became one of the most central figures in the Ottoman court network during the era of royal favourites. Unprecedently, he has engaged in diplomatic and military affairs of the state. He encouraged Mehmed III to the campaign of Eğri and controlled the army with the sultan and grand vizier. The victory of Haçova increased

the centrality powers of Hoca Sadeddin. He also initiated the establishment of diplomatic affairs with England.

I argue that the success of Hoca Sadeddin Efendi's career was directly related to his strong ties with the palace network. As a royal tutor, he first allied with other favourites and increased his centrality. After eliminating Sokullu, he played a crucial role in domestic and foreign policies of the Ottoman Empire. As a gatekeeper broker and professional supporter, he created a huge network of clients during the last two decades of the sixteenth century. He is a paragon of the rising the political powers of royal favourites in the later part of the sixteenth century. His involvement in political and military affairs is related to the new court order established by the sultan.

Fortunately, during these days two central figures were detached from the Ottoman court network: the arch-enemy of Hocazade Sadeddin, Bostanzade Mehmed and Damat İbrahim Pasha. Restoring his relationship with the queen mother and the sultan, he became the central actor in the court again. This paper argues that factional struggles are the engines of change of balances of network structures. Ottoman court network has become more dynamic after the incorporation of royal favourites into the network. Actors formed dyads and triads with formal and informal ties in order to protect their positions. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi was one of the most successful actors who formed the strongest ties and triads in the Ottoman court. Moreover, he included his sons, mülazıms and protégés among the palace and *ilmiye* network as a gatekeeper broker. Hoca Sadeddin played a cut-point role for his sons and proteges. Unlike Baki and Nevi, he became a patron of art and literature in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Many prominent authors dedicated their works to Hoca Sadeddin.

CHAPTER IV

SUFI, POET, SCHOLAR-BUREAUCRAT AND A ROYAL FAVOURITE: NEVI YAHYA
EFENDI

The present chapter focuses on the social networks of Nevi Yahya Efendi (d. 1007/1599). As a poet, scholar, dervish and a royal favourite, Nevi Efendi joined multiple networks in Istanbul during the second half of the sixteenth century. He first of all joined the Sahn Madrasas as a talented poet with other young distinguished students. These students became the most influential literati in the second half of the sixteenth century, including Nevi, and their rising number changed the structure of poetry network as well. Nevi and other scholar poets joined poetry circles of grandees, and formed professional support ties within these circles.

Besides literary networks, Nevi also joined the web of Sufi lodges. Sufi networks had considerably increased their centrality during the reign of Murad III. Different from Baki and Hoca Sadeddin, Nevi had strong Sufi ties. As a member of a Halveti family, he became affiliated with three sheikhs and was always in contact with several Sufi networks in Istanbul. It was thus mostly Halveti sheikhs that formed a strong tie with Murad III (d. 1003/1595), such as Sheikh Şüca (d. 996/1587-88), Sheikh Şaban (d. 1002/1593) and Mehmed-i Daği (d. 1030/1621). They became favourites of the sultan and acted as new gatekeeper brokers in the palace network.[112] Nevi was also one of the Halveti dervishes who became a favourite of the sultan as a tutor of his princes. He also accompanied sultan as a poet, as they shared the same literary taste and poetics.

This chapter argues that these networks became more and more complicated and influential during the early modern period due to the institutionalization and bureaucratization of the Ottoman Empire. Focusing on the networks of Nevi, this chapter analyzes literary saloons and poetry networks, Sufi orders and *tarikat*

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[112] Ayşe Didar Akbulut, "The Classification of the Sciences in Nevi Efendi's Netayicü'l-Fünun-An Attempt at Contextualization," (Master Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2014), 41-43.

networks, the role of favourites and palace networks in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nevi's *Divan* provides rich material for his connections with grandees. I will try to trace his quest for professional supporters and social networks from his odes (*kaside*) in his *Divan*.[113] As a poet and scholar-bureaucrat, Nevi presented many odes to the sultans, viziers and elite in order to seek professional support. I approach these odes as a way for him to form a social tie with professional supporters. I will also try to locate Nevi in multiple networks and indicate their overall complexity and intertwinement in the early modern period of Ottoman society.

4.1. First Years: Descendant of a Sufi Family

Nevi was born in 940 (1533-34) in Malkara, a small town in Rumelia located between Edirne and Istanbul.[114] His maternal great grandfather was a dervish who migrated from Iran to Rumelia in the first decades of the fifteenth century. His paternal grandfather Nasuh Efendi, who was also a disciple of a Sufi order, married a daughter of this dervish. Nevi's father Ali came into the world out of this marriage. After receiving primary education, he went to Edirne. Ali became a disciple and a personal scribe of Halveti sheikh Bayezid-ı Rumi in Edirne.[115] Seemingly, he formed strong ties with his sheikh and the Halveti order, which would last long years. Bayezid-ı Rumi (d. after 1516) was a successor of Çelebi Halife (d. 899/1494) who was the initiator of Rumi branch of Halvetiye order in Istanbul following the ascension of Bayezid II thanks to their strong connections during his governorship in Amasya.[116] After Bayezid-ı Rumi's death, Ali returned to his hometown and began to act as his successor (*halife*). He married the daughter of another influential Sufi family descendants of Yazıcızade Mehmed (d. 855/1451). Herewith, Nevi had very strong familial ties with Sufi orders both from maternal and paternal sides. Nevi acquired his

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[113] Nev'î Yahya, *Divan*, ed. Mertol Tulum and Ali Tanyeri (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1977); hereafter DIVAN.

[114] Nev'îzâde Atâyî, *Hadâiku'l-Hakâik Fî Tekmileti'ş-Şakâ'ik*, ed. Suat Donuk (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2017), v.2, 1134-58. The most detailed account of Nevi was written by his son Nevizade Atayi; hereafter ATAYI. See also Meserret Diriöz, "Nev'î," *Türkoloji Dergisi,* v. 7, no.83 (1977); TDVİA v. 33, 52-54.

[115] Ahmed Taşköprizade, *Şakaik*, 68. Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaik*, 71.

[116] For the Ottomanization of Halveti order, see Hasan Karataş "The City as a Historical Actor," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 95-100.

primary education both in religious and mystical sciences from his father Pir Ali who was working as imam and preacher in Malkara.

