

# Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia

Edited by A.C.S. Peacock  
Sara Nur Yıldız





Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life  
in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia

# ISTANBULER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM  
ORIENT-INSTITUT ISTANBUL

BAND 34

Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life  
in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia

Edited by  
A.C.S. Peacock  
Sara Nur Yıldız

WÜRZBURG 2016

---

ERGON VERLAG WÜRZBURG  
IN KOMMISSION

Umschlaggestaltung: Taline Yozgatian

Cover Image: Depiction of Alexander the Great (İskander-i Zū'l-Karneyn) in Ahmedî's İskender-nâme, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. ancien fonds turc 309, fol. 149b, copied in Amasya in 819/1416 by Muhammed b. Mevlana Pir Hüseyin, known as Hacı Baba el-Sivasi.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek  
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek  
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

ISBN 978-3-95650-206-4

ISSN 1863-9461

© 2016 Orient-Institut Istanbul (Max Weber Stiftung)

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung des Werkes außerhalb des Urheberrechtsgesetzes bedarf der Zustimmung des Orient-Instituts Istanbul. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen jeder Art, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmung sowie für die Einspeicherung in elektronische Systeme. Gedruckt mit Unterstützung des Orient-Instituts Istanbul, gegründet von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, aus Mitteln des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung.

Ergon-Verlag GmbH  
Keesburgstr. 11, D-97074 Würzburg

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier

## *Table of Contents*

List of Figures and Tables .....	7
Notes on Contributors .....	9
Acknowledgements .....	13
Abbreviations .....	15
Note on Transliteration and Usage .....	17
Chapter 1.	
<i>A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız</i>	
Introduction.	
Literature, Language and History in Late Medieval Anatolia .....	19
Part I. Sufis, Texts and Religious Landscapes of Anatolia	
Chapter 2.	
<i>Bruno De Nicola</i>	
The <i>Fus̄tāt al-ʿAdāla</i> :	
A Unique Manuscript on the Religious Landscape of Medieval Anatolia .....	49
Chapter 3.	
<i>Zeynep Oktay</i>	
Layers of Mystical Meaning and Social Context in the Works of Kaygusuz Abdal.....	73
Chapter 4.	
<i>A.C.S. Peacock</i>	
Metaphysics and Rulership in Late Fourteenth-Century Central Anatolia:	
Qadi Burhān al-Din of Sivas and his <i>Iks̄ir al-Saʿādāt</i> .....	101
Chapter 5.	
<i>İlker Evrim Binbaş</i>	
Did the Hurufis Mint Coins? Articulation of Sacral Kingship in an Aqqyunlu Coin Hoard from Erzincan .....	137

## Part II. Literature and Court Culture

## Chapter 6.

*Selim S. Kuru*

Portrait of a Shaykh as Author in Fourteenth-Century Anatolia:

Gülşehri and His *Falaknāma*..... 173

## Chapter 7.

*Sara Nur Yıldız*

Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity

in Fourteenth-Century Western Anatolia ..... 197

## Chapter 8.

*Dimitri Kastritsis*

The Alexander Romance and the Rise of the Ottoman Empire..... 243

## Chapter 9.

*Şevket Küçük hüseyin*The Ottoman Historical Section of Ahmedi's *İskendernāme*:

An Alternative Reading in the Light of the

Author's Personal Circumstances..... 285

## Part III. Mobility, Networks and Patrons

## Chapter 10.

*Abdurrahman Atçıl*Mobility of Scholars and Formation of  
a Self-Sustaining Scholarly System in the Lands of Rüm

during the Fifteenth Century ..... 315

## Chapter 11.

*Jonathan Brack*

Was Ede Bali a Wafā'î Shaykh?

Sufis, Sayyids and Genealogical Creativity

in the Early Ottoman World ..... 333

## Chapter 12.

*Scott Trigg*

Optics and Geography in the Astronomical Commentaries

of Faḥallāh al-Shirwānī..... 361

## Chapter 13.

*Sooyong Kim*

Literary Culture in Fifteenth-Century Kütahya:

A Preliminary Assessment ..... 383

Index..... 401



## List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1.1:	Map of Anatolia in the <i>beylik</i> period .....	24
Figure 2.1:	<i>Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla fī Qawāʿid al-Salṭana</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 69a, showing date of copying .....	52
Figure 4.1:	Qadi Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas, <i>Iksīr al-Saʿādāt fī Asrār al-ʿIbādāt</i> . Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 1658, fol. 1a, title folio .....	104
Figure 4.2:	Qadi Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas, <i>Iksīr al-Saʿādāt fī Asrār al-ʿIbādāt</i> . Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 1658, fol. 1b-2a showing the opening of the work .....	105
Figure 4.3:	Qadi Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas, <i>Iksīr al-Saʿādāt fī Asrār al-ʿIbādāt</i> . Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS Hüseyin Çelebi 500, fol. IIa, title folio .....	106
Figure 4.4:	<i>Majmūʿa</i> in the hand of Yār ʿAlī Divriki, Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS Hüseyin Çelebi 1183. Opening folio .....	120
Figure 4.5:	Copy of Suhrawardī Maqtūl’s <i>Partawnāma</i> in the hand of Yār ʿAlī Divriki, from his personal <i>majmūʿa</i> , Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS Hüseyin Çelebi 1183, fol. 26b.....	129
Figure 5.1:	The sentence <i>ḥarf li’llāb</i> on both sides of the coin. Type A-I, No. 1 (Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, Istanbul, no 17350) .....	141
Figure 5.2:	Type C-IX, No. 129 (Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, Istanbul, no 17478) .....	151
Figure 5.3:	Jaʿfar’s coin with the inscription <i>Her bir kalb diyende yüsera ağçası / bağçası</i> (Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, no 17491) .....	153
Figure 7.1:	Tire Miscellany: praise of the Aydınid ruler Fahrüddin İsa in ʿImād b. Masʿūd al-Samarqandī’s Arabic Introduction (Tire, Necip Paşa Kütüphanesi, MS DV 812, fol. 1b-2a) .....	219
Figure 7.2:	Tire Miscellany: A panegyric Persian <i>qaṣīda</i> in honour of the Aydınid ruler, Fahrüddin İsa, with a description of Bozdağı Mountain (line 4 ff.) (Tire, Necip Paşa Kütüphanesi, MS DV 812, fol. 15b-16a) .....	220

Figure 7.3:	Tire Miscellany: Arabic aphoristic verse selections from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Naşır al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī with interlineal Persian translations (Tire, Necip Paşa Kütüphanesi, MS DV 812, fol. 51b-52a) .....	221
Figure 7.4:	Aydınid literary patronage .....	232–234
Figure 10.1:	Madrasas built in the lands of Rūm from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.....	318
Figure 10.2:	Madrasas of royal prestige built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the lands of Rūm .....	328–329
Figure 11.1:	The Badrī-Wafā’ī family tree .....	341
Figure 11.2:	From Ḥayāt al-Dīn to Seyyid Vīlayet.....	350
Figure 11.3:	Abū al-Wafā’ and Ḥayāt al-Dīn .....	352
Figure 12.1:	Longitude and latitude coordinates for places mentioned in Faṭḥallāh Shirwānī’s <i>ḥāshīya</i> .....	376–379

## Notes on Contributors

Abdurrahman Atçıl holds a PhD from the University of Chicago and is currently Assistant Professor of History and Islamic studies at İstanbul Şehir University. His book *Defenders of Faith and Empire* is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press. He is the editor of *Divan: Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi*.

İlker Evrim Binbaş is Lecturer for Early Modern Asian Empires at Royal Holloway, University of London. His research interests include intellectual networks, Islamicate historiography and political thought in late medieval and early modern periods. His publications include articles on the history of the genealogical tree and Timurid history and historiography. His forthcoming book on Timurid intellectual networks entitled *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sbaraf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters* will be published by Cambridge University Press.

Jonathan Brack is a PhD candidate at the Department of History, the University of Michigan. He received an MA in Middle Eastern Studies from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His dissertation research focuses on the politics of sacred kingship and conversion in Mongol ruled Iran. He has published an article entitled "A Mongol Princess Making *Hajj*: The Biography of El Qutlugh, Daughter of Abagha Ilkhan (r. 1265-82)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 21 (2011).

Bruno De Nicola is Research Fellow in Middle Eastern Studies in the School of History, University of St Andrews, UK. His publications include "The Ladies of Rūm: A Hagiographic View on Women in 13th and 14th Century Anatolia," *Journal of Sufi Studies* (2014) and "Patrons or Murids? Mongol Women and Shaykhs in Ilkhanid Iran and Anatolia," *Iran* 52 (2014). He is coeditor of *Knowledge and Language in Middle Eastern Societies* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010); *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

Dimitri J. Kastritsis is Lecturer in Ottoman History at the University of St Andrews. His interests focus on the political and intellectual culture of the early Ottoman and late medieval Mediterranean world. He is especially interested in historical and quasi-historical texts and narratives. His publications include *The Sons of Bayezid* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) and "The Trebizond Alexander Romance: The Ottoman Fate of a Fourteenth-century Illustrated Byzantine Manuscript," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 36 (2011): 103–131.

Sooyong Kim is Assistant Professor in the English Language and Comparative Literature Department at Koç University, İstanbul. He has recently published a co-translation of selections from Evliya Çelebi's *Book of Travels*, and is currently

finishing a book on the formation of an Ottoman literary canon in the sixteenth century. His research interests include both premodern and modern literatures of the Middle East.

Şevket Küçüküseyin is a post-doctoral researcher at the Department of Islamic-Religious Studies at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg. He has been acting professor for Islamic Studies at the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies of the University of Halle (Saale) since winter semester 2014-15. His major publication is *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung im Prozess kultureller Transformation. Anatolische Quellen über Muslime, Christen und Türken (13.-16. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2011).

Selim S. Kuru is Associate Professor at the University of Washington, Seattle, WA. Kuru's work focuses on Anatolian literary history, in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, and genres dealing with the topic of love and its place in the elite Ottoman society. His recent publications include a chapter in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Vol. 2 on Anatolian Turkish Literature during the period 1453-1600 and another chapter on homoeroticism in Anatolian elite literary traditions which is published in Italian.

Zeynep Oktay is Research Fellow in Middle Eastern Studies in the School of History, University of St Andrews. She also teaches Turkish literature at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul and is completing a doctorate at Sorbonne University École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris, France on "The *Abdâlân-ı Rûm* and the Foundations of Bektashi Thought and Aesthetic." Her publications include *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz: İnceleme, Tenkitli Metin ve Tıpkı Basım* (Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, 2014).

A. C. S. Peacock is Reader in Middle Eastern Studies in the School of History, University of St Andrews and has published widely on medieval Islamic history and literature, especially with regard to Anatolia. Principal publications include *Early Seljûq History: A New Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2010); *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh University Press, 2015). He is editor (with Sara Nur Yıldız) of *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 2013) and (with Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız) of *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). He is Principal Investigator of the European Research Council-funded research project "The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100-1500."

Scott Trigg is a dissertator in the Joint PhD Program in History and the History of Science at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where he is finishing his dissertation on post-Classical Islamic science and the intellectual career of Faṭḥallāh al-Shirwānī. He was a Fellow at the CASA Program at the American University in Cairo and the 2014-2015 Coleman Dissertation Fellow at the Institute for Research in the Humanities at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Sara Nur Yıldız is Research Fellow in Middle Eastern Studies in the School of History, University of St Andrews, in affiliation with the Orient-Institut Istanbul. Her research encompasses the political, religious and cultural history of medieval Anatolia spanning the Seljuk, Mongol, *beylik* and early Ottoman periods. She is coeditor of *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 2013) and *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).



## Acknowledgments

The papers in this volume derive from a workshop held at the Orient-Institut Istanbul on 12-13 September 2014. We are very grateful to the staff of the Orient-Institut Istanbul for making it possible, Cenk Korkmaz for technical support and especially to Dr Richard Wittmann, the Associate Director and Prof. Dr. Raoul Motika, the Director. The Orient Institut Istanbul not only hosted the workshop but also provided funding. Funding was also provided by the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 208476 “The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100-1500” which contributed towards the travel and accommodation costs of participants. In addition, funding provided through this research project has made possible the research on which several of the contributions to this volume are based and has also contributed to the costs of publishing this volume. We are also grateful to the Orient-Institut Istanbul for agreeing to include the book in the series *Istanbul Texte und Studien*, and Dr. Barbara Pusch for seeing it through the press.





## Abbreviations

<i>EP</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2007)
<i>EIr</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> (London: Routledge and Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1982-; online edition <a href="http://www.iranicaonline.org">www.iranicaonline.org</a> )
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>TDVİA</i>	<i>Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi</i> (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988-2013; online edition: <a href="http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info">www.islamansiklopedisi.info</a> )
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>



# Note on Transliteration and Usage

## *Anglicised and Naturalised Words*

Common words, titles and names of Arabic, Persian or Turkish origin such as qadi, madrasa and caravanserai have been rendered according to their usage in English. Dynastic names with the suffix “-id” and words assimilated to English are not transliterated, e. g., Khan instead of Khān, Ilkhanid instead of Īl-khānid, Karāmanid rather than Qarāmanid and Abbasid rather than ‘Abbāsīd. Terms and names are Anglicised according to the *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)* guidelines. Place names have been given their modern form whenever possible. Variants are provided in parentheses when appropriate. Well-known place names are given their accepted English forms, such as Damascus, Aleppo, Tabriz, and Mosul.

## *Transliteration and Dates*

Persian and Arabic names of texts and individuals, as well as textual passages, have been fully transliterated. The names of Turkish Anatolian figures generally follow the modern Turkish spelling without diacritics. Their works have been fully transliterated with diacritics. The names of some seminal figures associated with Anatolia, however, have been rendered according to Arabic transliteration standards, particularly authors of Arabic works or figures of interregional standing, such as Faṭḥallāh Shirwānī. We trust that readers will appreciate that providing an acceptable transliteration for Arabic, Persian and Turkish simultaneously is fraught with difficulty, and we request indulgence for any inconsistencies that remain. Dates in both the hijri and common era are provided in most instances.



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Literature, Language and History in Late Medieval Anatolia

*A.C.S. Peacock / Sara Nur Yıldız*

Late medieval Islamic Anatolia presents scholars with a paradox. The expansion of Islamic society into this previously rather peripheral and isolated area of the Muslim world was accompanied by a sudden burst in literary and intellectual production which has bequeathed countless texts in a wide variety of genres, ranging from complex philosophical treatises to popular romances, from vernacular poetry to imitations of earlier literary classics of Islamic civilisation. Written variously in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, most of these texts remain unpublished today. On the other hand, despite this literary flourishing which witnessed the production of the first works of Anatolian Turkish literature, before the late fifteenth century very few of these texts indeed are historical chronicles. To the political historian, then, this wealth of texts offers little bearing on the task of reconstructing the complex and poorly understood history of Anatolia in this crucial period as Muslim states rose to complete dominance over the peninsula, finally occupying Constantinople in 857/1453 and destroying the last Byzantine outpost of Trebizond in 866/1462. Indeed, most histories of the Ottomans treat the first century and a half of the empire's existence very sketchily, concentrating instead on the glorious post-conquest expansion.<sup>1</sup> The Ottomans were far from being the sole or even the dominant force in Anatolia for much of our period, and the Turkish principalities (*beyliks*) ruling in the region have received even less attention from scholars. Indeed, while Anatolia under the Seljuks (c. 473/1081-706/1307) has become the focus of increasing scholarly interest, the subsequent period remains unfashionable and something of a black hole in terms of research.<sup>2</sup>

If historians have yet to learn to grapple with the textual sources beyond chronicles, then literary historians have rarely attempted to understand the surviving texts within the historical context in which they were produced. Indeed, texts

---

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the otherwise excellent book by Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire* (London: John Murray, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> For a survey in English of the political history see Rudi P. Lindner, "Anatolia, 1300-1451," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet, *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 102-137; for cultural trends Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life, 1071-1453," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Fleet, 353-422.

tend to be studied in isolation, not just from this broader social and political context, but also from one other. Although most authors would have been literate in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and many chose to write in more than one language, the texts produced in these three languages are rarely considered together. As a result, our understanding of the growth and development of literature in medieval Anatolia is extremely elementary. The aim of this volume is thus two-fold. On the one hand, it aims to show how historians can profit from the mass of textual sources that can shed light on not just intellectual and literary currents, but also on subjects ranging from the development of court life, the language and aspirations of kingship, to the religious and political concerns of courts. They can also illuminate the religious and cultural life of society beyond the elite. On the other hand, the volume aims to show the utility of considering Islamic literatures in medieval Anatolia together, irrespective of language, and the necessity of contextualised, historically nuanced studies to allow us to appreciate our texts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. This introduction will thus first offer some brief reflection on the international context of Islamic literary culture during the period, before moving on to a more detailed assessment of the historical background of the *beylik* period. We will then introduce the principal themes discussed by essays in the volume.

### *Late Medieval Anatolia in the Islamic “Republic of Letters”*

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries spawned some of the most famous figures of Islamic intellectual life: the Arab historian and philosopher of history, Ibn Khaldūn; the Persian poet, Hāfiz; and the first great Turkish poets, such as Yunus Emre and Nesimi in Anatolia and Mir ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī in Central Asia. Situated geographically between, on the one hand, the cultural centres of the Persian-speaking east, the lands of Iran and Central Asia where the Mongol political legacy was most strongly felt, and on the other, the vibrant Arabic-language culture of Mamluk Egypt and Syria, medieval Anatolia absorbed influences from both. Major scholars of the era from both the east and the Levant passed through Anatolia, and some stayed, making their careers at the courts of the various Turkish rulers. The historian and litterateur Ibn ‘Arabshāh, and the religious scholars Sayyid Jurjānī and Ibn al-Jazarī are among the names of well-known intellectuals of the period who spent time in and became associated with Anatolia. Cultural activity and literary production in Anatolia was encouraged by both its political fragmentation, with multiple courts that sought to perpetuate their renown through the patronage of scholars and poets, and by the increasing spread of Islam in this period beyond the educated, Persian-speaking elite of central Anatolian cities like Konya, creating a market for literary works in Turkish. Meanwhile, scholars of Anatolian birth frequently travelled to other parts of the Middle East in search of education and employment; some took up permanent residence in Cairo, Damascus or Samarqand, while others returned with their expertise

gained abroad, strengthening the bonds between Anatolia and the broader Islamic world.<sup>3</sup>

In this way, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Anatolia fully participated in what has been described as “the medieval Arabic republic of letters” – the networks of Islamic intellectuals from across the Muslim world.<sup>4</sup> However, the roots of Islamic culture were much shallower in Anatolia, which had only become part of the Muslim world in the late eleventh century. While the conquest was swift, the cultural incorporation of Anatolia into the Muslim world was a slow process. It is not until the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries that there is significant evidence of mosque building, the minting of coins or literacy or literary production in the established languages of Islamic civilisation, Arabic and Persian – and none at all in Turkish. While it is generally thought that places like Syria and Egypt were majority Muslim by the thirteenth century, and Iran and Central Asia were overwhelming so by this point, Anatolia was certainly still predominantly Christian. Even the name of Anatolia in Islamic languages, Rūm, evoked the pre-Islamic past, the heritage of Rome and the latter Romans, the Byzantine Empire. Indeed, despite Anatolia’s proximity to Syria and Iran, the processes at work there are perhaps most reminiscent of those in India in the same period.<sup>5</sup> There too a Turkish-speaking elite ruled politically fragmented territories populated by a non-Muslim majority, while the growing spread of Islam was reflected by development of a new vernacular – Turkish in Anatolia, Hindavi in India – that acted as a medium of conveying the faith, and especially Sufism, to the populace, including local Muslim courts, beyond the limited number of Persophone urban Muslim centres. In both Muslim Anatolia and India, the rise of the vernacular appears to be a phenomenon that starts in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century and gathers strength in the fifteenth. In both cases, the vernaculars existed alongside Arabic and Persian which continued to have wide currency as literary languages, for original compositions as well as works transmitted from other parts of the Muslim world.

Yet, while the importance of Indo-Persian has been widely recognised, the enduring role of Persian in Anatolia has scarcely attracted any serious attention, beyond the editing of a handful of chronicles.<sup>6</sup> The poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d.

---

<sup>3</sup> For an example of one such scholar, see Sara Nur Yıldız, “From Cairo to Ayasuluk: Hacı Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Late Fourteenth Century,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (2014): 263-297.

<sup>4</sup> Muhsin J. al-Musawi, *The Medieval Arabic Republic of Letters* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> See for instance Simon Digby, “Before Timur Came: Provincialization of the Delhi Sultanate through the Fourteenth Century,” *JESHO* 47, no. 3 (2004): 298-356; Francesco Orsini and Samira Sheikh (eds), *After Timur Left: Culture and Circulation in Fifteenth Century North India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> The most substantial survey of Persian in Anatolia is Muḥammad Amin Riyāḥi, *Zabān wa Adab-i Fārsī dar Qalamraw-i ‘Uthmāni* (Tehran: Pazhang, 1369; Turkish translation as Muḥammed Emin Riyahi, *Osmanlı Topraklarında Fars Dili ve Edebiyatı* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayın-

672/1273) gained fame throughout the rest of the Persian-speaking world, so he is an exception, but most other compositions in Persian from Anatolia remain neglected. The situation is similar with Arabic. In part this lack of interest reflects a more general neglect of the so-called “post-classical” period, as the epoch after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad is known. In older western scholarship, and indeed often today in the Arab Middle East, this period is widely thought to be characterised by a sterile or valueless literature, consisting either of popular romances of little literary value, derivative, imitative poetry, or else commentaries on earlier works from more vibrant periods – or indeed commentaries on commentaries.<sup>7</sup> Such judgements affect the field of Persian studies too, despite the fame of Ḥāfiz.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps even more surprising is the lack of attention paid to the literary production of the period by scholars of Turkish, given that this period witnessed the first great flowering of Turkish as a literary language. All too often, texts in the old Turkish literary language of medieval Anatolia, Old Anatolian Turkish,<sup>9</sup> are seen not as contributions to Islamic civilisation but as dry philological resources, evidence for the phonetic and grammatical characteristics of Turkish in the period before the rise of “classical” Ottoman Turkish in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As a result, editions of these works tend to be done as masters’ or doctoral theses at Turkish universities; they thus usually remain unpublished and inaccessible, and are often of questionable quality. Thus, even the contours of the literary and intellectual history of the period are barely known. Numerous texts by major authors remain unedited and unpublished even in facsimile. Indeed, the very task of identifying the major authors and intellectual figures of the period across the Islamic world has barely begun. However, recent years have seen a growing interest by western scholars in Mamluk literature, especially in Egypt,<sup>10</sup> while intellectual life in the Mongol, post-Mongol and Timurid domains in Iran and Central Asia has also attracted increasing attention.<sup>11</sup> Yet,

---

ları, 1995); also Tahsin Yazıcı, “Persian Authors of Asia Minor,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition: [www.iranicaonline.org](http://www.iranicaonline.org).

<sup>7</sup> For comments on this phenomenon see al-Musawi, *The Medieval Arabic Republic of Letters*; Roger Allen, “The Post-Classical Period: Parameters and Preliminaries,” in Roger Allen and D.S. Richards (eds), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Post-Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-21.

<sup>8</sup> See for example the comments of Browne on Timurid literature, approvingly quoting E.J.W. Gibb’s characterisation of the period’s “subjectivity, artificiality and conventionality” in literature: E.G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature*, vol. 3, *The Tartar Dominion (1265-1502)* (Cambridge, 1920, reprint New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997), 422-3, 424.

<sup>9</sup> This is the term usually used for the language of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

<sup>10</sup> See for instance the special issue on Mamluk literature of the *Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (2003) [http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/MamlukStudiesReview\\_VII-1\\_2003.pdf](http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/MamlukStudiesReview_VII-1_2003.pdf); also Mahmoud Haddad, Arnim Heinemann, John L. Meloy, and Souad Slim (eds), *Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Era* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2010).

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, Evrim Binbaş, *The Timurid Republic of Letters: Radicals and Freethinkers in Late Medieval Islamic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming); Alexandra Dunietz, *The Cosmic Perils of Qadi Husayn Maybudi in Fifteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden:



even compared with other regions of the Islamic world, our knowledge of the literary culture of late medieval Anatolia remains extremely slight, in spite of its importance as one of the main centres of early Turkish literature.<sup>12</sup> We will discuss this latter aspect in further detail below; but first it is necessary to give more extensive consideration to the historical processes at work in Anatolia in the period.

### *The Beylik Period of Anatolia: the Political Background*

The designation Turkish emirates, or *beylik*, emphasises the military origins of various dynastic entities which ruled in Anatolia in the late thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>13</sup> Upon the waning of Ilkhanid power in the Anatolian Seljuk realm in the early fourteenth century and its effective collapse in 1335, local magnates and warlords rose to power, claiming some form of sovereignty and sometimes even adopting the titles of sultan and *padishāh*.<sup>14</sup> Some of these local rulers had served as commanders for the Seljuk-Mongol regime: Eretna (d. 753/1352)<sup>15</sup> who ruled over Sivas and Kayseri, the Germiyanids, based in Kütahya, and the Candarids of Kastamonu and Sivas are primary examples. Others were Turkmen who had contentious relations with the Mongols whose armies had squeezed them off their grazing land in the Anatolian central plateau, forcing them into the more limited pasturage located throughout the Taurus mountain range. Indeed, in response to the demographic, ecological and political crises arising from the Mongol invasions, and as the natural enemies of the Seljuk-Ilkhanid regime in competition for grassland, the Karamanids, Eşrefids and Hamidids of central and south central Anatolia organised themselves politically and attracted large followings of pastoralist Turkmen with military capabilities.

The *beylik* period has yet to be studied as the dynamic period that it was: a combination of extreme political fragmentation in the ideological context of Mongol imperial rule, great demographic upheaval and movements of groups and individuals in a climate of intense multi-lingualism brought about an intense political and cultural syntheses. Indeed, as heirs of the political and cultural legacies

---

Brill, 2016); Chad G. Lingwood, *Politics, Poetry and Sufism in Medieval Iran: New Perspectives on Jāmi's Salāmān va Absāl* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Judith Pfeiffer (ed.), *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century Tabriz* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> The others were the Golden Horde, Timurid Central Asia and to a lesser degree Mamluk Cairo. A thorough exploration of the connections of Anatolian and other types of Turkish literature remains to be done.

<sup>13</sup> Lindner, "Anatolia, 1300-1451," 102; also Paul Wittek, "Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum," *Byzantion* 2 (1936): 285-319.

<sup>14</sup> Jürgen Paul, "A Landscape of Fortresses: Central Anatolia in Astarâbâdî's *Bazm wa Razm*," in David Durand-Guédy (ed.), *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 317-345.

<sup>15</sup> Claude Cahen, "Eretna," *EP<sup>2</sup>*, vol. 2, 705-707.

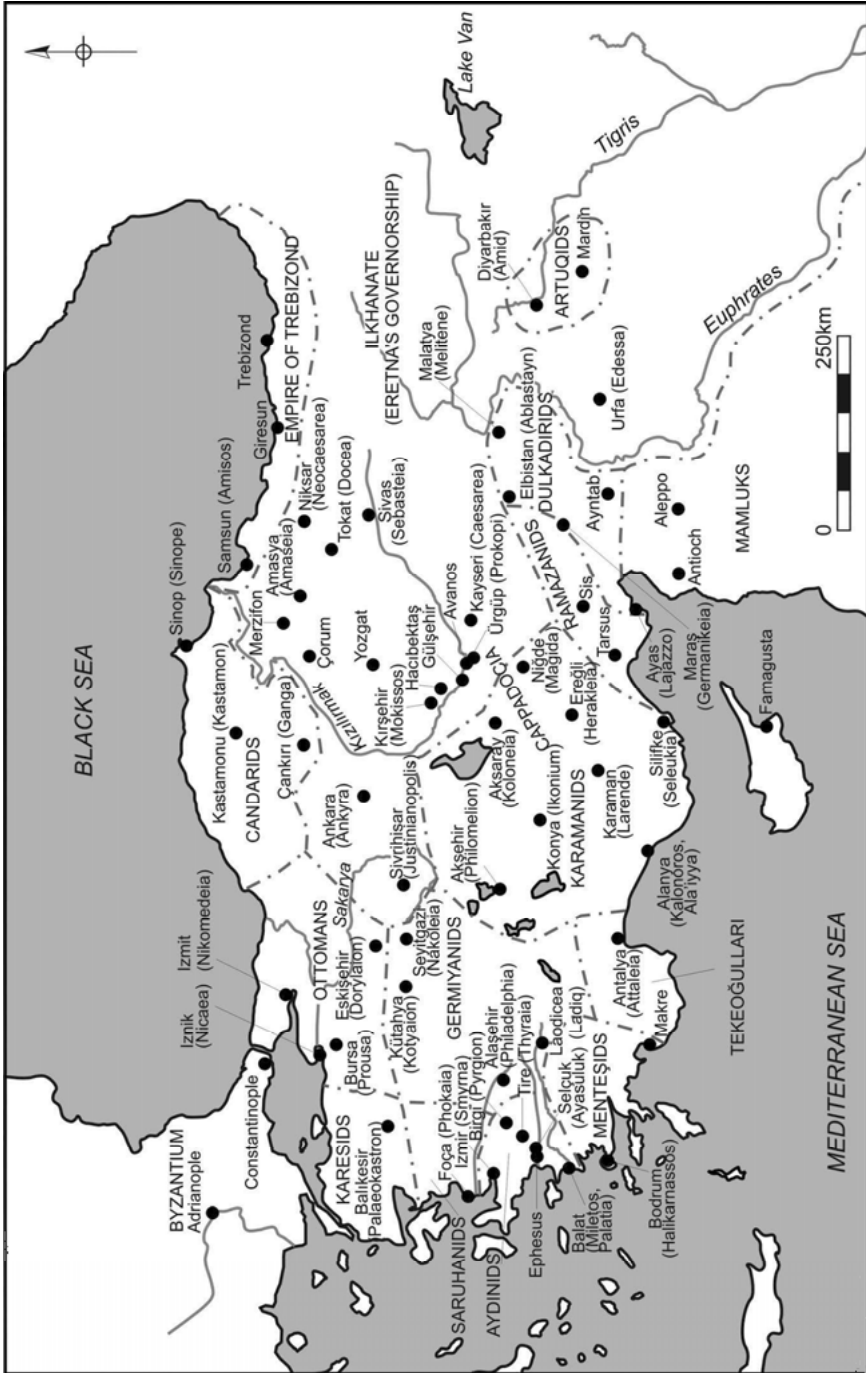


Figure 1.1: Map of Anatolia in the *beylik* period.

of the Rūm Seljuk sultanate and the Ilkhanids based in western Iran and Iraq, these largely Turcophone *begs* attempted to replicate Perso-Islamic court culture, albeit on a small-scale, in conjunction with Turco-Mongolian political traditions. These new political and cultural developments laid the ground for the emergence of Anatolia Turkish as a literary language alongside Arabic and Persian.

Of these polities, the Ottomans (ca. 698/1299-1341/1922) have received the most attention: as the “successful” *beylik*, they laid the foundations of a territorially expansive state with imperial ambitions and by the mid- to late fifteenth century had absorbed or conquered the remaining Anatolian principalities. Their development “in symbiosis with the Balkan and Byzantine states,”<sup>16</sup> as Claude Cahen has pointed out, occurred in a profoundly different context from that of the other Anatolian *beyliks*. Indeed, historians have attributed the success of Ottoman state building to their superior geographical position which allowed them to control both the Balkans and Anatolia, facilitating their access to military and economic resources.<sup>17</sup>

Although often regarded as a patchwork of indistinct, interchangeable dynasties absorbed by the Ottomans,<sup>18</sup> the Anatolian *beyliks* were nevertheless shaped by a variety of geographical, economic, political and cultural factors. Geographical factors played an important role in their access to military manpower, largely provided by Turkmen followers located in the mountainous regions encircling the inner Anatolian plateau. Wealth was derived from the control of interregional trade routes over land or sea, as well as from the taxation of agricultural and livestock surpluses. Political, diplomatic, and cultural relations with the contemporaneous regional powers of the Ilkhanids and the Mamluks likewise shaped these principalities’ conceptions of power, whether adopting the ideological rhetoric as ghazi warriors and *mujāhid* against infidels in a similar capacity as the Mamluks,<sup>19</sup> or as independent sovereigns claiming legitimacy based upon Perso-Islamic principles and legacies.

The *beyliks* were also shaped by the political dynamics of Ilkhanid rule over the Seljuk sultanate, a Mongol tributary state since 640/1243 which was put under direct Ilkhanid administrative control in 679/1277.<sup>20</sup> Either they originated as mili-

---

<sup>16</sup> Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 360.

<sup>17</sup> The question as to why the Ottomans were more politically successful than the other Anatolian Turkish principalities frames Rudi Paul Lindner’s recent survey of the *beylik* period in the first volume of the *Cambridge History of Turkey* (Lindner, “Anatolia, 1300-1451,” 102-137).

<sup>18</sup> Claude Cahen first criticised this approach, suggesting that the history of the *beyliks* should be written in terms of their mutual interconnection by employing a method that differentiates and explains rather than from an exclusively Ottoman perspective (Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 360).

<sup>19</sup> For more on Mamluk rulership ideology in the context of their status of *mujāhid*, or warrior king guardian of Islam, see Anne Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. 4 ff.; 31 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 361.

tary groups in Seljuk-Mongol service, or were Turkmen largely independent of these regimes and who organised politically in response to pastoralist crises arising from the establishment of Mongol armies on the central plateau. The earliest attempts at independent political organisation were seen among these groups of Turkmen pastoralists in the south and south-central Taurus region, the nomadic chiefs of which founded local dynastic houses, primarily the Karamanids (Karamanoğulları), Hamidids (Hamidoğulları), Eşrefids (Eşrefoğulları) and the Tekkeoğulları. In constant conflict with the Seljuk-Mongol regime, these political entities posed a serious challenge to both the military power and political legitimacy of the Ilkhanate.

The founders of many other *beyliks* had served as Seljuk and Ilkhanid commanders. Dominating the western frontier of the central zone and based in Kütahya, the Germiyanids (ca. 699/1300-832/1429) were established as a military group in Seljuk service in the early thirteenth century as defenders of the frontier: Kütahya's strategic location on major east-west routes had made it traditionally one of the greatest military bases of Anatolia since Roman times.<sup>21</sup> Although situated in a landlocked mountainous terrain, the Germiyanids became militarily powerful by rallying large populations of Turkmen in the region, which Kütahya was strategically positioned to control. The Germiyanids under Yakub Beg (r. 699/1300-741/1340) were thus able to refuse to recognise the sovereignty of the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd II in 702/1302 when he was granted the Seljuk throne for the second time by the Mongols.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast, the Aydınid principality, first established in former Byzantine territories in the central Aegean region as Germiyanid clients around ca. 707/1308 in a region largely beyond Ilkhanid control, depended upon military sea power as much as upon Turkmen cavalry.<sup>23</sup> The Candarids, rulers of Kastamonu and Sinop, constituted another sea-oriented principality. Founded by a Turkish commander in the service of the Ilkhanids,<sup>24</sup> the Candarids based their power on

<sup>21</sup> Clive Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia. I: Kütahya* (Oxford: British Institute of Archaeology, 1985), 13, 75.

<sup>22</sup> Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia*, 14.

<sup>23</sup> Rudi Paul Lindner observes "politically some of them, on the west coast of the peninsula, seem to replicate the geographical and economic advantages of many of the city-states of Greek antiquity" (Lindner, "Anatolia, 1300-1451," 107).

<sup>24</sup> The founder of this principality, a certain Shams al-Dīn Yaman *jandār* b. Alparslan, was an Ilkhanid commander who had, earlier in his career, presumably served as *jandār* ("weapon holder"), or palace security guard, in the retinue of Geikhatu during his days as princely governor of Anatolia. When Geikhatu ascended to the Ilkhanid throne in 691/1292, he promoted Yaman to provincial commander supported by the revenues of an *iqtā'* land assignment in the Kastamonu region. Geikhatu sent him to contain the local magnate and the long-term commander-in-chief (*beğlerbeği*) of the Seljuk-Mongol armies, the Chobanid (Çobanid) Muzaffar al-Dīn Yavlak Arslan who had begun acting too independently. See Yaşar Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar: Çobanoğulları Beyliği, Candaroğulları Beyliği Mesalikü'l-Ebsar'a Göre Anadolu Beylikleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 54; idem,

the immense wealth that passed through the Black Sea, drawing on the military manpower of Turkmen crowded in the Paphlagonian mountains. Geographical isolation from inner Anatolia due to the ruggedness of the terrain and mountain barriers, which made east-west movement over land extremely difficult, may account for their distinction as one of the longest-lived Anatolian Turkish polities, resisting Ottoman encroachment until 865/1461.<sup>25</sup> The Karamanids, relying upon the protective barrier of the south-central Taurus mountains and Mamluk support, and briefly, that of the Aqquyunlu, in addition to large groups of Taurus Turkmen constituting their armies, managed to defy Ottoman hegemony well into the late fifteenth century.

These *beyliks* were organised politically as highly decentralised, micro-dynastic states. Geared towards military conquest and territorial expansion undertaken as family enterprises, these polities divided their territories into city-states ruled over as appanages by the male members of the dynasty. Thus, following the rule of a sole sovereign in the first generation or two, generally the eponymous founder and his son, the highly decentralised methods of rule resulted in a division of the polity in subsequent generations, and the rise of independent and competing branches or dispensations. We can see this pattern among the Hamidoğulları in Psidia and Pamphylia (Eğridir and Antalya), in the Menteşid principality in Caria along the southern Aegean in various districts, the Candarids in Kastamonu and Sinop (where the İsfendiyarid dispensation continued to rule after the Candarids of Kastamonu were dissolved),<sup>26</sup> and the Karasids in Balıkesir and Bergama.<sup>27</sup>

While joint rule among brothers and other male family members facilitated the coordination of dynastic conquest by maximizing military power, it nevertheless was a volatile political arrangement, which prevented the consolidation of resources and power. This structural weakness became most apparent when such polities could no longer expand their territorial borders, and internecine strife

---

“Candarogulları,” *TDVİA*, vol. 7, 146; Zühtü Yaman, *Kastamonu Kasaba Köyü’nde Candaroğlu Mahmut Bey Camii* (Ankara: İl Tanıtım Serisi, Kano Ltd, 2000), 4.

<sup>25</sup> Gustav Hirschfeld, “Notes of Travel in Paphlagonia and Galatia,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 4 (1883): 276.

<sup>26</sup> The Candarid ruler, İsfendiyar Beg b. Bayezid (r. 787/1385-843/1440) established an independent branch in Sivas which, unlike his brother Süleyman ruling in Kastamonu, was able to withstand Ottoman aggression. He offered refuge to various members of the ruling families of Anatolian *begs* after Bayezid I took their lands, including those of the Aydınlı, Saruhanlı and Menteşid. He also was in communication with the Eflak ruler Mircea and encouraged him to attack Ottoman lands in the Balkans. His grandson İsmail (d. 883 or 884/1479), was the last İsfendiyarid-Candarid ruler. He capitulated to Mehmed II in 865/1461 and was later appointed as the Ottoman governor in Filibe where he continued to be a profuse patron of the arts, sciences, and architecture, and author of religious texts. See Yücel, “Candarogulları,” 147; Grigor Boykov, “Anatolian Emir in Rumelia: İsfendiyaroglu İsmail Bey’s Architectural Patronage and Governorship of Filibe (1460s-1470s),” *Bulgarian Historian Review* 102 (2013): 137-147.

<sup>27</sup> Lindner, “Anatolia, 1300-1451,” 109.

soon would take root. It was mainly by exploiting power struggles between family members that the Ottomans in the second half of the fifteenth century were able to finally break the power of the *beyliks* such as the Candarids and Karamanids, despite the protection offered them by rugged mountainous terrain and their loyal Turkmen armies.<sup>28</sup>

Although by the early to mid-fifteenth century the Ottomans emerged as the dominant regional political and military power, in the cultural landscape of early fourteenth-century Anatolia, they paled in comparison to some of the other *beyliks* as patrons of court literature, whether Persian, Arabic or Turkish. The surviving textual evidence suggests that from among the Anatolian *beyliks* whose power was based on a Turkmen following, the Aydinids, Germiyanids and Candarids were the most active in sponsoring a literary court culture as well as inculcating Islamic practices and cultural norms through the patronage of textual production, particularly in the vernacular Turkish. Whereas Aydinid textual production consisted of an eclectic hodgepodge of Persian, Arabic and Turkish works, both in the traditions of *adab* and scholastic writing, and ranging from *mathnawī* romances, religious popular works to prose medical texts,<sup>29</sup> the Germiyanid court was a primary site for poetry in Turkish particularly in the second half of the fourteenth century. Candarid textual production, on the other hand, seems to have been largely religiously oriented.

### *The Beylik Period and the Emergence of Anatolian Turkish as a Vernacular Literary Language*

The emergence of Anatolian Turkish as a written literary language is closely associated with the rise of these *beyliks*. While it has been taken for granted that the creation of a vernacular Turkish literary language in Anatolia is connected with the establishment Turcophone principalities, such as the Germiyanids, Aydinids, Candarids and Ottomans, the exact nature of this relationship has not been explored. The history of the emergence of medieval Anatolian Turkish as a literary language remains an underdeveloped domain. Turkish scholarship reduces this historical phenomenon to a teleological nationalist narrative, most famously expounded by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü in his 1918 book, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar (Early Mystics in Turkish Literature)*, which sees popular language as the primitive core of nationhood: Turkish, as the linguistic idiom of the people, and in particular, the Turkmen, triumphed in its struggle with the elitist languages of

<sup>28</sup> For the Karamanid case, see Sara Nur Yıldız, "Razing Gevele and Fortifying Konya: the Beginning of the Ottoman Conquest of the Karamanid Principality in South-Central Anatolia, 1468," in A.C.S. Peacock (ed.), *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 307-329.

<sup>29</sup> For an overview of Aydinid-sponsored works, see the contribution in this volume by Sara Nur Yıldız.

Arabic and Persian as the dominant literary medium, thus achieving national linguistic destiny.<sup>30</sup> The primary agents in embracing Turkish were Turkmen *begs* or rulers of post-Seljuk Anatolian principalities, who, with their origins from among the Turkish masses, and lacking a formal education in Arabic and Persian literary culture, sponsored Turkish as the “official state” language at their courts.<sup>31</sup> Medieval Anatolian polities are thus conceptualised as wielding power and authority similar to that of modern states and organizing society along nationalist linguistic lines.<sup>32</sup> Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg’s so-called language proclamation, promulgated on 13 May 1277 in Konya upon the brief Karamanid occupation, and which permitted the use of only Turkish and thus effectively outlawed the use of Persian (and presumably Arabic) in the city, represents a watershed moment for Turkish as an official language according to this nationalist perspective, which remains dominant today.<sup>33</sup>

Another issue is when the Anatolian Turkish vernacular first took a written form. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü’s assertion that literary Anatolian Turkish was traceable as far back as the thirteenth century lacks credible textual evidence, since we have no dated Anatolian Turkish works as early as this.<sup>34</sup> Mecdut Mansuroğlu

<sup>30</sup> For an English translation of this influential work with valuable introduction and notes, see Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, tr. and ed. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>31</sup> See Emek Üşenmez, “Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Açısından Germiyanlı (Kütahya) Şairlerin Yeri ve Kütahya’daki Yazma Eser Kütüphanelerinin Önemi,” *Turkish Studies* 8, no. 1 (2013): 2789.

<sup>32</sup> For authoritative Turkish scholarship that continues to maintain this nationalist imagination until recent times, see Kemal Yavuz, “XIII.-XVI. Asır Dil Yâdigârlarının Anadolu Sahasında Türkçe Yazılış Sebepleri ve Bu Devir Müelliflerinin Türkçe Hakkındaki Görüşleri,” *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 27 (1983): 32-40 and Zeynep Korkmaz, “Anadolu’da Oğuz Türkçesi Temelinde İlk Yazı Dilinin Kuruluşu,” *Belleten Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 2 (2009): 61-69.

<sup>33</sup> Akar, “Anadolu Beylikleri Döneminde Türk Dili,” 610; Erdoğan Merçil, “Türkiye Selçukluları Devrinde Türkçenin Resmî Dil Olmasını Kim Kabul Etti?” *Belleten* 64, no. 239 (2000): 51-57. For an alternative interpretation of this event and a discussion of its fetishisation in modern Turkey, see Sara Nur Yıldız, “Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey: Medieval Anatolian Warlord or Kemalist Language Reformer? History, Language Politics and the Celebration of the Language Festival in Karaman, Turkey, 1961-2008,” in Jorgen Nielsen (ed.), *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 147-170.

<sup>34</sup> Hasibe Mazıoğlu further developed the Köprülü thesis, pushing back the existence of Anatolian Turkish in written form to the late twelfth century. See Hasibe Mazıoğlu, “Selçuklular Devrinde Anadolu’da Türk Edebiyatının Başlaması ve Türkçe Yazan Şairler,” in *Malazgirt Aramağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972), 297. See also eadem, “Geşmişin Türkçesinden Örnekler,” *Tarih Dergisi* 13, no. 145 (1963): 25-30, and Korkmaz, “Anadolu’da Oğuz Türkçesi Temelinde İlk Yazı Dilinin Kuruluşu,” 64. For a new dating of the *Behcetü’l-Hadâ’ik fi Mevâzî’l-Halâ’ik* and recent reevaluation of the emergence of literary Anatolian Turkish see Mustafa Koç, “Anadolu’da İlk Türkçe Telif Eser,” *Bilgi* 57 (2011): 159-174. Koç convincingly argues that the Turkish *Behcetü’l-Hadâ’ik* was composed in the late thirteenth century based on the evidence of a previously unknown copy which has recently come to light. The manuscript Süleymaniye, Yazma Başışlar 4040, fol. 1b-137a, dated 20 Ramazan 930/1524 provides us with definite proof of the work’s authorship,

writes that “Turkish literary production itself which, even in the thirteenth century, was quite rich.”<sup>35</sup> The so-called evidence put forth consists primarily of conjectures based on a few rather short undated texts,<sup>36</sup> primarily Ahmed Fakih’s *Çarhnâme*<sup>37</sup> and Şeyyad Hamza’s *Yūsuf ve Zeliha*.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the surviving textual evidence overwhelming points to Anatolian Turkish emerging as a literary language first during the first half of the fourteenth century. Vernacular Turkish textual production significantly increased throughout the fifteenth century, reaching a new height during the reigns of the Ottoman sultans, Murad II (823/1420-847/1444, 847/1444-855/1451) and Mehmed II (847/1444, 855/1451-866/1481).

Another consequence of nationalistic approaches to Old Anatolian Turkish is the relatively theoretical isolation into which this primarily philological field has been cast. We thus propose to rethink the rise of Anatolian Turkish as a vernacular literary language along broader comparative perspectives and in the context of larger conceptual issues. It would, however, first be helpful to define the term “vernacularisation.” In the European context, Richard Bauman considers the vernacular a communicative modality acquired informally in “communities of practice, rather than formal instruction.”<sup>39</sup> Europeanists have generally considered vernacularisation as involving “the transposition of texts from a high-status language...into a vernacular language that typically has lower prestige as a written language.”<sup>40</sup>

---

composition date and place where it was written on fol. 2a, where the author stating that he began to compose the work in Karahisar Develü in 669/1270 and completed it in 685/1286 (ibid., 166).

<sup>35</sup> Mecdut Mansuroğlu, “The Rise and Development of Written Turkish in Anatolia,” *Oriens* 7, no. 2 (1954): 251.

<sup>36</sup> In addition, there is Turkish verse by Jalāl al-Din al-Rūmī and Sultān Walad embedded in their Persian *mathnavīs*, and Yunus Emre’s *dīvān*. It is difficult if not impossible to date the literary products of itinerant Sufi poets loosely associated with *zāwiya* communities associated with Hacı Bektaş, such as Yunus Emre and Said Emre. Many Turkish scholars believe that Yunus Emre’s poetic *dīvān* was completed in 706/1307, making it the earliest specimen of written Anatolian Turkish. Although I leave the speculation of dating Yunus Emre’s work to others, it is interesting to note that according to Ramazan-zade Küçük Nişançı Mehmed Paşa (d. 979/1571), Yunus Emre lived during the reign of Bayezid I (r. 791/1389-805/1403).

<sup>37</sup> Osman F. Sertkaya points out that there is much conflicting information on Ahmed Fakih, with different dates of his death as well as multiple grave sites. This leads Sertkaya to conclude that the name Ahmed Fakih referred to more than one individual and that several individuals have been conflated, and that the *Çarhnâme* is more likely a fourteenth-century text. See Osman F. Sertkaya “Ahmed Fakih,” *TDVİA*, vol. 2, 65-67. Tourkhan Gandjei takes the same position as Sertkaya. Tourkhan Gandjei, “Notes on the Attribution and Date of the «Çarhnâme»,” in *Studi Preottomani e Ottomani. Atti del Convegno di Napoli (24-26 settembre 1974)* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1976), 101-104.

<sup>38</sup> Recent research by Metin Akar has shown that Şeyyad Hamza must have been a fourteenth-century poet. See Metin Akar, “Şeyyad Hamza Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler I,” *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (1986): 1-14.

<sup>39</sup> Richard Bauman, “The Philology of the Vernacular,” *Journal of Folklore Research* 45, no. 1 (2008): 32.

<sup>40</sup> William Crossgrove, “The Vernacularization of Science, Medicine, and Technology in Late Medieval Europe: Broadening Our Perspectives,” *Early Science and Medicine* 5, no. 1 (2000):



Sheldon Pollock emphasises the vernacular's problem of cultural status by pointing out that the term vernacular refers to "a very particular and unprivileged mode of social identity, and thus is hobbled by its own particularity."<sup>41</sup> Defining what constitutes a vernacular in different cultural spheres nevertheless presents certain challenges. The linguistic landscape was complex in the Turco-Iranian cultural sphere which spanned the vast territory from Inner Asia and Transoxiana to western Anatolia, as well as encompassing the Qipchaq steppe to the north and, following the Ottoman conquests of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, parts of the Balkan peninsula. In the diverse Muslim communities throughout this region, Persian and Arabic existed side by side with Turkic languages. According to a division of linguistic labor, Arabic, formally acquired as a prestige and sacred language, was generally restricted to liturgical, scholastic and scientific contexts. Persian, on the other hand, functioned both as a vernacular as well as a formally acquired cosmopolitan linguistic mode among intellectual and political urban elites. In the sphere of Islamic religious learning and science, Persian, however, played a secondary role to Arabic, functioning more as the vernacular of urban populations.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to developing a critical vocabulary, comparative and historically contextualised perspectives based on a careful evaluation of manuscript evidence may likewise help us to formulate new methodological approaches for dealing with language and cultural transfer, especially in the context of the rise of a new written vernacular literary mode in interaction with so-called classical "high status" written languages. A particularly salient parallel case to the rise of the Turkish vernacular is the development of the vernacular in late medieval England either through translating texts directly from French or Latin, or importing continental forms adapted into English, a phenomenon referred to by contemporaries as "Englising."<sup>43</sup> Like Old Anatolian Turkish, which contended with the religious and learned weight of Arabic and the literary prestige of Persian, English of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was faced with competition from Latin, the language of liturgy and scholastics, and French, its cultural rival and language of the court.<sup>44</sup> As "upstart" literary languages which lacked precise terminology, both

---

47. In the European context, the textual transposition occurred from Latin to French, English, Italian, German or any other regional language.

41 Sheldon Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 596.

42 Various forms of Turkic languages, on the other hand had a written form, as under the Qarakhanids during the eleventh century. See Robert Dankoff, "Introduction," in *Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib. Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig). A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, tr. Robert Dankoff (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 1-2.

43 Sarah Stanbury, "Vernacular Nostalgia and *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 44, no. 1 (2002): 93.

44 Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor and Ruth Evans (eds), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthropology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 3: "The languages of cultural prestige were Latin and, for much

Old Anatolian Turkish and English were considered inadequate in some learned circles for conveying complex concepts and subtle arguments. Nevertheless, despite their lack of literary authority and precedence, both vernaculars sought and received cultural recognition.<sup>45</sup> In both the European and Turkish contexts, translation served as a primary means by which the vernacular was able to appropriate learnedness which had previously been exclusively contained in the domain of the prestige literary languages inaccessible to lay audiences.<sup>46</sup>

Sheldon Pollock argues that the rise of new literary cultures based on spoken vernaculars served to consolidate, if not create, new political communities, at least in the case of Europe and India where “vernacularization helped initiate an early-modern era, each again marked by its specific type of modernity.”<sup>47</sup> Likewise, literary Anatolian Turkish may be seen as constituting a new literary culture in the context of an emerging new political communities in Anatolia, shaped by the many changes wrought by the Mongol invasions and reconfigured by Ilkhanid rule, and further spurred on by the unravelling of Mongol power.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to date the literary production of itinerant Sufi poets associated with *zāwīya* communities of dervishes and with ties to the holy man Hacı Bektaş, such as Yunus Emre and Said Emre. Many Turkish scholars believe that Yunus Emre’s *dīwān* was completed in 706/1307, making it the earliest specimen of written Anatolian Turkish, but its dating is far from certain.<sup>48</sup> The two locales to which the earliest examples of written Anatolian Turkish may be traced with some certainty represent two distinct milieu of literary and cultural production: the *zāwīyas* in the region of Kırşehir in central Anatolia, and the Aydinid court in western Anatolia. In *zāwīya* communities of Kırşehir and surrounding villages, and thus in the very heart of Mongol-dominated Anatolia, vernacular literary Turkish emerged as a medium for hagiography and mystical

---

of the later Middle Ages, French, and the role of the English writer had to be justified and defined.”

<sup>45</sup> Wogan-Browne et al., *The Idea of the Vernacular*, xv. The tension between aspirations for cultural recognition and the deficit of literary authority was expressed in prologues in both the Turkish and English cases. Prologues of late medieval English works are often characterized by an apologetic tone, acknowledging the inadequacies of literary English, a language bereft of eloquence and marred by crude and unpolished diction. The “primitive” maternal tongue of English, considered an unruly literary vernacular, lacking standardized grammar and scorned for its poverty of vocabulary, had to justify its use over Latin, the prestigious language of learning and science perceived as a more sublime, artful and dignified linguistic medium, rich in vocabulary and equipped by a rational grammatical structure. For the Turkish case of the prologue putting forth arguments justifying the composition of religious texts in the vernacular, see Sara Nur Yıldız, “A Hanafi Law Manual in the Vernacular: Devletoğlu Yūsuf Balıkesirī’s Turkish Verse Adaptation of the *Hidāya-Wiqāya* Textual Tradition for the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (827/1424),” *BSOAS* 80 (2017) (in press).

<sup>46</sup> Wogan-Browne et al., *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 9; Stanbury, “Vernacular Nostalgia,” 97.

<sup>47</sup> Pollock, “Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History,” 592.

<sup>48</sup> For a detailed discussion of Yunus Emre with references in the translators’ notes to more recent literature see Köprülü, *Early Mystics*.

poetry. Kırşehir in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century developed into an important religious centre, and one manifestation of this dynamicism was the production of Sufi texts with vernacularising tendencies aimed at popular audiences. Some of the earliest examples of literary Anatolian Turkish are found among this corpus, the most celebrated being Gülşehri's *Mantıku'l-Ṭayr* and Aşık Paşa's *Garîbnâme*, rhymed-verse mystical masterpieces composed respectively in the years 1317 and 1325. The lack of a local Perso-centric court culture in this part of the Ilkhanid domain, combined with the vibrant Sufi culture, explain better the rise of the Turkish vernacular as a literary language created by charismatic religious leaders for their largely Turcophone followers.

Turkish letters likewise found a receptive home in quite a different environment at the Aydınid court in western Anatolia, which had never fallen under Mongol rule. By the mid-thirteenth century, the frontier lying to the north, northwest, west, southwest, and south of the central Anatolian plateau, became inundated with nomadic Turkmen in search of pasturage and respite from the Mongol armies, their pastoralist competitor. The nascent political organisation of these Turkmen was shaped through intense interaction with Byzantines—not only through raiding their territories, but also through employment as mercenary bands and companies in the service of the Byzantines and other Christian governments in the Balkans and Mediterranean region.<sup>49</sup> Two such groups rose to power in western Anatolia: the Germiyanids, based in the Phrygian highlands centred at Kütahya, and their clients, the Aydınids, who established themselves in Birgi and Tire and extended their power westwards towards the Aegean coast at Ayasuluk and İzmir. Reigning in this Mongol-free zone as an independent Muslim sovereign, Mübarizeddin Mehmed Beg (r. ca. 707/1308-734/1336), the eponymous Aydınid ruler, must nevertheless have been conscious of the nearby Mongol presence in central Anatolia, as well as the Chinggisid dynastic claims to sole political domination. Perhaps taking their cue from the Mamluks, the inveterate enemies of the Ilkhanids and conscious wagers of *jihad* against the Christian infidels, Aydınoğlu Mehmed Beg and his son Umur assumed the leadership of the Turkish ghazi warriors of the Aegean.

Textual production here was predominantly court-centred with conscious attempts at partaking in the well-established traditions of Perso-Islamic religious, political, ethical and scientific discourses yet largely translated into the Turkish vernacular. With their aspirations as independent Muslim rulers as defined by Perso-Islamic ethical and religious discourse, Aydınid rulers sponsored Persian and Arabic letters as one way of acculturating their court and realm to classical Islamic norms.<sup>50</sup> Literary languages and cultures, Sheldon Pollock tells us, represent “prac-

<sup>49</sup> İnalçık, “The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State,” 76.

<sup>50</sup> Barbara Flemming, “Old Anatolian Turkish Poetry in its Relationship to the Persian Tradition,” in Lars Johanson and Christiane Bulut (eds), *Turkic-Iranian Contact Areas: Historical and Linguistic Aspects* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 50.

tices of attachment” and declarations of cultural affiliation.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, as local rulers independent of the Ilkhanids, the Aydinids appear to have been bent on creating a distinct identity, which included, among other things, the patronage of Turkish as a distinguishing feature from the hegemonic Persian court culture of the Ilkhanate and its subjects in Iran and central and eastern Anatolia. Seen in this context, Aydinid cultural affinity was not strictly a Turcophone one; the emergence of the Turkish literary vernacular in the Mongol and post-Mongol political environment must be firmly grounded in complex multilingual environments where local practices and understandings of Islam were beginning to take root.

### *Adab in the Formation in a Turco-Islamic Identity and Arabic and Persian in Late Medieval Anatolia*

Perhaps eager to distance themselves from their warlord and mercenary origins, the Germiyanids and Aydinids aspired to the status of independent and legitimate Muslim rulers as defined by Perso-Islamic ethical and religious discourse. Driven by this aspiration these rulers emerged as among the earliest sponsors of a newly emerging Turcophone Anatolian literary culture. A survey of extant texts suggests that the literary works produced at their courts were early Turkish adaptations of a variety of Persian literary and *adab* classics, in conjunction with works of a religious, medical and mystical nature. One may see this textual production as an effort at cultural integration into the greater Perso-Islamic cultural tradition. *Adab*, which is comparable to the classical notion of *paideia*, provided “the educated man with both a common store of paradigmatic historical figures and events and a canon of classical models for creative imitation.”<sup>52</sup> The definition of *adab* literature may be broadened into including not only anecdotal didactic wisdom literature and mirrors of princes, but also encompassing a variety of texts sponsored by the court, including philological, medical, astrological, and divinatory works. Indeed *adab* may be seen as encapsulating all forms of court-sponsored literature with a didactic intent.

The production of *adab* is crucial to our understanding of elite constructions of Rūmī identity in the fourteenth century. *Adab* functioned as one of the main venues through which an elite Turcophone identity was formed by translating courtly Perso-Islamic discourse and culture into Rūmī terms. It was likewise the adoption of Perso-Islamic *paideia* into a Turkish vernacular that allowed these local rulers, who were more likely to be bilingual in Turkish and Greek than adept in Arabic or Persian, to create an Islamic elite culture shaped by local conditions.

<sup>51</sup> Pollock, “Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History,” 594.

<sup>52</sup> Rebecca Preston, “Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the Construction of Identity,” in Simon Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 90.

*Adab* literature thus facilitated the creation of a political culture which bound elites and common subjects to a ruler based on notions of equity and divine sanction of rule. Indeed, *adab* literature defined the norms and expectations that rulers were held to by both the political elite and commoner alike.

While there is no doubt of the importance of the court for the promotion of literary Turkish, it was not the only site of literary production. Much early Turkish literature derives from Sufi milieus, such as the works of Aşık Paşa and Gülşehri from early fourteenth-century Kırşehir mentioned above. Moreover, although this essay has concentrated on the role of Turkish, we must also bear in mind the enduring vibrancy of literary production in Arabic and Persian. Persian and Arabic, meanwhile, were the languages in which a *majmū'a* (collection of works in one manuscript) was compiled for the Aydınid İsa Beg in the 1370s, as discussed by Sara Nur Yıldız in her contribution to this volume. In the successor state to Eretna, the principality of Qadi Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas, Arabic and Persian seem to have remained the main languages of prestige at court, even if Burhān al-Dīn is now famous as a Turkish-language poet.<sup>53</sup> It is also important to bear in mind there was not a linear progression from the use of Arabic and Persian to the vernacular. The vernacular works of authors like Süleyman Çelebi of Bursa, whose devotional poem on the Prophet's birth composed in 812/1409 remains one of the best-loved pieces of literature from the period, or the court poet Ahmedi (d. 815/1413), and the author of religious works, Ahmed Bican (d. c. 870/1466) who was based in Gallipoli, point to the importance of Turkish in the Ottoman state in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Yet, in the mid- to late fifteenth century there is actually an upsurge in literary production in Arabic and Persian, comprising not just scientific works, but also the composition of several Persian-language histories of the dynasty.<sup>54</sup>

### *The Current Volume*

The essays in this volume are organised thematically into three sections dealing with key themes. Religion, and specifically Sufism, permeates almost all literature and intellectual life in this period in this form; as discussed above, Sufi verse constitutes some of the oldest literary Turkish from Anatolia, and Köprülü's influential study of *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature* has remained the starting point for most scholarship on medieval Anatolian texts. It therefore is appropri-

<sup>53</sup> Discussed by Peacock in his chapter in this volume.

<sup>54</sup> On literature in this period, see Gönül Tekin, "Fatih Devri Türk Edebiyatı" in Mustafa Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul Armağanı*, vol 1, *Fatih ve Fatih* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1995), 161–236; on later Persian historical writing see Sara Nur Yıldız, "Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400-1600" in Charles Melville (ed.), *Persian Historiography* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 436-502; see also the contributions by Trigg and Kim to this volume.

ate that the first section of this volume, “Sufis, Texts and Religious Landscapes of Anatolia,” addresses the relationship of intellectual production to the religious background. The volume opens with Bruno de Nicola’s examination of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*, a work surviving in a unique Persian manuscript composed in the late thirteenth-century for one of the earliest *beyliks* to emerge, the Çobanid ruler of the Black-Sea province of Kastamonu, Muḏaffar al-Dīn Masʿūd bin Alp-Yūrak (or Muḏaffar Yavlak Arslan, d. 691/1292). The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* provides the earliest account of the Qalandars in Rūm, a group of antinomian Sufis (at least according to their enemies). Alarmed by the popularity of these deviant dervishes, the author recommends stricter enforcement of the sharia and righteous rule as the solution to contain the spread of the Qalandar heresy. Despite its biases, the *Fuṣṭāṭ* presents a rare and detailed glimpse of the relatively undocumented religious life of medieval Anatolia, where the Qalandar movement had clearly taken root.

In “Layers of Mystical Meaning and Social Context in the Works of Kaygusuz Abdal,” Zeynep Oktay explains and contextualises the multi-layered Sufi doctrines of the foundational and prolific fifteenth-century dervish Turkish-language poet, Kaygusuz Abdal, who is still venerated by Alevis today. The essay provides original social and political insights into the Kaygusuz Abdal’s thought and career by a careful study of his literary production. Kaygusuz Abdal’s works shed light on the formation of Bektashism, especially on the early stages of its core beliefs, such as the doctrine of ‘Alī and that of the Four Gates (*dört kapı: şerʿat, ṭarīkat, maʿrifet, ḥaḳīkat*). Although Kaygusuz Abdal is considered representative of the antinomian mode of Sufism, Oktay’s insightful analysis of his doctrines reveals a more complex and fluid interplay between what has been considered “orthodoxy” and “heterodoxy.” Oktay’s analysis of these doctrines is grounded in an intimate knowledge of Kaygusuz Abdal’s substantial corpus, primarily verse works composed in the Turkish vernacular of his day.

In his study of the Arabic *Iksīr al-Saʿādāt* penned by the late fourteenth-century ruler of the city-state of Sivas, Qadi Burhān al-Dīn, A.C.S. Peacock links metaphysics with rulership in the context of the development of the “science of letters” (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*) in late medieval Anatolia. A treatise on philosophical Sufism under the influence of Ibn ‘Arabi’s and Qūnawī’s thought, the *Iksīr al-Saʿādāt* attempts to bridge the epistemological gap between esoteric and exoteric knowledge. After providing an overview of this previously unstudied text which, among other things, emphasises jihad as the path to becoming the perfect man, Peacock contextualises Qadi Burhān al-Dīn’s thought in the intellectual trends of his time. Peacock observes that Qadi Burhān al-Dīn’s work not only reflects his aspirations as a “Suhrawardian ruler endowed with cosmic knowledge,” but also serves to defend Akbarian thought against its detractors.

Evrīm Binbaş takes up the question of *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* in late medieval Anatolia, although in quite a different way, moving to the realm of material culture. In his

piece entitled, “Did the Hurufis mint coins? Articulation of Sacral Kingship in an Aqqyunlu Coin Hoard from Erzincan,” Binbaş examines a substantial fifteenth-century hoard of silver coins discovered in Erzincan, many of which came from the same dye and were minted in Erzincan (as well as in Kemah and Bayburt). The majority of these coins bear enigmatic inscriptions in Turkish with phrases including the word *ḥarf* (letter) or *ḥurūf* (letter); several coin types are dated to 845/1441-1442, providing us with the hoard’s *terminus ante quem*. Although the editors of these coins have attributed them to a Hurufi milieu, Binbaş demonstrates that they have misinterpreted the meaning and context of the word *ḥarf* on these coins. Binbaş considers these “pseudo-Hurufi” coins in their Aqqyunlu context, raising the possibility that these phrases reflect an absolutist political tendency during a period of turmoil and civil war among competing tribal factions.

The second section, “Literature and Court Culture,” pivots around the issues of literary production, whether it be authorship or court sponsorship, and how various factors influence the shape, intent, and outlook of literary works. Selim Kuru’s article, “The Self-Promoting Poor One: Reintroducing Gülşehri as a ‘Shaykh of the Book’ in Fourteenth-Century Anatolia,” presents a nuanced study of the authorial and narrative strategies of Gülşehri, a seminal Sufi poet composing works of mystical content in both Persian and Anatolian Turkish, set in the fluid and unstable literary scene at the turn of the fourteenth century in Anatolia. Kuru reflects upon Gülşehri’s distinctive self-referential literary practices in his Persian *Falaknāma* and Turkish *Mantıku’t-Ṭayr*, which entail the constant repetition of his penname, the boastful challenges to iconic poets of the past, primarily Nizāmī and ‘Aṭṭār, and his self-designated title as the Shaykh of the Book in reference to his prolific literary output. Kuru likewise discusses the Anatolian poet’s patronage relations, which may be characterised as fleeting in a politically volatile period. Whereas he presented his first work, his Persian *Falaknāma*, a guide to the secrets of the universe, to the Ilkhanid ruler, Ghazan Khan, he apparently felt no need for patronage for his Turkish *Mantıku’t-Ṭayr*. Kuru describes the emerging literary language of Anatolian Turkish in interaction with the classical Perso-Islamic tradition clad in a “new linguistic garb,” and shaped by interaction with the past canon in an effort to create a contemporary, and specifically Rūm one. Kuru points out that “Gülşehri invites us to reconsider the conditions for the use of the intertwined literary languages of Anatolia: Arabic (with respect to sources), Persian (with respect to the poetics of Sufism) and, last and but not least, Turkish (with respect to localisation).”

In her essay, “Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-century Western Anatolia,” Sara Nur Yıldız surveys the substantial trilingual corpus of fourteenth-century literary works emanating from the Aydınid court, the site of a particularly vibrant Islamic environment in the making. Yıldız links textual production with both *adab* and scholastic modes to the formation of a specifically local Turcophone Islamic identity. Works composed in the newly

emerging Anatolian Turkish vernacular were shaped within intense interaction with the classical Islamic traditions in Persian and Arabic. The Aydinid corpus consists of a variety of genres and writing modes with a strong emphasis on vernacular production: Turkish adaptations of Islamic sacred narratives (the accounts of the Prophets, Muḥammad, and Sufi saints) and lengthy rhymed couplets rendering Perso-Islamic *adab* classics such as *Khusraw and Shirin* and *Kalila and Dimna* into Turkish. The final category of work is medical writing, in both Turkish and Arabic, and scholastic theological-logic commentary writing in Arabic, composed with pedagogical purposes in mind by the Aydinid court physician and madrasa professor, Hacı Paşa. The final work examined is a manuscript miscellany, which contains a wide range of material, including Arabic and Persian *qaṣīdas*, a Persian Sufi glossary, Arabic moralistic epigrams and an excerpt of a medical work. Prepared in the name of İsa Beg by a poet-courtier of presumably Iranian origins, the *Tire Miscellany* provides a fascinating window into the intellectual interests of the Aydinid court. Defining *adab* as a discursive tradition aimed at creating political and social elites through the transmission of canons of knowledge and ways of thinking that inculcate aesthetic, ethical and religious values, Yıldız highlights the relationship between *adab* and textual production emanating from rulers' courts and *adab's* role in facilitating the creation of a political culture which bound elites and common subjects to a ruler based on notions of equity and the divine sanction of rule. Yıldız concludes that the *adab* literary trends and forms of scholastic knowledge that came to the Aydinid court shed light on the interregional networks of textual communities as they took shape in the post-Mongol world of the mid- to late fourteenth century. Particularly noteworthy is the enormous impact that intellectual trends emerging out of Ilkhanid Iran had on the Islamic world, and especially Mamluk Egypt, which was perhaps even more closely linked to Ayasuluk than we imagine. The result of travelling scholars and courtiers to the Aydinid court was an Arabo-Persian intellectual and aesthetic synthesis set within a largely Turcophone environment. Syrian-Iranian styles, indeed, became an important defining characteristic of Aydinid culture, architecturally as well as in literary and intellectual fields.

The last two papers of the second session both deal with Ahmedī's *İskender-nāme*, interrogating the work with quite different yet complementary approaches. Pointing out that Alexander the Great had become all things to all people, Dimitri J. Kastritsis, in his paper entitled "Whose Hero? The Alexander Romance and the Rise of the Ottoman Empire," takes a broad, critical historical approach to the development of the Alexander Romance in the early Ottoman Empire, while bearing in mind issues of intertextuality transcending religious and linguistic divides and examining the work according to several different interpretational levels. Stressing the Alexander Romance's adaptability to different cultural contexts, Kastritsis begins by briefly examining the prose vernacular Greek version, demonstrating how its narrative took shape in the context of contemporary cul-



ture, politics, and textual communities. Kastritsis explains the wide popularity of the medieval İskender/Alexander the Great as a result of its contested cultural currency as a “seeker of universal truth and empire,” as well as its motifs of conquest during a time when Ottoman armies were expanding the domain of Islam into Christian Europe. Kastritsis likewise examines the work in the context of Ottoman identity formation within a world order still largely dominated by the Chinggisid legacy. He reads episodes of the work in the backdrop of contemporaneous events and political struggles, such as Ahmedi’s presentation of Darius’s conflict with Caesar, which he points out, “should not be seen merely on the level of two warring kingdoms, but rather on that of a larger struggle between two competing religions and world orders.”

In contrast to Kastritsis’ study of Ahmedi’s *İskendernâme* set in the broad context of the medieval Alexander Romance phenomenon, Şevket Küçükhüseyin, in his “The Ottoman Historical Section of Ahmedi’s *İskendernâme*: An Alternative Reading in the Light of the Author’s Personal Circumstances,” focuses on the Ottoman historical section of Ahmedi’s *İskendernâme*, *Tevāriḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i ‘Osmān*. After critiquing past studies which, in their focus on its literary, linguistic and ideological features, have neglected to study the Ottoman historical section from a historical perspective, Küçükhüseyin interprets the account in light of the author’s personal experiences at the Ottoman court of both Bayezid I and Emir Süleyman. In order to highlight these personal circumstances, Küçükhüseyin provides a brief overview of Ahmedi’s life and career, inspired largely by Tunca Kortantamer’s biographical study. Küçükhüseyin argues that the shape and moral emphases of the narrative as well as its so-called historiographical shortcomings, are the combined result of both the author’s personal history as well as the generic necessities and rhetorical devices characteristic of the *naṣīhatnāma* format. Indeed, the work was composed as a work of advice specifically addressed to Emir Süleyman, warning him of his father Bayezid I’s excesses. Küçükhüseyin thus proposes that it is this performative didactic function of the work which explains the author’s deliberate silence on Bayezid’s military achievements and as well as his harsh judgment of the Ottoman sultan following his crushing defeat by Timur. Küçükhüseyin likewise dwells on Ahmedi’s problematic relationship with Emir Süleyman and the poet’s precarious position at the court which was rife with rivalry among those seeking the Ottoman ruler’s favour.

Section three, “Mobility, Networks, and Patrons,” deals with the transfer of knowledge and scholarly and textual practices from different ends of the Islamic world to Anatolia and often through the facilitation by scholarly networks. This transference of knowledge in particular was stimulated by mobile scholars in search of new teachers, and employment and patrons. These scholars not only brought with them expertise and learning, which they passed onto new generations of students, but also written works in the form of manuscript copies. Extensive interregional networks were essential for scholars in establishing them-

selves and their credentials in new intellectual milieu, even ones in embryonic form, such as in the early Ottoman realm. Abdurrahman Atçıl's "Mobility of Scholars and the Formation of a Self-Sustaining Scholarly System in the Lands of Rum during the Fifteenth Century" takes a broad look at how a self-perpetuating scholarly system emerged in the lands of Rûm during the fifteenth century. In his discussion of how Anatolia, under the rule of the dynamic Ottoman state in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, became a magnet for scholars coming from different parts of the Islamic world, Atçıl traces the vast opportunities of patronage accompanying Ottoman conquests in both Anatolia and the Balkans. The establishment of Ottoman rule in new lands was accompanied by the construction of madrasas, the professors of whom were either immigrant scholars or Anatolians who had received their education elsewhere in the Islamic world. By the end of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, however, a sufficient number of home-grown, locally educated scholars became employed at these scholarly and religious institutions, thus significantly reducing the window of opportunity for emigré scholars.

Jonathan Brack's "Was Ede Bali a Wafâ'î Shaykh? Sufis, Sayyids and Genealogical Creativity in the Early Ottoman World," which brings new light to the complicated relationship between hagiography, descent-based claims to spiritual authority, and the manipulation of Sufi and sayyid lineages, with the case study of the fifteenth-century Ottoman context of the Wafâ'iyya (Vefâ'iyye). Brack convincingly argues that no formal Sufi order (*tariqa*) of the Wafâ'iyya ever existed, as has been presumed, but rather that we need to reconceive the Wafâ'iyya as a nebulous form of "household Sufism," loosely organised around the networks of descendants of venerated Sufi figures and their *zāwiyyas*. The descendants of the celebrated eleventh-century Sufi, Sayyid Tāj al-Ārifīn Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad promoted their illustrious ancestor's saintly legacy with an emphasis on the family's pedigree going back to the Prophet Muḥammad through the fourth Imam, Āli Zayn al-Ābidīn. Abū al-Wafā's spiritual legacy was thus tied directly to his status as a "living link to the Prophet," to use Kazuo Morimoto's phrase.<sup>55</sup> Brack situates this phenomenon in the Ottoman context through a careful study of Seyyid Vilayet's (d. 929/1522) motivations for commissioning of a partial Ottoman Turkish translation of Abū al-Wafā's Arabic hagiography after studying in Cairo with "fellow" Wafâ'iyya. The Turkish *Menākīb* commissioned by Seyyid Vilayet puts forth his own claims as a Sayyid through descent from the Wafâ'iyya family. Through textual genealogical ploys and manipulations, the work not only endows Seyyid Vilayet, the son-in-law of the Ottoman historian Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 888/1484), with a spiritually charismatic lineage; it likewise portrays the fourteenth-century Ottoman ancestor, Shaykh Ede Bali, as a spiritual successor (*khalifa*) of Abū al-Wafā'. By doing so, the

<sup>55</sup> See Kazuo Morimoto, "Introduction," in idem (ed.), *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet* (London: Routledge, 2012), 1-12.

success of Osman, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty, is thus attributed to the spiritual support of the *Wafāʾiyya*.

Scott Trigg's "Optics and Geography in the Astronomical Commentaries of Faḥallāh al-Shirwānī" offers a fascinating glance into the circulation of knowledge, in particular, that of the rational sciences in the fifteenth century with his overview of Faḥallāh al-Shirwānī. Typical of scholars of his time, Shirwānī was highly mobile, having travelled throughout the Turco-Iranian world, from his native Shirvan in the eastern Caucasus to Khurasan and Samarqand. He chose to pursue his scholarly career, however, in Anatolia, seeking patrons at the Candarid-Isfendiyarid court in Kastamonu as well as among the Ottomans, including the sultan, Mehmed II. Trigg focuses on two of Shirwānī's astronomical texts, both composed in the format of highly innovative commentaries. What emerges out of Trigg's study of Shirwānī's astronomical writings is how different rational disciplines nurtured the study of astronomy, particularly optics and mathematical geography. Indeed, Shirwānī's commentaries deepen the knowledge of astronomy in significant ways by drawing on these two fields. In a sophisticated presentation of Ibn al-Haytham's optics, Shirwānī explicates the role of refraction in visual perception, the understanding of which is so important in making accurate astronomical observations. Shirwānī likewise imparts new geographical knowledge especially important for the newly expanding empire of the Ottomans.

In his excursion into the Ottoman literary culture of fifteenth-century Kütahya, Sooyong Kim revisits the city known as the birthplace of poets in the early Ottoman period, with Şeyhi as its most famous native son. Although Kütahya was a well-established centre for Turkish literary production, in prose and verse, and of a secular variety, from mirrors for princes to panegyrics, in addition to translations and adaptations of Persian collections of moralizing fables and romances, little has been written about the phenomenon of provincial literary production emanating from Kütahya, particularly after 854/1451 when Mehmed II re-established the city as the capital of the province of Anatolia. Kim surveys Kütahya's literary activity, focusing on several poets and their Turkish, Persian and, in a few cases, Arabic verse. Not only does he consider the effect of shifts in patronage patterns, but likewise reflects on how the sources have shaped our perception of provincial poets according to the biases of these authors who were based at Ottoman capital. Indeed, Kim is highly conscious of the problems posed by the primary source for Ottoman literary history – sixteenth-century Ottoman biographical dictionaries of poets (*tezkiye-i şuʿarāʾ*) – which, in their efforts to draw attention to their own networks, were relatively unconcerned with literary milieu that were not fostered by the imperial court of the capital; furthermore these works present Kütahya according to a later revisionist view as a place past its prime in the post-Germiyanid period. Kim counters the silences and biases of the *tezkiye* literature by examining the actual verse contained in the *diwāns* of Kütahyan poets. After giving an overview of the poetic legacies of Şeyhi and his nephew, Cemali, Kim surveys the life

and works of less well-known individuals, the poets İzari and İlahi who, unlike Şeyhi and Cemali, were not professional poets employed at a ruler's court, but rather made their living as scholar and Sufi shaykh respectively. In this piece, Kim simultaneously deconstructs the Ottoman literary perception of Kütahya as well reconstructs its literary scene and the careers of its poets during the second half of the fifteenth century.

A volume such as this can only shed light on a small selection of the authors and texts that have survived. Nonetheless, we hope that it demonstrates the utility of examining intellectual production in medieval Anatolia in all three languages, and will assist in delineating new avenues of research that move the debate on at last from the nationalist paradigm established by Köprülü nearly a century ago, and which has dominated ever since. The first desideratum for enhancing our knowledge of the intellectual environment of medieval Anatolia must be the study of the vast numbers of neglected texts that survive unpublished in manuscript. The case studies of texts presented here are intended as a preliminary step in that direction.

### *Bibliography*

- Akar, Metin. "Şeyyad Hamza Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler I." *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* (1986): 1-14.
- Allen, Roger. "The Post-Classical Period: Parameters and Preliminaries." In Roger Allen and D.S. Richards (eds). *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Post-Classical Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 1-21.
- Bauman, Richard. "The Philology of the Vernacular." *Journal of Folklore Research* 45, no. 1 (2008): 29-36.
- Binbaş, Evrim. *The Timurid Republic of Letters: Radicals and Freethinkers in Late Medieval Islamic History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, *forthcoming*.
- Broadbridge, Ann. *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Browne, E.G. *A History of Persian Literature*. Vol 3: *The Tartar Dominion (1265-1502)*. Cambridge, 1920; reprint, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997.
- Boykov, Grigor. "Anatolian Emir in Rumelia: İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey's Architectural Patronage and Governorship of Filibe (1460s-1470s)." *Bulgarian Historian Review* 102 (2013): 137-147.
- Cahen, Claude. "Eretna." *EP*, vol. 2, 705-707.
- Crossgrove, William. "The Vernacularization of Science, Medicine, and Technology in Late Medieval Europe: Broadening Our Perspectives." *Early Science and Medicine* 5, no. 1 (2000): 47-63.

- Digby, Simon. "Before Timur Came: Provincialization of the Delhi Sultanate through the Fourteenth Century." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 3 (2004): 298-356.
- Dunietz, Alexandra. *The Cosmic Perils of Qadi Husayn Maybudi in Fifteenth-Century Iran*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire*. London: John Murray, 2005.
- Fleming, Barbara. "Old Anatolian Turkish Poetry in its Relationship to the Persian Tradition." In Lars Johanson and Christiane Bulut (eds). *Turkic-Iranian Contact Areas: Historical and Linguistic Aspects*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006, 49-68.
- Foss, Clive. *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia. I: Kütahya*. Oxford: British Institute of Archaeology, 1985.
- Gandjei, Tourkhan. "Notes on the Attribution and Date of the 'Çarh-nāma'." In *Studi Preottomani e Ottomani. Atti del Convegno di Napoli (24-26 settembre 1974)*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1976, 101-104.
- Haddad, Mahmoud, Arnim Heinemann, John L. Meloy, and Souad Slim (eds). *Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Era*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2010.
- Hirschfeld, Gustav. "Notes of Travel in Paphlagonia and Galatia." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 4 (1883): 275-280.
- Koç, Mustafa. "Anadolu'da İlk Türkçe Telif Eser." *Bilig* 57 (2011): 159-174.
- Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad. *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, tr. and ed. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Korkmaz, Zeynep. "Anadolu'da Oğuz Türkçesi Temelinde İlk Yazı Dilinin Kuruluşu." *Belleten Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 2 (2009): 61-69.
- Lindner, Rudi P. "Anatolia, 1300-1451." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey, 1071-1453*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 102-137.
- Lingwood, Chad G. *Politics, Poetry and Sufism in Medieval Iran: New Perspectives on Jāmi's Salāmān va Absāl*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (2003) [http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/MamlukStudiesReview\\_VII-1\\_2003.pdf](http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/MamlukStudiesReview_VII-1_2003.pdf)
- Mansuroğlu, Mecdut. "The Rise and Development of Written Turkish in Anatolia." *Oriens* 7, no. 2 (1954): 250-264.
- Mazıoğlu, Hasibe. "Geçmişin Türkçesinden Örnekler." *Tarih Dergisi* 13, no. 145 (1963): 25-30.
- Mazıoğlu, Hasibe. "Selçuklular Devrinde Anadolu'da Türk Edebiyatının Başlaması ve Türkçe Yazan Şairler." In *Malazgirt Aramağarı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972, 297-316.
- Mélikoff, Irene. "Germiyān-oghulları." *EP*, vol. 2, 989-990.

- Merçil, Erdoğan. "Türkiye Selçukluları Devrinde Türkçenin Resmi Dil Olmasını Kim Kabul Etti?" *Belleten* 64, no. 239 (2000): 51-57.
- Morimoto, Kazuo. "Introduction." In *idem* (ed.), *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet*. London: Routledge, 2012, 1-12.
- al-Musawi, Muhsin J. *The Medieval Arabic Republic of Letters*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. "Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life, 1071-1453." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey, 1071-1453*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet. *Byzantium to Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 353-422.
- Orsini, Francesco and Samira Sheikh (eds). *After Timur Left: Culture and Circulation in Fifteenth Century North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Paul, Jürgen. "A Landscape of Fortresses: Central Anatolia in Astarbâdî's *Bazm wa Razm*." In David Durand-Guédy (ed.). *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*. Leiden: Brill, 2013, 317-345.
- Pfeiffer, Judith (ed.). *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century Tabriz*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Pollock, Sheldon. "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History." *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 591-625.
- Preston, Rebecca. "Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the Construction of Identity." In Simon Goldhill (ed.). *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 86-119.
- Riyâhî, Muḥammad Amin. *Zabân wa Adab-i Fârsî dar Qalamrâw-i 'Utlmâni*. Tehran: Pazhang, 1369; Turkish tr. as Muhammed Emin Riyahi, *Osmanlı Topraklarında Fars Dili ve Edebiyatı*. Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1995.
- Sertkaya, Osman F. "Ahmed Fakih." *TDVİA*, vol. 2, 65-67.
- Stanbury, Sarah. "Vernacular Nostalgia and *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 44, no. 1 (2002): 92-107.
- Tekin, Gönül. "Fatih Devri Türk Edebiyatı." In Mustafa Armağan (ed.). *İstanbul Armağanı*, vol. 1, *Fatih ve Fatih* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1995), 161-236.
- Üşenmez, Emek. "Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Açısından Germiyanlı (Kütahya) Şairlerin Yeri ve Kütahya'daki Yazma Eser Kütüphanelerinin Önemi." *Turkish Studies* 8, no. 1 (2013): 2787-2805.
- Varlık, Mustafa Çetin. "Germiyanogulları." *TDVİA*, vol. 14, 33-35.
- Witteck, Paul. "Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum." *Byzantion* 2 (1936): 285-319.
- Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans (eds). *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthropology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999.

- Yaman, Zühtü. *Kastamonu Kasaba Köyü'nde Candaroğlu Mahmut Bey Camii*. Ankara: İl Tanıtım Serisi, Kano Ltd., 2000.
- Yavuz, Kemal. "XIII.-XVI. Asır Dil Yâdigârlarının Anadolu Sahasında Türkçe Yazılış Sebepleri ve Bu Devir Müelliflerinin Türkçe Hakkındaki Görüşleri." *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 27 (1983): 32-40.
- Yazıcı, Tahsin and Osman G. Özgüdenli. "Persian authors of Asia Minor, Parts 1-2." <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persian-authors-1>; <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persian-authors-2>
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "Razing Gevele and Fortifying Konya: the Beginning of the Ottoman Conquest of the Karamanid Principality in South-Central Anatolia, 1468." In A.C.S. Peacock (ed.). *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 307-329.
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey: Medieval Anatolian Warlord or Kemalist Language Reformer? History, Language Politics and the Celebration of the Language Festival in Karaman, Turkey, 1961-2008." In Jørgen Nielsen (ed.). *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*. Leiden: Brill, 2012, 147-170.
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400-1600" in Charles Melville (ed.). *Persian Historiography*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012, 436-502.
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "From Cairo To Ayasuluk: Hacı Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Late Fourteenth Century." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (2014): 263-297.
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "A Hanafi Law Manual in the Vernacular: Devletoğlu Yūsuf Balıkesirî's Turkish Verse Adaptation of the *Hidāya-Wiqāya* Textual Tradition for the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (827/1424)." *BSOAS* 80 (2017) (in press).
- Yücel, Yaşar. *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar: Çobanoğulları Beyliği, Candaroğulları Beyliği, Mesaliki'l-Ebsar'a Göre Anadolu Beylikleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991.
- Yücel, Yaşar. "Candaroğulları." *TDVİA*, vol. 7, 146-149.
- Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājiḇ. *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig). A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, tr. Robert Dankoff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.





Part I.  
Sufis, Texts and  
Religious Landscapes  
of Anatolia



## Chapter 2

# The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*: A Unique Manuscript on the Religious Landscape of Medieval Anatolia

*Bruno De Nicola*

As a newly Islamicised frontier of the Islamic world, medieval Anatolia had a multi-religious landscape where different interpretations of both Islam and Christianity coexisted, confronted and overlapped.<sup>1</sup> However, this diversity was not circumscribed to religious confession, but occurred also within Islam itself, where Shiite and Sunni ideologies coexisted with Sufi practices to form a religious scene which is often difficult to categorise.<sup>2</sup> This is also reflected in the textual production of Anatolia in the period. A significant number of works on *kalām* and *fiqh*, in addition to a variety of Sufi texts, were written, copied and distributed across the peninsula.<sup>3</sup> Yet, despite this textual richness, the vast majority of authors concentrate on matters concerning their own communities and pay little attention to the practices, ideas or beliefs of other confessions or religious groups.<sup>4</sup> One of the few exceptions in this regard is the work discussed here, the

---

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to both Andrew Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız for reading earlier drafts of this work and providing valuable suggestions and corrections. The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 208476, "The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100–1500."

<sup>1</sup> See for example A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion on the state of research on religious and intellectual history of medieval Anatolia, see A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, "Introduction" in A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 1–22.

<sup>3</sup> This is not the place to enumerate the vast amount of works produced in medieval Anatolia. For an overview of the literary production in this period, see Muḥammad Amin Riyāḥī, *Zabān wa Adab-i Fārsī dar Qalamraw-i ʿUthmāni* (Tehran: Pāzhang, 1369/1990) for works written in Persian; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage*, 2 vols. and 3 supplements (Leiden: Brill, 1943–1949), especially volume 1 for Arabic works or catalogues of Turkish manuscript collections in Turkey and Europe. In addition, the ERC-funded project, "The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100–1500" will provide an online website containing a database of the manuscript production of Anatolia in this period which will be useful to map the literary production of the area.

<sup>4</sup> There are, nonetheless exceptions to this rule. For example, see the Muslim-Christian polemic in A.C.S. Peacock, "An Interfaith Polemic of Medieval Anatolia: Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn al-Anawī on the Armenians and their Heresies" in A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 233–261.

*Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla fi Qawāʿid al-Salṭana*. The unique manuscript of the work that has survived to the present day contains a text that offers many areas of interest, some of which we will consider in this chapter. Among them is the earliest outsider’s description of the ideas, practices and expansion of the deviant dervish group known generally as the “Qalandars” in late thirteenth-century Anatolia. Written in Persian, the text has only attracted limited scholarly attention despite its uniqueness and historical value. The discussion I present here is far from being a definitive study on the work, but aims to offer some insights into the information provided by both the manuscript and the text. In order to do so, we will first examine some codicological features of the surviving manuscript of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*. Second, we will briefly summarise the contents of the relevant part of the manuscript and, finally, will offer some considerations obtained from the text on its relevance for our understanding of the religious, political and intellectual landscape of medieval Anatolia.

### *The Manuscript*

The manuscript of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla fi Qawāʿid al-Salṭana* is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris under shelf mark Supplement Turc 1120. For some reason, the text, although written entirely in Persian, was catalogued under the Turkish rather than the Persian collection in the library. There is also a microfilm version of the manuscript at the library of the University of Tehran, which has been the main source for Iranian scholars working on this text.<sup>5</sup> The work is not totally unknown to scholarship, especially in Turkey, where it was studied and partially published by Osman Turan in 1953.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the text has been mentioned in passing in the secondary literature, though only for its specific references to the Qalandar dervishes.<sup>7</sup> However, beyond these mentions, the text has generally been dismissed as a minor source for the history of medieval Anatolia and its contribution to the literary history of the peninsula has been overlooked.

The codex was catalogued by Edgar Blochet, who described it as containing two different titles on the cover page, *Kitāb-i Fārsī* and *Kitāb-i Dīgar*. These two titles were added by a later hand, possibly after the manuscript reached France, and therefore offer little information regarding the text. The first part of the manuscript

<sup>5</sup> See Muḥammad ʿAlī Yūsufi, “Dar Āstāna-yi Taḥqīq wa Nashr: Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla fi Qawāʿid al-Salṭana,” *Faṣṭāna-yi Āyina-yi Mirāth* 4, no.1 (2001): 56–58. The author consulted microfilm no 6541, held in the Library of the University of Tehran.

<sup>6</sup> Osman Turan, “Selçuk Türkiyesi Din Tarihine Dair bir Kaynak: Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdale fi Kavāʿid is-Sulṭana” in *60. Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle: Fuad Köprülü Armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010), 531–564.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Ahmet Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends* (Oxford: OneWorld, 2006), 62; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Marjinal Süfilik: Kalenderiler: XIV–XVII. Yüzyıllar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), 168, 172.

(fol. 1a–69b) was described by Blochet as a work on different “heterodoxies in Islam” and given the name *Kitāb-i Takballuṣ* (Book of the Pen name), based on a supposed reference to this title in folio 1b. The second part (fol. 73a–118b) was described as a “mirror for princes” which, according to the French scholar, is not the *Siyāsatnāma* of Nizām al-Mulk despite similarities in content.<sup>8</sup> However, as suggested by Osman Turan, the second part of the codex appears to be an updated version of Nizām al-Mulk’s book, where the author of the present work used anecdotes of the *Siyāsatnāma*, occasionally adapting them to his own time and work.<sup>9</sup>

Despite being catalogued as two works, the script indicates that both were copied in the same period and the language of both parts is similar. In addition, contextual information in both parts is consistent with each other; for example, the mention of the continuity of Sasanian, Abbasid and Seljuk diplomatic practices into the reigns of the sultans of Rūm, such as ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykā’ūs (r. 607/1211–617/1220) and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 617/1220–634/1237), with the subsequent transformation of these practices under the Mongol domination of Anatolia (fol. 83b). This precise reference to thirteenth-century Anatolia in both sections of the manuscript suggests that, rather than being two distinct works bound together, this is the same work separated into two parts. Further, as Turan noted, there is reference in the second part to events mentioned in the first part.<sup>10</sup> This indicates that the manuscript was bound in reverse order, with the preliminary part at the end and the second part at the front. Finally, it is worth mentioning that, at the end of the first part, there is a long concluding poem in Persian, which originally should have corresponded to the end of the whole work. This creates the visual image of a finished work for the first part and might have contributed to the initial belief that this was the end of one work and that it was unrelated to the part that followed.

Regarding the dating of the manuscript, there seems to be, once again, some confusion in Blochet’s description. The French scholar wrongly suggested that the work might have been copied in the eighteenth century and disregards the fact that the manuscript mentions that it was copied in 990/1582. Instead, Blochet suggests that the date should be read as 690/1291 CE, taking this new date as the date of composition. However, it is clear that the copyist is referring to copying this text in 990 AH, an assessment that was also made by Turan (see fig. 2.1).<sup>11</sup> In addition, the *ta’liq* script in which the text is written is in a standard Ottoman bureaucrat’s hand consistent with other manuscripts produced in Istanbul and other Ottoman territories in the sixteenth century, suggesting a correlation between the

<sup>8</sup> E. Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs*, vol. 2 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1933), 160–170. For Nizām al-Mulk, see Nizām al-Mulk, *The Book of Government: or, Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk*, tr. Hubert Darke (London: Routledge, 1978).

<sup>9</sup> Turan, “Selçuk Türkiyesi,” 535.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 534.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 531–532.

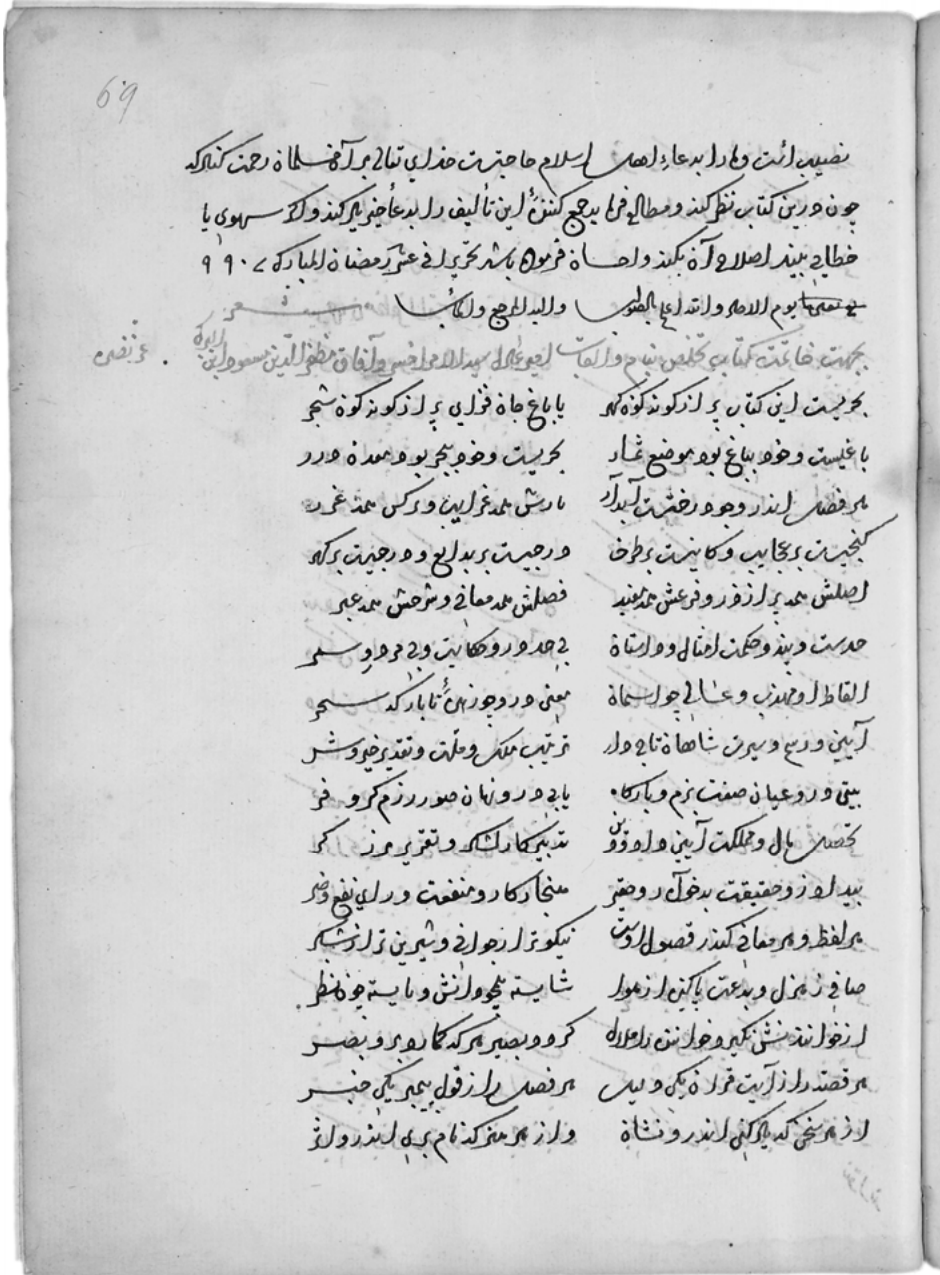


Figure 2.1: *Fusṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla fī Qawāʿid al-Saltāna*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 69a, showing date of copying.

given date of 990 AH and the dating from the palaeography of the script. Yet, if this assessment is correct, then why would an experienced scholar like Blochet make such a suggestion? Lacking ownership marks or a classical colophon, the confusion appears to come from other references found in the manuscript to the reign of Masʿūd Shāh b. Kaykāʿūs, also known as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd II, who was first appointed sultan of Rūm in 682/1284 by the Ilkhan Aḥmad Tegüder and stayed as a prominent pro-Ilkhanid figure in Anatolia until 696/1297, when he was accused of plotting against the Ilkhanids and confined in Tabriz while Rūm was entrusted to the puppet sultan Kayqubād III.<sup>12</sup> Finally, Masʿūd returned to Anatolia as Sultan in 702/1303 to replace Kayqubād III when the latter was also accused of plotting against the Mongols, having the doubtful honour of being the last official sultan of Rūm. Further, another section in the text mentions that seventy-two years had passed from the time in which the Qalandars began to spread in 611/1214–15 and the writing of his book, which places the date of composition of the work in 683/1284–85.<sup>13</sup>

The text mentions that the work was composed at a time when the ruler Masʿūd II was in office, but the work appears dedicated in the poem to a certain Mir Jahān Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. A.L.P.R.K (d. 691/1292), whom Turan convincingly identified with Muẓaffar al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Alp-Yürak, the governor of the region of Kastamonu, also known as Muẓaffar Yavlak Arslan,<sup>14</sup> a member of a distinguished family associated with the Seljuk house since the time of Muẓaffar al-Dīn's grandfather, Hūsam al-Dīn Chūbān (Çoban) who acted as hereditary governors of Kastamonu from ca. 619-20/1223 to 708/1309, expanding their domains at the expense of the adjacent Byzantine territories of north-western Anatolia. The Çobanids thus represent one of the first *beyliks* to emerge from the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm. Muẓaffar Yavlak Arslan reigned between 678/1280 and 691/1292,<sup>15</sup> and the composition of our text can thus be placed in late thirteenth-century north Anatolia.<sup>16</sup> The Çobanid patronage of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*

<sup>12</sup> See Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071-1330*. (New York: Taplinger, 1968), 294-303; Charles Melville, "Anatolia Under the Mongols" in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet, *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 73–81.

