

## NÜMİSMATİK HABERLERİ

### Musa Çelebi'nin Yeni Tip Bir Akçesi<sup>1</sup>

Fikri Akdoğanlar

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dördüncü sultanı olan Yıldırım Bayezid'in 28 Temmuz 1402'de Ankara Muharebesi sonucunda Timur'a yenilmesinden ve hemen arkasından da ölümünden (1403) sonra oğulları olan Süleyman, İsa, Mehmed, Musa ve Mustafa Çelebiler arasında başlayan ve 11 yıl süren çetin taht mücadelesi Osmanlı tarihinde "Saltanat Fasılası" ya da "Fetret Devri" olarak bilinmektedir.

Saltanat mücadelesinde Emir Süleyman'ın büyük güç kazanması karşısında Musa Çelebi ağabeyi Mehmed Çelebi ile ortak hareket etme kararı almıştır. Yapılan plan ve anlaşmaya göre Musa Çelebi Rumeli'ye geçecek, oradaki birlikleri organize ederek kendi tarafına çekecek ve neticede Edirne'yi kontrolüne alarak, ağabeyi Mehmed Çelebi namına hutbe okutup sikke kestirecekti. Musa Çelebi, Rumeli'nde kazandığı zaferler ve Emir Süleyman'ın katlinden sonra Edirne'de tahtı ele geçirmiş ancak verdiği sözü tutmayarak hutbeyi kendi adına okutmuş ve sikkeleri de kendi namına kestirmiştir.

Musa Çelebi 1410-1413 M. (813-816 Hicri) yılları arasında Edirne'de hükümlanlık sürmüş olup saltanatı süresince sadece gümüş akçeler kestirmiştir. Bugüne kadar bakır sikkesine rastlanmamıştır.

Yıldırım Bayezid'in dördüncü oğlu olan Musa Çelebi'nin nadir sayılan akçeleri pek çeşitli olmayıp, bunlar daha önceden de yayınlandığı gibi, Edirne darplı 813 H. tarihli olanlar ile darp mahalsiz 813 H. tarihli olanlar şeklinde iki ana grupta toplamak mümkündür.

Birinci kategoriye giren Edirne darplı akçeler, arka yüzlerindeki kartuşların farklı bağlantı tiplerine göre şu ana kadar iki çeşit olarak tespit edilebilmiştir<sup>2</sup>. Darp mahalsiz olan akçeler ise tek tiptir<sup>3</sup>. Her iki gruba giren akçelerin ön yüzleri aynı olup; altıgen çerçeve içinde ve merkezdeki saadet düğümü etrafında devren "Musa bin Bayezid" ibaresi bulunmaktadır.

Yeni bir tip olarak karşımıza çıkan bahse konu Musa Çelebi akçesi, ön yüz kalıbının çok farklı oluşu nedeniyle önem arz etmektedir. Şimdiye kadar incelediğim ya-

## NUMISMATIC NEWS

### A New Akçe of Musa Çelebi<sup>1</sup>

Fikri Akdoğanlar

Following the death (1403) of Yıldırım Bayezid, the fourth sultan of the Ottoman Empire, after his defeat by Timur at the Battle of Ankara in 1402, there began an eleven-year struggle for the throne among his sons—Süleyman, İsa, Mehmed, Musa, and Mustafa Çelebi. This conflict is known as the "Saltanat Fasılası" or "Fetret Devri", the Interregnum.

To counteract the support Süleyman was gathering in this contention for the throne, Musa Çelebi and his older brother Mehmed Çelebi agreed to join forces. According to their plan, Musa would proceed to Rumelia, organize the troops stationed there, and take control of Edirne, where he would have prayers delivered and coinage minted in Mehmed's name. After his victories in Rumelia and the dispatch of Süleyman, however, Musa broke his promise to his brother. Once in control of Edirne, he ascended the throne and had the prayers delivered and the coins struck in his own name.

Musa Çelebi reigned in Edirne from A.D. 1410–1413 (A.H. 813–816). During his sultanate apparently only silver akçes were minted; no copper pieces have ever been encountered.

Among the akçes of Musa Çelebi—which are quite rare—there are only a few known varieties. Those published to date fall into two main categories: akçes struck in A.H. 813 in Edirne, and others of the same date but with no mint indicated.