4.2. Young Nevi Moving to Istanbul

After his father passed away, Nevi moved to Istanbul at the age of seventeen to pursue higher education in 957 (1550-51). Istanbul, the center of bureaucracy, education and literary circles, could provide enormous opportunities to young aspirants like Nevi. He first became a student of Karamani Ahmed Efendi (d. 974/1566-67) and after a while, in 960 (1553), he moved to Sahn Madrasas and joined Karamani Mehmed Efendi's famous class of students having interest in literature. Nevi must have showed his poetic skills before attending this class of Karamani Mehmed Efendi. He became classmate of Baki, Hoca Sadeddin, Mecdi, Hüsrevzade, Remzizade, Camcızade, Valihi, Muhyi Karamani and Cevri, students who would mark Ottoman poetry and prose writing in the second half of the sixteenth century.[117]

4.3. Accompanying His Teacher to the Edirne: A Case of Strong Teacher and Student Tie

Seemingly, Nevi and Valihi had the strongest tie with their teacher Karamani Mehmed Efendi. After Karamani Mehmed Efendi moved to Edirne in 962 (1554-55), they accompanied him instead of staying in Istanbul. Karamani Mehmed Efendi's brother Ahmed Efendi was a tutor to Kara Ahmed Pasha (d. 962/1555), who, replaced Rüstem Pasha (d. 968/1561) as grand vizier. Thanks to this relationship, Mehmed Efendi was also promoted suddenly to Bayezid II's Madrasa in Edirne.[118] However, with the intervention of Hurrem Sultan (d. 965/1558) and Rüstem Pasha, Ahmed Pasha was executed two years later and Rüstem Pasha became the grand vizier in 1555 again.[119] According to Atai, Karamani Mehmed Efendi was also a protégé of Rüstem Pasha.[120] However, Atai states that this relation turned sour a few years later without mentioning any reason. The reason was probably the bitter relationship between Kara Ahmed Pasha and Rüstem Pasha. When Rüstem Pasha became grand vizier in

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[117] ATAYI, v.2, 1135.
[118] ATAYI, v.1, 366.
[119] TDVİA, v. 24, 357-358.
[120] ATAYI, v.1, 366-368.

1555, Karamani Mehmed Efendi lost his position and stayed unemployed until the death of Rüstem Pasha in 968 (1561), when Karamani Mehmed Efendi was appointed to Süleymaniye Madrasa. Nevi, who decided not to abandon his beloved teacher, was also directly influenced by his teacher's fate. He also had to live in harsh conditions as a student in Edirne.

Nevi stayed in Edirne for six years. The tie between Nevi and Karamani Mehmed Efendi would be a good example of a strong teacher and student tie in the Ottoman *ilmiye* network. This tie reminds of the relationship between Sinan Pasha (d. 891/1486) and Molla Lütfi (d. 900/1495). Molla Lütfi also did not abandon his teacher while he was exiled to Seferihisar by Mehmed II.[121] Just as Baki dedicated an ode named "Sünbül Kasidesi" to his teacher Karamani Mehmed Efendi, Nevi also presented three odes to his beloved teacher.[122] Nevi had difficult times in Edirne regarding financial conditions, on the one hand living an ascetic life, on the other hand trying to attract the attention of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificient with his poetic talent. He got a chance to approach the sultan who came to Edirne to spend his winter and presented an ode celebrating his arrival.[123] However, he was not as fortunate as Baki to attract the sultan's attention. He therefore presented an ode to grand vizier Semiz Ali Pasha (d. 972/1565) congratulating his recovery from illness.[124] It appears that Semiz Ali Pasha, who had helped Baki to become a danişmend, did not meet the requests of Nevi.

4.4. Returning to Istanbul: Efforts to Form Social Ties That Help Professional Career

After two unsuccessful attempts to find a professional supporter, Nevi and his teacher Karamani Mehmed Efendi returned to Istanbul in 971. Karamani Mehmed Efendi would find a professional supporter, Semiz Ali Pasha according to Atai, and he became a professor of Süleymaniye Madrasa which was the new top position in

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[121] Ahmed Taşköprizade, *Şakaik*, 279-283. Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaik*, 295-300.
[122] DIVAN, 9-11, 76-79, 148-149.
[123] DIVAN, 30-32.
[124] DIVAN, 20-123.

ilmiye.[125] Nevi got a *mülazemet* from chief judge of Rumelia Hamid Efendi (d. 985/1577) at 971 (1563). However, Nevi had to wait for two years to be appointed as professor due to a great number of graduates waiting for an appointment in the *ilmiye* path.[126] Finally, he was appointed to the Balaban Pasha Madrasa in Gelibolu for twenty aspers at 973 (1566). He had to leave Istanbul and live in Gelibolu for six years until 979 (1572). The present thesis argues that he could not stay in Istanbul, the center of Ottoman *ilmiye* bureaucracy, due to the lack of strong *mülazemet*, family and professional ties.

According to Nevizade, Nevi was appointed to the Şahkulu Madrasa in Istanbul at 979 (1572) with the support of Abdülkadir Şeyhi Efendi (d. 1002/1594), chief military judge of Rumelia.[127] Abdülkadir Şeyhi's father Sheikh Abdürrahim el-Müeyyedi (d. 1537) was a member of Müeyyedzade family and a disciple of Sheikh Yavsi (920/1514), a Bayrami Sheikh. Perhaps, Nevi Efendi had a Sufi connection with Sheikh Abdürrahim el-Müeyyedi and his family.

4.5. Seeking Literary Network in Istanbul

Apart from the palace, grandees who were men of letters or at least interested in literature formed literary saloons and social ties with poets and supported them financially and professionally. Moreover, poets met with each other and formed literary trends of the era in these circles. In a sense, these literary saloons served as homophilous places for actors in Istanbul. These saloons were of crucial importance for madrasa graduated poets as well. They were forming social ties with grandees and seeking professional support via using their poetic talents. If they could impress one of the central actors of the palace or bureaucracy, they received support to advance in professional career. Thus, they had advantage over other scholars.