<sup>13</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 53b.

<sup>14</sup> See Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 69b; Turan, "Selçuk Türkiyesi," 533. Despite this, a possible lost copy of this work seems to have been composed in the region of Aksaray. See Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-Zunun*, ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, vol. 2 (1943; reprint, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1972), column 1259.

<sup>15</sup> Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The Revolt in Kastamonu, c. 1291-1293," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004): 87–118.

<sup>16</sup> On the Çobanid family of Kastamonu, see Yaşar Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 33–42. The ruler of Kastamonu also appears connected to Masʿūd b. Kaykāʿūs and the Mongol governor of Anatolia Geikhatu in Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Aqsarāʿi, *Müsâmeret ül-abbâr: Moğollar Zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1944), 171–172; also mentioned by Ibn Bibi as *sipabdâr* (military governor) of Ka-

was not an isolated act but rather part of a larger programme of patronising Persian works.<sup>17</sup> Among those authors who wrote in the Persian language and sought the patronage of the Çobanids was Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min Ḥusām al-Dīn Khūyī (fl. second half of the thirteenth century).<sup>18</sup> Not much is known about him except that a few of his works were composed in Kastamonu in honour of Muẓaffar Yavlak Arslan, such as a *fathnāma* praising the conquests of the Çobanid ruler over the Byzantine garrison at the coastal castle of Gideros (near modern Cide) during the year 682/1284.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, he dedicated to the same ruler a work entitled *Qawā‘id al-Rasā‘il wa-Farā‘id al-Faḍā‘il*.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the famous scholar, Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), who was qadi of Sivas for a while, wrote a work on astronomy entitled *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* for the same patron of the *Fuṣṭāt al-‘Adāla*, Muẓaffar Yavlak Arslan,<sup>21</sup> and another work by him is said to have been dedicated to Muẓaffar’s son Mahmud Beg (d. 708/1309).<sup>22</sup> However, there is no evidence that Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī himself came to the Chopanid lands.

The identity of the author of the work is less certain, probably due to the fact that the beginning and the end of the text are missing. However, as Köprülü and Turan previously noted, a description of a work very similar to this one is given by Katib Çelebi (d. 1067/1657), who gives the name of the author as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb and the name of the work as *Fuṣṭāt al-‘Adāla fī Qawā‘id al-Saltāna*.<sup>23</sup> However, the name of the author does not appear in any other source of which I am aware. Nonetheless, the contents of the text reveal a few things about the author. In the first part of the manuscript, the author demonstrates a solid knowledge of the Quran and hadith, which are quoted extensively on several occasions to illustrate points made in the text. Similarly, in a section not transcribed by Turan (and therefore less studied), there are extensive references to

---

stamonu, see Ibn Bibi, *Mukhtaṣar al-Awāmir al-‘Alā‘iyya fī al-Umūr al-‘Alā‘iyya*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l’histoire des seldjucides*, vol.4 (Leiden: Brill, 1902), 336.

<sup>17</sup> Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, vol. 1, 49–51.

<sup>18</sup> Filiz Çağman, “Abdülmü‘min el-Hūyī,” *TDVİA*, vol. 1, 274.

<sup>19</sup> This *fathnāma* has recently been published, see Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min Ḥusām al-Dīn Khūyī, *Majmū‘a-yi Athār-i Ḥusām al-Dīn Khūyī* (Tehran: Mirāth-i Maktūb, 2000), 282–285. I am thankful to Andrew Peacock for calling my attention to this work.

<sup>20</sup> Khūyī, *Majmū‘a-yi Athār*, 35; for an edition of the work see *ibid.*, 221–293.

<sup>21</sup> See Azmi Şerbetçi, “Kutbüddīn-i Şīrāzī,” *TDVİA*, vol. 26, 488; see also the introduction in Khūyī, *Majmū‘a-yi Athār*, 13.

<sup>22</sup> This is the *Ikhtiyārāt-i Sulaymānī*, a work based on Ghazzālī’s *Ihyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*. See John Tuthill Walbridge, “The Philosophy of Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī: A Study in the Integration of Islamic Philosophy,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1983, 253, 271; also introduction in Khūyī, *Majmū‘a-yi Athār*, 13–15.

<sup>23</sup> Kātib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-Zu‘un*, column 1259. Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, “Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihi’nin Yerli Kaynakları,” *Belleter* 7 (1943): 379–458, English translation Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources*, tr. Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 53–54. The name of Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb will be used henceforth to refer to the author of the text.



Islamic law and jurisprudence based both on the Hanafi and Shafi'i legal traditions.<sup>24</sup> This suggests that the author was someone who certainly received religious education or might even have been an *ʿālim* himself. However, Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb is also very critical of the state of the *ʿulamāʾ* in Anatolia and the passivity they had shown in persecuting heresy and instructing pious conduct among the people. Criticisms of the religious establishment are a constant theme in the text and they are generally accompanied with a suggestion that a secular ruler should take control of the situation and intercede against heresies where the *ʿulamāʾ* have failed.

Finally, a few words can be said about the production of the manuscript in the sixteenth century. As with the author, we lack references to the copyist's name or place of copying. However, the context in which this work was copied is of interest. How would this text have been relevant to a sixteenth-century Ottoman audience? On the one hand, the description of heretical practices and beliefs might have appealed to an Ottoman audience embedded in a growing rivalry with the predominantly Shiite Safavid Iran.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, internal concerns about the growing influence of Shiite communities such as the Qizilbash or Hurufis within the Ottoman territories may also have had a bearing on the need for information about heresies that the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* could have provided.<sup>26</sup> In addition, a factor in the copying of this text may have been the process of institutionalisation of certain Sufi orders and mendicant dervishes that was underway in the Ottoman Empire during the middle of the sixteenth century. Deviant dervish groups known as Qalandars, Haydaris, Abdals of Rūm, Shamis or Shams-i Tabrizis would end up more or less amalgamated into the consolidation of the Bektashis as the more "official" Sufi order of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>27</sup> This is not the place to analyse in depth this centralising process, but it appears that, in this context, the descriptions made by the author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* of the heterodoxies of Islam, esoteric movements in general (*bāṭiniyya*) and of the *javlaqī-yān* (as Qalandars are referred to in the text) in particular, might have attracted the attention of sixteenth-century Ottoman audience.

<sup>24</sup> On the use of Islamic jurisprudence in the text, see below.

<sup>25</sup> The manuscript was copied in 1582, in the middle of a twelve-year war between the Ottoman and Safavid empires that started in 1577 and did not end until a peace treaty was signed in Istanbul in 1590. See Ebru Boyar, "Ottoman Expansion in the East," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 2, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, *The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 132–139.

<sup>26</sup> Colin Imber, "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shi'ites According to the Mühimme Defterleri, 1565–1585," *Der Islam* 56 (1979): 245–273; Hamid Algar, "Horufism," *EIr*, vol. 12, 483–90; Hamid Algar, "The Hurufi Influence on Bektashism" in Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein (eds), *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1993 [reprint Istanbul 1995]), 41–54.

<sup>27</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, 121–129; Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 83–84.

### *Description of the Contents*

Here I will provide only a short account of the contents of the section bound at the beginning of the manuscript corresponding to folios 1a to 69b. This section is divided into four chapters with the initial three chapters covering the history of the early caliphs and the development of esoteric movements in early Islam up to the days of the composition of the work. Although Turan found these initial sections to have “no historical importance,” they actually play a significant role in the construction of the narrative and contextualise the following sections. Nonetheless, since they have less new information, I will only briefly cover them here. Chapter One consists of statements of philosophers and scientists, advice and anecdotes taken from the works of Ḥāfīz and the *Shālmāma* of Firdawsī.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, this chapter is incomplete and we only have the last folio of the section. Chapter Two is much longer and it extends from folio 1b to 27b. It covers the initial centuries of Islamic history up to the fall of Baghdad in 656/1258. The section starts with the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, followed by a description of the reign of the four Orthodox Caliphs and the lives of Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 50/670) and Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 61/ 680-1). The remaining part of the section contains an account of the caliphs from the Umayyad and the Abbasid dynasties. Whereas Chapter One consists of sayings and examples of good governance taken from the Persian tradition, this chapter discusses the deeds of Islamic prophets and caliphs as examples of rule to be followed by the secular and religious leaders contemporary to the author. There are also occasionally references to different viziers and ministers in the Islamic history through whom Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb constructs a lineal succession from the days of the Prophet Muḥammad to his own time. However, it is interesting that no reference is made to the Mongol sacking of Baghdad in 656/1258 or the execution of the last Abbasid caliph ordered that same year by the Ilkhan Hülegü (d. 663/1265).<sup>29</sup>

In Chapter Three (fol. 27b–48b) the narrative focuses on the history of the Qarmatian and Zoroastrian followers and their interaction with the Abbasid rulers.<sup>30</sup> The agenda here is clearly to show how rulers of the past did not refrain from using the sword to persecute and destroy heretical behaviour. The persecu-

<sup>28</sup> Specific mention is made to sayings attributed to characters in the *Shālmāma*, such as Jāmāsp, the vizier of the legendary kings Luhrāsp and Gushtasp, or Buzurgmihr, the vizier of Khusraw Nushin-Ravān (Anushirwan). See Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 1a–1b.

<sup>29</sup> See Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 26b–27a. The text only mentions at this stage that Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn Qumī and the famous Shiite Ibn al-‘Alqamī (d. 657/1259), who is credited in other sources for having betrayed the Caliph and supporting the Mongols. Both of them were viziers of the Caliph al-Musta‘sim (d. 1258), but no mention of the Mongol sacking of Baghdad, the betrayal of Ibn al-‘Alqamī or the execution of the caliph appear in the manuscript.

<sup>30</sup> W. Ivanow, “Ismailis and Qarmatians,” *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16 (1940): 43–85; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 147–155.

tion of Mazdakism in Sasanian times is even mentioned<sup>31</sup> as a narrative strategy to draw attention to parallels between the struggle of past rulers against heretical religion and the contemporary situation of late thirteenth-century Anatolia. Particularly relevant is the author's description at the end of the chapter of different groups of *zindīq* (pl. *zanādiqa*), generally described as “innovators” or “free thinkers” and associated in the Islamic tradition with heretical movements.<sup>32</sup> Although most of the historical information seems to derive from the *Siyāsatnāma* of Niẓām al-Mūlk, there are also passing references in the text to the practises and beliefs of these groups.<sup>33</sup> All three aspects introduced in this chapter, such as the actions of past rulers towards these groups and the emphasis on providing information about them, are clearly connected with the following chapter and serve to contextualise the author's narrative.

While these initial three chapters provide a historical background, Chapter Four discusses contemporary events. This chapter is divided into six smaller parts that can shortly be summarised as: 1) the atheists of our time and the similarity of their behaviour to those who had gone before; 2) the conditions and affairs of *jawlaqīyān*;<sup>34</sup> 3) an explanation of Jawlaqism (i.e. Qalandars) and their appearance; 4) practices and beliefs of Jawliqism; 5) commanding good and forbidding evil in Islam (*al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*); 6) the epilogue of the book. Turan focused on the initial four parts, disregarding parts five and six as irrelevant from his point of view.<sup>35</sup> However, as we will see below, these two sections offer some valuable information on the religious and political situation during which the work was produced.

The first section (fol. 50–51a) is dedicated to the *zanādiqa* in general, serving to introduce the subsequent description of the mendicant dervishes. The author complains of decay and corruption in society resulting from the lack of control by secular rulers and the failure of the religious establishment to advise them in preventing the spread of the heretical ideas that characterise the groups he describes.<sup>36</sup> The author reinforces the idea of a righteous past and a decadent present, blaming the *ʿulamāʿ* of his time (*ʿulamā-yi rūzgār*) for not acting against heresies but being concerned only with attaining high official positions and honours

<sup>31</sup> On Mazdakism as a reformed branch of Zoroastrianism, see Ehsan Yarshater, “Mazdakism” in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 991–1024; Otakar Klíma, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mazdakismus* (Prague: Academia, 1977). On its persecution under the Sasanians, see Michelangelo Guidi and Michael G. Morony, “Mazdak”, *EP*, vol. 6, 949–952.

<sup>32</sup> See Francois de Blois, “Zindīq,” *EP*, vol. 11, 592.

<sup>33</sup> Yūsufi, “Dar Āstāna-yi Taḥqīq wa Nashr,” 57.

<sup>34</sup> This term used generally refers to any mendicant dervish, but in this text seems to be referring specifically to those known as Qalandars from among groups such as the Abdals of Rūm, Haydaris, *et al.* On the *abdals*, see the chapter in this volume by Zeynep Oktay.

<sup>35</sup> Turan, “Selçuk Türkiyesi,” 535.

<sup>36</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 50.

(*bib manṣab wa jāb mashghūl*), which they obtain by purchasing them with gold (*bib zar kharīdand*).<sup>37</sup> The author laments that the people have easily influenced by the behaviour of these “innovators” who skip the daily prayers (*namāz*), break the fast during the month of Ramadan, drink wine (*khamr*) and use cannabis (*sabzak*) as a result of the lack religious guidance and moral control.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa confirms the consumption of cannabis in some regions of Anatolia in the fourteenth century, specifically in the region of Sinop, close to the Çobanid territories.<sup>39</sup>

The second section (fol. 51a–51b) is also short, and repeats most of the issues mentioned in the previous one, but specifically attributes these practises to the *javlaqīyān*, a term used to refer to religious mendicants in general and the group generally known as Qalandars in particular. As expected, there is severe criticism of their practices, including those described in the previous section but adding some extra drama to the account by claiming that the Qalandars also allowed dogs inside mosques and used cannabis and alcohol inside the prayer buildings.<sup>40</sup> The author claims that they pray in barns and stables and do not queue in the mosque to do the *namāz*.<sup>41</sup> The main aim of the author is to stress their deviation from the norms of the sharia. These descriptions of the Qalandars, although perhaps exaggerated, especially regarding their use of alcohol in the mosque, resemble those found in other sources describing Qalandar practices in Anatolia and the Middle East up to the sixteenth century. For example, travellers in Anatolia such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa described similar practices among these mendicant dervishes in the fourteenth century.<sup>42</sup> In addition, European visitors left records of their encounters with these dervishes, who attracted attention with their extravagant ap-

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., fol. 50b.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. On the usage of cannabis, see a short overview in Gabriel G. Nahas, “Hashish in Islam 9th to 18th Century,” *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 58, no. 9 (1982): 814–831; also, the pioneering work by Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish Versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1971). As for Anatolia in particular, there is a reference to the use of hashish in Aḥmad of Niğde, *al-Walad al-Shafiq* (Istanbul, Suleymaniye Library, MS Fatih 4518, section transcribed by Osman Turan in Turan, “Selçuk Türkiyesi,” 539, fn. 17). On this work, see A. C. S. Peacock, “Aḥmad of Niğde’s *al-Walad al-Shafiq* and the Seljuk Past,” *Anatolian Studies*, 54 (2004): 95–107.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 2, 467; also Aflāki seems to imply that it was used by some Mevlevi followers, who in turn received an argument against its use by Shams-i Tabrizi. See Aḥmad Shams al-Din Aflāki, *Manāqib al-ʿArifin*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1959–61), 632–633; Aflāki, *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manāqib al-ʿArifin*, tr. John O’Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 436.

<sup>40</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 51a–51b.

<sup>41</sup> This act of not queuing to enter a mosque is something that concerns the author very much and probably a practice that caused some tension between the Qalandars and the Muslim congregation during attendance at the mosque. It also has an important component of ideological individualism characteristic of all mendicant dervishes, as suggested by Karamustafa. See Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 31–32.

<sup>42</sup> For example in the city of Damietta in Egypt or in Iran, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 1, 37; vol. 3, 583.

pearance and behaviour.<sup>43</sup> For example, in the early fifteenth century, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (d. 1412), the Spanish ambassador to the court of Tamerlane, encountered these dervishes chanting near the city of Erzurum.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the Italian merchant Josaphat Barbaro (d. 1494), who went to the court of the Aqqunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 857/1453–882/1478), left a short anecdote of his encounter with a man in the city of Mardin, who was naked and shaved apart from a goatskin.<sup>45</sup>

The third section in this chapter (fol. 51b–53b) is dedicated to the emergence of the Qalandars and the story of the founder of the movement Jamāl al-Dīn Sāwī (d. ca. 630/1232–3).<sup>46</sup> The succession of events contained in this section is very similar to the official hagiography of Jamāl al-Dīn Sāwī,<sup>47</sup> the *Manāqib* written by Khaṭīb-i Fārisī in the year 748/1347–8 over half a century after the text we are discussing here. This means that this section of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* actually precedes the official account of the Qalandars. It is also surprising that both texts generally coincide in their narrative of the facts, although they contain obvious disagreements on the interpretation of the events and the virtue of the main characters in the narrative.<sup>48</sup> The section continues with an account of Jamāl al-Dīn Sāwī’s four disciples who in turn expanded their master’s teachings in the Middle East and Anatolia. Four disciples are mentioned in the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* which correspond with those mentioned in the *Manāqib-i Sāwī*.<sup>49</sup> Among them, the role of Abū Bakr Niksāri is especially relevant for Anatolian history; Niksāri settled in Konya, where the Qalandars seem to have acquired a certain importance in the thirteenth century.<sup>50</sup> He enjoyed such a close relationship to the Mevlevīs that he was one of the seven chosen people who was given an ox by the Mevlevīs as a present to commemorate the death of Mawlana Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in 672/1273.<sup>51</sup> In contrast to the claim of scholars like Turan, who circumscribed the Qalandars to Turkmen or rural areas, this anecdote in Aflāki’s work and Sāwī’s mention of Abū Bakr living permanently

<sup>43</sup> On the appearance and public displays of some of these dervishes, see Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 17–23.

<sup>44</sup> Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, tr. Guy Le Strange (London: Routledge, 2006), 75.

<sup>45</sup> Giosofat Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels in Tana and Persia, Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th centuries*, tr. William Thomas (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1873), 48–49.

<sup>46</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn Sāwī was born in Saveh, a town 150 km south-west of Tehran.

<sup>47</sup> There is a Persian edition of the text: Khaṭīb Fārisī, *Manāqib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāwī*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972).

<sup>48</sup> On these divergences, see below.

<sup>49</sup> According to the *Fuṣṭāt*, there were four disciples of Sāwī: Muḥammad Balkhī, Muḥammad Kurdi, Shams al-Kurd and Abū Bakr Niksāri. However, Fārisī adds two more named as Jalāl-i Dargazini and Abū Bakr Iṣfahāni. See Khaṭīb-i Fārisī, *Manāqib*, 30–34 and 41–42; also Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda*, 32.

<sup>50</sup> Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 61–62; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda*, 63.

<sup>51</sup> Aflāki, *Manāqib al-ʿarīfīn*, 596–597; Aflāki, *The Feats*, 408–409.

in Konya point towards a higher degree of integration of the Qalandars into urban society and a much more comprehensive spread of the movement in medieval Anatolia than previously appreciated<sup>52</sup>

After introducing the story of the origin of the Qalandars, the author describes the beliefs of this group. In the fourth section of this chapter (fol. 53b–55a), the Qalandars are presented as a heterogeneous group whose members either worship the planets or the firmament (*falak-parasti*), the sun (*āfiāb*), the moon (*māb*) and nature in general. Furthermore, these dervishes are described as having contradictory philosophical views. Whereas some of them supported the notion of *taʿtīl* (stripping God of all attributes), others advocated *tashbih* (anthropomorphism). Similarly, classical *kalām* controversies over free will (*ikbtiyār*) and predetermination (*qadar*) were present.<sup>53</sup> These claims are difficult to verify. While a diversity of beliefs among these deviant dervishes seems plausible, it is impossible to ascertain precisely how much theological knowledge there was among the Qalandars.

Without totally abandoning the *zanādiqa* as the centre of the narrative, section five (fol. 55a–64b) of this chapter contains fewer hagiographic elements than the previous sections and reads more like a manual of legal practices addressed to secular powers. In fact, this seems to be in concordance with the other part of the work and is constructed as a “mirror for princes,” where the author suggests how the law should be implemented by the *ʿulamāʾ* and enforced by the sultan or amir.<sup>54</sup> Although Turan did not publish this section, considering it to be of little “historical relevance,” it contains some important information on the religious landscape of medieval Anatolia. Overall, the section is a short discourse on enjoining good and forbidding evil (*amr bih maʿrūf wa nahy az munkar*) where the aim is to unveil these *zindīq* groups as apostates and show that secular rulers have an obligation to persecute these groups. Khaṭīb draws on a variety of sources including, apart from the Quran and hadith accounts, works by Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī.<sup>55</sup> Thus this section comprises a list of examples of laws for the ruler to implement. Often, after a story or a description of a sin and its penalties, the author stresses that secular powers (the king) should impose these penalties and enforce the law, portraying a decadent society that needs to be redirected to the right path by a new ruler.

Finally, section six (fol. 64b–69b), which was described by Turan simply as an epilogue, offers a clear statement on the intentions of the author for writing this chapter. The author surveys the evolution of heretical sects in early Islam, beginning with the history of *zindīq* persecution at the time of Imām ʿAlī in Baghdad.<sup>56</sup> This is followed by a brief account of the ascension of the Ismailis, the rise

<sup>52</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 45–46.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., fol. 53b–54a.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., fol. 55a.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., fol. 56b.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., fol. 65a.

of Alamūt and the persecution of heresies under the great Seljuks, and concludes with praise of Seljuk Sultan, Masʿūd b. Kaykāʿūs, as the ruler of the time, who is leading the fight against heresies. The chapter's informative and pedagogical nature is well summarised by the author:

غرض از ایراد این فصل آنست که هر کس از اهل اسلام که این کتاب بخاند و مطالعه کند از حکایت و اخبار و پند موعظه و تواریخ انبیا و خلفا و پادشاهان ماضی و سیرت و روش ایشان فایده گیرد از حکایت زنادقه و ملحدان اهل بدعت و هوی که پیش ازین نیکو رفت عبرت گیرد و بدین قوم که درین روزگار اند بچشم خواری و حقارت بدیشان نگردد. و چون بعضی حکایت ایشان ازین کتاب دانسته باشد بر سر احوال ایشان آسان رسد و سخن ایشان زود دریابد و بعضی زنادقه و مباحیان روزگار که پیدا شده اند دانند که روش و سیرت ایشان افعال زنده است. بدل و دست و زفان با ایشان امر معروف کند و از ایشان دور باشد و دل بر آن نهد که پادشاه عالم پروردگار بنی آدم خداوند آسمان و زمین ناصر اولیا و مدل و فخری اعدا چنانکه در همه روزگار دفع اعدایی دین کرده است در این روزگار نز بکند.

The purpose of writing this chapter of the book is that any Muslim who reads and studies this book will benefit from the stories, news, advice, sermons and chronicles of prophets, caliphs and kings and their behaviour and conduct, and that he will draw a lesson from the stories of the *zindiqs* and heretics of previous ages [from which] people will take an example. As for such people (the *zindiqs*) who [live] in this age [and] he (the good Muslim) should regard them with contempt and spite. And when he knows some of these stories from this book, he will easily understand their situation and comprehend their words. Some *zindīq* and heretics of our day that have appeared know that their conduct and behaviour are deeds of innovation/heresy. By heart, hand and tongue, he [the reader] must “command what is right” and stay away from them, and he must have trust that God the King of the World, the Creator of Mankind, the Lord of the Heaven and Earth, who gives aid to His friends, who reduces and makes contemptible His enemies, just as He has fended off the enemies of religion in every age, will likewise do so in this age.<sup>57</sup>

### *Heresy, Islamic Law and Politics in Medieval Anatolia: A View from the Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*

The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* also offers some interesting insights into aspects of the religious, political and legal life of Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century. The text seems to be representative of a transition period in the literary history of Anatolia in the sense that it incorporates styles from different genres that seem to have been undergoing a process of consolidation in this period.<sup>58</sup> In our text, historical narrative, elements of “mirror for princes” and hagiography are combined to depict an image of contemporary religious decadence and the spread of

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., fol. 64b.

<sup>58</sup> For example, occasionally in the middle of the narrative an anecdote (*ḥikāyat*) is introduced to exemplify the behaviour of this heretic, but carefully stating that the transmitter of the story is a respectable shaykh or someone of noble stock. This resembles the technique in famous thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hagiographies such as the *Manāqib-i Aṣḥāb al-Dīn Kirmānī* or Aflakī's *Manāqib al-ʿArifīn*.

heresy, followed by solutions against these problems deriving from the sharia and righteous rule. Fortunately, the account of the origin of the Qalandars can be contrasted with another source almost contemporary with the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*. The *Manāqib-i Sāwī*, as mentioned above, seems to share a common source with the *Fuṣṭāṭ* despite originating from within the Qalandar movement. Comparing these two works allows us to explore the development of contrasting narratives in the rise of the mendicant dervish movement, which was central to the struggles within Islamic religious life in Anatolia in the period.

Both works mention that Sāwī spent some time in Baghdad before moving to Damascus to live under the spiritual tutelage of Shaykh ʿUthmān-i Rūmī, about whom we have little information.<sup>59</sup> Both works tell us that one day Sāwī retreated to the grave of Bilāl Ḥabashī<sup>60</sup> (d. c. 16-17/638–21/642) in order to meditate in isolation, where he was visited by a young ascetic who would be responsible for his adoption of Qalandar practices and beliefs.<sup>61</sup> According to both versions, it was under the influence of this ascetic and in his presence that Sāwī decided to shave his head and eyebrows. The *Fuṣṭāṭ* adds that he also shared cannabis and wine with his new companion.<sup>62</sup> Yet, despite these similarities, the interpretations of the events differ. For example, the role assigned to Shaykh ʿUthmān-i Rūmī is different in both texts. The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*, in the final lines of the section, mentions that the shaykh tried to bring Sāwī back to the right path but, after seeing him lost, gave up, beat him with his shoe and banned Sāwī’s disciples from his lodge.<sup>63</sup> In contrast, Khaṭīb-i Fārisī assigns a much more sympathetic role to Sāwī, stressing his virtues and commitment to poverty and seclusion.<sup>64</sup> The two percep-

<sup>59</sup> ʿUthmān-i Rūmī is also mentioned as having a *khānaqāh* in Damascus and as being a respectable Sufi master in the *Manāqib-i Awhād al-Dīn Kirmānī*; see Anonymous, *Manāqib-i Awhād al-Dīn Ḥamid ibn-i Abī al-Fakhr-i Kirmānī*, ed. Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar (Tehran: Surūsh, 1347/1969), 62; Bruno De Nicola, “The Ladies of Rūm: A Hagiographic View of Women in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Anatolia,” *Journal of Sufi Studies* 3, no. 2 (2014): 142. On Kirmānī, see also Lloyd Ridgeon, “The Controversy of Shaykh Awhād al-Dīn Kirmānī and Handsome, Moon-Faced Youths: A Case Study of Shāhid-Bāzī in Medieval Sufism,” *Journal of Sufi Studies* 1 (2012): 3–30.

<sup>60</sup> Bilāl Ḥabashī or Bilāl b. Rabāḥ was the famous slave of the Prophet Muḥammad and one of the first people who adopted Islam. On Bilāl, see W. ʿArafat, “Bilāl b. Rabāḥ,” *EP*<sup>2</sup> (Brill Online, 2014). [Accessed on 27 August 2014: [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/bila-l-b-raba-h-SIM\\_1412](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/bila-l-b-raba-h-SIM_1412)]

<sup>61</sup> Here there is a disagreement between the two accounts. While Khaṭīb-i Fārisī mentions that the name of the ascetic as Amrad Shirāzī Garūbad, the name given by Fārisī in the *Manāqib* is Jalāl Dargazīnī. See respectively Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 51b, and Khaṭīb-i Fārisī, *Manāqib*, 30–34 (esp. 32).

<sup>62</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 51b. An alternative account is provided by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in which Sāwī decided to shave his beard to look unattractive to a woman who was trying to seduce him. According to the Maghribi traveller, Sāwī interpreted that God had given him the idea of shaving as a tool to renounce sinful acts and decided to remain unshaved ever since. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 1, 37–39.

<sup>63</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 53a–53b.

<sup>64</sup> Khaṭīb-i Fārisī, *Manāqib*, 36–37.



tions on Sāwī reflect a clear tension between certain religious groups in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Anatolia. On the one hand, the more “orthodox” author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ* praises the mainstream Sufi shaykh ʿUthmān-i Rūmī as being both compassionate at first and firmly anti-heresy later on, while he considers Sāwī as a deviant from the right path. On the other hand, Fārisī portrays the shaykh as a representative of the “religious establishment” that needs to be abandoned, in a clear statement of the confrontation between “deviant enunciation movements” and “institutional Sufism” that was occurring in Anatolia in the fourteenth century.<sup>65</sup>

In addition, the work offers some interesting factual information regarding the spread of mendicant dervishes in Anatolia. The final paragraph of section three in Chapter Four mentions that there were thousands of Qalandars spread across the Islamic world. This included regions such as East and West Turkestan (*Bishbaliq*),<sup>66</sup> Iraq, Transoxiana (*Mā Warāʾ al-Nabr*) and Khurasan, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Anatolia (*Rūm*), the Levant and North Africa (*Maghrib*). While we certainly need to be cautious about taking the number of Qalandars provided in the text as absolute, they nonetheless reflect an idea that the author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ* is trying to transmit to his reader: heresy was spreading in Anatolia and someone needed to do something about it. Furthermore, there is an accompanying warning to the reader, hinting at the author’s personal knowledge of these mendicant dervishes. The Qalandars regarded themselves as Muslims, but the author argues that they should not be considered as such because since they did not know the Quran, they accepted heresy (*bidʿa*) and, with their preaching, turned Muslim against Muslim.<sup>67</sup>

The narrative seems to be preoccupied with the practical rather than the theoretical aspect of Qalandarism, stressing the opposition between sharia and religious innovation as practised by these groups, as Karamustafa has shown.<sup>68</sup> For example, a concise argument against the usage of cannabis among Muslims is made, arguing that was prohibited by the Prophet Muḥammad. This is followed by a detailed description of the effects of cannabis on the human body (dried nasal mucus, depression, strange illusions, amnesia, uncontrollable laughter and anger, among other symptoms) in an attempt to place it in the same category of substances that are forbidden for Muslims, such as wine. In fact, the author also refers to the Prophet Muḥammad as forbidding the intake of wine due to its intoxicating properties. It is beyond the scope of this article to elucidate aspects of substance consumption in medieval Anatolia, but the preoccupation of the author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ*

<sup>65</sup> See Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 90–96.

<sup>66</sup> Beshbaliq (or Besh-Baliq) was the administrative centre as well as the name of a province in the Mongol empire. The province included cities as far west as Urgench, Bukhara and Samarqand, as well as Utrar, Kashgar and Khotan. According to Atwood, Besh-Baliq is today near modern Qitai. See Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopaedia of the Mongol Empire*, 340, 367, 563 and especially the map on page 366.

<sup>67</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 54a–b.

<sup>68</sup> Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 18.

with trying to prove the *ḥarām* nature of cannabis seems to have been a response to a debate in Anatolia about the usage of these substances, which seem to have become widespread together with the mendicant dervishes.

Thus, the author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* was a fervent anti-Qalandar and possibly a representative of the *ʿulamāʾ* establishment.<sup>69</sup> The majority of section five is an enumeration of certain Islamic precepts according to both the Hanafi and Shafiʿi legal schools. A concern is shown again over the lack of enforcement by kings and the *ʿulamāʾ* in preventing people from living outside the law. The author presents a long discussion of the Islamic reasons for commanding good and forbidding evil, drawing on his knowledge of Islamic law and jurisprudence. The history of Noah is included in the narrative together with sayings from different companions of the Prophet and narrations of the deeds of Muḥammad’s family members.<sup>70</sup> References to hadith in the narrative also suggest that the author could rely on an awareness of Islamic tradition among the intended audience of the work. The text also includes a list of Abū Ḥanifa’s fifteen definitions of the “infidel.” This fact, although interesting from the point of view of the author’s awareness of Hanafi law, would not be specifically surprising as Hanafism has generally been seen as the dominant religious school of the Seljuks, especially if we consider, for example, the popularity in Anatolia of Hanafi *fiqh* texts from Transoxiana.<sup>71</sup> However, the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* offers a more complex situation in which many of the Hanafi precepts, laws and punishments are corroborated or contrasted with Shafiʿi law. In this period, Shafiʿism was likewise widespread, especially in the border areas with Syria, western Iran and Iraq, and among migrants from those regions. It is important here to stress that the use of the Shafiʿi law is not presented in the text to confront Hanafism but rather to complement or corroborate what Hanafi law says about a certain sin or practice.<sup>72</sup> For example, the text mentions wine as a second sin after cannabis, followed by a long argumentation about how drinking, pouring, smashing grapes and the different steps involved in the production of wine are forbidden.<sup>73</sup> After this, both Hanafi and Shafiʿi laws are quoted to specify the punishment corresponding to these faults.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda*, 216.

<sup>70</sup> For example, companions of the Prophet such as Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, Abu Saʿīd al-Khudri or ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿud are mentioned in the text together with ʿĀʾisha bt. Abi Bakr, the Prophet’s wife.

<sup>71</sup> Wilferd Madelung, “The Westward Migration of Hanafi Scholars from Central Asia in the 11th to 13th Centuries,” *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 43, no. 2 (2002), 54; idem, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, NY: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1988), 37; Philipp Bruckmayr, “The Spread and Persistence of Māturīdī Kalām and Underlying Dynamics,” *Iran and the Caucasus* 13 (2009): 62–63.

<sup>72</sup> Abū Ḥanifa’s disciple Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798 CE) is also mentioned in this section.

<sup>73</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 56b–57a.

<sup>74</sup> See *ibid.*, fol. 59a–60a. Adultery, felony, and “annoying father and mother,” are also mentioned and discussed, among other subjects.

Thus, the author seems to be trying to reconcile these two schools by stressing areas where they could work together. The Qalandar dervishes with their heretical practices and beliefs offered a good opportunity to the author to show how both the Hanafi and Shafiʿi schools could be used in synchrony to condemn these heretics. The *Fuṣṭāṭ* thus offers a window into a more ambiguous religious map of Anatolia, showing that perhaps it was a not monolithically Hanafi, but rather both schools coexisted and/or competed.<sup>75</sup> The coexistence of practices from both schools is documented in other sources of the period. For example, Ibn Bibī refers to the Seljuk rulers as Hanafis but comments that ʿAlā al-Dīn Kayqubād I did his morning prayers according to the Shafiʿi rites.<sup>76</sup> In addition, the migration of Shafiʿi Syrian and Iranian scholars into Anatolia during the thirteenth century might also have contributed to the accommodation of certain Shafiʿi practices into the apparently mostly Hanafi Anatolia.<sup>77</sup> Given these features, there is a possibility that the author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* may have been of the eastern Anatolian (or even Iranian) origin of the author, making him more aware of Shafiʿi law as an individual but within the context of a more general phenomenon.<sup>78</sup>

At the end of the chapter, the tone of the text becomes more political and less religious, offering some interesting insights into the political landscape of Anatolia and the author’s political agenda in writing this text. In contrast to other authors patronised by the Çobanid dynasty who were less sympathetic to the İlkhānid court, such as Ḥusām al-Dīn Khūyī, there is a clear political statement claiming that, if it were not for the Mongols, the number of Qalandars would have grown to even larger numbers.<sup>79</sup> This refers to the famous anecdote in which Hülegü (d. 663/1265) encountered a group of Qalandars during the conquest of the Middle East by the Mongols who had asked him for support. Alleg-

<sup>75</sup> For a study on the relationship between Hanafi and Shafiʿi schools among the ethnic Turk dominant classes in the Mamluk Sultanate, see Baki Tezcan, “Hanafism and the Turks in al-Ṭarsūsī’s *Gift for the Turks* (1352),” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011): 67–86.

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Bibī, *al-Awāmīr al-ʿAlāʾiyya fī al-Umūr al-ʿAlāʾiyya*. Facsimile edition prepared by Adnan Sadık Erzi as Ibn-i Bibi, *El-Evāmīrūʾl-ʿAlāʾiyye fīʾl-Umūriʾl-ʿAlāʾiyye*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956), 227–228; Gary Leiser, “The Madrasah and the Islamization of Anatolia Before the Ottomans” in Joseph Lowry, Devin J. Stewart, and Shawkat M. Toorawa (eds), *Law and Education in Medieval Islam. Studies in Memory of George Makdisi* (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004), 178; Sara Nur Yıldız, “A *Nadīm* for the Sultan: Rāwandī and the Anatolian Seljuks” in Peacock and Yıldız, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 101. I am grateful to Sara Nur Yıldız for making me aware of this reference.

<sup>77</sup> For example the case of the Iranian Shafiʿi scholar Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī (594/1198–682/1283) who became qadi of Konya. See Louise Marlow, “A Thirteenth-Century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean: Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī, Jurist, Logician, Diplomat,” *Al-Masaq*, 22, no. 3 (2010): 279–313.

<sup>78</sup> It has also been suggested that in general terms, Shafiism has been considered more sympathetic to Sufism than Hanafism in medieval times; see for example Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, NY: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1988), 39–53.

<sup>79</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 53b.

edly, the Mongol ruler turned to his advisor Naşır al-Din Țüsi about what to do with these people. The famous scholar would have advised the ruler to kill them for heresy and the Mongol lord would have ordered their execution in that same place.<sup>80</sup> The story seems to have been widespread in the Ilkhanid lands and used by the author of the *Fuṣṩāt* as an opportunity to position the Mongols as the rightful suzerains who had since then combatted the Qalandars and their beliefs. However, this can also be read in terms of the text's patronage: the positive description of the Mongols may represent either a suggestion to his patron in Kastamonu about where to look for political support or corroboration of his patron's alliance with the Ilkhans of Iran.<sup>81</sup>

Another relevant political statement is raised in the last section of chapter four, which is mostly concerned with a historical account covering the rise of the Great Seljuks and finishing in the author's day.<sup>82</sup> Not surprisingly, in the early history of the Seljuks, the first sultans are presented as the protectors of the Caliph, as guardians of orthodoxy and, especially during the reign of Alp Arslan (r. 455/1063–465/1072), as the guarantors of religious righteousness against the heretics. Following a common trend in Seljuk historiography, the heretics against whom the Seljuk sultan fought are personified by the Ismailis, who are presented, in a clear parallelism, as the enemies of Islam in a similar way that the Qalandars have been up to this point. In order to illustrate this, the author first makes a survey of the evolution of innovative sects in early Islam, to explain the origin of the Ismailis.<sup>83</sup> After describing the encounter of the first Seljuk sultan Țughril with the caliph and the subsequent recognition of the Seljuks as sultans of Islam, the author skips chronologically to discuss Alp Arslan, who is depicted as a ruler in whose time no one was worried about religious innovators. He then briefly recounts the rise of the Ismaili centre of Alamüt, which grew in power and terrorised rulers during the twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries, but omits any specific reference to the destruction of Alamüt by the Mongols in 654/1256.<sup>84</sup> According to the narrative, after Alp Arslan, the Seljuk rulers became weaker against heresies, propitiating a new spread of heresies in the Middle East. However, at the end the text, the author changes his tone, claiming that now things are going to change because Mas'ud b. Kaykäs has come to power and has resolved to fight against these

<sup>80</sup> Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 53. On another close relationship between Mongols and Qalandars at the time of Ahmad Tegüder (d. 683/1284), see Judith Pfeiffer, "Reflections on a 'Double Rapprochement': Conversion to Islam among the Mongol Elite during the Early Ilkhanate" in Linda Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 383–384.

<sup>81</sup> An interesting overview on the Qalandars vis-à-vis the Mongols of Iran can be found in George Lane, *Thirteenth Century and Early Mongol Rule in Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2003), 245–254.

<sup>82</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 64b–69b.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 66b–67a.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 67a–b.

heresies. This idea of placing the new Seljuk sultan of Rūm as a restorer of a trustworthy government against heresy and innovation is in accordance with a tendency among some Anatolian historians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of trying to position the Seljuks of Rūm within the context of the history of the Great Seljuks.<sup>85</sup> Yet, here the *Fuṣṭāṭ* seems to go further and not only accepts this claim but presents Masʿūd as the restorer of idyllic rule, free of heresy.<sup>86</sup>

The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* portrays a positive image of both the Seljuks of Iran and the Mongols. Yet, in the same period, the same local dynasty patronised Ḥusām al-Dīn Khūyī, whose works evince no enthusiasm for Mongol rule. Both authors, however, dedicated their works to Çobanid rulers but simultaneously emphasised the importance of the Seljuk ruler as the overlord of the rulers of Kastamonu.<sup>87</sup> These works seem to reflect the complex political situation of Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century, with the emergence of new layers of power.<sup>88</sup> This new authority was represented by the Mongols of Iran and the figure of the Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān Parwāna (d. 675/1277), who was designated as the Mongol representative and *de facto* ruler of Anatolia, as well as the emergence of the different *beyliks* that would become characteristic of the political map of Anatolia in the fourteenth century. Although the majority of the Parwāna's family estates were in the region of Tokat, there seems to have been an attempt by Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān to extend his influence into the region of Kastamonu.<sup>89</sup> This can be seen in the construction in Kastamonu of a mosque-hospital complex by the Parwāna's son ʿAlī in 669/1271–670/1272.<sup>90</sup> This points towards a possible tension between the Çobanids and their Mongol overlords, which culminated in the rebellion of Kastamonu in 691/1291–692/1293 that was suppressed by the newly appointed Ilkhan Geikhatu.<sup>91</sup> So it seems that relations between the Çobanids and the Mongols at the time in which the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* was written were ambiguous. Views in favour and against the Mongols might have been debated by the Çobanid rulers before they finally rebelled. In this context, the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* can be better understood as the result, together with other contemporary works such as those of Khūyī and

<sup>85</sup> See Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The King of the East and the West: The Seljuk Dynastic Concept and Titles in the Muslim and Christian Sources," in Peacock and Yıldız, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 80–81; this tendency was followed by other Anatolian historians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Aḥmad of Niğde or Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Aqsarāʾī. See Peacock, "Aḥmad of Niğde's," 95–107.

<sup>86</sup> See also Ḥusām al-Dīn Khūyī's representation of the Seljuks.

<sup>87</sup> See the mention of Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Kaykāʾūs in Khūyī, *Majmūʿa-yi Ātbār*, 283.

<sup>88</sup> Korobeinikov, "The Revolt in Kastamonu," 90–92

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 94–97; A.C.S. Peacock, "Sinop: A Frontier City in Seljuk and Mongol Anatolia," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010): 104–109.

<sup>90</sup> The mosque is generally referred to as the Atabey Gazi Camii. See Ilyas Kara, *Her Yönüyle Taribten Günümüze Kastamonu*, vol. 1 (Bilge Kastamonu Gazetesi, 1997), 197.

<sup>91</sup> See Aqsarāʾī, *Mūsāmeret ül-abbār*, 170–175; Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm: eleventh to fourteenth century*, (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 220–223; Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," 78–9.

Shirāzī mentioned above, of the local royal patronage of an emerging, increasingly independent political entity in the region of Kastamonu under the Çobanids. The dynasty began to sponsor Persian literature in search of legitimacy, while defining their place in the complex political jigsaw of late thirteenth-century Anatolia.

Finally, all three aspects highlighted in these sections (the description of the Qalandars, the use of Islamic law, and the restoration of righteous rule) need to be seen in the historical context in which the work was written and the intended audience and patron lived. Presented in these terms, the text offers a clear message to the local rulers of Kastamonu. First, it offers a description of the situation in Anatolia, the spread of heretics and their sinful behaviour. Second, it offers the tools to persecute and punish these sins by emphasising Islamic jurisprudence that can be found both in Hanafī and Shafī'ī law. Finally, it presents the political context as a propitious time to carry out this task, with a legitimate Seljuk ruler (Mas'ūd) supported by powerful overlord (the Mongols). Possibly the clearer statement in this regard can be found in the text itself, where, by the end of the section comparing *zanādiqa* and Ismailis, not only is it mentioned again that Mas'ūd is fighting these heretics, but there is an explicit encouragement to other kings to do the same, in a possible allusion to the Çobanid rulers of Kastamonu, to whom this work was presented.<sup>92</sup>

### Conclusion

MS Supplement Turc 1120, containing the *Fusṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*, is an exceptional work with some particular characteristics in both the present state of the manuscript and the rarity of its contents. We may confidently date the composition of the text to the late thirteenth century (most probably c. 683/1284–85) in the region of Kastamonu. That the text was copied in the sixteenth century might reflect interest at the Ottoman court in the description of these dervishes almost two centuries after its composition. Unfortunately, we cannot be more conclusive on the name of the author, beyond Katib Çelebi's description of a similar book to the one in question, or say anything about the copyist. However, the text allows us to identify the author as someone religiously educated and comfortable with both Hanafī and Shafī'ī traditions.

While references to Sufi orders in Anatolia, such as the Mevlevis, appear in a variety of Anatolian sources, chronicles and official records do not pay special attention to other types of Sufis more radical in their asceticism and renunciation. The *Fusṭāṭ*'s description of the Qalandars, despite its critical and biased presentation, offers a unique insight into these dervishes, their practices and attitudes toward them in thirteenth–fourteenth century Anatolia. In addition, this is the earliest reference we have to the Qalandars in Rūm and the fact that the work was possibly

<sup>92</sup> Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 68a.

written for the ruler of Kastamonu, denotes a deep penetration of this type of Sufism in Asia Minor.<sup>93</sup> The similarities with the official hagiography of the Qalandars, given that it precedes it by over fifty years, are remarkable and surprising.

By looking at the less-studied sections five and six in Chapter Four, we have shown how different issues of the political and religious milieu of late thirteenth century Anatolia can be observed in the text. Aspects of religious factionalism, possible accommodation of Islamic law and an intention of legitimising Seljuk rule over Rūm within Mongol overlordship are among the issues covered in this chapter. Finally, contextualising this text with other Persian literary production in the area suggests that this work was part of a larger climate of literary patronage and political accommodation that can be understood better in the context of the beginning of the political fragmentation into different *beyliks* in Anatolia. Despite all these elements, there is still work to be done on the text, especially with regard to the second part of the codex (the first part of the work), but both the codex and the text are useful to complement our understanding of the religious and political landscape of Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.

### *Bibliography*

- Aflākī, Aḥmad Şams al-Dīn. *Manāqib al-ʿĀrifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, 2 vols. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1959–61.
- Aflākī, Aḥmad Şams al-Dīn. *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manāqeb al-ʿārefīn*, tr. John O’Kane. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Aḥmad of Niğde. *al-Walad al-Shafīq*. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Fatih 4518.
- Algar, Hamid. “Horufism.” *EIr*, vol. 12, 483-90.
- Algar, Hamid. “The Ḥurufi Influence on Bektashism.” In Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein (eds). *Bektachiyya: Études sur l’ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1993, reprint Istanbul: Isis, 1995, 41–54.
- Aqsarāʿī, Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. *Mūsāmeret ül-Abbār: Moğollar Zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1944.
- ʿArafat, W. “Bilāl b. Rabāḥ.” *EP*, vol. 1, 1215.
- Atwood, Christopher. *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*. New York: Facts On File, 2004.

<sup>93</sup> See Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 62.

- Barbaro, Giosofat, and Ambrogio Contarini. *Travels in Tana and Persia, Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, tr. William Thomas. London: Hakluyt Society, 1873.
- Blochét, Edgar. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1933).
- Bruckmayr, Philipp. "The Spread and Persistence of Mātūrīdī Kalām and Underlying Dynamics." *Iran and the Caucasus* 13 (2009): 59–92.
- De Blois, F. C. "Zindīk." *EP*, vol. 11, 592.
- De Nicola, Bruno. "The Ladies of Rūm: A Hagiographic View of Women in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Anatolia." *Journal of Sufi Studies* 3, no. 2 (2014): 132–156.
- Boyar, Ebru. "Ottoman Expansion in the East." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 2, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi and Kate Fleet. *The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 74–140.
- Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage*, 2 vols. and 3 supplements. Leiden: Brill, 1943–1949.
- Çağman, Filiz. "Abdülmü'min el-Hûyî." *TDVİA*, vol. 1, 274.
- Cahen, Claude. *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*. New York: Taplinger, 1968.
- Cahen, Claude. *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.
- Daftary, Farhad. *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- González de Clavijo, Ruy. *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, tr. Guy Le Strange. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Guidi, Michelangelo, and Michael G. Morony. "Mazdak." *EP*, vol. 6, 949–952.
- Ibn Bibi. *al-Awāmīr al-ʿAlāʾiyya fī al-Umūr al-ʿAlāʾiyya*. Facsimile edition prepared by Adnan Sadık Erzi as Ibn-i Bibi, *El-Evāmīrū'l-ʿAlāʾiyye Fī'l-Umūri'l-ʿAlāʾiyye*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956.
- Ibn Bibi. *Mukhtaşar al-Awāmīr al-ʿAlāʾiyya fī al-Umūr al-ʿAlāʾiyya*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, vol. 4. Leiden: Brill, 1902.
- Kātib Çelebi. *Keşf-el-Zunun*, ed. Şerefettin Yalçınkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, 4 vols. Istanbul, 1943; reprint, Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1972.
- Khaṭīb-i Fārisī. *Manāqib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāwī*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972.
- Imber, Colin. "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shi'ites According to the Mühimme Defterleri, 1565–1585." *Der Islam* 56 (1979): 245–273.
- Ivanow, W. "Ismailis and Qarmatians." *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16 (1940): 43–85.
- Kara, İlyas. *Her Yönüyle Tarihten Günümüze Kastamonu*. 2 vols. Kastamonu: Bilge Kastamonu Gazetesi, 1997.



- Karamustafa, Ahmet. *God's Unruly Friends*. Oxford: OneWorld, 2006.
- al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad [attributed]. *Fustāṭ al-ʿAdāla fī Qarwāʿid al-Saltāna*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Supplement Turc 1120.
- Khūyi, Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin Ḥusām al-Dīn. *Majmūʿa-yi Āthār-i Ḥusām al-Dīn Khūyi*. Tehran: Mirāth-i Maktūb, 2000.
- Klíma, Otakar. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mazdakismus*. Prague: Academia, 1977.
- Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. "Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihi'nin Yerli Kaynakları." *Belleten* 7 (1943): 379–458.
- Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources*, tr. Gary Leiser. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "The Revolt in Kastamonu, c. 1291–1293." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004): 87–118.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "The King of the East and the West: The Seljuk Dynastic Concept and Titles in the Muslim and Christian Sources." In A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds). *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013, 68–90.
- Leiser, Gary. "The Madrasah and the Islamization of Anatolia Before the Ottomans." In Joseph Lowry, Devin J. Stewart, and Shawkat M. Toorawa (eds). *Law and Education in Medieval Islam. Studies in Memory of George Makdisi*. Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004, 174–191.
- Lane, George. *Thirteenth Century and Early Mongol Rule in Iran: A Persian Renaissance*, London: Routledge, 2003.
- Madelung, Wilferd. *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, Albany, NY: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1988.
- Madelung, Wilferd. "The Westward Migration of Hanafi Scholars from Central Asia in the 11th to 13th Centuries." *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 43, no.2 (2002): 41–55.
- Manāqib-i Aẓḥād al-Dīn Ḥāmid ibn-i Abī al-Fakhr-i Kirmānī*, ed. Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar. Tehran: Surūsh, 1347/1969.
- Marlow, Louise. "A Thirteenth-Century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean: Sirāj al-Dīn Urmavī, Jurist, Logician, Diplomat." *Al-Masaq* 22, no. 3 (2010): 279–313.
- Melville, Charles. "Anatolia under the Mongols." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet, *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 51–101.
- Nahas, Gabriel G. "Hashish in Islam, 9th to 18th Century." *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 58, no. 9 (1982): 814–831.
- Nizām al-Mulk. *The Book of Government: or, Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk*, tr. Hubert Darke. London: Routledge, 1978.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Marjinal Sûfîlik: Kalendariler: XIV–XVII. Yüzyıllar*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992.

- Peacock, A.C.S. "Aḥmad of Niğde's *al-Walad al-Shafiq* and the Seljuk Past." *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004): 95–107.
- Peacock, A.C.S. "An Interfaith Polemic of Medieval Anatolia: Qāḍi Burhān al-Din al-Anawī on the Armenians and Their Heresies." In A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds). *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, 233-261.
- Peacock, A.C.S. "Sinop: A Frontier City in Seljuk and Mongol Anatolia." *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010): 103–24.
- Peacock, A.C.S. and Sara Nur Yıldız. "Introduction." in A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds). *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2013, 1–22.
- Pfeiffer, Judith. "Reflections on a 'Double Rapprochement': Conversion to Islam among the Mongol Elite during the Early Ilkhanate." In Linda Komaroff (ed.). *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*. Leiden: Brill, 2006, 369–389.
- Ridgeon, Lloyd. "The Controversy of Shaykh Awḥad al-Din Kirmānī and Handsome, Moon-Faced Youths: A Case Study of *Shāhid-Bāzī* in Medieval Sufism." *Journal of Sufi Studies* 1 (2012): 3-30.
- Riyāḥī, Muḥammad Amin. *Zabān wa Adab-i Fārsī dar Qalamraw-i 'Uṭhmānī*. Tehran: Pāzhang, 1369/1990.
- Rosenthal, Franz. *The Herb: Hashish Versus Medieval Muslim Society*. Leiden: Brill, 1971.
- Şerbetçi, Azmi. "Kutbüddîn-i Şîrâzî." *TDVİA*, vol. 26, 487-489.
- Tezcan, Baki. "Hanafism and the Turks in al-Ṭarasūsī's *Gift for the Turks* (1352)." *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011): 67–86.
- Turan, Osman. "Selçuk Türkiyesi Din Tarihine Dair bir Kaynak: Fustāṭ al-ʿAdale fi Kavāʿid is-Sulṭana." In 60. *Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle: Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*. Istanbul: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1956; reprint Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010, 531–564
- Wallbridge, John Tuthill. "The Philosophy of Qutb al-Din Shirazi: A Study in the Integration of Islamic Philosophy." PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1983.
- Yarshater, Ehsan. "Mazdakism." In *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, Part 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 991–1024.
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "A Nadim for the Sultan: Rāwandī and the Anatolian Seljuks." In A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds). *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013, 91–111.
- Yücel, Yaşar. *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar*, 2 vols. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991.
- Yūsufi, Muḥammad ʿAlī. "Dar Āstāna-yi Tahqīq wa Nashr: Fustāṭ al-ʿAdāla fi Qawāʿid al-Salṭana." *Faşlnāma-yi Āyina-yi Mirāth* 4, no. 1 (2001): 56–58.

## Chapter 3

# Layers of Mystical Meaning and Social Context in the Works of Kaygusuz Abdal

*Zeynep Oktay*

*Bu dünyā halkı aña delü dirler*

*Kimi inkār ider kim velü dirler*

*Kimi eydür ki bu abdāl olupdur*

*Bilür tañrı ki bu ne hāl olupdur<sup>1</sup>*

The people of this world call him crazy  
Some reject him; some say he is a saint

Some say: "This is an *abdāl*;  
Only God knows what state he is in!"

Kaygusuz Abdal (fl. second half of the fourteenth- first half of the fifteenth century), a venerated saint of Alevism<sup>2</sup> to this day, was the most prominent and prolific representative of the dervish movement known as the *Abdālān-ı Rūm*. His works were instrumental in the formation of the genre which later became known as "Alevi-Bektashi literature." Indeed, the famous Turkish scholar Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı rightly calls him "the founder of Alevi-Bektashi literature."<sup>3</sup> The sacred place accorded to Kaygusuz Abdal in Alevi-Bektashi lore, the quantity of writing he produced and the influence he had on his successors all indicate that we are dealing with a major historical figure.

Several points of reference help us contextualise Kaygusuz Abdal's importance for Bektashi history. Not only was he the first *abdāl* (a kind of antinomian Sufi) to produce major literary works, he was also the first dervish known to call himself a

---

Acknowledgements: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 208476, "The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100–1500." The transliteration of Turkish in quotations in this chapter has been standardised.

<sup>1</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *İkinci Mesnevi*, Ankara Milli Kütüphane MS. Mil Yz A 7621/2, dated 920/1514, fol. 3b.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term Alevism with awareness of the historical plurality overshadowed by its modern use.

<sup>3</sup> Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* (1962; Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2013), 10; idem, "Halk Edebiyatımızda Zümre Edebiyatları," *Türk Dili (Türk Halk Edebiyatı Özel Sayısı)* 19, no. 207 (1968), 370. The same point is also stressed by Ahmet T. Karamestafa, "Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint and the Formation of Vernacular Islam in Anatolia," in Orkhan Mir Kasimov (ed.), *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and Construction of Religious Authority in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 331.

Bektashi.<sup>4</sup> This indicates that the categories *abdāl* and Bektashi may have been mutually inclusive in his time, although this may have changed later.<sup>5</sup> Kaygusuz's relation to Hacı Bektaş (d. ca. 669/1270-71) can be traced through his master Abdal Musa, who was a follower (*muhibb*) of Hacı Bektaş's spiritual daughter, Hatun Ana.<sup>6</sup> According to Bektashi tradition, Kaygusuz Abdal initiated the use of the twelve-gored Qalandari cap (*tāc*).<sup>7</sup> Kaygusuz and his master are name holders of two of the twelve sheepskin ceremonial seats (*pūst*) in the Bektashi *meydān* (ceremonial room), linking them to the duties of *naķib* (helper of the *mürşid*) and *ayakçı* (in charge of domestic duties such as cleaning) in the Bektashi ceremony (*cem*). The lodge of Kaygusuz in Egypt, which continued to exist until 1965, was one of the four Bektashi lodges holding the rank of *kbalīfa*.<sup>8</sup>

Ahmet T. Karamustafa defines the *Abdālān-ı Rūm* as a loosely-affiliated group of antinomian Sufis who were part of a new movement of renunciation which emerged in the later middle period (ca. 600/1200-900/1500) in the Islamic lands.<sup>9</sup> According to Karamustafa, they were initially distinguishable from other dervish groups of Asia Minor in that their literature was composed in the Turkish vernacular. This group became more identifiable through their dress and practices in the second half of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, and was gradually subsumed into the official Bektashi order in the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup>

Kaygusuz Abdal's open declaration of his preference for Turkish as well as his antinomian view of mainstream Sufism<sup>11</sup> put him squarely within the antinomian Sufi traditions of Anatolia. Apart from the *Maķālāt* attributed to Hacı Bektaş,<sup>12</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal's works are our earliest definitive testimony to the doc-

<sup>4</sup> See n. 37 below.

<sup>5</sup> The following information is also mentioned in Gölpinarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevārīh-i Āl-i ʿOsmān*, ed. Ali Bey (Istanbul: Matba-i Amire, 1332/1913-14); reprinted as *ʿAshiḳpaşazādeh taʾriḳhī: A History of the Ottoman Empire to A.H. 893 (A.D. 1478)* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1970), 205. On the same page, the *Abdāls* of Rūm are referred to as one of the four dervish groups in Anatolia.

<sup>7</sup> For the Qalandari cap, see Erdoğan Ağırdemir, "Bektaşilikte Taç Şekilleri ve Anlamları," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Dergisi* 60 (2011): 365-378.

<sup>8</sup> For the history of this lodge see F. De Jong, "The Takiya of ʿAbd Allāh al-Maghāwiri (Qayghusuz Sulṭān) in Cairo," *Turcica* 13 (1981): 252.

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed study of this renunciant movement, see Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period 1200-1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> See *ibid.*, 70-78; 83-84; Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Kalenders, Abdāls, Hayderis: The Formation of the Bektaşîye in the 16th Century," in Halil İnalçık and Cemal Kafadar (eds), *Süleymān the Second and His Time* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993), 121-129.

<sup>11</sup> For an in-depth discussion of both matters, see Karamustafa, "Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint," 329-342. For a description of Kaygusuz Abdal's costume and paraphernalia, see Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 63.

<sup>12</sup> The only early manuscript of the Turkish version of Hacı Bektaş's *Maķālāt* is dated 827/1423. Despite its early date, this manuscript remains largely unrecognised and unstudied (Hacı Bektaş, *Maķālāt*, MS Manisa Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi 3536/2, fol. 58a-87a). The

trines of the Bektashis, as well as to those of the *Abdālān-ı Rūm*. They thus shed light on a variety of matters regarding the formation of Bektashism, such as the evolution of the doctrine of ‘Ali, of the Four Gates (*dört kapı*), and other elements; the nature and time-span of Hurufi influence; and the doctrinal nature of the institutionalisation undertaken by Balım Sultan (d. 922/ 1516 [?]).

In this article, I present a specific methodology which facilitates the interpretation of Kaygusuz Abdal’s texts as well as the social and political insights at which I have arrived as a result.<sup>13</sup> I argue that Kaygusuz’s use of terminology and its related doctrinal position differ according to the specific audience to which it is addressed. Identifying the audience to which each text or passage is addressed allows us to systematise the largely plural and unorganised corpus of Kaygusuz Abdal’s teachings. I draw my evidence from Kaygusuz Abdal’s *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, a recently published *mathnawī* of 1030 couplets.<sup>14</sup> I also make use of Kaygusuz Abdal’s other works to complement my analysis of Kaygusuz’s use of concepts and doctrinal positions and how they change according to different intended audiences.

Kaygusuz Abdal wrote over 600 individual poems,<sup>15</sup> three long *mathnawīs*,<sup>16</sup> two short *mathnawīs*,<sup>17</sup> one book of verse (*Gülistān*),<sup>18</sup> three works of prose (*Delil-i*

---

other works attributed to Hacı Bektaş, *Besmele Tefsiri*, *Fātiha Tefsiri*, *Maḳālāt-ı Gaybiyye ve Kelimāt-ı ‘Ayniyye*, *Kitābu’l- Fevā’id* and *Hadīs-i Erba’in*, are inconsistent in content and generally do not survive in early manuscripts, and are thus of uncertain attribution. Many of them have been attributed to Hacı Bektaş merely due to their presence in manuscript compilations which contain Hacı Bektaş’s *Maḳālāt*. The above-mentioned Manisa manuscript, a compilation of two works, not only contains the earliest manuscript of the *Maḳālāt*, but also the *Besmele tefsiri* entitled *Kitāb-ı Tefsir-i Besmele ma’a Maḳālāt-ı Hacı Bektāş*, suggesting that this is an anonymous work bound together with *Maḳālāt*. See Hünkār Hacı Bektāş-ı Velī, *Besmele Tefsiri (Şerh-i Besmele)*, ed. Hamiye Duran (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> I have employed the same methodology in order to arrive at new insights on Kaygusuz Abdal’s thought and doctrines in a study of the *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*. See Zeynep Oktay, *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University, 2013) (henceforth, *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay), 35-48.

<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.*, 79-202.

<sup>15</sup> For this previously unknown manuscript dated 920/1514, see *ibid.*, 11 and 67. Abdurrahman Güzel’s *Kaygusuz Abdal Divānu* includes 370 poems found in other manuscripts; see *Kaygusuz Abdal Divānu*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, *İkinci mesnevi*, *Üçüncü mesnevi*. For a brief summary of Kaygusuz’s works, see *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay, 11-16.

<sup>17</sup> *Gevhernâme* and *Minbernâme*. There are five editions of the *Gevhernâme*, two of which rely on the oldest manuscript. See Mehmet Akalın, “Kaygusuz Abdal’ın Gevher-nâmesi,” *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi* 10 (1979), 189-197; Müjgan Cunbur, “Gülşehri ile Kaygusuz Abdal’ın Şiirlerini Kapsayan XV.Yüzyıldan Kalan Bir Mecmua,” in *X.Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler 1963* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1964), 23-30. Abdurrahman Güzel’s edition contains the longest text; see *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâeddin Gaybî) Menâkıbnâmesi*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), 119-123. For the editions of *Minber-nâme* see *ibid.*, 136-140; Rıza Nour, “Kaygusuz Abdal Gaybî Bey,” *Türk Bilik Revüsü / Revue de Turcologie* 2, no. 5 (1935), 77-98.

<sup>18</sup> See Kaygusuz Abdal, *Gülistān*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, dated 907/1501-2, fol 140a-210b.

*budalā*,<sup>19</sup> *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa*, and *Vücūd-nāme*), two works in verse and prose (*Dil-güşā* and *Serāy-nāme*).<sup>20</sup> The *Gülisṭān*, and the long *mathnawīs*, the *Dil-güşā*, and *Serāy-nāme*, impart Kaygusuz Abdal's mystical teachings in a largely didactic tone, and give the impression of having been written for the general public. The *Delil-i Budalā*, *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa* and *Vücūd-nāme* on the other hand, were composed for the members of the lodge or dervish group. While the *Delil-i Budalā* elaborates doctrinal elements for novices, the *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa* is an entirely esoteric text dealing with the deepest and subtlest doctrinal matters. The *Vücūd-nāme* diverges from the other texts in that it deals with a specific and unique subject matter, namely the human body and its relationship with the various constituents of the macrocosmos as well as with the letters in the Arabic alphabet. Kaygusuz Abdal's individual poems can be categorised according to subject matter, which in part determines the prosody patterns and poetic forms. While the majority of the poems are composed in formal meter (*ʿarūz*) and focus on the doctrine of the Oneness of Being (*vahdet-i vücūd*) – though of course Kaygusuz's own interpretation of it – in the poems composed in quatrains and the syllabic meter, social themes come to the forefront. In these poems social life becomes a vibrant source of symbolism.

Although Kaygusuz Abdal has been the subject of numerous studies, very few of them have a theoretical approach.<sup>21</sup> Opinions regarding his religious persona rely largely on his poems in syllabic meter (particularly his *shathīyyāt*)<sup>22</sup> and re-

<sup>19</sup> In the editions of this work, the name appears as the *Budalanāme*. This name, however, does not appear in the manuscripts.

<sup>20</sup> Editions of a majority of Kaygusuz Abdal's works have been published; however many of these are not critical. See the following editions: Kaygusuz Abdal, *Budalanāme*, in Abdurrahman Güzel (ed.), *Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Mensur Eserleri* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983), 49-74; also Tahir Galip Seratlı (ed.), *Vahdet-i Vücut ve Tevhid Risaleleri* (Istanbul: Furkan Kitaplığı, 2006), 11-128; Bilâl Yücel, "Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Budalanāme'si," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Makaleleri 2* (2002). 50-80; Kaygusuz Abdal, *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa*, in Abdurrahman Güzel (ed.), *Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Mensur Eserleri* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983), 82-130; also Bilâl Yücel, "Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Kitābu Mağlaṭa'sı," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Makaleleri 2* (2002). 83-117; Kaygusuz Abdal, *Vücūd-nāme*, in Abdurrahman Güzel (ed.), *Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Mensur Eserleri* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983), 135-152. Critical editions of three of Kaygusuz Abdal's works are available: Kaygusuz Abdal, *Dil-güşā*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009), which relies primarily on a nineteenth-century copy which leaves out the Persian sections; the Turkish translations of these sections are highly inaccurate; Kaygusuz Abdal, *Saraynāme*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010); *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay 79-173. In addition, a few of Kaygusuz Abdal's most famous poems have appeared in a number of anthologies.

<sup>21</sup> The few exceptions are Catherine Pinguet, "Remarques sur la Poésie de Kaygusuz Abdal," *Turcica 34* (2002), 13-38; Karamustafa, "Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint." The first of these focuses on Kaygusuz Abdal's *shathīyyāt*, while the second investigates Kaygusuz Abdal's mystical thought, political attitude and the role of both in his literary production in the Turkish vernacular.

<sup>22</sup> The designation "ecstatic saying" as a translation for the genre of *shathīyyāt* in Sufism is not quite appropriate in this case. This particular kind of *shathīyyāt*, of which Yunus Emre is the first representative, differs from the common genre in Sufism in both purpose and

volve around whether or not he should be considered a “Bektashi.”<sup>23</sup> This, however, is part of a much larger debate, which is that of the relationship between Bektashism and the *Abdāls* of *Rūm* (*Abdālān-ı Rūm*). This paper is a preliminary attempt to examine the earliest religious doctrines of both.

### *The Doctrine of the Four Gates*

The *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz* consists of loosely-related Sufi teachings lacking any apparent organisation, yet unified around the doctrine of the Oneness of Being. As I demonstrate, some of the teachings appear to contradict one another, which complicates understanding Kaygusuz Abdal’s mystical doctrine. There is also a constant changing of subject and tense, as well as confusion regarding narrator and time of reference. Narrative perspectives vary throughout the text, with Kaygusuz sometimes addressing God as a servant or addressing the reader as a master, or with him directly speaking through the mouth of the *velî* who has become one with God, to name but a few.<sup>24</sup> This coexistence of different perspectives is the result of the various layers of meaning in the *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz* and can be related to a hierarchy inherent within Kaygusuz’s teaching. This discursive hierarchy tends to accompany the doctrine of the Four Gates (*dört kapı*).

---

content. In this case, instead of revealing hidden meanings, the poet deliberately attempts to dissimulate them via phantasmagoric imagery or provocative statements.

<sup>23</sup> The most comprehensive study on the topic is Güzel’s *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâaddîn Gaybî)*. This work, however consists largely of a list of Sufi terms and concepts and can be misleading in its portrayal of Kaygusuz as an orthodox Sunni. See Abdurrahman Güzel, *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâaddîn Gaybî)* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2004). For previous references to Kaygusuz Abdal’s Sufi persona see Fuat Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1966), 291; idem, “Mısır’da Bektaşılık,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 6 (1939), 18; idem, “Abdal Musa,” in *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi: Ortaçağ ve Yeniçağ Türklerinin Halk Kültürü Üzerine Coğrafya, Etnografya, Etnoloji, Tarih ve Edebiyat Lûgati* (Istanbul: Burhaneddin Basımevi, 1935), 60-64; Muhtar Yahya Dağlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal* (Istanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1939); Irene Mélikoff, *Hadji Bektach: Un Mythe et Ses Avatars* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 224-226; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2013) [First edition: Varlık Yayınevi, 1962]; Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 335-337; eadem, “Drei türkische Mystiker: Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz Abdal, Pir Sultan Abdal,” in Norbert Reitz (ed.), *60 Jahre Deutsch-Türkische Gesellschaft* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2014), 171-185; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, “Kitabiyat,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları: The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 2 (1981), 243-252; idem, *Kalenderîler (XIV.-XII. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992), 88 ff.; Catherine Pinguet, *La Folle Sagesse* (Paris: Patrimoines, 2005), 84-99; Nihat Azamat, “Kaygusuz Abdal,” *TDVİA*, vol. 25, 74-76.

<sup>24</sup> This structural feature suggests some relationship with oral composition or performance. In fact, the use of the *‘arîz* meter in the text shows that the syllabic value given to words depends on their pronunciation in spoken Turkish and not on their orthography. This in turn implies that the text was either dictated to a third party in its initial composition or destined for oral performance. For a detailed discussion of this matter, see Oktay, 42-43. For the relation between Kaygusuz Abdal and oral literature within the context of *tekerleme* (nursery rhymes), see Pertev Naili Boratav, *Zaman Zaman İçinde* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2007), 45-53.

The doctrine of the Four Gates and Forty Stations (*dört kapı kırk makâm*) is a major aspect of Bektashism and Alevism. The Four Gates provides an overall structure for the different stages of the spiritual path known as the Forty Stations. The Gates are ordered accordingly to levels of spiritual awareness and perfection.<sup>25</sup> What may be our earliest testimony to the above doctrine figures in a poem in Yunus Emre's (d. ca. 720/1320) *Dîvân*, in the standard edition published by Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, which is not in fact considered an Alevi or Bektashi text.<sup>26</sup> The *Makâlât*, the most voluminous and historically important text attributed to Hacı Bektaş, expounds the doctrine of the Four Gates and Forty Stations in detail, station by station.<sup>27</sup> The doctrine is also central to the main religious texts of the Alevis, called *Buyruk* (Book of Orders).<sup>28</sup> In some *Buyruks*, it constitutes the very structure of the text.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The history of the doctrine of Four Gates and Forty Stations remains almost entirely unexplored. There is one very short scholarly article with serious historical errors, one master's thesis and one popular book on the subject. See Hüseyin Özcan, "Bektaşilikte Dört Kapı Kırk Makam," *Journal of Turkish Studies / Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları: Kaf Dağının Ötesine Varmak, Festschrift in Honor of Günay Kut III* 28, no. 1 (2004), 241-245; Sermin Çalışkan, "Alevilik'te Dört Kapı Kırk Makam," Master's Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010; Esat Korkmaz, *Dört Kapı Kırk Makam* (Istanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 2008).

<sup>26</sup> See Yunus Emre, *Risâlat al-Nushıyya ve Dîvân*, ed. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (Istanbul: Eskişehir Turizm ve Tanıtma Derneği Yayınları, 1965), 131-132 and fol. 182a-183a. This edition relies on a manuscript which Gölpınarlı dates to the fourteenth century (see *ibid.*, pp. XLIX-L as well as the facsimile of the manuscript). An examination of the manuscript, however, makes this dating doubtful, a fact also pointed out by other scholars. The other earliest manuscript of Yunus Emre's *Dîvân* is a previously unknown fifteenth-century manuscript in which the given poem does not appear (See MS. Hacı Selim Ağa Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Kemankes Koleksiyonu No. 316/1).

<sup>27</sup> For references to what is claimed to be the Arabic version of *Maqâlât* see M. Esad Coşan, *Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî ve Bektaşilik* (Istanbul: Server İletişim, 2013), 16-18. For editions of *Maqâlât* in Turkish see Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî, *Makâlât*, ed. Esad Coşan (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996); Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî, *Makâlât*, ed. Ali Yılmaz, Mehmet Akkuş and Ali Öztürk (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007); Hacı Bektaş Velî, "Makâlât," ed. Ömer Özkan and Malik Bankır in Gıyasettin Aytas (ed.), *Hacı Bektaş Velî Külliyyatı* (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Merkezi, 2010), 473-767. None of these editions rely on the aforementioned earliest Manisa manuscript (see n. 12 above). For an edition of the Turkish translation in verse by Hatiboğlu Muhammed (d. after 838/1435) see Hatiboğlu Muhammed, *Bahru'l-Hakâ'ik*, in Abdurrahman Güzel, *Hacı Bektaş Velî ve Makâlât* (Ankara: Akçağ, 2002), 287-341. The edition in this monograph is taken from the associate professorship thesis of Esat Coşan.

<sup>28</sup> For an overview of *Buyruk* manuscripts see Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, "Documents and Buyruk Manuscripts in the Private Archives of Alevi Dede Families: An Overview," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 3 (2010), 273-286. According to this study, the compilation date of some *Buyruk* manuscripts can be traced to the reign of Shah Tahmasp (r. 930-984 / 1524-1576) (see 280-282). For a summary of the doctrine of the Four Gates and Forty Stations in the *Buyruk* see Doğan Kaplan, *Yazılı Kaynaklarına Göre Alevilik* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009), 217-239.

<sup>29</sup> See for instance Bisâtî, *Şeyh Sâfi Buyruğu: Menâkibu'l-Esrâr Behcetü'l-Abrâr*, ed. Ahmet Taşğın (Ankara: Rheda-Wiedenbrück Çevresi Alevi Kültür Derneği Yayınları, 2003). In this text, each gate consists of seven and not ten stations.



In the above-mentioned Sufi, Alevi and Bektashi texts, as well as late nineteenth-century works which mention the doctrine of the Four Gates and Forty Stations,<sup>30</sup> the gates are set in the following order: *şerīʿat*, *ṭarīkat*, *māʿrifet*, *ḥaḳīkat*. Yet, in Kaygusuz Abdal's works, the gate of *ḥaḳīkat* is placed before that of *māʿrifet*. This detail, along with the fact that Kaygusuz Abdal's works do not include any references to Forty Stations, suggests that Kaygusuz Abdal's formulation of the doctrine may have belonged to a different lineage of teachings.

In the *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, the author defines the four gates in the following way:

*Şerīʿatda külli işi pür-kemāl  
Ṭarīkatda ol kişidiür ebl-i ḥāl*

*Ḥaḳīkatda külli Ḥaḳḳdur pes bemān  
Māʿrifeti kendüye yeter nişān*<sup>31</sup>

In religious law his conduct is perfect  
On the path he is a man of the [spiritual] state.

In Truth he becomes God in entirety  
His gnostic knowledge is the only sign he needs.

In these couplets *şerīʿat* is defined as a religious act, *ṭarīkat* as an experience of varying states, *ḥaḳīkat* as the experience of oneness, thus corresponding to the station of *fenā* (annihilation), and *māʿrifet* as the knowledge born out of this oneness, that is to say the station of *beḳā* (perpetuation). In this sense, *māʿrifet* is the destination to which the path leads:

*Her kimde kim ola bu üç ḥāşşiyyet  
Şerīʿat u ṭarīkat u ḥaḳīkat*

*Māʿrifet anda biter kân ol durur  
Māʿrifet cevheri māʿden ol durur*

Whoever has these three special qualities:  
Religious law, the spiritual path and the truth

In him emerges gnostic knowledge; he is the mine  
The jewel of gnostic knowledge; he is the quarry<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See the prose introduction to some late nineteenth- early twentieth-century editions of *Dîvân-ı Hikmet*, wrongly attributed to Aḥmad Yasawî (Ahmet Yesevî). This introduction is published under the name *Faḳr-nâme*; see Kemal Erarslan, *Yesevî'nin Faḳr-nâmesi* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1977). See also Ahmed Rifat Efendi, *Mir'âtu'l-Maḳâsid fî Def'i'l-Meşâsid* (Istanbul, İbrahim Efendi Matbaası, 1293/1876), 282-283; Ali Ulvi Baba, *Bektâşîlik Makâlâtü* (İzmir: Marifet Matbaası, 1341/1922-3), 12. Both texts are referenced in Bedri Noyan Dedebaba, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşîlik ve Alevîlik*, vol. 8, part 1 (*Erkân*) (Ankara: Ardiç Yayınları, 2010), 153-154.

<sup>31</sup> *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay, 158.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

When examining Kaygusuz's terminology with this four-fold structure in mind, we see that the same term carries a different meaning depending on the gate with which that particular couplet is associated. This can be perhaps be best demonstrated by focusing on Kaygusuz's use of two particular terms: *farq* (differentiation) and *hāl* (state).

### *Farq*

The most common use of *farq* is found in couplets which stress the importance of knowing the difference between a Perfect Man, denoted by the word *insān*, and an ordinary man, designated as *hayvān*:

*Gözüñ açıla göresin sultān  
İnsāndan farq eyleyesin hayvān*<sup>33</sup>

May your eyes open so that you see the sultan  
May you distinguish between animal and man

According to Kaygusuz, the difference is recognised through the language that each type of man employs:

*Sözine bakıp bilürler ādemi  
Söz durur farq iden puhteden hāmī*<sup>34</sup>

One knows a man by his word;  
It is the word that differentiates the cooked from the raw.

Expressed as “*haqqı bātıldan farq itmek*” (differentiating between truth and falsity), this notion is repeated numerous times in Kaygusuz's works, often with reference to the ontological differences between animals as well as perceptual ones illustrated by the varying tastes of edible food.<sup>35</sup>

A second use of *farq* involves relating the term with the concept of *istiğrāk* (complete absorption). In this station the mystic cuts off all relations with the world and becomes immersed in God or Oneness with his whole existence. The following couplets, exemplify this use:

*Kaṭresin ʿummān içinde garq ide  
Özünü cümle ʿālemden farq ide*<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>35</sup> An example from the *Meşnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*: “Bal u yağ olsa şoğandan ne hāşıl / Halva gibi nesne mi var iy ʿāqıl / Eti semiz olucağaz keşkegün / Ne dadı vardır yemege dülegün” (If there is honey and butter; what is an onion worth? / O person of intelligence! Can anything be compared with halvah? / When *keşkek* [a wheat dish] has plenty of meat / What pleasure is there in eating a raw melon?” (Ibid., 162.) In this regard also see Orhan Şaik Gökyay, “Kaygusuz Abdal ve Simâtiyeleri,” *Türk Folkloru* 1, no. 13 (1980), 3-5, 2, no. 14 (1980), 3-6.

<sup>36</sup> *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay, 148.

May he become but a drop in the ocean  
And separate himself from the entire universe.

And:

*Rûm ilinde Bekdâşîdür ol 'âşîk  
Abdâl olmuş ciimle 'âlemden fârîk*<sup>37</sup>

That lover is a *Bektâşî* in the land of Rûm  
He has become an *abdâl*, detached from the whole world

In a third usage in the *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, *farq* is employed together with theophany (*tecellî*), which signifies the appearance of the One in the form, or forms, of the many:<sup>38</sup>

*Zihî nûr kim 'âlemler garq olupdur  
Özi ferd ü ahaddur farq olupdur*<sup>39</sup>

Praise be to the Light which fills the whole universe  
His essence is the One and the Only; he disperses himself into the Many

When we compare these three usages of *farq*, we come across a succession – or rather a juxtaposition – of different levels of teaching. In categorizing these teachings in terms of the doctrine of the Four Gates, we can say that the first usage corresponds to the gate of *ṭarîkat*. This level is characterised by a moral lesson aimed at the taming of one's base self:

*Her kişi kim haqqı bâıldan seçer  
Aña dimişler bu yolda gerçek er*

*Gel berü altuna katmağil bakır  
Gâflet ile cân yüzün eyleme kir*<sup>40</sup>

Whoever is capable of differentiating between the true and the false  
Deserves to be called a real Man.

Come by; do not add copper to gold  
Do not dirty the face of the soul with ignorance

Thus the “ability to differentiate” is a skill the novice needs to cultivate in order to achieve perfection. The second usage, on the other hand, makes reference to the station of *fenâ* (annihilation in God), which is linked to the gate of *hakîkat*.

The third usage refers to two complementary concepts. One of these is the unity of *teşbih* (similarity) and *tenzih* (incomparability), which can only be under-

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>38</sup> This term figures as *farq al-jam'* in Sufi dictionaries; for more on the concept see 'Abd al-Razzâq al-Qâshânî, *A Glossary of Sufi Technical Terms*, tr. Nabil Safwat (London: The Octagon Press, 1991), 90, 130-131. The term is translated into English as “dispersion”; see for instance William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-'Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 91.

<sup>39</sup> *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay, 92.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 146.

stood by the *veli* at the highest stage of perfection. While the first stage on the path clearly distinguishes between the Creator and the created, in the second stage, that of annihilation in God, the focus is entirely on *teşbih*. Yet, only in the last stage of both *teşbih* and *tenzih*, can true experiential knowledge of theophany (*tecelli*) be achieved. This last stage corresponds to the Perfect Man's movement from the state of *fenā* to the state of *bekā* (subsistence or perpetuation), where he subsists in God within his servitude, within the world of multiplicity. The level of *ma'rifet* (gnostic knowledge) which he attains is thus a mirror image of God's theophany.

### *Hāl*

The above examples demonstrate how a single term can harbour three different layers of meaning according to the gate with which it is associated. On the other hand, the word *hāl* (state), one of the most frequently used terms in the *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, contains four levels of meanings in accordance to the four different gates. In the following couplets, the use of *hāl* refers to the condition of the universe and the order in which it operates:

*Bilmediün ki bu ne hikmetdür ne hāl  
Ne imiş ortada dönen mäh u sâh*<sup>41</sup>

You did not know what wisdom this is, what state;  
What are these months and years changing constantly?

*‘Aceb pergāl ‘aceb tertib ‘aceb iş  
‘Aceb hāldür ‘acāyib dürlü gerdiş*<sup>42</sup>

A strange way of the world, a strange order, strange affair  
A strange state, strange turns of fortune

Kaygusuz frequently stresses that this *hāl* can only be known by God.<sup>43</sup> While *hāl* appears in the singular in the *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, it is used in the plural in Kaygusuz Abdal's *Serāynāme*, where it expresses the world of multiplicity (*kesret*). Kaygusuz stresses that the various states of the world of multiplicity which bind us to their partial realities are in fact a singular state, the knowledge of which defines the Perfect Man:

*[Bu serāyuñ tabakalarınıñ] cümlesine Allāh'ın halkı tolmış. Her birisi bir hāle meşgāl olmış, bu serāyda geçer. Ademden artuğ kimse bu hāli fikr eylemez ki bu serāy ne yirdür. [...] Bu serāyda cümle eşyā her birisi bu hāl içinde giriftār olmuş kalmış, veli insān-ı kāmil anladı ki hāl nedür.*<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>44</sup> *Serāynāme*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS. Or. Oct. 4044, fol. 14a-b; Kaygusuz Abdal, *Sarāynāme*, 164-167.

All the stories of this palace are filled with the creations of God. Each creation is occupied with some state and keeps on living in this palace. None except for man thinks about this state, or asks what place this palace is. In this palace each thing is a prisoner stuck in this state. Yet the Perfect Man is the one who understands what it is.

A second definition of *ḥāl* is the disciple's individual condition.<sup>45</sup> Knowing one's own state gives one the ability to distinguish between truth and falsity as mentioned above:

*Kendü ḥālünden ğāfil olma ğāfil  
Tā ki saña rüşen ola ḥakḳ bāti*<sup>46</sup>

Do not be ignorant of your own state  
In order that the true and false be visible to you

In this second use, *ḥāl* is also defined as a temporary and God-given state, as opposed to the permanent and earned *makām* (station); this use is parallel to that found in Sufi texts in general.

*Baṅa bir ḥāl 'aceb geldi cibānda  
Bu kimdür söylenür her bir lisānda*<sup>47</sup>

A strange state has come upon me in this world  
Who is this, spoken in every language?

The third definition of *ḥāl* is that of a singular state, making reference to a pre-eternal present in which all beings are One and speak the language of unity. This time frame is central to all of Kaygusuz's works and is often referred to by the phrase "ezel demi" (the pre-eternal moment), which Kaygusuz uses to allude to the *bezm-i elest* (pre-eternal pact). The following three couplets from the *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa*, *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz* and *Dil-ğüşā* exemplify this definition of *ḥāl*:

*Gebi 'ıyān gebi pinhān geçerdüm  
Benüm ḥālüm bu idi her zamānda*

*Bu ḥāl her ki bildi ḥāmüş oldı  
Şanasın arşlan öñinde müş oldı*<sup>48</sup>

I have lived sometimes visibly, sometimes hidden  
This has been my state at all times<sup>49</sup>

Whoever knows this state becomes silent  
You would think he were a mouse facing a lion

<sup>45</sup> In the following couplet, *ḥāl* signifies both the personal state of the aspirant and the time concept known as the "present": "Yören kendüziñe gör kim ḥālün ne / Āḥirün nolisardur evvelün ne (Come back to yourself; see what your state is / What will be your future; what was your past)" (*Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay, 86).

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>49</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms. Or. Oct. 4044, fol. 276b.

*Kamu varlık kadim ü pür-kemâldür  
Hayâl yokdur arada cümle hâldür<sup>50</sup>*

All beings are ancient and perfect  
There is no illusion in between, all is a state.

This *hâl* is inexpressible, absolute and unchangeable. Like the state of the world, it cannot be told; it can only be experienced. In its opposition to *hayâl* (illusion), it is the opposite of *kesret*, of manyness (multiplicity). In that sense we can say that it is the experience of oneness in the station of annihilation in God.

The final definition of *hâl* is that of the esoteric.<sup>51</sup> It is that which constitutes the opposite of the visible, the hidden component of the spoken word:

*Her şıfat içinde yüz bin dürlü hâl  
Her hâl içinde ağıllar pây[i]mâl*

*Sözi söyleyen özidür dinlegil  
Sözi ne kendüzi nedür anlağıl*

*Ol durur söz kim bilesin hâl nedür  
Bir elifden bunca kıl u kâl nedür<sup>52</sup>*

Within each attribute are a hundred thousand different states  
Within each state intellects are destroyed

Listen, that which speaks the word is His essence  
Understand, what is His Word, what is His self?

The word is that which allows you to know what the state is  
What is all this tittle-tattle derived from one *alif*?

In fact, expressions such as that above declaring that knowing the *hâl* is equal to being silent co-exist with those affirming that the *hâl* can only be known through the word, through language.<sup>53</sup> Kaygusuz gives us a clue as to how one may express the inexpressible state:

*Hakîrem fakîrem pîrem ü pîrem  
Saña remz ile bu hâlîmi direm<sup>54</sup>*

I am poor and destitute, I am a spiritual guide  
I tell you this state of mine with a sign

The key word here is *remz* (sign). In order to be capable of expressing the hidden, language itself must have an esoteric dimension beneath its face. In the *Serây-nâme* Kaygusuz calls this language “*hâl dili*” (the language of the state).<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Dil-güŕâ*, 72.

<sup>51</sup> In this context, note that Ibn al-‘Arabî defines *hâl* as the esoteric meaning, in opposition to the spoken word. For a discussion, see Suad el-Hakîm, *İbnü’l-Arabî Sözlüğü*, tr. Ekrem Demirli (Istanbul: Kabaıcı Yayınevi, 2005), 244.

<sup>52</sup> *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay, 114-115.

<sup>53</sup> For example, *ibid.*, 114, couplet 388.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

Thus, each definition of *ḥāl* represents a different gate in the spiritual hierarchy. The first gate is the concept of *ḥāl* which symbolises the world of multiplicity with which created beings are occupied. This belongs to the spiritual level of *ṣerīʿat*, meaning that its audience and point of reference are those people who have not entered the path and thus not adherents to a Sufi order, but rather lay people summoned to the path. The Second Gate, *ṭarīkat*, involves informing the disciple of the necessity of knowing one's own spiritual states and how these states vary according to the divine will. We saw earlier that this notion of spiritual state (*ḥāl*) is the essential aspect of this gate.

The couplets stating that all of existence is a single state correspond to the gate of *ḥakīkat*, where multiplicity entirely disappears within unity. Last of all, the couplets which define *ḥāl* as an esoteric language spoken through signs belong to the level of *māʿrifet*. At this level, the *velī* is back among the people, untraceable (*bī-niṣān*) except for his words, which guide his followers towards perfection through the signs they embody. In this sense, the passage from *ḥakīkat* to *māʿrifet* is also the passage from silence to speech.

### *Changing Audiences: From Fear to Certainty*

It is common in Sufi literature that the meanings of terms change according to the different levels of teaching at which they are directed. Accordingly, various textual or narrative strategies arise from this attempt to adapt to the spiritual levels of different intended audiences. One such strategy may have the narrator directly address a particular audience, helping navigate how spiritual symbolism is interpreted. Another may be structuring a narrative along the lines of a linear progression according to a given hierarchy, exemplified by ʿAṭṭār's *Mantiq al-Tayr*. The difficulty in Kaygusuz Abdal's works lies in that all levels of his teaching occur *simultaneously*.

In the prose sections of the *Serāynāme* and the *Dil-güṣā*, when Kaygusuz openly states the intended audience, he likewise provides the spiritual teaching appropriate to the group.

*Pes iy tālib-i Ḥakk! Eger bu kavli tatarsaṅ ki her nesne kiṣiye kendüden kendüyedür, bir bābdur. Eger dir iseñ ki ḥayr u şerr tañrudandur, bu da bir bābdur. Eger külli Ḥakkdur tatarsaṅ sen ortadan git. Eger senden saña ise ʿibādetüñ temiz eyle.*<sup>56</sup>

O the aspirant of God! If you follow this word of mine that all things come to a person from his own self, this is a gate. If you state that the good and the bad come from God, that is also another gate. If you accept that all is God, disappear from in between. If it all comes to you from yourself, cleanse your worship.

<sup>55</sup> For the use of the phrase "the language of the state" in Ibn ʿArabī, see Chittick, *Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 387, n. 14.

<sup>56</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Dil-güṣā*, 120.

In looking closely at these phrases, we once again come across three gates. The first is *tarikat*, the second *şeriat*, and the third *hakikat*. The spiritual teacher (*mürşid*) is the one who knows the level of the aspirant and shapes his teachings accordingly: “*Pes eyle olsa kuluñ kulluñ hâlince debren. Sultânsañ mülküñdür emîn ol. Eger nidiğün bilmesen mürşide şor* (So in that case, if you are a servant, act according to the state of servanthood. If you are the Sultan, then this is your land; have certainty. If you do not know what you are, ask the spiritual teacher).”<sup>57</sup>

Without understanding these hierarchical layerings, many teachings of Kaygusuz can seem to be in direct opposition to one another. The two examples below, one from the *Serây-nâme* and the other from the *Dil-güşâ*, exemplify entirely different notions of prophecy, angelology and sainthood. In the first example, the teaching changes according to two levels. In the initial part, the Oneness of Being is stressed and the aspirant is advised to be “certain.” The second part states that the aspirant who has not reached this stage must “act with respect and modesty” and advises fear:

*İnsân oldur ki öz aqlına yörene. Göre ki bu mülk ü serây bār-gāb kendüziniñ midür yoħsa şahibi mi vardur. Eger şöyle ki öziniñ ise emîn ola. Şāhibi var ise edeb bekleye. [...] Pes Ādem hālifē olduğünüñ nişānı budur ki Hakk’dan korka, peygamberden utana, evliyälara ikrār eyleye, ğayr-ı hakk işlerden perbiz eyleye, baķışın ĩbret ile baķa.*<sup>58</sup>

Being a Man requires relying on one’s own intellect. He [the Man] shall see whether this land, palace, and court are his own or whether they have an owner. If they are his, he shall be certain. If they have an owner, he shall act with respect and modesty. [...] The sign that Man is God’s representative on earth is that he shall be afraid of God, ashamed before the prophet, and in acknowledgement of the saints. He shall refrain from untruthful acts and possess a gaze that allows for moral improvement.

On the other hand, the second example taken from the *Dil-güşâ* is an entirely esoteric teaching and shows the aspirant how the experience of oneness radically changes the meaning of creation. It expresses what Karamustafa accurately identifies as “a complete interiorisation of God, Satan, other cosmic actors such as prophets, angels, and saints, cosmic entities as well as sacred history.”<sup>59</sup> When the aspirant comes to know that the being of God is his own, he will have become “certain”:

*Daħı kalmaya gümanuñ özüñe  
Sücüd eylesin sen kendüzüñe  
O menzile trişicek seferiñ  
Nür idi daħı nür ola nazaruñ  
O demde göresin bu cümle pergāl  
Dem ü sâat gice gündüz meh ü sāl  
Bu hayaller ki görünüñ âlemde*

<sup>57</sup> *Serây-nâme*, 52a [Kaygusuz Abdal, *Saraynâme*, 316].

<sup>58</sup> *Serây-nâme*, 9b-10a [Kaygusuz Abdal, *Saraynâme*, 147-148].

<sup>59</sup> Karamustafa, “Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint,” 335.



*O şifâtlar ki söylenür kelâmda  
 Yol u menzil yakını trağ dimeklik  
 Hall ü müşkil ya haqq bâtil dimeklik  
 Veli Nebi tarik peygamber ü Cibril  
 Yalan gerçek demek nokşân u kâmil  
 Cihân içinde gördüğüñ hayâller  
 Hayâl içindeki mu'ammâ hâller  
 Hemân bir noktadur bir harf-i elif  
 Hakikat şöyle ki cân bigi latîf  
 Dahı bundan latîfdür ki direm ben  
 İrebilmen nice nişân virem ben<sup>60</sup>*

You shall not have any doubt as to your essence  
 You shall prostrate to your own self  
 When your journey reaches that stopping place  
 Your vision has been light; light it shall be  
 At that moment you will see this entire universe  
 Moment and hour, day and night, the month and year  
 Those attributes which are spoken in words  
 What is meant by the words: path, stopping place, close and far  
 What is meant by the solution and problem; the true and the false  
 Saint, prophet, path, messenger and Gabriel  
 What mean lie and truth, lacking and complete  
 The imaginary things you see inside the universe  
 The enigmatic states inside those imaginary things  
 They are all a single dot, the letter *alif*  
 The truth is subtle as the soul  
 What can I say that is subtler than this?  
 Knowing you won't reach this, how much more shall I signal?

When considered side by side, the given counsels prescribing the fear of a transcendent God seem radically subverted by the statements taking God's immanence in the absolute.<sup>61</sup> However, if we understand that the first one addresses the lay adherent in the first gate of *şerî'at* and the second one addresses the disciple learning about the next stage in the teaching, it becomes clear that they actually complement one another.

Couplets and sections which counsel fear or certainty alternate in the *Meşnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz* and Kaygusuz Abdal's other works. Upon a closer look at these sections, we see that fear denotes the state of the common people who have not set foot onto the path:

*Hemân bir müllk, bir sultân, bir meclis, bir sâki. 'Acâ'ib dañlamak şey' taşavvurudur. Zirâ ki 'acâ'ib nesne yok; meclis dost tecellisidir. Havf u recâ insân zarûretidir. Zirâ ki, mañlûk şifâtında girifîâr olupdur, kurtulabilmez ki Hâlîk şifâtına irişe.*<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Dil-güşâ*, 124-127.

<sup>61</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between God's immanence and transcendence in Kaygusuz Abdal's works, see Oktay, 35-43.

<sup>62</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Dil-güşâ*, 149.

The land is one; the sultan is one; the gathering is one; the cupbearer is one. Surprise at the sight of strangeness is a conception belonging to created things. For there are no strange things; the gathering is the theophany of the friend. Fear and desire are necessities of the human. For he is stuck in the attributes of the created; he cannot break free to attain the Attributes of the Creator.

In Kaygusuz's works, fear is a tool which allows the person at the stage of *şerîat* to tame his base self (*nefs*) through worship. Kaygusuz openly states the objective of the fear of God: "*Hakkıñ rahmetine kuluñ tâ'ati sebebdür ve dahı cümle tâ'atıñ aşlı Allâb'dan korkmağdur* (The reason for God's compassion is the servant's worship and at the origin of all worship lies the fear of God)."<sup>63</sup> Being "certain" on the other hand, is only possible at the point of arrival where no doubts remain, where the vision is transformed into one of light, one of absolute truth. In this sense, in determining the experience of emotion that is advised to the reader, we have the opportunity to understand *which reader* is addressed.

