

# رسالة في معرفة لفظ (جَلْبِي) لأبي السُّعُود أفندي (المتوفى ٩٨٢هـ)

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تحقيق ودراسة

صفاء صابر مجيد البياتي

العراق

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رسالة في تحقيق لفظ "خلبي"

عن كافي / مكتبة غازي خسرو ، ٩٤٦

ÇELEBİ POŞETİNE

YAZAR VE YAYINLANAN  
EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI  
T.C. MİLLÎ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI

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Çelebi (030810)

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ZUM OSMANISCHEN EHRENTITEL *ÇELEBİ* IN DER  
ONOMASTIK UND ZU SEINEM GEBRAUCH BEI DEN  
SEFARDEN IM OSMANISCHEN REICH

DIMITRI THEODORIDIS

Während die Frage nach der Herkunft<sup>1</sup> des osmanischen Wortes *çelebi* relativ früh die Aufmerksamkeit von Gelehrten im Osmanischen Reich und noch die der modernen wissenschaftlichen Forschung auf sich gezogen hat, ist eine gründliche historische Untersuchung über seine nicht ganz eindeutig einzugrenzenden Anwendungsbereiche im Hinblick auf seine Träger, das heißt, nach deren Abstammung, Bildung bzw. sozialem Ansehen, ferner über seine allmähliche Abwertung, über seine große geographische Verbreitung<sup>2</sup> und außergewöhnliche Popularität, noch nicht in Angriff genommen. Über die Gründe, warum ein renommierter osmanischer Jurist des 16. Jahrhunderts, nämlich der *şayh alislām* Ebü 'sSu'üd (starb 982/1574)<sup>3</sup> neugierig auf die Herkunft des Wortes war oder gemacht wurde, kann man nur mutmaßen. Desgleichen muß das Interesse des bosnischen vielseitigen Gelehrten und

<sup>1</sup> Die richtige Etymologie des Wortes (< ar. *ğallāb*) ist M. Erdal (*Early Turkish names for the Muslim god, and the title çelebi*, in: *Asian and African Studies* <Jerusalem> 16[1982], 407-416) zu verdanken. A. Tietze gibt in seinem historisch-etymologischen Wörterbuch des Türkentürkischen (*Tarihi ve etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi lügatı*. 1. cilt. Istanbul; Wien 2002, S. 491f.) diese Herkunft unrichtig an (ar. *ğallāb* + *nisba*) und meint, daß 'die Diskussion darüber noch nicht abgeschlossen' sei (*bunun münakaşası henüz kapanmamıştır*). M. Erdal schrieb jedoch (S.412f.): 'the end of çelebi is, most likely, not the Arabic nisba suffix but the possessive suffix 1st pers. Singular'.

<sup>2</sup> Ältere Versuche über seine Herkunft und ausführliche Angaben über seine Verbreitung sind zu finden bei G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Band III: *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Wiesbaden 1967 [Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur <in Mainz>. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Band XX], S. 89-91, Nr. 1112.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. E. Rossi, 'Çelebi' kelimesi hakkında Ebu s-Su'üda atfedilen bir fetva, in: *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yılığ*. Belleten 1954. Ankara 1954, S. 11-14.

*International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 11/1-2, 2005 Madison, s.4.17-28.

standards of wealth and social status.<sup>5</sup> This schematic categorization forms one of the basic conceptual models in most modern studies of Ottoman history and is the basis for many macro-analyses of Ottoman society and state structure.

Within the *askeri*, scholars distinguish several branches, which changed over time, and in the seventeenth century there are thought to have been three. These are the military group or "men of sword" (*seyfiyye* or *örfiyye*), the religious group or "men of religion" (*ilmîyye* or *şerîyye*) and the scribal service or "men of the pen" (*kalemîyye*). Although the presence of clearcut divisions on the social level is questionable, scholars have assumed that the honorific titles, to some extent, allow the researcher to determine who belonged to which branch of the ruling group. Members of the *seyfiyye* would be expected to bear the titles of *bey*, *paşa*, *ağa* and *beşe*; the title of *efendi* would be reserved solely for the religious and scribal groups, but *çelebi* could be used for members of any of these three branches.<sup>6</sup>