As soon as he arrived at Istanbul, Nevi began to seek for literary saloons in Istanbul. Apart from Selim II, his favourites Celal Bey and Şemsi Ahmed Pasha (d. 988/1580),

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[125] ATAYI, 367.
[126] Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam (XVI. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 37-42.
[127] ATAYI, v.2, 1135.

and *reisülküttap* Feridun Ahmed Bey (d. 991/1583), a close man of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha (d. 987/1579), were the most outstanding owners of poetry assemblies. As it is seen from his *Divan*, Nevi presented odes to each of these patrons. However, he could not enter these networks as he wished. His demands for promotion were not met by any of them. Celal Bey was accused of being a *Hurufi* by Ebussuud Efendi and Rüstem Pasha and sent to exile, falling into disfavour in front of Selim II.[128] Şemsi Ahmed Pasha himself was a good poet and prose writer.[129] Historical accounts recorded that Selim II liked to spend time with Şemsi Pasha and Celal Bey in entertainment places such as Çubuklu and Sultaniye at the Bosphorus.[130] Feridun Bey was the one who admired the poetic talents of Baki and introduced him to Sokullu Mehmed Pasha.[131] It seems however that Feridun Bey was not impressed by Nevi and did not support his professional advancement. The reason for this failure may be that other poets did not let him enter these networks. Or his *aşıkane* (affectionate) poetry style was not admired by the elite.

Nevi, who tried to establish relations with Sinan Pasha (d. 1004/1596) after Şemsi Pasha, was greatly disappointed. Sinan Pasha, who did not like poets and poetry, told Nevi, who came to visit him on a feast day after he was dismissed from grand vizierate, "poets cannot be scholars." After this offensive statement, Nevi wrote a harsh letter, defended poetry and accused Sinan Pasha of ignorance.[132] As a devoted poet, Nevi's attempt to approach Sinan Pasha may have grown out of desperation or panic. It is not possible that Nevi was unaware of the enmity between contemporary poets and Sinan Pasha. It seems that he was impatient in advancing in his career and sought for a wrong professional supporter.

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[128]Mustafā ʿAlī, *Künhü'l-Ahbarın Tezkire Kısmı*, ed. Mustafa İsen (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi 1994), 299-301.

[129] TDVIA, v.38, 527-529.

[130] Şemsi Ahmed Paşa, Sur-name-i Sultan Murad, ed. Günay Kut and Nimet Bayraktar (Harvard University Publications, 2003), 3.

[131] TDVIA c. 12, s. 396-397.

[132] ATAYI, v.2, 1147-1150. Tunca Kortantamer, "Nev'î Efendi'nin Sadrazam Sinan Paşa'ya Ders Veren Bir Mektubu," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 11, (1991): 215-228.
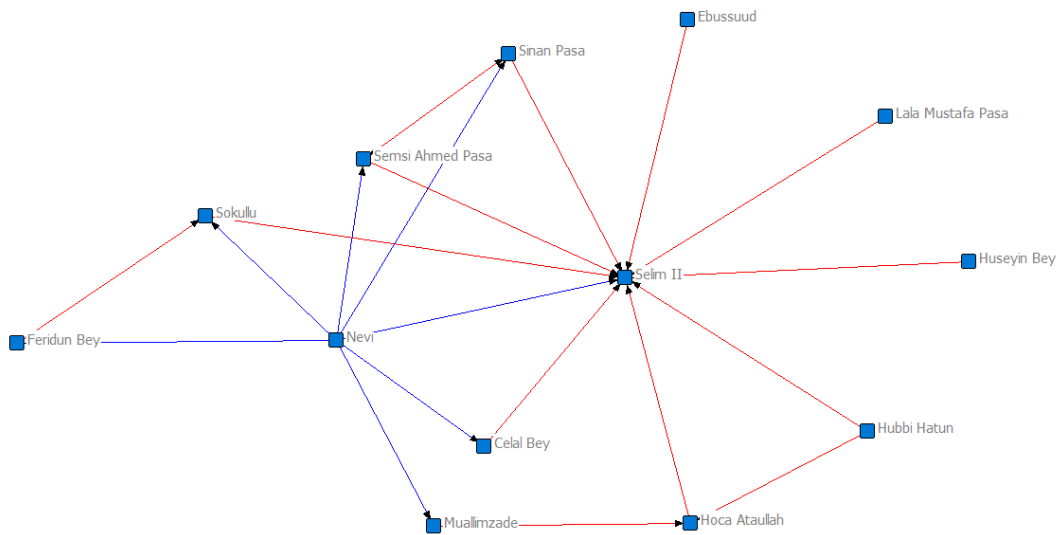
Figure 4.1. Nevi's attempt to form social ties via presenting odes within palace network. Source: Nevi's DIVAN and ATAYI.

4.6. Marriage of Nevi and Marriage Ties in the Early Modern Ottoman World

During the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificient, the administration changed dramatically in several ways. The sultan became more and more invisible and created a new type of political mediator as his alters. One of his administrative strategies was marrying his viziers with royal women. In that way, the sultan changed the structure of the palace network. As long as sultans were in power, they supported their sons-in-law in their professional career. I contend that marriage ties have been introduced as effective social ties to increase the density and centrality of the networks in the second half of the sixteenth century. From the perspective of network theory, I argue that marriage ties empowered the density and homophily of networks. Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, Ferhad Pasha (d. 1004/1595), Şemsi Ahmed Pasha, Siyavuş Pasha (d. 1011/1602), Damat Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1010/1601) were married to royal women and enjoyed their closeness to the palace throughout their professional life. They were openly supported by the queen mother and the palace network. Just as the sultan did, high dignitary scholars also married their daughters with their favourite students in order to support their career. These new marriage ties brought scholars closer to each other and made them much more homophilous.

Sometimes scholars married the daughters of viziers only to establish stronger ties with the elite. Nevi thus married the daughter of Nişancı Mehmed Pasha (d. 1003/1594) in 982 (1574-75). He seems to increase his centrality and power among the elite of Istanbul.[133] Nevi was given the salary of Nişancı Mehmed Madrasa after he was retired from tutorship. Another example of a scholar forming a marriage tie with the elite is Hoca Sadeddin who was married to the daughter of Mustafa Pasha. These examples indicate that marriage ties played a strengthening role in the networks.

4.7. Ascension of Murad III: Beginning of a New Era for Nevi

Nevi who could not form a strong social tie during the reign of Selim II took advantage of the ascension of Murad III at 1574. Murad III's arrival modified again the structure of the palace network with new actors engaged in administration.[134] Murad III counted many new royal favourites in the palace to curb the authority of the Sokullu and Sinan Pasha camps.[135] Şemsi Ahmed Pasha and Gazanfer Ağa (d. 1011/1603) created a camp against the Sokullu camp and eliminated him in a short time with the support of Sultan. On the other hand, Siyavuş Pasha, a royal bridegroom, increased his political power as a new actor against the Sinan Pasha camp. I contend that Nevi observed these developments in the palace network and chose his new targets to form social ties accordingly.