The importance of this notion for Kaygusuz Abdal can be discerned from his choice of the pen name *Kaygusuz* (fearless). According to his hagiography, this name was given to him by his master Abdal Musa, who said to him: "*Kayğudan rehâ bulduñ; şimden şoñra Kaygusuz olduñ* (You have found an escape from fear; from now on you are [to be called] Fearless)."<sup>64</sup> *Kitâb-ı Mağlaça* tells the story of a dervish who, in a dream, finds himself in an empty desert, which is a metaphor for the world of multiplicity. The dervish is filled with fear at the idea of not knowing where he is, which path to take, and whom to ask for guidance. Yet, in his waking state, symbolizing unity, he frequently says that he is "*emîn*" (certain). At the end of his journey, he converses with God, who replies to him in the following manner:

*‘Aleyküim esselâm dervîş-i miskîn  
Kamu kavli bütüñ cümle işi çin*

*Müberraşın kamu zann u gümandan  
Hakîkate yakîn sultâna emîn*<sup>65</sup>

And unto you peace; wretched dervish!  
Whose speech is sound, whose acts are pure

You are free of all surmise and doubt  
Certain of truth, trustworthy of God

### *Layers in the Doctrine of ‘Alî*

Following this detailed analysis, we may now discuss the political implications of this juxtaposition of teachings. An examination of these political implications

<sup>63</sup> *Serây-nâme*, 22b [Kaygusuz Abdal, *Saraynâme*, 199].

<sup>64</sup> *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâaddin Gaybî) Menâkıbnâmesi*, 100.

<sup>65</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Kitâb-ı Mağlaça*, 218b.

likewise requires a closer look at the doctrine of ‘Ali, which once again brings us across two radically differing points of view. According to the first of these, ‘Ali is portrayed as a disciple who has accepted Muḥammad as his *mürşid* and who walks in the path of moral perfection. We find this in the *Delil-i Budalā*:

*Zirā Hazret-i ‘Ali her gāb Peyğamber Aleyhisselām’i halvet bulduqça eydür kim: “Yâ Resûlullâh ne ‘amel idem ki ömrümi zâyî itmemiş olam? Hazret-i Resûl şallallâhu ‘aleyhi ve sellem eydür ki: “Hakk’ı bulmak istersen kendüni bil, ‘arıfler şohbetine gir. Sâdıq olup sözi taşdıq eyle. Bir dilden iki söz söyleme. Kimseye mekr ü hile eyleme. Kendüüne ne şanırsañ halka dañı anı san. [...] Hemân kendüni bildüñ ve Hakk’ı bulduñ, bu kerre seyriñ ‘arşa ferşe irer. Ömrüni zâyî itmemiş oldüñ!” dir.<sup>66</sup>*

Whenever ‘Ali found the Prophet (peace be upon him) alone, he would ask him: “O Messenger of God! How shall I act so that I do not waste my life? The Messenger –peace be upon him– would say: “If you want to find God, know yourself. Join the company of gnostics. Be loyal and affirm their word. Do not speak two different words from one tongue. Do not deceive or cheat anyone. Whatever you wish for yourself, also wish for others. [...] If you know yourself and find God, this time your journey will reach the throne of God and all corners of the earth. Then you haven’t wasted your life.”

On the other hand, we find a dual notion of guidance in Kaygusuz Abdal’s *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa*. In this work, while the spiritual guide is Muḥammad at the gate of *şer‘at*, the guide is ‘Ali upon entry to the gate of *ṭarīkat*, when the time comes for the uncovering of the esoteric:

*Bu kerre ‘aql bāzārına girdi, ‘aql ile bakdı. Gördi ki sultān Muḥammed Muştafādur. Işğ bāzārına bakdı; ışğ bāzārında ‘Aliyi sultān gördi. Yördi ilerü ki sultāna hālını ‘arz kıla. Şāb-ı Merdān ‘Ali dervişi gördi. [...] Şāb-ı Merdān ‘Aliniñ elin öpdü. Eydür ki: “Yâ ‘Ali ben saña mürid oluram, erkān töre bilmezem öğrenmek içün” dir.<sup>67</sup>*

This time he entered the bazaar of the intellect. He observed with the intellect and saw that the sultan was Muḥammad Muştafā. He looked inside the bazaar of love and saw ‘Ali as the sultan. He walked forward to present his state.[...] [He] kissed the hand of ‘Ali the King of Men. He said: “O ‘Ali! I want to be your aspirant. I don’t have any knowledge of principles and customs. I want to learn them from you.”

Considering Kaygusuz Abdal’s frequent references to the superiority of love over reason and reason’s incapacity to grasp truths revealed through love, we can say that in this context, the hierarchy in the previous passage is reversed.

In the *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa*, we find several clues to Kaygusuz’s doctrine of ‘Ali. The esoteric teaching quoted above regarding the true meaning behind prophets and saints – or rather behind the whole universe – appears in the *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa* as part of the doctrine of ‘Ali. In this work, ‘Ali is portrayed as the holder of esoteric knowledge who signals to the dervish the hidden meanings behind Quranic episodes. He is the esoteric truth behind every face, including those of prophets:

<sup>66</sup> Güzel, *Kaygusuz Abdal’ın Mensur Eserleri*, 70. Mistakes in spelling and meaning are corrected by me.

<sup>67</sup> *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa*, 266a-b.

*Bir gün derviş düşinde gördi ki Süleymân peygamber zamânında. Süleymân peygamberün divânı tırmuş. Şâb-ı Merdân ‘Aliyi gördi ki Süleymân peygamberün kirpüğü altından bakar. Derviş derhâl bildi; tazarru‘ eyledi. [...] Şâb-ı Merdân ‘Ali dervîşe dışın kısdı. “Söyleme” didi. “Süleymân peygamber ile bile geldüm” dir. “Süleymân peygamber beni özini şuur. Dek tır; hâtrı kalmasun” didi dir. [...] Şâb-ı Merdân-ı ‘Ali eydür: “Dervîş bak.” Dervîş bakdı, gördi ki yüz bin yigirmi dört bin peygamber cümle-i evliyâ vü enbiyâ ‘Aleyhim es-selâm tırmuşlar her birisi tahsîn iderler ‘Aliye.<sup>68</sup>*

After many cycles of time, one day the dervish dreamt that he was in the times of Prophet Solomon. Prophet Solomon was holding council. The dervish saw that underneath the eyelashes of Solomon, it was ‘Ali who was looking out. He immediately knew what this meant and begged for mercy. [...] ‘Ali, the King of Men, made a sign for the dervish to remain silent and said: “Don’t say anything. I’ve come (to earth) with Prophet Solomon. He thinks that I am his own self. Remain silent so that he doesn’t feel hurt.” [...] ‘Ali, the King of Men, told the dervish to look up. The dervish looked up and saw that a hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets as well as all saints were present. They were all full of awe for ‘Ali.

In this excerpt, we find a teaching which is radically different from the one in which ‘Ali is Muḥammad’s aspirant. Not only is ‘Ali the dervish’s *mürşid*, but also the spiritual guide of all beings on earth, much like the *velî* named as *Kuṭbu’l-aḳṭâb* (The Pole of Poles) in Kaygusuz Abdal’s *Vücûdnâme*.<sup>69</sup>

Although an in-depth analysis of the doctrinal subtleties in this matter are beyond the scope of this essay, we now have the tools to interpret why such a disparity in teachings can occur within the work of one man. We can safely say that the first teaching was probably directed at the lay adherents or the novice, and that it was only after a certain level of initiation that the esoteric doctrine of ‘Ali entered the disciple’s formation. This idea could also be supported by the fact that this doctrine is openly elaborated only in the *Kitâb-ı Mağlaṭa* and some of Kaygusuz’s poems.<sup>70</sup> The *Kitâb-ı Mağlaṭa* is characterised by the fact that it does not embody the hierarchy of teachings demonstrated earlier, but rather contains only esoteric teachings, belonging to the gates of *ḥaḳîḳat* and *ma‘rifet*. It is a symbolic account of a dervish’s spiritual voyage, in which he alternates between states of dreaming and wakefulness. The prose text is sprinkled with verse consisting of ecstatic sayings expressing the Oneness of Being.

A second observation should be made regarding the disparity between the two doctrines of ‘Ali. Unlike the layers of meaning we see in the *Meşnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz* and the other works of Kaygusuz Abdal, in this doctrine the different layers of the teaching no longer coexist and complement one another. On the contrary, the esoteric teaching is presented as a radical break from the exoteric teach-

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 267a.

<sup>69</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Budalanâme*, 150.

<sup>70</sup> See *Kaygusuz Abdâl Divânı*, 198, 327-328, 358-359. The study of the previously mentioned manuscript may uncover more such poems.

ing.<sup>71</sup> These, of course, are theological considerations regarding the very conceptualisation of reality. When we consider some of the social and political ramifications related to these multi-layered teachings, the following questions come to mind: Why is this esoteric teaching regarding ‘Ali absent from Kaygusuz’s other works? Why does it not occur as one of the layers of teaching in his works where all layers are juxtaposed? Finally, could we explain this absence of the notion of ‘Ali’s divinity as the result of *taqiyya* (dissimulation)?<sup>72</sup> Clues to such a possibility are found in a passage in Kaygusuz’s *Üçüncü Mesnevi*, where he states that his work is intended for oral reading and underlines the importance of selecting one’s audience carefully:

*Bunu yazanı okuyan ile  
Dost yarlığasını dinleyen ile*

*Ebli olucağ sen okı turma  
Nâ-ebli olucağ şakım okuma*<sup>73</sup>

May the Friend pardon  
The writer and the reader of this [text]

Do not hesitate to read it [out loud] in the company of [the right] people  
Avoid reading it among those who are not qualified

### *The Social Context*

In order to better understand Kaygusuz Abdal’s textual strategies and doctrinal positions, we should first examine how he situates himself within society vis-à-vis religious clerics and Sufis. In a recent study linking Kaygusuz’s works to the phenomenon of the emergence of Turkish as a vernacular literary medium, Ahmet T. Karamustafa shows how Kaygusuz openly situates himself against institutionalised Sufism as practiced in “urban” centres and expressed in the languages of Classical Arabic and Persian. Karamustafa points out that Kaygusuz Abdal’s criticism was directed not towards the ‘ulamā’, with whom he had little contact, but towards the Sufis themselves, who according to Kaygusuz were nothing but impostors deceiving the general public with their “learned” languages and sciences.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, Kaygusuz’s works are filled with vivid and often humorous references to the hypocrisy and ostentatious piety of the *şofu*, whom he takes to be the very personification of Satan:

<sup>71</sup> For an in-depth elaboration of this matter and how it relates to the doctrine itself, see Oktay, *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, 34-43.

<sup>72</sup> See Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, “Dissimulation,” in Jane Dammen McAuliffe (ed), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān* (Georgetown University, Washington DC: Brill Online, 2015). <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran/dissimulation-EQSIM\\_00122](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran/dissimulation-EQSIM_00122)>

<sup>73</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Üçüncü Mesnevi*, Ankara Milli Kütüphane Mil Yz A 7621/2, 21a.

<sup>74</sup> Karamustafa, “Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint,” 336-338.

*Baṅa dirler ki şeyātin  
Seniñ yoluñ azdırur  
Ben şu zerrāk şūfilerden  
Ġayrı bir şeytān bilmezem<sup>75</sup>*

They tell me that devils  
Lead me astray  
I know no other devil  
Than these hypocritical Sufis

Karamustafa also underlines a number of important points regarding Kaygusuz's notion of *şerīʿat*. He states that "Kaygusuz Abdal interiorised the sharia by reducing it to his own moral imperatives," adapting its ethical dimensions while completely rejecting its legal aspects.<sup>76</sup> While I agree with this assertion on the basis of the relative unimportance of ritual obligations, I believe it is not possible to say that these were completely absent from Kaygusuz's representations of *şerīʿat*. In this respect, of relevance is another passage from the *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, expounding the doctrine of the Four Gates:

*Pir saṅa erkān-ı şalāt bildüre  
İmān islām farz u sünmet bildüre  
Çün ki bildiñ şerīʿat nedir tamām  
Tariķat yolında koyasın kadem<sup>77</sup>*

The spiritual director shall instruct you on the pillars of prayer  
He shall instruct you on faith, submission, religious duties and traditions

And when you fully know what religious law is  
Then you shall set foot into the path

On the issue of ritual obligations, it is also interesting that among Kaygusuz Abdal's poetry which appear in his hagiography, we find more than one poem aimed at proving Kaygusuz Abdal's adherence to ritual obligations in response to accusations by religious clerics or the ruling elite. In the following poem, the *Salātnāme*, Kaygusuz meticulously presents the number of *rakats* for prayers in one day and one year:

*İy emir efendi baṅa  
Daḫı namāz şorar mısun  
Tur haber vireyüm saṅa  
Daḫı namāz şorar mısun  
[...]*

<sup>75</sup> Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet*, 46.

<sup>76</sup> Karamustafa, "Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint," 335.

<sup>77</sup> *Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Oktay, 111. These couplets also illustrate another matter discussed above, namely that the passages belonging to the gate of *şerīʿat* are addressed to the lay adherent. In addition, they exemplify the role of the *pir* in the Islamisation of the general public, particularly in rural areas.

*Zātumdan hayrân oluram  
Farz u sünneti kıuram  
Bir yıllık namâz biliirem  
Dağı namâz şorar mısunı<sup>78</sup>*

O Emir Efendi!  
Will you keep asking me if I pray?  
Then let me tell you  
Will you keep asking me if I pray?

I become stupefied by my own self  
I pray the *fard* and the *sunna*  
I know the prayer for a whole year  
Will you keep asking me if I pray?

Kaygusuz Abdal's hagiography includes a second poem entitled *Minbernâme*,<sup>79</sup> which he is said to have composed after having been accused of being "bi-ṭā'at" (lacking in acts of worship) by the preacher at the Friday prayer. In this poem Kaygusuz engages in an ardent critique of society, which condemns him only because he is lacking in money or status. He accuses the preacher of hypocrisy and demonstrates his knowledge of Sufism as well as of the doctrine of the Oneness of Being.

In a passage in the *İkinci Mesnevi*, part of which was quoted in the introduction of this article, Kaygusuz Abdal demonstrates that he is deeply aware of the way he is perceived by society. He portrays these perceptions as radically contradictory:

*Kimi eydür niçün kırkar saqalın  
Kimi eydür ol bilür kendi 'amâln*

*Kimi eydür ki bu merd-i hodadur  
Kimi dir bununla bakmaq haqadur  
[...]*

*Kimi eydür ki bu debri ve bengi  
Yiticek esrari yiye nehengi*

*Kimi dir cümle sırrı bilür ol haqq  
Yoluñ gözet bulara dutmağıl dağ<sup>80</sup>*

Some say, "Why does he shave his beard?"  
Some say, "It's his own business."

Some say, "This is a man of God."  
Some say, "It is a mistake to take guidance from such a person."

Some say, "He is a materialist and a cannabis-addict."  
If he has enough weed, he will eat up the world!"

Some say, "That true man knows all secrets."  
Follow your own path; do not reproach them.

<sup>78</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal (*Alâaddin Gaybi*) *Menâkıbnâmesi*, 141-142.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-140. A much shorter version of the poem also figures in the most complete and second oldest manuscript of Kaygusuz Abdal's poems. See: Kaygusuz Abdal, *Divân*, Ankara, Milli Kütüphane Mil Yz A 7621/2, fol. 123b-124a.

<sup>80</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *İkinci Mesnevi*, 3b.

In the last verse, Kaygusuz Abdal addresses both himself and other *abdāls* with the advice to remain unaffected by either criticism or praise. In this sense, being “fearless” or “care-free” not only points to a higher spiritual stage in one’s relationship to God, but also implies a level of disengagement from society. In the following passage, Kaygusuz describes the practical side of this disengagement:

*Ferāgat ʿālemine kâdem başdı. [...] Dâ'im tek ü tenbâ olup bu halka bir sâ'at karışmaz oldı. Anlara zâbidler gibi bir libâs-ı mahşûş degüldür. [...] Kendüsi şöyle tek ü tenbâ, miskin ve mazlûm halk içinde gezer. Bir gün aç ve bir gün tok. Açlıktan ziyân ve tokluğdan ana fâ'ide olmaz.*<sup>81</sup>

He set foot into the world of withdrawal [...] He spends time all by himself and does not for a single moment mingle with other people. They do not have special dress like the ascetics. [...] He wanders among people all by himself, wretched and injured. One day he is hungry; the other day he is full. Hunger does not harm him and satiety does not benefit him.

The refusal to be marked by special dress, on the other hand, indicates a second tendency which does not seem compatible with the first. As Karamustafa points out, Kaygusuz Abdal and other *abdāls* “sided with the Turkish speaking rural masses and chose to ‘blend in’ with regular people by avoiding special dress, urban speak and sharia-based recipes for social conduct.”<sup>82</sup> Indeed, in the two poems mentioned above, *Salâtnâme* and *Minbernâme*, we observe active engagement with society, where Kaygusuz passionately criticises society’s norms while still making a certain effort to fit them. Yet, how is it possible to “not mingle” and “blend in” at the same time?

Kaygusuz Abdal’s dual relationship with society reminds us of the duality we discuss above regarding Kaygusuz Abdal’s views on afterlife, prophetology and angelology. Did Kaygusuz Abdal aim at the “active rejection and destruction of established social custom,”<sup>83</sup> which, as Karamustafa points out, was characteristic of the new renunciation movements which emerged in the thirteenth century, the Qalandariyya and Haydariyya being the best known representatives? Or did he – at least to a certain degree – attempt to find a following among the wider population despite approbation by certain members of the religious and ruling elite? Could the unquestionable orthodoxy of some of his sayings be explained by this second tendency, which nonetheless did not suppress the more pressing need for renunciation?

<sup>81</sup> Kaygusuz Abdal, *Budalanâme*, 57-58. Spelling mistakes in the edition have been corrected by me.

<sup>82</sup> Karamustafa, “Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint,” 337. In his *Üçüncü Meşnevi*, Kaygusuz Abdal refers to those who criticise him as “şehir ehli” (the people of the city). See Kaygusuz Abdal, *Üçüncü Meşnevi*, 18b.

<sup>83</sup> Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 3.



While Kaygusuz Abdal's self-portrayals stress his practice of the "four blows" (*çehâr darb*),<sup>84</sup> his mendicancy, itinerancy and antagonism towards all official representatives of the religion, all of which are basic tenets of renunciant dervish movements, equally important are his self-criticisms and his active preoccupation with his own *nefs*, which are the driving force behind his effort to "blend in." These Malamati tendencies come out particularly in his poetry, where he mocks his appetite, his way of life, and even his verse:

*Yamrı yumrı söylerem  
Her sözüüm kelek gibi  
Ben âvâre gezerem  
Şahrâda leylek gibi  
[...]  
Miskîn Serâyî<sup>85</sup> kıyduñ  
Kul olduñ sen nefsüne  
Senüñ hırş u bevesiñ  
Tutdu seni faķ gibi<sup>86</sup>*

I speak awry and deformed  
Each word of mine is like an unripe melon  
I wander like a vagrant  
I am like a stork in the desert.  
  
Poor Serâyî, you made a sacrifice  
You became the servant of your base self  
Your ambition and desire  
Caught hold of you like a trap.

The above mode of interpretation allows us to take into account the different audiences Kaygusuz Abdal addresses in his works as well as the shifting social positions with which he identifies. This in turn makes it possible to accurately read Kaygusuz's doctrinal shifts. Kaygusuz's teachings may be categorised according to four hierarchical levels, directed at three types of audience: the lay adherent, the novice and the adept. This categorisation reminds us that it is not in the interests of the antinomian spiritual teacher to renounce the lay adherent; rather, the *pir* needs to attract the *ʿavâmm*, the lay people representative of the society at large, and maybe even persuade them to enter the path.<sup>87</sup> It is this very dynamic which

<sup>84</sup> For this practice of shaving the head, the eyebrows, the moustache and beard, see Karataş, *God's Unruly Friends*, 19; for the origin of the practice see *ibid.*, 39-44.

<sup>85</sup> This is another penname less frequently used by Kaygusuz Abdal, possibly alluding to the information in his hagiography that he was the son of the governor of Alâ'îye (see *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâaddin Gaybî) Menâkıbnâmesi*, 90 ff.). It may also be an earlier penname he used before selecting –or being given– that of *ķaygusuz*.

<sup>86</sup> Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayî, Kul Himmet*, 76-78.

<sup>87</sup> In an article which traces *abdâl* communities in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Ottoman censuses for the Çorum area, Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr documents the economic relations of these communities with the surrounding villages as well as their related high social standing. See: Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Abdal, l'étrange destin d'un mot: Le problème *abdâl* vu à travers les registres ottomans," *Turcica* 36 (2004): 37-90.

requires Kaygusuz Abdal to shift his social position according to the segment of society with which he interacts.

### *Conclusion*

As dry and didactic as they are, orthodox moral teachings still occupy the largest part in Kaygusuz's corpus. It is only when we ask the "why" and "for whom" that we begin to understand why Kaygusuz's deep sense of humour and unique doctrinal interpretations, both of which are readily visible in his individual poems and *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭā*, do not take up the largest space in his body of writing. In this respect, the hierarchy of the Four Gates embodied in Kaygusuz's language offers us a way to categorise his teachings and determine the targeted audience of each. The resulting discrepancy between some of the teachings, such as those regarding after-life and the divinity of 'Alī, thus should be placed into its social context. In this sense, we can interpret the co-existence of different layers in Kaygusuz Abdal's teachings, in addition to his differing social tendencies, as an interplay between what is acceptable and what is not, between what is "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy," where Kaygusuz plays with and redefines the boundaries of each.

### *Bibliography*

- 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshāni. *A Glossary of Sufi Technical Terms*, tr. Nabil Safwat. London: The Octagon Press, 1991.
- Ağirdemir, Erdoğan. "Bektaşilikte Taç Şekilleri ve Anlamları." *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Dergisi* 60 (2011): 365-378.
- Ahmed Rif'at Efendi. *Mir'ātu'l-Makāsīd fī def'i'l-mefāsīd*. Istanbul, İbrahim Efendi Matbaası, 1293/1876.
- Akalın, Mehmet. "Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Gevher-nâme'si." *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi* 10 (1979): 189-197.
- Ali Ulvi Baba. *Bektaşilik Makâlâtı*. İzmir: Marifet Matbaası, 1341 (1922-23).
- Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali. "Dissimulation." *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. General Editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Georgetown University, Washington DC. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. University of St Andrews. 27 May 2015 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran/dissimulation-EQSIM\\_00122](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran/dissimulation-EQSIM_00122)>
- Aşıkpaşazade. *Ashiqpaşazādeb ta'rikhi: A History of the Ottoman Empire to A.H. 993 (A.D. 1478)*. Farnborough: Gregg, 1970.
- Azamat, Nihat. "Kaygusuz Abdal." *TDVİA*, vol. 25, 74-76.
- Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. "Abdal, l'étrange destin d'un mot: Le problème abdal vu à travers les registres ottomans." *Turcica* 36 (2004): 37-90.
- Boratav, Pertev Naili. *Zaman Zaman İçinde*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2007.

- Chittick, Willim C. *The Sufi Path of Knowledge : Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Metaphysics of Imagination*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.
- Coşan, M. Es’ad. *Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî ve Bektaşîlik*. İstanbul: Server İletişim, 2013.
- Coşan, M. Es’ad. “Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî: Makâlât.” Associate Professorship (Doçentlik) Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 1971.
- Cunbur, Müjgan. “Gülşehri ile Kaygusuz Abdal’ın Şiirlerini Kapsayan XV. Yüzyıldan Kalan Bir Mecmua.” In *X.Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler 1963*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1964. 23-30.
- Çalışkan, Sermin. “Alevilik’te Dört Kapı Kırk Makam.” Master’s Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010.
- Dağlı, Muhtar Yahya. *Kaygusuz Abdal*. İstanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1939.
- De Jong, F. “The Takiya of ‘Abd Allâh al-Maghâwirî (Qayghusuz Sulţân) in Cairo.” *Turcica* 13 (1981): 232-260.
- Erarslan, Kemal. *Yesevî’nin Fakrânâmesi*. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1977.
- Gökay, Orhan Şaik. “Kaygusuz Abdal ve Simâtiyeleri.” *Türk Folkloru* 1/13 (1980): 3-5, 2/14 (1980): 3-6.
- Gölpınarlı, Abdülbaki. *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayî, Kul Himmet*. İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1962.
- Gölpınarlı, Abdülbaki. “Halk Edebiyatımızda Zümre Edebiyatları.” *Türk Dili* 19/207: Türk Halk Edebiyatı Özel Sayısı (1968): 357-375.
- Güzel, Abdurrahman. *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâaddîn Gaybî)*. Ankara: Akçağ, 2004.
- Hacı Bektaş. *Makâlât*. Manisa Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi 3536, fol. 58a-87a ff.; also Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî. *Makâlât*, ed. Esad Coşan. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996; Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî. *Makâlât*, ed. Ali Yılmaz, Mehmet Akkuş and Ali Öztürk. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007; Hacı Bektaş Velî. “Makâlât.” Ed. Ömer Özkan and Malik Bankır. In Gıyasettin Aytas (ed). *Hacı Bektaş Velî Külliyyatı*. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Merkezi, 2010, 473-767.
- [Hacı Bektaş] Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî. *Besmele Tefsiri (Şerh-i Besmele)*, ed. Hamiye Duran. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009.
- Hatiboğlu Muhammed. *Bahru’l-Hakâ’ik*. In Abdurrahman Güzel. *Hacı Bektaş Velî ve Makâlât*. Ankara: Akçağ, 2002, 287-341.
- Kaplan, Doğan. *Yazılı Kaynaklarına Göre Alevîlik*. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009.
- Karakaya-Stump, Ayfer. “Documents and Buyruk Manuscripts in the Private Archives of Alevi Dede Families: An Overview.” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 37/3 (2010): 273-286.
- Karamustafa, Ahmet T. *God’s Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period 1200-1550*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994.
- Karamustafa, Ahmet T. “A Medieval Turkish Saint and the Formation of Vernacular Islam in Anatolia.” In Orkhan Mir Kasimov (ed). *Unity in Diversity: Mysti-*

- cism, Messianism and Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 329-342.
- Karamustafa, Ahmet T. "Kalenders, Abdâls, Hayderîs: The Formation of the Bek-tâşîye in the 16th Century." In Halil İnalçık and Cemal Kafadar (eds). *Süley-mân the Second and His Time*. Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1993, 121-129.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Delîl-i Budalâ* or *Budalânâme*. In Abdurrahman Güzel (ed). *Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Mensur Eserleri*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983, 49-74; also Tahir Galip Seratlı (ed). *Vahdet-i Vücut ve Tevbid Risaleleri*. Istanbul: Furkan Kitaplığı, 2006, 11-128; Bilâl Yücel. "Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Budalanâme'si." *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Makaleleri 2* (2002): 50-80.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Dil-güşâ*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Divân*. Ankara, Milli Kütüphane Mil Yz A 7621/2 (dated 920/1514), fol. 114b-325b; also *Kaygusuz Abdal Divânı*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel. Ankara: MEB, 2010.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Gevhernâme*. In *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâaddin Gaybî) Menâkıbnâmesi*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999, 119-123; also Mehmet Akalın. "Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Gevher-nâmesi." *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi 10* (1979): 189-197; Müjgan Cunbur. "Gülşehri ile Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Şiirlerini Kapsayan XV.Yüzyıldan Kalan Bir Mecmua." In *X. Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler 1963*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1964, 23-30.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Gülistân*. Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, (dated 907/1501/1502), Fol. 140a-210b.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *İkinci Mesnevî*. Ankara Milli Kütüphane Mil Yz A 7621/2, (dated 920/1514), fol. 1a-11a.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Kitâb-ı Mağlaça*. Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044 (dated 907/1501-2), fol. 263b-288b; also Abdurrahman Güzel (ed). *Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Mensur Eserleri*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983, 82-130; Bilâl Yücel. "Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Kitâbu Maglata'sı." *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Makaleleri 2* (2002): 83-117.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, ed. Zeynep Oktay. Cambridge MA: Harvard University, 2013, 79-173.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Minbernâme*. In *Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâaddin Gaybî) Menâkıbnâmesi*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999, 136-149; also Rıza Nour.
- "Kaygusuz Abdal Gaybî Bey." *Türk Bilik Revüsü / Revue de Turcologie 2*, no. 5 (1935): 77-98.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Serâyname*. Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, (dated 907/1501-2), fol. 1b-70a; also Abdurrahman Güzel (ed). *Saraynâme*. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010.

- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Üçüncü Meşnevî*. Ankara Milli Kütüphane Mîl Yz A 7621/2 (dated 920/1514), fol. 11b-21a.
- Kaygusuz Abdal. *Vücūd-nâme*. In Abdurrahman Güzel (ed). *Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Mensur Eserleri*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1983, 135-152.
- Kaygusuz Abdal (Alâaddin Gaybî) Menâkıbnâmesi*, ed. Abdurrahman Güzel. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999.
- Korkmaz, Esat. *Dört Kapı Kırk Makam*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 2008.
- Köprülü, Fuat. "Abdal Musa." In *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi: Ortaçağ ve Yeniçağ Türklerinin Halk Kültürü Üzerine Coğrafya, Etnografya, Etnoloji, Tarih ve Edebiyat Lügati*. İstanbul: Burhaneddin Basımevi, 1935, 60-64.
- Köprülü, Fuat. "Mısır'da Bektaşılık." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 6 (1939): 13-40.
- Köprülü, Fuat. *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1966.
- Mélikoff, Irene. *Hadji Bektach: Un Mythe et Ses Avatars*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Nour, Rıza. "Kaygusuz Abdal Gaybî Bey." *Türk Bilik Revüüsü / Revue de Turcologie* 2, no. 5 (1935) : 77-98.
- Noyan (Dedebaba), Bedri. *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektaşılık ve Alevilik* Vol.8/1 (*Erkân*). Ankara: Ardıç Yayınları, 2010.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *Kalenderiler (XIV.-XII. Yüzyıllar)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. "Kitabiyat." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları: The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 2 (1981): 243-252.
- Oktay, Zeynep. *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2013.
- Özcan, Hüseyin. "Bektaşilikte Dört Kapı Kırk Makam." *Journal of Turkish Studies / Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları: Kaf Dağının Ötesine Varmak, Festschrift in Honor of Günay Kut* III 28/1 (2004): 241-245.
- Pinguet, Catherine. *La Folle Sagesse*. Paris: Patrimoines, 2005.
- Pinguet, Catherine. "Remarques sur la Poésie de Kaygusuz Abdal." *Turcica* 34 (2002): 13-38.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. "Drei türkische Mystiker: Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz Abdal, Pir Sultan Abdal." In Norbert Reitz (ed). *60 Jahre Deutsch-Türkische Gesellschaft*. Norderstedt: Books onDemand, 2014, 17-185 (originally published in *Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Türkischen Gesellschaft* 48 (1962)).
- Yunus Emre. *Risâlat al-Nushbiyya ve Dîvân*. ed. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı. İstanbul: Eskişehir Turizm ve Tanıtma Derneği Yayınları, 1965; also İstanbul, Hacı Selim Ağa Yazma Eser Library, Kemankuş Koleksiyonu MS 316/1



## Chapter 4

# Metaphysics and Rulership in Late Fourteenth-Century Central Anatolia: Qadi Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas and his *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt*

*A.C.S. Peacock*

Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad (Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed, 745/1345-800/1398), ruler of Sivas and other parts of central Anatolia from 783/1381, is most famous today as one of the earliest Turkish poets whose works combined Sufi elements with the diction and allusions of the Persianate *ghazal*. As the ruler of a *beylik* that played a prominent part in wars against the Ottomans, Mamluks, Aqquyunlu and Karamanids, he has also attracted the attention of historians.<sup>1</sup> Unlike many medieval Anatolian rulers, we are uniquely well informed about his life and works through the elaborate Persian biography by 'Aziz al-Dīn Astarābādi, the *Bazm u Razm*, completed shortly before Burhān al-Dīn's death. As a result of his wars with Timur and the Mamluks, chronicles from outside of Anatolia, such as Ibn 'Arabshāh's *'Ajā'ib al-Maqdūr fī Nawā'ib Timūr*, also contain significant information about him. However, despite the fame of Burhān al-Dīn's Turkish poetry and his importance as a political figure, very little has been done to situate him in intellectual milieu beyond describing his poetry under the heading of "Sufism"<sup>2</sup> – a term so vague as to be almost entirely useless. His two substantial prose Arabic works, the *Tarjīḥ al-Takwīḥ* and the *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt*, remain almost entirely unstudied.

These Arabic works bear witness to Burhān al-Dīn's learned background. He had risen from holding the position of qadi in the service of the Eretnid state to becoming its vizier before finally appropriating the title of sultan for himself. He came from a scholarly family, his father also being a qadi, but equally a distin-

---

Acknowledgements: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 208476, "The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100–1500." I am also grateful to Dr Richard Todd for his advice regarding Şadr al-Dīn Qūnawī and his thought. Mistakes, of course, are my own. I am also very grateful to the Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul and the İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi in Bursa for permission to use their manuscript collections and reproduce images from them.

<sup>1</sup> For a brief survey of his career in English see Jan Rypka, "Burhān al-Dīn, Kāḍī Aḥmad," *EP*, vol. 8, 8.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance the articles by Ali Nihad Tarlan "Kadı Burhaneddin'de Tasavvuf," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 8 (1958): 8-15; *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 9 (1959): 27-32.

guished one: on his mother's side he claimed to trace his ancestry back to the Seljuk dynasty.<sup>3</sup> In accordance with this learned background, it is unsurprising that the first mentioned of his works, the *Tarjīh al-Takwīh*, is a work of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). In fact, the *Tarjīh al-Takwīh* is a commentary on a commentary, constituting in some respects a rebuttal of the contemporary Timurid scholar Taftazānī's (d. 791/1389) commentary on the *al-Tawdīh*, a work on theoretical jurisprudence by the Central Asian scholar Ṣadr al-Sharī'a (d. 747/1347). This sort of theoretical *fiqh* was intertwined with theology, and Ṣadr al-Sharī'a's work is a defence of Maturidism against its Ash'ari and Mu'tazili opponents, while Taftazānī's commentary suggests weaknesses in the *Tawdīh*'s critique of Ash'arism. Preliminary study of Burhān al-Dīn's *Tarjīh* suggests it is a defence of Ṣadr al-Sharī'a's original position,<sup>4</sup> although doubtless it would repay further examination. Here, however, we limit our discussion to the *Iksīr al-Sa'ādāt*, a treatise on philosophical Sufism written in 798/1395-6. With the exception of a few paragraphs which have been translated into Turkish, and some brief remarks made by Chittick, it has been entirely neglected.<sup>5</sup> Although the *Iksīr* has been compared to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's *Kimyā-yi Sa'āda*, presumably on the basis of its similar title,<sup>6</sup> this is deeply misleading. The *Kimyā* aimed to summarise and popularise Ghazālī's elevation of Sufism into the supreme form of knowledge in Islam for the benefit of the political elite and was written in Persian, as the more accessible language to this audience. The *Iksīr*, written in Arabic, is addressed to the *abl al-kashf min al-awliyā' wa l-abbāb*<sup>7</sup> – in other words, Burhān al-Dīn's peers who are already proficient in Sufism. We will have more to say about the work's audience in due course.

### *The Iksīr al-Sa'ādāt: Manuscripts and Translations*

The Arabic text of the *Iksīr* survives in two manuscripts of which I am aware:

1 – MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 1658, is undated but was made sometime in the fifteenth century. On the opening folio, Qaḍī Burhān al-Dīn is referred to with epithets that make clear he was dead at the time of writing

<sup>3</sup> On his origins see 'Aziz b. Ardashir Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, ed. K. Rifaat (Istanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1928), 41-47.

<sup>4</sup> Yunus Apaydın, "Kadı Burhan al-Din'in Tercihu't-Tavzih Adlı Eseri," *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 6 (1995): 33-45.

<sup>5</sup> Mustafa Baktır, "Kadı Burhan al-Din Ahmed'in İlmi ve Hukuki Yönü," in *XIII ve XIV Yüzyıllarda Kayseri'de Bilim ve Din Sempozyumu* (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 1996), 142-152; William C. Chittick, "Sultan Burhan al-Din's Sufi Correspondence," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 73 (1981): 33-45.

<sup>6</sup> Baktır, "Kadı Burhan al-Din Ahmed'in İlmi ve Hukuki Yönü," 143. On the controversy between Taftazānī and Ṣadr al-Sharī'a, see Abdurrahman Atçıl, "The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship (1300-1600)," PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010, 232-233.

<sup>7</sup> MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Aya Sofya 1658, fol. 2b.



(*Iksir al-Sa'ādāt fi Asrār al-'Ibādāt ta'lif al-imām al-'ālim al-'allāma al-ḥibr al-muḥaqqiq Burhān al-Dīn al-ḥākim bi-Siwās al-Rūm kāna taḡhammadabu allāh ta'ālā bi'l-rahma wa'l-riḍwān wa-askanahu fasiḥ al-janān wa-ghafara labu wa lil-musliminin ajma'in*) (see Fig. 4.1). According to Chittick this manuscript was made by a personal acquaintance of Burhān al-Dīn, although he does not explain his reasoning for this.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript also has the seal of Ottoman sultan Mahmud I, indicating, like many Aya Sofya manuscripts, that it had originally formed part of the palace library. It is written in a clear, elegant *naskh*, and may well have been produced for a court patron. As the most finished extant manuscript, this study is based on Aya Sofya 1658.

2 – MS Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Hüseyin Çelebi 500. This manuscript was described by Ahmed Ateş, and although undated, as Ateş notes, the formulas on the title folio indicate it was copied during the lifetime of Qadi Burhān al-Dīn (for instance, *lā zālat rāyat dawlatibi mansūba bi'l-faḥ wa'l-naṣr wa'l-zafar* and *wa'l-mas'ūl min allāb an yudīma dawlatabu dawām al-ayyām wa'l-sbubūr*) (see fig. 4.3).<sup>9</sup> It must therefore have been copied during the hijri years 798-800, the interval between the *Iksir's* composition and Burhān al-Dīn's death. Ateş suggests the copyist was an associate of Burhān al-Dīn, and the elaborate titles the sultan is given on the title folio, where he is proclaimed the “inheritor of the Seljuk kingdom” (*wārith al-mamlaka al-saljuqiyya*) and praised for the unique genius of his composition confirm this impression. However, although the manuscript is slightly earlier than the Aya Sofya manuscript, it resembles a draft rather than a fair copy, with numerous marginal annotations, and written in a cursive scholar's *ta'liq*. The text of the *Iksir* is followed by the Persian translation of Plato's *Phaedo*, recounting Socrates' death and discussing the immortality of the soul.<sup>10</sup> The Persian *Phaedo* is in a different hand, but one almost certainly roughly contemporary with the first text in the manuscript, that is to say, it must have been copied in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

There is also an abridged Turkish translation of the work, made by Abdülmuizz b. Abdurrahman in 1009/1600-1, preserved in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şazeli 52/2, fol. 53b-94b.<sup>11</sup> However, an earlier Turkish translation was made for the famous fifteenth-century bibliophile Umur Beg (d. 865/1461), the son of the senior Ottoman commander Timurtaş and a well-known scholar who endowed mosques

<sup>8</sup> It should be noted though that there are quite a number of corrections, presumably the result of the collation of this copy with another manuscript.

<sup>9</sup> Ahmed Ateş, “Konya Kütüphanelerinde Bulunan Bazı Mühim Yazmalar,” *Belleten* 16 (1952): 72-73. Ateş wrongly gives the shelf mark as Hüseyin Çelebi 504.

<sup>10</sup> On the Persian *Phaedo* see J. Burgel, “A New Arabic Quotation from Plato's Phaido and its Relation to a Persian Version of the Phaido” in *Actas do IV congress de estudios arabes e islamicos, Lisbon/Coimbra, 1968* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 281-290.

<sup>11</sup> On the translator and date see MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şazeli 52/1, fol. 53a.

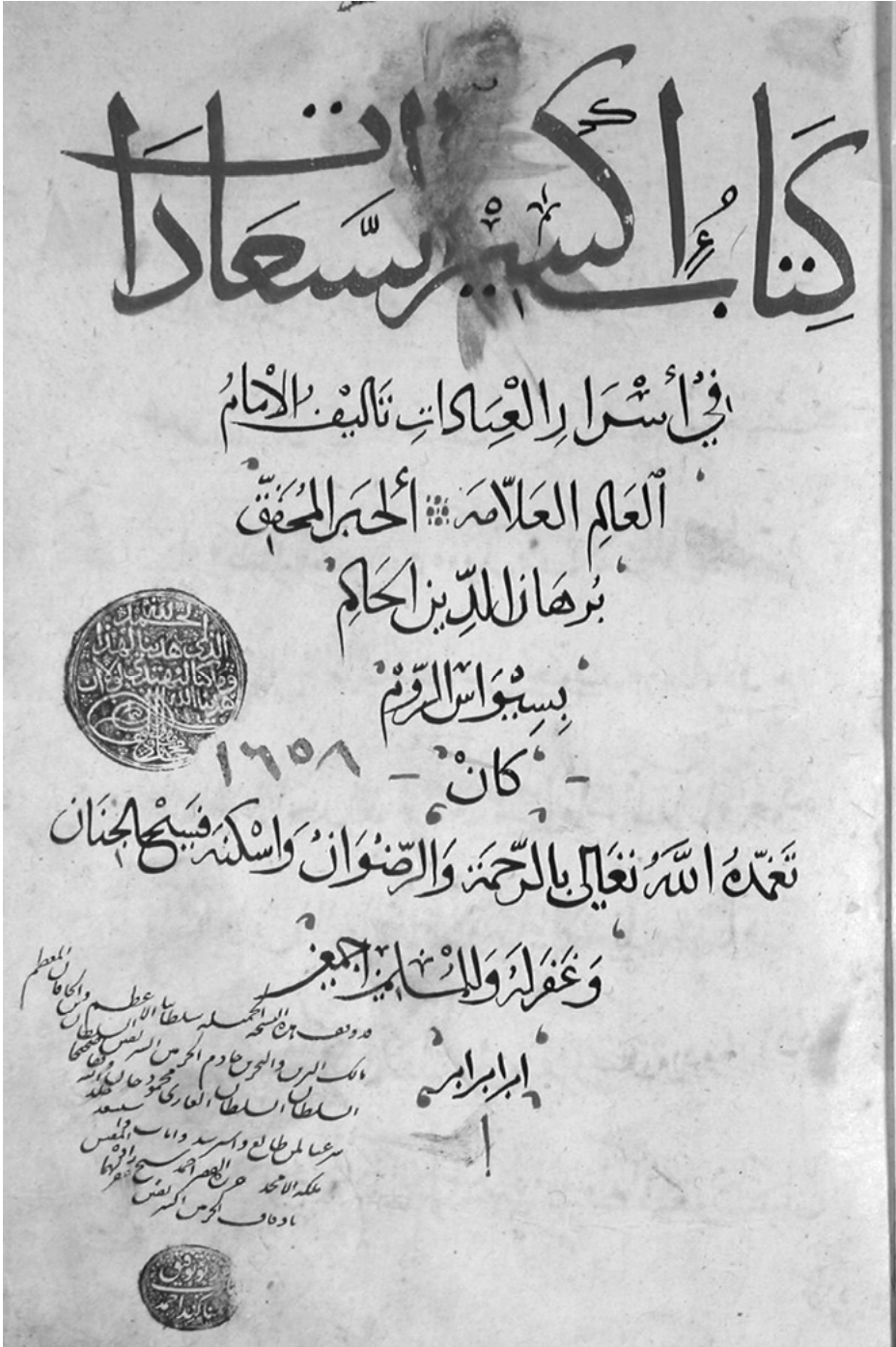


Figure 4.1: Qadi Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas, *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt fī Asrār al-'Ibādāt*. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 1658, fol. 1a, title folio.

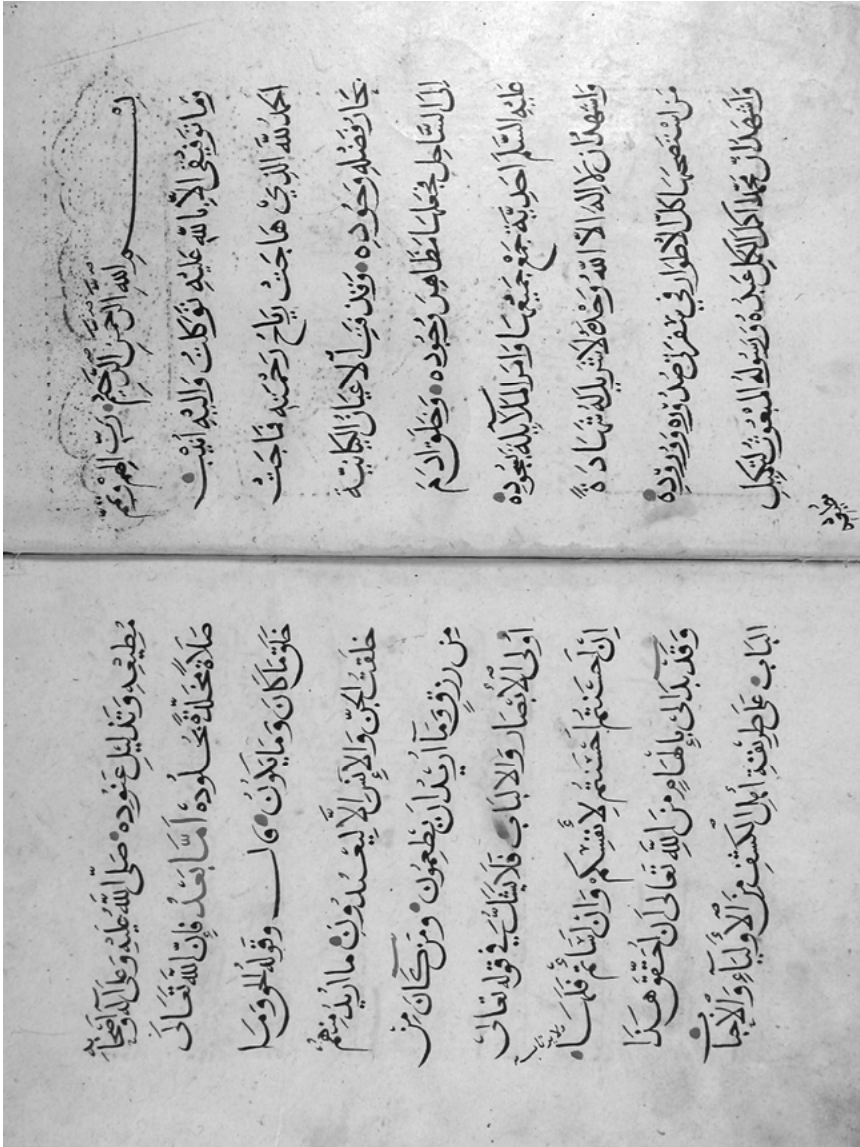


Figure 4.2: Qadi Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas, *Iksir al-Sar'ādāt fi Asrār al-Ṭādāt*. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 1658, fol. 1b-2a showing the opening of the work.

هذا كتاب أكسير السعالات في أسرار البعادات  
 مما ابدعه حضرة من خصمه للعلو من منى الامام محمد الانعام والاحسان  
 واخترعه والقد وهو مولانا السلطان الاعرج الاعلم مالك  
 رقاب الامم ملجأ سلاطين العالم الذي اضاء اقاليم العلوم  
 بصوره طبعه النقاد القويم وانا رنجوها وانما رها  
 بنور ذهنه الوفاة المستقيم وارث المملكه السديقه  
 ناصب الاولويه الاحديه برهان الادله والاسان  
 السلطان احمد لازالت رايات دوله منصوبه  
 بالفتح والنصر والظفر واعلام رفيعه رفوعه  
 بالفتح والنصر والسفر وهو كذا فائق  
 وتصنيف رائق كانه السحر الحلال اوراق او الماء الدلال اوراق  
 بلغت سلاسه لفظ الى حد يكاد المعنى يذوب تحته والوضوح يعرف  
 قبله عنح المتفيد كما سن مباده عن الانتهاء الى تواريخ  
 ونقد طرفه في كل سطر عن قوائمه اخيه لم يولد ولم يورث مثله  
 في كتب الاولين والآخرين ولا يتوقع بعد اليوم الدين  
 فهو حقيق بان يكتب بالبر على القتل والاحراق لا باجبر  
 على الصعافه والاوراق والمسؤل من الله تعالى  
 ان يديم دوله دوام الايام والشمس وسبق بهج الدعوه  
 نقاد الاعوام والصور وهو والله عند مال اميناه

Figure 4.3: Qađi Burhān al-Din of Sivas, *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt fī Asrār al-'Ibādāt*. Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS Hüseyin Çelebi 500, fol. IIa, title folio.

in Bursa, Biga, Afyon and Edirne.<sup>12</sup> Umur Beg also played a crucial role in the patronage of Turkish translations of Arabic and Persian classics. Two inventories of Umur Beg's endowed manuscripts survive, and in the first of these a Turkish *Iksir al-Sa'āda* (sic) is mentioned among the other works; in the second inventory two manuscripts of the *Iksir al-Sa'āda* are mentioned, presumably one being the Arabic original (possibly even MS Hüseyin Çelebi 500 itself, given that most of Umur Beg's books were bequeathed to institutions in Bursa), and one perhaps the Turkish translation.<sup>13</sup> According to İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, this Turkish translation commissioned by Umur Beg was entitled the *Ḳurretü 'Ayni't-Ṭālibin*, although he does not state his source for this information.<sup>14</sup> I have not been able to trace any manuscripts of the fifteenth-century Turkish version. At any rate, the extant manuscripts confirm that there was a rather wider readership for Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's neglected prose works than for his now famous poetry which is preserved in a single manuscript (British Library, MS Or. 4126).

### *The Contents of the Iksir al-Sa'ādāt*

The purpose of *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt* is to demonstrate the "unity of being" (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) (although this phrase is never precisely used),<sup>15</sup> and to show that the *'ibādāt*, the ritual practices of Islam, form part of this unity. Although at no point does Burhān al-Dīn cite any authorities other than the Quran and hadith, the *Iksir* is very clearly inspired by the works of Ibn 'Arabī, and, in particular, Ibn 'Arabī's interpreter Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, as is illustrated by Burhān al-Dīn's use of technical philosophical phrases which were invented by Qūnawī, such as the concept of *ta'ayyun* (determination). Chittick has described the *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt* as "one of the most masterly summaries of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī's writings ever made."<sup>16</sup> Chittick also notes that a particular influence seems to be Sa'd al-Dīn Farghānī's *Muntabā al-Madārik*, which was based on Qūnawī's lectures.<sup>17</sup> However, the *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt* is more than just a derivative summary of Qūnawī and Farghānī. Let us first examine its contents:

<sup>12</sup> Feridun Emecen, "Timurtas Paşa," *TDVİA*, vol. 41, 186.

<sup>13</sup> On Umur Beg and his manuscripts see Tim Stanley, "The Books of Umur Bey," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 323-331, with a translation of the inventories mentioning the *Iksir* at *ibid.*, 326, 329, 330.

<sup>14</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Sivas ve Kayseri Hükümdarı Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed," *Belleten* 32/126 (1968): 224, n. 71.

<sup>15</sup> Indeed, although Akbarian metaphysics are commonly described as *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the phrase is never used by Ibn 'Arabī, and only once by Qūnawī, who is usually said to have popularised it. See Richard Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man: Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Metaphysical Anthropology* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 46-48. It seems, however, convenient to continue to use this *ghalat-i masbūr* for lack of a better alternative.

<sup>16</sup> Chittick, "Sultan Burhan al-Dīn's Sufi Correspondence," 37.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

Incipit [fol. 1b-3a]. Praise of God, followed by two Quranic quotation (Q 51:56-7) “I did not create jinn and man except to worship me (*yaʿbudūnī*); I do not want any provision from them, nor do I desire that they feed me”; and (Q 17:7) “If you did good it is for yourselves, and if you did evil, it is also for yourselves.” The author is divinely inspired (*qad badā li bi-illām min allāh*) to compose a book on this theme bringing together Sufi and exoteric approaches.

*al-Muqaddima al-ūlā fi baḥṭh al-wujūd* (The first introduction, on Being) [fol. 3a-6a] The first introduction discussing the proofs for the existence of God (*wājib al-wujūd*).

*al-Muqaddima al-thāniyya fi tartib al-ijād* (The second introduction, on the order of creation) [fol. 6a-52a]. The second introduction draws heavily on Qūnawī’s thought and terminology, showing creation is the self-disclosure of God.<sup>18</sup> The boundary (*barzakhiyya*) between the unseen world (*al-ghayb*) and the oneness of God (*al-wāḥidiyya*) is called *ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqāʾiq*, which is Muḥammad who is the “key of other truths” (*miftāḥ sār al-ḥaqāʾiq*) (fol. 7b). Central to Qūnawī’s concept of creation, and thus that of Burhān al-Dīn too, is the idea of *tajallī*, the epiphany of God, is discussed in the context of the famous *ḥadīth qudsī*, *kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa-ahbibtu an uʿraf* (I was a hidden treasure and desired to be known so I created creation) (fol. 8a-b). The doctrine, originating from ḥadīth, of the Pen and the Guarded Tablet which record God’s knowledge of creation is discussed, with the twist added by Qūnawī/Farghānī identifying the Pen with the esoteric concept of the Muhammadan Spirit (*al-qalam alladhī huwa ʿibāra<sup>tm</sup> ʿan al-rūḥ al-akmal al-ashraf al-muḥammadī*, fol. 16a).<sup>19</sup> Existence consists of three levels, the worlds of spirits, formal exemplars and bodies (fol. 25b-27a). The idea of exemplars of reality (*suwar*), or ideal forms, ultimately derived from Plato but also present in Ibn ʿArabī and numerous other Muslim thinkers, occupies a prominent place (fol. 38b-44b). The second introduction concludes with an extensive discussion of God’s creation of Adam.

*al-Muqaddima al-thālitha fi ḥikmat al-ijād* (The third introduction, on God’s wisdom in creation) [fol. 52a-65b]. The third introduction summarises the preceding argument regarding *tajallī* as the key to the “existential secret” (*al-sirr al-wujūdī*), and describes the purpose of creation. The perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) will progress either through death or through shedding his skin (*insilāk*) to returning to his own origin in *tajallī* (esp. fol. 56b-57b, 61a-b, 62b, 64b).<sup>20</sup>

*Ibtidāʾ shurūʿ fi bayān al-ijāb al-ghaybiyya fi asrār al-ibādāt* (Commencement of Explanation of the Unseen Obligations in the Secrets of Rituals) [65b- 175a). This phrase introduces the second section of the book, which comprises its bulk. The

<sup>18</sup> cf. Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 59

<sup>19</sup> cf. *ibid.*, 66-67 on the Muhammadan spirit in Qūnawī.

<sup>20</sup> cf. *ibid.*, 164-165.

section is subdivided into various sections entitle *lā'ihā ghaybiyya* (illumination of the unseen). Burhān al-Dīn starts by reiterating the lesson of the introductions (*al-muqaddimāt al-mumabhidā laka*): Muḥammad is the closest of creation to God, and his law (*sharī'a*) is the best of all laws. He goes on to discuss the influence of the divine names (*al-asmā' al-ilāhiyya*) through their human manifestations (*al-mazābir al-insāniyya*). Likewise human manifestations have celestial effects, deeds and words leading to heaven or hell.<sup>21</sup> Protection from the flames of hell is provided by the sharia:

For the law [*sharī'a*], in particular this comprehensive, perfect law, is the medicine of souls [*ṭibb al-nufūs*], curing their illness and protecting their health, and arranging their sustenance in all their [stages of] growth, putting in order their lives and their deaths... The doctor is the Lawgiver [*al-shārī'*]. The first requirement for one who desires to preserve his health and to dispel an illness is that everything the doctor tells him must be true, without any falsehood before or behind it, and everything [the doctor] does must be right, and he should never have doubts about it.<sup>22</sup>

For this reason God has sent in every age a Prophet (*nabī*) to whom obedience is obligatory. Burhān al-Dīn then reiterates that while divine names have an effect through their human manifestations in this world, these human manifestations likewise do so on high, for man is the most perfect of creation.

The first “illumination” intended to explain these principles follows (*lā'ihā ghaybiyya fi baṣṭ ḍbālika wa-sharḥihi*) (fol. 69a). It again draws heavily on Qūnawī's terminology and thought as transmitted by Farghānī, resuming themes discussed in the second and third introductions, in particular the notions of *ta'ayyun*, “determination” (the term is one of Qūnawī's major contributions to Akbarian metaphysics) and *barzakh*,<sup>23</sup> the “boundary” between the divine and human world, the seen and unseen. The aim is to elucidate man's relationship to his Creator, and to show how the sharia forms part of this greater metaphysical scheme. Adherence to the sharia both externally (*zābiran*) and internally (*bāṭinan*) is enjoined.

The second “illumination” explains the first more fully (*lā'ihā ukbrā ghaybiyya muḥaṣṣila lil-ūlā*) (fol. 75b-78b), and discusses the seven universals of *'ibādāt* (rituals) which are ordained by sharia: faith (*imān*), prayer (*ṣalwa*), almsgiving (*zakwa*), fasting (*ṣawm*), pilgrimage (*hajj*), holy war (*jihād*), and sacrifice (*tadhīyya*). The remain-

<sup>21</sup> “The divine names, through their human manifestations, have effects on the appearance of man until the end of time. Likewise do they by virtue of their human manifestations have other strong effects such as perfection by religious and secular sciences and *siyasat* and domination over all creatures, nay over all the universe on account of poles (*aqtāb*), generation, and reproduction. Man conjoins with a woman and there results from them another human who may be a perfect friend [of God], or the cause of it in him, or of his survival [...] Likewise they [the divine names] have on account of human manifestations, though celestial causes, effects on the earth; and likewise on account of these manifestations have effects in the heavens.” (fol. 66a-b)

<sup>22</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 67b-68a.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 84-5, 96-8. The Divine essence is the “indeterminate reality lying behind all determinate things.”

der of the book, subdivided into further *lā'ihās*,<sup>24</sup> is concerned with these seven *'ibādāt* and their place in the metaphysical scheme of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. For instance the *'ibādāt* are seen as composed of the elements of fire, water, air and earth, which comprises an "existential secret" (*al-sirr al-wujūdī*) (fol. 98a); likewise, each *'ibāda* comprises the rest: *imān* is comprised of prayer, almsgiving, and so on, illustrating the unity of the *'ibādāt* within the unity of being, and they are seen as part of the creation of the Spirit (*al-rūḥ*) that creates the universe (fol. 98b, cf. 78a). Performance of the *'ibādāt* furthermore is one of the characteristics of the perfect man. We will examine some aspects of this interplay between Qunawian Sufi metaphysics and ritual practice in more detail below. Burhān al-Dīn's summarises the purpose of his book in his conclusion:

Oh you who look in this abridged treatise (*al-mukhtaṣar*), you must contemplate it truly and know that what we have mentioned of the secrets of the *'ibādāt* is a drop of their seas. These *'ibādāt* are something that indicates (*amr<sup>um</sup> yushir*) the rest of the laws of the Muhammadan religion (*al-dīn al-aḥmadi*) and their secrets. The relationship of the secrets of the law to the secrets of the Muhammadan way (*al-tariqa al-aḥmadiyya*) is likewise. The secrets of the way are in a similar relationship to the secrets of the Truth [i.e. the divine].<sup>25</sup>

In other words, the *'ibādāt* do not just form part of the metaphysical scheme but are themselves ultimately the key to understanding it. Finally, the work concludes with three *qaṣīdas* in praise of the Prophet composed by Qadi Burhān al-Dīn, his only extant Arabic poetry (fol. 175b-176a, not present in the Bursa manuscript).

### *Some Key Concepts in Burhān al-Dīn's Thought*

On one level, Burhān al-Dīn's insistence of the unity of ritual practice, law and Sufi metaphysics follows solidly in the tradition of Ibn 'Arabī. Not just the contents but also the style of the work bear close affinities to Qūnawī, with the *Iksīr* characterised by the use of the same technical vocabulary, the same cool and neutral tone and the same lack of poetic quotations, in contrast to Ibn 'Arabī's discursive, anecdotal and poetic style.<sup>26</sup> In contrast to Ibn 'Arabī neither Qūnawī nor Burhān al-Dīn refer to other Sufi masters; indeed Burhān al-Dīn refers to virtually no authorities at all other than the Quran and hadith – a rare exception is a passing mention of Abū Ḥanīfa,<sup>27</sup> but neither Qūnawī nor Ibn 'Arabī are mentioned at any point in the *Iksīr*.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Aya Sofya 1685, fol.78b, 84a, 93b, 98b, 11b, 120b, 125b, 130b,

<sup>25</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol 174a-b

<sup>26</sup> For a comparison of Qūnawī's and Ibn 'Arabī's style, see Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 50-51.

<sup>27</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 129a.



Despite the antecedents of much of the *Iksir* in these predecessors' thought, neither Ibn 'Arabī nor Qūnawī devote this sort of attention to the *'ibādāt*. Indeed, Chittick insists on the originality of the second part of the *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt*:

Burhān al-Dīn explains and clarifies in great detail various allusions found in al-Qūnawī's teachings to the fundamental importance of the Shari'ite ritual for Sufi practice. As far as I have been able to discern, he displays an originality witnessed among only a few of Ibn 'Arabī's followers. It is possible that this second part of the work is based upon the writings of figures with whom I am not familiar. But it is not derived from the works of any of the well-known masters, such as Ibn al-'Arabī, al-Qūnawī, al-Farghānī, al-Jandī, al-Kāshānī, al-Qayṣarī or al-Jilī.<sup>28</sup>

The uniqueness of Burhān al-Dīn's work is also emphasised by the copyist of the Bursa manuscript, who on the title folio describes *Iksir* as "perfect as if it is licit magic" (*rā'iq ka'annahu al-sihr al-ḥalāl*). Yet Chittick's comments are somewhat contradictory. In his view Qādī Burhān al-Dīn aims to expound Qūnawī's teaching, but at the same time does not draw on the works of Qūnawī himself or his students.

In order to try to make some sense of the text in a limited space, I wish here to concentrate specifically on some specific aspects of Burhān al-Dīn's thought. This should then enable us to situate him more precisely in his intellectual milieu. I will therefore examine three notions which seem to me especially distinctive or interesting. These are: the concept of the seven imams; the numerical and letteristic symbolism of the text; and the treatment of the *'ibāda* of jihad. This study is far from exhaustive, and there are many other aspects of this text which merit attention.

Recurring throughout the *Iksir* is the notion of seven imams. The first discussion occurs in the second introduction, dealing with the order of creation. Initially the seven imams are mentioned almost in passing in the discussion of the epiphany (*jalā' wa-stijlā'*) as interceding (*shafā'a*) between the cosmic truths (*al-ḥaqā'iq al-kawāniyya*) and the signs of the unseen (*mafatih al-ghayb*), who themselves intercede with the divine Essence (*al-dhāt*).<sup>29</sup> Despite the fleeting nature of this reference, it underlines the seven imams' exalted place in the hierarchy of creation, at only one remove from the ultimate non-determinate essence that lies behind all reality. The skies are described as a Form (*ṣūra*) of divine love; they are seven in number; one, ruled by the sun, is a manifestation (*mazhar*) of life; there are three skies adjacent to the Throne and three adjacent to the elemental principles (*arkān*),<sup>30</sup> each sky ruled by its own planet, and each one a manifestation of the divine name or attributes. These planets which rule each sky are themselves

<sup>28</sup> Chittick, "Sultan Burhan al-Din's Sufi Correspondence," 39.

<sup>29</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol.12a.

<sup>30</sup> On the four *arkān*, an idea found in Ibn Sinā, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.]), 206.

manifestations of the seven imams.<sup>31</sup> The notion of seven imams may seem superficially Ismaili. However, in fact, the idea of seven imams as “keys of the unseen” appears to have been propounded by Qūnawī, for it appears in Farghānī’s Persian record of his teachings, the *Mashāriq al-Darāri*.<sup>32</sup> Even if the idea is not specifically Ismaili, it does bear witness to the increasing interest from the thirteenth century onwards in the intellectual legacy of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, the “Brethren of Purity” of eighth-century Basra, whose thought exercised a formative influence on Ismailism. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’s cosmology was centred on the correspondence between seven heavens and the seven virtuous figures (*sab’a asbkhāṣ fādīla*), which influenced the Ismaili notion. In Ibn ‘Arabī, the “seven virtuous figures” become the seven *abdāl*, corresponding to seven planets, who are appointed by God to guard the seven *aqālim* (climes).<sup>33</sup> This is doubtless the immediate origin of the “seven imams” of Qūnawī/Farghānī and Qaḍi Burhān al-Dīn. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the rather more loaded term *imām* is substituted for Ibn ‘Arabī’s *abdāl*, and it is perhaps significant in this connection, that as will be discussed below, both Qūnawī and Burhān al-Dīn had an interest in the works of Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, the last great exponent of Ismailism – although so did plenty of other Sunni intellectuals.

The seven imams re-appear in the main body of the *Iksir*. Just as there are seven days of the week, each one is ruled by a star of the seven planetary bodies which are signs of the seven imams<sup>34</sup> where their number is repeatedly connected to the number of the *‘ibādāt*:

The seven attributes (*ṣifāt*) who are in man are branches and shadows (*zīlāl wa furū‘*) of the seven original imams, just as everything else in origin is based on those seven, likewise their branches. For that reason the universals of *‘ibādāt* which are necessary for man in accordance of with the balance of the Law are also seven: they are faith (*imān*), prayer (*ṣalwa*), almsgiving (*zakwa*), fasting (*ṣawm*), pilgrimage (*hajj*), holy war (*jihād*), and sacrifice (*tadhīyya*).<sup>35</sup>

Throughout the text, the symbolic meaning of numbers is a major concern – in particular the meaning of the letters of the 99 divine names, their numerical values, and their astrological connections. According to the *abjad* system, each letter of the Arabic script has a numerical value. For instance, Qaḍi Burhān al-Dīn says that “in the numbers of letters of ‘washing’ (*al-ghaṣl*), ‘ablutions’ (*wuḍū‘*) and ‘per-

<sup>31</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 31a-32b; cf. fol. 38a: *inḡasama saba‘ samawāt bi-ḡaṣb ḡaḡā‘iq al-ā‘imma al-sab’a*.

<sup>32</sup> Sayf al-Dīn Farghānī, *Mashāriq al-Darāri*, ed. J. Āshtiyānī (Mashhad: Danishgāh-i Firdawsī, 1978), 30-31.

<sup>33</sup> See the discussion of these notions in the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, Ismailism, and Ibn ‘Arabī in Michael Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-‘Arabī and the Ismaili Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 133-136.

<sup>34</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol 130b.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 75b-76a.

forming *wuḍūʿ* with sandʿ (*tayammum*) are signs as to their meaning.”<sup>36</sup> The numerical value of the letters of these words signifies the actions involved in them: the numerical value of the word *wuḍūʿ* for instance, is 42 which symbolises the value of word *māʿ* (water) [ $m = 40 + ā = 1 + ʿ = 1$ ]. The letters’ value can be divided and multiplied, signifying the unity of both *ʿibādāt* and ultimately of creation as well.<sup>37</sup>

To give another example, Qadi Burhān al-Dīn writes:

The deeds of the *ḥajj* are comprised of *talbiyya*, *ihrām*, *ṭawwāf*, *saʿy*, *wuqūf* at Arafā, *wuqūf* at Muzdalifa, throwing [stones], being shaved, sacrifice, and *taḥallul* (removing the *ihrām*), which are ten in number; if *ḥajj* is added to them because it brings them together, they become eleven, which is the numerical value of the letters of *ḥajj* [ $h = 8 + j = 3$ ], which is the numerical value of the seven imams and the key of the unseen.<sup>38</sup>

Following Ibn ʿArabī, Burhān al-Dīn divides the letters of the Arabic script into two categories, *nūrānī* and *zulmānī*,<sup>39</sup> which have their own significance:

In the letters comprising each name is a structure, on the basis that everything is intentional and not by chance, which indicates these meanings. *Īmān* is made up entirely of luminous (*nūrānī nāṭiq*) letters, indicating that the face of its beauty is apparent, and that its appearance is sought [*al-zubūr minbu maṭlūb*].<sup>40</sup>

The numerological and lettristic elements of the *Iksir* thus indicate the unity of creation, and underline the integral part of the *ʿibādāt* in the cosmos. Furthermore, the one who performs the *ʿibādāt* fully is himself the “perfect man.” Especially striking in this respect is Burhān al-Dīn’s conception of the *ʿibāda* of jihad. Ibn ʿArabī gave primacy to *al-jihād al-kubrā*, the inner struggle, and played down the importance of jihad as warfare.<sup>41</sup> Qadi Burhān al-Dīn’s interpretation, however, is much more literal, and jihad plays a much greater role in his thought than it seems to in his predecessors in the Akbarian school. While other *ʿibādāt* are seen as being shared by other parts of creation (*marwūdāt*),<sup>42</sup> jihad is seen as something distinctive to humans:

Jihad... contains the love of Muslims for their submission [*islāmihim*] and their belief in God, and in everything that He ordered and in Muḥammad – peace and blessings upon him – and everything he brought, and hatred of the infidel because of their unbelief in these things. The Spirit strove to establish the duties of love and hatred in God, bringing together the external and the internal jihad. This is only appropriate for the station of

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., fol. 129b.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., fol. 130a-b.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., fol. 164b.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., fol. 172a-b.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., fol. 172b-173a

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of Ibn ʿArabī’s attitude towards jihad see David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), Chapter 2.

<sup>42</sup> For instance (fol. 81b) Burhān al-Dīn plays on the etymology of *zakāt*, the root of which can mean “to grow,” saying this is one of the characteristics of plants (*waʿl-zakwā munāsiba lil-nabāt idb al-zakwā min ḥaythu al-luḡba namāʿ wa-hurwa šifāt al-nabāt*).

man (*martabat al-insān*) as God has enabled him to expend his lustful and angry powers on things which please God and his Prophet Muḥammad. [These comprise] abandoning worldly pleasures and diversions despite his soul's predilection towards them, embarking on wars, facing blows, making swords drink from the skulls of infidel, and feeding [the infidel] the taste of perdition through his spears. [Likewise is] showing mercy towards them in the form of violence, so that through death at the hands of the believers they are rescued from going further into their distortions contingent on unbelief, and their imprisoned children and women are fed on belief and Islam, so that death at his hands is a form of mercy. These characteristics do not befit any of creation but [man].<sup>43</sup>

Despite Burhān al-Dīn's nod towards the "external and internal jihad," his conception of it emphasises violence: this is no inner greater jihad. Destroying the fields of infidels is praised as a cause for the *mujāhid*'s heavenly reward, as the grains they produce can no longer feed infidel bodies.

In jihad is the perfection of the soul in the most complete way (*takmil al-rūḥ 'alā atamm al-wujūh*), so that even if the *mujāhid* did the works of jinn and men (*'amal al-thaqalayn*), it would not reach the value of jihad; especially martyrdom (*shahāda*) in God's path benefits souls.<sup>44</sup>

Burhān al-Dīn returns to the topic of jihad at the conclusion of his work, emphasising again the benefits of violence against unbelievers:

Some of them are killed so that their distortions (*inḥirāfāt*) do not increase, and some are taken prisoner so that they convert to Islam or serve the Muslims with good heart, which will reduce their torment, or mean that Muslims are born from them and their lands are conquered so that Muslims populate it and build mosques there.<sup>45</sup>

The Prophet is quoted as describing jihad as the most important *'ibāda* after belief (*īmān*);<sup>46</sup> while Quran 9:111 is invoked to explain the importance of jihad: "God has purchased the believers souls and property to give them heaven. They fight in God's way and kill and are killed." Burhān al-Dīn emphasises that paradise is promised only for those who fight in God's path, resuming the dialogue format found in the first introduction to make this point (suggesting it was a contentious one):

If you say, "Does not the verse indicate that the bargain between God and the believer is fixed, and they must enter heaven even if they do not fight jihad?" I say, "The paradise promised for them is conditional on them accepting to pay, and that is [through] fighting and being killed." If you say, "Should they not enter Paradise?" I say, "Yes, Paradise is promised for martyrs alone, not for others."<sup>47</sup>

The significance of jihad from the point of view of Burhān al-Dīn's broader cosmology is that he who undertakes jihad reaches the station of the perfect man

<sup>43</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 83a-84a; cf. *ibid.*, fol. 169b-170a.

<sup>44</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 92a-b.

<sup>45</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 169b-170a.

<sup>46</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 169a.

<sup>47</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 167b.

(*al-jihād li-karḥn al-mutaḥakkim fiḥi martabat al-insān al-kāmil*).<sup>48</sup> Burhān al-Dīn closes his work with prayers to be included in this company himself:

Let us conclude the secrets of the *‘ibādāt* with the secret of jihad, and may God conclude our works with it and make us one of the mujahidin in his path and gather us to the company of the prophets and righteous and martyrs and virtuous.<sup>49</sup>

Burhan al-Din’s biographer ‘Aziz b. Ardashir Astarābādī portrays him both as a sultan and in terms redolent of a holy warrior too: he is called *qāmi‘ al-kafara al-mutamarridin qābir al-fajara al-mufsidin ... alladhī intaṣaba bi-ṣawlatibi ‘ālam al-islām* “the suppressor of rebellious unbelievers and wrongdoing sinners... by whose attack the banner of Islam is raised.”<sup>50</sup> The title of Astarābādī’s work, *Bazm u Razm*, also brings to mind the sultan’s martial virtues. Admittedly, Qadi Burhān al-Dīn spent his entire career at war with Muslim enemies, not Christian ones. Yet his confrontation with Timur in 796/1394, when Timur advanced on Sivas,<sup>51</sup> is portrayed by Astarābādī as a battle to defend Islam, so far had Timur deviated from the path of sharia (*‘udūl az minbāj-i shar‘ u millat*).<sup>52</sup> Indeed, Astarābādī recounts how the vocabulary of jihad was employed by Burhān al-Dīn against Timur. The sultan sent an ambassador to Cairo to the Mamluk sultan Barqūq seeking aid on the basis that Timur had harmed the Muslims and “made religion a tool of this world,” and invoking Q.9.73 “Oh Prophet, fight the unbelievers and the hypocrites” (*yā ayyubā al-nabi jāhid al-kuffār wa’l-munāfiqina*).<sup>53</sup> Despite the lack of Christian opponents to Burhān al-Dīn, jihad and defence of Islam was a rhetorical device to be deployed against his Muslim enemies.

The *Iksīr al-Sa‘ādāt* is thus rooted solidly in the interpretation and extension of Ibn ‘Arabi’s thought expounded by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, especially as transmitted by Farghānī in his exposition of Qūnawī’s lectures, but it also develops and expands these ideas. The discussion of jihad appears to be a departure from Ibn ‘Arabi’s thought, while the numerological and lettristic elements in the *Iksīr* have parallels in Qūnawī’s works and those of earlier Sufis. Ibn ‘Arabi had devoted a considerable section of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* to discussing letters, although he did so in an allusive way, as such information is not for popular dissemination. A treatise on the divine names and their lettristic significance is also attributed to Qūnawī, although it is regarded as spurious by Richard Todd.<sup>54</sup> Another treatise variously attributed to Ibn ‘Arabi, Qūnawī or even the imam al-Ḥusayn, the *Mir‘at al-‘Arifin*, a commentary on the *fātiḥa* of the Quran, also treats the *‘ilm al-ḥurūf* in de-

<sup>48</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 171b-172a.

<sup>49</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 174a.

<sup>50</sup> Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, 7. Such titles were common to many medieval Anatolian rulers.

<sup>51</sup> For these events see Yaşar Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmaları*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 274-277.

<sup>52</sup> Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, 450.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 458.

<sup>54</sup> Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 181.

tail,<sup>55</sup> while the corpus of works on the occult value of letters and magic attributed to Shaykh Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. ca. 622/1225) circulated widely from the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>56</sup> Equally, it is not hard to find earlier treatises by other authors emphasising the importance of the *‘ibādāt* or emphasising the necessity of jihad. Burhān al-Dīn’s originality lies in uniting the cosmology rooted in *waḥdat al-wujūd* with this emphasis on ritual practice. Qadi Burhān al-Dīn’s agenda will only become clearer if understood not merely in the context of its antecedents but also of contemporary intellectual currents. It is to that task we now turn.

### *Qadi Burhān al-Dīn’s Intellectual Formation and Milieu*

Astarābādī’s *Bazm u Razm* gives us a fairly detailed picture of Burhān al-Dīn’s education, intellectual interests and contacts. Astarābādī had an agenda to show the future sultan’s rise as preordained by fate, and thus his depiction of the future ruler’s genius cannot always be taken at face value. Thus even the start of Burhān al-Dīn’s education, at the age of four years, four months, and four days is depicted as ordained by the planets, as interpreted by the astrologers.<sup>57</sup> The precocious Burhān al-Dīn’s skill at reading at writing Arabic and Persian so impressed a leading dervish, Shaykh ‘Alī Miṣrī, that he took upon himself responsibility for educating him. One of the Shaykh’s *murīds* remarked to Burhān al-Dīn, “All men become *murīd* to our shaykh, but he has become *murīd* to you (*mardum shaykh-i mā-rā murīd miṣhawand wa shaykh shumā-rā murīd shuda ast*).”<sup>58</sup> By the age of twelve the future sultan had completed mastered “all branches of literature (*adab*), such as vocabulary (*luḡbat*), grammar (*taṣrīf wa nabw*), the theory and practice of rhetoric (*ma‘ānī wa bayān wa badī‘*), prosody, and arithmetic and counting, logic, science (*ḥikmat*) and Arabic and Persian *diwāns* [of poetry].” He showed a particular genius for understanding horoscopes (*kitāb-i ṭawālī*).<sup>59</sup> However, even if not all of Astarābādī’s claims for Burhān al-Dīn can be taken at face value, as an intimate of the ruler his work gives a valuable impression of not just how Burhān al-Dīn wished to be perceived but also as to the values and culture of his court.

As increasing numbers of Anatolians started to do in the fourteenth century, Burhān al-Dīn went to Syria and Egypt to continue his studies in the traditional centres of Islamic learning. Astarābādī devotes some detail to Burhān al-Dīn’s

<sup>55</sup> Samer Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Premodern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 96-98; *ibid*, 96-110 for a thorough discussion of lettrism in a Sufi context, with particular reference to thirteenth-century texts.

<sup>56</sup> See Noah Gardiner, “Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad al-Būnī,” *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 81-143.

<sup>57</sup> Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, 58-61.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 61.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 61.

education. In Damascus, he studied with Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī (d. 766/1365), a major scholar, although one almost entirely neglected by modern researchers, who counted among his pupils the famous Taftazānī.<sup>60</sup> Burhān al-Dīn studied Taḥṭānī's *Ḥawāshī al-Kashshāf* (a commentary on Zamakhsharī's famous *tafsīr, al-Kashshāf*) and *Sbarḥ al-Maṭālī*<sup>c</sup> (a commentary on Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī's *Maṭālī al-Anwār*, a work on logic), and spent a year and a half studying the *funūn-i ma'qūl* (rational sciences), and natural science, mathematics, and theology. Also on the curriculum was Sayyid Muḥammad Nīlī's *Kulliyat-i Qānūn*, an authoritative work on medicine. Astarābādī quotes Burhān al-Dīn's own account of his studies with Taḥṭānī:

One day in the course of conversation the sultan [Burhān al-Dīn] said, I spent one and a half years in the company of our master [Taḥṭānī] studying the thought of the ancients; I learned most of what I did not know from him and things which I previously known through repetition [from books] I got proof of there.<sup>61</sup>

Indeed, Astarābādī tells us that Burhān al-Dīn "desired in his heart to keep [Taḥṭānī's] company for he was in truth the true knower of the occult (*futūḥ-i ghaybi būd*)."<sup>62</sup>

Taḥṭānī's own intellectual allegiances were somewhat ambiguous. He studied with the famous Twelver Shiite scholar 'Allāma al-Ḥillī, receiving an *ijāza* for his *Qawā'id al-Aḥkām* in 713/1313, and he is claimed as a Shiite by Shiite sources. Other sources state he was a Shafi'i however, and this seems to be supported by his composition of a commentary on a work of Shafi'i *fiqh, al-Ḥāwī al-Ṣaghir*.<sup>63</sup> This too may be significant, for Devine Stewart has argued that Shafi'ism was popular with Twelver scholars as a way of gaining acceptance within Sunnism.<sup>64</sup> At any rate, Taḥṭānī does seem to represent the broader phenomenon that characterises the fourteenth century: a degree of ambiguity in his religious affiliation in a society in which the boundaries between Shiite and Sunni were more porous than they had been in earlier times, and than they would become later in the sixteenth century.<sup>65</sup> Such attitudes were increasingly common in late fourteenth century Anatolia too. For instance a Turkish *Maktel-i Ḥüseyn* on the death of the Prophet's grandson was composed at the neighbouring Candarid court in 1362,<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> The best study currently is Huseyin Sarioğlu, "Razi, Kutbüddin," *TDVİA*, vol. 34, 485-487.

<sup>61</sup> Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, 67

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>63</sup> I am indebted for these details to Sarioğlu, "Razi, Kutbüddin."

<sup>64</sup> Devine Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to the Sunni Legal System* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998). See however the review by Sabine Schmidtke in *Iranian Studies* 37 (2004), 123-126.

<sup>65</sup> On this see John E. Woods, *The Aqqaynlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 3-4; Matthew Melvin-Koushky, "The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Millenarianism of Ṣā'in al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran," PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2012, 69-74.

<sup>66</sup> Rıza Yıldırım, "Beylikler Dünyasında Kerbela Kültürü ve Ehl-i Beyt Sevğisi: 1362 Yılında Kastamonu'da Yazılan Bir Maktel'in Düşündürdükleri," in Halil Çetin (ed.), *Kuzey*

while ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭālib is given a prominent role in Astarābādī’s *Bazm u Razm*, appearing to Burhān al-Dīn in his dreams. As we will discuss more fully below, this confessional ambiguity forms an important part of the backdrop to Burhān al-Dīn’s own intellectual endeavours.

If we are to believe Astarābādī, Burhān al-Dīn’s interest in Ibn ‘Arabī and Qūnawī developed only fairly late in his career, long after his return to Anatolia, when he had already become sultan. Shortly after mentioning the death of the Ottoman sultan Murad I in 1389, Astarābādī relates the beginnings of this enthusiasm.

In those days the sultan inclined to the science (*‘ilm*) of the elders (*mashāyikh*). The apparent reason was that he had sent with Shaykh al-Islam ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Shaykh Yār ‘Ali a pair of valuable carpets to the pure shrine of the Pole of the Verifiers (*Qutb al-muḥaqqiqīn*) Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. A group of dervishes who resided by the shrine sent to the sultan as a present the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* which was in the noble shaykh’s [i.e. Qūnawī’s] handwriting. Assuredly, when a book falls into the hands of a student he reads it and his pleasure cannot be described. When the sultan read that book which is the repository of divine truths and the compendium of the subtleties of unity and mystical knowledge (*daqā’iq-i taṣwīd wa taḥqīq*), and he drank the water of wisdom and gnosis (*ḥikmat wa ma’rifat*) from the copy of that which is the source of the water of life the springs of divine secrets opened from that watering place; and his eye of things exoteric and esoteric (*chashm-i zāhir wa bāṭin*) was illuminated by the divine light of mystical knowledge. The desire to learn and perfect that science (*fan*) became sincerely rooted in his intelligent nature and critical mind. He looked at many books on that science (*‘ilm*), so that the secrets of the unseen and seen world would be unveiled to his enlightened heart and the doors of goodness and fortune would be opened for him.<sup>67</sup>

Other evidence for Burhān al-Dīn’s interest in Qūnawī is preserved in a series of letters appended to a manuscript of the philosophical correspondence between Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī and the great Shiite thinker Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. The latter work was widely circulated in the medieval period, and seems to have been published by Qūnawī as a polemic against some of Ṭūsī’s positions. In MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 2349, the Qūnawī-Ṭūsī correspondence is followed on fol. 42b-48b by an exchange of letters between Burhān al-Dīn and a certain ‘Alī<sup>68</sup> – who is almost certainly none other than the Shaykh al-Islam Yār ‘Ali mentioned by Astarābādī. The correspondence discusses certain points in Qūnawī’s *Miftāḥ al-Ghayb*, in particular whether the Supreme Pen possesses knowledge of all things known by God or merely those things predestined to exist in the world. It thus shares similar metaphysical concerns to the introductory parts of the *Iksir al-Sa’ādāt*.

The literary remains of Yār ‘Ali confirm this enthusiasm for Qūnawī’s work in Burhān al-Dīn’s milieu. It is worth dwelling briefly on his career and writings, for

---

*Anadolu’da Beylikler Dönemi Sempozyumu Bildiriler* (Çankırı: Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), 344-372.

<sup>67</sup> Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, 384

<sup>68</sup> Burhān al-Dīn was first identified as the author by Chittick, “Sultan Burhan al-Din’s Sufi Correspondence.” Chittick does not make the identification of ‘Ali with Yār ‘Ali.



they give a further insight into the intellectual preoccupations of Burhān al-Dīn's circle. Yār 'Ali, variously known as 'Alā' al-Dīn Yār 'Ali Shirāzi or Yār 'Ali Divriki,<sup>69</sup> occupied a senior position at Burhān al-Dīn's court, and as well as holding the title *shaykh al-islām*, he also performed a political role. When Burhān al-Dīn sought to intervene to between two rival emirs on his borders, Taceddin and Süleyman b. Hacı Emir, it was Yār 'Ali whom he sent to negotiate. Yār 'Ali is described by Astarābādi as "the *shaykh al-islām*, pole of the verifiers [ie Sufis], 'Alā' al-Dīn, who was a perfect shaykh and a practical scholar, famous for his good qualities" (*shaykh al-islām qutb al-mubaaqqiqin 'alā' al-milla wa'l-din kib shaykhī-yi kāmīl wa 'ālīmī-yi 'āmil būd wa bi-khişāl-i mahbūb wa khilāl-i marghūb mashhūr wa madbkūr*).<sup>70</sup> When a Mamluk army under Yelbogha, governor of Aleppo, besieged Sivas, it was again Yār 'Ali who was tasked with negotiating peace.<sup>71</sup> As well as his practical role in diplomacy, Yār 'Ali was the author of a number of prose works of which the best known was *al-Lamaḥāt fi Sharḥ al-Lama'āt*,<sup>72</sup> which is a commentary in Persian on Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī's verse *Lama'āt*. The latter work was inspired by both Ahmad al-Ghazālī's *Sarwāniḥ* and Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, and was presented to Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī.<sup>73</sup>

Further evidence for Yār 'Ali's enthusiasm for Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī can be found in his personal *majmū'a*, which offers a fascinating insight into the interests of a leading scholar in the period, and, given his close relationship with Burhān al-Dīn, by extension into the intellectual culture of the latter's court in Sivas. This collection of texts copied by Yār 'Ali is preserved in MS Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Hüseyin Çelebi 1183, and is identified by a later inscription on its first folio: *bu mecmū'a min evelibā ilā ahiribā Şekāyık ricālinden merḥūm Yār 'Ali Şirāzī'nin ḥattıdır* ("this *majmū'a* from beginning to end is in the handwriting of the late Yār 'Ali Shirāzi who is mentioned in the *Shaqā'iq* [*al-Nu'māniyya* of Taşköprüzade]") (Fig 4.4).<sup>74</sup> According to the same manuscript (fol. 1a), Yār 'Ali

<sup>69</sup> According to Uzunçarşılı, who gives no source ("Sivas ve Kayseri Hükümdarı," 207, n. 38), Yār 'Ali was the son of Süleyman Çelebi of Divriği; he earned the *nisba* Shirazi because of his reputation as a Persian poet. If so, it is curious that no diwan of Yār 'Ali's has come down to us.

<sup>70</sup> Astarabadi, *Bazm u Razm*, 334.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 357. There are few other sources on Yār 'Ali, although there is a brief note on him in Taşköprüzade's *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya*: see 'İşām al-Dīn Aḥmad Taşkubrüzāda (henceforth, Taşköprüzade), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fi 'Ulamā' al-Dawla al-'Utmāniyya*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī Bahbāni (Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmi, 1389), 37.

<sup>72</sup> The work survives in several manuscripts. For a finely copied autograph, see Istanbul, Süleymaniye, MS Aya Sofya 1918.

<sup>73</sup> See William C. Chittick, "Fakr al-Din 'Erāqi," *Elr*, vol. 8, 538-540.

<sup>74</sup> The manuscript is described briefly and unsatisfactorily by Ateş (see n. 9 above) and Mikail Bayram, "Sadru'd-din Konevi ile Ahi Evren Şeyh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud'un Mektuplaşma," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2 (1983): 51-75 on pp. 53-56. It should be noted that the *ta'liq* script of Aya Sofya 1918 and Hüseyin Çelebi 1183 are very different, although both are said to be in Yār 'Ali's hand. However, the manuscript of the *Lama'āt* is clearly a presentation copy designed for a patron, whereas the *majmū'a* represents notes for Yār 'Ali's personal use.



Figure 4.4: *Majmū'a* in the hand of Yār 'Alī Divriki, Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS Hüseyin Çelebi 1183. Opening folio.

died in Bursa in Jumada I 814. The *majmū'a* contains several treatises by Qūnawī, copied from autographs as is shown by the accompanying notes. (For a fuller description of the manuscript see the Appendix). Alongside standard devotional texts such as Ghazālī's *Ayyubā al-Walad*, the *majmū'a* suggests the same tendency to cross, at least intellectually, the Shiite-Sunni divide that we have observed above. Yār 'Alī copied several works by the Kubrawi Sufi Sa'd al-Din Ḥamūya (nos 8, 19, 23, 24). Sa'd al-Din, a devotee of Qūnawī, is said to have espoused distinctly Shiite-influenced views, claiming that the Muslim community had twelve *awliyā'*, the twelfth of whom would return at the end of time as the *ṣāhib al-zamān*.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, Sa'd al-Din Ḥamūya also had a deep interest in the *'ilm al-ḥurūf*,<sup>76</sup> the science of letters, which we have already noted as a key theme of the *Iksir*, and which appears in several other treatises in the *majmū'a*. As one of these states, "Knowledge of letters is the most noble of sciences and is a secret which the wise men of old always secretly knew."<sup>77</sup>

### *The 'ilm al-ḥurūf in Late Medieval Anatolia*

Interest in the mystic properties of letters can be dated back to the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, whose *Rasā'il* (Epistles) exercised a great influence on later Muslim philosophy. In the revival of interest in the Ikhwān and their *Rasā'il* of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, modern scholars have drawn attention to what they have described as a "neo-Ikhwān al-Ṣafā" centred around the leading exponent of the *'ilm al-ḥurūf* in late medieval Anatolia, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī, who was active at the court of the Ottoman sultan Murad II.<sup>78</sup> Among the best known of the Anatolian contemporaries of Burhān al-Din who specialised in the science of letters was Ḥusayn Akhlāṭī (d. 797/1395), resident in Cairo at the Mamluk court of Sultan Barqūq.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> A. Bausani, "Religion under the Mongols" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, ed. J.A. Boyle, *The Seljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 545; Jamal J. Elias, "The Sufi Lords of Bahrabad: Sa'd al-Din and Ṣadr al-Din Hamuwaihi," *Iranian Studies* 27 (1994): 70-73, is more sceptical about these so-called Shiite tendencies, yet he confirms that Sa'd al-Din was accused of Shiism by contemporaries.

<sup>76</sup> For a discussion of Sa'd al-Din Ḥamūya and his extant works see Elias, "The Sufi Lords of Bahrabad," 58-66, and *ibid.*, 73-74 for his interest in Ibn 'Arabī, Qūnawī and the *'ilm al-ḥurūf*.

<sup>77</sup> MS Bursa, İnebey, Hüseyin Celebi 1185, fol. 59a: *'ilm-i ḥurūf ashrāf-i 'ulūm-ast wa sirri ast az asrār kib hamisha ḥukamā-yi awā'il pinbān dānasta-and*. I have not identified this treatise.

<sup>78</sup> Cornell H. Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century" in Massumeh Farhad with Serpil Bağcı (eds), *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2009), 232; İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı İlim ve Kültür Hayatında İlhvānu's-Safā ve Abdurrahmān Bistāmī," *Divân: İlmî Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 2 (1996): 229-240; see also the discussion in Evrim Binbaş, "Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdı (ca. 770s-854/ca. 1370s-1454): Prophecy, Politics and Historiography in Late Medieval Islamic History" (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2009), 91, 99-106, and Gardiner, "Forbidden Knowledge," 117-119.

<sup>79</sup> Binbaş, "Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdı," 139-161; Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science," 218-219.

Bisṭāmī uses the phrase *ikhwān al-ṣafā* to designate his friends and associates, although whether this necessarily implied all that modern scholars have suggested is debatable. In a manuscript dated 723/1323, it simply refers to a circle of students in a madrasa in Antalya who were studying the Sufi poetry of Ibn al-Fārīd (d. 632/1235),<sup>80</sup> while the jurist ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī (d. 761/1360) tells us that he was encouraged to compose a commentary on his treatise on Hanafi inheritance law by his *ikhwān al-ṣafā*, and that certainly has nothing whatsoever to do with the cosmology of the famous Ikhwān.<sup>81</sup>

Whether or not there really did exist a grouping its proponents thought of as a neo-Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, it is clear Yār ‘Alī was interested in their *Rasā’il*, as attested by the presence of one of them in his *majmū’a* (no 12), and in the *‘ilm al-ḥurūf*, represented by several other treatises (nos 11, 13, 24, 28). Yār ‘Alī was also a personal acquaintance of Bisṭāmī. In his *Durrat Tāj al-Rasā’il*, a sort of autobiography, Bisṭāmī tells us that in Amasya in 813/1410 he read his treatise *al-Nūr al-‘Alī al-Bābir wa’l-Nūr al-Jalī al-Bābir* to Yār ‘Alī.<sup>82</sup> The treatise does not survive, it seems, although most likely like the rest of Bisṭāmī’s vast corpus it was concerned with the *‘ilm al-ḥurūf* in some form.

Yār ‘Alī’s association with Bisṭāmī and his own interest in the *‘ilm al-ḥurūf* confirm the prominent place that lettrism had in Burhān al-Dīn’s milieu. Modern scholars have been at pains to emphasise that the preoccupation with the *‘ilm al-ḥurūf* shown by Bisṭāmī and his circle should not be associated with the most famous of the contemporary lettristic movements, the Hurufiyya, the followers of Faḍlallāh Astarābādī, an almost exact contemporary of Burhān al-Dīn.<sup>83</sup> Certainly, the general interest in *‘ilm al-ḥurūf*, shared by numerous Sunni authorities from Avicenna to Ibn ‘Arabī to Qūnawī, is quite distinct from the later Hurufiyya. The latter exalted Faḍlallāh to the status of a Prophet, thus abrogating one the seminal feature of Islam, its insistence on Muhammad as the *kbatam al-anbiyā’*, the seal of the Prophets, and were essentially pantheists in that they insisted that Adam – and thus man – were identifiable with God. Yet an interest in the *‘ilm al-ḥurūf* even on the part of Sunni Hanafis could well be regarded as suspect. Taşköprüzade remarks of Bisṭāmī that “There are strange stories (*ḥikāyāt gharība*) about him which this brief note is insufficient to mention”;<sup>84</sup> indeed, Taşköprüzade also relates how the

<sup>80</sup> See Ahmed Ateş, “Hicrî VI-VIII. (XII-XIV.) Asırlarda Anadolu’da Farsça Eserler,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7-8 (1945): 125: *jamā’at-i aṣḥāb-i waṣfā wa ikhwān-i ṣafā*.

<sup>81</sup> ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī, *Sharḥ Jāmi’ al-Durar*, MS Süleymaniye, Laleli 1296/2, fol. 15b: *fa-ḡad iltamasa minnī ikhwān al-ṣafā’ wa khullān al-waṣfā’ an uktuba li-nazm al-farā’id alladhī kuntu nazamtubu fi ‘urwān al-‘umr wa-ray‘ān al-amr sharḥan*.

<sup>82</sup> MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4905, fol. 25b-26a.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. Fleischer, “Ancient Wisdom,” 234. For a more nuanced discussion see Binbaş, “Sharaf al-Din ‘Alī Yazdi,” esp. 157-61. As Mir-Kasimov notes, Bisṭāmī “very probably had first-hand knowledge of Faḍl Allāh’s doctrines and vehemently rejected them, while advocating essentially similar ideas” (Orkhan Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power: Hurufi Teachings between Shi’ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam* (London: IB Tauris, 2014), 432).

<sup>84</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’maniyya*, 46.

Hurufiyya even gained a foothold at the Ottoman court in the mid-fifteenth century, nearly converting Sultan Mehmed II.<sup>85</sup> This suggests the considerable appeal of Hurufism to Sunni elites, which Mir-Kasimov suggests may have connected to the political uses to which Hurufism could be put for legitimising power as charismatic kingship.<sup>86</sup>

On the other hand, Mir-Kasimov has argued that in fact Faḍlallāh Astarābādī's own beliefs were entirely orthodox, and what we think of as Hurufism is largely a creation of these later followers.<sup>87</sup> Rather Faḍlallāh's aim was to try to bridge the Sunni-Shiite divide. Given the lack of critical editions of Faḍlallāh's works and our generally limited understanding of what might constitute "orthodoxy" in this exceptionally fluid and complex religious environment, which remains understudied, some caution is necessary. The execution on charges of heresy of both Faḍlallāh himself and slightly later his leading disciple Nesimi, by different rulers, suggests that even early Hurufism was seen as distinctly dubious by at least some, although Mir-Kasimov would argue this was owing to its political, not its religious agenda. Nonetheless, Faḍlallāh Astarābādī's cosmology shares many points in common with the Ibn 'Arabī-derived one we have outlined above as found in the *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt*, and Faḍlallāh was also influenced by some of the same thinkers who feature prominently in Yār 'Alī's *majmū'a*, in particular, in addition to Ibn 'Arabī, Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūya, the Kubrawi accused of Shiite tendencies with a great interest in *'ilm al-ḥurūf*. Suhrawardī *maqtūl*, discussed further below, is another common influence.<sup>88</sup>

The Hurufiyya saw letters as the means to understanding the unity of the universe.<sup>89</sup> For the Hurufis, the Quranic phrase *'alā l-'arṣ istawā* "he settled on the throne" was a key part of their cosmology, taking this to mean the creation of Adam; the verb *istawā* is meant to refer to God's imprinting of an image of himself upon clay. This image was Adam, who was then taught the names of things, endowing him with Divine knowledge, and the 32 letters of the Perso-Arabic alphabet that enabled him to comprehend the nature of the cosmos.

As we have seen, the question of the First Intellect's knowledge of the Universe is a key concern of Burhān al-Dīn's correspondence with Yār 'Alī, and the *Iksir* presents Adam's creation in terms that would scarcely be out of place in a Hurufi treatise:

When Adam was completed in both form and meaning, he became a spirit of the world [*rūḥan lil-'ālam*], both its upper and lower regions. He learned through God's teaching the names of all things that have names. For all things that exist are in the station of letters

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 56-7.

<sup>86</sup> Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power*, 20-23.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 13-15, 30.