The first category—displaying the mint name Edirne—includes two main varieties, each distinguished by different arrangements of the cartouche on the reverse<sup>2</sup>. Of the second category, which does not specify the mint, only one variety is known<sup>3</sup>. The obverse of the coins in both categories has always been the same; a central "seal of Süleyman" (*mühürü Süleyman*), with the legend *Musa bin Bayezid* "Musa, son of Bayezid" inscribed around it, is situated within a hexagonal frame.

The new variety of akçe presented here is significant for its completely different obverse design. The legend

1424 | MURDER

posture stiffened after 1444, however, when the *despotes* of Mistra Constantine (XI) Palaiologos rendered Murad's vassal, duke Nerio II ACCIAJUOLI of Athens, tributary to himself. Murad replied in 1446 by invading the Morea, after which Constantine became tributary to Murad.

In the turmoil following John VIII's death (Oct. 1448), Murad supported the *despotes* Constantine's succession, and concluded a peace pact with him in March 1449. This pact governed their relations down to Murad's death in 1451.

LIT. H. İnalcık, *İA* 8:598–615. Barker, *Manuel II* 354–79. Babinger, *Mehmed* 3–63. —S.W.R.

**MURDER** (φόνος). Byz. law retained the criterion for murder of Roman law, which required evidence of intention to kill, determined by the weapon used (*Basil.* 60.39.5, 13, 17). Punishment for the intentional killer differed according to his social status: for the *entimoi* (persons of rank), banishment and confiscation of property; for the *euteleis* (commoners), death. The intentional killer of this law corresponded to the category of *hekousios phoneus* of Byz. legal texts, but Byz. law also introduced divisions within this category (Troianos, *Poinalios* 6–10). There were several mitigating factors in the application of the death penalty for intentional killers. The murderer could avoid prosecution for the crime by paying a settlement to the victim's family (*Basil.* 11.2.2; 60.53.1). Further, the church saved the lives of intentional killers through ASYLUM. A few cases of killing preserved in excerpted form in the *Peira* (66.24–28) show that the murderers who had not sought asylum received corporal punishment or the death sentence (commuted to hard labor in the mines), while those who were under the church's protection had their property divided between their family and the victim's family.

Better sources for the circumstances in which murders occurred are the confessions preserved in the writings of Demetrios CHOMATENOS and John APOKAUKOS from 13th-C. Epiros. These are cases of spontaneous attacks provoked by trespassing on property or insults to personal honor. Although they do not provide a full range of murder cases, they do give examples of everyday murder in rural communities and show that even the innocent needed protection from civil offi-

cials, who moved in and confiscated property at the first opportunity (see PHONIKON).

LIT. R.J. Macrides, "Killing, Asylum, and the Law in Byzantium," *Speculum* 63 (1988) 509–38. —R.J.M.

**MUSA** (Μωσῆς, Μουσῆς, etc.), more fully Musa Çelebi, younger son of BAYEZID I; died near Sofia 5 July 1413. Between 1410 and 1413 Musa attempted to establish himself as Ottoman sultan at the expense of his brothers SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI and MEHMED (I). In 1410–11, he eliminated Süleyman and gained control of Rumeli. After campaigning in Serbia, he waged war on Byz. to punish MANUEL II for having supported Süleyman and to recover losses suffered in the peace of 1403. Both Thessalonike and Constantinople were besieged, the latter probably from spring 1411 to summer 1412. In response, Manuel first tried to undermine Musa by supporting the claims and maneuvers of Süleyman's son, Orhan. This failed, and by summer 1412 Manuel had allied with Musa's brother Mehmed, who was based in Anatolia. Musa foiled Mehmed's first efforts to crush him, but on 5 July 1413 was defeated, captured, and then strangled at Mehmed's command south of Sofia. By this victory, Mehmed reunited Ottoman territories in Rumeli and Anatolia and ended the dynastic strife that had weakened the Ottomans vis-à-vis Byz. and others since 1402.

Byz. sources depict Musa as intensely anti-Christian and notoriously cruel. His siege of Constantinople evoked renewed outpourings of devotion to Mary, the city's patron; among these is Manuel II's dolorous *Hymn to the Theotokos*. According to the historian Doukas, Musa assaulted Constantinople out of religious zeal and a desire to wreak vengeance on the Palaiologoi for having incited TIMUR to liquidate Musa's father, Bayezid.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 281–88. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 297–99. M. Tekindağ, *İA* 8:661–66. P. Wittek, "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople," *REI* 12 (1938) 1–34. —S.W.R.