After the deterioration of his relationship with Sinan Pasha, Nevi got closer to his opponents. At that moment, Siyavuş Pasha was one of the most powerful opponents of Sinan Pasha and became Nevi's most important professional supporter.[136] Nevi congratulated Siyavuş Pasha's appointment as a vizier with a chronogram.[137] It can be traced from Nevi's *Divan* that he presented seven odes to Siyavuş Pasha that

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[133] Akbulut, "Nevi Efendi," 26.
[134] Börekçi, "Ottoman Royal Favourites," 6-10.
[135] Fleischer, *Intellectual and Bureaucrat*, 71-74.
[136] TDVIA, c. 37, s. 311-313.
[137] DIVAN, 165-166.

openly demanded a professional support.[138] After a while, he was appointed to Sahn Madrasas and worked there for two and a half years.

4.8. Tarikat Ties of Nevi Opened the Palace's Door

Sufi orders had also a dense network in Istanbul at that period. Halvetis were especially the rising order in the second half of the sixteenth century.[139] At the end of the sixteenth century, there were forty-three Halveti convents, and twenty-nine of them were built by statesmen.[140] Especially during the reign of Murad III, palace and bureaucracy formed strong ties with the Halveti order and supported it in different ways.[141] First, Murad III, Nurbanu Sultan, Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, Ferhad Pasha, Piyale Pasha were the most central actors who built Halveti convents. This was the first time a Sufi order got such a royal support. In these Sufi convents, Sufi network had been introduced in Istanbul and became an attraction center for those who seek to establish social ties. The Halveti order flourished among grandees, scholars and poets in the second half of the sixteenth century.[142]
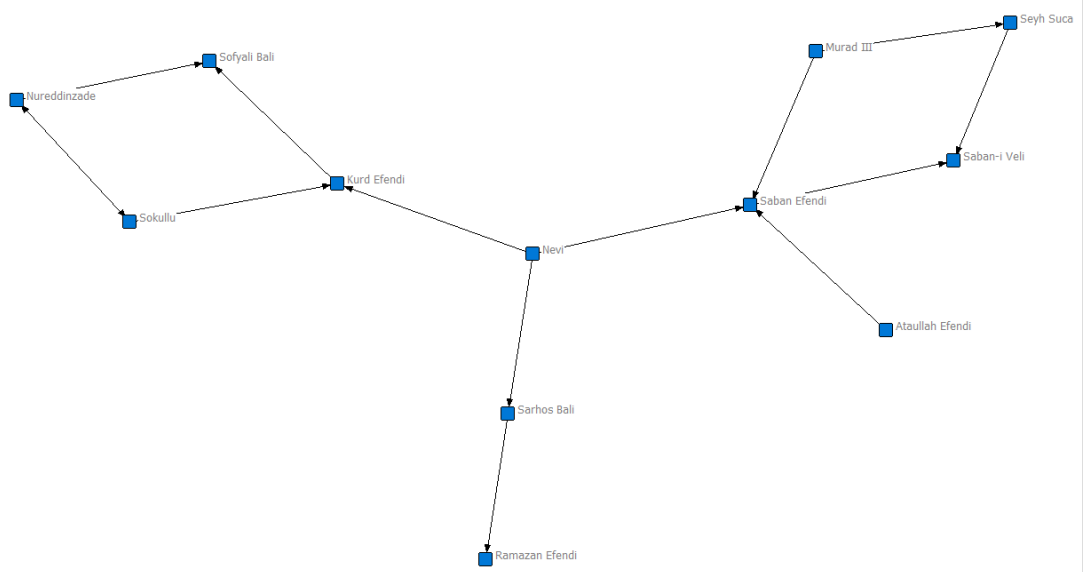

Figure 4.2. Tarikat ties of Nevi and Murad III. Source: ATAYI.

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[138] DIVAN, 63-64; 68-70; 103-104; 112-115; 124-127; 146-147.
[139] Ayşe Bölükbaşı, "XVI. Yüzyıl'da İstanbul'daki Halveti Tekkeleri" (PhD Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi: 2015), 16-25.
[140] Ibid, 13.
[141] Ibid, 20-24.
[142] Ibid, 10-12.

As can be seen, Murad III had strong ties with several Halveti oriented Sufis. He was also asking for advice from them on political matters. This makes Sufi favourites new power brokers in the network. Murad III himself built a Halveti convent for the first time. Murad III established an intimate relationship with Sheikh Şüca and wrote to him around two thousand letters asking to interpret his dreams.[143] Apparently, Sheikh Şüca was talented at dream interpretations. He was, according to Nevizade, a disciple of Şaban-ı Veli as well as Kurd Efendi. Another Sufi figure who had strong ties with Murad III was Mehmed-i Daği who was also a disciple of Şaban-ı Veli. Nevi and Mehmed-i Daği presumably met at Gelibolu while both were staying there. When Gazanfer Ağa invited his Sheikh Mehmed-i Daği to İstanbul, Mehmed-i Daği stayed at Nevi's house. This visit indicates an earlier acquaintance.[144]

Apart from the sultan, Nurbanu Sultan and Ferhad Pasha also built Halveti convents. Moreover, Şemsi Ahmed Pasha constructed a Halveti convent in his *külliye* around Üsküdar. Nevi would have hoped to benefit from these Halveti connections as a Halveti dervish when hetried to establish a connection with Şemsi Ahmed Pasha. In conclusion, Halvetis has benefited from the royal support and flourished in Istanbul in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

Nevi first became affiliated with Sarhoş Bali Efendi, an influential Halveti sheikh and scholar, when he came to Istanbul. During these days, Sarhoş Bali Efendi, a disciple of Ramazan Efendi, founder of Ramazaniye branch of Halveti order had an archrival in Nureddinzade, another Halveti sheikh of the Cemaliye branch. Nureddinzade, who also came from a scholarly background, became one of the central figures in Sufi networks thanks to powerful elites who were connected with him. First, Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, a disciple of Nureddinzade, introduced him to the Kanuni and made him appointed as the Sheikh of the Küçük Ayasofya Zaviyesi. In network terms, Sokullu played a gatekeeper brokerage role for Nureddinzade to enter the network of Istanbul. Nureddinzade, who came to Istanbul from Rumelia, gathered many elite

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[143] See Özgen Felek, *Kitabu'l-Menamat: Sultan III. Murād'ın Rüya Mektupları* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012).
[144] Akbulut, "Nevi Efendi," 22-23.

disciples around him in a short time. This situation created a division between Sarhoş Bali and Nureddinzade, the former accused the latter of forming close relationships with statesmen and elites. It seems that Nevi abided his sheikh faithfully until his death. After the death of Sarhoş Bali Efendi, Nevi became the disciple of Kurd Efendi, who had been a disciple of Sarhoş Bali as well as Nureddinzade. He had come to Istanbul at the invitation of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha. Moreover, Sokullu, had built a Halveti lodge for Nureddinzade, who died right before the completion of the construction, and gave it instead to Kurd Efendi.