<sup>88</sup> See *ibid.*, 400-404, 422.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., esp. 413-416.

and words with regard to the Merciful Spirit [*al-nafas al-rahmāni*] of which we have told you, and which contains knowledge of names and the essences of all things named.<sup>90</sup>

At the same time, such a passage could equally occur in any of the numerous non-Hurufi Sufi treatises which draw on the same cosmological imagery of the Pen, Adam and so on. Another common theme is the insistence on the importance of the number seven – the number of *‘ibādāt* and imams in Burhān al-Dīn’s system, and likewise a crucial number in Hurufi texts.<sup>91</sup> Given it is unclear to what degree Faḍlallāh’s beliefs actually deviated from previous cosmologies, or just represented a new synthesis of existing metaphysical systems, it would not be especially profitable at this stage to examine minutely all the common ground between early Hurufi texts and the *Iksir*’s interpretation of Qūnawī’s metaphysics.<sup>92</sup>

However, it is worth remarking on one striking similarity. It is in Hurufi texts that we find the most obvious analogies to Burhān al-Dīn’s attempts to present a unified cosmology in which the *‘ibādāt* form an integral part. Faḍlallāh Astarābādī’s magnum opus, the *Jāwidānmāma*, devotes considerable space to the *‘ibādāt*, and, like Burhān al-Dīn, seeks to demonstrate the significance of their letteristic values of the individual acts of ritual, and the coherence of their numerical values within the cosmos.<sup>93</sup> A similar Hurufi work is that attributed to the famous poet Nesimi, also a near-contemporary of Burhān al-Dīn’s, the *Muḳaddimetü’l-Ḥakāyik*, which, like the *Iksir*, deals with the *‘ibādāt*.<sup>94</sup> The *Muḳaddimetü’l-Ḥakāyik* is focused on *‘ibādāt* of *şavem*, *şalāt*, *ḥajj*, *wuḍū‘* and *imān*, and is concerned to explain their letteristic significance. There are also certain structural similarities between the two works. The *Iksir*, the *Jāwidānmāma* and the *Muḳaddimetü’l-Ḥakāyik* regularly directly address the reader as “O seeker of knowledge!”,<sup>95</sup> and both are conceived as the response to (hypothetical?) questions, as we have noted above (see n. 47), the *Iksir* contains passages in dialogue format, while in both the *Jāwidānmāma* and the *Muḳaddimetü’l-Ḥakāyik* phrases abound such as *eger sa’il su’āl ederse ki, sen eyidiürsen ki*

<sup>90</sup> Aya Sofya 1685, fol. 48b.

<sup>91</sup> On the number seven in Hurufism see H.T. Norris, “The Hurufi Legacy of Fadlullah of Astarabad,” in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. 2: *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism* (Oxford: OneWorld, 1999), 92.

<sup>92</sup> For the similarities between Ibn ‘Arabi’s system and Faḍlallāh’s see Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power*, 400-404, 413-414, 414n. 85, 416, 417.

<sup>93</sup> On the role of *‘ibādāt* in Hurufism see Fatih Usluer, *Hurufilik: İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren* (Istanbul: Kabcacı, 2009), 420-531. The *Jāwidānmāma* remains unpublished, but I have consulted the published nineteenth-century Ottoman translation by Derviş Mahmud: Fazlullah Esterābādī, *Cāvidan-nāme: Dür-i Yetim İsimli Tercümesi*, ed. Fatih Usluer (Istanbul: Kabcacı, 2012), see esp. 440 ff. A detailed study of the *Jāwidānmāma* is given in Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power*.

<sup>94</sup> The text is published in Fatih Usluer, *Hurufi Metinleri* (Ankara: Kabcacı, 2014), 53-93.

<sup>95</sup> E.g. Nesimi, *Muḳaddimetü’l-Ḥakāyik*, 57: *imdi iy talib bilmek gereksin ... şimdi iy talib bil*; cf. *ibid*, 88, 92.

(if someone asks, say).<sup>96</sup> While jihad plays only a minor part role in Faḍlallāh's *Jāwaidānnāma* and the *Muḥaddimetü'l-Hakāyik*, an early Hurufi verse treatise, Abū al-Ḥasan's *Bishāratnāma*, composed in the early fifteenth century, does place a strong emphasis on jihad.<sup>97</sup>

This is not to suggest that Burhān al-Dīn was a Hurufi (whatever that might mean at the end of the fourteenth century). His treatise entirely lacks the abbreviations characteristic of Hurufi treatises, and is suffused with the technical vocabulary of Qūnawī and Ibn 'Arabī, itself ultimately derived from Avicenna, while the Hurufis used a distinctive technical vocabulary of their own. The *Iksir* is written in Arabic, in contrast to the Persian or Turkish favoured by the Hurufis. Furthermore, Hurufism, at least in its later incarnations, was pantheistic, seeing Adam and man as part of the divine, while the Qunawian concepts of *ta'ayyun* and *lā ta'ayyun* emphasised by Burhān al-Dīn do act to distinguish creator from creation. Nonetheless, the common ground it shares with Hurufi texts goes beyond a general interest in letteristic and numerological symbolism, with a similar cosmology and, most distinctively of all, a similar concern to integrate the *'ibādāt* into their metaphysical system. It is thus tempting to wonder if the *Iksir* was in some form intended to respond to the inroads Faḍlallāh's movement was making in Anatolia. Although we know very little about the early spread of Hurufism, there is evidence to suggest that at a very early date, certainly no later than the beginning of the fifteenth century, it had started to penetrate elite circles in eastern Anatolia. When the Hurufi poet Nesimi was executed in Aleppo, perhaps in 807/1404-5,<sup>98</sup> the Mamluk Sultan is said to have ordered his body to be dismembered and parts sent to the Aqquyunlu ruler Osman Kara Yülük and the Dulkadrids Nasreddin and Ali Beg because "he had perverted their beliefs," in the words of a Mamluk source.<sup>99</sup> Kara Yülük had played a prominent part at Burhān al-Dīn's court, where he had been since 798/1396, although he eventually turned on the qadi-sultan, playing a crucial part in his capture and death.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, the author of one of our early Hurufi texts, Mīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn (active in the first half of the fifteenth century), refers to having been sent to propagate the Hurufi faith in Bitlis, where he found a Hurufi presence already estab-

<sup>96</sup> Nesimi, *Muḥaddimetü'l-Hakāyik*, 65; cf. *ibid* 75, 85. For examples from the *Jāwaidānnāma* see the selections reproduced in Mīr-Kasimov, *Words of Power*, 485-550.

<sup>97</sup> Abū al-Ḥasan, *Bishāratnāma*, MS Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Farsi 1041, fol. 1b-54b (see for example fol.27b: *ghāziān-i mā bi-bāzi nistand/ kāfir-and ānbā kib ghāzi nistand*, "our ghazis are not at play; whoever is not a ghazi is an infidel"). The *Jāwaidānnāma* seems to have only a very brief section discussing jihad. See Esterabadi, *Cavidan-name*, 382-383. Mīr-Kasimov, *Words of Power*, does not discuss jihad at all in his analysis of the text.

<sup>98</sup> On this date see Kathleen R.F. Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimi, Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi, with Annotated Translations of the Turkic and Persian Quatrains from the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa MS* (The Hague, De Gruyter Mouton, 1972), 27-29. It is however disputed, and his execution may have taken place as late as 824/1421.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Ḥalabi, *Kuvūz al-Dbahab*, cited by Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimi*, 29.

<sup>100</sup> Uzunçarşılı, "Sivas ve Kayseri Hükümdarı," 218-221; Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 39-40.

lished, represented by a certain Dervish Ḥusām.<sup>101</sup> Nesimi, usually considered to have brought Hurufism to Anatolia, appears to have been aware of Burhān al-Dīn's poetical works in Turkish, despite their limited distribution. The modern Turkish scholar Ali Alparslan has noted the similarity between Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's Turkish *ghazal* beginning

Gel gel ki senden özge bu derdün şifâsı yoh,  
Derdüm dahı yoğisa bu ayşun safâsı yoh

and two *ghazals* by Nesimi. Moreover, the early fifteenth-century Turkish poetry anthology known as the *Mecmū'atü'n-Nezā'ir* by Ömer b. Mezid contains a *nazire* written by Nesimi to one of Burhān al-Dīn's poems.<sup>102</sup>

All this evidence is individually rather slight and circumstantial, but together it does suggest that Hurufism had started to penetrate the ruling circles of Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's eastern neighbours by the beginning of the fifteenth century, if not earlier. The ground the *Iksir* shares with Hurufi texts, in particular the emphasis on the *'ibādāt* as part of a broader metaphysical scheme of a unified cosmos, suggests at the very least that both Burhān al-Dīn and the Hurufis derived their ideas from shared concerns. There also seems to be a degree of intertextual exchange which points to the existence of a perhaps wider diffusions of some of the basic ideas of Hurufism in the fourteenth century than has been appreciated; whether these actually represented specifically Hurufi ideas or merely a common body of myth on which both Hurufism and other thinkers drew needs further investigation.

### *The Purpose of the Iksir al-Sa'ādāt*

The ostensible purpose of the *Iksir*, as stated in the introduction, is to bridge the gap between the *abl al-kashf*, the specialists in mystical knowledge,<sup>103</sup> with *al-'ulamā' al-rasmiyya*, the *'ulamā'* specialised in exoteric sciences. This seems to fit within the project of seeking to bridge the differences within Islam which we can identify in contemporary figures as diverse as Burhān al-Dīn's teacher, Tahtānī, and Faḍlallāh Astarābādī. On another level, it is tempting to see the work as a riposte to the opponents of the school of Ibn 'Arabī – one of the most prominent of whom was none other than Taftazānī, also the target of Burhān al-Dīn's *Tarjih* – and as noted above, also one of Tahtānī's pupils. Taftazānī's particular condemna-

<sup>101</sup> Mīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn, *Istiwānāma*, MS Istanbul, Millet Library, Ali Emiri Farsi 269, fol. 38a, 80a-b. Significantly, perhaps, Akhlāṭī's student and anti-Ottoman rebel Shaykh Bedreddin of Simavna passed through Bitlis on his way to rejoin his master in Cairo: Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya*, 49. No other location in between Tabriz and Cairo is mentioned.

<sup>102</sup> *Kadı Burhaneddin Divanı'ndan Seçmeler*, ed. Ali Alparslan (Ankara: MEB, 1977), 40-41.

<sup>103</sup> For a discussion of *abl al-kashf wa'l-tahqiq* see Binbaş, "Sharaf al-Din Yazdi," 92-96.



tion was reserved for Qūnawī and his followers, whom he accused of out and out heresy and described as the *wujūdiyya*.<sup>104</sup> Despite Burhān al-Dīn's claims to be aiming for consensus, he makes no concessions at all to such critiques; where Taf-tazānī had condemned the idea of *wujūd muṭlaq*,<sup>105</sup> Burhan al-Dīn uncompromisingly insists on it. Other late-fourteenth century critiques of Ibn 'Arabī, such as those by Ibn Khaldūn, also berated him and his followers for abandoning the sharia in favour of theosophical speculation, and the *Iksīr*'s instance on sharia and 'ibādāt might also be a response to this. Yet Ibn Khaldūn also accused such Sufis with lettristic interests of being, as one modern scholar has put it, "crypto-agents of millenarian Ismaili theories."<sup>106</sup> It is hard to see that Qadī Burhān al-Dīn's text would dissipate such suspicions.

Nor do any of these explanations suggest why writing the work was a task of such importance for Qadī Burhān al-Dīn. The *Iksīr* was written in 798/1395-6, a couple of years after Timur's invasion and in the midst of fighting with Burhān al-Dīn's neighbour Mutahharten. Indeed, owing to the fighting with Timur's ally Mutahharten, Burhān al-Dīn was at risk of another attack from Timur, as the latter wrote in spring 1396 in a letter addressed to Bayezid I.<sup>107</sup> 'Azīz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī emphasises the pressure of affairs on Burhān al-Dīn at this time:

In that winter when the sultan took up residence in Sivas, because of the pressing commitments, the accumulation of affairs, the administration of the kingdom, the management of the roads, dealing with both outgoing and incoming business, and obstacles external and internal, it occurred to his brilliant mind which is the home of the lights of intellect and origin of the rays of intelligible and transmitted [knowledge] to compose a book unveiling the truths of the rituals ('ibādāt), and to write an explanation of their fine points and obscurities, arranged according to the rules of the science of verification [Sufism] ('ilm-i taḥqīq) and its principles. [It was to] indicate the esoteric and esoteric, the actual and the metaphorical meaning of each, and the explanation of the points and details which everything expressed by signs and every intelligent being contains. Through [the sultan's] pure genius, his perfect judgement (*ijtibād*), his complete ability, his eloquent power and his broad command in the rational and transmitted sciences, his judgment, proof and divinely inspired knowledge, he set to composing this work. In those times of freedom from arranging affairs, ordering the interests of the masses, expounding the correct paths of religion and state, organising the important affairs of the kingdom and rule and fulfilling the needs and obligations – [those times] which were his rest and leisure – he busied himself with composing that book, and began writing and drafting it. By the fingernails of his thoughts he removed the veil from the face of the virgins of meaning, and painted on the blank pages. He borrowed from the lamp of the intellect a guide to the lights of divine grace, and from the nests of thoughts that reveal subtleties he hunted the birds of endless wisdom... It was as if each sweet point

<sup>104</sup> Alexander D. Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), 151-153.

<sup>105</sup> Tim Winter, "Ibn Kemal (d. 940/1534) on Ibn 'Arabi's Hagiology" in Ayman Shihadeh (ed.), *Sufism and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 145.

<sup>106</sup> Gardiner, "Forbidden Knowledge?" 119-121, esp. 120.

<sup>107</sup> Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, vol. 2, 278.

which he deduced from the spring of his mind was a drink of the water of life which pours into the desire of the heart of students, whereby it revived dead hearts. Every valuable jewel which he extracted from the sea of nature was a lamp which he placed before his pupils, and enlightened their eye of perception through its brightness....In around twenty days he composed a respectable treatise and had arranged a useful short rulebook (*qānūn*) comprising an account of the hidden secrets of ritual practices (*ibādāt*) and covering the purpose of the five obligations (*farā'id*) and an explanation of their roots and branches (*uṣūl wa furū'*) and their forms and meanings by way of Sufism (*'ilm-i kashf*) and expressions more flowing than pure water...<sup>108</sup>

However, it was not just the *Iksīr* which was composed at this crucial juncture. The *Tarjīh* followed very shortly afterwards, after fighting with Karamanids, between 10 Sha'ban 798/1396 and 4 Sha'ban 799/1397.<sup>109</sup> 'Aziz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī again emphasises the sultan's genius:

If someone is favoured by divine grace and fortune so that, with sound mind and a firm constitution he understands these two books as they deserve – I mean the *Tarjīh al-Takwīh* and the *Iksīr al-Sa'ādāt* – which were composed in the course of a single year, despite numerous preoccupations, during times of rest, without [the author] consulting any composition or reading any book during the process of writing, and [the reader] reflects on the difficulties of that and is informed of their rare points and excellences, he should recognise how much knowledge and wisdom (*'ilm wa hikmat*) is needed to compose such works, and what degree of skill and expertise [the author] must acquire in the various branches of knowledge (*funūn-i 'ulūm*) to compose such books. [The author] must be a recognised leading expert in the principles of both sharia and Sufi philosophy (*dar uṣūl-i sharī'at wa haqīqat quṭbi-yi mudār 'alayhi wa ruknī-yi mushār ilayhi bāshad*). Wayfarers on the path of religion and travellers on the road of truth and certainty will be prevented from falling into error and from the gorges of destruction and sin.<sup>110</sup>

In contrast, 'Aziz b. Ardashīr has nothing at all to say about the composition of Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's Turkish poetry, which, despite its modern fame, he does not mention anywhere. Clearly, he considered the composition of these learned Arabic works to be a very different order of activity, something which formed a vital part of Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's persona as a ruler and thus needed to be recorded at length in his panegyric chronicle.

On one level, we can see these works as part of Burhān al-Dīn's attempts to portray himself as superior to the semi-infidel Timur, hence his biographer's emphasis on Burhān al-Dīn's virtues as a virtuous, learned, pious Muslim.<sup>111</sup> A further clue as to the importance of composing these works is again provided by Yār 'Alī's personal *majmū'a*. One of the works contained therein (no. 9) is a treatise by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, the *Partawnāma* (see fig. 4.5). The presence of this text is both significant and surprising, for it is extremely rare, with only one other manuscript

<sup>108</sup> Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, 488-489.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 531.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 532.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 450-455.

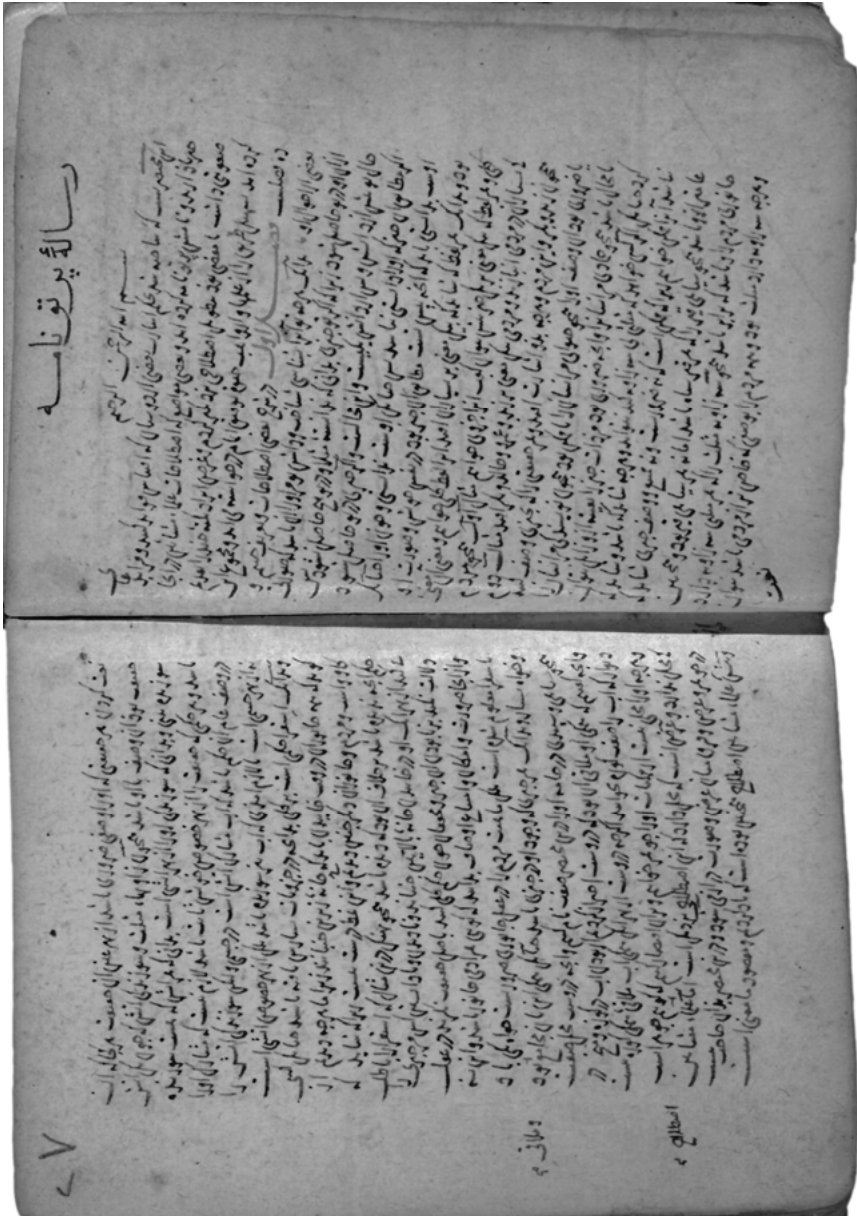


Figure 4.5: Copy of Suhrawardī Maqtūl's *Partawāmā* in the hand of Yār 'Alī Divnīkī, from his personal *majmū'a*, Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS Hüseyin Çelebi 1183, fol. 26b.

known.<sup>112</sup> The *Partawenāma* offers an explicitly political interpretation of Suhrawardī's *ḥikmat al-isbrāqī* philosophy, portraying the ruler as a cosmic genius possessed of knowledge of all things. In this context, then, a ruler who aspired to live up to the *isbrāqī* ideal would have every interest in displaying his profound knowledge of metaphysical secrets.<sup>113</sup> Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's emphasis on jihad as the path to becoming the perfect man also suggests an attempt to make his military career serve these philosophical ends. In contrast, when 'Aziz b. Ardashīr Astarābādi seeks to condemn Burhān al-Dīn's rival, the Ottoman sultan Murad I, and to explain his downfall, he emphasises his lack of knowledge (*az ḥulyat-i 'ilm wa ḥikmat 'āṭil wa 'ārī*).<sup>114</sup> Thus, the composition of these works may have served to legitimise Burhān al-Dīn not just as more learned than his opponents, but even as a Suhrawardian ruler endowed with cosmic knowledge, at least in the eyes of the elite, philosophically inclined circles to whom they were evidently addressed. This is also suggested by the extravagant emphasis on the unique merits of the *Iksīr* given on the title page of the Bursa manuscript, composed during Burhān al-Dīn's own lifetime.

### Conclusion

Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's Arabic works deserve the detailed attention of researchers, as they promise to shed much light on his intellectual milieu; indeed, it is possible that a better understanding of his Arabic works will in time allow a more sophisticated appreciation of his Turkish poetry, the focus of almost all research on him to date. Beyond this, however, this chapter has suggested a variety of preliminary hypotheses about the nature of this intellectual environment which need to be tested against further research. The *Iksīr* is representative of a more general interest in Akbarian-Qunawian metaphysics in late medieval Anatolia, as well as a preoccupation with *'ilm al-ḥurūf* on the part of many leading intellectuals. We have suggested, however, that the distinction drawn by modern scholars between Sunni specialists in *'ilm al-ḥurūf* and Hurufis is perhaps too blunt and simplistic. In the complex religious and intellectual climate of late medieval Anatolia, which witnessed in places the collapse of the boundaries between Shiism, Sufism and some forms of Sun-

<sup>112</sup> MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 5426/6 (fol. 52a-79b). The manuscript was most likely produced in Ankara, by the hand of a certain Dustkhudā al-Anqarawī at the beginning of the fourteenth century. On the Istanbul manuscripts of Suhrawardī's works see Hellmut Ritter, "Philologica IX. Die vier Suhrawardi," *Der Islam* 24 (1937): 270-286, with the *Partawenāma* at p. 272.

<sup>113</sup> On this text see the discussion in Hossein Ziai, "On the Source and Nature of Authority: A Study of al-Suhrawardī's Illuminationist Political Doctrine," in Charles E. Butterworth (ed.), *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Muhsin S. Mahdi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 304-344; on possible *isbrāqī* influences in Faḍlallah Astarābādi's works see Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power*, 422.

<sup>114</sup> Astarābādi, *Bazm u Razm*, 382.

nism, we must leave open the possibility of a degree of common ground between adherents of Faḍlallāh Astarābādi and others interested in lettrism.

The contents of Burhān al-Dīn's work are also significant in their own right, not just for the light they shed on his intellectual milieu. While Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's aim may be a rapprochement within Islam, he is uncompromising in his attitudes towards unbelievers. Although all the political foes with whom Burhān al-Dīn had to deal were Muslims, jihad still plays a prominent part in his thought. This interest in jihad, also reflected in the early Hurufi treatise the *Bishāratnāma*, suggests there is a need to take greater account of these sorts of philosophical and theological works in describing these concepts. Hitherto, most discussions of jihad in medieval Anatolia have concentrated on Ottoman warfare against Byzantium, and have been based almost entirely on Turkish chronicles. Yet the *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt* reveals that jihad was a preoccupation of court and Sufi circles far away from the front line against Byzantium. Jihad, indeed, is the path by which one can attain the ultimate goal of becoming the perfect man, *al-insān al-kāmil*. Rulers' interest in the Akbarian idea of the perfect man is often considered a tendency of the rise of charismatic kingship in modern period, among the great imperial powers such as the Safavids, Mughals and Ottomans.<sup>115</sup> Qadi Burhān al-Dīn's *Iksir* suggests, however, that this model had a much earlier appeal in the little understood principalities of fourteenth-century Anatolia. Far from there being a contradiction between being an *ʿālim* and a ruler, the combination of martial abilities and profound learning emphasised by his admiring biographer ʿAziz b. Ardāshīr Astarābādi served to legitimise Burhān al-Dīn as ruler; and through demonstrating his mastery of the metaphysical secrets of the cosmos through the composition of works like the *Iksir*, was he not also staking a claim to being himself the perfect man?

### *Appendix:*

#### *The Contents of Yār ʿAlī al-Dīvrīkī's Personal Majmūʿa, MS Bursa, İnebey, Hüseyin Çelebi 1138*

1. Excerpt from Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kishī. *fāʿida min Amāli al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kishī* (al-Kishī (d. 695/1295) had been the teacher of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī and Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, and was a specialist in Avicenna, Ibn ʿArabi and Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī)<sup>116</sup> (fol. 1a)
2. Ghazālī's treatise addressed to a disciple, also known under its Arabic title of *Ayyubā al-Walad*, entitled in a later hand *Naṣīhatnāma-i farzandīyya laysa labā nazīr* (1b-10b) (Persian)

<sup>115</sup> See for example A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

<sup>116</sup> Sabine Schmidtke, "Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī and Shīʿite Muʿtazilite Theology," *Spektrum Iran* 7, no 3-4 (1994): 18.

3. Extracts from the works of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, entitled: *Fuṣūl wa majālis wa waṣāyā min kalām al-shaykh Aḥmad al-Ghazālī ‘alaybi al-rahma* (Persian) (fol. 10b-14a) (Persian).
4. Ghazālī’s discussion of the hadith “the most important poverty is towards God” *Min kalāmihī fi qawlibi ta‘ālā* “*abamm al-faqr ilā allāb wa-allāb huwa al-ghani al-ḥamid.*” (14a-16b) (Persian).
5. Ghazālī’s exegesis of the hadith, “We have returned from the lesser to the greater jihad.” *Min kalāmihī ayḍan fi qawlibi* “*raja‘anā min al-jihād al-aṣghar ilā al-jihād al-akbar*” (16b-18a) (Persian)
6. Ghazālī’s exegesis of Quran 98:5 “They have not been ordered to worship anyone but God, being sincere in faith to Him.” *Min kalamihī ayḍan fi ... qawlibi* “*wa umirū illā li-ya‘budū allāb mukbliṣin labu al-dīn*” (18a-19a) (Persian)
7. On the signs of God’s turning away from his servant. *Fi bayān ‘alāmat i‘rāḍ al-lāb ta‘ālā ‘an al-‘abd* (fols 19b-25b) (Persian)
8. The daily Quran readings recommended by Sa‘d al-Dīn Ḥamūya (fol. 26a) (Arabic)
9. Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥya Suhrawardī, *Risāla-i Partawnāma* (fol. 26b-48a) (Persian)
10. Some pages on knowing God: *awerāqī chand dar rāb-i kbwudā-shināsi* (fol. 48b-57b). This is identified by Ateş as a treatise by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) on belief (‘*aqā’id*) (Persian)
11. Notes on the ‘*ilm al-ḥurūf*’ (fol. 57b-60a) (Arabic and Persian)
12. Treatise on love. *Risālat al-‘ishq*, Letter 51 from the *Rasā’il Ikbwān al-Ṣafā* (fol. 60b-65b) (Arabic)
13. Twelve prayers for the hours of Sunday, drawing on light symbolism, attributed to Shaykh Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Būnī (sic, fol. 66b-68a) (Arabic and Persian)
14. Treatise entitled in a later hand *risāla-yi laṭīfa*, apparently by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, containing devotional prayers and dealing with the obligations (*farā’id*) of the Muslim. According to the colophon the work is the *Wazā’if al-fuqarā’* (68b-72a)
15. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, *al-ḥirz al-a‘zam* (72b-73a) (protective prayers).
16. Will of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (fol. 74a-76b)
17. Excerpts from Ibn ‘Arabī: *hadhibi farā’id naqaltubā min awerāq al-shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-‘Arabī* (fol. 76b-77b); quotations from ‘Abd al-Qādir Jilānī (Arabic)
18. *Ḥirz al-jawsh*, protective prayers related from the Prophet (fol. 78a-80a)
19. Untitled treatise by Sa‘d al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥamūya (82a-85b) (Arabic)
20. Excerpts from Shihāb al-Dīn Yayha al-Suhrawardī. *Min awerāq sayyid al-bukamā’ Shibāb al-Milla wa’l-Dīn al-Subrawardī* (fol. 86a-b) (Arabic)
21. Treatise by Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili (fols 87a-91b) (Arabic)
22. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, untitled treatise discussing how the Sufi should fulfil the ordained duties of the Muslim (*farā’id*) (“*taqarrub-i ḥaqq-i ta‘ālā adā-yi farā’id-ast*”) (fols 92a-96a) (Persian)

23. Excerpts from the notebooks of Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (*nuqila min daftar al-shaykh Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī*), the handwriting of Muʿayyid al-Dīn Jandī (*min imlāʾ al-Shaykh Muʿayyid al-Ḥaqq waʾl-Dīn*) and the works of Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (fol. 97a), and notes on the magical properties of letters (fol. 97b) (Arabic and Persian)
24. Short treatise by Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya dealing with *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* (fol. 98b-99b) (Arabic)
25. Muʿayyid al-Dīn Jandī, *Nafḥat al-Rūḥ wa Tuḥfat al-Futūḥ* (here given the title by a later hand of *risāla fī ʿilm al-ḥaqāʾiq*). An interpretation of Ibn ʿArabī (99b-144b) (Persian)
26. Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, untitled treatise on *mabdaʾ wa maʿād* (fol. 144b-147a) (Persian)
27. *Sharḥ Risālat Kunb al-Dbāt* attributed to Ibn ʿArabī (fol. 147b-160b) (Persian)
28. On the letters *ṭā* and *sīn*, their numerical and lettristic values (fol. 160b-161b)
29. Quotations from Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥya al-Suhrawardī, as transmitted by Najm al-Dīn al-Tiflīsī (fol. 162a) (Arabic)
30. Untitled Arabic treatise (fol. 162b-168b) (Arabic)
31. Muhammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī (168b-170a), untitled treatise
32. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Tabrīzī, *Risāla muḥarrara fī al-baḥṭh ʿan ḥaqīqat al-ism al-aʿzam* (fol. 171b-182a) (Arabic).
33. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī. On dream interpretation, *Risāla fī taʿbīr al-ruʾya* (fol. 182b-185a) (Arabic)
34. *Sharḥ kalimāt al-Ghazālī* (fol. 185b-191b) (Arabic)
35. ʿUmar al-Khayyām, *Risāla fī al-wujūd*. A treatise on metaphysics (fols 192b-195a) (Arabic)
36. *Min kalimāt al-shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Suhrawardī* (fol. 195b-196b) (Arabic)

### *Bibliography*

- Abū al-Ḥasan. *Bishāratnāma*. MS Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Farsi 1041, fol. 1b-54b.
- Akkach, Samer. *Cosmology and Architecture in Premodern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Apaydın, Yunus. “Kadı Burhaneddin’in Tercihu’t-Tavzih Adli Eseri.” *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 6 (1995): 33-45.
- Astarābādī, ʿAziz b. Ardashir. *Bazm u Razm*, ed. K. Rifaat. Istanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1928.
- Astarābādī, Faḍlallāh = Fazlullah Esterābādī. *Cāvidan-nāme: Dīrr-i Yetim İsimli Tercümesi*, ed. Fatih Usluer. Istanbul: Kabalcı, 2012.

- Atçıl, Abdurrahman. "The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship (1300-1600)." PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010.
- Ateş, Ahmed. "Hicrî VI-VIII. (XII-XIV.) Asırlarda Anadolu'da Farsça Eserler." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7-8 (1945): 94-135.
- Ateş, Ahmed. "Konya Kütüphanelerinde Bulunan Bazı Mühim Yazmalar." *Belleten* 16 (1952): 49-130.
- Baktır, Mustafa. "Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed'in İlmi ve Hukuki Yönü." In *XIII ve XIV Yüzyıllarda Kayseri'de Bilim ve Din Sempozyumu*. Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, 1996, 142-152.
- Bausani, A. "Religion under the Mongols." In *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, ed. J.A. Boyle, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, 538-549.
- Bayram, Mikail. "Sadru'd-din Konevi ile Ahi Evren Şeyh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud'un Mektuplaşması." *Selçuk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2 (1983): 51-75.
- Binbaş, Evrim. "Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi (ca. 770s-854/ca. 1370s-1454): Prophecy, Politics and Historiography in Late Medieval Islamic History." PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2009.
- al-Bistāmī, 'Abd al-Rahmān. *Durrat Tāj al-Rasā'il*. MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4905.
- Burgel, J. "A New Arabic Quotation from Plato's Phaido and its Relation to a Persian Version of the Phaido." In *Actas do IV congress de estudios arabes e islamicos, Lisbon/Coimbra, 1968*, Leiden: Brill, 1971, 281-290.
- Burhān al-Din Aḥmad, Qadi. *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt fī Asrār al-'Ibādāt*. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1658; MS Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Hüseyin Çelebi 500; Turkish translation by Abdülmuizz b. Abdurrahman, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şazeli 52/2.
- [Burhān al-Din Aḥmad, Qadi]. *Kadı Burhaneddin Divanı'ndan Seçmeler*, ed. Ali Alparslan. Ankara: MEB, 1977.
- Burrill, R.F. *The Quatrains of Nesimi, Fourteenth-Century Turkic Huruḫi, with Annotated Translations of the Turkic and Persian Quatrains from the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa MS*. The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton, 1972.
- Chittick, William C. "Sultan Burhān al-Din's Sufi Correspondence." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 73 (1981): 33-45
- Chittick, William C. "Faḫr al-Din 'Erāqi." *Er*, vol. 8, 538-540.
- Cook, David. *Understanding Jihad*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Ebstein, Michael. *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-'Arabi and the Ismaili Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Elias, Jamal J. "The Sufi Lords of Bahrabad: Sa'd al-Din and Şadr al-Din Hamuwaihi." *Iranian Studies* 27 (1994): 53-75.
- Emecen, Feridun. "Timūrtaş Paşa." *TDVİA*, vol. 41, 186.



- Farghāni, Sayf al-Din. *Mashbāriq al-Darāri*, ed. J. Āshtiyāni. Mashhad: Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī, 1978.
- Fazllođlu, İhsan. "İlk Dönem Osmanlı İlim ve Kültür Hayatında İhvānu's-Safā ve Abdurrahmān Bistāmī." *Dîvân: İlmî Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2 (1996): 229-240.
- Fleischer, Cornell H. "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century." In Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı (eds). *Fabnama: The Book of Omens*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2009, 232-243.
- Gardiner, Noah. "Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad al-Būnī." *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 81-143
- Knysh, Alexander D. *Ibn 'Arabī in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998.
- Majmū'a* in the hand of Yār 'Alī Divriki. Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eserler Library. MS Hüseyin Çelebi 1138.
- Melvin-Koushki, Matthew. "The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Millenarianism of Şā'in al-Dīn Turka İşfahāni (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timūrid Iran." PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2012.
- Mir Ghiyāth al-Dīn. *Istirvānāma*, MS Istanbul, Millet Library, Ali Emiri Farsi 269.
- Mir-Kasimov, Orkhan. *Words of Power: Hurufi Teachings between Shi'ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam*. London: IB Tauris, 2014.
- Moin, A. Azfar. *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.].
- Nesimi. *Mukaddimetü'l-Hakāyık*. In Fatih Usluer (ed.). *Hurufi Metinleri*. Ankara: Kabalcı, 2014, 53-93.
- Norris, H.T. "The Hurufi Legacy of Fadlullah of Astarabad." In Leonard Lewisohn (ed.). *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. 2: *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*. Oxford: Oneworld, 1999, 87-97.
- al-Qayşari, 'Abd al-Muḥsin. *Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Durar*. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1296/2.
- al-Qūnawī, Şadr al-Dīn and Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsi. *Maktūbāt*. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 2349.
- Ritter, Hellmut. "Philologika IX. Die vier Suhrawardi." *Der Islam* 24 (1937): 270-286.
- Rypka, Jan. "Burhān al-Dīn, Kādi Aḥmad." *EP*, vol. 8, 8.
- Sarıođlu, Huseyin. "Razi, Kutbüddin." *TDVİA*, vol. 34, 485-487.
- Schmidtke, Sabine. "Al-'Allāma al-Ḥilli and Shi'ite Mu'tazilite Theology." *Spektrum Iran* 7, no 3-4 (1994): 10-35.
- Stanley, Tim. "The Books of Umur Bey." *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 323-331.

- Stewart, Devine. *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to the Sunni Legal System*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998.
- Taşköprüzade, İshām al-Din Aḥmad. *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fi 'Ulamā' al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī Bahbānī. Tehran: Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389.
- Tarlan, Ali Nihad. "Kadı Burhaneddin'de Tasasavvuf." *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 8 (1958): 8-15; *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 9 (1959): 27-32.
- Todd, Richard. *The Sufi Doctrine of Man: Şadr al-Din al-Qūnawī's Metaphysical Anthropology*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Usluer, Fatih. *Hurufilik: İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren*. Istanbul: Kabcacı, 2009.
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. "Sivas ve Kayseri Hükümdarı Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed." *Belleten* 32, no. 126 (1968): 191-245.
- Woods, John E. *The Aqyyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*. Revised and expanded edition. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.
- Winter, Tim. "İbn Kemal (d. 940/1534) on Ibn 'Arabī's Hagiology." In Ayman Shihadeh (ed.). *Sufism and Theology*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007, 137-157.
- Yār 'Alī Divriki. *al-Lamaḥāt fi Sharḥ al-Lama'āt*. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 1918.
- Yıldırım, Rıza. "Beylikler Dünyasında Kerbela Kültürü ve Ehl-i Beyt Sevgisi: 1362 Yılında Kastamonu'da Yazılan Bir Maktel'in Düşündürdükleri." In Halil Çetin (ed.). *Kuzey Anadolu'da Beylikler Dönemi Sempozyumu Bildiriler*. Çankırı: Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012, 344-372.
- Yücel, Yaşar. *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmaları*, vol. 2. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991.
- Ziai, Hossein. "On the Source and Nature of Authority: A Study of al-Suhrawardī's Illuminationist Political Doctrine." In Charles E. Butterworth (ed.). *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Muhsin S. Mahdi*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992, 304-344.

## Chapter 5

# Did the Hurufis Mint Coins? Articulation of Sacral Kingship in an Aqquyunlu Coin Hoard from Erzincan

*İlker Evrim Binbaş*

In 2005 a curious fifteenth-century coin hoard from Erzincan was published by two Turkish collectors and numismatists, Kazım Ertürk (1916-2007) and Metin Erüreten. As I hope to demonstrate in this article, the word “unidentified” that the authors used to describe the hoard in this lavishly printed book’s English title, *The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan*, does not do justice to the numismatic and historical importance of what they presented to their readers. Perhaps a better term to describe this hoard would be enigmatic.<sup>1</sup> The hoard consists of one hundred and fifty four silver coins, most of which circulated very little.<sup>2</sup> It appears to be intact, thus allowing experts to study all the coins together, and includes extremely rare

---

Acknowledgements: My sincere thanks go to Lutz Ilisch of Tübingen University who kindly answered my questions on various numismatic problems related to the Erzincan hoard. I presented a draft version of this article at the research seminar of the Khalili Research Centre for the Art and Material Culture of the Middle East at the University of Oxford. I am immensely grateful to the centre staff and audience who attended my presentation for their invaluable feedback. As always, John Woods was one click away from me, and he patiently responded to my queries on multiple occasions. Robert Dankoff, Judith Pfeiffer, and Semih Tezcan kindly discussed various specific points with me. I am also grateful to Cenk Korkmaz for assistance in preparing the accompanying figures for publication. The editors of the present volume significantly improved my style and argumentation. Needless to say, I take sole responsibility for any inconsistencies and inaccuracies in this study. The images are used with the kind permission of Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul. I am grateful to Hülya Bilgi and Lale Görünür, the director and the curator of the museum respectively, for their help and generosity.

- <sup>1</sup> Kazım Ertürk and Metin Erüreten, *Meçhul Erzincan Paraları: The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan*. Istanbul: MNG Bank, 2005 (henceforth MEP).
- <sup>2</sup> Nine additional coins are also available in private collections and they are all listed on two different internet forums on numismatics. The relationship of these nine coins with the Erzincan hoard is difficult to ascertain, but there is no doubt that they all came out of the same mint, and probably from the same hoard. Three coins are available on Zeno.ru and six other are on Eroncoins.com. See Zeno-41026, Zeno-41029, Zeno-41726; and Eron-3712, Eron-3713, Eron-3903, Eron-3904, Eron-3905, and Eron-3906. Zeno.ru is an outstanding platform which provides a forum for numismatists and collectors to share their collections, experience, and knowledge. In citing the coins from this website, I use only the coin number. The readers of this article can easily access these coins by running a quick search on the website. Eroncoins.com lists the private collection of the Turkish collector Kamil Eron in Izmir and the coins are available in high quality images upon registration. I am grateful to Kamil Eron and other private collectors on Zeno.ru for so generously making their precious collections available to researchers.

specimens. Numerous coins in the hoard were minted by the same dye, and thus provide invaluable insights about the technical operations of a mint. As the editors astutely observed, one series of coins may even help us to map out the entire lifetime of a single dye in the mint. One can add to this list of curiosities the extensive use of Turkish in inscriptions on the coins.<sup>3</sup>

More than anything else, however, what elevates the Erzincan hoard to the status of a numismatic curiosity and a historical enigma is a startling suggestion by Ertürk and Erüreten that most coins found in the Erzincan hoard were minted by the Hurufis, or a ruler who was a member of the Hurufi network in the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The Hurufis were one of the radical millenarian religio-political movements which were active in the late medieval and early modern Islamicate world, and were organised around the name and philosophy of Faḍlallāh Astarābādī (d. 796/1394), who articulated a curious synthesis of Sufism, messianism, and Shiite theology in the late fourteenth century. Faḍlallāh was executed by Mirānshāh b. Timur due to his “heretical ideas,” but his death did not bring his movement to an end. His followers continued to comment on his ideas and formed a radical clandestine movement which maintained that Faḍlallāh was the expected messiah – or prophet – who would appear before the Apocalypse.<sup>5</sup> The nexus of such diverse ideas was a curious interpretation of *‘ilm al-ḥurūf*, i.e. the science of letters, a philosophical and occult position that took the alphabet of the letters as the building blocks of God’s creation. The science of letters was widely practiced by the intellectual elites of the Islamicate world, but its Hurufi interpretation included a curious aspect that made the Hurufis “public enemies” in the eyes of political authorities and other intellectuals who were engaged in the practice of the science of letters.<sup>6</sup> The Hurufis had a distinct “Persian” orientation in their interpretation of Is-

<sup>3</sup> MEP, 18. In Islamic numismatics it is possible occasionally to see languages other than Arabic. For instance, Mongolian was used by the Ilkhanids on their coinage, but Turkish was not used in the inscriptions on coins in the early modern period. For the use of Mongolian, Persian, Georgian, Armenian, and Chinese on Ilkhanid coinage, see Stephen Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2001), ix; Ömer Diler, *İlhanlar. İran Moğollarının Sikkeleri* (Istanbul: Turkuaz, 2006), 25.

<sup>4</sup> MEP, 36.

<sup>5</sup> The literature on Faḍlallāh Astarābādī and the Hurufis has grown substantially in recent years. The most useful study in English is Shahzad Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005). Fatih Usluer’s survey is valuable for the history of the Hurufis in the Ottoman lands. See Fatih Usluer, *Hurufilik. İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren* (Istanbul: Kabaı, 2009). Recently Orkhan Mir-Kasimov has proposed that we need to distinguish Astarābādī’s teachings from later developments in Hurufi circles. According to Mir-Kasimov, Astarābādī’s religious ideas demonstrate a curious amalgamation of Sufism and Shiism, but not the radical messianic or prophetic traits which are closely associated with the Hurufis. See Orkhan Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power. Hurufi Teachings between Shi’ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> For the science of letters in Islamic history in general, see Pierre Lory, *La science des lettres en Islam* (Paris: Esprit de Lettre, 2004), and for the specific Anatolian context, see Cornell Fleischer, “Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries,” in Masumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı (eds), *Fal-*

lamic scripture. They argued that Persian as a language was equal, if not superior, to Arabic, and the additional four letters in Persian, that is /p/, /ch/, /zh/ and /g/, were a testimony to the beginning of a new prophetic cycle with Faḡlallāh. It was this very notion of prophethood attributed to Faḡlallāh that made the Hurufis the most controversial intellectual movement of the early modern period, hence the flaring-up of persecutions of, and pogroms against, the Hurufis and other letterist intellectuals, including an attempt on Shāhrukh's life in 830/1427 by a Hurufi activist and then the uprisings in Isfahan and Tabriz in 835/1431-32 and 845/1441-42 respectively.<sup>7</sup>

The existence of a coin hoard minted by the Hurufis would have two significant consequences for our understanding of the early modern period. First of all, fifteenth-century Islamic history witnessed a gradual politicisation of intellectual networks in various forms, and the Hurufis were among the foremost radical messianic movements in this period. Given the fact that minting coins was an important aspect of the declaration of sovereignty, the Erzincan hoard would represent an important moment in the evolution of intellectual networks in the early modern period. We have other instances in which intellectual networks minted coins as they evolved into political movements, but the Erzincan hoard would be the only case projecting an ideology which is directly linked to the Hurufis.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, if these coins were indeed minted by the Hurufis, they would constitute important evidence for the presence of the Hurufis in Anatolia and later in the Balkans. The science of letters is an important dimension of Bektashi religiosity, and how and when the proto-Bektashis adopted the science of letters has been one of many conundrums of the early Bektashi history. One argument, though

---

*nama. The Book of Omens* (Washington: Smithsonian, 2009), 232-43. In this chapter I use the term "intellectual" to cover the urban learned classes including those commonly referred to as *'ulamā'* and *fuḡabā'*, as the conventional usage of vocational terminology limits our understanding of medieval and early modern intellectual history. For further discussion see İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran. Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi and the Islamicate Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), Chapters I and IV.

<sup>7</sup> Bashir, *Fazlallah*, 61-84; Ya'qūb Āzhand, *Hurūfiyya dar Tārikh* (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1369 H.sh./1990-91), 87-99; İlker Evrim Binbaş, "The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt: Shāhrukh, the Hurūfis, and the Timurid Intellectuals in 830/1426-27," *JRAS* 3rd series 23, no 3 (2013): 1-38

<sup>8</sup> The other intellectual movements which acquired a political character and minted coins in the late medieval period would be the Sarbadārīds of Sabzawār and the Musha'sha' of Khūzistān. There are also other cases in which the boundaries between tribal-cum-local elites and religious-intellectual networks are blurred or cannot be drawn accurately. The Afrāsyābīds and the Mar'ashīds of Māzandarān, and perhaps the Tājasbīds of Daylam and the Qongrat Sufi Dynasty of Khvarazm would fall into this latter group. The Safavīds did not mint coins before they properly transformed their network into an empire. The earliest Safavīd coinage is dated to 507/1501, the year when Ismā'il I conquered Tabriz and declared his sovereignty. See Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins* (Santa Rosa, CA: n.s., 2011), 225, 252-254, 273-275.

not a universally accepted one, suggests that those Hurufis who were persecuted by the Timurid authorities in Iran and Central Asia took refuge in various dervish lodges of Anatolia and the Balkans, and through their presence the science of letters became part of Bektashi religiosity. The available evidence supporting this suggestion appears to be slim and relies on references to direct contacts between various Hurufi figures and the proto-Bektashis in the fifteenth century. The often quoted reference in a nineteenth-century polemical work entitled *Kāshif al-Asrār* written by Khwāja Işāq (d. 1310/1892-93) suggests that ‘Ali al-A‘lā, one of the caliphs, or spiritual successors, of Faḍlallāh, went to Anatolia after his shaykh’s execution, spent some time at the Hacı Bektaş lodge, and taught the principles of the science of letters. Needless to say, a nineteenth-century work is hardly a reliable source for fifteenth-century history. Other figures reported to channel Hurufi ideas to the Bektashi network are the poet Seyyid İmadeddin Nesimi, who travelled extensively in Anatolia before he was flayed alive in Aleppo in 821/1418, and MİR Sharif (fl. fifteenth century), who spent some time on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia.<sup>9</sup> An alternative framework first suggested by Hamid Algar proposes to look for shared origins of the Hurufi and the Bektashi interpretations of the science of letters. In a meticulously documented article, Algar convincingly argues that explaining the Bektashi interest in the science of letters cannot be reduced to the influence of a single figure, such as ‘Ali al-A‘lā or Nesimi. According to Algar, Bektashis were certainly aware of the writings of Faḍlallāh, but their rites and rituals show no sign of direct Hurufi influence and no contemporary source includes any Hurufi figure in Bektashi spiritual lineages (*silsila*).<sup>10</sup> Following Algar’s lead, Shahzad Bashir also moved away from the idea of personal contacts and proposed that the works of Faḍlallāh and other early Hurufis were more likely candidates for searching the origins of the Bektashis’ understanding of the science of letters. In other words, he put more emphasis on textual and literary connections rather than personal influences.<sup>11</sup>

The Erzincan hoard came into being amidst two important historical events, that is, the politicisation of intellectual networks and the move of the science of letters from the fringes to the centre of intellectual praxis in the early modern period. Obviously this argument hinges on the proposition that the Erzincan hoard includes coins minted by the Hurufis or by a ruler affiliated with the Hurufi network. However, there are serious flaws in the interpretation of the two Turkish numismatists who discovered and published the hoard. The alleged Hurufi connection of these coins is based on a curious Turkish sentence in some of

<sup>9</sup> Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Hurûfîlik Metinleri Kataloğu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1973), 27-29; Usluer, *Hurufîlik*, 24-25.

<sup>10</sup> Hamid Algar, “The Hurufi Influence on Bektashism,” in Alexandre Popović and Gilles Veinstein (eds), *Bektachiyya. Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach* (Istanbul: Isis, 1995), 39-53.

<sup>11</sup> Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi*, 117.



Figure 5.1: The sentence *ḥarf li'llāh* on both sides of the coin. Type A-I, No. 1 (Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, İstanbul, no 17350).

the inscriptions on the coins. The sentence in question is *ḥarf li'llāh tamğamdır mübrüm*, “[The] word belongs to God’ is my stamp [and] seal.” (See Figure 5.1) This inscription appears in different combinations on different types of coins in the hoard, and I will discuss them in detail below. Ertürk and Erüreten read this sentence correctly as *ḥarf li'llāh tamğamdır mübrüm*, but interpreted it as equivalent to *ḥurūf Allāh tamğamdır mübrüm*, which means “the letters of God’ is my stamp [and] seal.”<sup>12</sup> Based on this reading, they proposed that “the individual who had these coins issued was a devout Hurufi.”<sup>13</sup> Obviously, their interpretation is wrong, as the sentences *ḥarf li'llāh* and *ḥurūf Allāh* have completely different meanings, a point which I will discuss in much more detail below. Yet the correct reading of the inscription does not immediately offer any solution to the set of conundrums that were outlined at the beginning of this article, and does not lead us to anywhere closer to explaining fully the meaning of this and the other inscriptions that I will discuss below. Furthermore, the terms *ḥarf* and *ḥurūf* were so controversial in the fifteenth century that any reference to these concepts should be taken seriously. In the following pages, I will first present an analytical description of the hoard and then focus on the inscriptions and their interpretation. The inscriptions discussed in this article are fully edited and translated in the Appendix.

### *Description of the Hoard*

Our knowledge of the provenance of the hoard is entirely based on the information provided by the editors who published it, but since Kazım Ertürk, one of the editors, is the one who acquired the hoard, we can certainly rely on the in-

<sup>12</sup> MEP, 22, 36.

<sup>13</sup> MEP, 37.

formation provided in the book. Ertürk purchased the hoard sometime in the 1990s, and then donated it to the Sadberk Hanım Museum where it is now housed.<sup>14</sup>

In total, the hoard consists of one hundred and fifty-four silver coins, and with nine additional coins found in private hands, the total number of coins that we have at our disposal to study is one hundred and sixty-three. These coins can be grouped into two main categories. Group 1 includes those coins with the enigmatic inscriptions which will be described in much more detail below, and they bear the name of an unidentified person called Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn.<sup>15</sup> The editors of the hoard divided this group into three different types based on their size, and each type is divided into sub-types based on the variations in their inscriptions.<sup>16</sup> With one hundred and forty-eight coins, the first group is significantly larger than the second, which includes only thirteen coins with no enigmatic inscriptions. Most of the coins in Group 2 can be attributed to known historical figures. Erzincan appears as the mint place on eight sub-types in Group One and on five separate coins in Group Two. The other mints represented in the hoard are Kemah and Bayburt.<sup>17</sup> The overall structure of the hoard can be summarized in the following list:

#### GROUP 1<sup>18</sup>

##### *Small types*

Type A-I: No date, Erzincan, 10 specimens (Nos. 1-10)

Type A-II: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 13 specimens (Nos. 11-23)

Type A-III: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 9 specimens (Nos. 24-32)

Type A-IV: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 3 specimens (Nos. 33-35)

Type A-V: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 22 specimens (Nos. 36-57)<sup>19</sup>

Type A-VI: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 6 specimens (Nos. 58-63)

Type A-VII: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 7 specimens (Nos. 64-70)

*Type A-VIII: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 1 specimen (No. 71)*

Type A-IX: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, Erzincan, 2 specimens (Nos. 72-73)

Type A-X: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, Erzincan, 1 specimen (No. 74)

<sup>14</sup> MEP, 4.

<sup>15</sup> On many coins the name is written is Muştafâ al-Ḥusayniyya and in one case as Muştafâ al-Haydar (Type C-II). In my edition in the Appendix, I have corrected these, but have indicated the change in a footnote. In one case (Zeno-14026 and Eron-3713), it is written as Ḥasan al-Ḥusayn, and I did not change the inscription in this case.

<sup>16</sup> For the weights of the coins, see MEP, 31.

<sup>17</sup> MEP, 215-229.

<sup>18</sup> Group 1 coin types which do not bear an inscription with the term *ḥarf* are listed in italics.

<sup>19</sup> See also Zeno-41029 and Eron-3712.



- Type A-XI: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, Erzincan (?), 1 specimen (No. 75)  
 Type A-XII: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, Erzincan, 3 specimens (Nos. 76-78)  
 Type A-XIII: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, Erzincan, 16 specimens (Nos. 79-94)  
 Type A-XIV: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, Erzincan, 13 specimens (Nos. 95-107)

### *Half types*

- Type B-I: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 2 specimens (Nos. 108-109)  
 Type B-II: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 1 specimen (No. 110)

### *Large Types*

- Type C-I: No date, mint, 3 specimens (Nos. 111-113)*  
 Type C-II: Muştafâ al-Ḥaydar, no date, no mint, 2 specimens (Nos. 114-115)  
 Type C-III: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 2 specimens (Nos. 116-117)  
 Type C-IV: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 1 specimen (No. 118)  
 Type C-V: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 1 specimen (No. 119)  
 Type C-VI: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 1 specimen (No. 120)<sup>20</sup>  
 Type C-VII: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 2 specimens (Nos. 121-122)  
 Type C-VIII: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 3 specimens (Nos. 123-125)<sup>21</sup>  
 Type C-IX: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date no mint, 5 specimens (Nos. 126-130)  
 Type C-X: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 2 specimens (Nos. 131-132)  
 Type C-XI: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 1 specimen (No. 133)  
 Type C-XII: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 3 specimens (Nos. 134-136)<sup>22</sup>  
 Type C-XIII: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 1 specimen (No. 137)  
 Type C-XIV: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, Erzincan, 2 specimens (Nos. 138-139)  
 Type C-XV: Muştafâ al-Ḥusayn, no date, Erzincan, 2 specimens (Nos. 140-141)  
 Zeno-41026 and Eron-3713: Ḥasan al-Ḥusayn, no date, no mint, 2 specimens

## *GROUP 2*

### *Jaʿfar b. Yaʿqûb's coin*

- Jaʿfar, no date, Kemah, 1 specimen (No. 142)<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See also Eron-3904 and Eron-3905.

<sup>21</sup> See also Zeno-41726 and Eron-3903.

<sup>22</sup> See also Eron-3906.

<sup>23</sup> This coin is included in Album, *Checklist*, 271 (#T2505).

*Other coins in the hoard*

Shaykh Hasan, 849, Erzincan, 4 specimen (No. 143-146)<sup>24</sup>

Shāhrukh b. Timur, 845, Erzincan, 2 specimens (Nos. 147-148)<sup>25</sup>

Ḥamza, 845, Bayburt, 2 specimens (Nos. 149-150).<sup>26</sup>

Maḥmūd Bahādūr b. Kara Osman, no date, Erzincan, 1 specimen (No. 151)<sup>27</sup>

Shāhrukh b. Timur, no date, Erzincan, 1 specimen (No. 152)

Ḥamza Bahadur, no date, no mint, Aqquyunlu *tamğa*, 1 specimen (No. 153)<sup>28</sup>

Amir Ja'far (?), no date, Erzincan, 1 specimen (No. 154)<sup>29</sup>

None of the coins bearing the *ḥarf* inscription is dated, but there are several coin types which clearly carry the date 845/1441-1442 in the second group of coins.<sup>30</sup> Hence the *terminus ante quem* for the collection of the hoard must be 845/1441-2.

*Inscriptions on the Coins*

As mentioned above, what makes the Erzincan hoard a true historical mystery is the inscriptions found on Group One coins. There are two sets of inscriptions which need to be discussed separately:

<sup>24</sup> I rely on Album in combining the coins from No.143 to No. 146. See Album, *Checklist*, 271 (2508H).

<sup>25</sup> Ertürk and Erüreten could not identify these coins, but they are the same as Zeno-96328 and Zeno-117785 on Zeno.ru in terms of their weights and the composition of their inscriptions. One similar specimen is found in the personal collection of John Woods. See John Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1999), 71 pl. I. This coin was minted by Ḥamza b. Kara Yūsuf in recognition of Shāhrukh's overlordship.

<sup>26</sup> These coins are included in Album, *Checklist*, 271 (#2507B).

<sup>27</sup> Ertürk and Erüreten were not aware that another single coin of this type is found at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and it was already published by Album in 2001. In his 2001 publication, Album could not identify Maḥmūd, although he suggested that the coin was similar to the Erzincan issues of Shāhrukh dated 845. In his *Checklist*, however, he attributed this coin to Maḥmūd b. Kara Osman. See Album, *Sylloge*, viii, 92, pl.7 #137; Album, *Checklist*, 271 (2508M). See also Zeno-41026 and Zeno-41029. These coins were correctly identified for the first time by *cmkcoins* from Azerbaijan on Zeno.ru website on 02 June 2007. See <http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=41029> (accessed on 28 June 2015). Halûk Perk and Hüsni Öztürk dated this coin to the period between 850/1446-47 and 854/1450-51, when Maḥmūd b. Kara Osman was in control of Erzincan. See Halûk Perk and Hüsni Öztürk, "The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan': Are They Really Unidentified?," in *Anadolu Sikke Monografileri II / Anatolian Coins Monographies II* (Istanbul: Halûk Perk Museum Publications, 2011), 184.

<sup>28</sup> A similar coin (probably from the same dye) is Zeno-151902.

<sup>29</sup> This coin is very poorly struck; it appears not to be included neither in Album's *Checklist* nor the discussions on Zeno.ru.

<sup>30</sup> MEP, 222-225.

*Inscription I:*

ḥarf li'llāh tamğamdır mührüm

This inscription literally means “[The] word belongs to God’ is my stamp [and] seal.” The Arabic first half of the sentence, i.e. “*ḥarf li'llāh*,” means “the word belongs to God.” The inscription is found together with a personal name Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn in various combinations on obverse and reverse sides.<sup>31</sup> It appears in the following variations and combinations on the coins:

- *ḥarf li'llāh tamğamdır mübrüm* “[The] word belongs to God’ is my stamp [and] seal.”<sup>32</sup>
- *ḥarf li'llāh tamğamdır mübrüm Erzincān* “[The] word belongs to God’ is my stamp [and] seal; Erzincan.”<sup>33</sup>
- *ḥarf li'llāh tamğamdır mübrüm Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn mübrüm* “[The] word belongs to God’ is my stamp [and] seal. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn is my seal.”<sup>34</sup>
- *ḥarf li'llāh tamğamdır mübrüm Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn mübrüm ḍuriba Erzincān* “[The] word belongs to God’ is my stamp [and] seal. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn is my seal. Minted in Erzincan.”<sup>35</sup>
- *li'llāh mübrüm naṣṣımız* [?] “My seal [and] word is ‘Belongs to God!’”<sup>36</sup>
- *li'llāh de tamğamdır mübrüm Ḥasan al-Ḥusayn mübrümüz* “‘Say Belongs to God!’ is my stamp and seal. Ḥasan al-Ḥusayn is our seal.”<sup>37</sup>

Curiously, these formulas appear on both obverse and reverse of Type A-I coins, and Type A-VIII includes only the reference to Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn without any mention of the *ḥarf* sentence.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> It is often difficult to distinguish the obverse and reverse sides in Group One coins of the Erzincan hoard. According to the scholarly convention, the side which bears the name of the ruler is obverse and the other side is reverse, but this method is not useful for the Erzincan coins. In this publication I followed the editors’ classification. See Album, *Checklist*, 15.

<sup>32</sup> Types A-I (O-R), A-III (R), A-VII (R), A-XII (R), A-XIII (R), B-II (R). On the following coins the inscription appears as *ḥarf tamğamdır mübrüm li'llāh*: Types A-IV (R), A-V (R), A-VI (R), B-I (R); Zeno-41029; Eron-3712.

<sup>33</sup> Types A-IX (R), A-X (R), A-XI (R), A-XIV (R).

<sup>34</sup> Types C-II (O), C-III (O), C-IV (O), C-V (O), C-VI (O), C-VII (O), C-VIII (O), C-IX (O), C-X (O), C-XI (O), C-XII (O), C-XIII (O), Eron-3903, Eron-3904, Eron-3905, Eron-3906. The name on Type C-II (O) reads Muṣṭafā al-Ḥaydar, but this is clearly a mistake for Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn. The same is true for Type C-III in which the name appears as Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayniyya.

<sup>35</sup> Types C-XIV (O), C-XV (O).

<sup>36</sup> Type A-II (R). Although this type includes a relatively large number of coins, it is incredibly difficult to reconstruct the inscription. The flan is not properly centred and almost all the specimens are struck very poorly. The words *li'llāh* and *mübrüm* are barely recognizable. My reading of the word *naṣṣımız* is based mainly on Type A-II/9.

<sup>37</sup> Zeno-41026; Eron-3713.

<sup>38</sup> MEP, 40, 117.

To the best of my knowledge, these formulas are unique and do not appear on any other Islamic coins.<sup>39</sup> The word *tamğa* is, of course, an important term. In the post-Mongol Islamicate context, it may mean several things: tribal or royal brand, a form of tax imposed upon commercial transactions, or simply seal.<sup>40</sup> As a form of non-canonical tax, the *tamğa* was subject to controversy in the fifteenth century, and its presence was usually an indication of the adherence to the Chinggisid constitutional principles and law (i.e. *yasa*), and aimed at limiting the political authority of the nomadic chieftains at the local level.<sup>41</sup> In this case, however, since the word is paired with a much more neutral term, *mübr* (Ar. *mubr*), which also means ‘seal,’ the word *tamğa* on the coins of the Erzincan hoard simply means brand or seal. One of the curious phenomena of the fifteenth century was the increasing appeal of the Oghuz Khan narratives for the competing nomadic and semi-nomadic dispensations of Anatolia. The *tamğas*, or the tribal brands, found in Rashid al-Din Faḍlallāh’s universal history *Jāmi‘ al-Taawārikh* were adopted by various polities, most prominently the Aqqyunlu and the Ottomans. The Erzincan hoard includes one Aqqyunlu coin which clearly depicts the *tamğa* of Bayundur, the clan of the ruling family.<sup>42</sup>

As mentioned above, the editors Ertürk and Erüreten attributed these coins to a Hurufi milieu based on their misinterpretation of the word *ḥarf*. Even though their misinterpretation can be easily corrected, it is difficult to provide an alternative explanation. The key to explaining this phrase is the meaning of *ḥarf li’llāb*. Although it is extremely tempting to locate it in a cultural and religious environment in which the science of letters was the hallmark of intellectual activity with its emphasis on letter symbolism, it is certainly sounder to look first at the comparable contexts such as other coins and official documents in which the political discourse was also articulated through titles and stock phrases.

In terms of syntax, meaning, and structure, the sentence *ḥarf li’llāb* is very similar to another sentence which often appears in the *intitulatio* of the official documents in the fifteenth century: *al-ḥukm li’llāb* “Authority belongs to God.”<sup>43</sup> In the *intitulatio* of the Aqqyunlu *farmāns* or *soyurghals*, these sentences precede the *söz-* (“our

<sup>39</sup> For the common formulas which are found on Mongol and post-Mongol coinage, see Al-  
bum, *Sylloge*, xxv-xxx. I am also grateful to Lutz Ilisch and Luke Treadwell for confirming  
this point.

<sup>40</sup> Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden: Franz  
Steiner Verlag, 1965), § 933; Gary Leiser, “Tamgha,” *EP*, vol. 10, 170.

<sup>41</sup> Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, 144; İsenbike Togan, “Variations in the Perception of Jasagh,” in D.  
Alimova (ed.), *History of Central Asia in Modern Medieval Studies (In Memoriam of Professor  
Roziya Mukminova)* (Tashkent: Yangi Nashr, 2013), 67-101.

<sup>42</sup> MEP, 228; Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, 173-182, İlker Evrim Binbaş “Oğuz Khan Narratives,”  
*Encyclopaedia Iranica Online* www.iranicaonline.org (accessed 23 June 2015).

<sup>43</sup> Given the fact that the main sentence is in Turkish, we should not linger too much on the  
absence of the definite article in the sentence *ḥarf li’llāb*, as it should be *al-ḥarf li’llāb* if it  
were used in a proper Arabic sentence.

word!”) part. For instance, the Aqquyunlu Uzun Ḥasan’s *farmān* of 877/1473 praising Nizām al-Din Aḥmad starts in the following manner:

*Al-ḥukm li’llāh*  
*Abū al-Naṣr Ḥasan Bahādur sözüümü*  
 Authority belongs to God  
 Abū al-Naṣr Ḥasan Bahādur our word!<sup>44</sup>

The hierarchical taxonomy established through the dual investiture of authority – the authority being invested in God and the implementation of God’s will being invested in the amir – reflects the constitutional framework of the fifteenth-century eastern Islamic world.<sup>45</sup> As argued by Gottfried Herrmann, this dual taxonomy evolved out of earlier Mongol and Timurid practices, according to which the reigning Chinggisid ruler would have the legitimate authority to govern, and the lower-level commanders would govern with their authority based on the Chinggisid ruler’s presence.<sup>46</sup> For instance,

*Öljejtü Sultān yarḡımdın*  
*Qutluḡ Shāh sözü*  
 By the command of Öljejtü Sultān  
 Qutluḡ Shāh’s word.<sup>47</sup>

The same practice was adopted by the Timurids as well. Legitimate authority was invested in the Chinggisid ruler, and the Timurid ruler exercised his authority in his name. The *intitulatio* of the Timurid documents reflects this dual structure:

*Sultān Maḥmūd Khān yarḡımdın*  
*Amīrānshāh Küregen sözüümü*

<sup>44</sup> Lajos Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 196. For other examples, see *ibid.*, 188, 196, 200, 216; Heribert Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen* (Cairo: Sirović Bookshop, 1959), 151, 154, 162; Mehmet Şefik Keçik, *Briefe und Urkunden aus der Kanzlei Uzun Ḥasans* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1976), 214.

<sup>45</sup> For a lucid description of this constitutional framework, see Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 4-10. This political terminology, if not the practice itself, appears to be continued into the Safavid period, with the addition of another phrase *al-mulk li’llāh* “Sovereignty belongs to God.” See Busse, *Untersuchungen*, 171, 176; Fekete, *Einführung*, 272, 280, 284, 288, 308, 316, 336, 339, 376, 398, 402, 406, 410, 438, 482, 526. As far as I know, this sentence was not used in the Timurid or Turkmen contexts, although, as I will demonstrate, its earlier use on Anatolian Seljuk coins is well attested.

<sup>46</sup> Gottfried Herrmann, *Persische Urkunden der Mongolenzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 10-13. See also Judith Pfeiffer, “Aḥmad Tegüder’s Second Letter to Qalā’ūn (682/1283),” in Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (eds), *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 191. I am indebted to Judith Pfeiffer for drawing my attention to the Ilkhanid chancery practices.

<sup>47</sup> Herrmann, *Persische Urkunden*, 73.

By the command of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān  
Amirānshāh Küregen our word!<sup>48</sup>

Another example discussed by Herrmann makes the inherent political taxonomy in the Timurid intitulation even more apparent:

*Shābrukh Babadur sözündin*  
*Ulugh Beg sözüümü*

By the word of Shāhrukh  
Ulugh Beg our word!<sup>49</sup>

Since the word *yarlıg* “order” is reserved for a Chinggisid sovereign, such as Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān, Ulugh Beg could not use the word *yarlıg* for Shāhrukh in this final example.<sup>50</sup> In the fifteenth century, when the Chinggisid principles of politics lost their effective power, the sovereign authority was relegated back to God, and in this context we see the emergence of such phrases as *al-ḥukm li’llāh* and *al-mulk li’llāh*. The following table should make this point more apparent:

Sovereign authority ( <i>auctoritas</i> )	Chinggisids, God	<i>yarlıg</i> , <i>ḥukm</i> / <i>mulk</i>
Political authority ( <i>potestas</i> )	Non-Chinggisids	<i>söz</i>

These formulaic political expressions were not invented in the fifteenth century. After the destruction of the caliphate in 656/1258, Anatolian Seljuk rulers or their local governors started minting coins bearing the inscriptions *al-mulk li’llāh* (Sovereignty belongs to God) *al-minma li’llāh* (Grace belongs to God) *al-‘izza li’llāh* (Power belongs to God), and *al-‘azuma li’llāh* (Majesty belongs to God) instead of citing the name of the caliph.<sup>51</sup> The first Seljuk rulers who used these formulas on his coins were the brothers ‘Izz al-Din Kaykā’us II and Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan IV. In 656/1258, the same year when the Ilkhan Hülegü destroyed the caliphate in Baghdad, the phrases *al-‘izza li’llāh* and *al-minma li’llāh* appeared in the mints of Konya

<sup>48</sup> Fekete, *Einführung*, 64. See also Gottfried Herrmann, “Zur Intitulatio timuridischer Urkunden,” *ZDMG Suppl. II* (1974): 504; Woods, “Turco-Iranica II: Notes on a Timurid Decree of 1396/798,” *JNES* 43(1984): 332-333. This formula appears on the coins minted by Mutaharten in the name of Timur and the nominal Chinggisid sovereign Sulṭān-Maḥmūd in Erzincan. See Halūk Perk and Hüsnü Öztürk, *Eretna Kadı Burhaneddin ve Erzincan (Mutaharten) Emirliği Sikkeleri. Eretnid Burhanid and Amirate of Arzinjan (Mutaharten) Coins* (Istanbul: Halūk Perk Müzesi Yayınları, 2008), 487-491.

<sup>49</sup> Herrmann, “Zur intitulation,” 505.

<sup>50</sup> For a more in depth discussion of this point, see Herrmann, *Persische Urkunden*, 10-13. We should add that an *intitulatio* may not include the name of the sovereign Chinggisid ruler’s name, but even if it doesn’t, the use of the term *söz* implies the existence of a higher authority with *yarlıg* “order.” See, for instance, Mirānshāh’s decree of 800/1398, which does not include the name of the sovereign Chinggisid Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. See Dai Matsui, Ryoko Watabe, and Hiroshi Ono, “A Turkic-Persian Decree of Timurid Mirān Shāh of 800 AH/1398 CE,” *Orient. Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 50(2015): 55-57. For the term *yarlıg*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, § 1849.

<sup>51</sup> I am indebted to John Woods for drawing my attention to the Anatolian Seljuk coinage.

and Lu'lu'a (Lü'lü'e/Hasangazi) on the coins of two brothers. The Erzincan mint used *al-mulk li'llāb* for the first time on a coin of Ghiyāth al-Din Kaykhusraw III in 670/1271-72, and then in 682/1283-84 the Erzurum mint introduced the sentence *al-ḥukm li'llāb*. Finally in 686/1287-88, the sentence *al-azuma li'llāb* appeared on a coin of Ghiyāth al-Din Mas'ūd II minted in Alanya.<sup>52</sup> What the Seljuk case demonstrates is that the substitution of sovereign authority with "God" occurred when there was a constitutional crisis and the realignment of social and political hierarchies. Individual local mints responded to this change by including the Arabic sentences discussed above. Driven by a conservative impulse, the mints which produced these coins were trying to maintain a caliphal fiction without a caliph.

The local mints had their memories, and it is plausible to suggest that those who minted the coins of the Erzincan hoard were aware of the earlier Seljuk practice in their surroundings,<sup>53</sup> but it would be erroneous to consider the coins of the Erzincan hoard as merely a continuation of an earlier practice. The coins with the inscription *ḥarf li'llāb* should be interpreted in the political and cultural context of the fifteenth century. The exact political, discursive, and symbolic meaning of the sentence is extremely difficult to understand, and what I will propose below should be taken as a tentative solution to the problem.

In the sentence *ḥarf li'llāb*, the word *ḥarf* seems to be a syntactic and phraseological calque, whereby the word *söz* was translated as *ḥarf* in a moment of constitutional reconfiguration in the fifteenth century. The word *ḥarf* means both "letter" and "word" in Arabic and Persian. Obviously, when juxtaposed with *al-ḥukm li'llāb* and *al-mulk li'llāb*, the political paradigm delineated by *ḥarf li'llāb* departs radically from the dualistic constitutional framework established by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. God is no longer the source of authority and rule the world with the power of his representative; he *is* the ruler in this world. Sovereign authority and political authority are merged, creating a single form of authority which is both the source of and subject to sovereignty. In short, the sentence *ḥarf li'llāb* points to a moment of experimentation in absolutism in the fifteenth century.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Yılmaz İzmirlier, *Anadolu Selçuklu Paraları. The Coins of Anatolian Seljuks* (Istanbul: s.n., 2009), 252-53, 258-59, 324-25, 400-401, 418-19; Album, *Checklist*, 134-135. It should be mentioned that not all Seljuk mints dropped the name of the caliph as soon as the caliphate disappeared. Some mints, such as Sārūs (659/1260-61), continued to use the deceased caliph's name and some others, such as Erzincan and Kayseri, converted the deceased caliph's title from *al-Musta'şim bi'llā* (lit., the one who holds fast by the power of God) to *al-Ma'şūm bi'llāb* (lit., the one who is defended by God), an act which appears to be an implied elegy to the bygone days of caliphal sovereignty. See İzmirlier, *Anadolu Selçuklu Paraları*, 272-73, 296-97; İbrahim Artuk, "Sikke," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10, 628-629. How local mints responded to the change that the destruction of the caliphate brought is a curious topic, but it is also beyond the scope of the present article.

<sup>53</sup> The Erzincan mint certainly preserved some of its earlier design practices. For instance, the obverse of Type C-I is similar to the reverse of Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd's coin minted in Erzincan in 722/1322-1323. See MEP, 18, 168, and Zeno-128241.

<sup>54</sup> It is worth noting here the argument of Tabātabā'i who suggested that the Aqqoyunlu *taṃğa* was in fact a stylized form of the Arabic word *li'llāb* and when it is used on the coins

In order to move this statement from the status of being a mere conjecture to a credible hypothesis, we need to locate it in a proper historical context. It is obvious that the formation of the Erzincan hoard can comfortably be dated to the fifteenth century, but the same cannot be argued in a similar degree of confidence for the coins bearing the inscription *ḥarf li'llāh*. In other words, the fact that the *ḥarf* coins are found together with some fifteenth-century coins does not make them a set of fifteenth century coins as well. We certainly need a better historical contextualisation. I will develop my argument further and locate these coins in a particular Aqquyunlu context, to be more precise, in the context of the Great Civil War between 839/1435 and 861/1457. For this, however, I first need to discuss the second enigmatic inscription that we see on the mysterious coins of the Erzincan hoard.

### *Inscription II:*

Her bir ḳalb diyende yūsra ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mışrı ḳudsi bağçası

This inscription appears on only large type coins. (See Figure 5.2) It does not include any reference to the word *ḥarf*, but understanding its meaning, let alone reconstructing its syntax and morphology, is even more challenging. Although the inscriptions are edited at the end of this article, it is worth including it here in Arabic letters for the sake of clarity:

هر بر قلب دینده / یسرا اغچسی / تنبت الارض مصری / قدسی باغچسی (اغچه سی)

For this inscription Ertürk and Erüreten proposed a bold reading informed by their reading of the first inscription: *Her bir ḳalb dinde yūsra ağçası beyt or tenebbütü'l-arz-ı Mışrı / kudsi ağçası or bağçası*. Their tentative translation is: “Every heart is in religion – the coin of prosperity – the vegetation of the land of Egypt is the sacred coin (or the sacred garden).<sup>55</sup> I offer a slightly different reading for this inscription: *Her bir ḳalb diyende / yūsra ağçası / tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mışrı / ḳudsi bağçası or ağçası*, with the following equally tentative translation: “Whoever says ‘counterfeit’ has the coins of the affluent, the vegetation of the prosperous land is the sacred (*ḳudsi*)

---

and official documents it stands for the sentence *al-ḥukm li'llāh*. The Oghuz Bayundur *tamğa* as it was used by the Aqqoyunlu dynasty appeared for the first time in the eleventh-century Turkic-Arabic glossary of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī entitled *Diwān Lughāt al-Turk* (comp. between 466/1072 and 471/1078, but the manuscript is dated to 664/1266). We cannot be sure whether there was indeed an organic connection between the word *li'llāh* and the Bayundur *tamğa*, but it is plausible to suggest that it was perceived as such in the fifteenth century context and it replaced the Arabic phrase in official documents. Jamāl Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Sikkahā-yi Aqqūyūnlū wa Mabnā-yi Wahdat-i Ḥukūmat-i Şafawīyya dar Irān* (Tehran: Idāra-yi Kull-i Mūzahā, 2535/1977), 21-22; Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 26, 169.

<sup>55</sup> MEP, 23-25. Here I adjusted and normalised their transliteration style. The term *ağça* is the Turkish word *akçe* used for silver coins. It was first attested in Iran in 780/1378 and used until 1250/1835. This is the first and only incident in which this term appears on a coin in the history of Islamic numismatics. See Album, *Checklist*, 7.





Figure 5.2: Type C-IX, No. 129 (Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, İstanbul, no 17478).

garden (or coin).”<sup>56</sup> Almost every word in this sentence is contested and open to different interpretations. Ertürk and Erüreten’s reading is mainly based on their understanding of the historical context. For instance they explain their reading of the beginning of the sentence as *her bir kalb dinde* with the pluralistic religious environment of Erzincan. Therefore, in their opinion this sentence reflects the co-existence of multiple religions in the fifteenth century and it is an expression of religious pluralism and liberality. This is indeed not entirely wrong. Recent research on the intellectual and cultural life of Erzincan has demonstrated that Christians, or Armenians of Anatolia, were very well informed about contemporary developments in Islamic intellectual life. Rachel Goshgarian argues that the Armenian *futuwwa* texts were composed at the end of the thirteenth-century as a response to the changing political hierarchies in the region, whereby the Armenian clerical classes tried to adapt to the non-Armenian and non-Chinggisid political authorities through cultivating the bonds of *futuwwa* brotherhood. In this endeavour, they were certainly in communication with the Muslim scholars who were trying to achieve the same thing through similar devices, i.e. the formation of *futuwwa* organisations.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, we do not have comparable research for the fifteenth century, and interpreting this inscription in the context of late medieval religious pluralism hinges on our reading of the inscription.

<sup>56</sup> MEP, 23.

<sup>57</sup> Rachel Goshgarian, “*Futuwwa* in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Allegiances on the Seljuk Periphery,” in A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 239-250.

Like the previous one, this inscription also appears in several forms on the coins of the Erzincan hoard:

- *Her bir kalb diyende yüsra ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mışri kudsi ağçası* “Whoever says ‘counterfeit’ has the coins of the affluent, the vegetation of the prosperous land is the sacred coin.”<sup>58</sup>
- *Her bir kalb diyende yüsra ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mışri kudsi bağçası* “Whoever says ‘counterfeit’ has the coins of the affluent, the vegetation of the prosperous land is the sacred garden.”<sup>59</sup>
- *Her bir kalb diyende yüsra ağçası* “Whoever says ‘counterfeit’ has the coins of the affluent.”<sup>60</sup>

The exact meaning and purpose of this inscription remain elusive. Further studies will improve my own reading and interpretation. I included this short discussion on this inscription not to suggest a definitive reading, but to provide a proper historical context for the earlier inscription, *harf li'llāb*, the phrase which is the focus of the present article. Except Type C-I, the second inscription is always found together with the first inscription on the coins of the Erzincan hoard.<sup>61</sup> Based on this evidence, the obvious statement to make is that both inscriptions have the same political, cultural, and numismatic context. Therefore, in these two types of inscriptions, if we found any hint of a specific historical context, such as the name of a ruler who minted these coins, we would have a lead to follow.

Almost all Type A, Type B, and Type C coins cite a certain Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn, but so far my efforts in identifying this person has yielded no results. However, by a stroke of luck, there is one single coin in the hoard which partially includes the second inscription on the reverse and the name of a certain Jaʿfar on the obverse. Jaʿfar (d. 860/1456) was the son of the Aqqyunlu Yaʿqūb b. Kara Osman, and held Erzincan and Kemah as his appanage during the Aqqyunlu Great Civil War. If the inscriptions discussed above were common in Islamic numismatics, this single coin would explain very little regarding the provenance of the Erzincan hoard, but since these inscriptions appear only on the coins of the Erzincan hoard, and on nine others which were obviously related to the same hoard, Jaʿfar’s coin appears to be the key to the puzzle that we face when we study the Erzincan hoard (See Figure 5.3).<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Types C-I (R), C-III (R), C-IV (R), C-V (R), C-VI (R), C-VII (R), C-IX (R).

<sup>59</sup> Types C-II (R), C-VIII (R), C-X (R), C-XI (R), C-XII (R), C-XIII (R), C-XIV (R), C-XV (R); Zeno-41726.

<sup>60</sup> MEP, 216, No. 142. See below for further discussion on this coin.

<sup>61</sup> Type C-1 is interesting on its own right as it cites only the first Shiite imam ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and excludes the first three Sunni caliphs. See MEP, 168, and Appendix below.

<sup>62</sup> MEP, 34. See also Perk and Öztürk, “The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan,” 178.



Figure 5.3: Ja'far's coin with the inscription *Her bir kalb diyende yüsera ağçası / bağçası* (Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, no 17491).

### *Historical Context*

The hoard includes thirteen coins which include the names of rulers whom we can identify more or less accurately. With four coins (Nos. 143, 144-146) minted in 849/1145-46, the Aqquyunlu Shaykh-Ḥasan b. Kara Osman (d. 855/1451) has the best representation in this group of coins. Then comes Shāhrukh b. Timur (d. 850/1447) with three coins (Nos. 147-148, 152). Shāhrukh never directly controlled Erzincan, but Ḥamza b. Kara Osman minted coins in his name in 845/1441-42.<sup>63</sup> Ḥamza himself has three coins in the hoard (Nos. 149-150, 153). Maḥmūd b. Kara Osman's single coin (No. 151) is a numismatic rarity. The only other example is preserved at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The remaining two coins (Nos. 142, 154) cite Ja'far, who is most probably the abovementioned Ja'far b. Ya'qūb.

These coins allow us to locate the Erzincan hoard securely in the Aqquyunlu context.<sup>64</sup> The dates cited on the coins are 845/1441-42 and 849/1445, and these dates narrow the historical context of the Erzincan hoard. All these coins were minted in Erzincan, Kemah, and Bayburt during the Aqquyunlu Great Civil War which was triggered by the death of Kara Osman in 839/1435 and lasted until 861/1457, when Uzun Ḥasan reintegrated the Aqquyunlu confederation and subsequently transformed it into an empire.<sup>65</sup> Except Shāhrukh, who was an external

<sup>63</sup> Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 70-71. Only one coin, No. 152, clearly gives Shāhrukh's name. The other two, Nos. 147-148, were struck by Ḥamza b. Kara Osman.

<sup>64</sup> Ertürk and Erüreten's suggestion that the coins must be located in the Eretnid context was already rejected by the users of the Zeno.ru forum, Halük Perk and Hüsnü Öztürk, and Steve Album, so I will not discuss it here. See MEP, 32-38. Album, *Checklist*, 271 fn.629; Perk and Öztürk, *Eretna*, 131-134; Perk and Öztürk, "The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan," 176-187.

<sup>65</sup> For a detailed account of the Great Civil War, see Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 61-85.

overlord, all other Aqquyunlu figures mentioned above controlled or held Erzincan and Kemah at some point as their appanages during the Great Civil War. During the stand-in amirate of ‘Ali b. Kara Osman, Ja‘far b. Ya‘qūb was in control of Erzincan and Kemah, and Ḥamza b. Kara Osman ruled in Diyār Rābi‘a. When ‘Ali withdrew from the leadership contest in 841/1438-39, Aqquyunlu politics became subject to external interventions. ‘Ali’s son Jahāngir went to Cairo to seek the support of the Mamluks. He returned to Armenia with a significant Mamluk detachment and surrounded Erzincan. At this point Ya‘qūb left the city and withdrew to Kemah. The Mamluks gave Erzincan to Jahāngir and Kemah to Ya‘qūb. In this redistribution of appanages by the Mamluks, Ḥamza was given Diyār Bakr. The Mamluk army, however, did not stay in Armenia but withdrew quickly upon the arrival of the news of the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay’s death. This created another void in volatile Aqquyunlu politics; and by using this opportunity Ḥamza attacked Erzincan. Ja‘far tried to support Ḥamza, but he could neither receive his father’s support nor keep the coalition he established against Ḥamza intact. His father Ya‘qūb imprisoned him in the castle of Kemah. In 842-43/1439-40, Ḥamza captured Erzincan, and adopted the title sultan. In order to secure his position, he searched for external allies, and it was at this point that he minted coins in the name of the Timurid Shāhrukh (Nos. 147-148, 152).<sup>66</sup>

With the deaths of ‘Ali and Ḥamza in 847/1443 and 848/1444 respectively, Jahāngir quickly captured the capital Amid, and declared himself the leader of the confederation, but his move was met with stiff opposition on multiple fronts. Shaykh Ḥasan b. Kara Osman in Erzincan emerged as the leader of the opposition in the northern part of the Aqquyunlu confederation. Shaykh Ḥasan’s coins found in the Erzincan hoard (Nos. 143-146) must have been minted soon after this moment. Maḥmūd b. Kara Osman was the leader of the anti-Jahāngir camp in southern territories. Shaykh Ḥasan tried unsuccessfully to expand his appanage towards Kemah, but in the meantime he lost Erzincan to Maḥmūd, who remained governor of the city until the Qaraqyunlu intervention in 854/1450. It is possible to date Maḥmūd’s coins (No. 151) to this time period. After the deposition of Maḥmūd by the Qaraqyunlu, Shaykh Ḥasan became the governor of Erzincan one more time. Shaykh Ḥasan controlled the city until the Qaraqyunlu Jahānshāh took advantage of the rivalry between the Aqquyunlu factions and installed Kılıç Arslan b. Aḥmad, the nephew of Kara Osman as the governor of Erzincan. At this point, Ja‘far b. Ya‘qūb, governor of Kemah, led the opposition to Kılıç Arslan until his defeat in 855/1451.<sup>67</sup>

This brief overview demonstrates that, with the combination of coins minted by the prominent members of the Kara Osmanid dispensation in the northern part of the Aqquyunlu confederation, the Erzincan hoard reflects the fluid na-

<sup>66</sup> Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 63-70.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-77.

ture of the appanage politics in the Aqqyunlu Great Civil War. Members of the same family in this period minted coins in Erzincan one after another in a very short period of time. However it is impossible to pinpoint the exact context of the Type A, Type B, and Type C coins in the Erzincan hoard and identity of the ruler who minted them, unless we identify who Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn was. For the time being, and unless we discover any further evidence on the Erzincan hoard, Ja‘far’s coin (No. 142) minted in Kemah is the only solid evidence we have to connect the enigmatic coins of Erzincan hoard to any specific context.

We do not have a very detailed account of Ja‘far’s activities during the Great Civil War. We know that he and his father held Erzincan and its environs as appanages, a status which was endorsed by Shāhrukh, then the overlord of the Aqqyunlu confederation. Ja‘far was a ruler with huge ambitions. He refused to support his uncle ‘Alī in the conflict against the Qaraqyunlu, and he agreed to emerge from his stronghold Erzincan only when Shaykh-Hasan lured him out by promising him sovereignty over the entire Aqqyunlu confederation.<sup>68</sup> When he tried to install himself as the sovereign of the Aqqyunlu confederation in 842/1438, his actions appear to have shocked his contemporaries. Abū Bakr-i Ṭīhrānī, who wrote his work *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* between 875/1469 and 883/1478 for Uzun Ḥasan and his son Sulṭān-Khalīl, described his actions “abominable and disgraceful (*af‘āl-i shanī‘a wa ḥarakāt-i fajīḥa*).”<sup>69</sup> It is tempting to think that what Ṭīhrānī found unacceptable was Ja‘far’s various political experimentations which were not recorded in the chronicles. These experimentations would most probably involve alliances with various intellectual networks, which would provide him with the required ideological support to formulate an absolutist discourse as expressed in the sentence *ḥarf li’llāh*, but we have no direct evidence to prove this suggestion.

One indirect piece of evidence comes from an Armenian colophon dated to 1446. The colophon clearly describes that the Muslim intellectuals (*danuṣmans* and *mōlnays*) were actively involved in the Aqqyunlu Great Civil War, an aspect which is not narrated in standard chronicles of the period. It describes how the local intellectuals invited the competing Aqqyunlu princes to their city and shaped their policies:

...This was written in the year 895 of our Abet‘akan [Japhetic] Era [A.D. 1446], in bitter and evil times, for on account of our multitudinous sins the heart of the prince of our city of Eznka [Erzincan] was hardened ... and in league with the *danuṣmans* he resolved to demolish the churches and monasteries in our city and its villages. He himself took numerous troops and attacked the citadel of Kamax [Kemah], and he had promised to *mōlnays* that after he captured the citadel they should demolish all the churches in the two regions ...

<sup>68</sup> Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1962), vol. 1, 126-127; Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, 65.

<sup>69</sup> Ṭīhrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, vol. 1, 151.

Some days later, the baron of the citadel of Kamax [Kemah] released Şex Hasan [Shaykh Hasan]. The *mōlnays* of this city again sent a secret letter to him urging him to return to the city, and they [promised] to break the gate and let him enter [the citadel] in order to kill his brother and to carry out their original plan. But his brother, the baron Mahmut [Maḥmūd], being apprised of this, seized them all, hanged the chief *mōlnay*, severely tortured many others, confiscated their goods and possessions, and banished them to another country.<sup>70</sup>

We have no evidence regarding who these intellectuals were, or what they intended when they colluded with the Aqqyunlu pretenders during the Great Civil War. However, it is not too far-fetched to assume that they played an important role in the formulation of the political discourse articulated during the Great Civil War.<sup>71</sup> If Jaʿfar was supported by some intellectuals who were engaged in the study of the science of letters, their ideas would certainly have an impact on Jaʿfar’s political ideas, and perhaps, the attention paid to the word *ḥarf* is a result of this engagement.

### Conclusion

I began this article by asking if the Hurufis minted coins, and the answer to this question must be negative. We have no direct evidence to suggest that the Hurufis were involved in minting coins, as posited by Ertürk and Erüreten based on a faulty reading of the coins’ inscriptions. However, this does not explain the purpose of the mysterious coins included in the Erzincan hoard. What we can surmise is that the inscriptions including the sentence *ḥarf li’l’lāb* were the public manifestation of an absolutist ideology, or an experiment with absolutist ideas in the Aqqyunlu context. As John Woods demonstrated, when the Aqqyunlus finally formulated a coherent absolutist discourse under the rule of Uzun Hasan, they made ample use of the science of letters and the occult sciences.<sup>72</sup> We cannot rule out the possibility that before Uzun Hasan, Jaʿfar and other Aqqyunlu pretenders to the throne experimented with similar ideas.

Ertürk and Erüreten were probably not entirely wrong when they considered some sort of Hurufi involvement in the minting of these coins. I believe even if the Hurufis or another intellectual group with a strong commitment to the science

<sup>70</sup> Avedis Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480. Sources for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 206-207. See also Tīhrāni, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, vol. 1, 171; Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, 73.

<sup>71</sup> The collaboration of non-Chinggisid political authorities and Muslim intellectuals in the formulation of absolutist political discourses was one of the distinguishing features of the fifteenth century in the eastern Islamic world. For an analysis of a similar case, see İlker Evrim Binbaş, “Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism: Mirzā Iskandar, Shāh Niʿmatullāh Wali, and Sayyid Sharif Jurjāni in 815/1412,” in Orkhan Mir-Kasimov (ed.), *Unity in Diversity: Patterns of Religious Authority in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 277-303.

<sup>72</sup> Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, 100-106.

of letters were not involved in minting these coins, we may still argue that the general intellectual climate in which the word *ḥarf* gained political associations may have had an impact on the elevation of the word *söz* to *ḥarf*. Whether this is plausible or not, what is certain is that the Erzincan hoard points to a radical reconfiguration of political discourse in a moment of crisis when competing political factions were searching for a discourse to assert their political and ideological ascendancy.

### *Appendix:*

#### *The Inscriptions of the Erzincan Hoard*

##### *Small types*

##### *Type A-I/1-10*

obverse	reverse
حرف الله تمنعم در محرّم	حرف الله تمنعم در ارزنجان محرّم
<i>ḥarf</i> <i>li'llāb tamğamdır</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>ḥarf</i> <i>li'llāb tamğamdır</i> <i>Erzincān</i> <i>mübrüm</i>

##### *Type A-II/1-13*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى الحسين محرّم	الله محرّم نص مز
<i>Muṣṭafā</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>li'llāb</i> <i>mübrüm</i> <i>naşşımız</i>

*Type A-III/1-9*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى الحسين مهرم	حرف لله تنعم در مهرم
<i>Muṣṭafā al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>ḥarf li'llāb tamğamdır mübrüm</i>

*Type A-IV/1-3*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى الحسين مهرم	حرف تنعم در مهرم لله
<i>Muṣṭafā al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>ḥarf tamğamdır mübrüm li'llāb</i>

*Type A-V/1-22 ; Zeno-41029 ; Eron-3712*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى الحسين مهرم	حرف تنعم در مهرم لله
<i>Muṣṭafā al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>ḥarf tamğamdır mübrüm li'llāb</i>

*Type A-VI/1-6*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى الحسين مهرم	حرف تنعم در مهرم لله
<i>Muṣṭafā al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>ḥarf tamğamdır mübrüm li'llāb</i>



*Type A-VII/1-7*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى الحسين <sup>73</sup> محرم	حرف لله تغم در محرم
<i>Muṣṭafā</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>ḥarf li'llāb</i> <i>taḡamdır</i> <i>mübrüm</i>

*Type A-VIII/1*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى ضرب الحسين <sup>74</sup> {محرم}	{مصطفى} ضرب الحسين <sup>75</sup> محرم
<i>Muṣṭafā</i> <i>ḡuriba</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> { <i>mübrüm</i> }	{ <i>Muṣṭafā</i> } <i>ḡuriba</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>

*Type A-IX/1-2*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى ضرب الحسين <sup>76</sup> محرم	حرف لله تغم در ارزنجان محرم
<i>Muṣṭafā</i> <i>ḡuriba</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>ḥarf</i> <i>li'llāb taḡamdır</i> <i>Erzincān</i> <i>mübrüm</i>

73 It is written as الحسينيه .

74 It is written as الحسينيه .

75 It is written as الحسينيه .

76 It is written as الحسينيه .

## Type A-X/1

obverse	reverse
مصطفى ضرب الحسين <sup>77</sup> مهرم	حرف {الله} تمغم در ارزنجان مهرم
<i>Muṣṭafā</i> <i>ḡuriba</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>ḡarf</i> { <i>li'llāb</i> } <i>tamğamdır</i> <i>Erzincān</i> <i>mübrüm</i>

## Type A-XI/1

obverse	reverse
{مصطفى} ضرب الحسين <sup>78</sup> مهرم	حرف {الله} تمغم در {ارزنجان} {مهرم}
{ <i>Muṣṭafā</i> } <i>ḡuriba</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>ḡarf</i> { <i>li'llāb</i> } <i>tamğamdır</i> { <i>Erzincān</i> } { <i>mübrüm</i> }

## Type A-XII/1-3

obverse	reverse
مصطفى ارزنجان الحسين ضرب مهرم	حرف لله تمغم در {مهرم}
<i>Muṣṭafā</i> <i>Erzincān</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>ḡuriba</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>ḡarf</i> <i>li'llāb</i> <i>tamğamdır</i> { <i>mübrü</i> } <i>m</i>

<sup>77</sup> It is written as الحسينيه .

<sup>78</sup> It is written as الحسينيه .

*Type A-XIII/1-16*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى ارزنجان الحسين <sup>79</sup> ضرب مهرم	حرف لله تغم در مهرم
<i>Muṣṭafā Erzincān al-Ḥusayn ḡuriba mübrüm</i>	<i>ḡarf li'llāb tamğamdır mübrüm</i>

*Type A-XIV/1-13*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى ضرب الحسين <sup>80</sup> مهرم	حرف الله تغم در ارزنجان مهرم
<i>Muṣṭafā ḡuriba al-Ḥusayn mübrüm</i>	<i>ḡarf li'llāb tamğamdır Erzincān mübrüm</i>

*Half type**Type B-I/1-2*

obverse	reverse
مصطفى الحسين مهرم	حرف تغم در مهرم لله
<i>Muṣṭafā al-Ḥusayn mübrüm</i>	<i>ḡarf tamğamdır mübrüm li'llāb</i>

<sup>79</sup> It is written as الحسينيه .

<sup>80</sup> It is written as الحسينيه .

## Type B-II/1

obverse	reverse
مصط {فی} الحسين مهرم	حرف لله تغم در {مهرم}
<i>Muṣṭa{fā}</i> <i>al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>ḫarf li'llāh</i> <i>tamğamdır</i> <i>{mübrüm}</i>

## Large types

## Type C-I/1-3

obverse	reverse
على لا اله الا الله ضرب نجد ارزنجان رسول الله على	هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اعچه سي تنبت الارض مصري {قد}سي اعچه سي
‘Alī <i>Lā ilāh illā Allāh</i> <i>ḫuriba</i> <i>Muḥammad</i> <i>Erzincān</i> <i>Rasūl Allāh</i> ‘Alī <sup>81</sup>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende</i> <i>yüsrā ağçası</i> <i>tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî</i> <i>{kud}si ağçası</i>

<sup>81</sup> As Ertürk and Erüreten also stated, the shapes in the margins can either be read as ‘Alī or simply be considered as ornamental shapes. See MEP, 19.