A short glance through the literature reveals how honorific titles have been used by modern scholars to determine and classify the members of the military-administrative group. Suraiya Faroqhi, for instance, comments, "The title *efendi*, which in those years described a man of some scholarly attainment, has not in itself been considered sufficient to classify a man as *askeri*."<sup>7</sup> According to Neşe Erim's study on criminals, "It is possible to determine whether the criminal was from military (*askeri*, i.e. *seyfiyye*) or religious class (*ilmîyye*). It is admissible to regard the individuals as *reaya* of whom their social status could not be surmised from their names."<sup>8</sup> In a similar vein, Cemal Kafadar states that *kethüdas*, *çavuşes* or *beşes* held various positions in the military-administrative class.<sup>9</sup> All these examples illustrate the relationship between honorific titles and membership to the military-administrative group in the minds of modern scholars.

*Empire 1550-1720* (Istanbul, 1995), p. 13. Faroqhi, however, in her later studies changed her view of the "*askeri*" as a monolithic, closed group. Her recent argumentation could be observed in Faroqhi, "Politics and Socio-Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire of the later Sixteenth Century," in Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, eds., *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age, The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World* (London, 1995), pp. 110-113.

<sup>4</sup> Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660* (Leiden, 1996), p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity, Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1989), p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Özer Ergenç for presenting me this informatory framework.

<sup>7</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance, House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> Neşe Erim, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kalebendlik Cezası ve Suçların Sınıflandırılması Üzerine Bir Deneme," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 4 (1984): 88.

<sup>9</sup> Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 142.

### Historical Background of the Honorific Titles

The linguistic origin of the commonly observed title *çelebi* is still disputed. Generally, it is believed to come from the word "*Çalab*," meaning God, probably a corrupted version of the Syriac word "*Saliba*." In the early periods of Ottoman history until the time of Mehmed II, it was particularly used for sons of the sultans.<sup>10</sup> In later Ottoman usage, the term commonly denoted members of the literati. W. Barthold stated in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, that *çelebi* was "...applied to men of the upper classes in Turkey between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, as a title primarily given to poets and men of letters, but also to princes...." Barthold added that the word, in its secular meaning, had been replaced by *efendi* from the eighteenth century onwards.<sup>11</sup> Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, *çelebi* was also applied to the members of the royal dynasty, higher ulema grandees, especially heads of the religious orders and famous writers.<sup>12</sup> The word was also adopted by the non-Muslim Armenians and Phanariot Greeks of the Ottoman Empire.

Özer Ergenç, who studied the seventeenth-century court registers of Ankara and Konya, found the title had wide usage in provincial society. In the registers, *çelebis* appeared as individuals with *ulema* background such as prayer leaders (*imam*), preachers (*hatib*), the leaders of the heterodox orders (*tarikât şeyhleri*), judges (*kadi*), religious teachers (*müderris*), dervishes and descendants of the prophet (*seyyid*) and the sons of merchants.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, Abraham Marcus, who worked on eighteenth-century Aleppo, indicates that *çelebi* could be applied not only to lower-level members of the religious establishment and merchants but also to craftsmen,<sup>14</sup> as well as scribes in government service.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul, 1983), Vol. 1, p. 342-343.

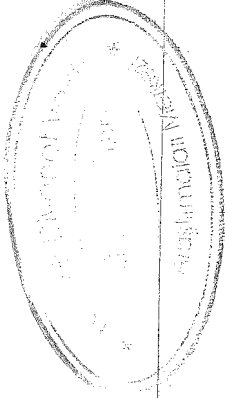
<sup>11</sup> "Çelebi," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (EI<sup>2</sup>), vol. 2, p. 19. For the historical analysis of the term from a linguistic point of view, see Nicholas N. Martinovich, "The Turkish Chalabi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 54:2 (1934): 194-199.

<sup>12</sup> "Çelebi," *Diyanet İşleri İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3, pp. 269-370.