It seems that Nevi changed his branch from Ramazaniye to Cemaliye after being initiated by Kurd Efendi. It seems that, the Cemaliye branch had strong ties with grandees comparing to Ramazaniye branch.[145] In another word, Nevi changed his Sufi network and approached the elites of Istanbul who were initiated to the Cemaliye branch.

After the death of Kurd Efendi, Nevi followed Sheikh Şaban Efendi, a Nakşibendi who had Halveti background. Şaban Efendi first followed Şaban-ı Veli, a founder of the Şabaniye branch of the Halveti order, however, when he moved to Istanbul he started to follow Hekim Çelebi. Şaban Efendi was sent to Mudurnu by his sheikh and after a while, he was invited to Istanbul by Ataullah Efendi, a tutor of Selim II and he was appointed to Emir Buhari Tekkesi, the most central Nakşibendi convent in Istanbul. Although Şaban Efendi was not famous as aforementioned Halveti sheikhs, he somehow attracted the attention of Murad III and formed a very close relationship with the sultan. Most probably, Şaban Efendi mediated on the appointment of Nevi Efendi as a tutor to the princes of Murad III. Hence, Nevi seized a great opportunity to enter the palace network as a favourite of the Sultan thanks to his *tarikat* ties.

4.9. Nevi as a Tutor and a Favourite in the Palace of Murad III

After being appointed as a tutor to the prince Mustafa who was not the heir-apparent of the throne and stayed in the palace, Nevi got a chance to get involved in palace

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[145] TDVIA, ek. 2, 93-94.

network and form a strong tie with Murad III who preferred to live a secluded life in the palace. As it was mentioned earlier, Murad III developed a new form of governance that curbed the authority of grand viziers. He himself was to issue imperial decrees for appointments. This new framework increased the role of favourites as mediators for appointments. Nevi became one of the favourites, counseling the sultan on political, religious and literary matters as well as appointments.

For instance, Atai states that Nevi mediated on several appointments including the appointment of Ferhad Pasha as grand vizier, appointment of Cigalazade Sinan Pasha as grand admiral, Bostanzade Mehmed's reappointment of chief military judge of Rumelia, appointment of his old classmate from Sahn Remzizade as a judge of Bursa, and Sokulluzade's appointment as *beglerbeyi* of Rumelia.[146] According to Atai, after the death of Nevi, around thousand letters between Nevi and Murad III was found. These letters and account of Nevizade clearly indicate that Nevi had become one of the most central and powerful actors in the Ottoman court who had a strong tie with Murad III.

4.10. Mehmed III Years: A Forgotten Tutor Lost his Centrality

After Mehmed III ascended to the throne at 1003 (1595), he had his twenty-three brothers, including the pupils of Nevi, killed. Histories record this incident as one of the most tragic events in Ottoman history. With the killing of the princes, Nevi's tutorship career was put to an end. But Mehmed III did not touch Nevi's salary, and he also granted the income from the madrasa founded by his father-in-law, Nişancı Mehmed Pasha. However, Nevi did not want to retire but to be among the favourites of the new sultan.

He presented several odes to Mehmed III.[147] In the meantime, he tried to attract the attention of queen mother Safiye Sultan who had a strong influence on his son and presented two odes to her. Nevi also presented odes to Damat İbrahim Pasha and

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[146] ATAYI, v.2, 1144.
[147] DIVAN, 225-226; 227-228.

Cigalazade Sinan Pasha, two successful viziers who had a very high centrality.[148] But all of Nevi's efforts remained fruitless. Moreover, because he was not able to fully receive his salary, he started to suffer financial problems. In odes dedicated to Damat İbrahim Pasha, he complains openly about this situation. He states that he was now helpless and neglected. Nevi entirely lost his centrality when his former supporters Siyavuş Pasha and Ferhad Pasha left the administration. Nevi had to live an ascetic life, without any professional supporter tie and secluded from the palace network. In his later years, Nevi had to live in this ascetic way and died in 1007 (1595).

4.11. Conclusion

Nevi Yahya Efendi was a poet who came from a Sufi family and turned to the profession of *ilmiye*. After the professorship, he was appointed as a tutor to Prince Mustafa and included in the circle of the palace. He became one of the favourites of Murad III, and played an important role in appointments in state administration. Nevi, whose students were killed after the ascension of Mehmed III, also lost his position in the palace.

Nevi Efendi, whose father was one of the Halvati sheikhs, followed three sheikhs throughout his life. When he died, he was buried next to his last sheikh, Şaban Efendi. Having a very influential network in Istanbul, Halvetis were very closely related to politics during the reign of Murad III. Nevi would also become a tutor to the prince with the support of his sheikh Şaban Efendi.[149]

As one of the most famous poets of the period, Nevi tried to attract the attention of the sultan and the grandees and form new social ties with the odes he wrote throughout his life. Although he wanted to join the circles of Kanuni, Selim II, Sokullu and Feridun Bey, Celal Bey and Şemsi Pasha, he was not successful. Perhaps poet members of these circles did not let him enter these circles. He tried to approach Sinan Pasha. This proved to be an unfortunate choice, because Sinan Pasha was not

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[148] Nevi used every opportunity to present an ode to the grandees and openly demanded an official position, see DIVAN, 83-84;98-99;126-127;131-132; 162.
[149] Akbulut, "Nevi Efendi," 36.

an admirer of poets. They had a dispute on the value of poetry and Nevi turned to anti-Sinan Pasha camp. One of the most powerful figures of anti-Sinan Pasha camp, Siyavuş Pasha supported Nevi for a long time. Supporting poets and scholars in some cases indicate the rivalry between groups and cliques. Rival actors would support rival poets in order to curb the influence of each other. Nevi would also have benefited from these rivalries between factions.