## Type C-II/1-2

obverse	reverse
<p>حرف لله تغم در محرم مصطفى الحسين<sup>82</sup> محرم</p>	<p>هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اغچه سى الله تنبت الارض مصرى قدسى باغچه سى</p>
<p><i>ḥarf li'llāb</i> <i>taṃğamdır mübrüm</i> <i>Muṣtafā al-Husayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i></p>	<p><i>Her bir kalb diyende</i> <i>yüsrā ağçası</i> <i>tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî</i> <i>ḫudsi bağçası</i></p>

## Type C-III/1-2

obverse	reverse
<p>حرف لله تغم در محرم مصطفى الحسين {محرم}</p>	<p>هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اغچه سى تنبت الارض مصرى قدسى اغچه سى</p>
<p><i>ḥarf li'llāb</i> <i>taṃğamdır mübrüm</i> <i>Muṣtafā al-Husayn</i> {<i>mübrüm</i>}</p>	<p><i>Her bir kalb diyende</i> <i>yüsrā ağçası</i> <i>tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî</i> <i>ḫudsi ağçası</i></p>

## Type C-IV/1

obverse	reverse
<p>{حرف} لله {تغم در محرم مصطفى الحسين<sup>83</sup> محرم}</p>	<p>هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اغچه سى تنبت الارض مصرى {قدسى اغچه سى}</p>
<p><i>ḥarf li'llāb</i> {<i>taṃğamdı</i>}r mübrüm <i>Muṣtafā al-Husayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i></p>	<p><i>Her bir kalb diyende</i> <i>yüsrā ağçası</i> <i>tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî</i> {<i>ḫudsi ağçası</i>}</p>

<sup>82</sup> It is written as مصطفى الحيدر .

<sup>83</sup> It is written as مصطفى الحسينيه

## Type C-V/1

obverse	reverse
حرف لله تغم در محرم مصطفى الحسين <sup>84</sup> محرم	هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اغچه سى تنتب الارض مصرى قدسى اغچه سى
<i>ḥarf li'llāb tamğamdır mübrüm Muştafâ al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende yüsrâ ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mışrî kudsî ağçası</i>

## Type C-VI; Eron-3904; Eron-3905

obverse	reverse
{حرف لله} {تغم د}ر محرم مصطفى الحسين محرم	هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اغچه سى تنتب الارض مصرى قدسى اغچه سى
<i>{ḥarf li'llāb} {tamğamd}ır mübrüm Muştafâ al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende yüsrâ ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mışrî kudsî ağçası</i>

## Type C-VII/1-2

obverse	reverse
حرف لله تغم در محرم مصطفى <sup>85</sup> الحسين محرم	هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اغچه سى تنتب الارض مصرى قدسى اغچه سى
<i>ḥarf li'llāb tamğamdır mübrüm Muştafâ al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende yüsrâ ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mışrî kudsî ağçası</i>

<sup>84</sup> It is written as مصطفى الحسينيه

<sup>85</sup> It is written as مصطفى .

*Type C-VIII/1-3; Zeno-41726; Eron-3903*

obverse	reverse
حرف لله تغم در محرم مصطفى <sup>86</sup> الحسين محرم	هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اعجه سي تنبت الارض مصرى قدسى باعجه سي
<i>ḥarf li'llāb tamğamdır mübrüm Muştafâ al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende yüsrâ ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı müşri kudsî bağçası</i>

*Type C-IX/1-5*

obverse	reverse
حرف لله تغم در محرم مصطفى <sup>87</sup> الحسين محرم	هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اعجه سي تنبت الارض مصرى قدسى اعجه سي
<i>ḥarf li'llāb tamğamdır mübrüm Muştafâ al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende yüsrâ ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı müşri kudsî ağçası</i>

*Type C-X/1-2*

obverse	reverse
حرف لله تغم در محرم مصطفى <sup>88</sup> الحسين محرم	هر بر قلب دينده يسرا اعجه سي تنبت الارض مصرى قدسى باعجه سي
<i>ḥarf li'llāb tamğamdır mübrüm Muştafâ al-Husayn mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende yüsrâ ağçası tenebbütü'l-arz-ı müşri kudsî bağçası</i>

<sup>86</sup> It is written as مصطفى .

<sup>87</sup> It is written as مصطفى الحسينيه .

<sup>88</sup> It is written as مصطفى.

## Type C-XI/1

obverse	reverse
حرف لله تغم در محرم {مصطفا الحسین <sup>89</sup> محرم	هر بر قلب دینده یسرا اغچه سی تنبت الارض مصری قدسی باغچه سی
<i>ḥarf li'llāb</i> <i>taḡamdır mübrüm</i> <i>{Muşta}fā al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende</i> <i>yüsrā ağçası</i> <i>tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî</i> <i>ḡudsi bağçası</i>

## Type C-XII/1-3; Eron-3906

obverse	reverse
حرف لله تغم در محرم مصطفی <sup>90</sup> الحسین محرم	هر بر قلب دینده یسرا اغچه سی تنبت الارض مصری قدسی باغچه سی
<i>ḥarf li'llāb</i> <i>taḡamdır mübrüm</i> <i>Muştafā al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende</i> <i>yüsrā ağçası</i> <i>tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî</i> <i>ḡudsi bağçası</i>

## Type C-XIII/1

obverse	reverse
{حرف لله} تغم در محرم مصطفی الحسین <sup>91</sup> محرم	هر بر قلب دینده یسرا اغچه سی تنبت الارض مصری قدسی باغچه سی
<i>{ḥarf li'llāb}</i> <i>taḡamdır mübrüm</i> <i>Muştafā al-Ḥusayn</i> <i>mübrüm</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende</i> <i>yüsrā ağçası</i> <i>tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî</i> <i>ḡudsi bağçası</i>

<sup>89</sup> It is written as {مصطفا الحسینیه} .

<sup>90</sup> It is written as مصطففا .

<sup>91</sup> It is written as مصطففا الحسینیه .



## Type C-XIV/1-2

obverse	reverse
<p>{حرف الله تغام در محرم مصطفى الحسين<sup>92</sup> محرم ارزنجان</p>	<p>هر بر قلب دینده یسرا اغچه سی الله {تنب}ت الارض مصری قدسی باغچه سی</p>
<p>{har}f li'llāh tamğamdır mübrüm Muştafâ al-Husayn mübrüm</p>	<p>Her bir kalb diyende yüsra ağçası Allāh {tenebbü}tü'l-arz-ı mısrî kudsî bağçası</p>

## Type C-XV/1-2

obverse	reverse
<p>{حرف} الله ضرب تغم در محرم مصطفى الحسين<sup>93</sup> ارزنجان محرم</p>	<p>{هر بر قلب} دینده یسرا اغچه {سی} تنتت الارض مصری قدسی بغچه سی</p>
<p>{harf} li'llāh duriba tamğamdır mübrüm Muştafâ al-Husayn Erzincân mübrüm</p>	<p>{Her bir kalb} diyende yüsra ağça {sı} tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî kudsî bağçası</p>

<sup>92</sup> It is written as مصطفى الحسينيه .

<sup>93</sup> It is written as الحسينيه .

*Zeno-41026; Eron-3713*

obverse	reverse
لله دى تمغم در محرم حسن الحسين مهرمز	هر بر قلب دینده یسرا اغچه سی تنبت الارض مصری قدسی اغچه سی
<i>li'llāh</i> <i>de tamğam</i> <i>dır mübrüm</i> <i>Hasan al-Husayn</i> <i>mübrümüüz</i>	<i>Her bir kalb</i> <i>diyende yüsra ağçası</i> <i>tenebbütü'l-arz-ı mısrî</i> <i>ğudsi ağçası</i>

*The coin of Ja'far b. Ya'qūb*

obverse	reverse
ضرب السلطان الاعظم جعفر خلد الله ملكه كراح	دینده هر بر قلب یسرا / بغچه سی اغچه سی
<i>ḡuriba</i> <i>al-Sulṭān al-A'zam</i> <i>Ja'far kbhallada</i> <i>Allāh mulkabu Kamāb</i>	<i>Her bir kalb diyende</i> <i>yüsra</i> <i>ağçası / bağçası</i>

*Postscript*

Just before I received the final proofs of this article from the editors of the volume, I received a letter from Professor Semih Tezcan informing me about the use of the term *kalb ağça* 'counterfeit coin' as opposed to *aru ağça* 'standard or genuine coin' in Mes'ūd b. Aḥmed's *Sübeyl ü Nev-Babār* (Cem Dilçin, *Mes'ūd bin Aḥmed, Sübeyl ü Nev-babār* [Ankara, 1991], § 5690). Professor Tezcan also drew my attention to an archaic Turkish expression *sağ ağçe* 'the coin of standard purity.' Hence, it is worth considering if the word *yüsra* (the feminine form of *eyser/ayasar*) in the meaning of 'left' or 'sol' in Turkish is a calque of a hypothetical term *sol ağça*. However, I should note that the phrase *sol ağça* is not attested in our sources.

## Bibliography

- Album, Stephen. *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2001.
- Album, Stephen. *Checklist of Islamic Coins*. Santa Rosa, CA: n.s., 2011.
- Algar, Hamid. "The Hurufi Influence on Bektashism." In Alexandre Popović and Gilles Veinstein (eds). *Bektachiyya. Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*. Istanbul: Isis, 1995, 39-53
- Artuk, İbrahim. "Sikke." *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10, 628-629.
- Äzhand, Ya'qūb. *Hurūfiyya dar Tārīkh*. Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1369 H.sh./1990-91
- Bashir, Shahzad. *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2005.
- Binbaş İlker Evrim. "Oğuz Khan Narratives." *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online* www.iranicaonline.org
- Binbaş, İlker Evrim. "The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt: Shāhrukh, the Ḥurūfis, and the Timurid Intellectuals in 830/1426-27." *JRAS* 3rd series 23, no 3 (2013): 391-428.
- Binbaş, İlker Evrim. "Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism: Mirzā Iskandar, Shāh Ni'matullāh Wali, and Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī in 815/1412." In Orkhan Mir-Kasimov (ed.). *Unity in Diversity: Patterns of Religious Authority in Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 277-303.
- Binbaş, İlker Evrim. *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamic Republic of Letters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Busse, Heribert. *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*. Cairo: Sirović Bookshop, 1959.
- Diler, Ömer. *İlhanlar. İran Moğollarının Sikkeleri*. Istanbul: Turkuaz, 2006.
- Doerfer, Gerhard. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965.
- Ertürk, Kazım and Metin Erüreten. *Meçhul Erzincan Paraları. The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan*. Istanbul: MNG Bank, 2005.
- Fekete, Lajos. *Einführung in die persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977.
- Fleischer, Cornell. "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries." In Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı (eds). *Falnama. The Book of Omens*. Washington: Smithsonian, 2009, 232-243.
- Gölpınarlı, Abdülbâki. *Hurūfîlik Metinleri Kataloğu*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1973.
- Goshgarian, Rachel. "Futuwwa in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Allegiances on the Seljuk Periphery."

- In A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds). *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013, 239-250.
- Herrmann, Gottfried. "Zur Intitulatio timuridischer Urkunden." *ZDMG Suppl. II: XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag* (1974): 498-521.
- Herrmann, Gottfried. *Persische Urkunden der Mongolenzeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004.
- İzmirlier, Yılmaz. *Anadolu Selçuklu Paraları. The Coins of Anatolian Seljuks*. Istanbul: s.n., 2009.
- Keçik, Mehmet Şefik. *Briefe und Urkunden aus der Kanzlei Uzun Ḥasans*. Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1976.
- Leiser, Gary. "Tamgha." *EP*, vol. 10, 170.
- Lory, Pierre. *La science des lettres en Islam*. Paris: Esprit de Lettre, 2004.
- Matsui, Dai, Ryoko Watabe, and Hiroshi Ono. "A Turkic-Persian Decree of Timurid Mirān Shāh of 800 AH/1398 CE." *Orient. Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 50 (2015): 55-57.
- Mir-Kasimov, Orkhan. *Words of Power. Hurufi Teachings between Shi'ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015.
- Perk, Halûk and Hüsni Öztürk. *Eretna Kadı Burhaneddin ve Erzincan (Mutabbarten) Emirliği Sikkeleri. Eretnid Burhanid and Amirate of Arzinjan (Mutabbarten) Coins*. Istanbul: Halûk Perk Müzesi Yayınları, 2008.
- Perk, Halûk and Hüsni Öztürk. "'The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan': Are They Really Unidentified?" in *Anadolu Sikke Monografileri II / Anatolian Coins Monographies II*. Istanbul: Halûk Perk Museum Publications, 2011, 175-188.
- Pfeiffer, Judith. "Aḥmad Tegüder's Second Letter to Qalā'un (682/1283)." In Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (eds). *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006, 167-202.
- Sanjian, Avedis. *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480. Sources for Middle Eastern History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Ṭabāṭabā'i, Jamāl Turābī. *Sikkahā-yi Aqqūyūnlū wa Mabnā-yi Wahdat-i Ḥukūmat-i Şafawīyya dar Īrān*. Tehran: Idāra-yi Kull-i Mūzahā, 2535/1977.
- Ṭihrānī, Abū Bakr. *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer. 2 vols. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1962.
- Togan, İsenbike. "Variations in the Perception of Jasagh." In D. Alimova (ed.). *History of Central Asia in Modern Medieval Studies (In Memoriam of Professor Roziya Mukminova)*. Tashkent: Yangi Nashr, 2013, 67-101.
- Usluer, Fatih. *Hurufilik. İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren*. Istanbul: Kabalıcı, 2009.
- Woods, John E. *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*. Revised and expanded edition. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.

Part II.  
Literature and Court Culture



## Chapter 6

### Portrait of a Shaykh as Author in the Fourteenth-Century Anatolia: Gülşehri and His *Falaknāma*

Selim S. Kuru

من بدرّ (و) گهر (و) سیم (و) زری  
میکنم ترتیب زرّ و زیوری  
تا دل هر غافل از احوال خویش  
درفلکنامه بداند حال خویش

Using pearls, jewels, gold and silver  
I organise an ornament of pure gold  
So the heart of each fool will recognise in the Book of Skies  
his condition by learning the states he traversed (fol. 18a/5-6)

In the early pages of the *Falaknāma* (Book of Celestial Spheres), a Persian verse-narrative, Gülşehri explains the purpose of his composition, which is to provide his foolish (*ghāfil*) readers with an ornate mirror that shows the “states of becoming” they had experienced so that they will understand the condition they are in now.<sup>1</sup> Gülşehri’s theologically grounded *Falaknāma*, a telling of the journey of the soul through celestial spheres and its embodiment through four elements with a focus on concepts of *mabdaʿ* and *maʿād*, is a unique work that draws on a rich literature that was in the making.<sup>2</sup> At the end of each section of the *Fa-*

<sup>1</sup> The *Falaknāma* is available in an edition and Turkish translation. For the translation, see *Gülşehri ve Felek-Nāme*, translated by Saadettin Kocatürk (Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları 1982), for the edition of the text in Kocatürk’s handwriting see *Gülşehri ve Felek-Nāme: İnceleme ve Metin*, edited by Saadettin Kocatürk (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1984). Kocatürk’s translation lacks commentary and, although helpful, frequently does not make sense as it lacks annotations. His introductions to the edition and the translation, on the other hand, are useful. I also consulted a digital copy of the unique manuscript preserved in Ankara, Milli Kütüphanesi, Adnan Ötüken İl Halk collection 817. Since Kocatürk also uses folio numbers in his edition and translation, my references are to the folio numbers and verses on the MS copy. The verse numbers are assigned by me. The manuscript is available to registered users for a fee through the online Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu, <https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr>, under the archive number 06 Hk 817.

<sup>2</sup> Starting with Sanāʿī’s (d. 525 /1130) *Sayr al-ʿIbād ilāʾl-Maʿād*, *mabdaʿ* and *maʿād* seem to be popular topics for Perso-Turkic literatures as various scholars took them as a departure point for their didactic compositions on the mystical path (*sayr u sulūk*) in Anatolia such as Najm al-Din Rāzi and Yunus Emre. For Sanāʿī’s work see, Kathryn V. Johnson, “A Mystic’s Response to Claims of Philosophy: Abūʾl-Majd Majdūd Sanāʿī’s *Sayr al-ʿibād ilāʾl-maʿād*,”

*laknāma*, Gölşehri praises his power over words, which he compares to gold, silver and precious stones, and the power of his work as a reflection of the celestial spheres. Thus, he invites his readers to turn their gaze away from the lowly earth to the high skies. Towards the end, this time with a boastful punch, he argues the uniqueness of his *Falaknāma* and his own prowess in the sciences:

نیست جز گلشهری اندر ملک روم  
یا چو او فاضل در انواع علوم  
چون فلکنامه از این آن بریست  
لایق آن تاجر و آن مشتریست

There is no one like Gölşehri in the realm of Rüm,  
no one as learned in various sciences.  
Since the *Falaknāma*, distinct from this or that,  
is good for him who buys, or for her who sells it (140b/12-13)

Rather than drawing on the content and sources of this unique work, in this article I begin by commenting on Anatolian Turkish literary studies in order to provide context for the answer to the question of why the *Falaknāma* has been neglected in modern scholarship. Then, I focus on the issue of Gölşehri's constant use of his penname in the *Falaknāma* and the *Mantıku't-Tayr* (Conference of the Birds), his Turkish adaptation of the work by 'Atṭār (540/1145-618/1221) of the same name: this repetition echoes the desire for authority over his work. Finally, I discuss patronage relations by comparing the introductory chapters of the *Falaknāma* to a passage in Gölşehri's *Mantıku't-Tayr*. The poet presents the Persian language *Falaknāma* to the Ilkhanid ruler, Ghazan Khan (r. 694/1295-703/1304), but in his Turkish language *Mantıku't-Tayr* he provides an entirely different story to explain his reason for composing the *Falaknāma*. Gölşehri's persistent use of his penname and his change of heart about the pretext behind his Persian *Falaknāma* provide a precious glimpse into the literary scene at the turn of the fourteenth century in Anatolia, or Rüm.

### *Whither Anatolian Literature?*

Anatolian literature in Turkish appears to have emerged through the cracks of the socio-political environment at the turn of the fourteenth century that lacked a

---

*Islamic Studies* 34, no.3 (1995): 253-295. Najm al-Din Rāzi's *Mirṣād al-'Ibād* (composed in 622/1223) focuses on these concepts, see Najm al-Din Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen: From Origin to Return*, tr. Hamid Algar (New York: Columbia University, 1980). Yunus Emre's only extant verse-narrative *Risāletü'n-Nushiyye* (composed in 707/1307) is another literary work that is grounded in theological knowledge in order to prepare ordinary people for the mystical path, see Yunus Emre, *Yunus Emre Divanı 3: Risāletü'n-Nushiyye*, edited by Mustafa Tatçı (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991). There are many modern editions of Yunus Emre's work. For a brief article on the concepts of *mabūdā'* and *ma'ād* in theology see, M. Sait Özervarlı, "Mebde ve Mead," *TDVİA*, vol. 28, 211-212.



centre of cultural production. The Byzantine Empire had lost its power due to internal and external pressure and the Seljuk state had been disintegrating since the second half of the thirteenth century. While the enthronement of Ghazan Khan in 694/1295 signified a period of centralisation for the Ilkhanid state, it was constantly under pressure from the Mamluk Empire, and loosening its grip on Anatolia. Anatolia was being divided into increasingly strong principalities, or city-states. Even though it is difficult to identify a central power over Anatolian cities of the period, the amazing proliferation of literary and historical texts in this period implies the presence of conditions for intellectual conversation, networks of patronage, textual production and transmission in a region that was constantly being reshaped by wars and upheavals.<sup>3</sup> One of the problems of literary-historical scholarship is how to reconstruct such conditions at the turn of the fourteenth-century in central Anatolia and how to understand the “birth” of a Turkic literary language as the continuation of a particular intellectual tradition.

The birth of an Anatolian Turkish literary language has been investigated only by identifying available texts as reservoirs of linguistic evidence for Turkish independent of Persian literary production unless the works discussed are translations. Therefore, many works of literature produced in the Persian language during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries remain to be studied within their Anatolian contexts. With the exception of Mehmed Fuat Köprülü’s ideologically motivated work and Lars Johanson’s brilliant article, which convincingly argued that Anatolian Turkish was established on the basis of the works of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Din Rūmī (604/1207-672/1273), almost no analytical studies exist on the multi-cultural and multi-lingual nature of literature in this period.<sup>4</sup> While there is a growing body of scholarship on Persian historical narratives, the development of a local written Persian literature in Anatolia that gave birth to a local written Turkish literature has yet to be studied.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For an important article on the importance of cities for historiography of this period and for references to the scholarship see, Rachel Goshgarian, “Opening and Closing: Coexistence and Competition in Associations Based on *Futuwwa* in Late Medieval Anatolian Cities,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no.1 (2013): 36-52. Goshgarian’s argument for the cities as a unit to study cultural transformations in late medieval Anatolia is important for approaches to literary history as well.

<sup>4</sup> Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, ed. and tr. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (New York: Routledge 2006); Lars Johanson, “Rumi and the Birth of Turkish Poetry,” *Journal of Turkology* 1, no. 1 (1993): 23-37.

<sup>5</sup> There is a growing literature on historical narratives in Anatolia. For bibliographical references see, A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013). For the strong sense of local identity in Anatolian historiographical tradition see, A. C. S. Peacock, “Aḥmad of Niğde’s *al-Walad al-Shafiq* and the Seljuk Past,” *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004): 95-107. While the development of this local sense is investigated in the modern Turkish scholarship thanks to nationalist ideologies that stress the uniqueness of the birth of Western Turkic as a written language in Anatolia, this body of scholarship developed under the influence of Köprülü’s work neglects the close relations with the Persian literature and emphasises continuity with

Throughout the thirteenth century, inner Anatolian cities hosted prolific authors writing in Arabic and Persian, who had established a strong tradition of a sacred literature that reconfigured prevalent mystical ideas.<sup>6</sup> The dream of a world beyond the grim living conditions appears to have had a strong grip on authors' imaginations; in this context, the author acting as a seer re-evaluated older sources in order to reveal descriptions of a world beyond that otherwise remains hidden.<sup>7</sup> Authors of this literature strived to develop a particular prose style in their written compositions that increasingly included rhyming prose and poetry.<sup>8</sup> By materialising invisible worlds through stylistic devices, poetry generated further commentary on the ambiguities in the texts about the divine and the sacred expanding ways of imagining.<sup>9</sup> Verse narratives that covered topics related to the expression of the sacred, on the other hand, were rare.

---

the Eastern Turkic written traditions. For a rich display of scholarly approaches to the historical writing, literature and localism in historiography with respect to Persian historiography see various articles edited by Charles Melville, *Persian Historiography* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012). For a list of authors who composed Persian works in Anatolia see Tahsin Yazıcı (prep. Osman G. Özgüdenli), "Persian authors of Asia Minor," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persian-authors-1> (accessed online at 25 November 2014). Ahmet Kartal researched Persian literature produced in Anatolia: *Şiraz'dan İstanbul'a Şiir Rüzgârları: Türk, Fars Kültür Coğrafyası Üzerine Araştırmalar* (Istanbul: Kriter Yayınevi, 2008). However, these attempts to acknowledge the role of literary Persian in Anatolia cannot capture the richly interwoven fabric of various languages that fuelled distinct literary languages in this region of the world in this particular period.

- <sup>6</sup> For a general article with bibliographical references on history of Sufism in Anatolia see Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Antinomian Sufis," in Lloyd Ridgeon (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 101-124, esp. 115 ff., and Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2003). For an essay in Turkish on cultural life in Anatolia around this period, Ahmed-i Dai, *Çengüname*, ed. Gönül Alpay Tekin (Cambridge MA: Harvard University, 1992), 1-56 and a survey of literature see Barbara Flemming, "Old Anatolian Turkish Poetry in its Relation to Persian Tradition," *Turcologica* 62 (2006): 49-68.
- <sup>7</sup> For a discussion of secular and/or sacred authorship in Italian context during a close period of time see Gerhard Regn, "Double Authorship: Prophetic and Poetic Inspiration in Dante's Paradise," *Modern Language Notes* 122, no. 1 (2007), 167-185. On late medieval European authorship with theoretical questions relevant for research on early Anatolian contexts see, Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.).
- <sup>8</sup> As indicated by the introduction of Najm al-Din Rāzī (Dāya) to his *Mirṣād al-'Ibād* there was an ongoing discussion about kinds of poetry. In this extremely influential work that was composed in Anatolia (first recension in Kayseri in 618/1221 and second in Sivas in 620/1223), Dāya criticises worldly themes in poetry by quoting two quatrains by Khay-yām, Najm al-Din Rāzī, *The Path of God's Bondsmen*, 54. See also, J. T. P. de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry: The Interaction of Religion and Literature in the Life and Works of Hakim Sanā'ī of Ghazna* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983). While de Bruijn's work provides an important study of religion and literature in the works of Sanā'ī, the ingrained relationship between theology and poetics in literary works produced in Anatolia is yet to be investigated with respect to formal and thematic modalities.
- <sup>9</sup> Wolfhart Heinrichs identifies two separate canonical corpora for the tenth-century medieval scholar in Arabic: one religious, or scriptural, i.e. Quran and hadith, and the other secular, i.e. poetry and other literature. The latter was the unsullied corpus of pre-Islamic

Identifying what counts as “literature” among a myriad of texts that were produced in Anatolia may start a productive discussion to detail the concepts of authorship and patronage for this particular space and time period. In my view what is literary, as distinct from what is historical, was determined by particular “religious” ideals; in other words, by one of the manifestations of religious writing that appeared in this period as literature through a growing deployment of poetry in prose. Works produced in thirteenth-century Anatolia by a diverse group of natives, visitors or migrants, such as Awḥad al-Dīn Kimmānī (d. 635/1238?), Ibn ‘Arabī (560/1165-638/1240), Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (Dāya) (573/1177-654/1256), Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (605/1207-673/1274), Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī (610/1213-688/1289), and Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, articulated new interpretations of mystical thinking, gradually and consistently employing poetry. Their expression of complaints about this world and the yearning for a parallel world beyond the vagaries of the life on earth were linked to the socio-political contexts in Anatolia. The growing deployment of poetry to express these topics may also be related to the multilingual contexts available in Anatolia at this period.<sup>10</sup> In this respect, Gülşehri and his work provide important clues.<sup>11</sup>

Gülşehri is clearly an enigmatic figure, from whose pen we have two major verse narratives, one in Persian, the other in Turkish, and a few poems. We only know the dates of his two major works, 701/1301 and 717/1317 respectively. While his work in Turkish has been the focus of editorial efforts and scholarly articles, his Persian verse narrative *Falakhnāma*, even though it is available in an edition and Turkish translation, has rarely been a subject of study.

Anatolian literatures of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries are commonly studied through the lens of Turkish, and primarily as the birthplace of Western Turkic

---

Arab poetry that the scripture overwhelmed miraculously, “On the Genesis of the Haqiqa-Majāz Dichotomy,” *Studia Islamica* 59 (1984): 111-140. We can imagine for a thirteenth century scholar a similar canonical corpora, however, there appeared by that time a third corpus that can be exemplified by creative work of Ibn ‘Arabī which drew inspiration from both corpora. While commentaries on pre-Islamic poetry might have remained important tools in Anatolia during this period, a new canon of poetry in Persian that may be defined as sacred was also being shaped as a model. For such a canon of didactic or theologically grounded works recorded by Gülşehri, see Selim S. Kuru, “Gülşehri, the Seventh Sheikh of the Universe: Authorly Passions in Fourteenth-century Anatolia,” *Journal of Turkish Studies = Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 40 (2013): 281-289.

<sup>10</sup> Lars Johanson’s aforementioned article opens up a fresh space for the investigation of relationship between multilingualism and poetic expression in thirteenth-century Anatolia, Johanson, “Rumi and the Birth.”

<sup>11</sup> Processes of adapting older texts involve localization, see Sara Nur Yıldız, “Battling *Kıyfi* (Unbelief) in the Land of Infidels: Gülşehri’s Early Fourteenth-century Turkish Adaptation of ‘Aṭṭār’s *Mantiq al-ṭayr*” in A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno de Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 329-347. Here while she reads two sections from Gülşehri’s adaptation of ‘Aṭṭār’s *Mantiq al-Ṭayr* with respect to the matter of conversion, Yıldız also demonstrates how Gülşehri assimilates stories to an Anatolian context. I thank to the author for sharing the manuscript of her article with me prior to its publication.

as a written language that developed into a classical literary language under Ottoman patronage after the fifteenth century. This teleological view limits the appreciation of early Anatolian Turkish texts, which were a major part of the multilingual literary system of the period. Not only literary texts in Arabic and Persian by multilingual poets/authors, who are better known by their works in Turkish, have been utterly excluded from literary histories, but even those works that are in Turkish, mostly produced before the fifteenth century, are not often evaluated for varieties in themes and composition, or literary appreciation. And very few Anatolian literary works have been examined within their social and historical contexts.<sup>12</sup> Literary historical surveys are generally lists of works without references to transmission of knowledge, networks of patronage, textual production, in short the production, function and politics of literature. They are rather considered witnesses to a purer stage in the development of Turkic language in Anatolia and subjected to research in order to identify biographical information about their authors or study the linguistic characteristics of Turkish preserved in them. While these works have been appreciated ideologically as testaments to a “purer” stage of Turkish, the literary characteristics they display are dismissed as outdated and not worthy of investigation. This indifference to the literary aspects of early Anatolian Turkish texts reflect the logic of a particular form of Turkish nationalism that was striving to detach itself from Islamicate, Arabicate and Persianate influences. These literary characteristics were defined not only by Arabic and Persian-origin lexical items, but also by rhetorical embellishments and devices.<sup>13</sup>

While investigating the earliest verse narratives produced in Anatolian Turkic for another project, I was impressed by Gülşehri’s free adaptation of Farid al-Din ‘Attār’s *Mantıq al-Tayr*.<sup>14</sup> Throughout my undergraduate and graduate education,

<sup>12</sup> There are brilliant examples, such as Gönül Tekin’s aforementioned work on the *Çengnâme*, and Barbara Flemming’s *Fabris Hüsrev u Şirin. Eine türkische Dichtung von 1367* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974). In these works Tekin and Flemming display a sensitivity for textual as well as political and cultural contexts through scant biographical information on respectively Ahmed-i Dai (early fifteenth century) and Fahri (late fourteenth century). For a recent article on literary culture of Anatolia through a study of Sultān Walad’s work see, Franklin Lewis, “Sultan Valad and the Poetic Order: Framing the Ethos and Praxis of Poetry in the Mevlevi Tradition after Rumî,” in Kamran Talatoff (ed.), *Persian Language, Literature and Culture: New Leaves, Fresh Looks* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 23-47.

<sup>13</sup> Ironically, Köprülü, who is frequently characterized as the father of nationalism in Turkish literary studies, while introducing Gülşehri in 1918, stressed that many literary passages from *Mantıku’l-Tayr* “are of such excellent literary quality that they can be read with pleasure even today,” and defined Gülşehri as a “true artist” who is “artistically superior” to the early Anatolian Turkish writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Köprülü also promised to publish a study on Gülşehri and his work which unfortunately never materialised. Also his stress on Gülşehri’s artistic merit unfortunately was not followed up by the scholarship, which instead teleologically evaluated his work as an early step in the development of Turkish literature in Anatolia. See Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, 209 and 257n84.

<sup>14</sup> See Selim S. Kuru, “Destanı Mesnevide Anlatmak: Gülşehri, Aşık Paşa ve Mes’ud’un Eserleri Hakkında Gözlemler,” in Hatice Aynur, Müjgân Çakır, Hanife Koncu, Selim S. Kuru

I had heard about this text, read sections of it, and even attended a graduate seminar in which four Turkish translations of ‘Aṭṭār’s work were compared.<sup>15</sup> However, none of the classes or scholarly and popular articles had prepared me for the literary pleasures found in Gülşehri’s work. In fact, beyond their literary quality, Gülşehri’s two verse narratives raise several questions about the literary and religious life during the tumultuous early fourteenth century in Anatolia; questions that are complicated by the issue of patronage, which was in constant flux as rulers – Seljuk dynasts, Ilkhanid overlords, and local governors – came and went without being able to establish a centre or continuity for a localised canon of literature to form. Although beyond the scope of this article, the following questions inspired by Gülşehri’s works are valuable to articulate as rich areas for further research into understudied dimensions of Anatolian literary cultures: How did the intellectual networks, represented by a heterogeneous group of individuals who, in retrospect, would be related to each other, such as Yunus Emre (638/1240-720/1320), Hacı Bektaş Veli (d. 669/1271?), Sulṭān Walad (d. 712/1312), and Ahi Evren (d. 660/1262?), cope with the changes that shaped their worlds? How did education and textual production continue while cities were besieged, destroyed and rebuilt? What were the means of producing texts, that is, the whole process of composition and publication – the material means of supplying paper, ink, securing a place, time, and money to write, reaching sources, and finally, finding venues for publishing the final product? How did the mechanism of patronage function at this time? What kinds of support mechanisms other than court patronage prevailed for intellectuals? More specifically, what kind of motives were there to compose verse-narratives and poetry? Was it that there was great demand, or great rewards for those written, versified or ornate prose texts? Who were reading these texts and what kind of reading practices did exist?

Against the backdrop of this vast horizon for textual and literary investigation, it is only one step for a literary historian to provide comparative descriptions of organisational principles behind lengthy texts that determine the relationship between narrative organisation, and knowledge formation and transmission. Rather than testing older texts against contentious modern understandings of textuality that revolve around concepts such as the distinction between fact and fiction, my interest here is the task of appreciating the narrative strategies in early fourteenth-century verse, long overlooked in favour of its Turkish linguistic content. Pursuing the thread of research of previous two articles, in which I compared the

---

and Ali Emre Özyıldırım (eds), *Eski Türk edebiyatı çalışmaları 4: Mesnevî, Hikâyenin Şiiri* (İstanbul: Turkuaz, 2011), 195-216, especially, 201-205.

<sup>15</sup> This excellent course was offered by Zehra Toska at the Boğaziçi University Turkish Language and Literature department in 1993. For an article on the Turkish translations of ‘Aṭṭār’s *Mantîq al-Ṭayr* see Zehra Toska and Nedret Kuran Burçoğlu, “Ferideddin-i Attar’ın *Mantîk-i Ṭayr*’ının 14, 16, 17. ve 20. Yüzyıllarda Yapılmış Türkçe Yeniden Yazımları,” *Journal of Turkish Studies=Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 20, no. 2 (1996): 251-265.

three earliest Turkish verse-narratives, including the *Manṭıku't-Ṭayr* by Gülşehri, with respect to their formal characteristics and attempted at a close reading of a particular section in this verse-narrative, this article focuses on Gülşehri's Persian verse narrative.<sup>16</sup> As I mentioned in the introduction, with a focus on his incessant deployment of his penname in the *Falaku'nāma* and the introductory section of this text, I will try to understand Gülşehri's anxiety as shaykh and his strong desire to be recognised as an "author."

### *Gülşehri: Shaykh and Author*

*Rūm ilinde bir mubaşşır isterem  
kim aña Çin bütlerini gösterem  
Rūm ili bütlerini peydā kılam  
dahı Çin bütlerini yağma kılam  
Gendözimi her ser-efrāza uram  
gül şarından odı Şirāz'a uram*

I need someone with clear sight in Rūm  
so that I can display idols of China for him  
I can then reveal the idols of Rūm  
to pillage those from China  
I shall challenge all the proud people  
and thus hit Shiraz with fire from the City of Roses<sup>17</sup>

Towards the end of his 4438 verses-long Turkish adaptation of the *Manṭıku't-Ṭayr*, the first lengthy verse narrative in Anatolian Turkish composed in 707/1317, Gülşehri claims that he can compose poetry to reveal the otherwise invisible true beauty of Creation through making idols with words. In a direct manner, Gülşehri ends his work boasting first that not only he can "display" (*göstermek*) the "idols of China", a topos for beauty, but he can also pillage (*yağma kılmak*) those by rendering visible (*peydā kılmak*) those of Rūm—here meaning Anatolia.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Kuru, "Destanı de Anlatmak"; idem, "Gülşehri, the Seventh Sheikh of the Universe."

<sup>17</sup> Aziz Merhan, *Die Vogelgespräche Gülşehris und die Anfänge der türkischen Literatur* (Göttingen: Pontus Verlag, 2003), 312, couplet 3168. There is another edition of the text: *Gülşehri'nin Manṭıku't-Ṭayrı (Gülşehri-nâme)*, ed. Kemal Yavuz (Ankara: Kırşehir Valiliği Yayınları, 2007). The Yavuz edition which relies on one manuscript is also available online: <http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10685,girispdf.pdf?0> (Visited on 24 May 2015). Since the Merhan edition includes variants from all extant manuscripts of the work, references are to page and couplet numbers in that edition. I employed modern Turkish alphabet in quotations. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

<sup>18</sup> For idols as a topos see William Hanaway, "Bot," *Elr*, vol. 4, 389-90. Here, by the word idol, Gülşehri must be referring to visual representations of Chinese beauties. In a brilliant article Oya Pancaroğlu discusses a chapter from a twelfth century cosmological work on the importance of figural depictions to inspire people to contemplate this world in order to reach knowledge of the other world, "Signs in the Horizon," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (2003): 31-41. In the case of Gülşehri's verses, while there is no clear distinction between artistic and verbal representation, the Chinese idols are the visual representations

Gülşehri here divulges a particular understanding of composing poetry as a way to expose what is invisible to plain sight. This understanding also implicitly points to a conversation about the central position of “Chinese idols” as a challenge. However, the poet is confident that he will render them defunct through poetic manifestation of the fresh idols of “Rüm.” Gülşehri also connects Shiraz to “leaders” (*ser-eḫrāz*) whom he challenges. Leaders in this verse have to be verbal “idol”-makers. He says that he can, when he finds a *mubaşşir* gets into competition with the leaders of poetry and that he can burn down even the city of Shiraz, i.e. surpass the poetry produced in Shiraz, most probably by Sa‘dī (d. 691/1292), with the fire of his words from Anatolia.<sup>19</sup>

Chinese idols refer to a set of classical visual imagery. Shiraz, on the other hand, represents more contemporary verbal imagery. These two here are brought up as traditional and contemporary challenges for Gülşehri as a poet. However, Gülşehri’s words are still problematic as they imply a topographical triangle that brings together three distinct geographical locations. China, unsurpassed as a distant yet powerful cultural centre, might have been made close by the influence of Ilkhanid cultural practices, and Shiraz, while not necessarily that close to inner Anatolia, was apparently perceived by Gülşehri as a rival city close enough to reach his fame. This particular perception of poetry that is defined by an imagined origin (Chinese idols) and a contemporary poet (Sa‘dī of Shiraz) reflects upon a vast literary topography revealing an understanding of poetics and an intriguing contemporary literary network.<sup>20</sup>

---

and Rum and Shiraz are verbal responses to those in a competitive spirit. This interaction of visual and verbal is a ripe field of investigation into the integrated view of various media, visual and verbal, in conjuring the same knowledge of the universe beyond. Of course, here China might have been used in reference to Ilkhanids; however, this is a slight possibility.

<sup>19</sup> A verse from one of his Turkish *ghazals* supports this argument as Gülşehri juxtaposes the relation of Sa‘dī to Shiraz and himself to Gülşehri: “*Her metādan biline bir ma‘den / bize Gülşehri Sadi’ye Şirāz.*” In her unsurpassed study of Gülşehri, Shepherd translates this couplet as follows: “A mine will be known by each product / for us Gülşehri, for Sadi Shiraz,” Vanessa Margaret Shepherd, “The Turkish Mystical Poet Gülşehri with Particular Attention to His *Mantıku’t-tayr*” (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1979), 313. In this dissertation Shepherd compares *Mantıku’t-Tayr* with ‘Attār’s original, transliterates and translates lengthy sections from Gülşehri’s work, and discusses manuscript evidence for Gülşehri and his works. While there is no mention of Sa‘dī in the *Falakhnāma*, it is significant that he idolises Sa‘dī and his *Gulistān* in the *Mantıku’t-Tayr* only two decades after the poet’s death. Sa‘dī’s work was apparently already famous in Anatolia. Furthermore, at least for Gülşehri, it surpassed all other works, as Sa‘dī appears as the leader of the rest of the poets in Gülşehri’s pantheon of universal shaykhs.

<sup>20</sup> See Domenico Ingenito, “‘Tabrizis in Shiraz are Worth Less than a Dog’: Sa‘dī and Humām, a Lyrical Encounter,” in Judith Pfeiffer (ed.), *Politics, Patronage and Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 77-126. In this article Ingenito investigates the important topic of locality and access in thirteenth-century Persian poetry through a discussion of literary competition between Sa‘dī from Shiraz and Humām from Tabriz. The article reveals the importance that the feelings of belonging played in these poets’ lives.

While an extended discussion of these fascinating verses is beyond the confines of this article, it is important to note how they carry implications about the prevalent perceptions on challenges for a poet active in Anatolia at the turn of the thirteenth century. However, for the purposes of this article, the first line quoted above requires further examination since it communicates Gölşehri's search for a *mubaşşir*, an intriguing word which defines someone who has the power of sight, exposes the hidden and watches over someone. An appreciation of Gölşehri's poetry then requires an ability to see through representations, and an inclination to delve into an adventure into the unknown. Thus Gölşehri seeks someone who can appreciate the reflections of his vision in the form of poetry. Through the support of such a patron, his words would spread all the way to Shiraz, being more powerful than Chinese idols.

These lines then demonstrate that, when he was composing the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr* in Turkish, Gölşehri was seeking a patron, and he was doing this through provocation. His call is not for any patron, but for one who could appreciate a particular form of poetry, that is to say, a learned person. Otherwise, he had no doubt about the power of his words, in competition with paintings from China or poems from Shiraz, reveal the hidden. Some features of this verse-narrative that comes down to us in six manuscript copies, the only dated ones from the late fifteenth century, suggest that he most probably was not able to find one.<sup>21</sup>

As a matter of fact, some fifteen years before, Gölşehri sought the patronage of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan with his *Falaknāma*. Dated 701/1301-2, the *Falaknāma*, i.e. *Book of the Celestial Spheres*, also a verse-narrative, is in Persian and preserved in a unique manuscript copied in 18 Safar 843/August 1, 1439.<sup>22</sup> We do not have any information about the reception of this more than 3500-couplet work by Ghazan Khan who died in 703/1304, two years after the completion of the *Falaknāma*. Since Gölşehri composed his second verse-narrative *Mantıku't-Ṭayr* in Turkish, it may be unlikely that Gölşehri was seeking patronage from the Ilkhanid ruler of the time, the recently enthroned Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khan (r. 717/1317-736/1335), or a Mongol governor, but rather he must have been looking for the support of a Turkish-speaking ruler. The venture of composing a

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of this and bibliographical references see Kuru, "Gölşehri, the Seventh Sheikh of the Universe," 289.

<sup>22</sup> According to the following verses Gölşehri started his composition in 699 and finished it in 701 in two years and two months:

این گلستانرا که بوی جانفزاست / در سنه سبع میه کردیم راست  
در سنه سبعیه اندوخت نام / در سنه احدی بسلک آمد تمام  
زانکه صاحب نظم از هر گونه ورد / در دو سال اینجا دو مه پرداخت کرد

I composed this rose-garden with revitalizing scents in the year seven hundred // In the year seven hundred it gained its title / in seven hundred one it was complete // The author of these verses compiled roses of various kinds / two years two months ago [?] (fol. 31b/13-32a/1-2).



verse narrative in Turkish language by a poet who had previously composed a Persian verse narrative reflects the shifting balances in inner Anatolia with respect to literature, authorship and patronage in these momentous times.

It is difficult to assess the reception of the *Falaknāma*, which deals with various branches of knowledge positioned within the frame story of the creation of the soul and its descent to the earth. Both the *Falaknāma* and the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr* are essentially visionary manuals which can also be read as handbooks of proper conduct in which the model behaviour for individuals is expressed through stories, parables, and exhortations.<sup>23</sup> As such, they reflect Gülşehri's theological and mystical training and articulate his desire to assume a position as a spiritual leader beyond his community. The stories in both texts might have attracted the attention of lay readers/listeners; however, their rhetorical features and references imply a learned readership. While a comparison of these two texts is beyond the confines of this article, it is important to note that, while the Persian *Falaknāma* requires a learned eye with its thick terminology in the expression of its theological subject matter, the Turkish *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*, with its attractive frame story and digressive passages about contemporary topics, such as *futuwwa*, and abundant stories translated from several sources, must have attracted a larger audience.<sup>24</sup>

That Gülşehri found interested readers is clear from a series of references to his penname throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup> His recognition seems to be due to his Turkish verse-narrative than the *Falaknāma*, as Yusuf-ı Ankaravi (d. 866/1461) praised Gülşehri's *Mantıku't-Ṭayr* in his *Tarikatnāme* that is itself a translation of 'Attār's other verse narrative, the *Musibatnāma*.<sup>26</sup> Apart from Yusuf-ı Ankaravi, Şeyhoğlu in his *Kenzü'l-Küberā'* (composed in 803/1401) quotes two verses from Gülşehri.<sup>27</sup> Hatiboğlu (d. after 838/1435) in his *Let'âyifnāme* (composed in 817/1414) and Larendeli Kemal Ümmi (d. 880/1475) praised him as a major poet

<sup>23</sup> Toska and Kuran Burcoğlu argue there is thematic continuity between the two texts. While the former is about the descent of the soul, the latter is about its ascent. Although this needs further elaboration, that the *Falaknāma* lacks discussion on worldly and contemporary topics which abound in the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr* supports this argument. Toska and Burcoğlu, "Ferideddin-i Attar'ın *Mantıku't-tayr*'ı," 253-254.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of Gülşehri's learning and sources see Shepherd, "The Turkish Mystical Poet Gülşehri," 136-148.

<sup>25</sup> Ağâh Sırrı Levend, in his dated yet still valuable introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*, identifies and quotes references to Gülşehri by these poets. Gülşehri, *Mantıku't-tayr: Tıpkıbasım*, with an introduction by Ağâh Sırrı Levend (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957), 5-7.

<sup>26</sup> See İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, "Yeni ve Değerli Bir Dil ve Edebiyat Belgesi: Tarikatname," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 1, no. 3-4 (1946): 235-244. In this short article Ertaylan transcribes 80 verses from the verse narrative and provides facsimiles of five pages from the manuscript that was then in a private collection. He doesn't give any specific information about the manuscript copy that he says was defective.

<sup>27</sup> Şeyhoğlu, *Kenzü'l-Küberā' ve Mehekkü'l-Umerā'*, ed. Kemal Yavuz (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1991), 58.

counting his name among their masters along with Sanā'ī, 'Aṭṭār, Jalāl al-Din Rūmī, Sa'adī, as well as Turkish poets Dehhani (fourteenth century), Elvan Çelebi (d. after 760/1358-59), Ahmedi (d. 815/1412), and Şeyhoğlu (d. 817/1414 ?).<sup>28</sup> Moreover, in the *Mecmū'atü'n-Nezā'ir*, the earliest anthology of parallel (*naẓīre*) poems, compiled in 840/1436, Ömer b. Mezid included one *ghazal* by Gülşehri; in his *Cāmi'ü'n-Nezā'ir* (composed in 918/1512) Eğridirli Hacı Kemal included three of his *ghazals*.<sup>29</sup> The only critical remark, which is also the earliest mention of his name in historical record, comes from Ahmedi's *İskendernâme*, where the author criticises Gülşehri for his boastful attitude.<sup>30</sup>

A digression on this point is necessary here, because, thanks to Ahmedi, there has been an emphasis in modern scholarship on Gülşehri's excessive use of his own penname (*takhalluṣ*) in his verse-narratives.<sup>31</sup> Gülşehri incessantly inserts verses with his penname ninety-six times in the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr* and around sixty times in the *Falaknâme*, but he never mentions his real name. This narrative strategy may sound impulsive, however, an author's signing each section of a verse-narrative apparently was not an uncommon phenomenon. Nizāmī of Ganja (535/1141-605/1209), for example, in his *Makhzan al-Asrār*, the work that made him one of the six "shaykhs of the universe" in the eye of Gülşehri, signs each chapter of his work with a verse that includes his penname. While this is not true for Nizāmī's romances, the fact that this technique is employed in his

<sup>28</sup> Hatiboğlu, *Letâifnâme: İnceleme, Metin, Sözlük, Tıpkıbasım*, ed. Veysi Sevinçli (İstanbul: Töre Yayın Grubu, 2007). In Kemal Ümmi's 37 verse *ghazal*, Gülşehri is mentioned in the 35<sup>th</sup> verse. See Abdurrahman Güzel, "Kemâl Ümmî Divânı: İnceleme, Metin," PhD Dissertation, Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1997, 654.

<sup>29</sup> Three of these *ghazals* are found in Eğridirli Hacı Kemal, *Cāmi'ü'n-Nezā'ir*, MS Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi 5782, fol. 152b-153b, 164b, 288b (there are three different paginations in pencil on this manuscript, these numbers follow the top left corner of the left page), one in Ömer bin Mezid, *Mecmū'atu'n-Nezā'ir*, ed. Mustafa Canpolat (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1995), 139-140, one at the end of one of the manuscript copies of the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*, Türk Dil Kurumu Library, MS A120, fol. 50-51. Two are found in a short verse narrative *Kerāmât-i Hvāce Evren* that is attributed to Gülşehri and was published by Franz Taeschner, "Zwei Gazels von Gülşehri," in *Fuat Köprülü Armağanı: 60. Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1953), 479-485. Shepherd provides transcribed editions, English translations, and when available, facsimiles of Gülşehri's seven extant gazels in Turkish, "The Turkish Mystical Poet Gülşehri," 301-341.

<sup>30</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme: İnceleme – Tıpkıbasım*, ed. İsmail Ünver (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1983).

<sup>31</sup> Ahmedi's much cited verse with Gülşehri's name is included after the doxology in the introductory section of his lengthy verse-narrative, in a short section about his humility in comparison with others. This verse curiously is not found in the manuscript published in facsimile by İsmail Ünver, however, it is in the online edition by Yaşar Akdoğan, which does not reference his manuscript source. Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, fol. 5a/438-444; Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Yaşar Akdoğan <http://ekitap.kulturuzm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10667,ahmediskendernameyasarakdoganpdf.pdf?0> (Visited on 24 May 2015), couplets 437-445. For an article on the recensions of Ahmedi's text, which is preserved in more than seventy-five manuscripts, see Caroline Sawyer, "Revising Alexander: Structure and Evolution, Ahmedi's Ottoman *İskendernâme* c. 1400," *Edebiyat* 13, no. 2 (2003): 225-243.

didactic work the *Makbzan al-Asrār* makes it clear that Gülşehri was following his example. As a matter of fact, Ahmedi, while criticising Gülşehri for constantly praising himself, employed his own penname thirty-one times in his *İskender-nâme*. Yet his strategy of signing his name is not as systematic as Gülşehri's. This particular device for marking lengthy works in verse in this period requires further investigation.

Gülşehri's constant use of his penname in his verse reflects his desire to transcend being an ordinary man and an ordinary city shaykh (*şār şeyhî*) and attain the status of shaykh of the universe (*ʿālem şeyhî*).<sup>32</sup> In both verse-narratives and in some of his *ghazals*, Gülşehri refers to being a shaykh, yet he never reveals any information about his private and professional background; his family, his friends, or his teachers are never mentioned. This omission of personal information in Gülşehri's work contrasts with some of his contemporaries, such as Sulţān Walad, whose works constantly refer to his father and his circle of relations.<sup>33</sup> Gülşehri appears to have been quite familiar with Walad's works. Walad had died only five years before the composition of *Mantıku't-Tayr*, in which he appears as the last shaykh of the universe.

Gülşehri's desire to become a "shaykh of the universe" through a literary composition forcefully appears in his Turkish work. It can also be argued that the section of the *Falaknâme* where he introduces himself as a famous local shaykh is parallel to the more direct exposition of this desire in the *Mantıku't-Tayr*. In the Persian text, on the other hand, while there is a more self-confident tone throughout his verses, there is no direct mention of any poets as literary models. The erasure of his given name and the omission of any biographical information about his scholarly background seems to be Gülşehri's conscious choice. Interestingly enough, in the unique manuscript copy of the *Falaknâme*, his name is erased, leaving a black smudge in its place that represents our knowledge about the man: almost nothing.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Gülşehri's constant repetition of his penname can also be interpreted as a plea for recognition as an individual author. Daniel Hobbins argued that there was a development in thirteenth-century France from a collective sense of authorship towards author-as-an-individual, Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). However, the individual authorly persona Gülşehri painstakingly promoted was defined by having composed a book that he perceived as a vehicle that will elevate his position as a universal shaykh.

<sup>33</sup> Sulţān Walad's case may be considered as extraordinary; for references to his background, family, friends, patrons, etc. in Sulţān Walad's works see Lewis, "Sultan Valad and the Poetic Order," and Alberto Fabio Ambrosio, "The Son is the Secret of Father: Rūmī, Sulţān Veled and the Strategy of Family Feelings," in Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Alexandre Papas (eds), *Family Portraits with Saints. Hagiography, Sanctity and Family in the Muslim World* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014), 308-326.

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed account of discussion around Gülşehri's origins and given name in scholarship see, Shepherd, "The Turkish Mystical Poet Gülşehri," 20-42.

While Gülşehri produced one of the earliest, if not the first, verse narratives in Anatolian Turkish with his free-style adaptation of the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*, as he powerfully expressed in this work, his earlier Persian work the *Falaknāma* definitely meant much more to him. So much so that, as I have argued in an earlier article, when he composed the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr* he introduced the *Falaknāma* to a Turkish readership in a fascinating section as the work that elevated him to the position of the seventh shaykh of the universe.<sup>35</sup> Appearing in the middle of the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*, this section almost turns it into a pedestal for promoting the *Falaknāma*. He might have thought that having written a Persian verse narrative would exalt his position in the eyes of his Turkish readership. However, the original introductory section of the *Falaknāma* presents a very different reason for the composition that leads me to consider Gülşehri as an author within an unstable, or shifting, network of patronage.

### *A Guidebook for Celestial Spheres*

Even considered outside possible religious, political, social and literary contexts that might have informed it, the *Falaknāma* is an intriguing text for the compositional and thematic features of its introduction. The title of the work introduces the book as a guide to the secrets of the universe; it is also used in various verses throughout the text, in general to mark the section endings. Various subtitles (some of which are indicated by an empty space) reflect a particular principle of organisation. Unlike the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*, the *Falaknāma* includes very few stories under the subtitles *mathal* or *hikāyat*.<sup>36</sup> My work on the manuscript copy has been challenging due to the organisation of the knowledge of the other world that draws on a myriad of sources, as well as its thirteenth- and fourteenth-century contexts.

I identify four major sections in the *Falaknāma*: (I) Introduction, (II) descent of the soul through the celestial spheres, (III) formation of bodies as hosts of souls, and (IV) a relatively short conclusion. The introductory section that I focus on in this chapter is quite lengthy with 851 verses. It presents (1) a relatively short *tawhīd* section, i.e. testimony to the oneness of God (fol. 1b-4a; 74 couplets), (2) four separate invocations, *munājāt*, three of which end with a brief story (fol. 4a-14b; 262 couplets),<sup>37</sup> (3) a eulogy for the Prophet Muḥammad, *na't*

<sup>35</sup> Kuru, "Gülşehri, the Seventh Sheikh of the Universe," 281-289

<sup>36</sup> Apart from the first three stories that are linked to the invocations (6a, 9a, 13a), all stories are delivered in the conversations between the soul and the people of the spheres (*ulviyyūn*) (72b, 76b, 81a, 86b, 88a, 91a, 94a, 98b, 104b, 108a). Shepherd identifies seven of these stories in Turkish in the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*. See the detailed analysis of all stories presented in the *Mantıku't-Ṭayr* in Shepherd, "The Turkish Mystical Poet Gülşehri," 100-135.

<sup>37</sup> Not only do the four supplications (*munājāt*) in the form of short discourses to acknowledge God's hidden existence in this world, as well as his compassion, his generosity, and finally, his power respectively, but each one of them also acknowledges the power of Gülşehri in being able to illustrate these aspects through his book *Falaknāma*. Each supplica-

(fol 14b-16b; 53 couplets). After these 389 verses of commonplaces, the subsection that is described in this article starts with (4) a brief description of the lowliness of this world, and culminates with a request from a beautiful young person to explain the creation of soul and its return to God (*mabda'* and *ma'ād*), which transitions to the dedication of the book with a panegyric for Ghazan Khan with praises for a *ṣāhib-dīwān* 'Alā' al-Din, who will deliver the work, and finally, a mention of a "*sulṭān*" (fol. 16b-33b; 462 couplets).

The unusually lengthy introduction constitutes one fifth of the whole. In the four invocations, Gülşehri, on the one hand, prays to God for forgiveness, on the other criticises his times and identifies himself in several couplets as the best reader and reciter of 'the book of celestial spheres' that can be read through the experiences of humankind in this world.

Each invocation ends with a verse that promotes the power of Gülşehri's verses with a description of his *Falaknāma*. The following is an example from the second supplication:

کر فلک‌نامه چو خوانم نامه ای  
از فلک برتر زم هنگامه ای  
روی گل را چون رخ نرگس مکن  
وین زر صافی ما را مس مکن  
نظم گلشهری که عقد گوهرست  
گنج دُرّش خوان همیان زرست

Whenever I read a section from "the book of the celestial spheres" [i.e. *Falaknāma*]  
I raise a commotion far beyond the highest sphere  
Don't turn the face of the rose into the cheek of the hyacinth,  
Don't make copper out of our pure gold  
The verses of Gülşehri form a necklace of jewels  
Read them as a treasure chest of pearls, or a money-belt of gold (9a/7-9)

In these verses, using references to alchemy, Gülşehri not only warns against the misuse of this science, but also boasts about the power of his own verses that transforms words into matchless jewels. The four supplications set the tone for the core narrative. The couplets that endorse his poetic persona, Gülşehri, and his work, the *Falaknāma*, establish a transition for the stories. For example, the quotation above where Gülşehri resembles his verses to pure gold is followed by a story about a man who mixes copper to silver coins and sells them cheaper than the value of silver. In the story, which is related to warn readers against cheats, the worldly body resembles copper and the heavenly soul silver (fol. 9a/10-10b/4).

---

tion, except the third, includes couplets with Gülşehri's name and his work's title and culminates in a story. The missing story must have been dropped during the copying. As in the case of excessive penname use, Nizāmī's *Makḥzan al-Asrār*, which has two separate supplications, seems to be the model for those multiple sections in the *Falaknāma*.

After a conventional *na't* section that follows the four supplications, a Quranic verse serves as the heading for the main body of the verse-narrative:<sup>38</sup>

لَنْ فِي ذَلِكَ لَعِبْرَةٌ لِّأُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ

Following the Quranic verse which stresses the power of sight that is a quality Gülşehri is proud of, as we have seen above, the fourth section of the introduction presents a fascinating narrative. While this section sets the tone for the main topic of the *Falaku'nāma*, it also presents the most informative section about the context of its composition. In this section, after a lengthy description of the lowly (*sufli*) world as temporary and deceptive (fol. 16b/3-20b/7), Gülşehri describes a gathering he holds with a group of beautiful young people towards the end of the holy month of Ramadan; the most beautiful among them, most probably a disciple of his, praises Gülşehri and encourages him to speak instead of being “a silent nightingale in the middle of a rose garden” (fol. 22a/13). The beautiful youth asks him to comment on the purpose behind the creation of human beings starting with the descent of the soul and its return to the source upon the end of days, i.e. *mabda'* and *ma'ād* (fol. 23b/10-11). The beautiful disciple's name is never given, but he seems to function for Gülşehri's work as Hüsām al-Din Çelebî does for that of Rūmî. The disciple's praises for Gülşehri take a strange turn in the following verses:

نام گلشهری که ختم نامهاست  
در سر هر کوی ازو هنگامهاست  
ز زمین بر چرخ پزد چون ملک  
شهره گردد هم چو سلطان فلک  
خاصه در ایام این شاه جهان  
آفتاب عالم [و] ماه جهان  
شاه هفت اقلیم غازان خان که مهر  
هست عکس خاتم او بر سپهر

The name of Gülşehri is the seal of all names  
There rises commotion wherever it is heard  
He ascends from the earth to the skies like an angel  
and gains fame as the sultan of the spheres  
During the reign of the Sultan of this realm,  
who is the sun of the universe and the moon of the world:  
Ghazan Khan, the sultan of the seven climes,  
the sun is just a reflection of his seal on the skies (fol. 23a/10-12)

<sup>38</sup> There are two verses that contain this expression in the Quran: “In this is a warning for such as have eyes to see,” Quran 3:13, and 24:44. This same verse is employed by the third oldest Turkish verse-narrative by Aşık Paşa in his *Garibnāme*. It is quoted in the fourth chapter second division on the nature of Creation after the verse 758, see the Kemal Yavuz edition available online, <http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10669,garib-namepdf.pdf> (Visited on 15 December 2014).

In these lines praise for Gülşehri, the sultan of the spheres, shifts to praise for Ghazan as the sultan of this world. It is already a daring act to compare a shaykh with a king, however, it adds further insult to injury because, as I have explained above, the praise follows a section that denigrates the human world. On the one hand, the ruler is exalted by mention of his justice that gives order to the world, yet, on the other, there is the implication that no worldly sultan can find a cure for the abject nature of this realm, as Gülşehri previously and later in the text expounds. The story of the soul descending through celestial spheres to acquire a body may not necessarily be the best choice of topic for a Khan who was recently converted to Islam.

The lengthy panegyric section addressing Ghazan Khan is articulated in the text by the beautiful young man who instigates Gülşehri to write. This praise poem of 132 couplets, following the same rhyme and meter scheme of the verse-narrative involves four other characters along with the narrator, the disciple (fol. 23a/9-28a/10): Ghazan Khan, the eulogised patron-to-be, an unnamed “sultan” that has been supported by Ghazan (fol. 27b/a-28a/4); one ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, the *ṣāhib-dīwān* who is praised as the best candidate to deliver Gülşehri’s work to Ghazan (fol. 26a/5-27b/2); and finally Gülşehri. The use of the common topos of the “beautiful young man’s request” as the reason for composition is creatively employed in the *Falaknāma*. By conveying the praise in his disciple’s mouth, Gülşehri not only improves upon this topos, but he also avoids directly praising the ruler and inserts verses of praise for himself. This is fitting, since earlier in the introduction, his verses deny the honour of being an ‘*ārif*’ i.e. a gnostic, a seer, to those who aspire for worldly gain and thus it wouldn’t sound convincing if the praise emanated from his own mouth:

آنکه منشورند عارف نیستند  
 ذره ای در کار واقف نیستند  
 پیش لا هوتی جهمان لا شی بود  
 کار عارف جاه جوئی کی بود

A mystic under command is not a seer  
 he cannot observe a bit of the task  
 As this world is nothing compared to the Divine  
 why would Gnostics seek a post (19b/1)

Moreover, Ghazan is portrayed in the panegyric recited by the disciple as the hand that will clear the clouds that overshadow Gülşehri, and a helper who will not only benefit from his wisdom, but also will spread his verses around the world. Although certain ambiguities in the panegyric require further attention, there is no doubt that it reflects Gülşehri’s self-confidence. His comments elsewhere in the work about how local administrators pay him respect and heed his words maybe meant to draw the khan’s attention to his own local power (fol. 20b/5-7), which Gülşehri claims as not so important for him elsewhere (fol. 20a/9-13). It may be assumed that, in following the advice of his disciple, Gülşehri seeks

Ghazan Khan's endorsement in order for his words to attain universal appreciation—as if the khan's recognition would render the work more accessible.<sup>39</sup>

Ghazan is praised here for having brought order back to Rüm, and in an enigmatic passage, for protecting and supporting “our sultan” (fol. 27b/9-13). Except for these five couplets there seems to be no reference in the *Falahnāma* to Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kayqubād III (698/1298-701/1302), who was on the throne for three years when Gölşehri completed his composition. While the fact that he does not consider Kayqubād III a possible patron points toward the politics of patronage in this period, that he compares himself, as quoted above, to Ghazan Khan reveals the shaykh's individual desires as an author.

The third person cited in the panegyric section is a certain ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, under whose justice Rüm has gained order (30b/2). Saadettin Kocatürk identifies this person as ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Sāwa who served as vizier to the Seljuk sultan Mas‘ūd II (r. 683/1284-702/1303; d. 708/1308).<sup>40</sup> Yet, according to the *Musāmarat al-Akbbār* by Karīm al-Dīn Mahmud Aqsarā’ī (d. 733/1332-3), Sāwa also served ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kayqubād III in the period when the *Falahnāma* was written.<sup>41</sup>

This section clearly states that in presenting his *Falahnāma* to Ghazan Khan, Gölşehri expects recognition, protection, and more importantly, promotion by the ruler, so that his wisdom would be universally recognised. However, fifteen years later, in the *Manṭıku’t-Tayr*, Gölşehri tells us another story about the composition of the *Falahnāma*: One day, when he is strolling through town in grief for not having a name (here he means a penname) and a book as, what he calls, a town-shaykh (*şār şeybî*) with aspirations to become a universe-shaykh (*‘ālem şeybî*), he finds himself in a garden where the six “men of the universe” (*cibān erî*)—Sanā’î, ‘Aṭṭār, Nizāmî, Sa‘dî, Rümî, and Sulṭān Walad—are convened around a fountain. He has an exchange of words with Sa‘dî (d. 690/1291-2), who, after insulting Gölşehri for indulging in the simple life of a town shaykh, invites him to be a man of the universe on the condition that he writes a book. If he does that

<sup>39</sup> Gölşehri's verses resonate with “shaykhly” anxieties about courtly patronage. However, problems around disseminating his vision and ideas beyond the town he was living in seem to have encouraged Gölşehri to reach out to a distant possible patron, who must have been seen interested in promoting such written works. For a discussion of Ghazan Khan's interest in more learned “institutional” Sufis see Reuven Amitai-Press, “Sufis and Shamans: Some Remarks on Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhanate,” *JESHO* 42, no. 1 (1999): 27-46. Given the variety of Sufis in the entourage of Ghazan discussed in this article (esp. 34-36), it can be argued that with his theological knowledge and communal leadership position, Gölşehri might have thought himself as a strong contender for Ghazan's attention.

<sup>40</sup> *Gölşehri ve Felek-Nāme*, 59.

<sup>41</sup> For references to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Sāwa see in Turkish translation, Aksaraylı Kerimeddin Mahmud, *Selçukî Devletleri Tarihi*, edited with annotations by F. N. Uzluk, translated into Turkish by M. Nuri Gençosman (Ankara: Uzluk Yayınevi, 1941), 316, 321, 326, 328 and in the edited Persian text, Aksaraylı Mehmed oğlu Kerimüddin Mahmud, *Müsâmeret ül-Abbâr: Moğollar Zamanında Türkiye Selçuklu Tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1944), 279, 285, 287, 294.



he will be the seventh universe-shaykh. After Gülşehri leaves the garden in great distress, he wanders aimlessly in the streets of the town when he comes across a *veli*, i.e. a saint, who gives him the penname Gülşehri and asks him to compose a book with the title of *Falaknāma*. Gülşehri composes the book and rushes back to the garden to present to the six “universe shaykhs” his new name and book. He defends his penname and the book’s title as being as good as the other six shaykhs’ pennames and book titles, upon which all six men of the universe accept him as the seventh.<sup>42</sup>

With this account in the *Mantıku’t-Ṭayr*, Gülşehri provides a different rationale for the composition of his earlier work, the *Falaknāma*. The *Mantıku’t-Ṭayr* lacks a proper introduction, it has no dedication or reason for composition section, no invocations, and no names of possible patrons appear in the text. Still Gülşehri expresses his intention as spreading his wisdom, promoting his authorly powers in ninety-six couplets that are spread throughout the text, marking almost each turn of the narrative. He is his own boastful self after fifteen years, yet seemingly without much hope for external support and without a potential sponsor for his work.

It is clear that in the lengthier *Mantıku’t-Ṭayr*, by changing the story of the composition of the *Falaknāma*, Gülşehri is trying to impart a new and different message. Here he points out that he had become the seventh universe-shaykh long ago, some fifteen years earlier, through his writing of the *Falaknāma*. As such in the *Mantıku’t-Ṭayr*, the description of how he composed the *Falaknāma*, and especially its endorsement by a series of mystic poets writing in Persian serves to legitimise Gülşehri as a shaykh of universe. However, one of his more curious readers could have checked the *Falaknāma* and learned that the *Falaknāma* was in fact dedicated to Ghazan Khan, and not written through a fantastical experience. Was this a literary trope? Or did Gülşehri assume that the readership of *Mantıku’t-Ṭayr* would not be able to read Persian? Or was there a recension of the *Falaknāma* with a different introduction that included the story in the *Mantıku’t-Ṭayr* as the reason for composition?

There must be something additional behind this change, especially when one considers the fact that the first lengthy verse narrative in Turkish, a text quite extraordinary in itself thanks to its composition and use of narrative techniques, is made into a vehicle to promote an older text in Persian by the appearance of the section on seven shaykhs of the universe as a digression. What exactly was Gülşehri trying to communicate and whom he was addressing in his second verse narrative? His constant use of his penname while hiding his true identity, as well as the alternative story regarding his composition of the *Falaknāma* fabricated in

<sup>42</sup> For the edition of this section see, Aziz Merhan, *Die Vogelgespräche Gülşehris*, 219-225. For a transcription and English translation of this section with annotations see, Vanessa Margaret Shepherd, “The Turkish Mystical Poet Gülşehri,” 164-191

his later *Manṭıku't-Tayr* deserve further exploration, especially in regard to the split between patronage and spiritual writing, and between being a shaykh of town, an oral transmitter of knowledge of the hidden, and a shaykh of the universe, a particular kind of author of verse-narratives in Persian. These conscious textual acts, I believe, indicate that Gülşehri defies being considered a mere compiler or, to use a well-established term in Medieval European literary studies, a “scriptor”; rather he aspired to be an author: an author who writes a book not about the facts of this world (a historical narrative, for example), but a visionary one who can report about conditions in another world, following a specific Persian tradition of didactic verse-narratives as represented by the six authors discussed above. As such, his conception of authorship is very different from our modern understanding of the term. It implied being a seer-poet, who was not as limited to being a shaykh whose words can reach only to the members of his community, but rather one whose words reach the whole universe through *his* book.<sup>43</sup> Here it can be argued that Gülşehri considers what “city shaykhs” do to be futile, worldly acts in comparison to composing a work that will be revered by everyone and lead them all on the Path of Knowledge.

Gülşehri’s fame continued until the early sixteenth century. His second work is preserved in six manuscripts, two of which were copied in the late fifteenth century in Mamluk Egypt. As noted above, his poems made it into anthologies, one composed in Eğridir, a central Anatolian town, and another in Egypt at around the same time. Was this an instance of revival of his fame after more than a hundred years? Why did no sixteenth-century Ottoman biographer, in the discussion of fourteenth-century poets, make mention of Gülşehri? One could argue that a Turkish translation of *Manṭıku't-Tayr*, which continued to be an influential work, deserved at least a line of acknowledgment. Finally, why was this work copied at least twice in the Mamluk domains rather than in the Ottoman lands in the late fifteenth century? More importantly for this article, what were the conditions that shrouded the *Falaknāma*, a relevant text in its contemporary contexts, by a seven centuries long forgetfulness?

Even though his name was mentioned by prolific fifteenth-century authors, Gülşehri did not enter the canon of Anatolian literature that developed under the patronage of the Ottoman dynasty. Until the impeccable scholar Mehmed Fuat Köprülü rediscovered him, his works laid dormant for almost four hundred years. Almost one hundred years after Köprülü’s discovery, because Gülşehri provides us

<sup>43</sup> Roland Barthes announced the death of author, arguing that text as a fabric of quotations rejects any authority other than a reader’s, as such we can only talk about a “scriptor.” However, the repetition of a penname and *sabab-i ta’lif* sections in some medieval narratives display authors’ resistance to “death”. See Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” in *Image / Music / Text*, tr. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142-7. For a discussion of poets as scriptors vs. visionaries as well as secular and prophetic authorship, with respect to Dante Alighieri see *ibid.*, “Double Authorship,” 169-170.

with a glimpse of a moment in a literary turn in Anatolia through a series of textual strategies, his works still require attention for implications regarding the literary and religious history of Anatolia. The literary turn in Anatolia that frames Gülşehri's *Falahnâme* and *Mantıku't-Tayr*, as well as what is indicated by them, requires further exploration about authorship and forms of religious leadership, theology and poetics, politics of patronage, and use and function of literary languages within the framework of Turkish as it gradually outshined Persian as "the" literary language through the seemingly reluctant pens of Anatolian authors.<sup>44</sup> Through emphasizing his penname and his high regard for Persian, even while composing one of the earliest literary monuments of Anatolian Turkish literary language, Gülşehri also invites us to reconsider the conditions for the use of the intertwined literary languages of Anatolia: Arabic (with respect to sources), Persian (with respect to the poetics of Sufism) and, last and but not least, Turkish (with respect to localisation); whereas the position of other languages– e.g. Greek and Armenian – suggested by the macaronic verses of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Din Rûmî still mystifies me.

\*

Reconfiguring contemporary religio-mystical literature in a Persian verse-narrative, promoting his poetic persona through repetition of his penname, and transforming his Turkish verse narrative (an innovative adaptation of one of his favourite Persian didactic works) through an inventive semi-autobiographical section as a pedestal for his previous Persian work, Gülşehri inventively transforms forms and themes available for him in early fourteenth-century Anatolia in order to express his anxieties of being forgotten and his desire to be recognised as a "world"-wide famous author. While his anxieties must have been formed by a particular understanding of the fates of local shaykhs, his desire was definitely shaped by an individual understanding of "fame" in the early fourteenth-century Anatolia.

### *Bibliography*

- Ahmed-i Dai. *Çengnâme*, ed. Gönül Alpay Tekin, Cambridge MA: Harvard University, 1992.
- Ahmedi. *İskender-nâme: İnceleme – Tıpkıbasım*, ed. İsmail Ünver. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1983.
- Ahmedi. *İskender-nâme*, ed. Yaşar Akdoğan. <http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10667,ahmediskendernameyasarakdoganpdf.pdf?0> Online. Visited on 24 May 2015.

<sup>44</sup> For the mostly, but not always, negative attitude of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century authors towards writing in Turkish see Kemal Yavuz, "XIII-XIV. Asır Türk Dili Yadigarlarının Anadolu Sahasında Yazılış Sebepleri ve Bu Devir Müelliflerinin Türkçe Hakkındaki Görüşleri," *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 27 (1983): 9-55.

- Aksaraylı Kerimeddin Mahmud. *Selçukî Devletleri Tarihi*, ed. F. N. Uzluk and tr. M. Nuri Gençosman. Ankara: Uzluk Yayınevi, 1941.
- Aksaraylı Mehmed oğlu Kerîmüddin Mahmud. *Müsâmeret ül-Abbâr: Moğollar Zamanında Türkiye Selçuklu Tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1944.
- Ambrosio, Alberto Fabio. "The Son is the Secret of Father': Rûmî, Sultân Veled and the Strategy of Family Feelings." In Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Alexandre Papas (eds). *Family Portraits with Saints. Hagiography, Sanctity and Family in the Muslim World*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014, 308-326.
- Amitai-Press, Reuven. "Sufis and Shamans: Some Remarks on Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhanate." *JESHO* 42, no. 1 (1999): 27-46.
- Aşık Paşa. *Garib-nâme*, ed. Kemal Yavuz. <http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10669,garib-namepdf.pdf>. Online. Visited on 15 December 2015.
- Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author." In *Image / Music / Text*, tr. Stephen Heath. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977, 142-7.
- de Bruijn, J. T. P. *Of Piety and Poetry: The Interaction of Religion and Literature in the Life and Works of Hakîm Sanâ'î of Ghazna*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983.
- Eğridirli Hacı Kemal. *Câmî'ü'n-Nezâ'ir*. MS. Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi 5782.
- Ertaylan, İsmail Hikmet. "Yeni ve Değerli Bir Dil ve Edebiyat Belgesi: Tarikatname." *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 1, no. 3-4 (1946): 235-244.
- Fabris Hüsrev u Sirin. *Eine türkische Dichtung von 1367*, ed. Barbara Flemming. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1974.
- Flemming, Barbara. "Old Anatolian Turkish Poetry in its Relation to Persian Tradition." *Turcologica* 62 (2006): 49-68.
- Goshgarian, Rachel. "Opening and Closing: Coexistence and Competition in Associations Based on *Futuwwa* in Late Medieval Anatolian Cities." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no.1 (2013): 36-52.
- Gülşehri. *Mantıku't-Ṭayr: Tıpkıbasım*, ed. Ağâh Sırrı Levend. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu. 1957.
- Gülşehri'nin *Mantıku't-Ṭayrı (Gülşen-nâme)*, ed. Kemal Yavuz. Ankara: Kırşehir Valiliği Yayınları, 2007.
- Gülşehri. *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*. <http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10685,girispdf.pdf?0>. (Visited on 24 May 2015).
- Gülşehri. *Mantıku't-Ṭayr*. MS Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Kütüphanesi A120.
- Gülşehri. *Gülşehri ve Felek-Nâme*, tr. by Saadettin Kocatürk. Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982.
- Gülşehri. *Falaknâme = Gülşehri ve Felek-Nâme: İnceleme ve Metin*, ed. Saadettin Kocatürk. Ankara: A. Ü. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1984.
- Güzel, Abdurrahman. "Kemâl Ümmî Dîvânı: İnceleme, Metin." PhD Dissertation, Istanbul University, Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1997.

- Hanaway, William. "Bot." *Elr*, vol. 44, 389-390.
- Hatiboğlu. *Letâ'îfuâme: İnceleme, Metin, Sözlük, Tipkibasım*, ed. Veysi Sevinçli. İstanbul: Töre Yayın Grubu, 2007.
- Heinrichs, Wolfhart. "On the Genesis of the Haqîqa-Majâz Dichotomy." *Studia Islamica* 59 (1984): 111-140.
- Hobbins, Daniel. *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Ingenito, Domenico. "'Tabrizis in Shiraz are Worth less than a Dog:' Sa'di and Humâm, a Lyrical Encounter." In Judith Pfeiffer (ed). *Politics, Patronage and Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 77-126.
- Johanson, Lars. "Rumi and the Birth of Turkish Poetry." *Journal of Turkology* 1, no. 1 (1993): 23-37.
- Johnson, Kathryn V. "A Mystic's Response to Claims of Philosophy: Abû'l-Majd Majdûd Sanâ'î's *Sayr al-'ibâd ilâ'l-ma'âd*." *Islamic Studies* 34, no. 3 (1995): 253-295.
- Karamustafa, Ahmet T. "Antinomian Sufis." In Lloyd Ridgeon (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 101-124.
- Kartal, Ahmet. *Şiraz'dan İstanbul'a Şiir Rüzgarları: Türk, Fars Kültür Coğrafyası Üzerine Araştırmalar*. İstanbul: Kriter Yayınevi, 2008.
- Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad. *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, ed. and tr. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff. New York: Routledge 2006.
- Kuru, Selim S. "Destanı Mesnevide Anlatmak: Gülşehri, Aşık Paşa ve Mes'ud'un Eserleri Hakkında gözlemler." In Hatice Aynur, Müjgân Çakır, Hanife Koncu, Selim S. Kuru and Ali Emre Özyıldırım (eds). *Eski Türk Edebiyatı Çalışmaları 4: Mesnevî, Hikâyenin Şiiri*. İstanbul: Turkuaz, 2011, 195-216.
- Kuru, Selim S. "Gülşehri, the Seventh Shaykh of the Universe: Authorly Passions in Fourteenth-Century Anatolia." *Journal of Turkish Studies = Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 40 (2013): 281-289.
- Lewis, Franklin. "Sultan Valad and the Poetic Order: Framing the Ethos and Praxis of Poetry in the Mevlevi Tradition after Rumî." In Kamran Talatoff (ed). *Persian Language, Literature and Culture: New Leaves, Fresh Looks*. New York: Routledge, 2015, 23-47.
- Melville, Charles (ed.). *Persian Historiography (A History of Persian Literature, vol. 10)* London: I.B. Tauris, 2012.
- Merhan, Aziz. *Die Vogelgespräche Gülşehris und die Anfänge der türkischen Literatur*. Göttingen: Pontus Verlag, 2003.
- Minnis, Alastair. *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

- Najm al-Din Razi. *The Path of God's Bondsmen: From Origin to Return*, tr. Hamid Algar. New York: Columbia University, 1980.
- Ömer bin Mezid. *Mecmu'atu'n-Neza'ir*, ed. Mustafa Canpolat. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1995.
- Özervarlı, M. Sait. "Mebde ve Mead." *TDVİA*, vol. 28, 211-212.
- Pancaroglu, Oya. "Signs in the Horizon." *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (2003): 31-41.
- Peacock, A. C. S. "Ahmad of Niğde's *al-Walad al-Shafiq* and the Seljuk Past." *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004): 95-107.
- Peacock, A.C.S. and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds). *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013.
- Regn, Gerhard. "Double Authorship: Prophetic and Poetic Inspiration in Dante's Paradise." *Modern Language Notes* 122, no.1 (2007): 167-185.
- Sawyer, Caroline. "Revising Alexander: Structure and Evolution, Ahmedi's Ottoman *İskendernâme* c. 1400." *Edebiyat* 13, no. 2 (2003): 225-243.
- Şeyhoğlu. *Kenzü'l-Küberâ ve Mebekkü'l-Umerâ*, ed. Kemal Yavuz. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi 1991.
- Shepherd, Vanessa Margaret. "The Turkish Mystical Poet Gülşehri with Particular Attention to His *Manıku't-Ṭayr*." PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1979.
- Taeschner, Franz. "Zwei Gazels von Gülşehri." In *Fuat Köprülü Armağanı: 60. Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1953, 479-485.
- Toska, Zehra and Nedret Kuran Burcoğlu. "Ferideddin-i Attar'ın *Manıku't-Ṭayr*'ının 14, 16, 17. ve 20. Yüzyıllarda Yapılmış Türkçe Yeniden Yazımları." *Journal of Turkish Studies=Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 20, no. 2 (1996): 251-265.
- Wolper, Ethel Sara. *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*. Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2003.
- Yavuz, Kemal. "XIII-XIV. Asır Türk Dili Yادigarlarının Anadolu Sahasında Yazılı Sebepleri ve Bu Devir Müelliflerinin Türkçe Hakkındaki Görüşleri." *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 27 (1983): 9-55.
- Yazıcı, Tahsin (prep. Osman G. Özgüdenli). "Persian Authors of Asia Minor." *EIr*. Online edition. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persian-authors-1>.
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "Battling *Kufr* (Unbelief) in the Land of Infidels: Gülşehri's Early Fourteenth-century Turkish Adaptation of 'Aṭṭār's *Manıq al-Ṭayr*." In A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno de Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds). *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, 329-347.
- Yunus Emre. *Yunus Emre Divanı 3: Risaletü'n-Nushiyye*, ed. Mustafa Tatçı. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991.

## Chapter 7

# Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Western Anatolia

*Sara Nur Yıldız*

Of all the Western Anatolian Turkish *beyliks*, the Aegean-based polity of the Aydınids (ca. 708-792/1308-1390; 803-829/1401-1425)<sup>1</sup> was one of the most politically and culturally influential.<sup>2</sup> Not only were they praised by their contemporaries for their military prowess as *mujābids* battling Christian naval powers, but they were also noted for their piety and promotion of Islamic learning and sciences. Rich from raiding on land and sea, as well as from the flourishing slave trade of the Aegean and grain production in the fertile river valley hinterland,<sup>3</sup> the Aydınids invested their surplus wealth in the cultivation of Islamic learning and courtly literary practices.<sup>4</sup> The Aydınid *begs* likewise left behind an impressive literary and architectural legacy in this newly Islamicised, former Byzantine land. In addition to commissioning works in Persian and Arabic, the Aydınid

---

Acknowledgements: This article is based on research funded by the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013)/ERC Grant Agreement no. 208476, "The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100-1500." I am grateful for A.C.S. Peacock's feedback on earlier drafts, as well as his assistance with various Arabic texts. Many thanks go to Muhammed Hüseyini who first brought to my attention the work of the late fourteenth-century Persian authors, Faridün al-Ukkāsha and Sharaf al-Din Hüsayn b. Aḥmad al-Tabrizi al-Khālidi as well as to Ali İhsan Yıldırım, director of the Tire Necip Paşa Library.

- <sup>1</sup> The Aydınid realm roughly lay along the broad intra-mountain plain along the Küçük Menderes (Caystros) River, extending from the north-eastern mountain centre at Birgi (Pyrgion) to the Aegean coast at Ayasuluk and the port of İzmir.
- <sup>2</sup> The Aydınids were rivalled only by the land-locked Germiyanids, of whom in fact they were an offshoot. Halil İnalcık emphasises the cultural and political importance of the Germiyanids in his "The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments, and Court Poets," *Journal of Turkish Literature* (2008): 22 ff. For more on the Germiyanids and Aydınids, see Rudi Paul Lindner, "Anatolia, 1300-1451," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet, *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 110. The most comprehensive study of the Aydınids to date is Himmet Akın, *Aydınoğulları Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları and İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1946).
- <sup>3</sup> For more on the Aegean grain trade between the Italians and the Turkish-controlled Aegean coast, see Serdar Çavuşdere, "Ege'de Türk-İtalyan Hububat Ticareti (13.-14. Yüzyıl)," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 28, no. 46 (2009): 275-303.
- <sup>4</sup> Barbara Flemming, "Faḥrî's *Hüsev u Şirin* vom Jahre 1367. Eine vergessene türkische Dichtung aus der Emiratszeit," *ZDMG* 115 (1965): 36-37.

rulers were among the earliest patrons of written Anatolian Turkish. In fact, the Aydinid court was the site of several literary firsts for this emerging vernacular literary language, including the first western Turkish translation of Nizāmi's Persian poetic masterpiece, *Khusraw u Shirin*.<sup>5</sup>

This paper surveys the trilingual literary output associated with the Aydinid rulers of the fourteenth century: Mubareziddin Mehmed (r. 708-734/1308-1334), the eponymous founder of the principality, and his sons Umur (r. 734-748/1334-1348) and Fahrüddin İsa (r. ca. 760-792/1360-90). The works written for them may be broadly categorised as: 1) popular Turkish adaptations of Islamic sacred narratives, primarily the stories of the Prophets (the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* tradition), the biography of the Prophet Muhammad (*sīra* literature), and the lives and miracles of Sufi saints; 2) verse romance, specifically, a Turkish translation of the Persian *mathnavī*, Nizāmi's *Khusraw and Shirin*; 3) medical works drawing from or constituting abridged adaptations of Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn* and *materia medica* in the Ibn al-Bayṭār tradition. In addition to early examples of vernacular medical texts in Anatolian Turkish, medical writing of a scholastic nature in Arabic was also sponsored by the Aydinids, as represented in particular by the corpus of the physician and religious scholar, Hacı Paşa; 4) commentary writing on theology and logic, which likewise form part of Hacı Paşa's scholastic literary production.

In addition to surveying these individual works, I also examine a manuscript miscellany, a compilation by a single copyist consisting of over ten different works. Prepared in the name of İsa Beg by 'Imād b. Mas'ūd al-Samarqandī, an emigré Iranian poet and man of letters who is otherwise unattested, this miscellany of Persian and Arabic works, which I refer to as the *Tire Miscellany* for the sake of convenience, is a remarkable textual remnant which exemplifies the complex of literary, religious and medical interests of the court, packaged as court-consumable *adab* with pedagogical aims.

Most of the above-mentioned works emanating from the Aydinid court belong to the literary tradition of Perso-Islamic *adab*. The relationship between *adab* and textual production emerging from rulers' courts is thus central to this study. In addition to its reference of any kind of pleasing speech and agreeable act, the term *adab* encompasses a wide variety of literary activity and texts primarily emanating from a ruler's court, including philological, medical, astrological, and divinatory works often with edification in mind—in fact, *adab* may be seen as encapsulating all forms of court-sponsored literature.<sup>6</sup> *Adab* is best understood not as a genre but rather as a discursive tradition aimed at creating political

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 36-37. The text of the Turkish translation of Nizāmi's *Khusraw u Shirin* is available in a published edition prepared by Barbara Flemming, *Fahrī's Hüsrev u Şirin. Eine türkische Dichtung von 1367* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974).

<sup>6</sup> As Stefan Sperl points out, even a joke can be *adab* if it cultivates proper decorum and moral rectitude. See Stefan Sperl, "Man's 'Hollow Core': Ethics and Aesthetics in *Ḥadīth* Literature and Classical Arabic *Adab*," *BSOAS* 70, no. 3 (2007): 473.



and social elites through the transmission of canons of knowledge and ways of thinking that inculcate aesthetic, ethical and religious values.<sup>7</sup> Most importantly, *adab* literature defined the norms and expectations that rulers were held to by both the political elite and commoner alike and thus facilitated the creation of a political culture which bound elites and common subjects to a ruler based on notions of equity and the divine sanction of rule.<sup>8</sup>

Aydinid patronage of Arabic and Persian letters rendered in the Turkish vernacular indicates a demand for literature that was both entertaining and edifying, not only for the ruler and his immediate entourage, but also for a potentially broader audience, although the small number of manuscript copies of some of these works indicate a rather limited circulation. Furthermore, the emphasis on sacred histories and biographies of prophets and Sufi saints reflect both the pious leanings of the Aydinid rulers as well as the important role that religiously sanctioned models of behavior played in the shaping of Aydinid notions of rulership.

Indeed, as the praise of the *litterateurs* they sponsored demonstrates, the Aydinid rulers yearned to be more than local Turkish warlords or *begs*; they strove to be regarded as *pādishāhs* with all the trappings of a Perso-Islamic monarchy. During this age of political fragmentation in the Mediterranean-Iranian world following the dissolution of the Mongol empire, regional rulers such as the Aydinids – no matter how limited their power or insignificant their territorial possessions – are portrayed in various written media, from *qaṣīdas* to building inscriptions, as world-dominating potentates. This conscious image-building drew on both contemporary and past canons of *adab* literary trends.

This paper likewise explores the circulation of textual traditions and trends in knowledge in the greater Mediterranean-Iranian worlds. The *adab* literary trends and forms of scholastic knowledge that came to the Aydinid court indicate how well-connected this somewhat remote corner on the frontier of the Islamic world was with major intellectual centres such as Mamluk Cairo and post-Ilkhanid Shiraz in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, tracing the movement of textual knowledge and trends to the Aydinid court reveals the enormous impact of intellectual trends originally emanating from Ilkhanid Iran had on the Islamic world, including Mamluk Egypt, which was perhaps even more closely linked to Ayasuluk than we imagine. That the Aydinid court likewise attracted emigré scholars, poets and courtiers from both the Arab and Iranian worlds indicates that patronage was an important catalyst in the transfer of knowledge, and in the creation of an Arabo-Persian synthesis in a largely Turcophone environment.

<sup>7</sup> Stefan Leder and Hilary Kilpatrick, "Classical Arabic Prose Literature: A Researcher's Sketch Map," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 21, no. 1 (1992): 19.

<sup>8</sup> Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "Playing with the Sacred: Religious Intertext in Adab Discourse," in Asma Afsaruddin and A. H. Mathias Zahniser (eds), *Humanism, Culture, and Language in the Near East: Studies in Honor of Georg Krotkoff* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 52.

### *The Aydınid Court through the Eyes of Ibn Battūta*

We are lucky to have Ibn Battūta's descriptions of what appears to be a particularly vibrant courtly culture in the making in this southwestern corner of Aegean Anatolia. Aydınoğlu Mehmed Beg was not a crude Turkmen warlord dwelling in rough circumstances; Ibn Battūta portrays him as having lived rather sumptuously in what may be considered Byzantine style. The Aydınid lord is described by his North African guest as surrounded by young Greek *ghulāms* who stood guard at the vestibule of the palace, resplendently garbed in silk white robes tinged with red. In the centre of the audience hall, four bronze lions, perched on each corner of a pool of water, spouted water from their mouths. The Aydınid ruler's guest was offered a treat of raisin sherbet with lemon juice and biscuits to be eaten with gold and silver spoons. Byzantine sumptuousness, however, was balanced by a pious atmosphere, with Quranic chanters who regularly performed while the ruler held court. The palace described by Ibn Battūta most likely was located in a mountainous rural retreat (*yayla*) outside of the town of Birgi, known as Bozdağı, where the ruler passed his time in order to escape the heat of summer.<sup>9</sup>

From Ibn Battūta's account, it is clear that not only did Aydınoğlu Mehmed Beg hold court (albeit a "mini-court"), but that he also surrounded himself with the trappings of courtly display and ceremony. Access to the ruler was regulated, with Greek *ghulāms* standing guard at the palace's vestibule, and an elaborate protocol was in place regarding the seating arrangements during banquets and gatherings. Although Ibn Battūta imparts a sense of luxuriousness in his descriptions of the Aydınid palace, he makes little mention of the ruler's entourage. Perhaps this was due to Ibn Battūta's position as an Arab religious scholar who apparently knew no Turkish: he mentions only the Birgi madrasa professor, an eminent yet unidentifiable figure named Muḥyī al-Din who, acting as translator, remained by Ibn Battūta's side during his visit.<sup>10</sup>

Other than Ibn Battūta's account, we have no further information regarding the makeup or dynamics of the Aydınid court. Literary patronage, as far as the surviving works indicate, appears to have been exclusively in the hands of the ruler. We, in fact, have no information on individual courtiers at the Aydınid court. There however are traces of elites who lived in the Aydınid realm, primarily of an architectural monumental nature. For instance, we know of one Hoca Ali b. Salih from his elaborately carved tombstone in the graveyard of İsa Beg's Mosque in Ayasuluk (today Selçuk). The tombstone is fashioned out of an antique column procured from the ruins of Ephesus and dated 779/1377-78.<sup>11</sup> Although we know nothing

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Battūta, *The Travels of Ibn Battūta, A.D., 1325-1354*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), vol. 2, 440-442.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 440-441.

<sup>11</sup> Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "Recherches sur les sources de l'art ottoman. Les stèles funéraires d'Ayasuluk. I," *Turcica* 4 (1972): 106-108.

specific about the life of Hoca Ali, he appears to have been a man of some wealth and learning. Hoca Ali had the means to construct a hamam in Ayasuluk, which still stands today. Furthermore, his title *Zayn al-Hajj wa'l-Haramayn*, inscribed on the foundation stone of his hamam, points to a certain high social status—although it is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning and context of this title, and whether it does indeed refer to an official post related to the pilgrimage and its organisation.<sup>12</sup> Hoca Ali likewise had a taste for Persian verse, as we see inscribed on his tombstone. Commenting on fate and the inevitability of death, the tombstone's verse is rather typical of the era: "Wretched is man who has no say over when he comes [into this world] and when he departs" (*bī-chāra ādamī zād kib / na āmadanish / bik-būd-ast / wa na nīz raftanish*).<sup>13</sup> The Persian verse inscription was executed in the hand of a typical Syrian *naskh*, representing a synthesis of the Iranian and Arab aesthetic traditions. This mixing of Syrian-Iranian styles, indeed, was an important defining characteristic of Aydinid culture, architecturally as well as in literary and intellectual fields.<sup>14</sup>

### *Piety and Vernacular Religious Adab at the Aydinid Court*

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the Aydinid ruler Mehmed Beg held religious scholars in high regard. The religious scholar in regular attendance at court, the jurist and professor at the Birgi madrasa, a certain Muḥyī al-Dīn, a man of noble bearing, clad in gold-embroidered robes, appears to have left a great impression on the North African traveller. Mehmed Beg likewise exhibited a keen interest in religious learning; when he requested Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to write down some prophetic hadiths in Arabic, Muḥyī al-Dīn prepared a Turkish commentary of them on the spot for the ruler's benefit.<sup>15</sup>

The first textual products emanating from the Aydinid court reflect the pious atmosphere and vernacularizing efforts of Aydınoğlu Mehmed Beg as well as that of his son, Umur Paşa. One such work is a Turkish translation of Abū Ishāq al-

<sup>12</sup> I thank Adrian Saunders for alerting me to Hoca Ali's title, *Zayn al-Hajj wa'l-Haramayn*.

<sup>13</sup> The Persian text has been taken from Melikian-Chirvani's study; the English translation is mine (Melikian-Chirvani, "Recherches sur les sources de l'art ottoman," 114).

<sup>14</sup> Among the most important of the elite in western Turcophone Anatolia were *akbi* leaders such as Genç Akhi Muhammed, at whose lodge (*zāwiya*) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found accommodation when passing through the town of Tire. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes him as an influential religious figure: "a most saintly man, who fasts continually and has a number of followers of his Way" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D.*, vol. 2, 444). Epigraphic evidence indicates that this *akbi*, known otherwise as Amir Muḥammad b. Qaraman, founded a mosque in Tire in 1338 (Marcel Cohen, K. A. C. Creswell, Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet (eds), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe (années 731 à 746 de l'Hégire)* [Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1956], 15:117). It is difficult, however, due to the lack of source material, to ascertain their relationship with the Aydinid rulers and establish their presence at the Aydinid court.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 2, 438, 441-443.

Tha‘labī’s (d. 427/1035) celebrated collection of the stories of the prophets, ‘*Arā’is al-Majālis fi Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā’*. This Turkish version of the work, simply entitled *Kiṣaṣu’l-Enbiyā’*,<sup>16</sup> composed between the years 712-719/1312-1319 during the reign of Aydınöğlü Mehmed Beg, is the earliest known Anatolian Turkish version of the stories of the pre-Islamic prophets, and likewise one of the earliest pieces of literary production in the Turkish vernacular (compare Gülşehri’s *Mantıku’l-Ṭayr* composed in 717/1317). Distinguished by a peculiar spelling system, it is a substantial work of thirty-seven sections (*meclis*) and ninety-five chapters (*bāb*).<sup>17</sup>

We may presume that Aydınöğlü Mehmed Beg’s son, Umur Beg (or Paşa as he is also referred to in the sources), famed for his military exploits against Christian powers in the Aegean, followed his father’s example in pious display and sentiment. Like his father, Umur Paşa was a devotee of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (d. 672/1274) and his followers, the Mevlevis. In his hagiography of Rūmī and his lineage, Aflākī, a contemporary of Umur Paşa, designates him as the “King of Commanders, model of champions, a second Ḥamza, godly warrior for the faith.”<sup>18</sup> Aflākī in particular attributes Umur Paşa’s military successes to his piety and devotion to the Mevlevis: “[t]his unique man, having relied on his belief, strove continuously in raids against the unbelievers...”<sup>19</sup>

The *Tezkiretü’l-Evliyā’*, an anonymous translation of Farid al-Dīn Muḥammad al-‘Aṭṭār’s Persian biography of Sufi saints by the same name, was dedicated to Umur Paşa, a work possibly spurred by his intimate relations with Sufis.<sup>20</sup> Also among the surviving traces of Umur Paşa’s religious literary interests is a Turkish biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *Tuhfetü’l-Letāyif* (A Gift of Stories), dedicated to the Aydinid ruler by its author, a certain Abdülcebbaröğlü Ahmed. The author

<sup>16</sup> The work exists in two known surviving manuscripts, MS. Bursa, Ulu Cami 2474 and MS Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu A145. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü makes mention of this work for the first time in his “Anadolu’da Türk Dil ve Edebiyatının Tekâmülü,” *Yeni Türk* 4 (1933): 289.

<sup>17</sup> Mustafa Koç, “Anadolu’da İlk Türkçe Telif Eser,” *Bilgi* 57 (2011): 162.

<sup>18</sup> Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God (Manāqeb al-‘ārefin)*, tr. John O’Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), §87, 663.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, §89, 664-665.