<sup>13</sup> Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya* (Ankara, 1995), p. 143. Examples of merchants using *çelebi* were common in other sources. Cemal Kafadar gives the example of Hüseyin Çelebi bin Hacı Hızır bin İlyas, a sof merchant from Ayaş, who seems to be engaged in long-distance mercantile activities. See Cemal Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 213. Another example of a merchant *çelebi* comes from Nevra Necipoğlu. In the Genoese archives she discovered one İalabi (*çelebi*) who had business ventures in diverse locations such as Bursa and Chios. See Nevra Necipoğlu, "Ottoman Merchants in Constantinople During the First Half of the Fifteenth Century," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1992): 166.

<sup>14</sup> "They included doctors, master builders, moneychangers, goldsmiths, coppersmiths and carpenters; men who produced and sold textiles and clothing; and dealers in drugs, spices, coffee, paper and butter." Marcus, p. 51.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.



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they looked upon their position in Khivan society as a privileged one.

Adoption of Khivan nationality by the Mennonites involved their becoming second-class citizens, like the native Jews in Bukhara. In Khiva, as in Bukhara, Islamic law, *shari'a*, prevailed under the Russian protectorate. Conquest by the Russian Empire had deprived the rulers of these dependencies of control of foreign relations but not of their sovereignty in domestic affairs. Therefore, according to the *shari'a* the Mennonites, as subjects of a Muslim ruler, had the rights and duties of the *dhimmis*, i.e., were a protected community. However, this status of second-class subjects did not adversely affect them to any great degree. It guaranteed the Mennonites the observance of their fundamental tenets, namely, avoidance of a state oath and of military service, community self-government and control of education. The naturalization of the Mennonites in Khiva proved to be opportune in advancing the program of modernization advocated by the khan Isfendiyar (1910-1918) and his prime minister, Islam Khoja. When, in the 1910s, these modernizers started the construction of a telegraph system, a hospital, modern mail services, and a European palace for the khan, the Mennonite Emil Riesen, mentioned above, served as an important but unofficial intermediary for the khan. This man was really heaven-sent for the Khivan authorities. Arriving in Khiva in 1882 at the age of 26, educated at a Russian gymnasium and speaking fluent Uzbek,<sup>14</sup> Riesen, as a Khivan subject, was invited by the khan to act as a translator and later as an advisor on economic relations with foreign principals.<sup>15</sup>

In conclusion it would be appropriate to state that the German Mennonite community, a small minority in Khiva,<sup>16</sup> was the only alien group which was welcomed in Khiva by the native establishment and which became an intrinsic part of the Khivan social fabric. Presumably, the reason for the successful absorption of the Mennonites into this traditional setting lies in their being a mobilizing diaspora, that is, a diaspora which introduces new skills and opens new vistas.<sup>17</sup>

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14 Most Mennonites mastered the Uzbek language but only a few could speak a little Russian.

15 This perhaps explains why Rusanov complains that all new construction in the Khivan capital had been contracted to Germans, as, for instance, the electrical equipment for the palace supplied by the German AEG; See 'Doklad,' 1, 55.

16 It fluctuated between 150 to 300 people at different times, depending on emigration to America. The whole population of the khanate numbered between 800,000 and 1,000,000 inhabitants.

17 Another mobilizing diaspora in Khiva were the Tatars. On the concept 'mobilizing diaspora,' see John A. Armstrong, 'Mobilized and Proletarian Diaporas,' *The American Political Science Review* LXX (1976): 398-408.

MARCEL ERDAL

#### EARLY TURKISH NAMES FOR THE MUSLIM GOD, AND THE TITLE ÇELEBJİ\*

Although there had been some contacts between the western Turks and the Arabs from the first centuries of Islam on, conversion appears, at first, to have been very reluctant. Conversions *en masse* in western Central Asia occurred only when the Qarakhanid state formally adopted Islam.<sup>1</sup> As with Buddhism in the East, the new creed was embraced with perfect wholeheartedness; before long, *shari'a* courts and *madāris* were flourishing, with *qādis* and '*ulamā*' using fluent Arabic.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, intellectuals like Yūsuf Khaṣṣ Hājib and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī were very far from spurning the Turkish way of life, and they incorporated popular wisdom in their work. What emerged was a synthesis between the sedentary world and the steppe, and between the Asian East and West.