Nevi openly demanded support in his odes and established close relations with grandees thanks to his poetic talent. Some of his demands were met, and some of his attempts to form a tie remained futile. I argue that poet scholars demanded social ties from grandees through poetry, but these demands were not always answered by them. Some poets were met with great interest, while others did not attract much attention. I contend that their poetry style was of crucial importance for getting credit by grandees. Baki and Nevi's poetry styles were great examples of this argument. Baki, who can renew the old poetry style with his great talent, has received an extraordinary success. Baki was able to establish close relations with powerful statesmen, especially the sultans, and entered their network. However, Nevi's poetic style did not seem to affect the elites until Murad III. Interestingly, Murad III's poetic style was quite similar to Nevi's. Murad III was also very fond of Sufism and Sufi style poetry just as Nevi's. The fact that Murad was fond of Sufism and that he wrote *aşıkane* poems may be the elements that brought him closer with Nevi. Moreover, the same reasons may explain Baki's inability to establish a close relationship with Murad III. It is clear that Baki's poems, who was a master poet of ghazel style, do not contain Sufi elements.

Tarikat ties were also influential around the palace during the reign of Murad III. Especially Murad III's Sufi temperament is more suitable for Sufis to form strong ties with him rather than other sultans. Sheikh Şüca, Şaban Efendi, Mehmed-i Daği and Nevi were Halveti originated Sufis who accompanied sultan and gave him advice on political matters. Nevi was also able to attract the attention of Murad III. Either Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi or Sheikh Şaban played a gatekeeper brokerage role for Nevi. Nevi became a tutor to the princes who lived in the palace. Nevi seized this

golden opportunity and formed a very strong tie with Murad III. Tutorship to princes was a threshold for Nevi's career. Early in his career, he could not advance in *ilmiye* career as he wished. However, after forming a strong tie with Murad III, Nevi increased his centrality and played a role of mediator for several officials. However, after the ascension of Mehmed III, Nevi lost his former social ties and could not establish new ones.

CHAPTER V

REST OF THE SAHN STUDENTS: MECDI, VALIHI, CAMCIZADE CAMI, CEVRI AND

MUHYI

The foregoing chapters discussed the networks and professional careers of Baki, Hoca Sadeddin and Nevi. Baki came to the forefront with his literary ties and triumphs in Turkish poetry, especially on ghazel style. Hoca Sadeddin had a strong palace connections inherited from his family and luckily became a tutor to the sultan and chief jurist (*şeyhülislam*) at the same time. As one of the most central and powerful actors in the palace and bureaucracy, he supported many scholars, poets, elite and established an enormous network. Nevi, coming from a Sufi family, joined several *tarikat* networks during the ascension period of Halvetis around Istanbul. He accompanied Murad III and gave him advice on political, mystical, literary matters and played a role of mediator for a while. Remzizade and Hüsrevzade were descendants of two important scholar family, Molla Hüsrev Family and Müeyyedzade Family. They enjoyed being a mevalizade and got *mülazemet* from Ebussuud Efendi having untroubled careers in their lives.

This chapter examines the rest of the Sahn students: Mecdi, Valihi, Camcızade Cami, Cevri and Muhyi-i Karamani. These five students had neither strong familial ties nor strong *mülazemet* ties. They could not continue their careers as *müderris* and had to go into town judgeship. I argue that the reason behind this career choice lies in their social backgrounds and networks. They either failed or did not prefer to form professional support ties in Istanbul. They had similar social capitals and all of them followed the same path. In this chapter, due to the lack of primary sources about Cami, Muhyi, Cevri and Valihi, I will focus on Mecdi and his literary circle in Edirne.[150]

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[150] For a short biography of Valihi, see Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairü'ş-Şuara*, 549. Aşık Çelebi notes that Valihi who had an ability to create new imageries was so close to Emri; see also Ahdi, *Gülşen-i Şuara*, ed. Süleyman Solmaz (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2018), 292. Ahdi narrates that he and Valihi met with each other many times in Edirne and Istanbul, these meetings clearly shows an existence of a literary circle around some poets. For a biography of Cevri, see Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairü'ş-Şuara*, 496. Aşık Çelebi states that Cevri has had many difficulties in his professional career due to the lack of strong *mülazemet* tie until he formed a tie with chief judge of Anatolia Abdülkerimzade Efendi. For a

I believe that Mecdi preferred not to engage in professional support ties, leaving Istanbul and joined alternative networks outside Istanbul. A literary circle in Edirne is a good example for these alternative centers distant from networks in Istanbul. Apart from Mecdi, there were many poet town judges gathered around master poet Emri and formed a literary circle in Edirne.

5.1. Emri (d. 983/1575) and A Literary Circle at Edirne

It is seen that a group of intellectuals came together and established a literary circle around Edirne, one of the most important scientific and literary centers of the Ottoman Empire. One of the most powerful poets of the sixteenth century, the master of the enigma, Emri was the central actor of this circle.[151]

Emri was mentioned in the *tezkires* with dignity, and his poems were widely featured.[152] The poets such as Mecdi, İzari, Ubeydi, Kani, Kami, Nihani, who were from Edirne, established a circle of poetry around Emri. Merhaba Çelebi (d. 951/1544), Kınalızade Ali Çelebi (d. 979/1572), the judges appointed to Edirne have also been in contact with this circle. Emri, who was a civil servant who did not go beyond the services of trustee and scribal career, spent his life in poverty. Nevertheless, he never wrote an ode to any state official, nor praised anyone with his poems. In the *tezkires*, this altruistic attitude of the Emri is mentioned. The present thesis characterizes Emri's attitude as not preferring forming social ties with grandees from the perspective of network theory.

His new imageries (*mazmun*) in poetry and fine imagination, influenced Mecdi and other literati from Edirne and developed a different literary style from Istanbul literary circle. While some of the bewildering similes of the Emri were appreciated by some *tezkire* writers, these were criticized by others.[153] In a sense, it can be thought

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biography of Cevri, see Ahdi, *Gülşen-i Şuara*, 122. For a biography of Cami, see Ahdi, *Gülşen-i Şuara*, 123.

[151] M. A. Yekta Saraç, "Emrî'nin Hayatı ve Edebî Kişiliği," *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v. XX, (1996); 315-316.