<sup>20</sup> The *Tezkiretü’l-Evliyā’* exists in a unique manuscript: İstanbul, Bayezid Devlet Kütüphanesi, Veliyyüddin Efendi 1643. For more on the work, see Andreas Bodrogligeti, “Feridün Attār Tezkiretü’l-Evliyā Adlı Eserinin İlk Türkçe Tercümesi Hakkında,” in *XI. Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler* (1966) (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1968), 87-97; Barbara Flemming, “Kiṣṣa: 3(a). In older Turkish literature,” *EP*, vol. 5, 193-194; György Hazai, “Vorstudien zur anatolisch-türkischen Version des Tezkaratu’l-Awliya von Fariduddin ‘Attār,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 22 (2004): 269-274; Koç, “Anadolu’da İlk Türkçe Telif Eser,” 162; L. Rásonyi, “Feridüddin Attār Tezkeret ül-Evliyasının Budapeşte Yazması,” in *XI. Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler* (1966) (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1968), 83-8). For more on the original Persian version by ‘Aṭṭār, see Helmut Ritter, “‘Aṭṭār, Farid al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm,” *EP*, vol. 1, 752-755; Harry Stuart Neale, “Sufism, Godliness and Popular Islamic Storytelling in Farid al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār’s *Tadhkiratu’l-awliyā’*,” Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2007.

produced a slightly different version of this work omitting the dedication to Umur Paşa, known as the *Letâyifü'l-Kudsîyye* (Sacred Stories). The *Tuhfetü'l-Letâyif* and *Letâyifü'l-Kudsîyye* represent the earliest examples of Anatolian Turkish prose biographies of the Prophet (*sira*). Both consist of fifteen sections, including one devoted entirely to the Prophet Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, the *mî'râj*.<sup>21</sup> All in all, the *Tuhfetü'l-Letâyif* differs little from *Letâyifü'l-Kudsîyye*, with the same phrasing, linguistic style and use of sources. Both works contain the same Quranic verses, pious formulations, and hadith excerpts sprinkled throughout the text. And while the same stories, or *letâyif*, appear in both works, there is some slight modification in their narration. In particular, the *mî'râj* section of the *Tuhfet* appears to have been written specifically with the royal patron, Umur Paşa, in mind.<sup>22</sup>

The choice of *letâyif* in the title of both works title indicates the *adab* characteristics of the work, and points to the author's aim in recounting the life of Muḥammad in an entertaining way with the use of pleasant language and eloquent phrasing. Albeit in a somewhat popular literary fashion, these works represent what may be described as religious *adab* literature. Parallel to their written versions, these Turkish renditions of the Prophet Muḥammad's biography, the stories of the pre-Islamic prophets, and anecdotes of Sufi saints probably circulated orally, and had widespread popular appeal throughout medieval Anatolia.

### *Performing Adab in the Vernacular at the Majlis:* Kelile ve Dimne and Hüsrev ü Şîrin

The Aydınid court under Mehmed Beg's sons Umur and İsa was a particularly dynamic site of composition for *adab* in the Turkish vernacular. Like many other regional courts in the politically fragmented post-Mongol Turco-Iranian world, the Aydınid court participated in the international literary trends of the Islamic world, producing vernacular versions of *mathnawîs*, or extended narratives of rhymed couplets, of classic status. In the early 1330s, upon the request of the Aydınid prince Umur Beg, the poet Kul Mesud composed the oldest Old Anatolian Turkish version of the *Kalila and Dimna*.<sup>23</sup> An entertaining collection of moralis-

<sup>21</sup> Abdülbaki Çetin, "Letâyifü'l-Kudsîyye'ye Dair," *Ankara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 20 (2002): 24. The *Tuhfetü'l-Letâyif* exists in a unique manuscript MS. Ankara, Türk Dili Semineri Kitaplığı 3784/2 and is known also as *Kitâb-i Letâyif*. The *Letâyifü'l-Kudsîyye* survives in a manuscript at the Süleymaniye Library, Aya Sofya 2027, which is alternatively known as *Letâ'if-i Bahâyi ve Şemâ'il-i Nebvî*. Consisting of 139 folios and copied by a certain Rüstem in 936/1529, this particular text is deficient at the end with the last five sections missing. Although there is no mention of the author's name in the text, it has been attributed to Abdülcebbaroğlu Ahmed based on its frequent mention of his other work, *Tuhfe* (fol. 58a, line 12, 79b line 13; 80a line 1) (Çetin, "Letâyifü'l-Kudsîyye'ye Dair," 24).

<sup>22</sup> Çetin, "Letâyifü'l-Kudsîyye'ye Dair," 27-30.

<sup>23</sup> Nothing is known about Kul Mesud's life. Although Johannes H. Mordtmann identified him as the same individual as Hoca Mesud, the author of *Sübeyl ü Nevbahâr*, this has been

ing animal fables illustrating the art of governance, *Kalila and Dimna*, or the *Fables of Bidpai*, was originally composed in Middle Persian for the Sasanian ruler Khusraw Anushirwan (r. 531-579) by his court physician Burzōe, basing it on the Sanskrit work, the *Panjanatnra*. Kul Mesud's Turkish version of these animal fables is based on the the twelfth-century reworking in Persian by Abū al-Ma'ālī Naṣrallāh for the mid-twelfth-century Ghaznavid ruler Bahrām Shāh, a work based in turn on Ibn Muqaffa's Arabic translation of the Middle Persian version. Kul Mesud's *Kelile ve Dimne* consists of sixteen chapters (*bāb*), and incorporates verse in Turkish (*Türki*), Arabic (*Tāzī*) and Persian (*Fārsī*), some of which appears to have been taken from the original Persian model (such as a *ghazal* composed in the name of Bahrām Shāh).

As was the case with *Kalila and Dimna*, Nizāmi's (d. 596/1202) *Khusrāw u Shirin* was recited and performed at various courts throughout the late medieval and early modern Islamic world, in both the Persian original as well as in local variants rendered in vernacular languages.<sup>24</sup> Originally written in 576/1180 for the Great Seljuk ruler Sultan Tuḡhril II b. Arslan (572-590/1177-1194), Nizāmi's *Khusrāw u Shirin* became a transregional literary trend by the fourteenth century; composing Turkish versions of the popular romance continued well into the early modern period.<sup>25</sup> The first Turkic translation or adaptation may be traced to the Golden Horde realm, with Quṭb's Khwarazmian Turkish version composed sometime around 740/1341 for the prince Timi Beg and his wife, Cemile Han Melek Hatun.<sup>26</sup> That Quṭb's work exists in a single manuscript copied in

---

disputed and discounted by Kılıslı Rifat and M. F. Köprülü, and the prevailing Turkish scholarship does not accept this identification. See Nurettin Albayrak, "Kul Mesud," *TDVİA*, vol. 26, 352-353. For a partial edition of Kul Mesud's *Kelile ve Dimne*, see Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Studja nad Jazykiem Staroosmanskim. Études sur la langue vieille-osmanlie, 1. Morceaux choisis de la traduction turque-anatolienne de Calila et Dimna* (Cracow: Polskiej Akademji Umiejetnosci, 1934). For more on this text, one of the better studied works from the fourteenth century, see C. Brockelmann, "Kelila ve Dimne," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6, 552-558; Semih Tezcan, "Mes'ud ve XVI. Yüzyıl Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine Yeni Bilgiler," *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 5 (1995): 65-84; Zehra Toska, "Kelile ve Dimne'nin Türkçe Çevirileri," *Journal of Turkish Studies—Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları Fabir İz Armağanı II* 15 (1991): 355-380.

<sup>24</sup> Dominic P. Brookshaw, "Palaces, Pavilions and Pleasure-Gardens: The Context and Setting of the Medieval Majlis," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 2 (2003): 199-223.

<sup>25</sup> Barbara Flemming points out that there are over thirty different versions of the Khusraw and Shirin theme in Persian and twenty-one different Turkic versions. See Barbara Flemming, "Old Anatolian Turkish Poetry in its Relationship to the Persian Tradition," in Lars Johanson and Christiane Bulut (eds), *Turkic-Iranian Contact Areas: Historical and Linguistic Aspects* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 49. The most famous version in Anatolia Turkish was composed by Şeyhi for Murad II. See Mustafa Özkan, "Şeyhi'nin *Hüsrev ü Şirini* ve Rûmî'nin *Şirin ü Pervizi*," *İlmi Araştırmalar* 9 (2000): 180.

<sup>26</sup> Consisting of 4729 couplets, this eastern Turkic version has 1000 less couplets than Nizāmi's original work. An edition of the work has been published by Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husrāw u Shirin Quṭba*. I. *Text*, II. *Faksimile*, III. *Glossar* (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Orientalistyczny, 1958-1961) as well as by M. Necmettin Hacıminoğlu, *Kutb'un Hüsrev ü Şirin'i ve Dil Hususiyetleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1968). Although the composition date of this work has of-

Alexandria in 784/1383 by a Qipchaq Turk named Berke Faqih in the service of a certain Altin Bugha indicates how the work travelled to the Mamluk realm finding an audience among the Qipchaq-speaking military political elite.<sup>27</sup>

The oldest Anatolian Turkish version of *Khusraw u Shirin* was produced at the bequest of the Aydinid ruler, İsa Beg in 768/1367. Its author, Fahri, tells us that his patron took such great pleasure in his recitation of Nizāmi's work at a *majlis* that he requested the poet to compose the work in Turkish. Indeed, this commission illustrates Aydinoglu İsa Beg's participation in current interregional literary trends of the post-classical Islamic world, selectively drawing upon and readapting canonical works from the past.<sup>28</sup> By the fourteenth century, Nizāmi, the first Persian poet to embed lyric poetry into narrative verse,<sup>29</sup> had attained iconic status with his *Khamsa*, a collection of five *mathnawis*. His fame in particular rested on *Khusraw u Shirin*, the second work of the *Khamsa*.<sup>30</sup> Described as "a literary turning point not only for Nizāmi but for all of Persian poetry,"<sup>31</sup> *Khusraw u Shirin* tells the story of the tortuous love affair of the Sasanian ruler, Khusraw Parwiz, with the Armenian princess, Shirin, ingeniously rendering what had been a scandalous historical event into an edifying romance. Much of the narrative revolves around Shirin's attempts to transform the misguided Khusraw from a capricious and whimsical monarch into a ruler befitting the Iranian ideal of kingship. Indeed, despite his love for her, Khusraw consistently wrongs Shirin. Although in the end he is transformed by their mutual love, it occurs too late for him to reap

---

ten been given as 742/1341-2, this is incorrect as M. Necmettin Hacieminoglu points out, for the work must have been composed before Tini Beg was murdered by his brother Cani Beg in 740/1339-40. [M.] Necmettin Hacieminoglu, "Hüsrev ü Şirin," *TDVİA*, vol. 19, 56.

<sup>27</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS ancien fonds 312; Hacieminoglu, "Hüsrev ü Şirin," 56; Carl Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens*, Parts 1-4 (Leiden: Brill, 1954), 5; Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, "Sur quelques termes cosmographiques et ethniques dans le monument littéraire de la Horde d'Or," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15, no. 1 (1962): 361.

<sup>28</sup> Nizāmi's *Khamsa* was copied and illustrated more than any other work of the classical period of Persian literature. The earliest surviving illustrated version was produced in 788/1386 in Baghdad under the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Aḥmad (Margaret S. Graves, "Words and Pictures: The British Library's 1386-8 *Khamseh* of Nizami, and the Development of an Illustrative Tradition," *Persica* 18 [2002]: 17-18). Aysin Yoltar-Yildirim points out that the work, likewise illustrated at the Ottoman court in the late fifteenth century, should be seen as "an artifact of the international culture of the Ottoman court" (Aysin Yoltar-Yildirim, "A 1498-99 Khusraw va Shirin: Turning the Pages of an Ottoman Illustrated Manuscript," *Muqarnas* 22 [2005]: 95-109).

<sup>29</sup> Kamron Talatoff and Jerome W. Clinton (eds), *The Poetry of Nizami Ganjavi: Knowledge, Love, and Rhetoric* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 1.

<sup>30</sup> For recent studies on Nizāmi and his works, see the collected essays edited by Talatoff and Clinton, *The Poetry of Nizami Ganjavi*; and Johann-Christoph Bürgel and Christine van Ruymbeke (eds), *A Key to the Treasure of the Hakim. Artistic and Humanistic Aspects of Nizāmi Ganjavi's Khamsa* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011).

<sup>31</sup> Peter Chelkowski, *Mirror of the Invisible World: Tales from the Khamsah of Nizāmi* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), 6.

the benefits as an earthly ruler; his final reward, as he dies in Shirin's arms, is to be found in the next world.<sup>32</sup> In medieval romances, love represents the vehicle of transformation and reform; fitness as a ruler is thus mirrored in the conduct as a lover.<sup>33</sup> As Christine van Ruymbeke puts it: "the romance explores the relationship between love and justice, and specifically the role of love as the source of that wisdom which leads both to justice and to universal harmony."<sup>34</sup> The romance's linking of love, wisdom and justice, as well as its high drama and psychological insight resonated throughout the premodern Islamic world, making it one of the most popular works of the era, to be continuously imitated, translated and readapted for new audiences as well as enjoyed in the original.

Although Fahri does not specify why İsa Beg requested a Turkish translation of Nizāmi's *Khusraw u Shirin*, it surely was not because the ruler was ignorant of Persian. It seems that the translation was done for the benefit of the ruler's largely monolingual Turcophone audience.<sup>35</sup> To better understand the politico-cultural significance of the vernacularisation of this Persian literary masterpiece, it would be helpful to view the spatial and performative aspects of the work in the context of the literary *majlis*, which indeed was the site which spurred İsa Beg's commission of a Turkish *Khusraw u Shirin*. With its monarchical courtly values embedded in the aesthetic pleasures of poetry, *Khusraw u Shirin* constitutes an example of how court-centred literary production is complicit in reiterating the ideological structures of political power.<sup>36</sup>

### *Medical Adab for the Ruler: Vernacularizing Galenic Medicine*

The Aydınid rulers Mehmed Beg and his sons were keen patrons of both physicians and medical writing. Physicians, regardless of religious affiliation, were granted honoured positions at the Aydınid court. Ibn Baṭṭūta relates somewhat disapprovingly how Mehmed Beg allowed a Jewish doctor to sit among the other honoured guests above the Quran-reciters.<sup>37</sup> When Michael Doukas, the grandfa-

<sup>32</sup> Christine van Ruymbeke, "What is it that Khusraw Learns from the Kalila-Dimna Stories?" in Bürgel and van Ruymbeke, *A Key to the Treasure of the Hakim*, 145.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 145; Julie Scott Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 182.

<sup>34</sup> van Ruymbeke, "What is it that Khusraw Learns from the Kalila-Dimna Stories?" 146.

<sup>35</sup> Özlem Güneş writes "İsa Bey, Fahri'den Nizāmi'nin Farsça Hüsrev ü Şirin eserini mecliste okumasını rica etmiş, tüm hikâyeyi dinledikten sonra çok beğenmiş; fakat bu eseri halk tam olarak anlayamayınca Fahri'ye Nizāmi'nin esersini tercüme etmesini söylemiş (Özlem Güneş, "Fahri'nin Hüsrev ü Şirin'i. Metin ve Tahlil. Nizāmi ve Şeyhi'nin Eserleriyle Karşılaştırılması" [PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010], 27).

<sup>36</sup> Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 15-16.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūta, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta, A.D.*, vol. 2, 442-443.



ther of the historian Doukas, fled to İzmir (Smyrna) in 746-7/1346 during the Byzantine civil war, he was received warmly by Mehmed Beg's son, İsa, who granted him an income at his court for his medical expertise.<sup>38</sup> Along with Persian and Arabic literary practices and popular religious works, medicine likewise found a central place in the burgeoning Islamic court culture under the Aynidids. Indeed, medical texts constitute some of the earliest written works of the newly emerging literary language of Anatolian Turkish.

Among the earliest datable examples of written Anatolian Turkish is the *Tuhfe-i Mübarizi*, a simplified and concise medical handbook by a certain Hekim Bereket (Bereket the Physician) upon the commission of a certain *emirü'l-ümera* Mübarizeddin, whom most scholars believe to have been Aydınöglü Mübarizeddin Mehmed Beg.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the work's composition can be placed sometime in the early 700s/1300s, and definitely before 734/1334, the date of Mehmed Beg's death. The work, which survives in two manuscripts (Paris and Konya),<sup>40</sup> is also the oldest medical writing in the Turkish vernacular, thus constituting another "first" in Anatolian Turkish at the Aynidid court. Although nothing certain is known of the author except that he was well versed in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, it has been speculated that Hekim Bereket was of Khwarazmian origins due to eastern Turkic elements in his Turkish. The author states that he first composed an Arabic version of the work:

This here Bereket, the humble one, previously compiled an Arabic work on medicine, the contents of which were based on the Shaykh Abū 'Alī Ibn Sinā's medical work, the *Qānūn*. I have incorporated selected sections of that [Arabic work] in this current book.<sup>41</sup>

He points out that his Arabic work, entitled *Lubāb al-Nukhab*, was unique in respect to its inclusion of circular diagrams illustrating the basic points and medi-

<sup>38</sup> Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 162; Johannes Pahlitzsch, "Greek Orthodox Communities of Nicaea and Ephesus under Turkish Rule in the Fourteenth Century: A New Reading of Old Sources," in A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 157.

<sup>39</sup> Although the identity of the commissioner has been the subject of dispute, most scholars confer that the dedicatee must have been Aydınöglü Mehmed Beg. Having served as the commander-in-chief (of the Germiyaniid army before establishing himself as an independent warlord based in Birgi in around 707/1308, he continued to carry the title *melikü'l-ümera* (Ar. *malik al-umarā*). M. C. Ş. Tekindağ believes the commander Mübarizeddin to be a Seljuk *amir* from the early thirteenth century, Mubāriz al-Din al-Mujāhid al-Ghāzi Khalifat Alp b. Tūli b. Turkānshāh.

<sup>40</sup> For an edition based on the Konya and Paris manuscripts, as well as facsimiles of both manuscripts, see Hekim Bereket, *Tuhfe-i Mübarizi. Metin, Sözlük*, ed. Binnur Erdağı Doğruer (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2013), 21 (henceforth cited as *Tuhfe-i Mübarizi*, ed. Doğruer). Doğruer is to be commended for making available the facsimile versions of the text together with a transliterated edition of the texts.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*: *işbu Bereket eydür kim bu za'if bundan ilerü ve 'arab dilince eylemişidi tıb 'ilmi içinde dağı Şeyh Ebū 'Alī bin Sinā ki tıb 'ilmi içinde Qānūn kitabın eylemişidi anuñ bahşlarını üründüsin bu kitab içinde getürdüm.*

cal principles covered in each section of the work and boasts that never before has such a method been undertaken by anyone, even the great experts of medicine. Before he entered the service of the Aydınid *beg*, to whom he refers by the title “*ḥudāvendigār melikü’l-iümerā’ Mubārizü’d-devle ve’d-din*” (the imperial commander-in-chief Mubariz al-Din),<sup>42</sup> Hekim Bereket claims to have long known of the Aydınid ruler’s fame, which had spread “throughout the four quarters of the inhabited world.”<sup>43</sup> Spurred on by his patron’s desire to have a “useful work on the craft of medicine,” Hekim Bereket showed his Arabic work on medicine to Mehmed Beg who subsequently ordered it to be translated into Turkish (*Türki*), including all the circular diagrams.<sup>44</sup>

After introducing the basics of Galenic humoral theory, the *Tuhfe-i Mübarizî* discusses illnesses, dietetics, the maintenance of health, the control of emotions, and the effects of the exposure to the elements before concluding with an overview of treatments. The work may be described as a concise example of rationalised medical instruction based on the *Qānūn*; this, indeed, seems to have been genre of medical writing particularly popular during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Consisting of around 60 folios, the *Tuhfe-i Mübarizî* comprise four sections (*aşıl*), which are broken up into subdivisions (*ta’lim*, or thesis or teaching) and chapters (*fāsil*).<sup>45</sup> The first section, divided into two *ta’lim*, provides an overview of the principles of natural science (*tabī’at işleri*) as they relate to medicine, drawing directly from the beginning of the first book of Ibn Sinā’s *Qānūn*.<sup>46</sup> In fact, this section on natural science (fol. 1b-20b) is an abridgement of the first part of the first book of the *Qānūn*, replicating its structure, basic ideas and classifications without the detail. So, as we see in the *Qānūn*, the *Tuhfe-i Mübarizî*’s first *ta’lim* enumerates and briefly describes the seven aspects of nature (*tabī’at ahvālî*), which are likewise presented in the work’s first diagram: the four elements (*erkān*) of the body; the nine temperaments (*mizāc*); the four humours (*hult*); the six organs (*endām*) and their separate components (*andan ayruḡ endāmlar*); the three faculties (*kuvvat*) and their functions; and the three kinds of living beings (*cān*).<sup>47</sup> Next described (second *ta’lim*) are “those things which are dependent upon the states of nature” (*tabī’at ahvālîna ta’alluḡ nesnelere*): the complexion and colour of one’s skin; state of being thin or fleshy; the four life-phases (*dört dürlü yaş*), and the differences between the sexes. The second major section (*aşıl*) deals with subjects outside of natural science, or nature; i.e., the malfunctioning of the natural processes of the body as they occur in illness and disease (*şayruklar*). Hekim Bereket follows his overview of illness with discussions on the three types of malaria/fevers (*ıstımlar*),

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 22: *anunü eyü adı ve yüce çarı rub’-ı meskūn içinde tolmıştı.*

<sup>44</sup> Hekim Bereket also produced a Persian version of the work which has not survived.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. with Ibn Sinā’s *Qānūn* which uses *fann* as the major division.

<sup>46</sup> *Tuhfe-i Mübarizî*, ed. Doğuer, 23, fol. 3a.

<sup>47</sup> I.e, *rūh*, *pneuma*, “breaths,” the material that sustains consciousness in a body.

swellings (*şişler*), and other things which are related to illness. This is followed by the causes of illness (etiology) and a discussion of symptoms and how they are manifested according to the dominant element of different temperaments. This section concludes with the two main techniques of diagnosis: pulse taking (*tamarlar dutmak*) and urine analysis. The third section is devoted to the preservation of health with discussions on climactic differences; diet; purging (*istifrag*) and enemas (*buğne*); moving and resting the body; sleep and wakefulness; psychological states such as anger and content; and signs pointing to disease. The fourth and final section deals with the treatment of illness, providing information on purging, vomiting, bloodletting, cupping, the administering of enemas and cauterisation techniques. This is followed by a second sub-chapter on the use of simples for treating illness, and a brief discussion on the use of complex medicaments, providing information on how to know when to resort to compounded drugs, as well as an overview of the different kinds of compound drugs.

The pedagogical intent of the work may be seen in the circular diagrams which accompany every general point made by the text. While Hekim Bereket's use of diagrams in a circular form, as well as the schematisation of theoretical points, does appear to be unique, there nevertheless is much precedence for the use of tabular synoptic tables in medical works. Indeed, the didactic tradition of presenting *materia medica* in synoptic tables may have originated in Alexandria.<sup>48</sup> Tabular charts, possibly inspired by those found in astronomical works, have primarily been used as a format for presenting information on drugs and medicinal substances, such as first used by the Arabic summary of Galen's treatise on simple drugs and the twenty-second book of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's *al-Hāwī*.<sup>49</sup> The Christian physician working at the Abbasid court in Baghdad, Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066), likewise employed synoptic tables in his *Taqwīm al-Şiḥḥab* (Tables of Health, *Tabula* or *Tacuini Sanitatis*), expanding on their use beyond simply displaying drug information to a broader systematic arrangement of information on hygiene, dietetics, and practical medicine.<sup>50</sup>

Hekim Bereket's *Tuhfe-i Mübārizi*, which presents a summation of Galenic theory in the most simple form possible, constitutes the first Turkish vernacular introduction to Galenian-Avicennian medicine and medical theory for the general reader, comparable to the works entitled the "Art of Physik," in the English ver-

<sup>48</sup> Emilie Savage-Smith, "Ibn Baklarish in the Arabic Tradition of Synonymatic Texts and Tabular Presentations," in Charles Burnett (ed.), *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples: Medical Remedies Between Three Faiths in Twelfth-Century Spain* (London: The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2008), 113-129.

<sup>49</sup> Yaron Serri and Efraim Lev, "A Judeo-Arabic Fragment of Ibn-Biklārish's *Kitāb al-Mustāmi*, Part of a Unique 12<sup>th</sup>-Century Tabular Medical Book Found in the Cairo Genizah (T-S Ar.44.218)," *JRAS* 20, no. 4 (2010): 408.

<sup>50</sup> Linda Northrup, "Qalāwūn's Patronage of the Medical Sciences in Thirteenth-Century Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 132.

nacular in the early modern period.<sup>51</sup> Since the work, however, is too brief a text to provide a deeper understanding of the complexities of medicine, it may have functioned primarily as a mnemonic device or reference work for the use of those trying to grasp the basics before being exposed to more detailed explanations. Indeed, the *Tuhfe-i Mübārizî* takes medical writing out of the scholastic context and into the realm of polite letters.

### *Indigenizing Ibn al-Bayṭār's Medica Materia in the Turkish Vernacular*

Pharmacological-botanical knowledge circulated throughout the Mediterranean via modified and expanded versions of the Dioscorides tradition, reaching a culminating point with Ibn al-Bayṭār's (d. 646/1246) voluminous Arabic text, *al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa'l-Aghdhiya* ("The Compendium of Simple Drugs and Food"). Composed for the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (r. 637-647/1239-1249), with around 1400 alphabetically organised animal, vegetable and mineral medicines based on over one hundred and fifty authorities, Ibn al-Bayṭār's *Compendium* represents the height of knowledge of non-compounded drugs in the medieval Christian and Muslim worlds.<sup>52</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār's work was, in turn, reshaped in different formats and languages as it travelled through time and place and changing circumstances. In the fourteenth-century, the work was radically abridged and then translated in Turkish and Persian. In 711/1311, in Mongol-ruled Baghdad, Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl b. Ilyās b. Aḥmad al-Khūyī al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn al-Kutubī al-Shāfi'ī (d. ca. 754/1353), produced the Arabic abridgement of the text, entitled *Kitāb Mā Lā Yasā'u al-Ṭabīb Jablahu fi'l-Ṭibb* (What a Physician Should Not Be Ignorant About in Medicine), popularly known as *Jam' al-Baghdādī*.<sup>53</sup> This Arabic abridgement formed the basis of subsequent translations Ibn al-Bayṭār's work in the four-

<sup>51</sup> John Pechy, *A Plain Introduction to the Art of Physick Containing the Fundamentals and Necessary Preliminaries to Practice* (London: Henry Bonwicke, 1697), A2: Pechy describes his work briefly covering the following: "Elements, Temperaments, Qualities, Sexes, Ages and the various Temperaments of them, and of native Heat, and of Humours, viz. Blood, Flegm, Choler, Melancholy, Chyle: Also of natural excrementitious Humours, as Milk, Seed, menstrous Blood, yellow Choler, Serum, the Humour of the Stomach, Spittle, pancreatic Juice, Lympha, and Slime of the Guts, also of Parts in general, of a Faculty in general, of Action in general, of the internal and external Senses, of animal Motion, of the Pulse, Circulation of the Blood, Respiration, [A3] Chylification, Sanguification, the peristaltick Motion of the Guts, Generation, Nutrition, of things non-natural in general, as of Air and the like."

<sup>52</sup> J. Vernet, "Ibn al-Bayṭār," *EP*, vol. 3, 47.

<sup>53</sup> Aḥmad 'Isā Beg, *Mu'jam al-Aṭibbā': Dhayl 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'* (Beirut: Dār al-Ra'id al-'Arabi, 1982), 524. The early twentieth-century Cairene scholar, Aḥmad 'Isā Beg, Ibn al-Kutubī al-Shāfi'ī's sole biographer, gives his full name as "Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl b. Ilyās b. Aḥmad al-Shaykh al-'ālīm Naṣir al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsīn b. al-Ṣāḥib Majd al-Dīn al-Khūyī al-madani al-muwallad wa al-nashā't al-Baghdādī al-ma'rūf bi-Ibn al-Kutubī al-Shāfi'ī." Aḥmad 'Isā Beg's *Mu'jam al-Aṭibbā'* was written as a supplement to Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a's *'Uyūn al-Anbā'*.

teenth century. In 770/1368-9, ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī, known as Zayn al-‘Aṭṭār (731-806/1330-1404), translated the work into Persian as *Ikhtiyārāt al-Badī‘i fi’l-Adwiya* for the Muzaffarid princess, Badī‘ al-Jamāl of Shiraz in 770/1368-9.<sup>54</sup> An unidentified translator rendered the *Jam‘ al-Baghdādī*, it seems, into Turkish upon the bequest of Umur Beg (r. 734-748/1334-1348), the Aydınid ruler based at Smyrna (İzmir), without however acknowledging that it was based on the Arabic abridgement rather than Ibn al-Bayṭār’s full text; its contents reveal nevertheless its dependence on the Arabic abridgement.<sup>55</sup>

The Aydınid translation, simply entitled *Terceme-i Müfredāt-ı İbn Bayṭār*, is the second oldest datable medical work in Anatolian Turkish. Produced for the benefit of a general readership, the Turkish rendering of the abridged Ibn al-Bayṭār text concisely selects information relevant to a Turcophone Anatolian readership, including the Turkish equivalents of Arabic plant names.<sup>56</sup> For instance, for the first entry under the letter A, “*āṭirilāl*” (*Ammi majus*, bishop’s weed, or false Queen Anne’s lace), the Turkish text provides the following information: “Its seed is crescent-shaped. This herb is called ‘raven-feet’. It resembles dillweed in almost every way, including its flower which is white. It has a very warm characteristic. Its seed is used for treating various types of vitiligo...”<sup>57</sup>

The *Terceme-i Müfredāt-ı İbn Bayṭār* was one of the most copied texts to have emerged from the Aydınid court, with at least twenty manuscript copies currently in existence. Indeed, with a rising demand for medical works in the Turkish vernacular, its readership transcended the strict confines of the Aydınid court. Furthermore, the text also shows us how medicine became increasingly linked to Islamic practice in the medieval period. As Linda Northrup points out, the Cairene hospital, al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī (the Manṣūrī hospital) “was intended to elevate the status of medicine as a discipline by rendering this foreign science less controversial in the Islamic context by demonstrating that medicine (*‘ilm al-abdān*) was integral to the religious sciences (*‘ilm al-adyān*).”<sup>58</sup> According to Northrup, this Mamluk impulse to Islamise the practice of medicine in late thirteenth and early

<sup>54</sup> Abu Rayan al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, *The Treasury of Oriental Manuscripts* (Tashkent: UNESCO and the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 2012), 35-36.

<sup>55</sup> *Terceme-i Müfredāt-ı İbn Bayṭār*, MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Antalya Tekelioğlu 478, fol. 2a, lines 4-6: *al-malik al-qādir sultānımız ‘Umur Beg dāma tawefiqibi*.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Jam‘ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiyya wa’l-Aghdhiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1992).

<sup>57</sup> *Terceme-i Müfredāt-ı İbn Bayṭār*, MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Antalya Tekelioğlu 478, fol. 1b, lines 3-5: *Ḥilāl toḥım-dur. Bu ota kuzgun ayağı derler. Her vechile turaḳ otına [dere otu] beizer illā bu kadar vardur ki buınun çiçeği aḳ olur. Mizacı ıssıdır kuvvetdür. İsti‘māl olan toḥumdur babaḳuñ her nevi‘mi ve barası giderür. Babaḳ and Baras are skin disorders such as *Tinea versicolor*, scleroderma, and segmental and generalized vitiligo, which result in the loss of pigment.*

<sup>58</sup> Linda Northrup, “Al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī—Explorations: The Interface Between Medicine, Politics, and Culture in Early Mamluk Egypt,” *Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg Working Paper* 12 (2002): 1.

fourteenth century was a turning point in Islamic medicine.<sup>59</sup> We likewise see the emphasis on Islamic underpinnings of medicine in the short prologue of the *Terceme-i Müfredât-ı İbn Baytâr*. Here it is pointed out that when one is ill, one cannot not perform the obligatory ritual acts (*farz-i ‘ayn*), i.e., prayer, charity, fasting and pilgrimage, religious duties incumbent on all Muslim men and women: “after the obligatory acts (*farz-i ‘ayn*), the most important knowledge for a person is the health of the body. What come may, one first must perform the ritual obligations to the Lord (may He be exalted). However, when a person is not physically well, he won’t be strong enough to perform the ritual obligations.”<sup>60</sup> Indeed, one not only sees the influence of Andalusian-Ayyubid textual knowledge of *materia medica* in the Turkish translation of the abridged version of Ibn al-Baytâr’s pharmacopeia, but also emphasis on medicine’s religious context reminiscent of trends in Mamluk Egypt.

### *Scholastic Learning under İsa Beg’s Patronage: Medicine, Theology and Logic*

In contrast to *adab* literature, with its emphasis on edification through entertainment designed largely for the political elite (yet by no means exclusively consumed by them), scholastic textual production was aimed at educating professional scholars at the madrasa. In the fourteenth-century, in addition to the traditional format of legal and auxiliary religious sciences, madrasa education increasingly came to emphasise the rudiments of logic and theology, and relied largely on commentaries of authoritative texts. The scholastic dialectal approach involved critical comparisons of statements in authoritative texts, with the goal of reconciling and harmonizing opposing textual positions. Disputation thus formed the basis of the pedagogical methodology employed in the madrasa. Yet, disputation went beyond its pedagogical function, as George Makdisi points out: “In Islam the give-and-take of disputation, of argumentation and debate, was vital to the Sunni Islamic process of determining orthodoxy...”<sup>61</sup> Scholastic learning thus ultimately belonged to the realm of the ‘*ulamā*’, whom themselves were the product of the madrasa.

Directed towards a rather specialised professional audience, scholastic works appear later than *adab* compositions in the Aydınid realm. This is not surprising considering the dearth of an indigenous ‘*ulamā*’ class in western medieval Anato-

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Terceme-i Müfredât-ı İbn Baytâr*, MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Antalya Tekelioğlu 478, fol. 1b, lines 4-7: *farz-i ‘ayn*den muḳaddem abamm ‘ilm ki kişiyet albetde lâzımdır ki bedenini şıḫhatını ne sebeble olur evvel ḫaḳḳ te‘ālā ḫazratına ‘ibâdat kıılır zirâ ki bir kişinin bedeninde şıḫhat olmayacak ‘ibâdata daḫı ḫavî olmâz.

<sup>61</sup> George Makdisi, “Scholasticism and Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109, no. 2 (1989): 173.

lia in the fourteenth century. Those who came to comprise this class during this time were primarily Anatolians who received their education in the Mamluk lands, or alternatively in the Iranian east, or emigré scholars from Arab or Iranian lands. Our only evidence of scholastic textual production under Aydınid patronage in the fourteenth century is the corpus of works of the Cairo-trained jurist and physician of Anatolian origins, Hacı Paşa (d. ca. 828-9/1425), or Celalüddin Hızır.<sup>62</sup> Under Aydınıoğlu İsa Beg's patronage, Hacı Paşa, the most prolific Aydınid author, brought to the Turkish Aegean a wide repertoire of religious knowledge and medical expertise cultivated in Mamluk Egypt. Hacı Paşa came to the Aydınid realm in 771/1370 directly from Cairo where he had received his education and worked as a doctor at the Cairene medical complex, the Mansüriyya. He remained in İsa Beg's service until the Ottoman conquest in 1389. His whereabouts afterwards, however, remains unclear. Although he continued to compose works well into the second decade of the fifteenth century, Hacı Paşa seems neither to have secured another court post or patronage.

Hacı Paşa's corpus consists of seven Arabic and two Turkish medical texts,<sup>63</sup> two Arabic commentaries on logic and *kalām* (dialectal or speculative theology) and a voluminous Arabic *tafsir* (Quran commentary). Not all of these works, however, were produced under Aydınid patronage. His Arabic *tafsir*, composed rather later in his life, was dedicated to Murad II. His two Turkish vernacular medical works, the *Müntehab-i Şifā'* and its shorter modified version, the *Teshil*, on the other hand, make no mention of a patron, and most likely were composed in the author's post-Aydınid years.

Hacı Paşa's textual production under the Aydınids was exclusively of a scholastic nature with the primary purpose of providing madrasas students with instructional texts in medicine, theology and logic. Manuscript evidence directly ties the production of his medical work to the madrasa environment.<sup>64</sup> For instance, the

<sup>62</sup> We know Hacı Paşa's full name, Celalüddin Hızır b. Hvaja [Hoca] Ali el-Hattab al-Konevi al-Aydini, only from manuscript evidence. His name is attested in an *ijāza* record certifying the production of the manuscript copy of al-Bābarti's work, *Tuhfat al-Abrār fī Sharḥ Masbāriq al-Anwār* (MS Istanbul, Bayezid Devlet Kütüphanesi 1132), copied 29 Safar 818 (10 May 1415). In the final work he penned, the Arabic *tafsir* entitled *Majma' al-Anwār fī Jam' al-Asrār* (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Carullah 94, fol. 2b), Hacı Paşa refers to himself as al-Ḥājj Pāshā b. Khwāja 'Ali b. Murād b. Khwāja 'Ali b. Ḥusām al-Din al-Qunawī (Hacı Paşa b. Ḥvāja 'Ali b. Murād b. Ḥvāja b. Ḥusameddin el-Konevi), thus indicating origins from Konya. See Esin Kâhya, "Konyalı Bir Hekim, Hacı Paşa," *Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti* 5 (2008): 38; Cemil Akpınar, "Hacı Paşa," *TDVİA*, vol. 14, 493.

<sup>63</sup> For a survey of the corpus of Hacı Paşa's works on *kalām* and medicine see Sara Nur Yıldız, "From Cairo to Ayasuluk: Hacı Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Late 14th Century," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (2014): 263-293.

<sup>64</sup> Scholastic medicine attempted to combine theory with practice; indeed, Aristotelian notions of matter and ontological questions directly shaped medical theory. One salient example is how medieval scholastic physicians commonly believed that mental activity could cause actual changes in the body, based on the interpretations of the nature of the human soul by al-Ghazzālī and Ibn Sinā. For more on this see, Kurt Martin Boughan,

colophon of a manuscript of Hacı Paşa's most popular Arabic medical work, the *Şifâ' al-Asqâm*, informs us that it was copied by one of Hacı Paşa's student, Yusuf b. Muhammed b. Osman at the "*Madrasa-yi Ayasuluk*" in 783/1381-82.<sup>65</sup> Yet, when Hacı Paşa first entered the service of İsa Beg in 771/1370, the Aydınid centre Ayasuluk lacked a congregational mosque-madrasa complex. Thus, until the completion of İsa Beg's mosque complex in the town in 776/1375, Hacı Paşa most likely taught at the Birgi madrasa established earlier by Mehmed Beg.<sup>66</sup> İsa Beg's patronage of the religious scholar, madrasa teacher and physician, Hacı Paşa, parallels his attempts to further develop Islamic infrastructure in the Aydınid lands with his construction of a mosque complex in Ayasuluk. Hacı Paşa, as head professor of the complex's madrasa, must have presided over a growing cadre of students trained to man the burgeoning Islamic institutions of the realm, presumably as qadis and other religious functionaries.

It was while residing in Ayasuluk that Hacı Paşa produced the bulk of his written corpus. Hacı Paşa's first medical work, *al-Ta'lim fi 'Ilm al-Ṭibb*, composed in 771/1370 and dedicated to İsa Beg, was based on the classical Greco-Islamic medical tradition, drawing on Hippocrates (Abuqrāt) (fl. fifth century B.C.), Ibn Sinā (d. 428/1037), Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 618/1222), the author of medical formulary or *aqrābādhin*, and the great Mamluk physician, Ibn al-Nafis (d. 687/1288). Hacı Paşa at the same time emphasises the originality of his work, claiming that it contained information not to be found elsewhere but was rather based directly on his teachers' instruction and his own experience as a physician.<sup>67</sup> Divided into four sections of "teachings," the *Ta'lim* was composed with the medical student in mind, and concludes with a separate discussion of medical ethics in an epilogue. It is designed to cover all aspects of medicine a physician should know. Beginning with an explanation of humoral theory and its application, the work continues with a chapter each on food and drink; the disorders and diseases of the organs and limbs, moving anatomically from the foot to the head, with their causes, symptoms and treatments; and finally, the diagnosis and treatment of contagious diseases, and briefly, illnesses requiring surgical intervention (such as cataract surgery, kidney stones, boils, tumors and other swellings that require surgical removal). In the fourth chapter or "teachings," Hacı

---

"Beyond Diet, Drugs, and Surgery: Italian Scholastic Medical Theorists on the Animal Soul, 1270-1400," PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa, 2006.

<sup>65</sup> MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 3667, fol. 383b.

<sup>66</sup> Kâhya, "Konyalı Bir Hekim, Hacı Paşa," 838. The Islamic infrastructure of the Aydınid realm had first been laid down in the inland mountain town of Birgi, the original centre of the Aydınid principality, with the construction of the Ulu Cami, the first congregational mosque in Aydınid territory, in 1311-1312. İsa Beg later built a mosque at Kelos/Kiraz, a village outside of Birgi, at an unknown date. See Cahit Telci, "Aydınöğlü İsa Bey: Bir Bânî, Üç Câmî," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 25, no. 1 (2010): 337-338.

<sup>67</sup> Hacı Paşa, *al-Ta'lim fi 'Ilm al-Ṭibb*, MS Istanbul Süleymaniye, Turhan Valide Sultan 258/1, fol. 5b.



Paşa draws attention to certain diseases and illnesses, such as leprosy, the plague, and various fever-producing sicknesses. Appended to the work is a separate treatise, *al-Farida fi Dhikr al-Aghdhiya*, which deals specifically with the dietary aspects of medicine, prefaced with an introductory discussion of the humoral theory related to diet and ending with a discussion of therapeutic drug treatments. That only two manuscripts of this particular work have survived indicates a rather limited audience.<sup>68</sup> One surviving manuscript is an autograph copy, penned by the author himself, which later entered into the library of Mehmed II as a *waqf* seal indicates.<sup>69</sup> One may speculate that this text may have in fact been used primarily by Hacı Paşa for instructional purposes, and perhaps served as the basis of lectures he gave his students.

Hacı Paşa's subsequent medical writings appear to be no more than minor variations of his *Ta'lim: Shifā' al-Asqām wa Dawā' al-Ālām*, composed in 781/1380;<sup>70</sup> *al-Uşūl al-Khamsa*, composed in 787/1386 and which briefly summarises his *Shifā'*;<sup>71</sup> and the *al-Sa'āda wa'l-Iqbāl Murattab 'alā Arba'at Aqwāl*, composed 800/1398. Of these Arabic medical texts, only the *Shifā' al-Asqām wa Dawā' al-Ālām* survives in multiple manuscripts, with at least twenty-six copies in existence today. Two manuscripts of the work were copied by Hacı Paşa's student, Yusuf b. Muhammed b. Osman<sup>72</sup> while Hacı Paşa was still alive, indicating that the works' initial readership consisted of Hacı Paşa's students, as well as possibly his patron the Aydınid *beg* and members of the Aydınid court. Hacı Paşa's medical writing, in both structure and content, appears to have been largely influenced by Ibn al-Nafis's *Mūjiz al-Qānūn*, a work which was the widely read and commented upon throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, the legacy of the famous Cairene physician famed as the "second Ibn Sina" and who ran the Manşūriyya hospital

<sup>68</sup> Hacı Paşa, *al-Ta'lim fi 'Ilm al-Tibb* and *al-Farida fi Dhikr al-Aghdhiya*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Turhan Sultan 258/1-2, fol. 5b-179a and fol. 179b-204a. The second copy is housed at the Topkapı Palace library, Ahmed III, 1947.

<sup>69</sup> A note describing the work on fol. 1a of MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Turhan Sultan 258 indicates that this manuscript was copied by the author himself: *Kitāb al-ta'lim wa Kitāb al-farida kilābumā min al-tibb wa humā bi-khatt mu'allifihimā wa-huwa al-Fādil al-Muḥaqqiq al-Kāmil Mawlānā Khayr al-Millat wa'l-Dīn bin 'Alī al-mushtabir bi-Hājji Pāshā al-mutatabbīb (taghaddabu Allāh bi-ghufrānibi wa askanahu fi farādis jannātihā).*

<sup>70</sup> Akpınar, "Hacı Paşa," 494.

<sup>71</sup> Discovered by Süheyl Ünver, the work was copied by Süleyman b. Muḥammad el-Ḳonevi in a single copy, MS. Manisa İl Halk Library (Akpınar, "Hacı Paşa," 495).

<sup>72</sup> The copies of the *Shifā' al-Asqām* produced by Hacı Paşa's student, Yusuf b. Muhammed b. Osman, are: MS Istanbul Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 3667 (copied in Ayasuluk but undated), and MS Istanbul Süleymaniye, Ragıp Paşa 956, dated 789/1387-88.

<sup>73</sup> For more on Ibn al-Nafis, see Max Meyerhof, "Ibn an-Nafis (XIIIth cent.) and his Theory of the Lesser Circulation," *Isis* 23 (1935): 100-120. On Ibn al-Nafis's *Mūjiz al-Qanūn*, a radical abridgement of Ibn Sina's five-volume opus, *Qānūn fi'l-Tibb*, the major work by which Ibn al-Nafis became known, see Nahyan A. G. Fancy, *Science and Religion in Mamluk Egypt: Ibn al-Nafis, Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2013). See also idem, "Medical Commentaries: A Preliminary Examination of Ibn al-Nafis's *Shurūḥ*, the *Mūjiz* and Subsequent Commentaries on the *Mūjiz*," *Oriens* 41 (2013): 525-545.

complex upon its establishment in 683/1285 by the Mamluk sultan Manşūr Qālāwūn left a major imprint on Hacı Paşa, himself a product of the same Cairene medical establishment.

In addition to his scholastic medical works, Hacı Paşa composed two commentaries on *kalām* and logic for İsa Beg; these works were likewise intended for madrasa instructional purposes. The first, the *Hāshbiyat Ṭawālīʿ al-Anwār fi ʿIlm al-Kalām*,<sup>74</sup> is a commentary on a theological work, *Ṭawālīʿ al-Anwār wa Maṭālīʿ al-Anzār*, by the Ilkhanid jurist and theologian, Nāşir al-Dīn al-Bayḏāwī's (d. ca. 716/1316).<sup>75</sup> The *Ṭawālīʿ al-Anwār* outlines the Islamic theology underlying al-Bayḏāwī's famous Quranic commentary, *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl*.<sup>76</sup> Praised for its pithy presentation, topical arrangement and subdivisions, its precision of expression and ample demonstration of logical proofs,<sup>77</sup> al-Bayḏāwī's work became a central text in madrasa education as it took shape in the fourteenth century.

Hacı Paşa's second commentary, the *Sharḥ* [or *Hāshbiyat*] *Lawāmiʿ al-Asrār fi Sharḥ Maṭālīʿ al-Anwār*, is a "supergloss" on a commentary explicating a work of logic and theology by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. ca. 682/1283), the late thirteenth-century scholar based in Mongol-dominated Konya.<sup>78</sup> The actual commentary that Hacı Paşa explicated is that by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, entitled *Lawāmiʿ al-Asrār Sharḥ Maṭālīʿ al-Anwār*.<sup>79</sup> Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī's (d. 1283) *Maṭālīʿ al-Anwār fi'l-Hikma wa'l-Manṭiq* is a two-part work devoted to logic, dialectal theology and metaphysics which likewise became a standard Ottoman madrasa textbook.

Indeed, the twinning of logic and theology as we see in Hacı Paşa's commentary writing was typical of fourteenth-century scholastic learning based on the notion that, although belief was central, reason nevertheless played an essential role in the

<sup>74</sup> Hacı Paşa's commentary carries the alternative title of *Masālik al-Kalām fi Masā'il al-Kalām* (Paths of Dialectical Theology According to Questions in Dialectal Theology). Hacı Paşa, *Hāshbiyat Ṭawālīʿ al-Anwār fi ʿIlm al-Kalām*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3053, fol. 258v, lines 3-4.

<sup>75</sup> For more on this work, see Edwin Elliot Calverley and James W. Pollock, eds. and trans., *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam: Abd Allah Baydawī's text Tawālīʿ al-Anwar min Matalīʿ al-Anzar, along with Mahmud Isfahani's commentary Matalīʿ al-Anzar, Sharh Tawālīʿ al-Anwar*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), xxii.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., xxi.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., xxii.

<sup>78</sup> Hacı Paşa's *Sharḥ* [or *Hāshbiyya*] *Lawāmiʿ al-Asrār fi Sharḥ Maṭālīʿ al-Anwār* survives in thirteen manuscripts, the oldest of which may be an undated manuscript housed at the Ankara Milli Kütüphanesi, Adana İl Halk 547, copied by a certain Yusuf b. Muhammed, who may be the same student of Hacı Paşa, Yusuf b. Muhammed b. Osman who copied other works by Hacı Paşa in the 1380s. See footnote 72 above.

<sup>79</sup> Al-Taḥṭānī's *Lawāmiʿ al-Asrār Sharḥ Maṭālīʿ al-Anwār* was composed for the Ilkhanid vizier, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 776/1336), the son of Rashid al-Dīn. Louise Marlow, "A Thirteenth-century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean: Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī, Jurist, Logician," *Al-Masaq* 22, no. 3 (2010): 283, note 16. The work was published in Istanbul, 1303.

elucidation of religious texts.<sup>80</sup> The authoritative texts upon which Hacı Paşa and his teachers commented in the fourteenth century were products of the intellectual centres of the Ilkhanate and the Mongol-dominated Seljuk Anatolia in the late thirteenth century. Hacı Paşa's textual production thus reflects the reception of the dynamic Ilkhanid-sponsored intellectual legacy in the Mamluk lands, and in particular, in Cairo, the intellectual centre of the Islamic world in the late fourteenth century. It was this rich legacy that Hacı Paşa transmitted, in the various formats of medical, religious, and theological writing, to the newly Islamizing region of the Aydınid principality, centred at Ayasuluk (today's Selçuk) near the Aegean coast under the Aydınid patronage of İsa Beg.

*The Tire Miscellany:  
Canons of Adab in Verse and Prose*

The reign of Fahrüddin İsa Beg<sup>81</sup> (r. ca. 760-792/1360-90) represents both the peak of cultural production at the Aydınid principality as well as its most obscure period. Unlike his father and brothers, İsa Beg did not engage in warfare. Rather, he seems to have spent his reign in peaceful coexistence with his Christian neighbours on land and sea. In fact, Aydınid military sea-power had barely lasted a little over a decade. It culminated with the conquest of Smyrna (İzmir) in 728/1328 during Mehmed Beg's reign under the commandship of his son Umur Paşa, and came to a swift conclusion in the 740s/1340s when the crusaders led by pope Clement VI (1342-1352) seized the port in 744/1344. The end of Aydınid adventures in the Aegean was sealed with Umur Paşa's death in 748/1348. The subsequent Aydınid rulers normalised relations with the Venetians and Genoese via trade agreements and treaties. Thus, perhaps because of the peacefulness of his reign, İsa Beg remains largely outside of the historical record, getting mention only when his sovereignty was ended with Ottoman sultan Bayezid I's annexation of the Aydınid realm in 792/1390.<sup>82</sup> İsa Beg's legacy lies primarily in the realm of cultural and religious activities, and he is known best for his magnificent mosque built in

<sup>80</sup> For more on the scholastic tradition, see George Makdisi, "The Scholastic Method in Medieval Education: An Inquiry into Its Origins in Law and Theology," *Speculum* 49, no. 4 (1974): 640-661. A similar reliance upon of reason and practical knowledge to attain deeper understanding of the divine truths was likewise pursued in fourteenth-century Europe. See Gordon Leff, "The Fourteenth Century and the Decline of Scholasticism," *Past and Present* 9 (1956): 30-41.

<sup>81</sup> There is some confusion regarding İsa's *laqab*. The foundational inscription of his mosque renders it as Mubārız al-Din (Mübarizeddin), the same title as that of his father. Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Die İsa Bey Moschee in Ephesus," in eadem, *Kleinasien un Byzans. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Alterumskunde un Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1950), 122; Aziz Ogan, "Aydın Oğullarından İsa Bey Cami'i: Efes Tarihine Kısa bir Bakıştan Sonra," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 3 (1956): 79.

<sup>82</sup> Mercil Erdoğan, "Aydınoğulları," *TDVİA*, vol. 4, 239-241.

776/1375<sup>83</sup> by the architect ‘Alī b. Mushaymish al-Dimashqī, based on a reduced plan of Damascene Umayyad Mosque and adorned with a typical Mamluk façade.<sup>84</sup>

A fascinating yet previously unexploited source, which I refer to as the *Tire Miscellany*, provides us a glimpse into the intellectual life at İsa Beg’s court. The miscellany is a unique late fourteenth-century manuscript housed as the Necip Paşa Library in Tire (catalogued as MS DV 812),<sup>85</sup> and is a mixed Persian-Arabic composite codex of some ten different sections. The compilation appears to be, for the most part, compiled and copied by İsa Beg’s poet-courtier, ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd al-Samarqandī, an emigré who was equally at ease in Arabic as in Persian. Of great interest is how the miscellany draws from both Arab and Iranian cultural traditions.

Like his father and brothers before him, İsa Beg aspired to rule as a Mediterranean Muslim potentate. The set of *qaşidas* composed by ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd al-Samarqandī and included in the *Tire Miscellany* provide evidence as to how panegyric poetry serves in shaping the Aydınid ruler’s imperial image. In panegyric verse composed in his name, not only is İsa Beg referred to by the Turkish title *beg* (commander),<sup>86</sup> but also by the loftier designations of *sultān*, *pādishāh*,<sup>87</sup> and *shāh*.<sup>88</sup> His court panegyrist also styles him as the “Lord of the commanders and sultans, steward of the land and sea, protector of the Muslim frontier, regulator of the worldly and religious affairs (*malik al-umarā’ wa’l-salāṭin, qabramān al-mā’ wa’l-ṭin*),<sup>89</sup> *hāfiz thughūr al-Muslimīn dābiṭ umūr al-mulk*).<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Ogan, “Aydın Oğullarından İsa Bey Cami’i: Efes Tarihine Kısa bir Bakıştan Sonra,” 73-80.

<sup>84</sup> Mehmed Baha Tanman, “Mamluk Influences on the Architecture of the Anatolian Emirates,” in Doris Behrens-Abouseif (ed.), *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria – Evolution and Impact* (Göttingen: Bonn University Press and V & R unipress GmbH, 2012), 288, 292. Other members of the Mushaymish family of Damascene origins were involved in various building projects in Anatolia, such as the Amasya Bayezid Paşa mosque (817/1414). For itinerant craftsmen as the main agents of Mamluk architectural influence in the Aydınid realm, see Michael Meinecke, *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions Versus Migrating Artists* (New York and London: NYU Press, 1996).

<sup>85</sup> The manuscript is designated by the Tire Necip Paşa Library catalogue as the *dīvān*, or collection of poetry by Mas‘ūd al-Samarqandī. Although A. Süheyl Ünver introduced the Tire manuscript work to the scholarly world with a brief and at times misleading description, no one since has taken up its study. A. Süheyl Ünver, “İlimler Tarihimizde Aydınöğlü İsa Beyle Şahsına Ait Mecmuanın Ehemmiyeti Hakkında,” *Belleten* 95 (1960): 447-455.

<sup>86</sup> ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd al-Samarqandī, *Tire Miscellany*, MS Tire, Necip Paşa Kütüphanesi DV 812, fol. 16a, line 12: “*Panāb-dīn Chalabī Fakbr-i Malik ‘Isā Beg*” (hereafter cited as MS Tire DV 812).

<sup>87</sup> MS Tire DV 812, fol. 17a, line 9: “*Sultān-i zamān u hāmī-yi dīn / ‘Isā bin Mehmed bin Aydın.*”

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., fol. 8b: “*Fakbr-i dunyā u dawlat / ‘Isā Beg ān shāhī ki hast...*”

<sup>89</sup> The somewhat unusual epithet “*qabramān al-mā’ wa’l-ṭin*” is used by ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī in a short *qaşida* praising the Jalayirid ruler, Shaykh Uways (r. 757-776/1356-1374). ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī, *Qaşā’id*, MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ragıb Paşa 1192, fol. 4a, line 5.

<sup>90</sup> MS Tire DV 812, fol. 1b, line 10. Although the Arabic introduction prefacing the compilation is incomplete at the beginning, it is a lacunae of perhaps no more than several lines (fol. 1a-5b).



دينا وانا تاه، ودعهم ستمنا وسننا وانظهم  
 فلما وسننا تاه واشهرهم عدلا واحسانا  
 واعزهم انصارا وعدلانا واجمعهم للمعابر  
 النفسية، والارض بالرياسة الانسية  
 من شيد فواعد الدين، علما انك اذت بهم  
 واسمي جشاشه الكرم حين ارادت ان  
 تعلم، مجرماتك القاصرة بالارث  
 والاستنات، ناسرنا ليس المكارم  
 والمناق في انا حتى الابد والافاق ملك  
 الامراء والسلاطين، ههوان الما والطير  
 حاطة نعور المسكين، رضا طامور الملك  
 والدين، مالك راب العالمين، الامير  
 لعماده باقاة التقل والعرض، المنصور  
 بعنا يع هو الذي حكم خلافة الارض  
 آية فضل الله ورغبته على العالمين

لخرالد انه والمنة والدنسا والدين  
 حلي عيسى ك ابن محمد بن ادين  
 الاذات راياتنا طنته في العاقبة خافه  
 ويا سيبير وسنانه بالفتح والفتحة ناطمة  
 ومجرات افضاله على نورس العباد دارفة  
 فطورت في عون عبايته وجيش رعايته  
 يسئل الاماني والآمال، والترقي في اسباب  
 السعادة والاقبال حتى سخر له فينا صول  
 وجنا باحسان لانها لوليد  
 عليك الدنيا عيسى بحسب محمد  
 اما في ثناي توحي الله سره  
 فيتموه بها يوما على عم حسبه  
 حتى الله كنيته المود بانه  
 عسما با ساء ما طارت بصعبه

Figure 7.1: Tire Miscellany: praise of the Aydinid ruler Fahrüddin İsa in ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd al-Samarqandī’s Arabic Introduction (Tire, Necip Paşa Kütüphanesi, MS DV 812, fol. 1b-2a).

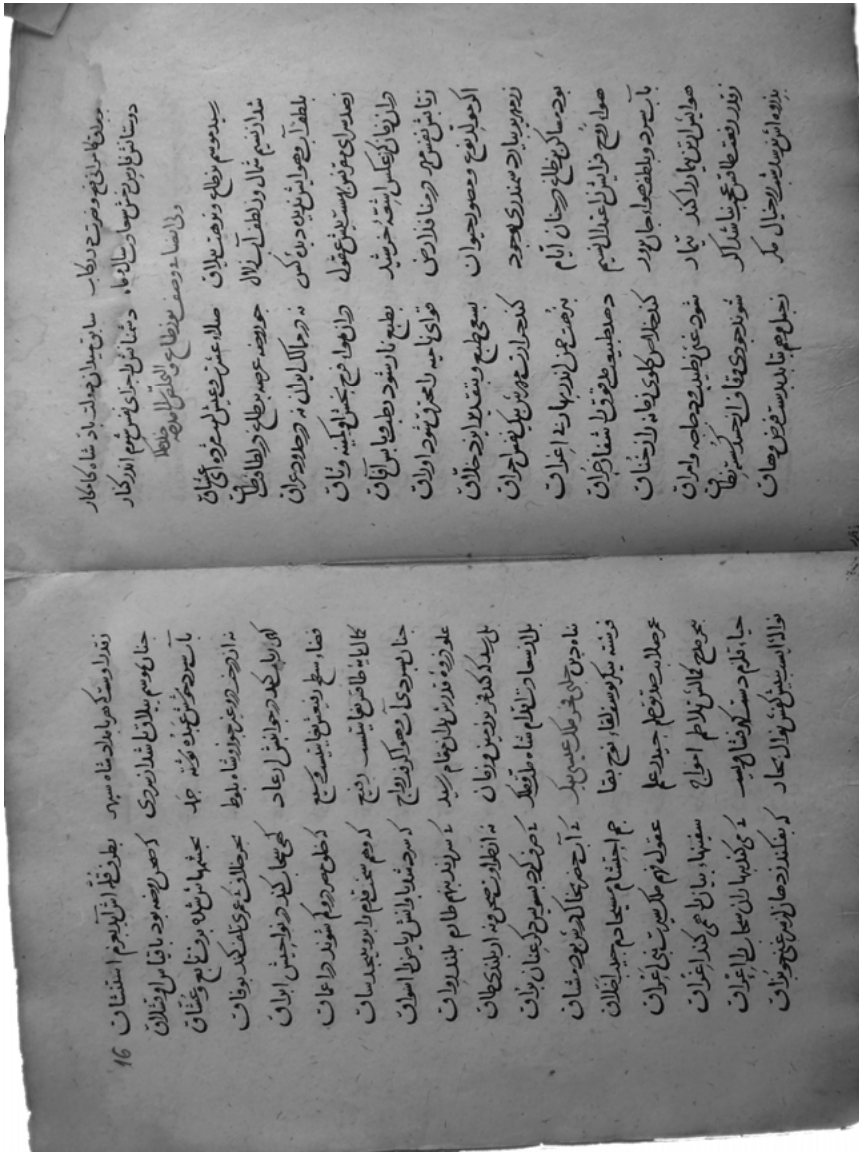


Figure 7.2: Tire Miscellany: A panegyric Persian *qaṣīda* in honour of the Ayyidid ruler, Fahrüddin İsa, with a description of Bozdağı Mountain (line 4 ff.) (Tire, Necip Paşa Kütüphanesi, MS DV 812, fol. 15b-16a).

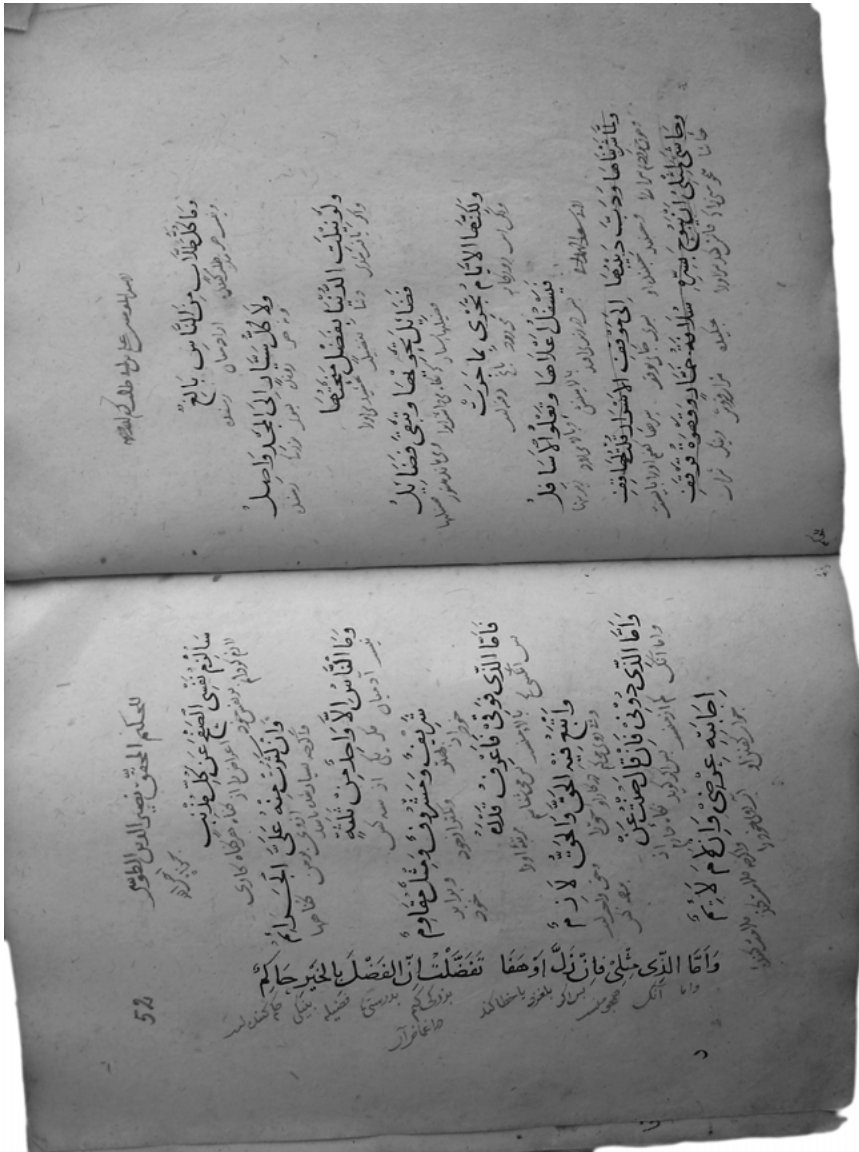


Figure 7.3: Tire Miscellany: Arabic aphoristic verse selections from ‘Ali b. Abi Tālib and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī with interlineal Persian translations (Tire, Necip Paşa Kütüphanesi, MS DV 812, fol. 51b-52a).

In particular, İsa Beg is praised as a generous patron and aspiring scholar of scientific and religious works, whose fame resounded throughout the Islamic world, from Egypt and Damascus to far-away China.

Sultan of the Age and Protector of the Religion,  
İsa b. Mehmed b. Aydın,

[He is] the glory of the dynasties and refuge of the religious communities;  
The dignified world-ruling Shah of the epoch.

Through his auspicious supervision,  
The banners of the sciences and religion are exalted.

The echoes of his [knowledge of] science, reason and munificence  
Resonates from Damascus and Egypt to China

Rūm is not the distant frontier (*ūj*) – on the contrary  
It's an entire world adorned with his glorious aura (*farr*).<sup>91</sup>

Not only does the panegyric situate Rūm (i.e., Anatolia; here, specifically western Anatolia under Turkish control) on the intellectual map of the Islamic world, but also places the Aydınid court in the centre of the world, a common conceit in Persian *qasīdas*.<sup>92</sup> Although he makes no direct reference as to his origins, İmād b. Mas'ūd al-Samarqandī intimates in the elaborate rhyming-prose Arabic introduction that he took refuge with the Aydınid ruler İsa Beg after having undertaken a long and perilous journey.<sup>93</sup> We otherwise have no other direct information about the poet's identity. Nevertheless, as the compiler's *nisba* indicates, the poet had a connection with Samarqand. We may also deduce from the anthology's contents that he most likely had links with Shiraz and the poetic production emanating from the city in the immediate post-Ilkhanid period. This becomes clear in particular from the anthology's inclusion of a Persian *qasīda*, a wine poem of a mystical nature consisting of six couplets, which opens the poetic section of the compilation. Although no authorial attribution is made for this poem simply identified as *al-qasīda al-raḥīqiyya* (Ode to Wine), composed in the name of "the great sultan and the just khaqan" who remains otherwise unidentified,<sup>94</sup> the work is identical to the *Raḥīqiyya* attributed to the Injuīd poet, Jalāl al-Dīn Farīdūn 'Ukkāsha (fl. 750s-760s/1350s-1380s), poet-courtier in the service of Jalāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh Īnjū (d. 743/1342), and his younger brother, Shāh Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ishāq, who held sole power in Shiraz for twelve years, from 742/1342 until 758/1357,<sup>95</sup> and

<sup>91</sup> MS Tire DV 812, fol. 17a.

<sup>92</sup> See Julie [Scott] Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms: The Persian Qasida to the end of the twelfth century," in Stefan Sperl and C. Shackle (eds), *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 137-182.

<sup>93</sup> MS Tire DV 812, fol. 1a.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., fol. 6b.

<sup>95</sup> Jim Lambert, "Inju Dynasty," *ELr*, vol. 13, 143-146. One of the six successor states to the Ilkhanate, the Injuīds gained undisputed control of the region of Fars, the Persian Gulf coast, and Isfahan by 744/1343. Shāh Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ishāq held sole power in



which is known from his *munsba'at*, or epistolary manual, composed in 786/1384.<sup>96</sup> 'Ukkāsha's *Rahīqiyya* likewise appears in later Timurid epistolary manuals which incorporate earlier Injuid material.<sup>97</sup> One such example is the Istanbul manuscript Nuruosmaniye 4312, an epistolary manual,<sup>98</sup> which incorporates part of the poem under the heading: *al-Risāla al-Rahīqiyya wa bi-bā yamdahū al-Malik al-marḥūm al-shahīd Jamāl al-Dīn Shaykh Abū Ishāq (tāba tharāhu)*. This epistle in praise of the Injuid ruler is prefaced by the first four of the seven couplets of the *Rahīqiyya* poem which appears in the Tire manuscript.<sup>99</sup>

The *Rahīqiyya* is placed immediately after the copyist's introduction as a preface to the copyist's own verse, which is commenced with a short *qaṣida* of twenty-five couplets praising İsa Beg. This particular panegyric of the Aydınid ruler echoes the *Rahīqiyya* in its use of wine *topoi*<sup>100</sup> and the same rhyme scheme

---

Shiraz, Isfahan and Lorestan for twelve years before losing his territories to the Muzafarids in 758/1357.

<sup>96</sup> According to the online version of Dehkhoda's *Lughat-nāma*, under the entry of "Farīdūn 'Ukkāsha," a manuscript of 'Ukkāsha's *munsba'at* exists in the Iranian National Library (Library of the Iranian National Assembly) (<http://parsi.wiki/dehkhodaworddetail-3d2e90aa320240b59bf8157488e01a4e-fa.html>; accessed 26 June 2015). There is no mention of Farīdūn 'Ukkāsha in the printed version of the *Lughat-nāma*. 'Alī Manūchahri and Fāṭima Urūji reproduce the first and last lines of 'Ukkāsha's *Rahīqiyya*. Whereas the first line corresponds exactly with that in the Tire manuscript, the last line differs: *kilk-i dawlat parvarat-rā mulk u millat dar panāh / tiḡh-i nuṣrat parvarat-rā dīn u dunyā dar ḡamān*. This points to the possibility that only part of the *Rahīqiyya* is reproduced by our copyist ('Alī Manūchahri and Fāṭima Urūji, "Jāyḡāh-yi Munsha'āt-i Naṣrallāh b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Munshi Samarqandi dar Pazhūhashhā-yi Tārikhi-yi Dawra-yi Taymūri," *Tāḡiqāt-i Tārikhi* 24, no. 2 [sh.1393/2014], 61-81). Further examination of the manuscript of 'Ukkāsha's *munsba'at* in the Iranian National Library may reveal a more complete version of this wine *qaṣida*, which apparently widely circulated in the Timurid period.

<sup>97</sup> According to Manūchahri and Urūji, some thirty short *qaṣidas* of 'Ukkāsha appear in the Timurid epistolary manual compiled by Naṣrallāh b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Munshi Samarqandi, a *nadīm-i majlis-i kbāṣṣ* and *anis-i bazm* (banquet companion) of the fifteenth-century Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg (Manūchahri and Urūji, "Jāyḡāh-yi Munsha'āt-i Naṣrallāh b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Munshi Samarqandi," 77).

<sup>98</sup> The MS. Istanbul Nuruosmaniye 4312 has been misidentified by an Ottoman librarian as Farīdūn 'Ukkāsha's *munsba'at*, as a note on the front leaf indicates. This clearly is incorrect since it contains mid-fifteenth-century material, including a letter (fol. 13a) composed for Qiwām al-Dīn Muḡammad Nūrbakhsh, the founder of the Nūrbakhshīyya. A.C.S. Peacock points out that this epistolary manual, which remains to be properly identified, appears to be of an Indian origin and includes later medieval Gujarati material (A.C.S. Peacock, personal communication).

<sup>99</sup> MS Nuruosmaniye 4312, fol. 180b-181a.

<sup>100</sup> The poetic force of the term *rahīq*, with its religious connotations as a Sufi term for divine wine, derives from its intertextuality with the Quran as well as its use in Arabic poetry since the pre-Islamic times. *Rahīq* appears in the Quran (83:25) as pure and unadulterated wine or nectar, mixed with musk and made from the special heavenly water of the *Tasnim* spring; it is one of the rewards in heaven awaiting the righteous. For a brief overview of Quranic references to wine, see Claude Gilliot, "Wine," in Josef W. Meri (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilization. An Encyclopedia* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), 860-61. For a philological examination of the word *rahīq*, see Ailin Qian, "Spice, Spiced Wine and

with a *radif* of *-ān*. The textual parallels between the wine *qaşıda* produced for the Injuid ruler Abū Ishāq and that for İsa Beg are further heightened by the use of gold illumination for each work's heading, a strategic decorative technique not seen in the rest of the compilation. The layout of the manuscript likewise highlights a singling out of these two *qaşidas* associating the Injuid rulership with that of the Aydınids, with three blank folios separating them from the rest of the compilation's verse that follow.

The framing of İmād b. Mas'ūd's own verse with that by his contemporary 'Ukkāsha not only points the latter's intimate knowledge of poetic trends coming out of Injuid Shiraz, but also has ideological implications. Firstly, İmād b. Mas'ūd's reference to the unnamed Injuid ruler here as a great sultan and just khan may indicate a lingering loyalty to the Injuids. Furthermore, his use of 'Ukkāsha's panegyric verse addressed to the Injuid ruler points to a conscious effort to link the Aydınid ruler İsa Beg with the political charisma of the post-Ilkhanid rulers of Iran. Indeed, considering Aydınid physical, political and ideological distance from the Ilkhanid Mongol rulers of Anatolia, this ideological posturing on the part of the poet-courtier in the service of Aydınoğlu İsa Beg deserves more examination. It seems that İmād b. Mas'ūd was trying to portray the Aydınid realm as offering new political possibilities in place of his former home. Indeed, far from the political instability of fourteenth-century Iran, where a succession of dynastic houses battled one another for the political and territorial legacy of the Ilkhanate, western Anatolia under rulers like İsa Beg must have offered displaced *litterati* such as İmād b. Mas'ūd respite from the political vagaries of his homeland.

Following the blank folios are thirty poems by the copyist, some of which are panegyrics in the name of İsa Beg, and which consist, aside from the occasional long *qaşıda*, primarily of short *qaşidas* of seven couplets with a concluding additional couplet rendered in a different internal rhyme.<sup>101</sup> Twenty-eight are composed in Persian, two in Arabic, and one is a hybrid of Arabic and Persian. The themes of 'Ukkāsha's *Rahīqīyya* resonate throughout İmād b. Mas'ūd's panegyric

---

Pure Wine," *JAOS* 128, no. 2 (2008): 311-316. For an examination of an esoteric use of *rahīq* in 'Umar al-Suhrawardī's short treatise *al-Rahīq al-Makbtūm li-Dhawī al-Uqūl wa'l-Fuhūm*, see Arin Shawqat Salamah-Qudsi, "The 'Sealed Nectar': An Overview of a Sufi Treatise of 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632 AH/1234 AD)," *Arabica* 57 (2010): 30-56.

<sup>101</sup> Whereas modern scholars refer to brief, monothematic *qaşidas* as *qif'a* (pl. *qif'a*), or *muqatta'a* ("fragment or slice"), in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century Turco-Iranian world, the term *qaşıda* was used in reference to such short pieces. Evidence of this may be found in the manuscript of the *Kulliyāt* of the fourteenth-century Persian poet, 'Ubayd Zākāni (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ragıb Paşa 1192, dated to Mehmed II's reign), which is an anthology of nine of his works, the second of which consists of his collection of short poems entitled as *qaşā'id* (fol. 2b-95a). These *qaşidas* all consist of five couplets with the same rhyme scheme, ending with a sixth couplet with a different rhyme scheme. For more on the term *qif'a*, see Julie Scott Meisami, *Structure and Meaning in Medieval Arabic and Persian Poetry: Orient Pearls* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 29; Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 3, 8.

verse for İsa Beg. For instance, ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd writes that not only did İsa Beg transform the land of the Greeks into one fit for inhabitation by Muslims, but he also established gardens rivalling that of the legendary gardens of Iram,<sup>102</sup> through the exertion of both the sword and the pen: “*kard ma‘mūr mulk-i Yūnān-rā / hamchū bāgh-i Iram tiğh u qalam.*”<sup>103</sup> One cannot be help be struck by the resonance this couplet exhibits with the final line of Ukkāsha’s *Rahīqiyya*: *kilk-i dawlat parwarat-rā mulk u millat dar panāb / tiğh-i nuşrat parwarat-rā dīn u dunyā dar žamān.*<sup>104</sup>

Another indication of ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd’s deeply imbedded intertextuality with early fourteenth-century Persian literary trends is a marginal note penned in a different hand, presumably by a later reader of the text, next to one of ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd’s *ghazals* which ends with the rhyme *natawān gardad* (“rendered incapable”);<sup>105</sup> the note points out a similar use of this *radif* by the Ilkhanid poet, Humām al-Dīn b. ‘Alā’ Tabrizī (d. 714/1314-5). One of the most important imitators of Sa‘dī, Humām Tabrizī served as an important model for subsequent poets in the fourteenth century.<sup>106</sup>

In addition to the strong influence of mid- to late fourteenth century poetic trends originating from Shiraz and Tabriz, the *qaşidas* composed by ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd uniquely reflect life at the Aydinid court. For instance, *qaşida* number 14 (fol. 15b-17a), which consists of fifty-five couplets in the mono-rhyme (*radif*) of –*āq*, extols the delights of the *ayyla* (*nuzhat-i yaylāq*), and specifically makes mention of the Bozdağı Mountain:<sup>107</sup> *rasīd marwīm-i Bozdağ wa nuzhat-i yaylāq / şalā-yi ‘isbrat u ‘aysh ast muzhda-yi ‘usshāq.* Clearly the courtier-poet and member of İsa Beg’s retinue escaped the scorching heat of the Aegean summer by ascending to the refreshing *ayyla*, or mountain plateau grassyland.<sup>108</sup> ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd al-Samarqandī’s *qaşidas* likewise make reference to actual events, such as the sultan’s release of Muslims captured by Franks for the payment of 1000 dirhams.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>102</sup> The Bāgh-i Iram (Garden of Iram), is a mythological garden on earth said to have been devised by Shaddād b. ‘Ād in imitation of the garden of paradise.

<sup>103</sup> From a *qif’a* of 7 couplets, in the mono-rhyme (*radif*) –*am* (MS Tire DV 812, 14a).

<sup>104</sup> This part of the text is reproduced in Manūchahrī and Urūjī, “Jāyghāh-yi Munsha’āt-i Naşrallāh b. ‘Abd al-Mu’min Munshī Samarqandī,” 77, 80.

<sup>105</sup> MS Tire DV 812, fol. 21a.

<sup>106</sup> Domenico Ingenito, “‘Tabrizis in Shiraz are Worth Less than a Dog:’ Sa‘dī and Humām, a Lyrical Encounter,” in Judith Pfeiffer (ed.), *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century Tabriz* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 77, 81.

<sup>107</sup> The Bozdağı Mountain mentioned here most likely refers to the mountain *ayyla* (*yaylāq*), or grassy land, directly north of Birgi. See M. Akif Erdoğan and Ömer Bıyık (eds), *1481 Tarihlī Tire Birgi Ayasuluğ ve Alaşbir Tımar Defteri (Metin ve İnceleme)* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015), 17. The Bozdağı may very well have been the location of the Aydinid ruler’s summer palace to which İbn Battūta refers when visiting Aydınöğlü Mehmed Bey in around 734/1333 (*The Travels of İbn Battūta, A.D.*, vol. 2, 440-441).

<sup>108</sup> MS Tire DV 812, fol. 16a, line 12.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 25b.

Yet, the miscellany consists of much more than the poetic *dīwān* of its compiler-copyist. The remainder consists of a variety of works, the bulk of which is an anthology of Arabic wisdom literature, aphorisms, short selections of verse, and epistles attributed to a variety of well-known Islamic religious figures, scholars and sufis, and accompanied with Persian interlinear translations. This is followed by the Persian texts of the famous Persian-Arabic correspondence between Şadr al-Din al-Qūnawī and Naşır al-Din al-Ṭūsī, a work which seems to have generated much subsequent interest across the Islamic world considering the great many surviving copies. Included also is Sharaf al-Din Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Tabrīzī al-Khalidī's (d. 1389/791) *Rashf al-Alḥāz fi Kashf al-Alfāz*, a short treatise or glossary which explains mystical terms and their metaphorical uses, containing up to 300 items.<sup>110</sup> The *Tire Miscellany* concludes with a Persian translation of a short excerpt from Muḥammad b. Zakariyā' al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Hāwī fi'l-Ṭibb*, entitled *Tarjama-yi Kitāb al-Hāwī fi'l-Ṭibb*. Persian translations of Arabic scientific works were often created for the court, whose members expressed interested in scientific topics but yet lacked the technical Arabic to make their way through scholastic texts. There are also some later additions penned in the blank sheets between works by a subsequent reader or owner, including an astronomical calendar with the names of the months in Assyrian and Latin, accompanied with Turkish and Persian explanations, and several medical formulae in Turkish.

The contents of this miscellany point to a pedagogical purpose, with a broad education in mind, ranging from mystical symbolism and medicine to a wide repertoire of Persian and Arabic verse and aphoristic literature. Did the copyist put this miscellany together for the express purpose of instructing a royal charge, perhaps a son of the Aydınid ruler? The bulk of the work, the anthology of Arabic verse culled from a wide range of authors, in particular points to such a purpose. This anthology of short verse and *qaşīdas* in Arabic, much of it of an aphoristic nature, and ranging on the average between two to four couplets, is accompanied by Persian interlineal translations penned by the copyist in red ink. One may surmise that 'Imād b. Mas'ūd prepared this section as a kind of intermediate reader or chrestomathy of Arabic verse for a pupil who was better grounded in Persian. Not only was the verse possibly intended to be digested through memorisation and better understood through the Persian glosses – it was also a

<sup>110</sup> Sharaf al-Din Ḥusayn b. Ulfati Tabrizi, *Rashf al-Alḥāz fi Kashf al-Alfāz: Farhang-i Iştilāḥāt-i Isti'āri-i Şūfiyyah*, ed. Najib Māyil Hirawī (Tehran: Mawlā, 1983; hereafter cited as Tabrizi, *Rashf al-Alḥāz*, ed. Hirawī), 24. The work exists likewise as MS Nuruosmaniye 4999, and MS Istanbul Süleymaniye, Fatih 5474. A version of this glossary, known as *Iştilāḥāt-i Şūfiyya*, has been mistakenly attributed to Fakhr al-Din İbrāhīm al-İrāqī (d. ca. 688/1289) (William C. Chittick, “Erāqī, Fakr-al-Din Ebrāhīm b. Bozorgmehr Javāleqi Hamadāni,” *ELr*, vol. 8, 540; Cyrus Ali Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love, and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn 'Arabi and 'Iraqi* [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013], 132). Ulfati is also author of a short work Persian work on hadith entitled *Si Fāşil* (MS. Istanbul, Atif Efendi Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi 2728/2, fol. 168-175).

wide selection of cultural knowledge that any well-educated Muslim would be expected to have. Thus, not only do we have discourses on the virtues of silence (fol. 36b), but also the words of the great mystic al-Junayd explaining the merits of affliction (*fi faḍīlat al-ḥuzn*, fol. 38a). The anthology of Arabic verse begins with versified sayings attributed to legendary figures such as the pre-Islamic Sasanian monarchs, Ardashir and Anūshirvān, and Aristotle. The subsequent authors quoted are drawn from a wide variety of contexts, spanning the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, and representative of these following general groups: (1) early religious figures; (2) poets and litterateurs; (3) scholars; and (4) ascetics, mystics and Sufis.<sup>111</sup>

Among the early religious figures, ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib’s presence in this anthology is prominent, with his sayings and poems interspersed throughout the anthology, including a particularly long piece composed as an elegy to Faṭīma. In addition to ‘Ali, who is referred to in one place as “Asad Allāh al-Ghālib ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālib” (fol. 79b), there are excerpts attributed to two other early religious figures, ‘Ali’s grandson, the fourth Shiite Imām Zayn al-‘Ābidin (d. ca. 94-95/712-713)<sup>112</sup> and the jurist al-Shāfi‘ī (d. ca. 204/820), the eponymous founder of the Shafiite legal school. The anthology likewise includes a letter supposedly composed by ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālib to Ibn Ḥanīf,<sup>113</sup> specifically, ‘Uthmān b. Ḥanīf of the Aws tribe of Madina, who, along with his brother Sahl b. Ḥanīf, participated in all of Muḥammad’s battles. ‘Uthmān b. Ḥanīf surveyed the land of Iraq for Caliph ‘Umar, and then fixed the taxation system. During the period of ‘Ali’s caliphate, he served as the chief of Basra. How do we explain the prominent place accorded to ‘Ali in a compilation produced under a Sunni patron, the Aydinid ruler? It is not related to the political expression of Shiism. Rather, ‘Ali was honoured by Sunnis and Shiites alike as the receiver of revelatory knowledge (as the one closest to Muhammad), the sage of Islamic wisdom, and the master of Arabic eloquence.<sup>114</sup> As Tahera Qutbuddin explains, “Parallelism which is the hallmark of ‘Ali’s verbal creations, produces a strong acoustic rhythm, and pithy sentences, repetition, assonance, and prose-rhyme augment this rhythm.”<sup>115</sup> Memorizing “‘Ali’s words” was an age-old

<sup>111</sup> In addition to the early religious figures, the poets and litterateurs as well as the scholars, ascetics, mystics, and Sufis, there is one folio of verse attributed to Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Khwarāzms̄hāh (d. 628/1231), the sole representative of an Islamic ruler (MS Tire DV 812, fol. 72b-73a). The inclusion of this verse appears to be based on its general popularity (personal communication, Naser Dumairieh).

<sup>112</sup> ‘Ali, son of Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali and the legendary daughter of the last Sasanian emperor, was generally known as Zayn al-‘Ābidin.

<sup>113</sup> MS Tire DV 812, fol. 38b (the heading is in Persian written in blue ink): *Nuskha-yi maktūbi ast kib Amir al-Mu’minin ‘Ali (karrama Allāhu wajhahu) nawishta ast bi-Ibn Ḥanīf (raḍīya Allāhu ‘anahu) kib dar Basra ān jānīb-i Amir al-Mu’minin ‘āmil būd.*

<sup>114</sup> Tahera Qutbuddin, *Al-Qāḍi al-Quḍā’i. A Treasury of Virtues. Sayings, Sermons and Teachings of ‘Ali with the One Hundred Proverbs attributed to Al-Jāhīz* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2013), xiii.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, xviii.

tradition in the Islamic world as a way to master eloquence in Arabic and, for this end, his sayings, maxims, sermons, verse and teachings were anthologised and excerpted.

With the exception of the proverbially generous Christian poet of the Arabic *Jabīliyya* period, Ḥātim al-Ṭāʿī (d. 578/1182),<sup>116</sup> the Arabic poets and *litterateurs* are drawn exclusively from the mid- to late Abbasid period spanning the third/ninth to sixth/twelfth centuries. The selections here reveal a clear preference for prototypical models of eloquence and rhetoric: Maḥmūd al-Warrāq (d. ca. 230/845), poet of early ascetic verse; Ibn al-Rūmī (221-283/836-896), famed composer of both long panegyrics and pithy epigrams; Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057-8), the blind reclusive Syrian poet; Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī (d. 387/997-8), celebrated for both artistic prose and poetry; Badiʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008), the pioneer of the *maqāma*, and his famed imitator, al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), the *maqāma*'s populariser, who here is simply designated the *ṣāhib al-Maqāmāt* (i.e., the author of the famous *Maqāmāt*, or *Assemblies* or *Sessions*).<sup>117</sup> This repertoire of Abbasid *litterateurs* represents the main prototypes of different literary formats, including the *maqāma*, a quintessential form of *adab*, which narrates the entertaining adventures of a ragged hero of phenomenal eloquence, as a celebration of the power of verbal artistry. This anthology of verse snippets taken from these prototypes thus introduces the student of Arabic literature to the best of the tradition in a most concise way, in an effort to cultivate basic cultural knowledge of the classical Arabic tradition.

In contrast to the inclusion of poets and *maqāma* authors exclusively from the Abbasid period, the selection of didactic verse attributed to religious scholars and intellectuals in *Tire Miscellany* displays a distinct preference for those of the post-classical period of the Iranian and, in particular, of the Ilkhanid sphere. With the sole exception of the Muʿtazilite Quran commentator, al-Zamakhshārī (d. 538/1144),<sup>118</sup> referred to as the *Ṣāhib al-Kashshāf*, the religious scholars and in-

<sup>116</sup> Ḥātim al-Ṭāʿī (d. 578), the *Jabīliyya* Arab Christian poet of the Ṭāʿī tribe who died when the Prophet was but eight years old, remained a popular figure in *adab* literature (C. van Andonk, "Ḥātim al-Ṭāʿī," *EP*, vol. 3, 274-5).

<sup>117</sup> For more on these Abbasid authors, see T. Seidensticker, "Maḥmūd ibn (al-) Ḥasan al-Warrāq," in Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 805; P. Smoor, "al-Maʿarrī," *EP*, vol. 5, 927-935; L. I. Conrad, "al-Khwārazmī, Abū Bakr," in Meisami and Starkey, *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, 450-1; D.S. Margoliouth and Ch. Pellat, "al-Ḥarīrī," *EP*, vol. 3, 221-2; Geert van Gelder, *Classical Arabic Literature: A Library of Arabic Literature Anthology* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2012); and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002).

<sup>118</sup> Although famed for his Quran commentary, al-Zamakhshārī was a versatile author of many literary genres, including a *maqāma* which deals particularly with moral and religious concerns. His *Rabīʿ al-Abrār wa Fuṣūṣ al-Akbbār* is a four-volume work which brings together a rich variety of verse and prose apposite sayings. See Leder and Kilpatrick, "Classical Arabic Prose Literature," 21; Bilal Orfali, "A Sketch Map of Arabic Poetry Anthologies up to the Fall of Baghdad," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 43 (2012), 41; Naoya Ka-

tellectuals quoted are exclusively from the thirteenth century and early fourteenth centuries: Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), the grammarian and master of rhetoric, known as the *Ṣāhib al-Miftāḥ* in reference to his work, *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*, a popular textbook especially in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), probably the most influential theologian of the thirteenth century and among the most prolific authors of the period; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), entitled here as “al-Ḥakīm al-Muḥaqqaq,” the Shiite religious scholar, mathematician, astrologer, philosopher and director of the Ilkhanid observatory in Marāgha, whose synthesizing efforts rejuvenated “the ancient sciences;” and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 710/1311), the student of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and leading Sufi, physician and briefly, judge of Sivas and Malatya, and author of over twenty works.<sup>119</sup>

The scholar, however, who figures most prominently in the *Tire Miscellany* is al-Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, the least known of them all, although, as a thirteenth-century figure from Ilkhanid Iran, he fits the general trend. Seven folios alone (fol. 44b-50a) are dedicated to verse attributed him. A Shiite who served as qadī in Isfahan, Nizām al-Dīn composed Arabic panegyric *qaṣīdas* in the name of three generations of the Juwaynī family of viziers and administrators and wrote poetry in praise of the *abl-i bayt*.<sup>120</sup> Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī’s appeal to fourteenth-century Iranian poet-courtiers like ʿImād b. Masʿūd al-Samarqandī as an exemplary figure becomes apparent. In summary, the inclusion of al-Zamakhshārī, al-Sakkākī, al-Rāzī, al-Ṭūsī and al-Shirāzī, the intellectual giants of their time, as well as the lesser known al-Iṣfahānī, points the currency of these thirteenth-century Iranian and Ilkhanid intellectual trends in the late fourteenth century—trends that Iranian emigré scholars transferred to western Anatolia, or were brought to Anatolia in other ways. Indeed, the theological-logic commentary writing of Cairo-educated Hacı Paşa provides another salient case of the reception of theological developments from this time in the late fourteenth century.

The most diverse group represented in this anthology, however, are the ascetics and Sufis. From among the early ascetics and mystics, there is the jurist-turned-

---

tsumata, “The Style of the *Maqāma*: Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Syriac,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 5, no. 2 (2002): 120.

<sup>119</sup> For these thirteenth and early fourteenth century scholars, see William Smyth, “Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary: The Academic Legacy of Al-Sakkākī’s *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*,” *JAOS* 112, no. 4 (1992): 589-597; Frank Griffel, “On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s life and the patronage he received,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18, no. 3 (2007): 313-344; E. Wiedemann, “Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī,” *EP*, vol. 5, 547-8.

<sup>120</sup> Many thanks go to A.C.S. Peacock for helping me initially to identify Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. For a published edition of some of Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn’s poetry, see Rubāʿiyyāt Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī: *Nukhbāt al-Shārib wa-ʿUjālāt al-Rākib*, ed. Kamāl Abu Dīb (Beirut: Dār al-ʿilm lil-Malāyyin, 1983). For a study on this neglected figure, see A.C.S. Peacock, “Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, ‘Chief Qadī of China and the East’: an Ilkhanid Man of Letters at the Court of the Juwaynis,” in Dashdong Baiarsakhan and C. Atwood (eds), *The Ilkhans: the Mongols in the Middle East* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, forthcoming, 2016).

ascetic, Dāwūd al-Ṭāʿī (d. ca. 160-165/777-782),<sup>121</sup> and al-Fuḍayl Ibn ʿAyād al-Ṭalaqānī (d. 187/803), an early mystic originally from Khurasan.<sup>122</sup> The twin figures of Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 298/910) and al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922),<sup>123</sup> however, figure most prominently. Junayd was the founder of the Sufi school of Baghdad, whose members have been designated *arbāb al-tawḥīd*, or the “masters of unification.”<sup>124</sup> Known as “sober” Sufis, they emphasised that only after a mastery of tradition and *ṣunna* should one embark on ascetic mystical devotion, in contrast to Abū Yazid al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/875).<sup>125</sup> Al-Ḥallāj, in turn, was greatly influenced by Junayd. These two iconic sufis are joined by the much later Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) and Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Dāya al-Rāzī al-Kubrawī (d. 654/1256).

The mixed contents of the *Tire Miscellany* reflect the intellectual world of its compiler and sheds light on networks of textual and knowledge transmission at the late fourteenth-century Aydınid court. By providing a foundational canon of core literary works as exemplars, such anthologies not only served in the cultivation of literary Arabic as a part of an elite education, but also fostered the development of cultural and intellectual identities.<sup>126</sup> The *Tire Miscellany* promotes both a broad Islamic world-view with its inclusion of examples of classical Arabic literature, as well as the religious and intellectual movements that defined the cultural life of the Ilkhanid period. By prefacing the miscellany compilation with panegyric poetry in the name of his patron, İsa Beg, the Iranian compiler, ʿImād b. Masʿūd al-Samarqandī in essence wed this broad repertoire of Arabic and Persian traditions to the very identity of the Aydınid ruler.

The *Tire Miscellany* may be likened to the *adab* counterpart to the scholastic learning promoted by Aydınoğlu İsa Beg, as exemplified by the Arabic corpus of the religious scholar and physician, Hacı Paşa. Likewise a recipient of İsa Beg’s patronage, Hacı Paşa acted as an agent in the transfer of Islamic scholastic religious and medical knowledge from Cairo to the Aydınid centre of Ayasuluk. Hacı Paşa’s scholastic works, aimed at the creation of professionally trained madrasa-graduates, parallel the court-oriented *adab* incorporated into the *Tire Miscellany* in the transmission of certain intellectual and literary trends which had

<sup>121</sup> *Muslim Saints and Mystics. Episodes from the Tadbkirat al-Auliyaʿ (Memorial of the Saints) by Farid al-Din Attar*, tr. A.J. Arberry (Ames, Iowa: Omphaloskepsis, 2000), 176.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>123</sup> For the poetry of Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Baghdādī al-Ḥallāj see *Le Dīwān dʿal-Ḥallāj*, ed. Th. Houtsma et al., 4 vols. plus supplement (Leiden: Brill, 1913-1938).

<sup>124</sup> A.J. Arberry, “al-Djunayd,” *EP*, vol. 2, 600.

<sup>125</sup> Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd. A Study of a Third/Ninth Century Mystic With an Edition and Translation of his Writings* (London: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, 1962), 3.

<sup>126</sup> For the study of literary anthologies in the formation of cultural identity, see Sajjad H. Rizvi, “Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh al-Jazāʿiri and his Anthologies: Anti-Sufism, Shiʿism and Jokes in the Safavid World,” *Die Welt des Islams* 50 (2010): 224-242.



originally developed in Iran (and, in particular during the Ilkhanate). In Hacı Paşa's case, these trends were received in Cairo, where they had travelled from Iran earlier in the fourteenth-century.

Hacı Paşa's scholastic activities, it should be emphasised, did not lie outside the milieu of the court. Although madrasa-oriented scholastic religious learning has generally been viewed as a domain separate from the royal court, the dichotomy between madrasa and court literary production is difficult to maintain in the case of Aydinid textual production: indeed, the boundaries between courtly *majlis* literary production and scholastic learning centred at the madrasa were not clear cut in the Aydinid realm. Textual religious learning patronised by the Aydinid *begs* took place as much at the court as it did at the respective madrasas in Birgi, Tire and Ayasuluk. The patron-ruler had his hand in religious as well as so-called secular literature, and vernacularised religious literature was performed at the court as a kind of religious *adab*. Thus, while the *Tire miscellany* exemplifies the combined literary, religious and medical interests of the court, with Hacı Paşa, who served as both court physician and madrasa professor, these two spheres merged.

### *Conclusion*

The fourteenth-century Aydinid court of Mehmed Beg and his sons Umur and İsa was the site of a particularly vibrant Islamic environment in the making. Here, in this southwestern corner of Aegean Anatolia, classical as well as more recent cutting-edge literary and intellectual trends of the Iranian and Arab Islamic lands converged, finding eager reception and generous patronage. It is in this thriving multilingual environment of Persian and Arabic letters and learning that the vernacular of Anatolian Turkish found an early home. Indeed, of the somewhat limited corpus of the earliest written examples of Anatolian Turkish, a significant number of them were produced under Aydinid patronage in the fourteenth century. Anatolian Turkish therefore did not emerge as a literary language in a monolingual environment, as modern scholarship has tended to emphasise, but rather as one component of a multi-linguistic textual community. One may say that it was interaction of these literary languages with the spoken vernacular of Anatolian Turkish that acted as a catalyst in its creation as a written form. Further, in conjunction with their sponsorship of the Turkish vernacular as a written literary language, the Aydinid rulers were recipients of classical traditions as well as current intellectual and literary trends circulating in the Irano-Mediterranean Islamic world, primarily through the agency of scholars arriving from Shiraz, an important centre of both poetic and artistic production in post-Ilkhanid Iran, as well as Cairo, the intellectual capital of the Islamic world.

*Adab* came to constitute an important site or *habitus* of Islamicisation by integrating edifying genres and wisdom literature, some of which predated Islam and ultimately derived from the Irano-Indian cultural sphere, into an Islamic fabric.