All this is reflected in the vocabulary: The Turkish legal documents, *Qur'ān* translations and the literary output show numerous borrowings from Arabic and Persian, while keeping up a lively activity of Turkish word formation. We shall here direct our attention to a minute but obviously crucial lexical domain, that of the names for the Divinity. The Turks of Turkey now have two names for God at their disposal: *Allāh*, which we all know, and *Tanrı*. The latter is the pagan name by which the heathen Turks called their supreme god, the sky. In Old Turkish, *tāngri* refers to the 'sky' also in non-religious contexts, and one has

\* A shorter version of this paper was presented (in Turkish) to the *IVth International Congress of Turcology* (Istanbul 1982).

1 W. Barthold ably summarizes the sources in his various works, but a modern monograph on this subject would be very welcome.

2 An edition of some Arabic legal material from Yarkand, partly unpublished, is being prepared by Dr. M. Gronke. Published texts include material concerning the *madrasa* of Samarqand; see M. Khadr, 'Deux actes des WAKF...', *JA* 255 (1967): 305-334.

Bayındır bin Kula'nın, yukarıda adı geçen Mehmed Çelebi bin Mustafa Çelebi ile mahkemede hesaplaşmasına ilişkindir. Hâce Bayındır, küçük Mustafa'nın babasından kalan ve daha önce vasisi bulunan Mustafa Çelebi'nin ölümüyle kendisine verilen toplam parayı ayrıntıları ile şöyle anlatıyor: "... Hâce Mahmud bin Beşaret'in verdiği iki yüz kırk bin akçalık çukadan mâ'adâ gurus ve akça ve sâ'ir esbâb cem'an yedi kerre yüz bin ve elli altı bin sekiz yüz doksan sekiz akçayı kabz edüb ve elli altı bin akça dahi Abraham nâm Yahudiden kabül edüb mezkûr Mustafa Çelebi fevt oldukda oğlu mezkûr Mehmed Çelebi zikr olunan (meblağı) ... bana teslîm edüb vesâyetim habibiyle sagîr-i mezbûr için kabz etdim ..."<sup>933</sup>. Küçük Mustafa'ya babasından toplam 1.050.898 akça intikal etmiştir. Bu meblağ bize, babasının zenginliği hakkında fikir vermektedir. Zira, bu para sadece nakd olarak diğer tüccarlar tarafından işletilmekte olan paradır ve miras kalan taşınır ve taşınmaz mal varlığı bunun dışındadır. Bu kadar nakidi iki-üç kişi üzerinde olan birinin oldukça zengin olduğu düşünülebilir. Belge, bir başka açıdan da aydınlatıcıdır. Adı geçen Hâce Mahmud'un Acem olduğu, aynı yerdeki bir kayıttan anlaşılıyor. Demek ki Hâce Hasan, bir ipek tüccarıdır ve İranlılarla yakın ilişki içindedir. Ayrıca şuhûdü'l-hâl bölümünde, yani ilgili davayı mahkemede izleyenler arasında, çok sayıda çelebi unvanı taşıyanların halife ve efendi diye anılanların bulunması, tüccarların şehirdeki grubunu belirlemektedir.

27 Nisan 1582 (3 Rebî'ü'l-âhîr 990) tarihli belgeden Seyyid Hüseyin bin Seyyid Abdurrahim Efendi'nin "*abd-ı me'zûnu olan Perviz bin Abdullah nâm gulâm*"ın diyâr-ı Acem'e ticaret için gönderildiğini öğreniyoruz<sup>934</sup>. Bu, bize tüccarın mal varlığının içine nelerin girdiğini gösterdiği gibi, Bursa ipek ticaretinin bir özelliğini de açıklıyor. Nüfus Bölümünde de belirttiğimiz gibi, Bursalı büyük tüccarlar köleleri aracılığıyla ticarî faaliyetlerini yürütüyorlardı<sup>935</sup>. Tahrir defterlerinde çok sayıda mu'takim, yani azadlı kölenin kaydedilmiş olması, bu faaliyetin hacmini belirlemesi yönünden ilginçtir.