[152] Aşık Çelebi praises his excellence in imagination lenghtily, see Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairü'ş-Şuara*, 359-367.

[153] Gelibolulu Ali criticizes his similes and imaginations in the poetry, see Saraç "Emri hayatı ve edebi kişiliği," 325-326.

that in the second half of the sixteenth century, a different style emerged to show its effect in poetry and later in prose in the literary productions of some literati. Around Istanbul, there were names such as Zati (d. 953/1546), Hayali (d. 964/1556-57), Basiri, Kandi and Baki, where the Sultan admired their poems and bestowed lots of benefits. I argue that the sultan, who was also a poet, realized the innovative aspect of Baki's poetry and supported him exceptionally. The sultan would see Baki as his alter that renewed poetry as a literary *mujaddid* on behalf of him. Baki could turned his poetic talent into social capital thanks to his social networking.
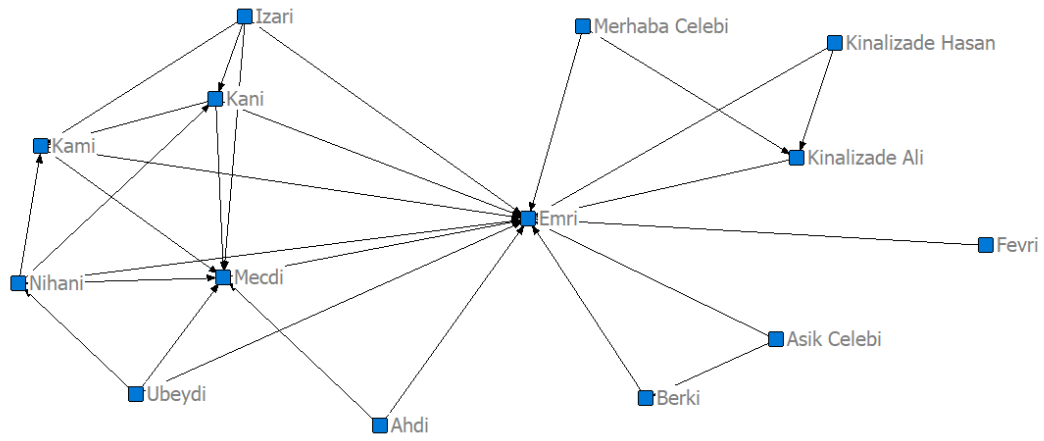

Figure 5.1. Ego-network of Emri. Source: Tezkires of Latif, Aşık Çelebi and Ahdi.

As we learned from Talikizade's *Şehname*, while Kanuni was presented artistic and subtle ghazels of Emri, he did not like his cabalistic language. The sultan stated that the poetry must be fluent in articulation and beautiful in imagination. The verse should not be sacrificed on the altar of meaning according to sultan.[154] This also shows that there were different poetics and literary tastes in the early modern Ottoman society. I argue that such differences crystallized at networks. In that regard, the quarrel between Baki and Edirne circle can be understood as a manifestation of two literary views in the sixteenth century.

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[154] Saraç, "Emri'nin Hayatı ve Edebi Kişiliği," 325.

5.2. The Quarrel between Baki and Edirne Circle

Tezkire writers narrated that when Baki was invited to Edirne by poets from Edirne, He said "Edirne is a beautiful city, however the men from Edirne are a waste of space." The poets from Edirne were offended by these words and started to write lampoons about Baki. Baki also retorted with lampoons to the poets from Edirne. I contend that the dispute between Baki and the poets from Edirne can be seen as the reflection of a literary factionalism. Baki and Edirne circle represents two different poetics during the sixteenth century. The former was admired by the sultan and literati from Istanbul, the latter was marginalized in Edirne. However, Mecdi from Edirne circle appeared with *Hadayık* and represented the literary style of Edirne circle in prose writing.

5.3. Mecdi (d. 999/ 1590-91): Initiator of a Turkish Şakayık Genre

While attending the classes of Kaf Ahmed Çelebi in Edirne, Mecdi Mehmed Efendi became engaged in literature and gained fame in poetry by coming to the fore among his peers.[155] Later, he became a student of Karamani Mehmed Efendi in Sahn-ı Seman Madrasas. He learned Arabic and Persian at a very good level. Despite his knowledge on literature and reputation in poetry, he had to enter the path of judgeship rather than professorship. According to Aşık Çelebi, that Mecdi had to choose the judgeship career attested to the zeitgeist that supported the incapables in bureaucracy.[156]

As a matter of fact, some of the talented students could not advance in their careers as they wished. The present thesis argues that the appointment of Mecdi as a town judge can be explained by his preference not to engage in powerful networks in and around Istanbul, which his colleagues, discussed in previous chapters, held dearly. He did not have a strong familial ties, mülazemet ties or professional support ties. In addition, he did not prefer to form any professional tie to support him in his career. He preferred to join Edirne literary circle while being a town judge in Rumelia. Furthermore, he turned his house in Edirne into a literary saloon entertaining many

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[155] ATAYI, v.1, 921. Altough Mecdi did not have a high dignitary status in the *Ilmiye*, Atayi included his biography due to the fame of his translation of *Şakayık*.

[156] Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairü'ş-Şuara*, 783. Aşık Çelebi also pointed out that Mecdi created many new meanings. He also stated that Mecdi's achievement grew out of Emri's influence.

contemporary poets. A *tezkire* writer Ahdi, who came from Baghdad, states that he stayed for one year in the house of Mecdi and learned many information about Turkish literature from him. After graduating and getting *mülazemet*, Mecdi was appointed as a town judge and went to Rumelia. He accepted Emri as an informal teacher like other young poets and embraced his creative literary style. He adopted this style into prose writing and while translating *Şakayık*, he created myriad of *mazmuns* and surprising similes.

In the introduction of his translation *Hadayıkü'ş-Şakayık,* he clearly states that he created new meanings and elaborated *Şakayık* with new similes as well as new information and compared his translation with Alaeddin Ali Çelebi's *Hümayunnâme* translation of *Kalila and Dimne*. According to Mecdi, Alaeddin Ali Çelebi found meanings and similes already prepared in Persian and he did not create them. In that regard, Mecdi openly praised his creation of new meanings. Surprisingly enough, although creative style of Edirne circle was not appreciated in poetry, it was welcomed in prose writing. Although there were several other Turkish translations of *Eş-Şakayık*, Mecdi's *Hadayık* was appreciated and copied much more than others. *Hadayık* could introduce a new Turkish *Şakayık* genre, and many authors wrote supplementary volumes such as Nevizade Atai, Uşşakizade, and Şeyhi. For instance, Atai clearly states that he adopted the style of Mecdi in his biographical dictionary *Hadaiku'l-Hakayık* and continued to write where Mecdi ended.