**MUSIC.** Apart from the ACCLAMATIONS, no music survives from Byz. that is not directly connected with the liturgy. Secular music is frequently described by Christian authors and historiographers (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; MUSICIANS; and SINGERS), but its styles, genre, and form are unknown. Hence, modern scholars use the phrase

Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892; H. Mu'nis, *Faḡīr al-Andalus*, Cairo 1959. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MÜSÂ B. 'UḲBA AL-ASADĪ (after 55-141/675-758), early Medinan scholar and historian, especially interested in the Prophet's expeditions or *maghāzī* [q.v.]. A *mawlā* of al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām's and a pupil of al-Zuhri [q.v.], he taught in the Prophet's mosque in Medina, showing in his work the characteristic, increasing emphasis of the Medinan school on *isnāds* and also displaying a concern in giving dates for the events which he describes. His *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, transmitted by his nephew Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Uḳba, has not survived as a complete work, although one fragment survives and it was cited by later writers such as Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī and al-Ṭabarī.

*Bibliography*: E. Sachau, *Das Berliner Fragment des Mūsā Ibn 'Uḳba...*, in *Sb. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, xi (1904), 445-70; J. Schacht, *On Mūsā ibn 'Uḳba's Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, in *AO*, xxi (1953), 288-300; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, viii, 276; A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, Princeton 1983, 32-3; Brockelmann, I<sup>2</sup>, 140-1, S I, 205; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 286-7. (Ed.)

MÜSÂ ÇELEBİ (?-1413); Ottoman prince, son — probably the youngest — of Bāyezīd I [q.v.]. At the battle of Ankara in 1402, he fought in the rear of the contingent commanded by his father (Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Zaḡar-nāme*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937, 255) and seems to have fallen into Tīmūr's captivity at the same time as Bāyezīd (cf. the *Relazione* of Gerardo Sagredo, dated 12 October 1402, in M.M. Alexandresca-Derscu, *La Campagne de Timur en Anatolie*, repr. London 1977, 130). Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī (*op. cit.*, 60) asserts that Tīmūr's men found him and brought him into Tīmūr's presence after the battle. He appears to have remained in Tīmūr's custody until his father's death in 1403, when Tīmūr released him and sent him with his father's coffin to Ya'qūb, the lord of Germiyan [q.v.]. Ya'qūb released him into the custody of his brother Meḥammed (I) [q.v.] in Bursa, but only after Meḥammed had defeated and expelled their third brother, 'Isā (*Anonymous chronicle*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. Marsh 313; quoted *verbatim* by Neshrī, ed. F.R. Unat and M.A. Köymen, *Kitāb-i Cihānnümā*, i, Ankara 1949, 419; ii, Ankara 1957, 423-31). Despite several conflicting traditions to the contrary (e.g., Enwerī, *Düstūr-nāme*, ed. M.H. Yinanç, Istanbul 1928, 91; Oruç b. 'Adil, *Tewāriḡ-i Āl-'Oṯmān*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover, 37, 105) it is probable that between 1403 and 1409, Mūsā remained in the custody of his brother Meḥammed. In this year, Meḥammed released him, evidently as a political instrument in his war against his brother Süleymān Çelebi [q.v.].

In 1409, Süleymān Çelebi ruled in Rumelia and in Ottoman Anatolia as far east as Ankara (see E.A. Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman chronicles*, in *Isl.*, lx [1983], 268-90). As presented in the *Anonymous chronicle* (Bodleian, Marsh 313, *verbatim* in Neshrī, ii, 473-9), Mūsā requested Meḥammed to release him, so that he could seize Rumelia from Süleyman Çelebi and rule there as Meḥammed's vassal. Before his departure, he visited Meḥammed, the lord of Karamān [q.v.], and Isfendiyār-oghli Mubārīz al-Dīn, the lord of Sinop, presumably to seek their co-operation in an alliance against Süleymān Çelebi. From Sinop, he travelled to Wallachia. Here he concluded a marriage alliance with the *voyvoda* Mircea — also an enemy of Süleymān Çelebi — and, with the assistance of Wallachian troops, invaded