Şehir nüfusunun büyük bölümünü oluşturan esnafın, tüccar kadar büyük servete sahip olmadığı ve orta sınıf diye nitelenebileceği

söylenebilir. Tüccarın mâlî durumu, akça olarak yüz binlerle ifade edilirken, daha önce de belirttiğimiz gibi, çeşitli üretim alanlarında çalışan hırfet mensuplarının mal varlıkları ancak on binlere ulaşabilmektedir. Mahalle avârız akçası vakıflarından, borç alarak yararlanılan bu tabaka mensuplarının borçlarının çok sınırlı oluşu da durumlarını göstermektedir<sup>936</sup>.

Orta sınıfı oluşturan esnafın ileri gelenlerinin, eşrâf ve a'yân arasına katılarak şehir yönetiminde nasıl söz sahibi olduklarını, "şehir kethüdâsı" kısmında açıkladığımız için burada aynı konuya tekrar değinilmeyecektir.

### Çelebi Unvanı

Osmanlı geleneksel anlayışı açısından, şehir yerleşiklerinin sosyal zümrelerini incelerken, üzerinde durulması gereken hususlardan biri, her tabakadan insanın kazandığı sosyal değerlerin çocuklarına nasıl geçtiğinin saptanmasıdır. Genellikle ümerânın, ilmiye mensuplarının, re'âyânın, özetle çeşitli zümrelerin içindeki bireylerin mesleklerinin ve taşıdıkları değerlerin, kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılması kendi içlerinde vukubulmuştur. Osmanlı Devleti, bütün Orta-Doğu ve İslam devletleri gibi, hızlı toplumsal değişimleri pek hoş karşılamayan, bir yerde sosyal mobilitiyi bireyin hür iradesine bırakmayan bir anlayışa sahiptir. Re'âyânın oğlunun re'âyâ olması, devlet görevlilerinin büyük kısmının kul sisteminden yetişmesi, kimi meslek ve makamların kuşaktan kuşağa aynı ailelerde kalmasına neden olmuştur. Ancak hiçbir toplum, uzun yıllar statüsünü koruyamayacağından, Osmanlı toplumunda da kanunların birtakım sosyolojik etkilerine rağmen önemli gelişmeler olmuştur. Kullanılan kimi unvanlar, bu açıdan önem taşır. Bu bağlamda "Çelebi" unvanı, toplumsal değerlerin açıklanmasında yardımcı olabilecek niteliktedir.

Çelebi kelimesi hangi anlama geliyordu, sosyal bakımdan neyi açıklıyordu? Vereceğimiz örneklerden "soyluluk ve değerlilik" anlamı taşıdığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu kelime üzerinde Osmanlı çağından bu yana çalışılmıştır<sup>937</sup>. Bu konu üzerinde birbirinden çok farklı gö-

<sup>936</sup> Örneğin BŞS A113, s.59'da Kademeri mahallesinin üç bin akçalık avârız vakfının iki bin yedi yüz akça toplam faizi olduğu anlaşılıyor. Bu meblağlar, tüccarların serveti yanında pek önemsiz kalır.

<sup>937</sup> Mehmed Tahîr, (*Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I, s.402), 1714/15 (1116)'da ölmüş olan Terzizâde Mahmud bin Ahmed Manastırî'nin "Çelebi kelimesinin tahkik ve izâhına dâir risâlesi" vardır, der Ettore Rossi ("Çelebi kelimesi hakkında Ebussu'ud'a atfedilen bir fetvâ", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Belleten* (954), s.11-14), Vatikan Kütüphanesi

<sup>933</sup> BŞS A113, s.134a.

<sup>934</sup> BŞS B5, s.38.

<sup>935</sup> Bu konuda ayrıca bkz.İnalçık, "Capital Formation in the Otoman Empire", s.109-110.

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- 1 BETÜL SAYLAN, Mevlânâ âilesi ve Mevlevîlikte Çelebilik makâmı -Sefîne-i Nefîse-i Mevleviyân örneđi, Marmara Üniversitesi, Doktora, 2013