5.4. Conclusion

Similar careers of Mecdi, Valihi, Muhyi, Cami and Cevri as town judges clearly indicate a pattern in the sixteenth century. First, none of them had strong familial ties or *mülazemet* ties. They did not have any professional support ties in order to go into professorship career. They either could not or did not prefer to form professional support ties. I contend that social networking and social capital directly influenced the careers of madrasa graduates. Mecdi's preference to engage in a literary circle around Emri demonstrates that there were networks alternative to the networks in Istanbul. Moreover, there were informal teacher student ties during the sixteenth century Ottoman literary circles. Literary circle at Edirne is a precious example for

social networks in the sixteenth century. Actors who shared similar literary concerns preferred to have social relations with others. In that sense, social selection network theory fits into Edirne Circle. Moreover, a certain literary style diffused through the influence of Edirne circle in the second half of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The ten literature-interested participants of Karaman Mehmed Efendi's class at Sahn Madrasas have gone into different professional career paths. Their social backgrounds and social capitals acquired through social networking had a formative influence on their careers. These ten students can be divided into three groups according to their professional careers. The first group including Hoca Sadeddin, Hüsrevzade and Remzizade had strong familial ties and started their careers one step ahead. They got *mülazemet* from Ebussuud Efendi who was the most central and powerful actor during that period. Hüsrevzade and Remzizade were members of important ulema families and they advanced in their career as *mollas*. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi who had strong familial ties with palace, after teaching at madrasas for several years was appointed as a tutor to the prince Murad. The second group consisting Baki and Nevi who were lacking strong familial ties had difficulty at the beginning of their careers as *mollas*. However, thanks to their literary achievements and professional support ties, they reached high positions in the long run. The last group including Mecdi, Cami, Cevri, Muhyi and Valihi who did not have strong familial ties, could not or did not prefer to form professional support ties and had to leave Istanbul and eventually become low-level town judges.

Apart from the *ilmiye* network, Sahn graduates have engaged in different social networks: literary networks, palace networks and Sufi networks. I tried to demonstrate that these four networks have gone through a major transformation during the sixteenth century and the ten Sahn graduates under examination have become active members of this transformation throughout their life.

Since they were all talented poets, Sahn graduates have always been prominent actors of literary networks. I argued that they played a crucial role in the making of high literary Turkish during the vernacularization of Ottoman Turkish in the sixteenth century. The structural balance of the literary networks has changed with the

increase in the number of scholarly poets due to the newly established madrasas at that period. Sahn graduates as new actors of literary networks who learned Arabic and Persian well, could compose poems and poetry in a distinct style with new forms. They created new genres and handed them down to next generations.

Baki became the most central actor in the literary network of Istanbul at a very young age. First, he made his name among literary circles thanks to support of Zati. While studying at Sahn Madrasas, he gained a reputation with his ode presented to his teacher Karamani Mehmed Efendi among scholarly circles. His extraordinary talent in poetry reached to Sultan Süleyman's ears and the former was supported exceptionally by the latter throughout his professional career. Later on, he joined literary assemblies of grandees as a respected guest. *Tezkire* writers who represented the public opinion of literary circles lauded him as "*Sultanüşşuara*" already during his lifetime. In that regard, he renovated the Ottoman/Turkish poetry, especially the ghazel technique, in which he was considered as the master among literary circles in Istanbul due to his flawless style and excellent unique imageries.

The palace was another network that scholar-poets under study engaged in. After the reign of Süleyman the Magnificient, the sultans started to stay in the palace and the residents of palace has increased dramatically in the second half of the sixteenth century. Moreover, sultans gathered many favourites around the palace and who actively engaged in Ottoman administration as new actors in competition with bureaucracy. Some of the *ilmiye* members joined the palace network and also participated in this competition via forming alliances in order to increase their centrality and power. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi who was appointed as a tutor to the prince, became one of the most central and powerful figures in the palace network after the ascension of the prince to the throne as Murad III.

Sufi networks were also increasing their power and centrality during that period around Istanbul. Especially the Halveti order gained considerable support from royals during the second half of the sixteenth century, predominantly under the reign of Murad III. There were many Halveti convents built by royal members and these places

had become centers of attraction for the Istanbul elite. Murad III who was known for a Sufi temperament had several Halveti favourites who acted as power brokers in the palace network. One of these favourites was the sheikh of Nevi, Şaban Efendi, a Halveti origined Nakşbendi. Nevi was the only one who had strong Sufi ties in this literature class. As a member of a Halveti family, he has always been in contact with Halveti networks. Most probably Şaban Efendi was the one who mediated Nevi for his appointment as a tutor to the princes of Murad. Nevi formed a strong tie with the sultan thanks to his Sufi networks and played also a role of mediator for several bureaucrats.

Sahn graduates formed several social ties throughout their lives: *mülazemet* ties, familial ties, literary ties, *tarikat* ties, professional support ties, friendship ties and enmity ties. I tried to analyze the role of these ties in their social networking throughout their careers. I also tried to indicate the segmented nature of social networks during that period. There were several groups and camps competing with each other in all these networks. Actors occasionally changed their camps and formed shifting alliances.

While analyzing the networks of the Sahn graduates, I employed the concepts of Social Network Theory which proved very useful for a study of that focuses on interaction of actors and multiple roles they play. Social ties and ego-networks of these Sahn graduates were visualized using NetDraw and UCINET believing that these digital methods can expand the depth and breadth of Ottoman studies.

This study argues that poetry played a crucial role in formation of social ties in the sixteenth century Ottoman networks. Further studies can trace the odes, eulogies, parallel poems, lampoons, history couplets which directly indicate connections between actors with the methods of social network theory.

In conclusion, the present study tried to demonstrate that the divergence at professional careers of *ilmiye* members during the second half of the sixteenth century was strictly related to their interwoven social networks. An *ilmiye* member

could engage in literary networks, palace networks and Sufi networks via forming multiple ties and play crucial roles in transformation of the structure of these networks.

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