Süleymān's territory (Neshrī, *loc. cit.*). His success was immediate. At this time, Süleymān Çelebi was in Anatolia. The fortresses in Rumelia acknowledged Mūsā's overlordship; he occupied Edirne [q.v.] (P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, i, Vienna 1975, Chronicle no. 96, p. 636) and, by May 1410, Gallipoli (Gelibolu [q.v.]). With this fortress in his possession, he was able to prevent Süleymān's crossing the Straits (St. Stanojević, *Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle*, in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, xviii [1876], 442). However, with assistance from the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Palaeologus he was able to cross the Bosphorus and, on 15 June 1410, to defeat Mūsā at Kosmidion (Hasköy) (Schreiner, *loc. cit.*). Mūsā fled to his temporary ally Stephen Lazarević, the Despot of Serbia (M. Braun, ed., *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen*, Wiesbaden 1956, 33). Mūsā soon returned to Rumelia, and the civil war continued into the autumn of 1410. A Ragusan report of August 1410 comments that Süleymān Çelebi was the most successful of the warring princes (Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 444-5). Nevertheless, Mūsā emerged victorious. In February 1411, he advanced from Yambol to Edirne and, according to both Greek and Turkish traditions, attacked Süleymān when he was drunk. As his own troops began to desert him for Mūsā, Süleymān Çelebi fled. On 17 February 1411, Mūsā's agents captured and killed him (Schreiner, *loc. cit.*; Neshrī, ii, 484-7).

The death of his brother left Mūsā as sole ruler in Rumelia. However, immediately on his accession, Stephen Lazarević allowed his men to pillage Mūsā's territory, and the Byzantine emperor sought to prolong the Ottoman civil war by releasing from custody Süleymān Çelebi's son Orkhan (Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 447). It was this act of provocation that led Mūsā, in the autumn of 1411, to lay siege to Constantinople. This operation was unsuccessful, not so much, it would appear, as a result of a Greek victory over his naval force (Laonicus Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum libri decem*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1843, 176-7), as through the desertion of several lords of Rumelia. Mūsā's vassal, George Branković, the nephew of Stephen Lazarević, fled to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel; the Ottoman lords Mikhāloghlī [q.v.] Meḥammed and Djandarlı [q.v.] Ibrāhīm fled to Mūsā's brother in Anatolia (Braun, *op. cit.*, 44-5). The *Anonymous chronicle* (*verbatim* in Neshrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 488-9) reports that Djandarlı Ibrāhīm informed Meḥammed that the lords of Rumelia wished to overthrow Mūsā, who had aroused their hatred by killing some of their number and confiscating their property. These desertions seem to have emboldened Meḥammed to attack his brother. In the spring of 1412, he crossed the Bosphorus with the help of Manuel, and attacked Mūsā at Inceğiz (Neshrī, ii, 490-5). Mūsā was victorious, but after the battle, two more of his lords, Pasha Yigit and Mikhāloghlī Yūsuf, deserted him, fled to Stephen Lazarević, and plundered Mūsā's realms with Serbian troops. In the autumn of 1412, Meḥammed again crossed the Bosphorus with Manuel's help to attack Mūsā, but again turned back, as bad weather and swollen rivers blocked his passage (Braun, *op. cit.*, 46-8).

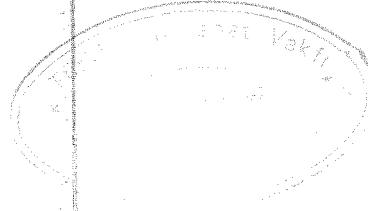
On Meḥammed's withdrawal to Anatolia, Mūsā attacked his ally, Stephen Lazarević. He set out from Sofia at the beginning of January 1413, seized Vranja in the Morava valley and laid siege to Novo Brdo (*ibid.*, 49-50). A Ragusan report of 8 March 1413, describes this failed siege, but notes Mūsā's successes elsewhere (St. Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 448). In Serbia, he

Bunun yanında Kütahya Müzesi'nden gelmiş ve şimdi İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde bir sikke bulunmaktadır.<sup>38</sup> Bu sikke Osmanlılarla Germiyanlılara ait müşterek bir paradır. Sikkenin ön yüzünde "Murad bin Mehmed", arka yüzünde "Yakub bin Süleyman" yazılıdır. Basıldığı yer (darb) ve tarihi yoktur. Sikkenin II. Yakub Bey ile II. Murad'a ait olduğu görülmektedir. II. Murad'a ait Germiyan'da (Kütahya) basılmış iki tip daha H. 825 tarihli sikkeler mevcuttur.<sup>39</sup> Bunlardan bir tanesinin ön yüzünde "Murad bin Mehmed Han", arka yüzünde "Germiyan 825" yazılıdır.<sup>40</sup> Diğer paranın ön yüzünde, "Murad bin Mehmed Han duribe Germiyan", arka yüzünde "halledi mülkehü" yazılıdır.<sup>41</sup>