Fig. 7.4 Aydinid Literary Patronage

Author	Work (mss)	Work Description	Date	Lang	Patron
Hekim Bereket	<i>Tulûf-ı Mübârizi</i> (2 mss)	medical work, translation of the author's Arabic <i>Lubâb al-nukhab</i> , a work based on Ibn Sînâ's <i>Qânûn</i>	707-734/ 1308-1334	Turkish	" <i>bulâvenidigâr melikü'l-ümera'</i> " Mübarizeddin =Aydınoğlu Mehmed Beg
Unknown	<i>Tezkiretül- Erlüyâ</i>	translation of Farid al-Din al-'Attâr's <i>Tadhkirat al- awliyâ</i> , a Persian prose compilation of Sufi biographies	707- 734/1308- 1334	Turkish	Aydınoğlu Mehmed Beg
Unknown	<i>Kışasü'l-enbiyâ</i> (2 mss)	stories of the prophets; translation of al-Tha'labî's <i>'Arâ'is al-Majâlis fî Qışaş al-Anbiyâ</i>	712-719/ 1312-1319	Turkish	Aydınoğlu Mehmed Beg
'Abdülccebbaroğlu Ahmed	<i>Le'tâyifü'l- kudsîyye</i> and <i>Tulûfâtü'l- Le'tâyif</i>	prose prophetic biography or <i>sıra</i> ; the <i>Le'tâyifü'l- Kudsîyye</i> was rewritten as the <i>Tulûfâtü'l- Le'tâyif</i> specifically with the author's Aydinid patron, Umur Paşa in mind	ca. 730-738/ 1330-1338	Turkish	Aydınoğlu Umur Beg
Kul Mesud	<i>Kelile ve Dimne</i>	composed in rhyming verse, this is the oldest Old Anatolian Turkish version of the <i>Kalila and Dimna</i> , an entertaining collection of moralising animal fables illustrating the art of governance.	ca. 730s	Turkish	Aydınoğlu Umur Beg
Unknown	<i>Terceme-i Müfredât-ı İbn Baytar</i> (around 20 mss)	<i>materia medica</i> ; abridged translation of İbn Baytâr's (d. 1248) <i>al-Jâmi' fi-mufradât al-akvâiya wa'l-aghdlhiya</i> is an alphabetically organised encyclopedia of around 1400 animal, vegetable and mineral medicines	ca. 730-748/ 1330-1348	Turkish	Aydınoğlu Umur Beg

Author	Work (mss)	Work Description	Date	Lang	Patron
İmād b. Mas'ūd al-Samarqandī	MS Tire Necip Paşa DV 812, Persian-Arabic miscellany or anthology	anthology of Persian and Arabic verse, maxims ( <i>hikmat</i> ) and correspondence, a glossary of mystical terms; excerpt from a Persian translation of al-Rāzī's Arabic medical work, <i>Kitāb al-Harwi</i> , with later Turkish additions	from 1360s-1380s?/ 760s-780s?	Persian, Arabic (some Turkish added later)	Aydinoğlu İsa Beg
Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. İbrāhīm al-Nūri	<i>Kashf al-Asrār 'alā Lisān al-Tayūr wa'l-Azhār</i> (unique ms Bayezid Devlet Library, Veliyeddin Ef. 1630)	natural history: work on flora, fauna and minerals; Persian translation of the author's Arabic version of the work	from 1360s-1380s?/ 760s-780s?	Persian	Aydinoğlu İsa Beg
Fahri: Fahrüddin Yakub b. Mehmed	<i>Hüsrev ü Şirîn</i> (unique ms Berlin)	translation of Nizāmī's classic of the same name	768/1367	Turkish	Aydinoğlu İsa Beg
Ahmedi [Taceddin Ahmed ibn İbrahim]	<i>Mirqāt al-adab</i> (4 mss, possibly more)	Persian verse dictionary of Arabic, Arabic grammar rules, and glossary of cultural terms	760s/1360s	Persian	Aydinoğlu İsa Beg
Hacı Paşa	<i>al-Ta'lim fi 'Ilm al-Ṭibb</i> (2 mss)	learned scholastic medicine: based on Ibn al-Nafis's abridgement of the <i>Qānūn</i> , with additions	7 Rajab 771/ 4 Feb. 1370	Arabic	Aydinoğlu İsa Beg
Hacı Paşa	<i>al-Farīda fi Dhikr al-Aghdhiyya</i> (2 mss)	dietary medicine, Avicennian-Galenic tradition, appended to the autograph copy of <i>al-Ta'lim fi 'Ilm al-Ṭibb</i>	20 Rajab 771/ 17 Feb. 1370	Arabic	Aydinoğlu İsa Beg
Hacı Paşa	<i>Sharḥ Ṭarwāli' al-Arweār fi 'Ilm al-Kalām</i> alt: <i>Masālik al-Kalām fi Masā'il al-Kalām</i> (6 mss)	<i>kalām</i> ; commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's <i>Ṭarwāli' al-arweār wa-Matāli' al-anzār</i>	780/1379	Arabic	Aydinoğlu İsa Beg

Author	Work (mss)	Work Description	Date	Lang	Patron
Hacı Paşa	<i>Şifâ' al-Asqam wa Darwâ' al-Âlâm</i> (26 mss)	Avicennian-Galenic medicine	Ramadan 782/ Dec. 1380	Arabic	Aydmoğlu İsa Beg
Hacı Paşa	<i>Hâşhiyya [Sharh] Lavvâmi' al-Asrâr fi Sharh Maqâlât al-Arwâr</i> (13 mss)	<i>kalâm</i> -logic supercommentary on Qutb al-Din al-Râzi al-Tahtâni's (d. 1365) <i>Lavvâmi' al-Asrâr Sharh Maqâlât al-Arwâr</i> , a commentary on al-Urmavî's (d. 1283) <i>Maqâlât al-Arwâr</i>	783/1382	Arabic	Aydmoğlu İsa Beg
Hacı Paşa	<i>al-Sa'âda wa'l-Iqbâl</i> (11 mss)	epitome of <i>Şifâ'</i> , with the same organisation, but one third of the content	791/1389	Arabic	Aydmoğlu İsa Beg
Hacı Paşa	<i>Müntehab-i şifâ'</i> (25 mss)		?	Turkish	?
Hacı Paşa	<i>Teshîl fi'l-tıbb</i> (62 mss)	a later reworking of <i>Müntehab-i şifâ'</i>	?	Turkish	?
Hacı Paşa	<i>Kitâbü't-teysîr fi'l-tıbb</i> (16 mss)	a variant name of the <i>Teshîl fi'l-tıbb</i>	?	Turkish	?
Hacı Paşa	<i>Ma'imû'at al-Arwâr fi Jamî' al-Asrâr</i> (3 incomplete mss) [only the first four <i>jüz</i> ' of volume one and volume ten exist out of the original ten volumes]	<i>tafsîr</i>	824/1421	Arabic	Murad II

Likewise, religious texts were assimilated into the systems of *adab* anecdotes.<sup>127</sup> Thus, in this context, Islamic *adab* literature was a court product of entertaining forms of didactic literature which facilitated the internalisation of a common set of ideological beliefs and modes of behavior pivoting around the notion of just monarchical rule. In addition to the creation of Turkish versions of classical Islamic *adab* literature, as we see under Aydınid patronage, the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries likewise witnessed an explosion in epitomes, commentaries and translations of iconic texts of a scholastic nature. By identifying trends in commentary writing, anthologizing and translation, this paper traces interregional networks of textual communities as they took shape in the post-Mongol world of the mid- to late fourteenth century. It is through the examination of textual production that this study uncovers some aspects of the dynamics of cultural in the fragmented political environment of the post-Mongol Islamic world, not only in western Anatolia, but also throughout the Islamic Mediterranean-Iranian cultural sphere.

### *Bibliography*

- Abdel-Kader, Ali Hassan. *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd. A Study of a Third/Ninth Century Mystic With an Edition and Translation of his writings*. London: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, 1962.
- Abu Rayan al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies. *The Treasury of Oriental Manuscripts*. Tashkent: UNESCO and the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 2012.
- Aflâki, Shams al-Din Aḥmad. *The Feats of the Knowers of God (Manāqeb al-‘ārefîn)*, tr. John O’Kane. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Aḥmad ‘Isā Beg. *Mu‘jam al-Aṭibbā’: Dhayl ‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fî Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*. Beirut: Dār al-Rā’id al-‘Arabî, 1982.
- Akın, Himmet. *Aydınogulları Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma*. Ankara: AÜDTC Fakültesi Yayınları and Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1946.
- Akpınar, Cemil. “Hacı Paşa.” *TDVİA*, vol. 14, 492-496.
- Albayrak, Nurettin. “Kul Mesud.” *TDVİA*, vol. 26, 352-353.
- Ali, Daud. *Courty Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Arberry, A.J. “al-Djunayd.” *EP*, vol. 2, 600.
- [‘Aṭṭār, Farid al-Din]. *Muslim Saints and Mystics. Episodes from the Tadbkirat al-Auliya’ (Memorial of the Saints) by Farid al-Din Attar*, tr. A.J. Arberry. Ames, Iowa: Omphaloskepsis, 2000.
- Bodrogligeti, Andreas. “Feridûn Attâr Tezkîretü’l-Evliyâ Adlı Eserinin İlk Türkçe Tercümesi Hakkında.” In *XI. Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler (1966)*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1968, 87-97.

<sup>127</sup> Malti-Douglas, “Playing with the Sacred: Religious Intertext in Adab Discourse,” 59.

- Brockelmann, Carl. *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*, Parts 1-4. Leiden: Brill, 1954.
- Brockelmann, Carl. "Kelila ve Dimne." *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6, 552-558
- Brookshaw, Dominic P. "Palaces, Pavilions and Pleasure-Gardens: The Context and Setting of the Medieval Majlis." *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 2 (2003): 199-223.
- Boughan, Kurt Martin. "Beyond Diet, Drugs, and Surgery: Italian Scholastic Medical Theorists on the Animal Soul, 1270-1400." PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa, 2006.
- Bürgel Johann-Christoph and Christine van Ruymbeke (eds). *A Key to the Treasure of the Hakim. Artistic and Humanistic Aspects of Nizāmī Ganjavi's Khamsa*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011.
- Calverley, Edwin Elliot and James W. Pollock (eds and tr). *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam: Abd Allab Baydawi's text Tawali' al-Anwar min Matali' al-Anzar, along with Mahmud Isfahani's commentary Matali' al-Anzar, Sharh Tawali' al-Anwar*. Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Chelkowski, Peter. *Mirror of the Invisible World: Tales from the Khamsah of Nizāmī*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975.
- Chittick, William C. "Erāqi, Fakr-al-Din." *EIr*, vol. 8, 538-540.
- Cohen, Marcel, K. A. C. Creswell, Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet (eds). *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe (années 731 à 746 de l'Hégire)*. Vol. 15. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1956.
- Conrad, L. I. "al-Khwārazmī, Abū Bakr." In Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds). *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998, 450-1.
- Çavuşdere, Serdar. "Ege'de Türk-İtalyan Hububat Ticareti (13.-14. Yüzyıllar)." *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 28, no. 46 (2009): 275-303.
- Çetin, Abdülbaki. "Letâyifü'l-Kudsiyye'ye Dair." *Ankara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 20 (2002): 23-32.
- Dekhoda Persian Dictionary, or *Lughat-nāma*, "Faridūn Ukkāsha," <http://parsi.wiki/dekhodaworddetail-3d2e90aa320240b59bf8157488e01a4e-fa.html>, accessed 26 June 2015.
- Erdoğan, Merçil. "Aydınogulları." *TDVİA*, vol. 4, 239-241.
- Erdoğan, M. Akif and Ömer Bıyık (eds). *1481 Tarıbli Tire Birgi Ayasuluğ ve Alaşebir Tımar Defteri (Metin ve İnceleme)*. İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015.
- Fabri's Hüsvre u Şirîn. *Eine Türkische Dichtung von 1367*, ed. Barbara Flemming. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1974.
- Fancy, Nahyan A. G. *Science and Religion in Mamluk Egypt: Ibn al-Nafis, Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection*. Routledge: Abingdon, Oxon and New York, 2013.

- Fancy, Nahyan A. G. "Medical Commentaries: A Preliminary Examination of Ibn al-Nafis's *Shurūḥ*, the *Mūjaz* and Subsequent Commentaries on the *Mūjaz*." *Oriens* 41 (2013): 525-545.
- Flemming, Barbara. "Faḥrī's *Husrev u Şirin* vom Jahre 1367. Eine vergessene türkische Dichtung aus der Emiratszeit." *ZDMG* 115 (1965): 36-64.
- Flemming, Barbara. "Kıssa: 3(a). In older Turkish literature." *EP*, vol. 5, 193-194.
- Flemming, Barbara. "Old Anatolian Turkish Poetry in its Relationship to the Persian Tradition." In Lars Johanson and Christiane Bulut (eds). *Turkic-Iranian Contact Areas: Historical and Linguistic Aspects*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006, 49-68.
- Foss, Clive. *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Gilliot, Claude. "Wine." In Josef W. Meri (ed.). *Medieval Islamic Civilization. An Encyclopedia*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006, 860-861.
- Griffel, Frank. "On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Life and the Patronage He Received." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18, no. 3 (2007): 313-344.
- Güneş, Özlem. "Fahri'nin Husrev u Şirin'i (Metin ve Tahlil), Nizāmi ve Şeyhi'nin Eserleriyle Karşılaştırılması." PhD Dissertation, Istanbul University, 2010.
- Hacı Paşa. *al-Farida fi Dhikr al-Aghdhiya*. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Turhan Valide Sultan 258/2.
- Hacı Paşa, *Hāshiyat Tarwālī' al-Anwār fi 'Ilm al-Kalām*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3053.
- Hacı Paşa. *Sharḥ [or Hāshiyat] Lawāmi' al-Asrār fi Sharḥ Matālī' al-Anwār*. MS Ankara, Milli Library, Adana İl Halk 547.
- Hacı Paşa. *Shifā' al-Asqām*. MS. Istanbul Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3667; MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ragıp Paşa 956.
- Hacı Paşa. *al-Ta'lim fi 'Ilm al-Ṭibb*. MS Istanbul Süleymaniye, Turhan Valide Sultan 258/1.
- Hacıeminoğlu, [M.] Necmettin. "Hüsrev ü Şirin." *TDVİA*, vol. 19, 56.
- al-Hallāj. *Le Dīwān d'al-Hallāj*, ed. Th. Houtsma et al., 4 vols. plus supplement Leiden: Brill, 1913-1938.
- Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. *Maqama: History of a Genre*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002.
- Hazai, György. "Vorstudien zur Anatolisch-Türkischen Version des Tezkaratu'l-awliya von Fariduddin 'Attar." *Archivum Ottomanicum* 22 (2004): 269-274.
- Hekim Bereket. *Tuhfe-i Mübarizi. Metin, Sözlük*, ed. Binnur Erdağı Doğruer. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2013.
- Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D., 1325-1354*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb. Vol 2. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Ibn al-Bayṭār, 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad. *al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa'l-Aghdhiya*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992.

- İnalçık, Halil. "The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments, and Court Poets." *Journal of Turkish Literature* (2008): 5-75.
- Ingenito, Domenico. "'Tabrizis in Shiraz are Worth Less than a Dog:' Sa'di and Humām, a Lyrical Encounter." In Judith Pfeiffer (ed.). *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century Tabriz*. Brill: Leiden, 2014, 77-128.
- Kâhya, Esin. "Konyalı Bir Hekim, Hacı Paşa." *Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti* 5 (2008): 37-46.
- Katsumata, Naoya. "The Style of the *Maqāma*: Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Syriac." *Middle Eastern Literatures* 5, no. 2 (2002): 117-137.
- Koç, Mustafa. "Anadolu'da İlk Türkçe Telif Eser." *Bilig* 57 (2011): 159-174.
- Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad. "Anadolu'da Türk Dil ve Edebiyatının Tekâmülü." *Yeni Türk* 4 (1933): 281-292.
- [Kutb]. *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve Dil Hususiyetleri*, ed. M. Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1968.
- Leder, Stefan and Hilary Kilpatrick. "Classical Arabic Prose Literature: A Researcher's Sketch Map." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 21, no. 1 (1992): 2-26.
- Leff, Gordon. "The Fourteenth Century and the Decline of Scholasticism." *Past and Present* 9 (1956): 30-41.
- Limbirt, Jim. "Inju Dynasty." *EIr*, vol. 13, 143-146.
- Lindner, Rudi Paul. "Anatolia, 1300-1451." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet. *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 102-137.
- Makdisi, George. "The Scholastic Method in Medieval Education: An Inquiry into Its Origins in Law and Theology." *Speculum* 49, no. 4 (1974): 640-661.
- Makdisi, George. "Scholasticism and Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West." *JAOS* 109, no. 2 (1989): 175-182.
- Malti-Douglas, Fedwa. "Playing with the Sacred: Religious Intertext in Adab Discourse." In Asma Afsaruddin and A. H. Mathias Zahniser (eds). *Humanism, Culture, and Language in the Near East: Studies in Honor of Georg Krotkoff*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1997, 51-59.
- Manūchahri, 'Alī and Fāṭima Urūji. "Jāygāh-yi Munsha'āt-i Naşrallāh b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Munshī Samarqandi dar Pazhūhashhā-yi Tārikhī-yi Dawra-yi Timūri." *Tahqiqāt-i Tārikhī* 24, no. 2 (sh.1393/2014): 61-81.
- Margoliouth D.S. and Ch. Pellat. "al-Ḥarīri." *EP*, vol. 3, 221-2.
- Marlow, Louise. "A Thirteenth-Century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean: Sirāj al-Dīn Urmavī, Jurist, Logician." *Al-Masāq* 22, no. 3 (2010): 279-313.
- Meinecke, Michael. *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions Versus Migrating Artists*. New York and London: NYU Press, 1996.
- Meisami, Julie Scott. *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.



- Meisami, Julie [Scott]. "Poetic Microcosms: The Persian Qasida to the End of the Twelfth Century." In Stefan Sperl and C. Shackle (eds). *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 1996, 137-182.
- Meisami, Julie Scott. *Structure and Meaning in Medieval Arabic and Persian Poetry: Orient Pearls*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Melikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren. "Recherches sur les sources de l'art ottoman. Les stèles funéraires d'Ayasoluk. 1." *Turcica* 4 (1972): 103-133.
- Meyerhof, Max. "Ibn an-Nafis (XIIIth cent.) and his Theory of the Lesser Circulation." *Isis* 23 (1935): 100-120.
- Munshā'āt*, MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4312.
- Neale, Harry Stuart. "Sufism, Godliness and Popular Islamic Storytelling in Farid al-Din 'Attār's Tadhkiratu-l-awliyā'." PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2007.
- Nicholson, Reynold Alleyne. *Studies in Islamic Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Northrup, Linda. "Qalāwūn's Patronage of the Medical Sciences in Thirteenth-Century Egypt." *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 119-140.
- Northrup, Linda. "Al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūri—Explorations: The Interface Between Medicine, Politics, and Culture in Early Mamluk Egypt." *Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg Working Paper* 12 (2002): 1-37.
- Ogan, Aziz. "Aydn Oğullarından İsa Bey Cami'i: Efes Tarihine Kısa bir Bakıştan Sonra." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 3 (1956): 73-80.
- Orfali, Bilal. "A Sketch Map of Arabic Poetry Anthologies up to the Fall of Baghdad." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 43 (2012): 29-59.
- Otto-Dorn, Katharina. "Die Isa Bey Moschee in Ephesus." In eadem. *Kleinasien und Byzans. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Alterumskunde un Kunstgeschichte*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1950, 115-131.
- Özkan, Mustafa. "Şeyhî'nin Hüsrev ü Şirini ve Rûmî'nin Şirin ü Pervizi." *İlmî Araştırmalar* 9 (2000): 179-192.
- Pahlitzch, Johannes. "Greek Orthodox Communities of Nicaea and Ephesus under Turkish Rule in the Fourteenth Century: A New Reading of Old Sources." In A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds). *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, 147-165.
- Peacock, A.C.S. "Nizam al-Din al-Isfahani, 'Chief Qadi of China and the East': an Ilkhanid Man of Letters at the Court of the Juwaynis." In Dashdong Baiarsakhan and C. Atwood (eds). *The Ilkhans: the Mongols in the Middle East* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, forthcoming, 2016).
- Pechy, John. *A Plain Introduction to the Art of Physick Containing the Fundamentals and Necessary Preliminaries to Practice*. London: Henry Bonwicke, 1697.

- Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn al-İsfahānī. *Rubāʿiyyāt Nizām al-Dīn al-İsfahānī: Nukbbat al-Shārib wa-ʿUjālat al-Rākib*, ed. Kamāl Abu Dib, Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyyin, 1983.
- Qian, Ailin. "Spice, Spiced Wine and Pure Wine." *JAOS* 128, no. 2 (2008): 311-316.
- Qutbuddin, Tahera. *Al-Qāḍī al-Qudāʿī. A Treasury of Virtues. Sayings, Sermons and Teachings of ʿAlī with the One Hundred Proverbs attributed to Al-Jāhīz*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2013.
- Rásonyi, L. "Feridüddin Attar Tezkeret ül-Evliyasının Budapeşte Yazması." In *XI. Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler (1966)*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1968, 87-97.
- Ritter, Helmut. "Aṭṭār, Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. İbrāhīm." *EP*, vol. 1, 752-755.
- Rizvi, Sajjad H. "Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh al-Jazāʿiri and his Anthologies: Anti-Sufism, Shiʿism and Jokes in the Safavid World." *Die Welt des Islams* 50 (2010): 224-242.
- Salamah-Qudsi, Arin Shawqat. "The 'Sealed Nectar': An Overview of a Sufi Treatise of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardi (d. 632 AH/1234 AD)." *Arabica* 57 (2010): 30-56.
- Savage-Smith, Emilie. "İbn Baklarish in the Arabic Tradition of Synonymatic Texts and Tabular Presentations." In Charles Burnett, ed., *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples: Medical Remedies Between Three Faiths in Twelfth-Century Spain*. London: The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2008, 113-129.
- Seidensticker, T. "Maḥmūd ibn (al-) Ḥasan al-Warrāq." In Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds). *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998, 805.
- Serri, Yaron and Efraim Lev. "A Judeo-Arabic Fragment of Ibn-Biklārish's *Kitāb al-Mustainī*, Part of a Unique 12<sup>th</sup>-Century Tabular Medical Book Found in the Cairo Genizah (T-S Ar.44.218)." *JRAS* 20, no. 4 (2010): 407-440.
- Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ulfatī Tabrizī. *Rashf al-Alḥāz fī Kashf al-Alfāz: Farhang-i İştīlāḥāt-i İstiʿāri-i Şūfiyab*. MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4999; MS Istanbul. Süleymaniye, Fatih 5474.
- Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ulfatī Tabrizī. *Rashf al-Alḥāz fī Kashf al-Alfāz: Farhang-i İştīlāḥāt-i İstiʿāri-i Şūfiyab*. Edited by Najib Māyil Hiravī. Tehran: Mawlá, 1983.
- Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ulfatī Tabrizī. *Sī Fāsil*. MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Atıf Efendi 2728/2, fol. 168-175.
- Smoor, P. "al-Maʿarri." *EP*, vol. 5, 927-935.
- Smyth, William. "Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary: The Academic Legacy of Al-Sakkāki's *Miftāḥ Al-ʿUlūm*." *JAOS* 112, no. 4 (1992): 589-597.
- Sperl, Stefan. "Man's 'Hollow Core': Ethics and Aesthetics in *Ḥadīth* Literature and Classical Arabic *Adab*." *BSOAS* 70, no. 3 (2007): 459-486.
- Talattof, Kamron and Jerome W. Clinton (eds). *The Poetry of Nizami Ganjavi: Knowledge, Love, and Rhetoric*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

- Tanman, Mehmed Baha. "Mamluk Influences on the Architecture of the Anatolian Emirates." In Doris Behrens-Abouseif (ed.). *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria – Evolution and Impact*. Göttingen: Bonn University Press and V & R unipress GmbH, 2012, 283-300.
- Telci, Cahit. "Aydınöğlü İsa Bey: Bir Bani, Üç Cami." *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 25, no. 1 (2010): 337-350.
- Terceme-i Müfredât-ı İbn Baytar*. MS. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Antalya Tekelioğlu 478.
- Tezcan, Semih. "Mes'ud ve XVI. Yüzyıl Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine Yeni Bilgiler." *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 5 (1995): 65-84.
- Tire Miscellany*. MS Tire, Necib Paşa Library, DV 812.
- Toska, Zehra. "Kelile ve Dimne'nin Türkçe Çevirileri." *Journal of Turkish Studies – Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları Fabir İz Armağanı II* 15 (1991): 355-380.
- ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī. *Qaşā'id*. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ragıp Paşa 1192.
- Ünver, A. Süheyl. "İlimler Tarihimizde Aydınöğlü İsa Beyle Şahsına Ait Mecmuanın Ehemmiyeti Hakkında." *Bellekten* 95 (1960): 447-455.
- Van Arendonk, C. "Hātīm al-Ṭā'ī." *EP*, vol. 3, 274-275.
- Van Gelder, Geert. *Classical Arabic Literature: A Library of Arabic Literature Anthology*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2012.
- Van Ruymbeke, Christine. "What is it that Khusraw Learns from the Kalila-Dimna Stories?" In Johann-Christoph Bürgel and Christine van Ruymbeke (eds). *A Key to the Treasure of the Hakim. Artistic and Humanistic Aspects of Nizāmī Ganjavi's Khamsa*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011, 145-166.
- Vernet, J. "Ibn al-Bayṭār." *EP*, vol. 3, 47.
- Wiedemann, E. "Ḳuṭb al-Din Shīrāzī." *EP*, vol. 5, 547-548.
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "From Cairo to Ayasuluk: Hacı Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Late 14th Century." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (2014): 263-293.
- Yoltar-Yıldırım, Aysin. "A 1498-99 Khusraw va Shīrīn: Turning the Pages of an Ottoman Illustrated Manuscript." *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 95-109.
- Zajaczkowski, Ananiasz. *Studja nad Językiem Staroosmanskim. Études sur la langue vieille-osmanlie, 1. Morceaux choicis de la traduction turque-anatolienne de Calila et Dimna*. Cracow: Polskiej Akademji Umiejetnosci, 1934.
- Zajaczkowski, Ananiasz. *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husrāv u Šīrīn Quṭba*. I. Text, II. Faksimile, III. Glossar. Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Orientalistyczny, 1958-1961.
- Zajaczkowski, Ananiasz. "Sur quelques termes cosmographiques et ethniques dans le monument littéraire de la Horde d'Or." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15, no. 1 (1962): 361-368.
- Zargar, Cyrus Ali. *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love, and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn ‘Arabi and ‘Iraqi*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013.



## Chapter 8

# The Alexander Romance and the Rise of the Ottoman Empire

*Dimitri Kastritsis*

In the fragmented world of post-Fourth Crusade Byzantium and the post-Mongol “Lands of Rūm,” the fictional hero of the medieval Alexander Romance functioned as familiar, if contested, cultural currency. The Crusades and the rise of the Mongol Empire had created a much larger world, which, despite endemic violence and political instability, offered hitherto unprecedented opportunities for trade and communication. In such a world, the Alexander Romance in all its manifestations represented a common cultural heritage. Stories about the legendary empire-builder’s travels, conquests and diplomatic engagements with real and imaginary nations resonated strongly in different segments of society, and books recounting them came to function both as “mirrors for princes” and as literature to be publically performed.

Depending on one’s perspective, it was possible to represent Alexander as a philosopher and explorer of new lands, a champion of Islam or Christianity, a Byzantine Emperor, or a Muslim king (*shāh*, *pādishāh*). In Byzantium, following a tradition that had developed gradually over the course of the Middle Ages, Alexander was presented as a Christian who had visited Jerusalem and destroyed pagan temples. In Islam, he was a sacred personage identified with the Quranic Dhū’l-Qarnayn (“the two-horned one”). In Iran, his conquest and destruction of the country was mitigated by the idea that he was a half-brother of his enemy Darius, and therefore a legitimate ruler. These traditions are well known, and there is a substantial scholarly literature on each of them.<sup>1</sup> What is often missing, however, is a broader historical perspective, especially for the period in which the Ottoman Empire came to replace the worlds of Byzantium and medieval Anatolia. The chief aim of this contribution is therefore to move beyond the existing treatments of the subject and examine it more broadly. In light of this rich cultural landscape, there

---

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank the following for their help and ideas at various stages of writing: Kristof D’hulster, Jan Dumolyn, Hilmi Kaçar, Zeynep Oktay Uslu, Andrew Peacock, Jo van Steenberg and Sara Nur Yıldız. Needless to say, any errors are entirely my own.

<sup>1</sup> See especially Richard Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven: Yale, 2008); Faustina C. W. Doufekar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus Arabicus: A Survey of the Alexander Tradition through Seven Centuries from Pseudo-Callisthenes to Şūrī* (Paris: Peeters, 2010); Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson, and Ian Netton (eds), *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East* (Groningen: Barkhuis, 2012).

is much to be gained by taking a critical historical approach to the development of the Alexander Romance in the early Ottoman Empire, while also bearing in mind the intertextuality of the works in question.

By the fourteenth century when the Ottoman Empire was founded, the breakdown of Seljuk, Byzantine, and Mongol authority presented problems of legitimacy to those wielding political authority. An increasingly global but fragmented world forced rulers to justify this authority in a bewildering variety of ways. Over the course of the long fifteenth century (ca. 791–918/1389–1512), the gradual but uneven process of Ottoman state formation resulted in the creation of a complex and sometimes contradictory discourse of dynastic legitimacy. This was founded on the conquest of new territory for Islam; a purported transfer of power from the House of Seljuk to that of Osman; and even fictional genealogies connecting the Ottomans to Hebrew prophets and prestigious Central Asian tribes.<sup>2</sup> In the years leading up to and following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (an event of enormous religious and political significance), ever-present apocalyptic and millenarian expectations were reinterpreted in the context of what appeared to some contemporaries like the cosmic struggles of endtimes.<sup>3</sup> Once again, the Alexander Romance was highly relevant. For had the ancient conqueror not gone to the ends of the Earth and built a wall against the so-called “unclean nations,” identified in the Islamic tradition with Gog and Magog?

In the pages that follow, I argue that precisely because of the existence of such a large, multilingual corpus of stories, texts and images related to the ancient conqueror, these became an ideal medium for the formulation and communication of a wide range of messages in the increasingly global late Middle Ages. Alexander had become all things to all people, and so his exploits were the subject of intense interest and contestation. Needless to say, it is still essential to consider each text within its own tradition. Without the foundation established by the existing scholarship on different versions and aspects of the Alexander romance, comparative historical assessment would be an impossible task. But there are also dangers in an excessively piecemeal approach. By limiting our-

---

<sup>2</sup> For the development of the main elements, see Colin Imber, “The Ottoman Dynastic Myth,” *Turcica* 19 (1987): 7-27. An interesting example of how such elements could be combined may be found in the “Oxford Anonymous” Ottoman history (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Marsh 313). My translation and commentary is forthcoming (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, Translated Texts for Byzantinists).

<sup>3</sup> On the important but still poorly understood place of apocalypticism in the early Ottoman period, see especially Stéphane Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1990); Stéphane Yerasimos and Benjamin Lellouch (eds), *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000); Cornell H. Fleischer, “Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries,” in Masumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı (eds), *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 2009), 231–243, 329–330; Laban Kaptein, *Apocalypse and the Antichrist Dajjal in Islam: Ahmed Bijan's Eschatology Revisited* (Asch: privately published, 2011).

selves to disciplinary perspectives or specific aspects of the Romance, we risk ignoring important aspects of its broader historical and cultural significance. These include its role in the formulation and expression of complex messages about politics and history.

In order to begin the systematic exploration of such questions for the foundation period of the Ottoman Empire, it is necessary to compare different versions of the Romance from different languages, genres and traditions. We will therefore begin with a brief examination of the prose vernacular Greek version made in this period, to show how it was clearly influenced by the culture and politics of the time. Then we will turn to a more detailed examination of some Turkish works composed around the same time. As we will see, the period in question was a golden age for the genre in Turkish, and some of these works can be understood along similarly historical lines.

### *The Byzantine Alexander Romance in the Period of Ottoman Expansion*

The formation and development of the Greek Alexander Romance is a large and complex topic which has received a great deal of scholarly attention over the years.<sup>4</sup> Most of what is contained in the many medieval works on Alexander in different eastern and western languages can be traced to distinct textual traditions dating to Hellenistic times. In some form or other, the majority of these traditions were already in existence a century after Alexander's death.<sup>5</sup> These included Egyptian tales about Alexander's descent from the last Pharaoh of Egypt; a cycle of letters supposedly representing his correspondence with the Persian King Darius III (d. 330 BCE); a Jewish tradition describing his visit to Jerusalem; and a fictional letter to his mother describing fabulous adventures at the ends of the Earth. As was the case with other ancient literature, much of this entered the Islamic tradition through Syriac, which was then translated into Arabic. Eventually, in the hands of Firdawsi, the poet of the Persian "Book of Kings" (the *Shāhnāma*, completed ca. 400/1010), Alexander would become the half-brother of his enemy Darius and a legitimate ruler of Iran.<sup>6</sup> This development parallels the original Greek Romance, which had made him the son of a Pharaoh and a legitimate ruler of Egypt. As we will see below, treatments of the Alexander legend

<sup>4</sup> For a comprehensive study and bibliography by the world expert, see Stoneman, *Alexander the Great*. For an English translation of the Greek Alexander Romance with a brief but useful introduction, see Richard Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance* (London: Penguin, 1991).

<sup>5</sup> Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, 8–17.

<sup>6</sup> Stoneman, *Alexander the Great*, 24–33. For a translation of the relevant section of the *Shāhnāma*, see Firdawsi, *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*, tr. Dick Davis (London: Penguin, 2007), 454–528.

in Turkish were based largely on the Persian tradition as developed by Firdawsi and Niẓāmī (d. 613/1217?), in whose work Alexander became a philosopher.<sup>7</sup>

As these transformations were taking place in the Islamic world, in Byzantium the Greek version of the Romance was undergoing its own evolution. By the eighth century, Alexander had become a Christian who visited Jerusalem, destroyed pagan temples, and constructed a wall against the unclean nations.<sup>8</sup> By the late medieval period, further mutations had produced an extensive text. Among the manuscripts containing it is a richly illustrated volume produced for an Emperor of Trebizond, now in Venice.<sup>9</sup> This manuscript contains extensive Turkish captions, which were probably added in an Ottoman court of the fifteenth century,<sup>10</sup> offering an example of how one textual tradition may have influenced another, at a time when the two are usually thought of as completely distinct. But aside from issues of intertextuality, another important factor to consider is the influence on these texts of contemporary events and historical conditions. As we will see below, the *İskendernāmes* of Ahmedi and other authors contain many elements that can be read in light of the historical context in which these works were written. The same is true of two late Byzantine recensions of the Romance, which like the Ottoman ones are in a vernacular language. Both recensions, one rhymed and the other in prose, can be dated approximately to the years around the Battle of Kosovo (1389).<sup>11</sup> As Corinne Jouanno has shown, in both of these the rise of the Ottoman Empire has influenced the presentation of the Persians.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> On Niẓāmī's treatment of the Alexander Romance, see Stoneman, *Alexander the Great*, 33–38; P. J. Chelkowski, "Nizami's Iskandarnameh," in *Colloquio sul poeta persiano Nizami e la legenda iranica di Alessandro Magno* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1977), 11–53.

<sup>8</sup> This element is taken from the Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodius and also present in the Islamic tradition. See note 98 below for more details.

<sup>9</sup> Venice Hellenic Institute, MS Gr. 5. High resolution digital images of the entire manuscript are available on the website of the Institute. For a facsimile edition, see Nikolette S. Trachoulia, *The Greek Alexander Romance* (Athens: Exandas, 1997). Trachoulia's unpublished PhD thesis is the most detailed study of the original Greek manuscript: Nikolette S. Trachoulia, "The Venice Alexander Romance, Hellenic Institute Codex Gr. 5: A Study of Alexander the Great as an Imperial Paradigm in Byzantine Art and Literature," PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> See Dimitris Kastritis, "The Trebizond Alexander Romance (Venice Hellenic Institute Codex Gr. 5): The Ottoman Fate of a Fourteenth-Century Illustrated Byzantine Manuscript," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 36 (2011): 103–131; Giampiero Bellingeri, "Il 'Romanzo d'Alessandro' dell'Istituto Ellenico Di Venezia: Glosse Turche 'Gregarie,'" in *Medioevo Romano E Orientale: Il Viaggio Dei Testi* (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 1999), 315–340.

<sup>11</sup> Siegfried Reichmann (ed.), *Das Byzantinische Alexandergedicht nach dem Codex Marcianus 408* (Meisenheim: Hain, 1963); Anastasios Lolos and Vasilis L. Konstantinopoulos (eds), *Zwei Mittelgriechische Prosa-Fassungen Des Alexanderromans* (Königstein: Hain, 1983). On the development of the prose vernacular recension, see Ulrich Moennig, *Die Spätbyzantinische Rezension \*ζ des Alexanderromans* (Köln: Romiosini, 1992).

<sup>12</sup> Corinne Jouanno, "The Persians in Late Byzantine Alexander Romances: A Portrayal under Turkish Influences," in Stoneman et al., *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, 105–115.



The presentation of the Persians as Ottomans is most striking in the case of the prose vernacular version, a text that entered vernacular Greek from Serbian.<sup>13</sup> This is the work that would become popular in the early modern period in printed editions under the title “the Chapbook of Alexander” (*Fyllada tou Alexandrou*). Jouanno has spoken of a Byzantine nationalist perspective and “a portrayal under Turkish influences.” She has in mind passages such as the following, in which Darius responds to Alexander’s accession by sending him this letter:

Ὁ Τάρειος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἴσα μὲ τοὺς ἐπίγειους θεοὺς, εἰς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην βασιλεύει, ὅπου λάμπει ὡσάν ὁ ἥλιος τῶν βασιλέων βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν αὐθεντάδων αὐθέντης, εἰς τοὺς ἡῤῥισκομένους εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν γράφω. Ἦκουσεν ἡ βασιλεία μου καὶ ἔδειξάν μου ὅτι ὁ βασιλέας ὁ ἐδικός σας ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπέθανεν· παιδί μικρὸ ἄφικεν εἰς ἐσᾶς νὰ βασιλεύει ... Καὶ τόμου νὰ δεκτῆ<τε> τὸ πιττάκι μου, ἐγλήγορα νὰ μοῦ στείλετε [τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον]. Καὶ τὸν Καταρκούση ἔστειλα εἰς ἐσᾶς ἐνεπιστεμένον καὶ πολλὰ ἡγαπημένον καὶ νὰ ὀρίζει τὸν τόπον τὸν ἐδικό σας καλὰ καὶ ἔμορφα· καὶ τὸ φουσάτον τὸ ἐδικό σας, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ταξιδίου, νὰ στείλετε καλὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὸ λιζάτον ὅλον νὰ μοῦ τὸ στείλετε. Καὶ τὸ παιδί τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐμὲ νὰ μοῦ τὸ φέρετε ἐγλήγορα μὲ ὅλα τὰ βασιλικά σημάδια. Εἶναι βασιλέων παιδία εἰς ἐμένα καὶ ἔως σαράντα, ὅπου δουλεύουν· καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἰδῶ ὅτι ἔναι ἄξιος διὰ βασιλείον, ὀλίγους χρόνους τὸν θέλω κρατήσῃ κοντά μου, καὶ πάλιν τὸ θέλει στείλει βασιλέα εἰς σ’ ἐσᾶς. Εἰ δὲ πάλιν οὐδὲν τὸν ἰδῶ ὅτι ἄξιος οὐδὲν εἶναι, ἄλλον θέλω στείλει εἰς σ’ ἐσᾶς βασιλέα.

Darius the king, equal to the terrestrial gods, who rules in the entire inhabited world and shines like the sun, king of kings and master of masters, writes to the people who are in Macedonia. My royal highness has received word and it has been indicated to me that your king Philip has died, leaving a small boy to rule over you ... As soon as you receive my epistle, you should send me Alexander immediately. For I have sent my trusted and much beloved Katarkouses to you, in order to rule your land for you in a good and seemly manner. As for your army, with the coming of the campaign season you should send me a good contingent, along with the tribute in its entirety. Bring Philip’s son to me quickly, along with all the royal insignia. For here at my court there are as many as forty sons of kings serving me. If I see that [Alexander] is worthy of a kingdom, after keeping him by my side for a few years, I will send him back to you as your king. But if I see that he is unworthy, I will send someone else to you to be your king.<sup>14</sup>

What is striking about this passage is the strong resemblance between what Darius is demanding and the vassalage arrangements on which the Ottoman Empire was built. These are well known and attested in many contemporary sources.<sup>15</sup>

The above passage demonstrates how difficult it can be to disentangle long-standing textual traditions from changing historical circumstances. Since these

<sup>13</sup> Moennig, *Die Spätbyzantinische Rezension*, 29–31.

<sup>14</sup> My translation. Original in Lolos and Konstantinopulos, *Zwei Mittelgriechische Prosa-Fassungen*, vol. 1, 142–144. The version presented here is that of the F manuscript.

<sup>15</sup> One example is the chronicle of Chalkokondyles (e.g. books 1.55, 2.6). See Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *The Histories*, tr. Anthony Kaldellis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 82–85, 100–101. Manuel Palaiologos describes his experiences as an Ottoman vassal in his letters: see G. T. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus: Text, Translation, and Notes* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1977).

traditions were living and organic, they could be reinterpreted to take on new meaning in the context of the times. For Darius's letter to Alexander with its boastful imperial pretensions is an element already present in the earliest recensions of the Romance. However, in the period of Ottoman expansion, it took on new meaning and could be embellished and reinterpreted in line with the vassalage arrangements of the time. This was a period when it was common for Byzantine authors and orators to make use of the familiar literary topos of the arrogant barbarian in describing Ottoman rulers.<sup>16</sup> In this context, it was obvious that Darius should be interpreted as an Ottoman ruler, and that the rest of his letter should be modified to reflect the demands Ottoman rulers were making of their Christian vassals. These included military assistance and the payment of tribute, called here *lizaton* (cf. *liege*). In a world still heavily influenced by the Fourth Crusade, the use of a Latin feudal term should come as no surprise. The same recension also contains several Serbian terms, which are proof of its translation from Serbian, but also of the influence of Stefan Dušan's "Empire of the Serbs and Greeks". In the later "Chapbook of Alexander", *lizaton* was changed to *kharadzion* (from *kharā*); for by the early modern period, Ottoman culture was well established and the Crusades had become a distant memory.

After this brief look at the development of the Greek Alexander romance in the period of Ottoman expansion, it is now time to turn to the Turkish *İskender-nāmes* written around the same time. As we will see, similar references to historical circumstances can be detected there too.

### *The Turkish İskender-nāme Tradition*

While the vernacular Greek Alexander Romance was evolving along the lines discussed above, parallel developments were taking place on the other side of the Christian-Muslim divide. It has been alleged that "in classical Ottoman literature the Alexander legend was used relatively rarely, perhaps because its subject matter gave little scope for the allegorical treatment of the theme of love."<sup>17</sup> As is so often the case in the field of Ottoman studies, this rather dated assessment is based on an imperfect knowledge of extant manuscripts and the perspective of late- and post-sixteenth century Ottoman literary culture. If one chooses to focus instead on

<sup>16</sup> The many examples include John Kananos's description of Murad II in his account of the 1422 Ottoman siege of Constantinople: "He came, wild and savage in manner, and he swaggered arrogantly, swollen with pride and haughty of bearing; as he gazed superciliously at the heavens, he considered himself to be far above all men." Tr. Margaret H. Purdie, "An Account by John Cananus of the Siege of Constantinople in 1422," Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Western Australia, 2009, 5. See also Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 208 et passim.

<sup>17</sup> E. van Donzel et al., "Iskandar Nāma, iii. In classical Ottoman literature," *EP*, vol. 4, 128–129.

the long ninth/fifteenth century, a rather different picture will begin to emerge. In fact, most attested Turkish versions of the Alexander Romance date from this time, when the Alexander legend was clearly very popular indeed. The most important Anatolian Turkish *İskendernâme* was that of Ahmedî, composed around the turn of the fifteenth century and presented to the Ottoman prince Süleyman (d. 813/1411).<sup>18</sup> The fact that this work survives in over one hundred copies attests to its wide appeal, both within and outside the borders of the burgeoning Ottoman state.<sup>19</sup> Known to most historians today mainly from its epic account of early Ottoman history, in fact Ahmedî's poem is a philosophical and encyclopedic work with a broad and important historical section, of which the Ottoman dynasty forms only the final part. The importance of Ahmedî's presentation of history in the universal terms of the Alexander romance is evident from the fact that later histories, such as the anonymous *Chronicles of the House of Osman* published by Friedrich Giese, were framed in terms of his work and embellished with his verses.<sup>20</sup>

Ahmedî's *İskendernâme* will be treated in more detail in the following section. But first, in order to place the work in the proper context, it is necessary to consider at least in passing some other works on Alexander composed during the long fifteenth century. Two of these are of particular interest. The first is an extensive work by Hamzavî, an author best known for his *Hamzanâme* who was supposedly Ahmedî's brother.<sup>21</sup> Like Ahmedî's work, Hamzavî's *İskendernâme* was composed in the early fifteenth century, and some of its verses are taken directly from Ahmedî. It is part prose and part verse (*mensûr-manzûm*), and will also be considered below. The second is by Ahmed Rıdvan, an author who was active at the end of the period under examination under Bayezid II (r. 886–918/1481–1512).<sup>22</sup> Ahmed Rıdvan was from Ohrid in Macedonia and was apparently of Christian origin. After serving the state in important posts (including *defterdar* and *sancakbey*), he retired to a village near Dimetoka granted to him by the sultan and died early in the reign of Süleyman I (r. 926–74/1520–66). Ahmed Rıdvan's *İskendernâme* is a rhymed work which takes Ahmedî as its model. It was previously thought to survive only in a

<sup>18</sup> There is still no critical edition of Ahmedî's *İskendernâme* in its entirety. The closest to a reliable edition is a facsimile: İsmail Ünver, *İskender-Nâme: İnceleme, Tipkibasım* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983) (hereafter Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver). The section on Ottoman history is available in a critical edition with an English translation: *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and Their Holy Raids Against the Infidels*, ed. Kemal Silay, *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures* 64 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2004) (henceforth, Ahmedî, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay). Silay's translation is not always reliable.

<sup>19</sup> İsmail Ünver, "İskender (Edebiyat)," *TDVİA*, vol. 22, 559.

<sup>20</sup> Friedrich Giese (ed.), *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken* (Breslau: privately published, 1922), 1–3.

<sup>21</sup> On Hamzavî, see Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1927), 13–14; İsmail Avcı, *Türk Edebiyatında İskendernâmeler ve Ahmedî Rıdvan'ın İskendernâmesi* (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2014), 54–59.

<sup>22</sup> Avcı, *Türk Edebiyatında İskendernâmeler*, 161–177.

single copy, but according to its editor İsmail Avcı it is in fact represented by at least two manuscripts. Although Ahmed Rıdvan's *İskendernâme* is clearly modelled on that of Ahmedi, there are important differences in style and content. These have been studied by Avcı, but the work has yet to receive a serious historical interpretation—which is hardly surprising, considering that even Ahmedi's more famous and important work has not received such a treatment. While there is no space here for a detailed discussion of Ahmed Rıdvan's *İskendernâme*, it is worth pointing out that its relationship to that of Ahmedi is similar to a theme and variations in music. If nothing else, the fact that someone at the end of the fifteenth century would take the trouble to produce an "improved" version of Ahmedi shows that by that time, the earlier work had already achieved the status of a classic.

The three *İskendernâmes* discussed above constitute some of the most important treatments of the Alexander legend in Turkish. A full list would be much longer and would include other Ottoman authors, some associated with manuscripts in library catalogues, others known only from biographical dictionaries. The only way to gain a clear picture of the number and nature of these works is by systematic examination of the many manuscripts bearing the title of *İskendernâme*, both inside and outside Turkey.<sup>23</sup> Such an examination would reveal the true nature and authorship of these manuscripts, as well as any further relationship of intertextuality connecting them to Ahmedi and other influential works. Finally, no list of Turkish works on Alexander would be complete without mentioning the *Sadd-i Iskandari* ("Wall of Alexander") of the great Chaghatay poet Mir 'Ali Shîr Navâ'î (d. 1501). Although it may seem odd to consider a Chaghatay poet alongside authors writing in Anatolian Turkish, in fact there is every reason to believe that Navâ'î's poetry was important and influential in the Ottoman world. Like that of Ahmedi, it was read across political and dialectal boundaries, and was imitated by Ottoman poets as late as the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

Even as late as the second half of the sixteenth century, a time beyond the "golden age" being considered here, the name *İskendernâme* appears under the title of an Ottoman "History of Hungary" (*Târih-i Ungurus*). The author of the work in question was a certain Mahmud Beg, an Ottoman dragoman of Hungarian origin, who claimed to be translating from a Latin manuscript discovered in a captured castle in Hungary.<sup>25</sup> This is not the place to speculate at length about this

<sup>23</sup> The closest we have to such a list is the long introductory section in Avcı, *Türk Edebiyatında İskendernâmeler*. This is based in part on İsmail Ünver's unpublished PhD thesis "Türk Edebiyatında Manzum İskender-nâmeler," Ankara University, 1975.

<sup>24</sup> M. E. Subtelny, "Mir 'Ali Shîr Nawâ'î," *EP*, vol. 7, 90–93 (p. 91: "The impact of Nawâ'î's works on all Turcic peoples and languages cannot be overestimated..."). See also Eleazar Birnbaum, "The Ottomans and Chaghatay Literature: An Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century Manuscript of Navâ'î's *Dîvân* in Ottoman Orthography," *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976): 157–190.

<sup>25</sup> Tijana Krstić, "Of Translation and Empire: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Imperial Interpreters as Renaissance Go-Betweens," in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World* (London: Routledge, 2012), 134–136.

intriguing case. Nonetheless, it is worth drawing attention once more to the universal appeal of the Alexander legend, which must have been especially strong for converts like Ahmed Rıdvan and Mahmud Beg. The “History of Hungary” also brings to the fore the association between the Alexander Romance and history, which as we will see is evident in the works of Ahmedi and Hamzavi. But in the period under consideration, the genre of history was not yet clearly defined in the Ottoman world and shared much with other forms of representing the past. For this reason, before discussing Ahmedi and Hamzavi in earnest, a few words about the wider literary context are in order.

The long fifteenth century was a golden age not only for the Alexander Romance, but for Old Anatolian Turkish storytelling in general.<sup>26</sup> Since tales about the real or legendary past were represented in a variety of epics, hagiographies, and works of didactic literature, the *İskendernāmes* of Ahmedi and other authors should be considered alongside such works. These are not always easily categorised as belonging to one or another distinct genre. Works usually thought of as hagiographies are not always easy to distinguish from epics, which may themselves deal either with legendary heroes or contemporary events. To complicate matters further, especially toward the end of the period, such material also found its way into compilations bearing the title of history (*tārīḥ*, pl. *tevārīḥ*). It is clear that in the fifteenth century, history was not incompatible with an epic style; for in his famous account of Ottoman history, Ahmedi used the term *tārīḥ* (“history”) alongside *dāstān* (“ballad”).<sup>27</sup> By the turn of the sixteenth century, such epic accounts were being reworked to conform to more classical models of dynastic and universal history.<sup>28</sup> However, the epic style was not abandoned, as proven by the fact that Ahmed Rıdvan’s *İskendernāme* also contains a historical section similar to that in Ahmedi’s work. In fact, the telling of stories (*hikāyet*, *kıssa*) about the real or legendary past was kept alive in Ottoman society by professional story tellers (*rāvī* or *qiṣṣa-ḥʿān*, Tk. *kıssa-ḥʿān*), who played an indispensable role in a largely illiterate society.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate why the literary production of the long fifteenth century defies easy categorisation. The chronicle of Aşıkpasazade presents

<sup>26</sup> It is impossible to provide a full bibliography here. For a description and historical interpretation of some key works, see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 62–117. A recent case study pointing to some key issues is Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektasbi Shrines in the Classical Age* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) 51–79. See also Yorgos Dedes, *The Battalname, an Ottoman Turkish Frontier Epic Wondertale: Introduction, English Translation, Turkish Transcription, Commentary and Facsimile* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1996); Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople*.

<sup>27</sup> For the different manuscripts, see Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 25. Although Silay has not included it in his edition, the word *dāstān* appears in the heading of most of these, and is also used elsewhere in the *İskendernāme*.

<sup>28</sup> A classic study of this reworking is Paul Wittek, “The Taking of Aydos Castle: A Ghazi Legend and Its Transformation,” in George Makdisi (ed.), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H. A. R. Gibb* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 662–672.

itself as a history (*tārīḥ*) but in fact combines descriptions of events witnessed by the author with legendary accounts supposedly derived from a lost book of exploits (*menāqıbnāme*).<sup>29</sup> The prose epic *Şaltuḡnāme* (“Book of Saltuk”) was allegedly compiled in the 1470s from various oral accounts at the request of the Ottoman prince Cem. It contains among other material supernatural tales and echoes of the Fourth Crusade and Ottoman conquest of the Balkans.<sup>30</sup> Around the same time, a mystical work known as the *Hızırnāme* (“Book of Khidr”) was composed in the Anatolian town of Eğirdir.<sup>31</sup> This is essentially a mystical cosmography, presented in the form of the author’s journey to different metaphysical spheres under the guidance of the holy figure Khidr (*Khidr*, Tk. *Hızır*, on whom more below). During the course of his mystical journey, the author meets the “guardians of the lands of Rūm,” who are holy warriors in the tradition of the *Şaltuḡnāme*. Finally, the *Ḥalīlnāme* is a romance on the life of the prophet Abraham which also contains a historical description in verse.<sup>32</sup> In this respect, it is not unlike Ahmedi’s *İskender-nāme* which was completed less than a decade earlier. However, unlike Ahmedi’s historical section which is broad and didactic, that in the *Ḥalīlnāme* concerns a single battle, and is therefore detailed and descriptive.

The fluid and intertextual nature of fifteenth-century Anatolian Turkish literature should not be taken to imply the absence of distinct categories of genre and style. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that authors were aware of different modalities and composed or compiled their works accordingly. A basic distinction was between poetry (*naẓm*) and prose (*nesr*). Poetry was governed by forms and metres, mostly derived from the Persian tradition, and even in prose there were particular registers with distinct connotations.<sup>33</sup> In subject matter, too, there were modalities: stories recounting military exploits against infidels (*gazavātnāme*) were dis-

<sup>29</sup> On this source, see V. L. Ménage, “The Menāqıb of Yakhshi Faqıh,” *BSOAS* 26 (1963): 50–54. See also Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 99–105.

<sup>30</sup> For an excerpt in English, brief presentation and bibliography, see Ahmet T. Karamustafa, “Sarı Saltık becomes a Friend of God,” in John Renard (ed.) *Tales of God’s Friends: Islamic Hagiography in Translation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 136–144. See also Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 63, 190–191 n. 63. According to Ebu’l-Hayr-i Rumi, the compiler of the *Şaltuḡnāme*, the Ottoman prince Cem preferred to listen to stories about Sarı Saltuk than to those about Hamza, because they were set closer to home. The popular *Hamzanāme* cycle concerned the Prophet’s uncle; its compiler was Hamzavi, whose *İskender-nāme* will be considered below.

<sup>31</sup> On this work see Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography*, 5, 38–39, 65; Mehmet N. Bardakçı, *Eğirdir Zeyni Zaviyesi ve Şeyh Mehmed Çelebi Divanı* (Isparta: Eğirdir Belediyesi, 2008); Sibel Kocacı, “The Journey of an Ottoman Warrior Dervish: The *Hızırnāme* (Book of Khidr). Sources and Reception,” Unpublished PhD thesis, SOAS, 2015.

<sup>32</sup> Abdülvasi Çelebi, *Ḥalīlnāme*, ed. Ayhan Gültaş (Ankara, 1996). For a translation on the Battle of Çamurlu (1413) see Dimitris J. Kastritis, *The Sons of Bayezid* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 221–232.

<sup>33</sup> For some intriguing albeit preliminary observations, see Barbara Flemming, “Notes on the {IsAr} Future and its Modal Functions,” in Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Marek Stachowski (eds), *Laut- und Wortgeschichte der Türksprachen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 43–57.

tinct from ones describing more spiritual endeavours (*vilāyetnāme*). Such distinctions could easily become blurred in a culture that venerated warrior saints and frequently viewed military struggles in strongly religious terms. There were also genres with a long pedigree in the Islamic world. These included the “tales of the prophets” (*kıssaşü'l-enbiyā*) and the “wonders of the world” (*ʿacāʾib*, “mirabilia”).<sup>34</sup> This last category could cover a very broad terrain indeed, which included cosmography, descriptions of spiritual journeys attainable only through mystical contemplation, and accounts of the afterlife and the end times. An important case in point is Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican’s *Dürr-i Mekuün* (“The Hidden Pearl,” ca. 1453), a work of cosmology most famous for its sections on the Apocalypse and the foundation of Constantinople.<sup>35</sup> When we consider that this work was the main source for relevant sections of the anonymous “Chronicles of the House of Osman”, it becomes clear just how problematic such categories as “learned” versus “popular” can be for the Ottoman fifteenth century. There is little doubt that Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed was one of the elite intellectuals of his day; and in the words of the main authority on his work, the “apparent ‘simplicity’ of the language and the colloquial style of [the work] are not to be taken at all as indications that the intended audience was chiefly made up of simple folk, illiterate farmers and toothless old women.”<sup>36</sup>

In short, the culture of the early Ottoman Empire is still poorly understood, and its rich literature conforms poorly to modern Western literary categories or the stylistic conventions of later Ottoman authors.<sup>37</sup> In order to assess properly the literary production of the long fifteenth century, it is necessary to consider a wide range of texts composed and compiled during that time, whose relationship is largely intertextual. To complicate matters even further, these texts situated themselves not only in terms of each other, but also in the larger context of Arabic and Persian literature. Although language must clearly be taken into account, to do so properly requires giving up such modern categories as “national literature” in favour of ones more suited to the period of study. For this was a time when Turkish had fully emerged as a literary language in Anatolia and the Balkans, but authors still viewed it as a vernacular “language of the land” whose use required justification.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> For a published example of the “tales of the prophets” genre, see İsmet Cemiloğlu, *14. Yüzyıla Ait bir Kısas-ı Enbiyâ Nüshası Üzerinde Sentaks İncelemesi* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1994).

<sup>35</sup> Ahmed Bican Yazıcıoğlu, *Dürr-i Mekuun*, ed. Laban Kaptein (Asch: privately published, 2007). See also the accompanying study: Kaptein, *Apocalypse and the Antichrist*.

<sup>36</sup> Kaptein, *Apocalypse*, 25. On the connection between Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican and the anonymous chronicles, see Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople*, 60 ff.

<sup>37</sup> For stylistic changes in the sixteenth century, see the bibliography in Flemming, “Notes on the {IsAr} Future,” as well as Kaptein, *Apocalypse*, 25 (“official Schrifttum... becomes the experimental garden for the application of new rules and voguish styles”).

<sup>38</sup> One of many examples may be found in the “Oxford Anonymous” Ottoman history (Bodleian Marsh 313, folios 4v–5r).

Questions of language and style are closely connected to those of genre and audience. All are essential when considering the *İskendernāmes* of Ahmedi and Hamzavi, to which we will now turn.

### *Alexander as Philosophical Meditation: Ahmedi's İskendernāme*

Ahmedi's *İskendernāme* has attracted interest mainly for of its epic treatment of the Ottoman dynasty, which is widely viewed as the earliest account of Ottoman history in Turkish. This has been described variously as an appendix to Ahmedi's longer work, and a "mirror for princes." In fact, there are problems with both characterisations. For if Ahmedi's account of Ottoman history is an appendix, then so is the entire account of history in which it is contained. And if it is a mirror for princes, then so is the *İskendernāme* as a whole, along with a large proportion of medieval Turkish and Persian literature in general.

Modern interest in Ahmedi's treatment of the Ottomans stems from its place in Paul Wittek's controversial account of Ottoman origins (the so-called "ghaza thesis").<sup>39</sup> Wittek was impressed by the fact that in this section of his work, Ahmedi placed a strong emphasis on the Ottomans' role as ghazis, namely religiously motivated raiders bent on expanding the "Abode of Islam" (*dār al-Islām*). In a critique of Wittek's use of the sources, Heath Lowry has made the argument that Ahmedi's account of Ottoman history was written as a "mirror for princes" (*naṣīhatnāme*) aimed at dissuading Bayezid I from attacking other Muslim powers.<sup>40</sup> While there are certainly problems with Wittek's interpretation, as we will see below, Lowry's theory does not hold up to scrutiny either. For while it is true that part of Ahmedi's account of Bayezid's reign is critical of the Ottoman ruler's attacks on other Muslims, it is almost certain that these verses were added after Bayezid's downfall at the hands of Timur.

In order to place in context Ahmedi's treatment of the Ottomans and other Islamic dynasties, it is necessary to take a broader look at the *İskendernāme's* content and reception. Such an endeavour is hampered by the absence of a proper edition, as well as by still-common misconceptions about the style and nature of the work. Some of these date back to the sixteenth century, when certain Ottoman intellectuals viewed Ahmedi's poetry with disdain, expressing the incorrect

<sup>39</sup> Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938). This was recently republished with other material and a useful introduction: Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: Studies in the History of Turkey, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Colin Heywood (London: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 17: "A careful reading of the full text establishes that Ahmedi had initially envisaged the work for Bayezid, as an attempt to warn him away from the errors (his wars against his fellow Muslim rulers in Anatolia) which were ultimately (while the work was still in progress) to lead to his downfall." For a critique of this theory, see below.



view that his *İskendernâme* was little more than a translation of Nizâmî's work on the same subject. In the words of Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi (d. 1015/1607), the author of a biographical dictionary, "although the *İskendernâme* by the above-mentioned is famous, nonetheless people know what kind of endeavour it is. It is even rumoured that when Ahmedi would present the above-mentioned book to notables of his century they would say that even a somewhat good *kaşide* [panegyric poem] was superior to a book of this kind."<sup>41</sup>

Such statements tell us more about the literary tastes of the author and his circle than about the work's original reception. A more accurate indication of this may be gained by the large number of extant manuscripts, as well as the fact that many of these are luxury copies prepared for Ottoman rulers and magnates. These include the earliest Ottoman illustrated manuscript in existence (819/1416), probably made for Mehmed I, as well as an impressive illustrated copy belonging to Mehmed II and others from around the same time probably commissioned by his viziers.<sup>42</sup> Such elite patronage aside, as we will see below, Ahmedi's verses were apparently also popular outside court circles, for they were included in various other works of a less courtly nature.

As for the question of the originality of the *İskendernâme*, as Ünver and others have pointed out, despite heavy influence from Nizâmî and other authors, Ahmedi's work is not a mere translation or adaptation from the Persian.<sup>43</sup> Nonetheless, it is worth pointing out some of the main elements Ahmedi has borrowed from Nizâmî, Firdawsî and other authors, since an awareness of these is essential for any interpretation of the *İskendernâme*. One essential element Ahmedi has taken from Nizâmî is the dual character of the protagonist and his exploits. In both works there are two sides to Alexander, who is both conqueror and explorer, both king and philosopher. To a certain extent, this dualism reflects the critical distinction (established by al-Ghazâlî, d. 505/1111) between the externals of religion and social life (*zâhir*) and inner or mystical spiritual truth (*bâtin*).<sup>44</sup> Through his conquests and travels, Alexander moves from worldly conquest to philosophical enlightenment, which comes with the realisation of the vanity of power. Alexander's dual character is evident in the structure of both works; for Nizâmî's is actually two works in one, and later recensions of Ahmedi's conform to a similarly bipartite structure.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, xiv, n26 (tr. Silay).

<sup>42</sup> On these manuscripts and their illustrations, see Aysin Yoltar, "The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production: 1413-1520," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 2002, 37-74, 99-204.

<sup>43</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-Nâme*, ed. Ünver, 12, 17-18.

<sup>44</sup> A useful basic introduction to this important distinction may be found in Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam. Vol. 2: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 180-200.

<sup>45</sup> The *Şarajnâme* and *Iqbâl-nâme* (or *Kbiradnâme*) together constitute the fifth part of Nizâmî's "quintet" (*Khamsa*). Especially in the Indian subcontinent, Nizâmî's two works are also

This has led Caroline Sawyer to compare Ahmedî's work to a *Bildungsroman* in which the main character gains knowledge through his experiences and becomes fully formed.<sup>46</sup> As Sawyer points out, in Ahmedî the point of transition is Alexander's explorations by sea. This element too is present in Nizâmî, as well as being a literary *topos* going back at least as far as the *Odyssey*. Another element from Nizâmî which is found in both Ahmedî and Hamzavî's works is Alexander's retinue of anachronistically-selected ancient philosophers. Their names and characteristics vary by author, but all three works contain a "who's-who" of ancient thinkers.

Having acknowledged Ahmedî's basic dependence on Nizâmî, it is now time to consider what makes his work unique, both in literary terms and in the context of early Ottoman history and culture. To assess all this is a monumental task, so here a few general comments and examples must suffice. First, it should be noted that not all manuscripts of Ahmedî contain the same text. Sawyer has compared the best known manuscript of the *İskendernâme* (the facsimile published by Ünver, dated 14 Ramadan 847/ 3 January 1444) to one copied 45 years later (894/1488–89).<sup>47</sup> Based on a number of differences, most notably the fact that the later manuscript lacks both the poem in praise of the Prophet's birth (*Mevlid*) and that on Ottoman history, she concludes that it must represent a copy of an earlier draft. This is a reasonable assumption, which makes possible an examination of the development of the work under Ottoman patronage in response to key political challenges. Sawyer argues that in the later version, there is a stronger emphasis on Islam and empire, which suited the needs of Ahmedî's Ottoman patrons around 805/1402. This is evident in the historical section presenting the Ottomans as ghazis, the *Mevlid* which is the first of its kind in Turkish, as well as other parts of the work. She concludes that in the late recension, "Alexander has made himself a virtual Muslim by traveling to the Hijaz and visiting the two Holy Cites of Islam, constituting a precedent for the patrons' aspiration to take Al-Madinatayn, and thus the caliphate."<sup>48</sup> However, this is probably a stretch, since there is little evidence that the Ottomans' imperial aspirations at the turn of the fifteenth century were quite so lofty.<sup>49</sup>

---

known as the *İskandarnâme* by land and by sea (*İskandarnâme-yi barri*, *İskandarnâme-yi bahri*). For a brief description and references, see Stoneman, *A Life in Legend*, 33–38.

<sup>46</sup> Caroline G. Sawyer, "Revising Alexander: Structure and Evolution in Ahmedî's Ottoman *İskendernâme* (c. 1400)," *Edebiyat* 13 (2003): 232.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 230–242.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting that in 817/1414, the court poet Abdülvasî Çelebi presented the Ottoman prince Musa (d. 816/1413) overcome with greed and ambition as saying, "my business will even take me to the Kaaba" (Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 223). However, this should not be taken as an indication of Musa's true imperial ambitions. If anything, it is proof that at the time the holy sites of Islam were considered very distant, and a desire to control them was seen as a sign of madness.

Nevertheless, Sawyer is correct in noting the strong effect of the historical circumstances around 805/1402 on later recensions of Ahmedi's work, especially its historical section which is quite extensive in the later versions. In these, the account of Ottoman history is preceded by an equally extensive treatment of the Mongols rulers of the Middle East and their successors: specifically the Ilkhanids, Çobanids, and Jalayirids. The inclusion of such a section is striking on a number of levels. As has already been suggested, by the end of the fifteenth century, the "Ottoman dynastic myth" had come to rely not only on legitimation through the conquest of new territory for Islam, but also on a transfer of authority from the Seljuks and the legendary tribe of Kayı, a prestigious branch of the Oghuz Turks.<sup>50</sup> But in the early part of the century when Ahmedi completed his work, that myth had not yet fully developed. It is precisely for that reason that the historical section in the *İskendernâme* is so interesting. In fact, as we will see later when we turn to Hamzavi, there is evidence of interest in Oghuz Turkic origins already in the early fifteenth century. Ahmedi also mentions the Oghuz, if only in passing. As for idea that the Ottomans were vassals of the Seljuks, this is also present in Ahmedi, probably because it was in a lost chronicle he was using as his main source for the Ottoman section.<sup>51</sup> Despite the presence of these elements, however, in Ahmedi the focus is squarely on the ancient kings of Iran, classical Islamic history, and most intriguingly, Ilkhanid Mongols and their successors.

Sawyer's comparative examination of the two recensions provides some indication of how the historical section in Ahmedi evolved over time. In the early draft version, this section appears to have consisted only of the ancient kings of Iran (both before and after Alexander) and the early history of Islam (the emergence of the Prophet, the Rightly Guided Caliphs, and some key members of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties).<sup>52</sup> This was later expanded to cover all of Islamic history down to the author's own time. But such a feat required bridging the significant chronological gap between the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim bi 'llah (d. 227/815) and the rise of the Ottomans (ca. 700/1300). This posed an obvious problem, since following the fragmentation of Abbasid authority there were many possible dynastic lines to follow. It is intriguing to speculate about why Ahmedi made the choices he did. For rather than devote chapters to such important dynasties as the

<sup>50</sup> Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth."

<sup>51</sup> Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 27. On Ahmedi's treatment of the Mongols and Seljuks, see also Baki Tezcan, "The Memory of the Mongols in Early Ottoman Historiography," in H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı (eds), *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 23–38. While Tezcan notes these features of Ahmedi's presentation of history, he does not adequately explain them. This is not simply a case of making the transition from a world dominated by the Mongol world order to "a future that looked promising to Turcoman political power" (30). Ahmedi's presentation of the Mongols and Ottomans must be understood in the context of the Timurid challenge.

<sup>52</sup> Sawyer, "Revising Alexander," 237–38.

Seljuks, he chose to continue his account of the Abbasids down to the Mongol sack of Baghdad (656/1258), then turn to the Mongol Ilkhanids and their successors.<sup>53</sup> What this suggests is a focus on the ultimate source of political authority. This was a convenient view for the poet to take, since it made possible meditations about the cyclical nature of power moving back and forth between the strong and the weak, the just and the unjust. With the sack of Baghdad and the end of the weak Abbasid caliphate, power passed to the powerful but unjust Mongols who had sacked the city; and with the weakening of the Mongol Ilkhanate, to various interim rulers and eventually the Ottomans, who were both strong and just.

Ahmedi had a further reason for placing an account of the Mongols before that of his Ottoman patrons. Doing so allowed him to focus on the fundamental challenge of his time: that posed by the Central Asian ruler Timur, a man whose authority rested on connections to the family of Chinggis Khan.<sup>54</sup> Conveniently for Ahmedi's narrative, one of the factors precipitating the Ottoman conflict with Timur was the escape to the Ottomans of a member of the Jalayirid dynasty. This connection provided the poet with a convenient bridge to link his history of the Ilkhanate with that of the Ottomans.<sup>55</sup> In discussing the fall of the Jalayirids, Ahmedi could mention Timur, whose injustice he could then contrast with the justice and piety of the Ottomans. Since Timur's authority was explicitly based on the Chinggisid world order, his injustice was of a Mongol brand; and in the aftermath of 1402, whenever Ahmedi spoke about Mongol injustice, his audience would have thought of Timur.

Take for example the following couplets, which come at the beginning of the Ottoman section:

*O! Moğol sultānlarımın 'adlını  
Niceyidi işit imdi şerhini*

*İtmediler anı kim Cingiz Hān  
Zulmden halka ider idi 'ayān*

*Zulm itdiler veli kânūmla  
Ellerin boyamadılar hūnula*

Listen now, and I will explain to you what the justice of these Mongol sultans was like.

They did not oppress the people in the same manner as Chinggis Khan.

They oppressed them, but by the law; they did not paint their hands with blood.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> For a detailed table of contents and the relevant text, see Ahmedi, *İskender-nāme* ed. Ünver, 44–45, 60b–65a.

<sup>54</sup> On the legitimation of Timur's power, see Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 14–16. On the Jalayirids, see J. M. Smith, Jr., "Djalāyir, Djalāyirid," *EP*, vol. 2, 401–402.

<sup>55</sup> The prince in question was Aḥmad (d. 813/1410) who had been ruling Baghdad.

<sup>56</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nāme*, ed. Ünver, verses 7541–7543. See also Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 25. My translation.

Such references to oppression “by the law” would have made sense in a world dominated by Muslims claiming to represent a Mongol world order. In Ahmedi’s verses, such rulers are contrasted starkly with the Ottomans, who are distinguished for their genuine Muslim piety, generosity, and reluctance to oppress the people even in the name of law.

In fact, we know from other sources that in the Ottoman society of Ahmedi’s time, there was resistance to what was perceived as the government’s effort to oppress the people by legal means such as taxation.<sup>57</sup> However, these sources are generally careful to avoid placing the blame on the Ottoman dynasty itself. Instead, they blame its functionaries and especially the Çandarlı family of viziers. There are hints of such a negative view even in Ahmedi, but otherwise the poet’s account of the Ottoman dynasty is overwhelmingly positive until the middle of the reign of Bayezid I.<sup>58</sup> However, it changes abruptly when Bayezid learns of the death of the Mamluk ruler Barqūq and decides to attack his domains. Ahmedi criticises Bayezid’s pursuit of empire at the expense of the Mamluks, presenting it as an act of vanity that goes against divine predestination. Such a view clearly reflects the perspective post-1402. For it was the pursuit of empire at the expense of other Muslim rulers that precipitated Timur’s invasion of Anatolia.

According to the poet, this event is terrifying even to contemplate, for its perpetrator is an oppressor entirely lacking in justice:

*Çün Temürriñ biç adli yoğ-ıdı  
Lā-cirem kim zulm ü cevri çoğ-ıdı*

For since Timur was completely devoid of justice, of course his tyranny and oppression were great.<sup>59</sup>

Contrary to Lowry’s view, a careful reading of the second part of Ahmedi’s account of Bayezid’s reign suggests that these verses could only have been written after 1402.<sup>60</sup> For as suggested already, this part is very different from what comes

<sup>57</sup> The main source for criticism of early Ottoman taxation are the so-called Ottoman Anonymous Chronicles. See Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, 21–33. For an English translation of the relevant passages, see Bernard Lewis (ed.), *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 135–141, 226–227.

<sup>58</sup> See Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 11, 36 (verses 143–46); Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66b (verses 7679–82). Although some of these verses are missing in Ünver’s manuscript, perhaps because they were controversial. Ünver’s numbering and Silay’s edition both nevertheless include them.

<sup>59</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, fol. 67b (verse 7831).

<sup>60</sup> Lowry’s argument is as follows: “A careful reading of the full text establishes that Ahmedi had initially envisaged the work for Bayezid, as an attempt to warn him away from the errors (his wars against his fellow Muslim rulers in Anatolia) which were ultimately (while the work was still in progress) to lead to his downfall” (Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 17). Lowry bases this assessment on the work of V. L. Ménage and Pal Fodor, however he has misunderstood both authors, who simply suggest that an earlier draft of the Ottoman section was already in existence under Bayezid. See V. L. Ménage, “The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography,” in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (ed.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London:

before. Thanks to the fundamental work of V. L. Ménage, it is accepted that most of Ahmedi's epic account of Ottoman history is derived from a lost chronicle, which is related to other historical narratives of the fifteenth century.<sup>61</sup> This must have ended in the middle of Bayezid I's reign, so what came after must have been written by Ahmedi himself under the patronage of Bayezid's successor Emir Süleyman. From the tone of the negative verses on the late part of Bayezid's reign, it is impossible to accept that these could have been written as advice literature directed at Bayezid. Instead, the gradual evolution of the historical section should be seen as fulfilling the ideological needs of Ahmedi's patrons, who were changing and whose political needs were evolving over time. In the aftermath of 1402, Bayezid's aggressive policies vis-à-vis other Muslim rulers were out of favour. Ahmedi's new patron Emir Süleyman had every reason to distance himself from them, while also celebrating his ancestors' role as just rulers who expanded the realms of Islam at the expense of Christendom.

Now that the historical section of Ahmedi's *İskendernâme* has been discussed, it is time to turn to its remaining contents. For our purposes, what is of interest here is the reflection of contemporary events not only on passages where these are treated explicitly, but also on others describing the exploits of Alexander. Sawyer has already made some intriguing suggestions along these lines.<sup>62</sup> One concerns Ahmedi's description of the wedding between Alexander and Gülşah, daughter of Zarasp, a part of the *İskendernâme* that stands out from the rest of the text and has been studied by Robert Dankoff.<sup>63</sup> Here Sawyer has suggested that the poet was drawing a parallel to an actual royal wedding of his own time, which he must have witnessed in person. This was the 1381 union of the Ottoman prince Bayezid (the future Bayezid I) and the Emir of Germiyan's daughter Devlet Hatun. The wedding was of great regional significance, since the Ottomans received as dowry the lion's share of the rival emirate, including its capital Kütahya. Its celebration in verse would have suited perfectly Ahmedi's patronage requirements when he began composing the *İskendernâme*; for at the time he was still at the Germiyanid

---

Oxford University Press, 1962), 168–179, 170; Pál Fodor, "Ahmedi's Dāsītān as a Source of Early Ottoman History," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 (1984): 41–54, 41–43. In fact, Ahmedi's presentation of the Ottomans as ghazis served Bayezid's needs well, since this provided some justification for conflict with other Muslim rulers including the Mamluks and Timur. But at the time, that policy had not yet ended in disaster. On the Ottoman-Mamluk conflict, see Cihan Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 65.

<sup>61</sup> See V. L. Ménage, *Nesri's History of the Ottomans: The Sources and Development of the Text* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), xv. Like other surviving early Ottoman chronicles, this contained an account of Bayezid's reform of the qadis: Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme* ed. Silay, verses 273–278; ed. Ünver, verses 7809–7814. See Halil İnalçık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in Lewis and Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, 153–167, esp. 161.

<sup>62</sup> Sawyer, "Revising Alexander," 229.

<sup>63</sup> Robert Dankoff, "The Romance of İskender and Gülşâh," in Sabri M. Akural (ed.), *Turkic Culture: Continuity and Change* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 95–103.

court, and the changing power dynamic between the two emirates would have led him to consider a change of patron. But if Alexander and Gülşah's wedding alludes to a real event, we might expect to find similar reflections in other parts of the work. Indeed, it is highly rewarding to read different parts of the *İskendernâme* in light of the tumultuous events of the time. Sawyer has already provided several convincing examples of verses on the evils of internecine warfare, which would have resonated in the period of dynastic wars following 1402.<sup>64</sup>

Many more examples may be added to those suggested by Sawyer, but two must suffice here. The first is Ahmedi's description of the death and succession of Alexander, where once again parallels may be drawn to the death of Bayezid I and the ensuing civil strife. The second is his account of Alexander's wars with Darius. Like the vernacular Greek Alexander Romance discussed above, this may be read in light of the Ottoman struggle against Byzantium. Let us begin with the first example, Alexander's death and succession. In late recensions of the *İskendernâme*, this comes toward the end of the work, following the historical section and various metaphysical meditations and voyages to the ends of the Earth.<sup>65</sup> Some of this material is already present in Sawyer's earlier recension, which contains a chapter entitled "Alexander Dhu'l-Qarnayn observes the tomb of the previous Alexander."<sup>66</sup> While it is impossible to discuss this in detail without reference to the manuscript in question, it is reasonable to assume that it also refers to Alexander's death and the vanity of the pursuit of power—themes already present in Niẓāmī and the original Alexander Romance. However, in the later recension of Ahmedi, these themes receive much greater emphasis. Here the question of Alexander's death and succession is intimately connected to the historical section, which is presented in terms of past and future kings, ending of course with the Ottomans.

The fundamental turning point in the narrative comes when Alexander asks his "vizier" Aristotle to tell him about future rulers following his own death. Aristotle answers that he has reached the limits of his knowledge, and defers to Khidr, who becomes Alexander's main guide from that point on. In Ahmedi's work, the binary opposition between these two authorities plays a crucial role: for Aristotle represents the physical and seen (the "external", *zābir*) whereas Khidr stands for the metaphysical and unseen, that which can only be perceived through insight and prophecy (the "internal", *bāṭin*). None of this is new to Ahmedi; Alexander's quest for the water of life has an ancient and complex history, and Khidr's role as his guide on the quest to find it can be traced to the Quran.<sup>67</sup> But once again, in Ahmedi's work there are historical reflections specific to the time and place of com-

<sup>64</sup> Sawyer, "Revising Alexander," 241.

<sup>65</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 45–46.

<sup>66</sup> Sawyer, "Revising Alexander," 238.

<sup>67</sup> On the water of life and Khidr's role, see Stoneman, *Alexander the Great*, 152–156. On Khidr's multiple roles, see John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

position. For just as the history of the rulers after Alexander's death belongs to the realm of the unseen, so do the new lands to be conquered for Islam by the Ottoman ghazis. If Ahmedi's work is read alongside other early Ottoman literature, such as the *Salṭuḳnāme*, it becomes clear that Khidr is not only Alexander's guide, but also the guide and protector of the ghazi warriors in the Balkans, whose hero is Sarı Saltuk.<sup>68</sup>

The realm of the unseen, accessible only through Khidr's insight, also includes ruminations on life and death, the meaning of man, and the far reaches of the world. So how does Ahmedi present the part of the Romance dealing with Alexander's mortality and posterity? We may consider the following verses, which follow funeral orations by the usual panoply of Greek philosophers:

*Her vaşyyet k'itdi-di ol nik-nām  
Yirine getürdiler an temām*

*Pes oradan an alup gtdiler  
Ol didügi yirde penbān itdiler*

*Renc tartup genc dirdi jtdi nihān  
An daḫi jtdi nihān āḫır cibān*

*İşbudur ki işitdün avvāl-i sipilr  
Cehd eyle pes aña bağlama milr*

*Bîñ yıl anda kalur-ısañ şād-mān  
Çünkü gtdün bir nefes durur hemān*

The testament of that renowned one was carried out perfectly.

They took [his corpse] and left, concealing it in the place he had indicated.

He toiled and amassed treasure, hiding it away; but in the end he himself was hidden away by the world.

For the condition of the celestial spheres is as you have heard; so strive not to attach your affections to them.<sup>69</sup>

Even if you are able to stay happy for a thousand years, when you are gone what remains is like a breath of air.<sup>70</sup>

It is tempting to read such verses as referring to the fate of the Ottoman ruler Bayezid I after his defeat at Ankara. Of course, a valid argument may be made that at the time when Ahmedi was composing the verses, the ephemeral nature of worldly power had long been a major topos in Persian and Turkish poetry. And in fact, even Ahmedi's comparison of Alexander's reign to a breath of air is

<sup>68</sup> See the earlier discussion of the *Ḥızırnāme* and *Şalṭuḳnāme*. For the role of Khidr as protector of the ghazis, see Karamustafa, "Sarı Saltık becomes a Friend of God," 141–142.

<sup>69</sup> Thanks to the double meaning of *milr* (which means "affection" but also "the sun") it is possible to interpret this couplet in terms of Ptolemaic astronomy: "strive not to fix your sun in the celestial spheres."

<sup>70</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nāme*, ed. Ünver, 75a (verses 8674–8678).



already present in Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma*. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that, when hearing such verses, Ahmedi's audience would have thought among other things of the fate of Bayezid I. After defeating and capturing Bayezid, Timur had spent an entire winter in Anatolia dismembering his empire before his eyes. This ordeal proved too much for Bayezid, who eventually died in captivity, probably by his own hand. Bayezid's corpse was left behind by Timur when he left the region. Then it became the object of political struggles between his sons İsa, Mehmed and Süleyman, each of whom wanted to gain legitimacy by presiding over its burial in the Ottoman capital Bursa. In the end, the prince who buried Bayezid was Mehmed I, who carried out "the testament of that renowned one [...] perfectly," taking Bayezid's corpse and "concealing it in the place he had indicated," namely his pious foundation in Bursa. But despite the elaborate funeral ceremonies carried out by Mehmed, a year later Ahmedi's patron Emir Süleyman took credit for the burial by placing his own name on his father's tomb.<sup>71</sup>

In short, it would appear that Bayezid's funeral was every bit as memorable as his wedding, so it is not unreasonable to read Ahmedi's account of Alexander's funeral as an indirect reference to that event. Indeed, such a connection seems all the more likely in light of Ahmedi's description of his succession:<sup>72</sup>

*Pes diledi İskenderūs'u Rūkiyā  
Şāb Zū'l-Karneyn tahtına koyā*

*Ol zamān olmuş idi bir feylesif  
Kim cibān hālīne bulmuşdı vukūf*

...

*Didi atam saltanat idüp taleb  
Çekdi dürlü dürlü renc ile ta'ab*

...

*Renc-ile atam dirdi bunca genc ü māl  
Kodı gitdi aña ne kaldı vebāl*

...

*Pādişāblık ol kim çok renc ü belā  
Çeküben bir kişi tāt u taht ala*

*Görmedin andan temettü' zār ola  
Mülk andan şonra ayruğa kala*

...

<sup>71</sup> On these events and their representation in a contemporary source, see Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 98–100.

<sup>72</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nāme*, ed. Ünver, 75a (verses 8679–80, 8682, 8686, 8692–8693, 8696, 8700–8701, 8703).

*Pes varup bir kûşe itdi ihtiyār  
Tā'ata meşgûl olup leyl ü nebār*

...

*Çünkü böyle oldu hāl-i saltanat  
Düşdi halkın arasında şeytanat*

*Her gişi bir şebri dutup oldu şāb  
Bu anı kıldı vü ol bunı tebāh*

...

*Fitne vü āşüb doldu rûzigār  
Erdeşir-i şāb olunca āşıkār*

Then Rūkiyā wished to place İskenderūs on the throne of Shah Dhū'l-Qarnayn. By that time, he had become a philosopher, who had gained awareness of the state of the world.

...

He said: "My father desired the sultanate, and suffered much toil and trouble."

...

"My father toiled to amass all that wealth and property, but abandoned it when he departed, and was left with nothing but the burden of sin.

...

Whoever through great pains is able to become Padishah, taking possession of the crown and throne,

Have you not seen that his profit becomes misery, sovereignty later ending up in the hands of another?"

...

So he went and chose a mountain [as his dwelling], where he busied himself with worship day and night.

...

When the sultanate came into such a state, the devil's work manifested itself among the people.

Each person seized a town and became Shah, one eliminating the other.

...

The world was filled with trouble and confusion, until the appearance of Shah Ardashir.

Once again, there is an obvious intertextual relationship between Ahmedi's verses and the works of Firdawsī and Nizāmī. It is to the second of these two Persian poets that we may trace Alexander's philosophically inclined son Iskandarūs. Nonetheless, in light of the Ottoman succession struggles of 805–816/1402–13, it is not difficult to imagine what must have gone through the minds of Ahmedi's audience when hearing his verses about civil strife and interregnum. Ahmedi's patron Emir Süleyman was no ascetic on a mountaintop, but there is every indication that he

was philosophically inclined, and many different sources present him as torn between the burden of rule and a preference for literary symposia.<sup>73</sup>

So far we have considered how Ahmedî's version of the Alexander Romance can be read as a reflection of the political crisis of 805/1402. Now it is time to turn to a different case: the conflict between the Ottomans and Byzantium. As has been suggested already, the Ottoman conquests in the Balkans carried profound significance for the larger Islamic world. Not only did they involve the conquest of new territory for Islam, but the period in which Ahmedî was writing witnessed the first Ottoman siege of Constantinople, a city whose potential conquest carried deep significance from an Islamic perspective. Given the religious and ideological importance of the struggle in question, we might expect it to be reflected in a work such as that of Ahmedî, with its focus on Islamic piety and history. Indeed, we have seen already that Ahmedî's account of the Ottoman dynasty makes much of the Ottoman rulers' piety and role as ghazis expanding the territory of Islam. But might we not also expect the poet to represent the defining conflict of his time in other parts of his *İskendernâme*? We have already seen such reflections in the vernacular Greek Alexander Romance produced around this time. Should we not expect to find them also on the other side of the conflict?

Contrary to Sawyer's assertion that "it is not clear what inspired Ahmedî to choose an Alexander narrative" as the framework for a universal history, there is every reason to believe that the poet made a conscious choice to engage with the legend of Alexander.<sup>74</sup> By Ahmedî's time, the ancient conqueror had become the symbol *par excellence* of universal knowledge and world empire; and of course even in its original form the Alexander Romance included a conflict between the worlds of Persia and Greece. This must have suggested obvious parallels to the period in which Ahmedî was living, when a similar conflict was taking place between the Greek-speaking Christian rulers of Rûm (namely Byzantium) and those other Rûmis, the Muslim Ottomans. However, the matter was complicated considerably by the fact that in the Persian iteration of the Romance, the conflict had become one between two Persian kings. For, as mentioned above, in Firdawsî's version, Alexander is Darius's half-brother through Philip's daughter, sent as tribute to Darius's father and later sent back.<sup>75</sup> It is these two men who come into conflict after a dispute over tribute, which is presented in the form of an exchange of diplomatic letters—an element already present in the original Greek version of the Romance. But although Alexander is raised in Greece as Philip's son, his real father is Philip's overlord Dārāb; and he is later able to take the throne of Iran because of the murder of Dārāb's legitimate successor, his half-brother Dārā (Darius III).

<sup>73</sup> For the presentation of Emir Süleyman in Ottoman, Byzantine, and Serbian sources, see Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 148–158.

<sup>74</sup> Sawyer, "Revising Alexander," 229.

<sup>75</sup> Firdawsî, *Shahnameh*, tr. Davis, 452–455; Stoneman, *Alexander the Great*, 27–32.

For several reasons, Firdawsî's version of the story was ill-suited to a presentation meant to evoke the Byzantine-Ottoman conflict. First of all, Alexander had to be identified with "us" rather than "them" (i.e. the Byzantines). In Islamic tradition, even when Alexander is called "Iskandar of Rome" (*Iskandar-i Rûm*), he is not to be confused with the infidel emperors of Byzantium; he is a sacred personage who appears in the Quran. Even if Ahmedi had chosen to identify Byzantium with Philip, this posed its own problems; for he was writing at a time when Firdawsî's story of a tribute princess and foreign-raised usurper would have probably struck his audience as a bit too close to home. Already at the time of Orhan Gazi (d. 763/1362), Byzantium was following a policy of royal marriages in an effort to control the Ottoman succession. After 1402, the Byzantines went even further, attempting to take advantage of the Ottoman succession struggles by harbouring Ottoman princes as diplomatic hostages. For all of these reasons, Ahmedi must have felt a need to alter the account of Alexander's origins and conflict with Darius in order to provide a more satisfactory outcome. Ideally this would allow his audience to draw the right parallels to the Byzantine-Ottoman conflict, with no risk of associating Alexander with such negative elements as diplomatic marriages and rival pretenders to the throne. How could this be achieved?

As Ünver has pointed out, Ahmedi's version of the story closely follows that of Firdawsî, but with important differences.<sup>76</sup> In Ahmedi, Firdawsî's story is preceded by an unrelated conflict: that between Alexander's father the Persian king and Caesar of Rome (*Kaşar-ı Rûm*). This appears to be an element original to Ahmedi. Its significance is clear both from its placement at the very beginning of the story, and from the fact that Ahmedi has changed the names of Firdawsî's Persian kings in order to accommodate it. In Ahmedi, Alexander's father is called Dārā (or Dārābid):

*Ol zamân ki İrân'a Dārābid Şâh  
Dilegince seyr iderdi mibr ü mab*

*Nireye yüz tutsa bulurdu zafer  
Toprağa el ursa olurdu güber*

...

*Kaşd itdi ki İlede Rûm'a sipâh  
Rûm'ı fetih idüp aña dahı ola şâh*

...

*Nireye uğrasa gâretdür işi  
Kanda irerse hasâretdür işi*

*Nirede ma'mûr yir bulsa yığar  
Kanķı şebri kim alur-tsa yağar*

...

<sup>76</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 17.

*Ḳayşer'e çünkim irişdi bu haber  
Gönli oldı guşşadan zir ü zeber*

*Bildi kim tālîc dönüp baht oldı şüm  
Gidiser bi-şekk elinden mülk-i Rüm*

*Zira ol pîr-idi Dārā nev-cüvān  
Ol za'îf-idi vü bu nev-pehlivān*

*Pîrden bergiz yigitlik gelmeye  
Yigid-ile pîr hem-ser olmaya*

...

*Düşdi atdan Ḳayşer u oldı esîr  
Bahtı dönene kim ola dest-gîr*

...

*Ḳayşer için dikdi Dārā anda dâr  
Aşdı anı kaldı ansuz kaçır u dâr*

...

*Çünkü Ḳayşar öldi isüz kaldı Rüm*

*Oldı Dārā'nuñ kamu ol merzibüm*

*Diri kalan ger şerîf ü ger vazîc*

*Oldılar mecmû'ı Dārā'ya muñîc*

When in Iran the course of Sun and Moon followed the wishes of Darabid Shah,  
Wherever [Dara] turned, he would find victory; whenever he touched the ground, gems  
would appear.

...

He resolved to dispatch cavalry against Rüm. By conquering Rüm, he would become its  
Shah as well.

...

Wherever he went, his occupation was plunder; wherever he appeared, his work was  
devastation.

Wherever he found cultivated land, he would ruin it; whenever he captured a city, he  
would burn it.

...

When Caesar received news of this, out of grief his heart turned upside-down.

He knew his star had changed, his fortune turned ill-fated; without a doubt, he would  
lose possession of Rüm.

For he was old and Dara a young man; he was weak, [his adversary] a young champion.

Heroic acts will never come from old men. These will never be the equals of young war-  
riors.

...

Caesar fell off his horse and became captive. For who will lend a hand to someone whose fortune has turned?

...

And Dara set up a gibbet for Caesar and hanged him. Suddenly nothing was left but his home and palace.

...

When Caesar died, Rūm was left without a master. All that country<sup>77</sup> was left to Dara.

Those still alive, both noble and humble, all submitted to Dara's will.<sup>78</sup>

In verses such as the above, it is hard not to see a reflection of the conflict between the Ottomans and Byzantium. It is particularly interesting to note the emphasis on youth and old age, which is reminiscent of Ibn Khaldūn's ideas, although unlikely to have been influenced by them directly.<sup>79</sup> In fact, views of military success as proof of piety and correct faith were part of the culture of the time, both on the Byzantine and on the Muslim side.<sup>80</sup> Ahmedi's pitying description of Caesar in the above verses is reminiscent of a prose epic composed in Mehmed I's court around the same time, in which the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II is described as having "grown old and weak" and unable to accompany Mehmed as his vassal on campaign.<sup>81</sup>

As in the case of the vernacular Greek version discussed earlier, Ahmedi's presentation of Darius's conflict with Caesar should not be seen merely on the level of two warring kingdoms, but rather on that of a larger struggle between two competing religions and world orders. Viewed in such a light, it is probably

<sup>77</sup> The use of the Persian term *marzbūm* is perhaps significant; although it can be translated simply as "country," it also implies a borderland belonging to a hostile power (cf. *marzbān*, "marcher lord").

<sup>78</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nāme*, ed. Ünver, 319–320, 326, 332–333, 338–341, 369, 371, 375.

<sup>79</sup> For Ibn Khaldūn's ideas about the youth and old age of dynasties, see Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, tr. Franz Rosenthal, abr. N. J. Dawood (Princeton, 1969), 136–138. On the question of the influence of Ibn Khaldūn, see Cornell H. Fleischer, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism, and 'Ibn Khaldunism' in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983): 198–220.

<sup>80</sup> An interesting case in point is the debate between the captive Byzantine intellectual Gregory Palamas and a Muslim teacher (*dānişmend*) in İznik following the Ottoman capture of Gallipoli (755/1354). See Anna Phillipidis-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs: dossier et commentaire," *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979): 109–222, 156–161. It is worth noting that as a counterexample to the Muslim teacher's point about the spread of Islam through world conquest, Palamas specifically mentions Alexander.

<sup>81</sup> *Ben pir oldum, mecâlîm yokdur*. The text in question has survived as part of the "Oxford Anonymous" chronicle (MS Bodleian Marsh 313, fol. 99r, new tr. forthcoming) as well as the chronicle of Neşri. For a critical edition and translation, see Dimitris Kastritis (ed. and tr.), *The Tales of Sultan Mehmed, Son of Bayezid Khan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2007), 37, 84.

no coincidence that Ahmedi changed the names of the two Persian kings (Darius father and son) so that the one who defeats and executes Caesar has the more immediately recognisable name of *Dārā*. By doing so, he is able to reverse the power dynamic inherent in the original Alexander Romance, fulfilling a wish of the Perso-Islamic east to defeat the Greco-Roman west.<sup>82</sup>

Another striking aspect of Ahmedi's version of the story is his description of Darius's vassalage arrangements with Alexander's step-father and predecessor Philip (*Feylekūs*). As in the Greek vernacular version discussed earlier, these have a distinctly Ottoman flavour. After killing Caesar and conquering his land, Philip assigns parts of it to his own men, so that they may rule as his vassals. It is in this manner that Philip comes to be ruler of the province of Greece (*Yūmān*). Through such a presentation, the poet is able to echo Ottoman practices of the time as well as advance the plot. For to cement his vassalage agreement with Philip, Darius marries his daughter and becomes the father of Alexander. By killing Caesar and appointing Philip to rule as a Persian vassal over part of his kingdom, Ahmedi has introduced a crucial twist. He has ensured that Alexander, the man who will inherit the land of Rūm and conquer Iran and the world, is descended not only from a Persian king (as in the earlier versions) but also from a Persian king's vassal with no ties of blood or loyalty to the deceased Caesar. Thus in Ahmedi, Alexander has been removed entirely from the realm of Byzantium. He has no ancestral claims to the lands of Rūm apart from those bestowed on him by his father, the Persian king, to whom his maternal grandfather Philip owes his appointment as governor.

To conclude this brief discussion of Ahmedi's *İskendernāme*, we have seen that it is possible to read the work on several different levels. Firstly it is important to note that above all, this is a didactic work of a philosophical and even cosmographic nature. Even in its earliest form, it contained discourses on such fields and geography and astronomy, as well as history. Following in the footsteps of Nizāmi (the first to have divided Alexander's universalism into worldly and spiritual spheres) Ahmedi organised his poem broadly along the lines of worldly knowledge (represented by Aristotle and other Greek philosophers) and knowledge obtainable only through insight and inspiration (represented by Khidr). It is significant that the crucial turning point is located in the field of history. As with the rest of the *İskendernāme*, especially the second part of this history (including the account of the Ottomans) has an important religious dimension. Since Alexander is a proto-Muslim guided by Khidr, Ahmedi's history of future kings is essentially an Islamic history, containing among other elements a detailed account of the Prophet Muhammad's ascent to the heavens (*Mī'rāḡ*). In earlier drafts of

<sup>82</sup> According to the Greek chronicler Kritovoulos, a few decades later Mehmed the Conqueror perceived himself not only as a new Alexander, but also as avenger of the Trojans and their Asiatic descendants. See Kritovoulos (*History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, tr. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 181–182.

the work, the historical section was quite limited, but in the final version it came to include the Ilkhanids and their successors down to the Ottomans.

Although Ahmedi's *İskendernâme* is best known today for the Ottoman part of its historical section, it is a mistake to assume that the poet's motive was to write a history and that he simply chose the Alexander cycle as a vehicle to do so. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that Ahmedi's larger aim was to write a long rhymed work (*mesnevi*) of a mystical and didactic nature, a work in line with the intellectual and literary tastes of his time. Seen in this light, it is highly significant that the poet chose to give such an important place to history. The fact that this choice obviously served patronage needs makes it no less important. On the contrary, Ahmedi wrote his work at a time when the lands of Rûm were gaining a new prominence in the Islamic world, and their recent and ancient history was considered of great importance. In the preceding decades, thanks to their conquests on the European side of the Straits (or to use Ahmedi's own expression, "the opposite coast," *aşra yaka*) the Ottomans had greatly enlarged the domains of Islam. They had defeated a large Crusader army and threatened Constantinople itself, an ultimate goal of Islamic conquest. Although their empire was not yet what it would become in the sixteenth century, they were hardly marginal as is sometimes suggested.<sup>83</sup> There is increasing evidence that, not unlike the New World would eventually become for Europeans, in this period the lands of Rûm were viewed by the rest of the Islamic world as rich in interest and opportunity. At the same time, Rûmis themselves were becoming increasingly aware of their own uniqueness on the frontier of Islamic expansion. Although the Ottoman borderlands were in some ways marginal to the Islamic world, by the turn of the fifteenth century they were nonetheless important enough to attract scholars motivated by intellectual curiosity and other considerations. Moreover, although the new regions lacked much of the educational infrastructure of established Islamic centres, some of their native inhabitants were nonetheless able to attain the highest levels of learning and obtain the patronage of the Mamluks of Cairo and the Timurids of Samarqand.<sup>84</sup>

For the new world created by the Ottoman conquests, the Alexander Romance provided an obvious mirror. Although Ahmedi's work was the only one destined

<sup>83</sup> See for example Helen Pfeifer, "Encounter after the Conquest: Scholarly Gatherings in 16th-Century Ottoman Damascus," *IJMES* 47 (2015): 219–220. Although the author's main argument is valid, she exaggerates the extent to which the Ottoman lands and their intellectuals were marginal before the conquest of the Arab lands.