Gerek 1422 tarihli vakfiyede II. Murad'ın tuğrasının bulunuşu ve gerekse II. Murad ile II. Yakub Bey'in müşterek sikkeleriyle II. Murad'ın Germiyan'da basılmış sikkeleri Germiyanlıların Osmanlı himayesi altında bulunduğunu açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Bu bakımdan Osmanlı tarihlerinin belirtmediği tâbiyet yani himaye keyfiyeti bu sikkeler ve vakfiye ile ortaya konmaktadır. Osmanlı tarihleri sadece II. Yakub Bey'in 1428'de Edirne'ye giderek beyliğini II. Murad'a vasiyet etmesini ve bir yıl sonra da hastalanarak yazılı vasiyet göndermesi ile 1429'da Germiyanlıların kesin olarak Osmanlı hakimiyetine geçmesi hususunu yazmışlardır. Yakub Bey'in ölümünden sonra Kütahya bir Osmanlı sancak beyliği haline getirilmiş ve Timurtaş Paşazâde Umur Bey'in oğlu Osman Çelebi sancak beyi<sup>42</sup> olmuştur.<sup>43</sup>

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

- 38 M. Ç. Varlık, *a.g.e.*, 92; Aynı sikkenin başka bir tipi de vardır (Ş. Erel, *Nâdir Birkaç Sikke*, sayı 3, İstanbul 1970, 40, nr. 64, fotoğrafı için bkz. Levha 5, nr. 64).
- 39 Nuri Pere, *Osmanlılarda Madenî Paralar*, İstanbul 1968, 84, nr. 54; Ş. Erel, *Nâdir Birkaç Sikke*, sayı: 2, İstanbul 1967, 10, nr. 23.
- 40 Ş. Erel, *Nâdir Birkaç Sikke*, 2, İstanbul 1967, 10, nr. 23.
- 41 Nuri Pere, *Osmanlılarda Madenî Paralar*, 84, nr. 54.
- 42 M. Ç. Varlık, "Germiyanogulları", *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XIV/ 34.
- 43 İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devleti*, Ankara 1984, 46 vd.



Musa Çelebi

## FETRET DEVRİ SİKKELERİ\*

### III

## MUSA ÇELEBİ'NİN AKÇELERİ

NEZİHİ AYKUT  
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Ankara Muharebesi'nden sonra Osmanlı Devleti'nin parçalanmasından dolayı Osmanlı tarihlerince "Fetret Devri" veya "Saltanat Fasılası" olarak adlandırılan onbir senelik devrede (805-816/1402-1413) Musa Çelebi, kardeşleri Emir Süleyman, İsa ve Mehmed Çelebi'lere karşı saltanat mücadelesine girişmiş, Rumeli'de iki yıl, yedi ay, yirmi gün hükümdarlık ettikten sonra Mehmed Çelebi tarafından öldürtülerek tarih sahnesinden çekilmiş, Avrupa'da saltanat sürdüğü esnada kendi namına kestirttiği akçeler zamanımıza kadar gelmiştir.

Ankara Meydan Muharebesi'nde (19 Zilhicce 804/20 Temmuz 1402)<sup>1</sup>, kapıkulu askerlerinin başında merkezde bulunan babasının gerisinde kardeşleri İsa ve Mustafa Çelebi'ler ile birlikte yer alan Musa Çelebi<sup>2</sup>, muhare-

\* "Fetret Devri Sikkeleri I: Emir Süleyman'ın Akçe ve Mangırları", Prof. Dr. Mübahat Küttükoğlu'na Armağan, İstanbul 2006, 59-77; "Fetret Devri Sikkeleri II: Mehmed Çelebi'nin Akçe ve Mangırları" (Prof. Dr. Işın Demirkent Armağanı'nda çıkacak).

1 Şerefeddin Ali Yezdi, *Zafername*, ed. Maulawî Muhammad İlahdâd, Kalküta 1888, II, 437. İbn Arabşah, *Acâibü'l-makdûr fî nevâibi Timûr*, nşr. Ahmed Fâiz el-Hımsî, Beyrut 1986, 330'da 17 Zilhicce 804 (18 Temmuz 1402) tarihi kaydedilmektedir.

2 Yezdi, *a.g.e.*, II, 428; Nizamüddin Şâmî, *Zafername*, Farsça trc. Necati Lugal, Ankara 1949, 305; Hâfız Abrû, *Zubdat al-Tevârih*, Süleymaniye Ktb., Fatih, nr. 4370, 336 a; İdris-i Bitlisî, *Heşt Behişt*, Süleymaniye Ktb., Esad Efendi, nr. 2197,