<sup>84</sup> For just a few cases among many, see Evrim Binbaş, "A Damascene Eyewitness to the Battle of Nicopolis: Shams Al-Din Ibn Al-Jazari (d. 833/1429)," in Nikolaos G. Chrissis and Mike Carr (eds), *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204-1453* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 153-175; Dimitris Kastritis, "The Revolt of Şeyh Bedreddin in the Context of the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–13," in Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Ottoman Empire* (Herakleion: University of Crete Press, 2012), 233–250.



to become a true classic, the popularity of the theme would suggest that there must have been other Ottoman treatments of the Alexander legend dating from the same time. In her discussion of Ahmedi, Sawyer has pointed somewhat vaguely to the importance of “popular narratives transmitted orally” to earlier drafts of the poet’s work. She has suggested that the poet later reworked these drafts into a final version “based on written Alexander traditions” in a bid for court patronage.<sup>85</sup> While it is implausible as she suggests that Ahmedi “probably did not have much access to written versions of Persian *Shahmâmas*” when first compiling his work, she is nonetheless correct to point to the importance of an oral storytelling culture during the period in question. This does not necessarily refer to the oral poetry of Albert Lord and Milman Perry’s classic study, but rather what Joyce Coleman has termed aurality, namely a culture of public reading.<sup>86</sup>

Once a culture of public reading and storytelling has been taken into account, the study of the Alexander Romance in the early Ottoman period rises to a new level. For it is no longer possible to consider the Alexander Romances of Ahmedi and other Ottoman authors only with reference to such Persian classics as Firdawsî and Nizâmî. They must also be considered in the context of other Old Anatolian Turkish epics, hagiographies, and wondertales. Since everything that we know about these works suggests that we are dealing with a very lively tradition indeed, we must think not only in terms of the individual *İskendernâme*, but rather of a broader Alexander cycle. This is best represented by the corpus of manuscripts attributed to Hamzavi, the author to whom we now turn.

### *Alexander as Story: Ahmedi’s “Brother” Hamzavi*

According to Aşık Çelebi and other compilers of Ottoman biographical dictionaries, Hamzavi was Ahmedi’s contemporary and even his brother.<sup>87</sup> His name is associated with an Ottoman history that has not survived, but he is best known from

<sup>85</sup> Sawyer, “Revising Alexander,” 241–242.

<sup>86</sup> For the classic research of Lord and Perry, see Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). On “aurality” and public reading in western Europe, see Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>87</sup> Hendrik Boeschoten, “Adventures of Alexander in Medieval Turkish,” in Stoneman et al., *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, 122. Boeschoten’s article concerns a manuscript in St Petersburg, closely related to the one we will be discussing here. He has edited and published parts of it: H. Boeschoten, *Alexander Stories in Ajami Turkic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009). The most up-to-date published treatment of Hamzavi’s *İskendernâme* and its extant manuscripts (many of which have been misattributed) is Avcı, *Türk Edebiyatında İskendernâmeler*, 54–59. On the Ankara manuscript discussed below (MS TKD 150) there is an unpublished MA thesis: Neşe Seçkin, “Hamzavi Kıssa-i İskender (101a-200bv.): Metin, Sözlüğü ve Dilbilgisi Özellikleri,” Ankara University, 1991. See also Ünver, “Türk Edebiyatında Manzum İskender-nâmeler”; Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), 13–14; Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 94.

a romance on the Prophet's uncle Hamza, the *Hamzanāme*, from where his name Hamzavi is derived. Comparing his Alexander Romance to that of Ahmedi, Hendrik Boeschoten has called attention to "the very different style levels" of the two works.<sup>88</sup> He has stated that Hamzavi's work represents "a tradition very different from the aristocratic versified *İskendernāmes*, including Ahmedi's." However, considering our earlier observations about style and genre in Old Anatolian Turkish literature, such categorisations as "aristocratic" or "popular" appear inadequate. If Ahmedi and Hamzavi were indeed brothers, they would have come from the same social class. Moreover, both works would have been publically recited, although perhaps in different settings. We have already seen that verses from Ahmedi's *İskendernāme* were included in such allegedly "popular" works as the Ottoman Anonymous Chronicles; and in fact, they also appear with minor variations in Hamzavi's work.<sup>89</sup> This much said, one might concede that the relatively rarified and philosophical nature of many parts of Ahmedi's poem would have made at least some sections of his work inaccessible to uneducated classes of society. On the other hand, thanks to its focus on the straightforward narration of lively stories, Hamzavi's work would have been accessible to a very wide audience indeed. This would have included the army and general public, but also members of more courtly circles who did not look down on such storytelling.

To get a better sense of the character and possible audience of Hamzavi's *İskendernāme*, it is necessary to study it in detail. To do so is beyond our scope here—for Hamzavi's is an extremely extensive work, even the number of whose extant manuscripts still remains to be determined.<sup>90</sup> Under the circumstances, then, some general comments must suffice, followed by an example from the work in question. This is taken from the last few pages of the best known manuscript, *Türk Dil Kurumu 150*. As indicated by its name, this is presently in the library of the Turkish Linguistic Society in Ankara. Based on a preliminary examination, Boeschoten has suggested that this partial manuscript which contains "some 900 pages of Alexander stories" is only a third of the entire work.<sup>91</sup> More precisely, the manuscript consists of 442 folios, and each page contains thirteen lines of densely written, fully vocalised script.<sup>92</sup> If Boeschoten is correct in his educated guess that this represents only a third of the entire work, this is indeed an opus of monumental proportions. Hamzavi's work is in a style combining prose and poetry (*manzūm-mensūr*). The poetry is very similar to Ahmedi's; in-

<sup>88</sup> Boeschoten, "Adventures of Alexander," 124.

<sup>89</sup> See Ahmedi, *İskender-nāme*, ed. Ünver, 13, and especially Avcı, *Türk Edebiyatında İskender-nāmeler*, 56, who provides a comparison of some verses in the two authors.

<sup>90</sup> Avcı, *Türk Edebiyatında İskendernāmeler*, 57–58. A properly verified catalogue of manuscripts still remains to be made. It appears that some listed in the past in fact refer to other works, and there are probably many more not yet discovered.

<sup>91</sup> Boeschoten, "Adventures of Alexander," 122–123.

<sup>92</sup> These are difficult to number without access to the actual manuscript, since its pages bear conflicting numbers.

deed some of the verses are directly adapted from his work. Once again, this points to the common elements between the two works and the inadequacy of any facile dichotomies based on high and low style. As for the prose, its style and organisation clearly suggests public performance. In this respect, it is typical of the epic and performative culture of period. Its characteristics include a lively style, frequent use of the present tense, dialogue, and direct speech.

As for the subject matter, much of what is contained in Hamzavi belongs to the “fabulous adventures” strain of the Alexander Romance. Alexander travels the world with a large entourage, encountering strange nations, natural wonders, and supernatural creatures. He faces various challenges which he is able to meet with the help of his select advisors. In Hamzavi’s work, these include not only Khidr and the ubiquitous panoply of Greek philosophers, but also various kings, viziers, and other figures who are difficult or impossible to trace. Among others there is a handyman by the name of ‘Irāqī,<sup>93</sup> a wise man called Pīr Şirgīr,<sup>94</sup> and a number of sultans and other rulers, including the kings of Greece and Cathay (*Şāb-ı Yūnān*, *Şāb-ı Hıṭā*). The stories are divided into chapters bearing the title of “sitting” (*majlis*) suggesting that they are meant to be performed on successive evenings, perhaps during the holy month of Ramadan. Finally, the text is interspersed with signposts in red ink to make the text easier to follow and read out loud. Apart from the standard headings “verse” (*nazm*) and “prose” (*nesr*), these include such phrases as “according to the wise man” (*hekīm kavlıncı*), “according to the master” (*üstād kavlıncı*), and “the storyteller recounts the following story” (*rāvī şöyle rivāyet kılur kim*).

What can a cursory examination of Hamzavi tell us about the reception and uses of the Alexander cycle in early Ottoman society? For one thing, the existence of such a massive corpus of stories written down in a form designed for oral performance points to the popularity of the Alexander cycle in the society in question. At a time when the domain of Islam was expanding into Europe under the Ottoman banner, the legend of Alexander as world conqueror and universal explorer of strange new lands was clearly a source of entertainment and edification. As we have seen already in the earlier section on Ahmedî, part of the legend’s appeal must have rested on the fact that Alexander and his conquests could be interpreted on both a worldly and a spiritual level. But Hamzavi’s work brings to the fore another possible source of the work’s popularity: the fact that Alexander’s conquests transcend social boundaries. For in Hamzavi, we witness a king on campaign fully reliant on a host of advisors and his entire army.

In the earlier discussion of the Greek Romance and Ahmedî, we have seen that the Alexander legend could be presented in terms of contemporary historical circumstances and political needs. Here too Hamzavi is highly suggestive. For at the

<sup>93</sup> On this character, see Boeschoten, “Adventures of Alexander,” 122.

<sup>94</sup> Ankara Türk Dil Kurumu, MS 150, fol. 208v ff.

end of the Ankara manuscript, we find an intriguing story rich in political and cultural implications, which is unfortunately cut short by the manuscript's partial nature. Nonetheless, the story as it survives is sufficient to demonstrate both the character of Hamzavi's work and the complex issues raised by a serious examination of the Alexander legend in the long fifteenth century. In the course of his travels to the ends of the world, Alexander and his entourage come to a stone bridge on a river. The bridge is visible from afar, for it is flanked by two towers as tall as minarets. Upon closer examination, each tower turns out to be made of human heads. Alexander calls on his wise men to explain the strange structure:

... Şâh am göricek eydür: "İy hekimler! Bu kafadan mülleri 'aceb kim yapıdurmış ola?" didi. Andan Eflâtûn hekim eydür: "İy Şâh! Buncalayım nesne cengden nişândur. Târihi vardur ola, görelüm" di-yüp, gözleşdiler köpri üzere bir kara taşda bir kaç satır yazı gördiler. Eflâtûn okıyup Şâh'a beyan kıldı, ne didi?

(Nazm)

*Diñle imdi ne dimişdür ol zemân  
köpriniñ taşında ol hañtı yazan*

*"İy cibân seyrânın iden pâdişâh  
Çün gelesin işbu köpri jüzere taş*

*Taşdağı hañtı temâşâ kılasm  
Okıyup ne dilcedüğün bilesin*

*Bilesin kim bendağı devrümde hem  
Server idüm şahibü seyf ü 'alem*

*'Äleme âdum dağı tolmış-idi  
Nice şehler baña kul olmuş-idi*

*Adum añıldığı yirde iy güzün  
Nerre divler gizleridi gündüzün*

*Adımı şorar-iseñ diyem saña  
Rüstem ibn-i Zâl dirler-idi baña"*

...

Upon seeing this, the King says: "O wise men! Who could have possibly ordered the construction of these obelisks made from heads?" Then the wise man Plato says: "O Shah! Such a thing is a monument to a battle. It should have an inscription with the history, let's take a look." They looked around and saw that on the bridge was a black stone with some verses written on it. Plato read it and explained it to the Shah. So what did he say?

(Verse)

Listen now to what the person said, the one who wrote those words on the stone on the bridge.

"O world-wandering Padishah, when you reach the stone that is on this bridge, you will view the writing on the stone, and read it, and understand what language it is in.

Then you will know that in my own time, I was also a commander with a sword and banner,

and that my name had also filled the world, so that many shahs had become my servants.

Where my name was mentioned, o distinguished one, Nerre and other *dîrs* would hide out of fear.

And if you ask my name, I will tell you I was called Rustam, son of Zâl...<sup>95</sup>

The versified inscription goes on to tell of how the bridge represented the site of a battle, in which Rustam was finally able to subjugate the only nation that had resisted his authority. In his anger, he killed many enemies with his bow and constructed towers out of their severed heads. When the poem is read out to him, Alexander asks Aristotle about the identity of the mysterious nation:

... (Nesr) *Rāvi kavlmca, kaçan ki İskender Şāh ol köpri taşındağı yazudan Rüstem dāstān tārihîn kim işitdi, Rüstem birle ceng iden kavmuñ teşvîşine düşdi. Andan Ristaţālis Hekim'e eydür: "ÿ bekim-i kârdān! Ol Rüstem birle ceng iden kavımdan benüz var mı ola?" didi. Vezir-i hāşş eydür: "ÿ şāh! Anclayın çokluğ kavmuñ yā soñi kalımaz mı? Belki dağı var ola" didi. Andan İskender Şāh Kaķum Şāhı ılerü kığırđı, eydür: "ÿ Şāb-ı Hıtā! Ol kavım ki Rüstem vafş kıldı, ol kavımdan benüz er midür?" didi. Andan Kaķum Şāh eydür: "ÿ şāb-ı cibān! Ol kavım Oğuzlardur. Teşrin (?) diyārın yayırlarlar ve kışın Kaķum Suyı'nun kenarın kışlarlar. Yā şāb-ı 'ālem, Rüstem'e ol kavımı seyılden berü dağı bu su üzere gelüp inmediler. Ol kavım gāyet bi-kıyās çokluğdur, şöyle ki vafş kılurlar ol kavımı kim Nüh faşıtle birisi biñ olmayınca birisi ölmez. Çok zamandır kim ol Oğuzlar Hıtā diyārından harāc alırlar."*

According to the storyteller, when Alexander heard the epic history of Rustam which was written on the stone on that bridge, he became perplexed about the identity of the nation that had fought the battle with Rustam. He says to the wise man Aristotle: "O wise and experienced man! Could there still be people from that nation that fought with Rustam?" And the trusted vizier answers: "O shah, how could there not be descendants from such a large nation? It is probable that there are." Then Shah Alexander summoned to his presence Kakum Shah. He says to him: "O Shah of Cathay! This nation described by Rustam, are there still men belonging to this nation?" And Kakum Shah replies: "O King of the World! This nation are the Oghuz. They summer in the province of (Teşrin?) and winter on the banks of the Kakum river. O sultan of the world, since Rüstem crushed (?) this nation they have not moved beyond this river. They are numerous beyond estimation. For it is said that like Noah, each of them does not die until he has reached a thousand years of age. For a long time now, the Oghuz have been taking tribute from the land of Cathay."<sup>96</sup>

Alexander then finds out from Kakum Shah that Kakum's brother Kademfer Shah had once refused to pay the tribute, and was attacked by 360,000 nomadic Oğuz fighters, each on a horse with two more animals (*kurbān*) in train.<sup>97</sup> He was barely able to avert disaster by paying the tribute when the nomadic army

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., fol. 432v–433r. My translation.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., fol. 434r–434v.

<sup>97</sup> What is implied by the word *kurbān* ("sacrifice") are animals to be eaten (sheep, etc.).

reached the bridge. Alexander determines that he must find the nomadic Oghuz, and eventually does so.

At that point, the partial Ankara manuscript ends, so it is not possible to find out the outcome of Alexander's encounter with the Oghuz. It would be worth looking for the remaining story in other manuscripts of Hamzavi—but to do so is beyond the scope of the present study. Suffice it to say that the description of the nomadic Oghuz is not entirely positive, as one might expect. As is well known from the research of Paul Wittek, Colin Imber and others, during the course of the fifteenth century the Ottomans developed a dynastic myth to compensate for their lack of a prestigious lineage.<sup>98</sup> This eventually came to include not only their role in conquering new territory for Islam, which as we have seen was already present in Ahmedi, but also the idea of a power transfer from the Seljuks of Rūm and a genealogy linking them to the prestigious Kayı clan of the Oghuz Turks. The idea of descent from Kayı was probably introduced in the 830s/1430s. The author responsible for this development was Yazıcıoğlu (or Yazıcızade) Ali, who compiled a work on the Seljuks and Oghuz, complaining that in his day the traditions of the Oghuz were all but forgotten.<sup>99</sup> But we must not take this statement at face value, for in fact it hints at an increased interest in the Oghuz which should be understood in the context of the Timurid *débaçle* of 1402. It was the need for legitimation created by that challenge that led to the compilation of a work on the history of the Seljuks and Oghuz Turks.<sup>100</sup>

In light of the above, how can we interpret Hamzavi's story about Alexander and the Oghuz? Like everything else in the Alexander Romance, this can be read on different levels. Rustam is the main hero in Firdawsi's *Shahmāma*, the champion of Iran against Turan—a nation generally interpreted in this period as corresponding to the Turks of Central Asia. But to accept this fact in no way detracts from the importance of mentioning the Oghuz (or rather, their ancestors) in a story featuring Rustam. If anything, it shows a need to give the legendary Turanians a name more suited to the world of the time. And Turan would not have been the only association. For when hearing of a nation at the ends of the earth, whose threat to civilisation is prevented only by a barrier (be it just a river with a bridge),

<sup>98</sup> The classic article is Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth." See also Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 96, 122, 184 n.4; Paul Wittek, "Yazıcıoğlu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja," *BSOAS* 14 (1952): 640–668.

<sup>99</sup> Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 122. Yazıcıoğlu Ali's *Oğuznâme* or *Selçuknâme* is a Turkish translation and compilation of three works in Persian: Rāwandī's *Rāhat al-Šudūr*, a history of the Great Seljuks of Iran; Ibn Bibi's history of the Rum Seljuks; and the chapter on the Oghuz from Rashīduddīn Faḍlallāh's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, a world history dealing largely with the Mongols. For a recent edition of Yazıcıoğlu's work, see Yazıcızāde Ali, *Tevārīh-i Āl-i Selçuk*, ed. Abdullah Bakır (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2009).

<sup>100</sup> For the rise of mythical narratives about the ancestry of the Oghuz, see İlker Evrim Binbaş, "Oğuz Khan narratives," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/oguz-khan-narratives>).

Hamzavi's audience must have thought first and foremost of Gog and Magog. These were the "unclean nations" of the original Romance, later identified with the biblical Gog and Magog in pseudo-Methodius and the Quran.<sup>101</sup> It is clear that in this part of Hamzavi we are dealing with apocalyptic themes, for after crossing the bridge on his way to meet the Oğuz, Alexander comes up against an army of snake-people. These are beasts one might expect to encounter in the same part of the world as Gog and Magog, as suggested by at least one miniature made around this time.<sup>102</sup>

It seems that by the end of the fifteenth century, Alexander had become fully identified with the Oghuz and other Turks. At the beginning of the Ottoman chronicle of Neşri (compiled 892–98/1486–93), the eponymous progenitor of the Oghuz is presented as the first Muslim, a man who lived at the same time as Abraham. Then we find the following observation, whose author is presumably the chronicler himself:

*Etrāk zu'm iderler ki Oğuz şol Zî 'l-Qarneyndür ki Haqq te'âlâ celle zikrünü Kitâb-ı 'Azizinde añup sedd-i Yâcüc'î ve Mâcüc'î yapduğma taşrih itdi.*

The Turks claim that Oghuz is that same Dhū 'l-Qarnayn ("the Two-Horned One," Alexander) mentioned by God in His precious Book (the Quran) as having built the barrier against Gog and Magog.<sup>103</sup>

There is much more to say about the identification in the fifteenth century of Alexander with the Turks and their ancestral land. Around the same time Neşri was writing the above lines, the last Mamluk Sultans were beginning to wear two horns on their turbans, in an effort to claim Alexander's legacy for themselves.<sup>104</sup> Be that as it may, there are some further elements in Hamzavi worth pointing out. One is the fact that the King of Cathay (northern China) pays tribute to the Oghuz. Such a presentation of a Chinese king paying tribute to nomads makes sense in the post-Mongol period, when China was more closely connected to the Islamic world. Another is the towers made of severed heads, which call to mind the terror tactics of Timur. And finally, there is the stone inscription that must be deciphered. This reflects an interest in strange antiquities and scripts, present also elsewhere in Hamzavi as well as in other Ottoman sources of the fifteenth century,

<sup>101</sup> Quran 18: 92–99; 21: 96–97. For pseudo-Methodius, see *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius: An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Benjamin Garstad (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 26–27: "...in the last day of the consummation of the world Gog and Magog, who are the nations and kings which Alexander shored up in the extremities of the north, will come out into the land of Israel."

<sup>102</sup> In the miniature in question, Gog and Magog are represented riding a dragon and enclosed by "Alexander's wall." See Farhad and Bağcı (eds), *Falnama*, 25 (figure 1.8).

<sup>103</sup> Neşri, *Gibānnümā*, *Die altosmanische Chronik Des Mevlānā Mehmed Nesbri*, ed. Franz Taeschner (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951), vol. 1 (Codex Mz), 5.

<sup>104</sup> See Albrecht Fuess, "Sultans with Horns: The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire," *Mamluk Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (2008): 78–79.

most notably the anonymous tales of the foundation of Constantinople and Ayasofya.<sup>105</sup>

In light of all this, should we read the inclusion of a story about the Oghuz as a sign that at the time when Hamzavi combined his work the Oghuz were already becoming part of the Ottoman dynastic myth? Such an interpretation is problematic for several reasons. While it is true that even Ahmedi mentions the Oghuz in passing, Hamzavi's presentation of these people and their nomadism is far from positive.<sup>106</sup> In fact, such a negative presentation of nomads as sinister is also present in at least one other source composed around this time.<sup>107</sup> Instead, it appears that the story reflects an ongoing process of identity formation in a society still struggling to define itself. The terms of that struggle should be sought in the historical environment where Ottoman state and cultural formation was taking place: Byzantium and the Balkans, the Perso-Islamic heritage, and a world order still largely dominated by the heirs of Chinggis Khan.

### *Conclusion*

In the foundation period of the Ottoman Empire, the Alexander Romance functioned as a mirror and enjoyed near universal popularity. By the late Middle Ages, the literature on Alexander's legendary exploits had grown so rich and diverse that it could be interpreted in a great variety of ways depending on one's perspective. For Byzantines he could become a Christian ruler resisting vassalage to an Ottoman Darius, and to Ottomans he could be presented as the son of a young Darius who had defeated an aging Caesar. In other hands, Alexander might become a king-explorer intrigued by the news of an ancient nomadic nation called the Oghuz. To all he was a seeker of universal truth and empire, but the details were in the eye of the beholder. The result is a rich literature that has yet to be assessed in sufficient detail, especially with regard to the history of the time. When making any assessments, it is crucial to resist an urge toward easy categorisation; for there is much more to the style and content of Ahmedi and Hamzavi's Alexander Romances than meets the eye. While it certainly possible to detect historical elements and political agendas in the works of these and other authors, what is perhaps most striking about the Alexander literature of the fifteenth century is how in one way or another, it responds to a very human need for historical truth, universal knowledge, and storytelling. For ever since the death of the historic Alexander, tales of his distant conquests and discoveries

<sup>105</sup> Boeschoten, "Adventures of Alexander," 122; Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople*.

<sup>106</sup> Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Sılay, 3, 27 (v. 34): *Dağı Gök Alp ü Oğuzdan çok kişi / Olmuş idi olyolda annü yoldaşı* "Also, Gök Alp and many people from the Oğuz had become [Er-tuğrul's] companions on that path."

<sup>107</sup> See Kastritis, ed. and tr., *The Tales of Sultan Mehmed*, 7-11, 47-53.



never failed to capture the imagination. Depending on the needs of different patrons and audiences, pre-existing treatments could be adapted to a variety of contemporary messages, not all of which lend themselves to a simple interpretation. In order to understand these works, they must be read intertextually, alongside a wide range of other literature in a variety of languages. This is a monumental task, but one that rewards the effort.

### *Bibliography*

- Abdülvasi Çelebi. *Halihâme*. ed. Ayhan Gültaş. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996.
- Ahmedi. *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and Their Holy Raids Against the Infidels*, ed. Kemal Silay. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2004.
- Ahmedi. *İskender-Nâme: İnceleme, Tıpkıbasım*, ed. İsmail Ünver. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983.
- Avcı, İsmail. *Türk Edebiyatında İskendernâmeler ve Ahmed-i Rıdvân'ın İskendernâmesi*. Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2014.
- Babinger, Franz. *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1927.
- Bardakçı, Mehmet N. *Eğirdir Zeyni Zaviyesi ve Şeyh Mehmed Çelebi Divanı*. Isparta: Eğirdir Belediyesi, 2008.
- Bellingeri, Giampiero. "Il 'Romanzo d'Alessandro' dell'Istituto Ellenico Di Venezia: Glosse Turche 'Gregarie'." In *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale: Il Viaggio Dei Testi*. Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 1999, 315–340.
- Binbaş, Evrim. "A Damascene Eyewitness to the Battle of Nicopolis: Shams al-Din Ibn Al-Jazarî (d. 833/1429)." In Nikolaos G. Chrissis and Mike Carr (eds). *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204-1453*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014, 153-175.
- Birnbaum, Eleazar. "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature: An Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century Manuscript of Navâ'i's Divân in Ottoman Orthography." *Central Asian Journal* 20 (1976): 157–190.
- Boeschoten, Hendrik. "Adventures of Alexander in Medieval Turkish." In Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson, and Ian Netton (eds). *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*. Groningen: Barkhuis, 2012, 117-126.
- Boeschoten, Hendrik. *Alexander Stories in Ajami Turkic*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.
- Cemiloğlu, İsmet. *14. Yüzyıla Ait bir Kısas-ı Enbiyâ Nüsbası Üzerinde Sentaks İncelemesi*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1994.
- Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. *The Histories*, tr. Anthony Kaldellis. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.

- Chelkowski, P. J. "Nizami's Iskandarnamēh." In *Colloquio sul poeta persiano Nizami e la legenda iranica di Alessandro Magno*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1977, 11-53.
- Coleman, Joyce. *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Dankoff, Robert. "The Romance of İskender and Gülşāh." In Sabri M. Akural (ed.). *Turkic Culture: Continuity and Change*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, 95-103.
- Dedes, Yorgos. *The Battalname, an Ottoman Turkish Frontier Epic Wondertale: Introduction, English Translation, Turkish Transcription, Commentary and Facsimile*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1996.
- Doufikar-Aerts, Faustina C. W. *Alexander Magnus Arabicus: A Survey of the Alexander Tradition through Seven Centuries from Pseudo-Callisthenes to Şūrī*. Paris: Peeters, 2010.
- Farhad, Massumeh and Serpil Bağcı (eds). *Fahnama: The Book of Omens*. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian, 2009.
- Firdawsī. *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*, tr. Dick Davis. London: Penguin, 2007.
- Fleischer, Cornell H. "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries." In Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı (eds). *Fahnama: The Book of Omens*. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian, 2009, 231-243, 329-330.
- Fleischer, Cornell H. "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism, and 'Ibn Khaldunism' in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983): 198-220.
- Flemming, Barbara. "Notes on the {IsAr} Future and its Modal Functions." In Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Marek Stachowski (eds). *Laut- und Wortgeschichte der Türkisprachen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995, 43-57.
- Fodor, Pál. "Aḥmedi's Dāsītān as a Source of Early Ottoman History." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 (1984): 41-54.
- Fuess, Albrecht. "Sultans with Horns: The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire." *Mamluk Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (2008): 71-94.
- Giese, Friedrich (ed.). *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*. Breslau: privately published, 1922.
- Hamzavi. *Kıssa-yı İskender*. Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara. MS TDK 150.
- Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam. Vol. 2: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Ibn Khaldūn. *The Muqaddimab: An Introduction to History*. Tr. Franz Rosenthal, abridged by N. J. Dawood. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969
- Imber, Colin. "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth." *Turcica* 19 (1987): 7-27.

- İnalçık, Halil. "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography." In Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds). *Historians of the Middle East*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, 153–67.
- Jouanno, Corinne. "The Persians in Late Byzantine Alexander Romances: A Portrayal under Turkish Influences." In Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson, and Ian Netton (eds). *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*. Groningen: Barkhuis, 2012, 105–15.
- Kafadar, Cemal. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Kaptein, Laban. *Apocalypse and the Antichrist. Dajjal in Islam: Ahmed Bijan's Eschatology Revisited*. Asch: privately published, 2011.
- Karamustafa, Ahmet T. "Sarı Saltık becomes a Friend of God." In John Renard (ed.). *Tales of God's Friends: Islamic Hagiography in Translation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009, 136–144.
- Kastritsis, Dimitris J. *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402 – 1413*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Kastritsis, Dimitris. "The Revolt of Şeyh Bedreddin in the Context of the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–13." In Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.). *Political Initiatives "From the Bottom Up" in the Ottoman Empire*. Herakleion: University of Crete Press, 2012, 233–250.
- Kastritsis, Dimitris. "The Trebizond Alexander Romance (Venice Hellenic Institute Codex Gr. 5): The Ottoman Fate of a Fourteenth-Century Illustrated Byzantine Manuscript." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 36 (2011): 103–131.
- Kastritsis, Dimitris, ed. and tr. *The Tales of Sultan Mehmed, Son of Bayezid Khan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2007.
- Kocaer, Sibel. "The Journey of an Ottoman Warrior Dervish: The Hızırnâme (Book of Khidr). Sources and Reception." Unpublished PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2015.
- Kritovoulos. *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, tr. Charles T. Riggs. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954.
- Krstić, Tijana. "Of Translation and Empire: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Imperial Interpreters as Renaissance Go-Betweens." In Christine Woodhead (ed.). *The Ottoman World*. London: Routledge, 2012, 130–142.
- Lewis, Bernard (ed.). *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Lolos, Anastasios and Vasilis L. Konstantinopoulos (eds). *Zwei Mittelgriechische Prosa-Fassungen Des Alexanderromans*. Königstein: Hain, 1983.
- Lord, Albert B. *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Lowry, Heath W. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany: SUNY, 2003.
- Manz, Beatrice Forbes. *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

- Ménage, V. L. "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography." In Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds). *Historians of the Middle East*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, 168–179.
- Ménage, V. L. "The Menāqib of Yakhshī Faqih." *BSOAS* 26 (1963): 50–54.
- Ménage, V. L. *Nesbri's History of the Ottomans: The Sources and Development of the Text*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Moennig, Ulrich. *Die Spätbyzantinische Rezension \*ζ des Alexanderromans*. Köln: Romiosini, 1992.
- Muslu, Cihan Yüksel. *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.
- Necipoğlu, Nevra. *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Neşri, *Gihānīmā, Die altosmanische Chronik Des Mevlānā Mehemmed Nesbri. Band 1: Codex Menzel*, ed. Franz Taeschner. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951.
- Oxford Anonymous Chronicle. Bodleian Library, Oxford University. MS Marsh 313.
- Pfeifer, Helen. "Encounter after the Conquest: Scholarly Gatherings in 16<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Damascus." *IJMES* 47 (2015): 219–239.
- Phillipidis-Braat, Anna. "La captivité de Palamas chez Les Turcs: dossier et commentaire." *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979): 109–222.
- Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. Benjamin Garstad. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Purdie, Margaret H., tr. "An Account by John Cananus of the Siege of Constantinople in 1422." M.A. Thesis, University of Western Australia, 2009.
- Reichmann, Siegfried (ed.). *Das Byzantinische Alexandergedicht nach dem Codex Marcianus 408*. Meisenheim: Hain, 1963.
- Renard, John. *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Sawyer, Caroline G. "Revising Alexander: Structure and Evolution in Ahmedî's Ottoman *Iskendernâme* (c. 1400)." *Edebiyât* 13 (2003): 225–243.
- Seçkin, Neşe. "Hamzavi Kısası-i İskender (101a-200bv.): Metin, Sözlüğü ve Dilbilgisi Özellikleri." MA Thesis, Ankara University, 1991.
- Smith, J. M. Jr. "Djalāyir, Djalāyirid." *EP*, vol. 2.
- Stoneman, Richard, Kyle Erickson, and Ian Netton (eds). *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*. Groningen: Barkhuis, 2012.
- Stoneman, Richard. *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend*. New Haven: Yale, 2008.
- Stoneman, Richard. *The Greek Alexander Romance*. London: Penguin, 1991.
- Subtelny, M. E. "Mir 'Ali Shir Nawā'i." *EP*, vol. 7.
- Tezcan, Baki. "The Memory of the Mongols in Early Ottoman Historiography." In H. Erdem Çıpa and Emine Fetvacı (eds). *Writing History at the Ottoman Court*:

- Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013, 23–38.
- Trachoulia, Nikolette S. “The Venice Alexander Romance, Hellenic Institute Codex Gr. 5: A Study of Alexander the Great as an Imperial Paradigm in Byzantine Art and Literature.” Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1997.
- Trachoulias, Nikolette S. *The Greek Alexander Romance*. Athens: Exandas, 1997.
- Ünver, İsmail. “İskender (Edebiyat).” *TDVİA*, vol. 22, 557–559.
- Ünver, İsmail. “Türk Edebiyatında Manzum İskender-nâmeler.” Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ankara University, 1975.
- Van Donzel, E. et al. “Iskandar Nâma, iii. In classical Ottoman literature.” *EP*, vol. 4, 61–64
- Witteck, Paul. “The Taking of Aydos Castle: A Ghazi Legend and Its Transformation.” In George Makdisi (ed.), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H. A. R. Gibb*. Leiden: Brill, 1965, 662–672.
- Witteck, Paul. “Yazijioghlu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja.” *BSOAS* 14 (1952): 640–668.
- Witteck, Paul. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: Studies in the History of Turkey, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*. Ed. Colin Heywood. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Witteck, Paul. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1938.
- Yazıcıoğlu, Ahmed Bican. *Dürr-i Mekkun*. Ed. Laban Kaptein. Asch: privately published, 2007.
- Yazıcızade Ali. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Selçuk*, ed. Abdullah Bakır. İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2009.
- Yerasimos, Stéphane, and Benjamin Lellouch (eds). *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2000.
- Yerasimos, Stéphane. *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques*. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1990.
- Yoltar, Aysin. “The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production: 1413–1520.” Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 2002.
- Yürekli, Zeynep. *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.



## Chapter 9

# The Ottoman Historical Section of Ahmedi's *İskendernāme*: An Alternative Reading in the Light of the Author's Personal Circumstances

*Şevket Küçükhişeyin*

The composition and the content of historiographical narratives are, as is widely recognised, influenced by established literary conventions, the needs and tastes of princely courts or other audiences, and the existence of sources providing historical information. However, a further critical point which must be considered when it comes to the interpretation of such narratives is the figure of the author, or rather the impact on the composition of a given work of the author's personal circumstances. This is true for the earliest extant Ottoman history, the *Tevāriḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i 'Osmān*, by the Anatolian scholar-poet Taceddin Ibrahim b. Hızır, known by the pen-name Ahmedi (ca. 735/1334/5-815/1412/3). The following article, which should be understood as consciously speculative, attempts to interpret Ahmedi's *Tevāriḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i 'Osmān* against the background of the author's personality, his experiences and the challenges he encountered at the Ottoman court. Thus, it tries to give one possible answer to the question of why the author of this momentous source wrote what he did.

To do so, the paper is divided into two parts. The first part concentrates on the figure of Ahmedi himself, while his *Tevāriḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i 'Osmān* is discussed in the second section. The first part is introduced by a brief overview of the most important biographical data about Ahmedi, followed by a discussion of the question of when Ahmedi came in contact to the Ottomans, or when he entered the court of his Ottoman patron Emir Süleyman, for it seems that this point is significant for the actual content of the work. This is followed by a consideration of the author's self-perception, his attitude towards religious matters and his social and intellectual environment based mainly on Tunca Kortantamer's comprehensive monograph on Ahmedi's life and worldview.<sup>1</sup> These aspects are the key points of the context within which his *Tevāriḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i 'Osmān* should be interpreted.

The second part begins with a short evaluation of the modern positions on the author's sources and a discussion of whether Ahmedi used an already existent source or whether the *Tevāriḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i 'Osmān* should be interpreted as an origi-

---

<sup>1</sup> Tunca Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild des altosmanischen Dichters Ahmedi, unter besondere Berücksichtigung seines Divāns* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1973).

nal work. Finally, the *Tevārīḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i ʿOsmān* itself will be analysed against the background of the issues discussed above and in connection with Ahmedî's own experiences at the Ottoman court, both with the representatives of the court society and Emir Süleyman himself. The crucial point here is whether Ahmedî's *Tevārīḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i ʿOsmān* mirrors an already existent Ottoman historical imagination and self-image or if Ahmedî composed his work with a view to meeting the challenges he encountered at the Ottoman court.

## I. The figure of the author

### Biographical overview

Almost no details are known about Ahmedî's origins. Most likely a native of Amasya, Ahmedî completed his upper-level madrasa education in Egypt where he studied with the Hanafi scholar Akmal al-Din Muḥammad al-Bābarti al-Rūmi al-Miṣrî (d. 786/1384), teacher of other illustrious figures in early Ottoman history, such as the Ottoman *shaykh al-islām* Molla Fenari (d. 834/1431) and Şeyh Bedreddin Mahmud Simavi (d. 823/1420). In all likelihood, his education with al-Bābarti covered the religious sciences, primarily jurisprudence, Quran commentary, and hadith, as well as dialectic theology (*kalām*) and Arabic grammar. However, his own works reflect broad interests in various fields, including medicine, philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetics and prosody, and he was also well-acquainted with mysticism, particularly the Malāmātî tradition.<sup>2</sup>

Ahmedî probably returned to Anatolia from Egypt in the 1360s. However, almost nothing definitive is known about his early career. He probably led a somewhat restless life in search of a patron at the princely courts in Western Anatolia, where he is said to have found an appointment first at the court of the prince of Aydın, Fahrüddin İsa (r. 761-92/1360-1390), as a tutor of prince Hamza.<sup>3</sup> There, he is claimed to have composed Persian works on Arabic grammar and syntax.<sup>4</sup> His first verifiable stay was at the court of the well-known patron of poetry, the Germiyanid prince Süleyman Şah, but his actual activities at the Germiyanid court remain unclear. He is said to have authored some textbooks and acted as an advisor and tutor.<sup>5</sup> It is most likely there that he began to compose his verse *İskendernâme*, which would become the source of his fame, probably at the suggestion of Süley-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 101, 237, 238, 284, 294, 307, 320, 408-409. All translations are mine.

<sup>3</sup> Ali Temizel, "Ahmedî'nin *Bedāyî'ü's-Sihr fi Sanāyî-iş-Şîr* İsimli Eserindeki Türkçe ve Farsça Şiirleri," *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 14 (2003): 91.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmedî, *İskender-Nâme: İnceleme, Tıpkıbasım*, ed. İsmail Ünver (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983) (henceforth Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver), 6; Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 106-107.

<sup>5</sup> Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 20.



man Şah.<sup>6</sup> There is some evidence that the *İskendernâme* in its original form was completed in 792/1390.<sup>7</sup> However, Ahmedî had already left the Germiyanid court even before the death of Süleyman Şah in 789/1387. Until that point the *beylik* of Germiyan had been not only an important power, but also a cultural centre in Western Anatolia.<sup>8</sup> However, it lost much of its splendour with Süleyman Şah's handover of significant dominions, including the capital Kütahya, as a dowry for his daughter on her marriage to the Ottoman prince Bayezid. It seems likely that these developments and their negative economic and psychological effect on the Germiyanids caused Ahmedî to leave that court.

### *Ahmedî's relationship with Emir Süleyman*

It is unknown how Ahmedî earned his living between loosing Süleyman Şah's patronage and his employment in Ottoman service, that is, his entry to the court of the Ottoman Emir Süleyman, the eldest and temporarily most powerful of the sons of Bayezid, who was raised to the lordship of the Ottomans' Rumelian dominions after the Battle of Ankara in 1402. It seems that Ahmedî recognised the Ottomans as promising patrons only at a relatively late stage. Nothing indicates that, after leaving the Germiyanid court, he immediately turned to Bursa or Edirne. Indeed, there are no reliable references to any appointment of Ahmedî in Ottoman service before his acceptance by Emir Süleyman. The oldest piece of evidence for the relationship between the poet and the prince is a poem Ahmedî wrote for Süleyman composed in Bursa shortly before the prince's capture of the city on 13 March, 1404.<sup>9</sup> It is equally unclear when and why Ahmedî actually settled in Bursa and what he was doing there or how he actually earned his living.

<sup>6</sup> Ünver argues, however, that Ahmedî began to compose the *İskendernâme* only after the death of Süleyman Şah to have something at hand to dedicate to a potentially new patron. Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Ünver gives March 19, 1390 or "a few days later" as its date of completion (Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme* ed. Ünver, 13). However, Ahmedî continued to make a number of changes and additions to the text. Cf. Caroline Sawyer, "Revising Alexander: Structure and Evolution in Ahmedî's Ottoman *İskendernâme* (ca. 1400)," *Edebiyât* 13, no. 2 (2002): 225-243.

<sup>8</sup> The Vacidiye medresesi, for instance, erected by one of Yakub Beg's commanders in Kütahya in 714/1314-15, was one of the first major Islamic educational institutions in Western Anatolia. See Selda Kalfazade, "Vacidiye Medresesi," *TDVİA* 42, 409-410. The establishment of the Mevleviyye in the region in the days of this prince, again, is likely to have enhanced the influence of more elaborated Islamic mysticism in the *uc*. See Shams al-Din Aḥmad al-Aflākî al-Ārifî, *Manâkıb al-Ārifîn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1980), vol. 2, 945-947. Furthermore, a number of representatives of Anatolian early Turkish literature were present at that court, such as Şeyhoğlu, Ahmed-i Dai and Şeyhi, the ascendancies of whom were interpreted as somehow being interconnected. See Walter Björkmann, "Die altosmanische Literatur," in Louis Bazin et al. (eds), *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1965), 422.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 143-146; Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481* (Istanbul: İsis, 1994), 65.

Ahmedi rejoices in the above-mentioned poem over Süleyman's advance on Bursa, which gave him occasion to hope to be (re-?)admitted to the prince's inner circle, which in turn may be interpreted as indicative of a previously-established close relationship.<sup>10</sup> However, no evidence definitively confirms the thesis that this relationship dates back to the period before 1400.<sup>11</sup> At any rate, the part of this relationship which forms part of the background to the composition of Ahmedi's *Tevāriḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i 'Osmān* began only after Emir Süleyman's capture of Bursa. Ahmedi arrived in Edirne sometime before March 1405 at the advanced age of well over sixty, as Ahmedi suggested by a poem which was demonstrably composed there.<sup>12</sup> There he found a living, and a patron. With some interruptions, this relationship endured until the final break between the poet and Emir Süleyman in late 1409 or early 1410.<sup>13</sup> At that date both were once more in Bursa, which, like Ankara and Western Anatolia, had been seized by Emir Süleyman after his victory over his brother Mehmed in 1405. However, it was the emergence of his brother Musa in Rumeli which forced Süleyman to leave Anatolia. Due to his advanced age, Ahmedi was unable to cope with the rigours of the itinerant life that Musa's revolt imposed on Süleyman.

Ahmedi remained in Bursa, which soon changed hands to Mehmed Çelebi who was to become the ultimate victor among the sons of Bayezid. The poet seems to have been swift to court the new lord's favour; however, his success was rather modest.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps he sought a teaching post, if not tutorship of Prince Murad, as Kortantamer suggested with reference to an *İskendernāme* manuscript dated 1434 and dedicated to that prince.<sup>15</sup> Yet Mehmed, whose opinion of Ahmedi was obviously not particularly high, allotted the impecunious aged poet the post of a simple divan clerk – a mere pen-pusher – in Amasya, probably as an act of charity. There, Ahmedi received the news of Süleyman's death, which occurred on 17 February, 1411 in Rumeli. Ahmedi outlived his patron for only short time, dying in Amasya on 13 April, 1412.

---

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 143-146, 152. One could also argue that Ahmedi and Emir Süleyman came in contact only after 1390. At that point Süleyman was around the age of thirteen whereas Ahmedi was already in his fifties, but again, there is no indication as to whether Ahmedi was employed as the prince's tutor. It is possible that Ahmedi first came into contact with Emir Süleyman during his governorship of Karasi, Saruhan and Aydın in 1392. However, in 1393 Süleyman was engaged in his father's conquests in Rumeli and it was only in 1400 that he was reinstalled as governor in the western Anatolian provinces.

<sup>11</sup> Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 125-126.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 174; Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 67.

<sup>14</sup> Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 179

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

*Ahmedi's attitudes, his experiences at the court of Süleyman  
and their effect on his state of mind*

In some of his early works, Ahmedi expresses his religious attitude, emphasizing obedience to the divine commandments and religious law as indispensable to attaining salvation. In the same vein he underlines the importance of "religious knowledge," that is, the capacity to reflect upon the actual meaning of the godly commands as the true means to reach the divine goal.<sup>16</sup> Such remarks appear to represent calls to an unspecified audience to undertake a personal search for knowledge, to sincerity in faith and to break with worldly desires. They could also be read as expressions of Ahmedi's high opinion of his own qualities, perhaps as commendations of himself as a suitable candidate for a rewarding post, but also as his personal rejection of the claim of religious scholars or mystics to patronise others. In a number of verses Ahmedi expressed his discontent at the legal scholars' dogmatic and formalistic exegesis, and at what he saw as the somewhat hypocritical attitudes of numerous mystics.<sup>17</sup> The relevant lines are undated but it is most likely they were not composed during his stay at the Germiyanid court, a period of comfort and recognition, but originate from later periods, reflecting, for instance, his Bursa experiences. Yet these statements also reflect his overall critical attitude towards representatives of social groups in his time and environment, the significance of which is hard to overestimate. Consequently, Ahmedi was in conflict with these two elements of early Ottoman society, the religious scholars and the dervish communities. The religious scholars contributed to the development of the increasingly Islamicate character of the principality, participated in the establishment of a centralised state, and legitimised it by legalistic arguments. The dervish communities also contributed to

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 228-229, 230-233, 237, 275-276.

<sup>17</sup> Ahmedi disparaged the gathering places of Sufis as full of "blasphemy and deceit" and fancied countless "hypocrites [...], irreligious and wicked" among them who hide behind the smokescreen of piety (Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 267-271). Sceptical of their claims to purity of heart, he accused the Sufis of impudence because they choose dervishhood only in order to acquire a carefree life. These following couplets demonstrate his disdain for Sufi practices: "If there is trust in God what then is the need for this begging bowl and scrip and frock (*cevâlik*, i.e. frock made of felted animal hairs)?"; "Oh you, who you occupy yourself with miracles on the path of religion, give up your individuality. That is a real miracle"; "If you want to enter a path search for a guide and then enter it, for this path is full of difficulties from the very beginning. The Quran is a sufficient guide, for He is the only one who can distinguish between right and wrong" (Ibid., 267; 278-279; 273-274; 277). For a harsh polemic by the Persian poet and satirist, Pūr Bahā (d. ca. 1284) against Sufis and scholars which make their living at the expense of pious foundations see Birgitt Hoffmann, "Von falschen Asketen und „unfrommen“ Stiftungen," in Gherardo Gnoli und Antonio Panaino (eds), *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies*, Part 2 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 409-485; for a sixteenth-century Turkish text, see *Vâhidî's Menâkıb-i Hıvoca-i Cibân ve Netice-i Cân*, ed. Ahmet T. Karamustafa (Harvard: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1993).

the social integration of both the urban and rural population, and also played an important part in the Ottoman advances in the Balkan territories, be it as mobilisers and supporters of the belligerents or as colonisers.

It is likely that his stinging criticism of these groups had a negative impact on Ahmedi's position at the Ottoman court. As Fahir İz remarks in regard to western Anatolian courts in this period: "Although the literary and artistic life was concentrated around the prince's residence, poets and writers in these small towns joined the daily lives of the people. They were in contact with them in their homes, in the market-place, in the bazaar or in the mosque."<sup>18</sup> However, from Ahmedi's viewpoint the situation was even more complicated for, "the first capital, Bursa, and the second capital, Edirne, were both medium-sized provincial towns, and the courts of the first Ottoman sultans could not completely divorce the poets and the writers they patronised from the people."<sup>19</sup> Given these conditions, Ahmedi appears at best a misfit. At worst, depending on the perspective, he appears as a maverick incapable of integration who considered himself above the societal needs of established office-holders and unofficial functionaries, and who disputed their very right to exist. Thus, it is hardly surprising that his position at the court in Edirne, where he arrived in the entourage of Emir Süleyman before March 1405, was far from impregnable. Kortantamer rightly points to "dark sides of his life at the court of Emir Süleyman"<sup>20</sup> and to "rivals and enemies," who at times undermined his position.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, Ahmedi had to leave the court at least twice, although it remains unclear whether he was expelled or if he "deemed it prudent to disappear for a while."<sup>22</sup> But it is clear that there were points on which his critics could draw. Here again, his poems provide some clues:

The innocence of him whose breath resembles the breath of Jesus is as pure as (the innocence of) Mary. Why, therefore, must he suffer this accusation and defamation?

Surely, for having said truthful words like those which are on everyone's lips, did this paradise on earth turn into his jail.

It is he who loves the king, and he who came to kiss his threshold. This and nothing else is all his rebellion: love for the king.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Fahir İz, "Turkish Literature," in Peter M Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis (eds), *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2B: *Islamic Society and Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 688.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 688.

<sup>20</sup> Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 153.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 153, 156. In this connection Ahmedi approached Süleyman as follows: "The thought of your favour led me to your door, but I found only agony and heart pain there. Thus I groan and tear my hair and wail, for the enemies have rallied me round as flies gather around sugar. The one who did not speak the truth was honoured and departed greatly favoured. Why has this disgrace [fallen] to this servant who spoke the truth?" (*Ibid.*, 157-159).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 159, 174.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

Thus, Ahmedi laments the loss of Emir Süleyman's favour because of his honest opinions. Ahmedi's position had evidently been weakened not only by a number of opponents, perhaps an immediate effect of his critical stance and initial excess of self-confidence, but also by the fact that his own conception and that of his patron about his position at court did not coincide. It seems that Ahmedi assumed he was some sort of consultant or even advisor, but in reality he was no more than a boon companion, who had to be wary not to exceed his bounds.

Nothing indicates that Ahmedi owned any significant property; rather he seems to have depended on his patron completely. This dependence apparently went as far as him not being able to afford competent medical attention during his brief banishment, which worsened his eye condition. This is indicated by the following lines with which he expressed his joy at being re-accepted by Emir Süleyman:

Thanks be to God for allowing me to come near the beloved (ruler once more), just as he led the body, though dead, to the soul.

He brought me to the assembled court of the ruler of the world, just as he allowed the drop to pour into the sea.

Not only did he thereby give back to Jacob his eyesight, he also let the ant return to Solomon.<sup>24</sup>

Ahmedi compares himself with blind Jacob; only at court did he enjoy medical care which improved his eye condition markedly. Thus, he was highly dependent on the prince's subsidies, which, raises the question of the qualities and quantities of these grants. It is against this background that the poet's frequent demands for a cash reward should be read.<sup>25</sup>

His poems from the period of his life at the court of Emir Süleyman suggest, however, that Ahmedi deviated from his aforementioned early strict sharia-compliant position. It remains unclear whether this should be attributed to a fundamental change in his personal attitude or to the particular challenges he encountered in Edirne.<sup>26</sup> It seems that the manners and customs at Emir Süleyman's court differed significantly from that of the Germiyanid Süleyman Şah. That Emir Süleyman was "a true son of his father in terms of his addiction to drink and debauchery" is well-established.<sup>27</sup> Ahmedi's role on such occasions

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 163-164.

<sup>25</sup> "What a jewel [of poetry] I've authored and presented as a panegyric to that king for whom rubies and pearls are [like] the dust of the road. However, I want the king to give his reward for this gem in cash. It is unacceptable that he makes a promise on credit" (Ibid., 154-155). These lines may be interpreted as a testament to Ahmedi's confidence, but they also point to the unreliability of Emir Süleyman's promises of compensation. Thus, Ahmedi demanded the reward to be paid in cash, to have literally something tangible in his hands.

<sup>26</sup> One possible factor could have been the death of his wife, probably during his Bursa period, whom he mourned with elegiac words (Ibid., 94-96).

<sup>27</sup> Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 26; idem, "Impropriety and Impiety Among the Early Ottoman Sultans (1351-1451)," *Turkish Studies Association Journal* 26, no. 2 (2002), 29-38.

was, as was painfully clear to him, hardly more than a companion. Thus, it is no coincidence that many of his poems in which he speaks of the transience of the world and recommends his audience to enjoy the moment are devoted to feasts and drinking. Certainly, wine was not only a profane intoxicant for Ahmedi, as evidenced by his frequent use of the symbolic images of wine and cup-bearer in poems of mystic content. However, the verses from the time of his attendance at Emir Süleyman's court go far beyond the classical *khamriyya*, the metaphorical wine-poetry, but rather seem to mirror his attitude at the time.<sup>28</sup> In this context, the impact of Emir Süleyman on his companion must be questioned. How much did the patrons' inclination to drink influence on the one hand the work of the poet and on the other hand the poet himself?

Kortantamer aptly combined Ahmedi's sensuous couplets under the heading "It's Emir Süleyman's time."<sup>29</sup> However, there are poems from this period which definitely bear witness to Ahmedi's personal scruples and to his admonitions against this type of courtly lifestyle:

If preservation from evil appears necessary do not drink wine constantly.  
 What good could be in it, for its name is the bad water?  
 How should the good call it the good water?  
 It ruins all I've built in my world and religion.  
 Ahmedi, do not call this poison still tasty, because it is sorrow for your heart and torment for your mind.  
 It is the basis of blasphemy and heresy, (and) harbours resentment against the principles of religion (*ser-i din*).  
 It is the companion of vain pride and hatred, and the enemy of gold and silver.  
 It is the beginning of every corruption, and (its) end is every (conceivable) punishment.  
 Its consequence is humiliation (of any kind), and (it is) the cause of all diseases.  
 It gives palpitation of the heart and rise to lumps in the lung. It gives headache, melancholy (in the soul) and tuberculosis (in the breast).  
 The pleasure of those who drink that poison ever decreases, even if he takes the cup of Cem.<sup>30</sup>

It appears not too far-fetched to assume that the aged poet composed verses like these when his conscience plagued him after indulging all too merrily in banquets. It is also likely that such reminders blended with religious scruples displeased his patron and led to the aforementioned disagreements between the two. Thus, it was hardly Ahmedi who confirmed the prince in his lax conduct and debauchery as tritely suggested by later Ottoman historiography, for example, by Enveri in the 1460s.<sup>31</sup> Rather, it was the prince's attitude which rubbed

<sup>28</sup> Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 320-333; see also *ibid.*, 356-359.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 331-333.

<sup>31</sup> *Düstürnâme-i Enveri. Osmanlı Tarihi Kısmı (1299-1466)*, ed. Necdet Öztürk (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), 43, DV449.

off over time on his companion who remained in complete financial dependence upon his patron.<sup>32</sup>

However, it would be an exaggeration to presume an unilateral influence to which Ahmedî submitted more or less compliantly due to his financial situation. After all, he composed poems like the following, in which he approved the hedonism of his patron Süleyman vigorously:

Yesterday has gone, who knows what will happen tomorrow,  
Then take this day as a prize, oh friend.  
Take the wine cup in your hand! Leave behind (the idea of) the end!  
There is no trace in the world of security and grace.  
O King, if it is in your power, spend time enjoyably!  
Don't postpone until tomorrow what is possible today, there is no time for that.  
Do you know what gain we have from the world?  
It's wine and entertainment and a suitable friend!<sup>33</sup>

It is likely that Ahmedî perceived and presented himself as this particular *friend*. However, Süleyman's uncertain political situation, and thus the feeling of his own uncertainty, also contributed significantly to Ahmedî's composition of such confessions, which sound as sensuous as they do defeatist. A comparison of two other poems clearly illustrates the influence of the respective patron on Ahmedî's late works or his adaptive performance, respectively. One is addressed to Süleyman while the other approaches his brother Mehmed, two figures which differed fundamentally in terms of character and customs. In a *qaşıda* addressed to Süleyman, Ahmedî comments on the fasting month of Ramadan:

It is the season of banqueting but (alas) Ramadan has turned the pleasure of our drinking feast into tribulation.  
Although the fear of Ramadan does not allow it, we drink neither less nor more of the rose-coloured wine.  
The feast [of Ramadan] will again come with blessing in spite of Ramadan.  
We will drink lots of wine, but don't ask about that.  
Having becoming an intimate friend of the king (owner of dominions) at his banquets.  
We scour the mirror of the soul with the polish of wine.<sup>34</sup>

How different is his statement about the sacred month in a later poem addressed to Mehmed who is known for his piety or, at least, his emphasis on a religious legitimation:

Oh king, the month of fasting, which is a time of fortune and blessed days, has finally come (again) with honour.  
Among [all] months it has become the most excellent  
Just as the king of kings of men [Mehmed] among kings

<sup>32</sup> Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 173-174; 177-178.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 311.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 132-134.

Crown of lordship, Mehmed, lord of the land  
With his justice, the land and the people found order.<sup>35</sup>

In his last two years, as he tried to align himself with Mehmed Çelebi, Ahmedi alluded in his poems to his earlier piety, before he encountered Süleyman.<sup>36</sup> He distanced himself from his previous life-affirming poems but again pointed to his scholarly skills, and no longer wrote sensuous *qasidas* but complaints about transience, which are again full of pious expressions and calls to perform the ritual prayers.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps Mehmed Çelebi took him at his word by appointing Ahmedi to a minor post where he would spend his final days. Yet, what becomes clear is that his actual living conditions had a vital impact on Ahmedi's works, particularly on those of his "Ottoman period," which equally applies to his *Tevârih-i Mulûk-i Âl-i 'Osmân*.

## II. Ahmedi's Narrative on the Ottomans: a Versification of an Older Account or an Original Work?

Ahmedi's narrative on the history of the Ottomans, entitled *Tevârih-i Mulûk-i Âl-i 'Osmân va Gazv-i Işân ba-Kuffâr*, i.e. "The History of the House of the Ottoman Kings and their Fight for Faith with the Unbelievers"<sup>38</sup> is the oldest verifiable work of historiographic concern which deals with the fortunes of the dynasty, although Ahmedi was contemporary with Yahşî Fakih, who is claimed to have written a history of the early Ottomans which has not survived. A supplement to the far more extensive *İskendernâme*, the *Tevârih-i Mulûk-i Âl-i 'Osmân* consists of some 330 couplets.<sup>39</sup> Its exact date of composition is unknown. It is only certain that it was written well after the first recension, if not the original version of the *İskendernâme*, more precisely between 808/1404-5 and 813/1410, with the last

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 183-184.

<sup>36</sup> Ahmedi obviously approached Mehmed I with much less self-confidence than he could afford to vis-à-vis Süleyman. This becomes particularly clear in two other couplets, of which one was addressed to Emir Süleyman and the other to Mehmed Çelebi, interestingly written on similar occasions: each had presented him a mount but bareback. In the poem addressed to Süleyman, Ahmedi praised the horse but explicitly asked for the missing saddle. His message to Mehmed was of the same purport, although dressed in a more elaborate style and humble wording with which he tried to set the right tone: "If the Sultan bestows a mount than only if it is saddled up, so the riding Sam becomes a pedestrian before him" (Ibid., 185; 174, n. 1, 187, n. 5).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 184-187, 189-190.

<sup>38</sup> For the various editions of the text see Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 21; Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 27 and passim; Ahmedi *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and Their Holy raids against the Infidels*, ed. and tr. Kemal Silay (Cambridge MA: Harvard University, 2004), xv-xvii (henceforth, Ahmedi, *History of the Kings* ed. Silay); Sawyer, "Revising Alexander," 230-42 on Istanbul University Library MSS 921 and 409.

<sup>39</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme* ed. Ünver, 65b, 7537-68a, 7869; Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 25-51.



date only a point of final minor editing.<sup>40</sup> Its composition has been attributed to the need of Emir Süleyman's court for "more sophisticated types of menâqib-nâmes and ghazavatnâmes written in high literary style and mostly in Persian," with Ahmedî's work as one of the first examples.<sup>41</sup>

The section on the Ottomans differs – albeit slightly – in style and composition from the rest of the text of the *İskendernâme*, but there are also parallels. In both cases Ahmedî uses historical representation to convey a variety of admonitions, instructions and ethical precepts. However, it is particularly the part on the Ottoman dynasty's history which appears to be a mirror for princes or, as Heath Lowry remarks, a *naşihatnâme*. In contrast, the original *İskendernâme* is an encyclopaedic work, including a universal history, discourses on religious and philosophical issues, mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, and considerations on the theosophic ideal of perfect man,<sup>42</sup> featuring general deliberations on the appropriate behaviour of good rulers.

With the part on the Ottomans, however, Ahmedî was obviously referring directly to the actual conditions at the court and in the dominion of Emir Süleyman. Indeed, the overall character of the Ottoman section becomes meaningful only against this particular background, for there are a number of immediate references to the realities Ahmedî came across at Süleyman's court. This in turn, explains and justifies what have been seen as the historiographical shortcomings of the *Tevârih-i Mulûk-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, such as the absence of descriptions and discussions of particular events.<sup>43</sup> However, the content reveals that the author's purpose was not to write history per se, but to use a historiographical framework as an opportunity to present his patron with moral appeals and behavioural precepts, to draw his attention to urgent political necessities, and finally, to appeal to him on Ahmedî's own account.

The difference in style between the *İskendernâme* and the Ottoman section has been assessed to be quite significant. This judgment has led to the assumption that the part on the Ottomans represents not an original work by Ahmedî but, as assumed by Ménage on the basis of this stylistic difference, only his versification of an older account written in simple prose. According to Ménage's interpretation, the reason for Ahmedî's disregard of the Ottoman victory at Nicopolis is the simple fact that this period was not covered by his poor template.<sup>44</sup> İnalçık

<sup>40</sup> Cf. V. L. Ménage, *Nesbrî's History of the Ottomans. The Sources and Development of the Text* (London et al.: Oxford University Press, 1964), xv; see also Halil İnalçık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in Bernard Lewis and Peter M. Holt (eds), *Historians of the Middle East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 161; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 38.

<sup>41</sup> İnalçık, *Rise of Ottoman Historiography*, 163.

<sup>42</sup> Sawyer, "Revising Alexander."

<sup>43</sup> *Düstûrnâme-i Enverî*, ed. Öztürk, xxiii.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. V.L. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in Bernard Lewis and Peter M. Holt (eds), *Historians of the Middle East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962),

assumed that Ahmedi used the same source as Şükruallah, Karamani Mehmed Paşa, Sarıca Kemal, Neşri and others. Ahmedi's work represents, he argues, "the shortest recension of the common source."<sup>45</sup> This source, he argued, comprised only the events until 1399, which explain Ahmedi's omission of Bayezid's siege of Constantinople or his very cursory treatment of Timur. Kafadar, however, referring back to Ménage, suggests that the oldest version of Ahmedi's work dates to 1396.<sup>46</sup> Lindner adopted without much critique the assumption of Wittek and Seif that Ahmedi used the same source as Şükruallah.<sup>47</sup> Sılay, in turn, agrees with İnalçık's conjecture but with a less conclusive argument: "However, we *know* that Ahmedi *probably* consulted a source on the Ottoman dynasty that also was used by later historians separately and more extensively."<sup>48</sup>

These interpretations, which can be traced back to Ménage, are based mainly on the stylistic differences and have become the starting point of a somewhat self-referential tradition, which gives no space either to any oral sources and or to any purpose of Ahmedi himself beyond writing history. This represents a serious obstacle to the interpretation of the *Sitz im Leben* of this historical text both in terms of its significance for the author and as a mirror of early Ottoman ideas about history and the identity. Certainly, both the original text of the *İskender-nâme* and the Ottoman section, added later, have a didactic intent. But missing from the principal work is Ahmedi's attempt to induce Emir Süleyman to certain behaviour, which appears to be the defining feature of the part on the Ottomans. This difference points not only to the subsequent composition of the Ottoman section but it also suggests that the author pursued a different goal there from that of the *İskender-nâme*.

*Ahmedi's narrative on the Ottomans:  
an interpretation in the light of the author's experiences with Emir Süleyman*

Ahmedi refers to his *Tevârih-i Mulûk-i Âl-i 'Osmân* as a *ğazavât-nâme*, i.e. a narrative about the pious warlike deeds of the Ottoman rulers.<sup>49</sup> However, rather than presenting the history of the dynasty, he discusses the moral qualities of Ottoman rul-

---

169-170. For his argument concerning the "missing years" of Ahmedi's history, see his review of Kortantamer's *Leben und Weltbild* in *BSOAS* 38, no. 1 (1975): 160-162. For a general critique of modern analyses of the Ahmedi's Ottoman history see Babür Turna, "Perception of History and the Problem of Superiority in Ahmedi's *Dastân-i Tevârih-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osman*," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62, no. 3 (2009): 267-283.

<sup>45</sup> İnalçık, "Rise of Ottoman Historiography," 160-161.

<sup>46</sup> Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 94.

<sup>47</sup> Rudi P. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1983), 7.

<sup>48</sup> Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Sılay, xiv; emphasis mine. See also Kemal Sılay, "The Function of Digressions in Usage and Ahmedi's History of the Ottoman Dynasty," *Turcica* 25 (1993). 143-151.

<sup>49</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 65b, 7550.

ers from the very beginning up to Emir Süleyman. This is preceded by an apologetic preface with which he justifies his delay in composing the section.<sup>50</sup> This fact suggests that the composition of this narrative on the Ottomans was not the author's own choice but the result of a request, perhaps even a critical statement from the patron or one or more high-ranking members of the court, concerning the lack of a section treating the fortunes of the House of Osman in the *İskender-nâme*. However, Ahmedî justified himself in the following terms:

Don't ask, "Why do you mention the gazis last? Why do they come at the end?"  
Any thinking person knows that what comes last is best.

When God blessed the human being with strength, mind, life, and body  
Mind was certainly superior to the other three qualities, and of course it was the last.

The Messenger, last of the prophets, was the seal and the noblest of all.  
The Quran was the last of the four Books, superseding all the rest.

The human being, superior to any other creation, was created last.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, at the very beginning, Ahmedî ascribes a distinct superiority to the Ottomans. This raises the question of whether this reflects an existent Ottoman self-image which Ahmedî encountered at the court of Emir Süleyman. Cemal Kafadar states that:

Ottoman historical consciousness was probably moving toward literary expression already under Bayezid, when the polity started to outgrow its frontier identity and to acquire, much more systematically and self-consciously than before, modes of governing and ideologies associated with the nonfrontier civilisation.<sup>52</sup>

But he also admits that Ahmedî's work is the first extant historiographical source that gives an idea of the Ottoman self-image (or rather identity construction) at that time. Yet, it remains doubtful whether the author merely adapted already existing examples. This also applies to his introduction. Given Ahmedî's critics at the court in general and the obvious criticism of his omission of a chapter on the Ottomans in the *İskender-nâme*, it seems appropriate to interpret the opening section as the author's cast-iron case for the defence, rendering unnecessary any further discussion of his pro-Ottoman attitude or his aptitude as a court poet to Emir Süleyman. It also serves to head off the danger of Ahmedî losing the recently acquired patronage of Emir Süleyman.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, Ahmedî's emphasis on the significance and excellence of the Ottomans can be interpreted as a matter of personal expediency, not as an element of Ottoman propaganda. This reading is certainly not challenged by the fact that Ahmedî's interpretation was

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 65b, 7537-7560.

<sup>51</sup> Sawyer, "Revising Alexander," 234; Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 65b, 7551-7557.

<sup>52</sup> Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 94.

<sup>53</sup> Colin Imber, however, considers this a strategy Ahmedî uses to integrate the Ottomans into a high Islamic structure (Imber, "Dynastic Myth," 9).

widely exploited by later Ottoman historiographers, but rather suggests the success of Ahmedi's formulation.

The introduction is followed by an elucidation of the virtues of the fight for faith and the function of the *ghazi* as God's instrument to "purif[y] this world from the filth of polytheism."<sup>54</sup> Quranic images of the fighter for faith or martyr appear to be intended to incite military action against the infidels.<sup>55</sup> Ahmedi then proceeds to the developments in the time of Osman's father Ertuğrul and his relationship with the Seljuk ruler 'Ala' al-Din "the Fortunate,"<sup>56</sup> The account of Ertuğrul's inauguration as protector of the borders of Islam and as the foremost fighter against the unbelievers is followed by the episode of Osman. This section, however, is startlingly cursory, just six couplets, the shortest section of the entire narrative.<sup>57</sup> Osman is portrayed as militarily successful, seizing the first Ottoman holdings in Bithynia. He besieges Bursa and Iznik but dies on the eve of their conquest by his son Orhan. Although honoured as a great and famous fighter for faith (*ulu ġāzī, nāmdar*),<sup>58</sup> Osman remains a faceless figure. Rather, it is with Orhan that the actual history of the dynasty begins.

Ertuğrul and Osman are designated as *ghazis* without any further title. Orhan, however, is referred to as a ruler (*pādişāhī-i Orhān b. 'Osmān*).<sup>59</sup> Right in the first couplet of this section is the audience informed about Orhan's close relations to dervishes who encourage the prince to fight the unbelievers and confirm his dignity as a sovereign. In this connection, the etymology of the name Urhān/Orhan (debated by modern scholars) is explained as the cry of miracle-working dervishes (*ehl-i keramet*) who call the new ruler to fight: "*ur hān*"!, i.e. "strike (the enemy, the infidels) O lord."<sup>60</sup> Thanks to this invocation of the Friends of God, all the battles conducted by Orhan are divinely sanctioned struggles.<sup>61</sup> Ahmedi identifies further conditions for Orhan's success: he is of pure faith and steadfast obedience to God's commands, and his righteousness overshadows that of the second caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattab, famous for his unerring sense of justice. Orhan aids the establishment of an Islamic infrastructure by building mosques and other pious facilities, and, crucially, supports legal scholars and other men of God who flock to his realm. Among these, Ahmedi points to Sinanüddin Yusuf Paşa. Orhan recognised his qualities and thus, rescued him from poverty,<sup>62</sup> a fig-

<sup>54</sup> Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 136.

<sup>55</sup> For the significance or rather insignificance of this particular issue for the early Ottomans cf. Lowry, *Nature of the Early Ottoman State* and especially the chapter, "Wittek revisited: His Utilization of Ahmedi's Iskendername," in *ibid.*, 15-31.

<sup>56</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 65b, 7561-7586.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 65b, 7587-7592.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 65b, 7587, 7591.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 65b, 7593-66a, 7629; Cf. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 51.

<sup>60</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 65b, 7593. I owe this reference to Prof. Semih Tezcan.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 66a, 7594-7597.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 66a, 7602-7606; 7617-7621

ure, therefore, who may be interpreted as reference by Ahmedî to himself. According to Ahmedî, it is only with these scholars that the sharia starts to be enforced and that the Ottoman warriors actually become acquainted with the faith and the religious duty of the fight for it (*ghaza*).<sup>63</sup> These pious endeavours result in the conversion of churches and monasteries into mosques and religious facilities for feeding and supporting the poor, as well as the acquisition of large amounts of gold and silver and beautiful male and female slaves. Due to these advantages, each of the Ottoman warriors rise from destitution to prosperity.<sup>64</sup> This last element strongly resembles Arabic *futûb*-narratives.<sup>65</sup> This connection may be interpreted, however, as an ideal image of a pious Muslim warrior which Ahmedî is urging his audience to follow, and thus as part of Ahmedî's very own *mission civilisatrice*. In fact, there is evidence that he felt he was wasting his talents in a cultural periphery, as he regarded the *uc* (frontier), and complained bitterly that no one there was able to appreciate his intellectual and artistic abilities.<sup>66</sup> However, it also appears likely that Ahmedî used this image of early Muslim historiography to establish a similarity between his audience and the early Muslim fighters who devoted themselves to the cause of God. This, again, may be interpreted as a deliberately calculated image of the author to exalt (if not to flatter) his audience, thus, as an element to secure his position at court.

In contrast, a negative interpretation of virtually the same image of the Ottomans as formerly destitute is presented by Şikari, author of the epic history of the Karamanids, who in several places describes the Ottomans as a gang of homeless herdsmen without any legitimate claim to power who, after their rise, display a fundamental lack of respect towards the progeny of real princes.<sup>67</sup> That said, it is evident that at the time of Ahmedî both in Ottoman and other perceptions there was still knowledge about the modest origins of the dynasty. However, the comparison of Ahmedî and Şikari shows that this image was capable of leading to totally contrary interpretations based, among others, on the respective idea of ideal leadership. Şikari approaches the idea of traditional leadership

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 66a, 7598-7600. On Ahmedî's discussion of *ghazâ*, see Heath Lowry, "Gaza and Akin in Early Ottoman Usage," in Eugenia Kermeli and Oktay Özel (eds), *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities and "Black Holes". Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2006), 47-50.

<sup>64</sup> Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66a, 7609-7611.

<sup>65</sup> See Michael Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History. Doctrines and Practice* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 60-61.

<sup>66</sup> "How shall be known the value of this my jewel, [for] no one here minds the bright pearls" (Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild*, 94-96).

<sup>67</sup> Şikari, *Karamannâme. Zamann Kabramann Karamanûler'in Tarihi*, ed. Metin Sözen and Necdet Sakaoğlu (Istanbul: Karaman Valiliği, 2005), 154, 196-197, 210-215, 225. For similar interpretations of the Ottoman origins in other sources, cf. Colin Imber, "Canon and Apocrypha in Early Ottoman History," in Colin Imber and Colin Heywood (eds), *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, 15 April 1995* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994), 117-137.

whereas Ahmedi clearly facilitates the notion of the Ottomans as protagonists of the charismatic duty of *ghaza*. If Ahmedi's narrative did not counter such arguments against the Ottomans as lacking a far-reaching and honourable genealogy, then it was simply because in the context of his narrative there was no need for him to do so. Ignoring the issue of genealogy, Ahmedi instead emphasised the Ottomans' hereditary features of humility, justice and devotion to the will of God which supposedly predestined them to rule.<sup>68</sup> Interestingly, he only begins to stress these features with his discussion of Orhan. Osman, the eponym of the dynasty, and his father Ertuğrul are not fully integrated into the narrative; they act as fighters for faith but are portrayed as figures of a war-like past and still do not meet the requirements of rulers in a society of well-established sedentary high Islamic culture. The necessary features are attributed first to Orhan, and it is he who supposedly bequeathed these virtues to his descendants.

It was also in Orhan's reign that the Ottomans crossed the Straits and began to face their actual enemies, who, according to an anachronism of Ahmedi, were the Hungarians and the Serbs.<sup>69</sup> Thus, in his depiction of Orhan's rule, Ahmedi identifies Rumeli as the predominant Ottoman field of action and its Christian principalities as the real enemies. In reality, Emir Süleyman, against the opposition of, among others, Hacı Evrenos Beg but with support of Çandarlı Ali Paşa, had managed to establish a more or less solid *modus vivendi* with the Christian powers by concluding treaties with Manuel II, Stefan Lazarević, Venice, Genoa and even the Hospitallers.<sup>70</sup> Thessalonica, the Aegean coastlines and the Black Sea were returned to Byzantium and tribute payments ceased, which ultimately gave Emir Süleyman a good reputation even in contemporary Serbian historiography.<sup>71</sup> All these compromises were intended to give him a free hand to focus on Anatolia, that is, on the civil war with his competing brothers. Against this background the section on Orhan, particularly with this anachronism, could eas-

<sup>68</sup> Şevket Küçüküseyin, "Die osmanische Hofgeschichtsschreibung im Dienste von Identitätskonstruktion und Herrschaftslegitimation," in Michael Borgolte et al. (eds), *Integration und Desintegration der europäischen Kulturen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2011), 151-165; idem, "Ghazā in Early Ottoman Chronicles," in Francesca Bellino and Michele Bernardini (eds), *Ghāzī and Ghazw in Muslim Literature and Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), forthcoming in 2016.

<sup>69</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, ll. 7627-7629.

<sup>70</sup> Ernst Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht – Die Osmanen (1300-1481). Ein Beitrag zur Genese des türkischen Feudalismus* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1972), 182; George T. Dennis, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33-34 (1967-68), 72-88; Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman Chronicles," *Der Islam* 60 (1983): 286-296; eadem, "Marginalia on the History of Epirus and Albania (1380-1418)," in Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007), 208-209; Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402 – 1413* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 35, 51-59, 63, 69-77, 123-129.

<sup>71</sup> Werner, *Geburt*, 182, but see also Zachariadou, "Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili," 291-295.

ily be identified as urging Emir Süleyman to rethink his policy in Rumeli, if not directly to follow the example of his ancestor.

After Orhan, attention turns to his son and the namesake of Ahmedî's patron, Süleyman Paşa.<sup>72</sup> This historical figure is of particular interest because of his rapid posthumous promotion into the pantheon of virtually sacred warrior-heroes. Although Ahmedî does not mention this specifically, the anonymous chronicles and the historian Oruç point to the idea of otherworldly helpers assisting the Muslims against the infidels in general and to the veneration of this Ottoman offspring by the caste of warriors as a guiding spirit in particular.<sup>73</sup> Both refer to Bolayır on the western shores of the straits as the point of origin of this cult of Süleyman Paşa and to his aid in battles in Rumeli. This makes it highly likely that Ahmedî encountered particular oral traditions about this warrior hero, who given the identity of his name with that of Ahmedî's patron may have seemed a suitable instrument for the author's purpose of encouraging Emir Süleyman to military action against non-Muslims in order to rebut criticism of his conciliatory policy. Ahmedî devotes twenty-six out of a total of forty-two couplets to presenting Süleyman Paşa as a model ruler, notably pious and full of altruism, a perfect mixture of an educated man, ascetic and warrior, all of which, again, culminates in the stereotypical motif of unconditional and relentless fight against the infidels.<sup>74</sup> In the other places, however, Ahmedî uses Süleyman Paşa's sudden death as an opportunity to remind his audience, and particularly Emir Süleyman, of the transience of the world and of the frailty of life.

The next chapter is devoted to Murad I. With seventy-six couplets arranged in five sections, it is the most extensive and detailed chapter of the entire *Tevârih-i Mulûk-i Âl-i 'Osmân*. It is introduced with the statement that Murad was also an eager warrior of God.<sup>75</sup> Yet Ahmedî again does not give an account of his warlike deeds but rather reflects on ideal princely behaviour. Murad is presented as an accomplished and erudite king who features a number of distinguished characteristics such as foresight, humility and magnanimity. He is said to have been open to advice and was gentle to such an extent that he maintained propriety (or decorum) even in a state of sorrow.<sup>76</sup> This statement is of particular significance, since it can be easily identified as a direct address to Emir Süleyman: In his *Cihânnümâ* (composed ca. 898/1493), Neşri passed down a tradition according to which Emir Süleyman had a tendency to behave erratically, particularly under the influence of

<sup>72</sup> Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66a, 7630-66b, 7671.

<sup>73</sup> *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken (Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân)*, vol. I: *Text*, ed. Friedrich Giese, (Breslau: Selbstverlag, 1922), 18, 26; [Oruç], *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, ed. Franz Babinger (Hannover: Lafaire, 1925), 19.

<sup>74</sup> Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66a, 7630-7636, 7640-7642, 7649-7651.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 66b, 7672.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 66b, 7673-7675.

alcohol.<sup>77</sup> The fact that Ahmedi himself had to remove himself twice from the court confirms this idea of his patron's capriciousness. It cannot be proved whether Ahmedi's assertion of Murad's mildness is based on older written sources or on oral traditions he came across, or if it was simply an "invention" of his, but this depiction fits closely with his didactic concept on the one hand and his attempt to gain influence over his arbitrary patron on the other. The same applies to his emphasis on Murad's generosity and protection of the needy, many of whom he promoted. Of these upwardly mobile contemporaries, Ahmedi mentions Çandarlı Kara Halil Paşa, grand vizier and protagonist of the early centralisation of the Ottoman state and its orientation to the bureaucratic tradition of the Islamic Middle East or of what Ernst Werner has called the "Ulemising of the centre."<sup>78</sup> Ahmedi depicts Kara Halil as possessing only basic learning and totally lacking the necessary knowledge.<sup>79</sup> Although this may be interpreted as an attack on Süleyman's vizier Çandarlı Ali Paşa, Ahmedi also used it in order to honour Murad: by appointing Kara Halil, Murad signified his outstanding qualification as a ruler who should not distinguish between dust and gold, that is, people of simple and noble descent. Rather, Ahmedi states, he brings felicity even to a beggar who turns his face to him.<sup>80</sup> Once more, in this crypto-didactic passage, Ahmedi's vested interest is easily recognisable: one of his intentions is to remind Emir Süleyman of the necessity of patronage as an inevitable concomitant of rulership, particularly in order to affirm him as his, Ahmedi's own, patron.

The idea of the use of the narrative figure of Murad I as a model for Emir Süleyman is supported by the next passage. Even here, Ahmedi still does not broach Murad's warlike deeds but discusses his altercations with his rival brothers, whom he defeated since he was chosen by God to rule. Ahmedi declares that Murad expanded the Ottoman domain to central Anatolia and captured Ankara.<sup>81</sup> Once again Emir Süleyman comes to mind, who had a similar career after his establishment in Rumeli. He also had to face the rivalry of his brothers, and he also extended his rule to Anatolia and captured Ankara. Leaving aside the question of the accuracy of Ahmedi's historical report,<sup>82</sup> it becomes clear that he is suggesting

<sup>77</sup> When both Evrenos Beg and the commander of the Janissaries Hasan Ağa, a long-serving follower of Süleyman, caution the prince against the danger of his brother Musa and alert him to the fact that the warriors are changing sides because of his inactivity and debauchery, Süleyman suddenly orders Hasan's beard to be cut off. According to Neşri this outrageous act, committed out of lack of self-control, accelerated the downfall of Süleyman. The officer broke with him and changed sides to Mehmed Çelebi. See Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cibân-Nümâ (Neşri Tarihi)*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995), vol. 2, 483.

<sup>78</sup> Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973) 13, 65; Werner, *Geburt*, 155-156.

<sup>79</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66b, 7680-7682.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 66b, 7683-7686.

<sup>81</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66b, 7690-7693.

<sup>82</sup> Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 26-27.



a parallel between Emir Süleyman and his ancestor Murad, who after his “martyr’s death” on the battlefield of Kosovo, was particularly venerated by Ottoman warriors – although not to the degree of his brother Süleyman Paşa. Yet Ahmedi’s description of Murad’s various virtues shows that he did not simply mirror and record this reverence, but rather that he tried to convey an ideal of rulership to his patron by pointing out alleged parallels between him and his forefather.

With his subsequent discussion of Murad’s struggles with the Karamanid Alaeddin Ali, to whom he simply refers as the “ruler of Karaman” (*Ḳaramān şāhı*), Ahmedi provides a further crucial element for the Ottoman image of excellence. His assertion that the Karamanids were supported by almost all warlike Tatars and Turks, that is by almost all of Muslim Anatolia, is consistent if one keeps in mind his purpose of urging Emir Süleyman, among other things, to engage in further military activities. The objective of this register of enemies (Tatar, Varsak, Turgud, Türk, and the entire tribes of Rüm and Sham [Syria])<sup>83</sup> is to attribute the Ottomans a particular uniqueness in terms of their religious zeal and to identify God almighty as their very own ally. Ahmedi always speaks only of *ğāzī Murād* who goes into battle without asking “help from anybody; it was [Eternal God] who bestowed the conquest upon [him] because of his [sincere faith].”<sup>84</sup> After a very brief and stylised account of a battle, Ahmedi starts the section on “The Departure of Murad Beg Gazi to the opposite shore (Rumeli) for the purpose of fighting for faith and the conquest of countries.”<sup>85</sup> What follows is, however, neither an account of Murad’s deeds nor a list of lands and cities conquered. Rather, Ahmedi remarks laconically that Murad was victorious *everywhere*, that he ravaged the countries of the unbelievers and that God was pleased with him because he had nothing in his humble and devoted mind but *gaza*.<sup>86</sup> This short passage is followed by far more extensive deliberations which are as didactic as they are monitory.

Here, Ahmedi once again explains in detail the conditions of God’s favour: sole devotion to God alone and disregard of worldly possessions, without which every act, however virtuous it may be, would be still invalid.<sup>87</sup> He elucidates this statement on the basis of the Quranic tradition on the Israelites<sup>88</sup> in a separate chapter entitled as “The story about the inauspiciousness of deficient belief.”<sup>89</sup> Ahmedi reports how the Israelites were required by God to fight the Amalekites, but due to their negligence, were defeated almost completely. The survivors, however, reflected on their original divine mission and gathered under the lead-

<sup>83</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66b, 7694-7697.

<sup>84</sup> Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 140; Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66b, 7699.

<sup>85</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 66b.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 66b, 7708-7712.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 66b, 7713-67a, 7717.

<sup>88</sup> Quran (*al-Baqara*) 2:246-251.

<sup>89</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 67a; Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 140.

ership of Jeremiah. As they thirstily came across water, a revelation prohibited them from drinking, but again some among them were negligent; they drank and were again defeated. Only 313 men who overcame their temptation and resisted the desire to drink survived and ultimately crushed the Amalekites following Saul's killing of Goliath.<sup>90</sup>

This strictly instructive section takes up about forty couplets, in other words, more than one-tenth of the whole text of the Ottoman narrative,<sup>91</sup> and it can only be interpreted in the light of Ahmedi's own experiences and his life-world reality at Emir Süleyman's court. Therefore, this episode requires greater attention. Ahmedi states:

Those who drank too much withered away; those who had a little stayed healthy.  
There was no sincerity in their belief; necessarily they suffered calamity. [...]  
The belief of those who drank too much was deficient; necessarily, their sorrow became great.  
The belief of those who drank little was not weak; that is why their affairs went well.<sup>92</sup>

Remarkably, Ahmedi speaks not of absolute abstinence but only of a restrained ingestion of wine, which was of course theoretically prohibited. This passage can be connected with the situation Ahmedi found himself in at the court of Emir Süleyman for a long time, as evidenced by his poems mentioned above from that period.

Ahmedi then proceeds to the momentous Battle of Kosovo, for which he seems to have relied on eyewitness reports, as his description of Murad's death surpasses all other episodes with its attention to detail. In any case, as with the Karamanids, Murad has to stand on his own against a huge coalition of enemies: "The fire-worshippers and the Christians, everyone between here and the west, sent innumerable soldiers to the Lāz (as auxiliaries)."<sup>93</sup> The hostile Tatars and Turks gave their place now to all nations of the West, the Karamanid prince to the King of the Serbs. Therefore the motto in both cases is *the Ottomans against all others*, but with the support of God, their very own ally. At the end of the account of the Battle of Kosovo, he urges his audience (i.e. Süleyman), "Ask for help from [Murad's] spirit, so that you will be able to meet [victories] by the help of his [conquests]."<sup>94</sup> The constant use of the *ghaza* motif and its use as a guarantor of success appears to be a thinly-veiled reference to Emir Süleyman, urging him to resume raiding.<sup>95</sup> It may also address criticisms against the prince which were circulating among his men-at-arms. It is equally possible that Ahmedi was warning Süleyman against the danger of the threat to his position by his cessation of military campaigns against the Un-

<sup>90</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 67a, 7719-7757.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 67a, 7718-7757.

<sup>92</sup> Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 141.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 60.

believers, be it for land, booty or whatever else. Perhaps this was the actual cause of at least one of his two disappearances from the court, which, as he lamented in the poem mentioned above, was caused only by his honest and truthful words "which are on everyone's lips."<sup>96</sup>

The section on Murad I is followed by a discussion of Bayezid I, which again reveals much about the narrative's genesis. Bayezid first appears in a very positive light. He is described as a worthy representative of the dynasty, who possessed the typical love of justice, who promoted the learned and supported the needy. Special attention is paid to his severe treatment of corrupt judges and legal scholars, which perhaps may be attributed more to the author's own distaste for members of this profession than to historical fact. It is probable that Ahmedî's narrative influenced the analogous attitude of the anonymous chronicles, Oruç and Aşıkpaşazade. In any event, Bayezid becomes a victim of his own hubris which developed in him when he received notice of the Mamluk Sultan Barquq's death. Instead of reflecting on his own transience Bayezid conquered Muslim Malatya and strove for the conquest of Muslim Syria, which Ahmedî again uses as an opportunity to instruct:

What he had done was (just) a precaution, he could not realise that it was predestination.

Human precaution does not work where there is God's predestination.

Whatever is predestined necessarily happens.

Therefore [Süleyman], take this precaution no matter what happens!<sup>97</sup>

Astoundingly, Ahmedî makes no mention of Bayezid's battles and successes in Rumeli. On the contrary, he presents him as the first Ottoman who did not wage war for the cause of faith, which he depicts as the *raison d'être* of the dynasty.

Ahmedî's deliberate ignoring of Bayezid's military achievements and his focus on the ruler's alleged deviance form part of his strategy to explain the Ottomans' crushing defeat by Timur and thus the cause of the current state of affairs.<sup>98</sup> However, it is in the context of Bayezid's defeat that the composition of Ahmedî's narrative on the Ottomans and its insertion into the *İskendernâme* becomes comprehensible. The *İskendernâme* contains a world history which originally terminated with a section on the Jalayirids,<sup>99</sup> after which Ahmedî returned to topics of doctrinal content such as the Resurrection and Judgment Day, through Alexander's search for the water of life.<sup>100</sup> That the series of rulers and

<sup>96</sup> See note 22.

<sup>97</sup> Ahmedî, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 143.

<sup>98</sup> For an interpretation of Ahmedî's Ottoman history on the one hand as part of the author's discourse on political legitimacy and on the other hand as his attempt to counter-balance Timur's grandeur, respectively, cf. Turna, "Perception of History."

<sup>99</sup> Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 64b, 7461-65a, 7536. The last four couplets which deal with Sultan Ahmad's death (813/1410), among others, are later insertions.

<sup>100</sup> For further discussion of the content of the *İskendernâme*, see Sawyer, "Revising Alexander."

dynasties ended with the Jalayirids must have been regarded negatively from an Ottoman point of view. After all it was Bayezid's refusal to extradite Aḥmad Jalāyir (784-813/1382-1410), who had sought refuge at his court from Timur's persecution, that was one of the triggers for the Ottomans' disastrous defeat at Ankara in 1402.

Ahmedi was forced to prove himself within an environment which most likely was not too well disposed towards him and, in addition, which was strongly under the influence of recent political developments: the defeat by Timur, with all its implications, may have caused a loss of self-confidence among the Ottomans who realised that Bayezid I's conquests in Anatolia were as "insecure as they were rapid."<sup>101</sup> Süleyman was now forced to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Christian powers to consolidate his position in Rumeli.<sup>102</sup>

Ahmedi's treatment of Timur's victory and the fate of Bayezid in his hands, as well as his justification for even mentioning it show, however, that the court of Emir Süleyman coped with this traumatic experience simply by psychological repression or concealment.<sup>103</sup> Ahmedi explains:

In the meantime, Timur marched into Rüm.  
The state became full of [discord], fear and languor.  
Because Timur did not have any justice, necessarily, he had a lot of cruelty and oppression.  
[To mention it is a dread, for it was indeed a horror. (But) to withhold it would be a fraud].<sup>104</sup>

The section on Bayezid I proves that Ahmedi did not simply bow to the expectation of his environment or simply repeat established ideas about the past or the significance of the Ottomans in world affairs or in divine providence. Rather, he explicitly dealt with the awkward subject of the Bayezid-Timur affair. Ahmedi accuses both actors in the catastrophe of viciousness. But he also identifies a clear difference between them. Bayezid is blamed explicitly for his own delusions and hubris and his estrangement from the dynasty's particular characteristic, which is the fight for faith. Timur, in turn, is the epitome of ruthlessness and violence, but serves as God's instrument for chastising Bayezid for these deviations.

<sup>101</sup> Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 38.

<sup>102</sup> Dennis, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," 72. For more on Süleyman's tactical policy and the resistance of some of his military leaders, see Zachariadou, "Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili," 268-296; eadem, "Marginalia on the History of Epirus and Albania (1380-1418)," in eadem, *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans*, 208-209. On the relation of the Ottomans to Christian powers during the interregnum, see also Kastritsis, *Sons of Bayezid*, 51-59, 69-77, 123-129.

<sup>103</sup> An indication to the permanence of this mechanism of repression as the main mode of coping with this shock is given by the court chronicler Enveri who in 1465 did not know to help himself other than simply to vilify Timur as a cuckold (*kaltabān*), see *Düstürnâme-i Enveri*, ed. Öztürk, 126b, 8.

<sup>104</sup> Ahmedi, *İskender-nâme*, ed. Ünver, 67b, 7830-7833. See also Ahmedi, *History of the Kings*, ed. Silay, 143, translation in brackets mine.

The modern assumption that Ahmedi had only sparse information about the reign of Bayezid I is unlikely. It may be that he gained only little knowledge during his research into Bayezid's achievements in the Balkans or into the aborted siege of Constantinople. However, there was still the prestigious victory over the Crusaders' army at Nicopolis, about which substantial information must have reached him even in Bursa, where he settled probably around 1400 when Bayezid made a comprehensive donation to the Kāzarūniyya from the proceeds of the spoil from Nicopolis and the ransom of the crusaders.<sup>105</sup> However, even if this fact escaped Ahmedi's notice, he had access to information in Edirne by way of both ordinary men-at-arms and the court elite. Moreover, Emir Süleyman himself was involved in the Battle of Nicopolis. Among the prominent figures of his entourage was the aged Hacı Evrenos Beg, who also took part in the battle and who was a close follower of Süleyman. Given that Evrenos Beg and Ahmedi were certainly acquainted with one another, the military leader could have served as a reliable source of information regarding the battle at Nicopolis, as well as for other events occurring in Rumeli during Bayezid's reign. Therefore it is highly unlikely that Ahmedi was not informed about the Ottoman campaigns against the "infidels," which would have been eminently suitable to create a *ghazi*-image for Bayezid. The hypothesis<sup>106</sup> that Ahmedi only relied on an older, more or less bald prose chronicle which reported the events just until 1396, 1399 or whenever does not explain his historiographical omissions. These are deliberate omissions rather than accidental gaps of knowledge and historical lacunae. Nor does Ahmedi's sometimes superficial approach to the narration of historical events explain his glossing over much of Bayezid I's reign.

Emir Süleyman, especially during his feasts, was not very eager to be reminded of the humiliating blow of Ankara which was to blame for the current troubles. Yet, the absence of accounts of Bayezid's achievements in Rumeli appears to be due to two further reasons. On the one hand, the fact that Bayezid was militarily successful against "infidels" undermines Ahmedi's argument that defeat should be seen as a punishment for negligence in executing the divine will, which in Ahmedi's narrative simply meant to turn against the infidels in Rumeli.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, the author was in an awkward position towards his patron. The public discussion of his fathers' successes against the unbelievers, which led to the extension of the Ottoman rule into Rumeli by breaking Christian resistance as well as the seizure of infidel Philadelphia, the victory of the Battle of Nicopolis and the siege of Constantinople would have disclosed too

<sup>105</sup> This included a convent building, land and huge amounts of livestock. See Jasmin Khosravie, "Von Quanzhou bis Edirne. Ausbreitung und Entwicklung der Kāzarūniyya in der islamischen Welt," in Stephan Conermann and Marie-Christine Heinze (eds), *Bonner Islamwissenschaftler stellen sich vor* (Scheenefeld: EBV, 2006), 157-195; Mükrimin H. Yımanç, "Bayezid I," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, 376; Barbara W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror. The Calamitous 14<sup>th</sup> Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 573-574.

<sup>106</sup> The only exception in this respect is Heath Lowry.

<sup>107</sup> Lowry, *Wittek Revisited*, 31.

stark a contrast to Emir Süleyman's own policy, who appeared more focused on sustainability and discontinued the raids, at least for five or so years.<sup>108</sup>

Given this background, and keeping in mind Ahmedi's vital concern about financial security, his silence on Bayezid's achievements becomes understandable. The historiographical shortcomings thus appear to be not as the result of knowledge gaps or of insufficient source material but simply as rhetorical and argumentative devices employed by Ahmedi. It appears doubtful that he ever intended to compose a dynastic history. Rather, the section on the Ottomans is simply a *naşihatnâme* addressed to Emir Süleyman.

### Conclusion

Astonishingly, with only the exception of Heath Lowry, the historical section on the Ottomans in Ahmedi's *İskendernâme* has not been examined from a historical perspective but rather from that of its literary style, its linguistic features and particularly on the question whether and to what extent it could be utilised concerning the question about the significance of the idea of *gaza* for the emergence of the Ottomans. Whether the early Ottomans were fighters for the faith or religiously indifferent rapacious nomads, a mixture of both, or something altogether different cannot be clarified with reference to Ahmedi's text, for he "was not a historian but a moralist [...]. His text has no relevance to the 'origins' of the Empire."<sup>109</sup> That said, Ahmedi's particular deliberations on the fortunes of the House of Osman and their tradition to fight for faith do not appear to reflect any "archaic character"<sup>110</sup> or as a representation of contemporary historical perceptions and self-images which he mirrored. Rather, with these deliberations, Ahmedi not only was concerned with obtaining Emir Süleyman's patronage, but also with restraining his arbitrariness, as well as bringing to his attention the means by which to bolster his position among his warriors and to secure an uncontested reign.

### Bibliography

- al-Aflâki al-<sup>ç</sup>Ârifî, Şams al-Din Aḥmad. *Manâkıb al-<sup>ç</sup>Ârifîn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1980.
- Ahmedi. *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and Their Holy Raids Against the Infidels*, ed. Kemal Silay. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2004.
- Ahmedi. *İskender-Nâme: İnceleme, Tıpkıbasım*, ed. İsmail Ünver. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983.

<sup>108</sup> Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 60; see also Zachariadou, "Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili," 291-92.

<sup>109</sup> Imber, "Canon and Apocrypha," 135-36.

<sup>110</sup> İnalçık, "Rise of Ottoman Historiography," 161.

- Björkmann, Walter. "Die altosmanische Literatur." In Louis Bazin et al. (eds). *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1965, 403-426.
- Bonner, Michael. *Jihad in Islamic History. Doctrines and Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Dennis, George T. "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33-34 (1967-68): 72-88.
- [Enveri], *Düstûrnâme-i Enveri. Osmanlı Taribi Kısmı (1299-1466)*, ed. Necdet Öztürk. Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003.
- Giese, Friedrich (ed). *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken (Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osman)* vol. I: Text. Breslau: Self-published, 1922.
- Hoffmann, Birgitt. "Von falschen Asketen und „unfrommen“ Stiftungen." In Gherardo Gnoli and Antonio Panaino (eds). *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies*, vol. 2. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990, 409-485.
- Imber, Colin. "Canon and Apocrypha in Early Ottoman History." In Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (eds). *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*. Istanbul: Isis, 1994, 117-137.
- Imber, Colin. "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth." *Turcica* 19 (1987): 7-27.
- Imber, Colin. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481*. Istanbul: Isis, 1990.
- İnalçık, Halil. "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography." In Bernard Lewis and Peter M. Holt (eds). *Historians of the Middle East*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, 152-167.
- İnalçık, Halil. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973.
- İz, Fahir, "Turkish Literature." In Peter M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis (eds). *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2B: *Islamic Society and Civilization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, 682-694.
- Kafadar, Cemal. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Kalfazade, Selda. "Vacidiye Medresesi." *TDVİA*, vol. 42, 409-410.
- Kastritsis, Dimitris J. *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402 – 1413*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Khosravie, Jasmin. "Von Quanzhou bis Edirne. Ausbreitung und Entwicklung der Kâzarüniyya in der islamischen Welt." In Stephan Conermann and Marie-Christine Heinze (eds). *Bonner Islamwissenschaftler stellen sich vor*. Scheenefeld: EBV, 2006, 157-195.
- Kortantamer, Tunca. *Leben und Weltbild des altosmanischen Dichters Ahmedi, unter besondere Berücksichtigung seines Divân's*. Freiburg/Br.: Schwarz, 1973.
- Küçükhüseyin, Şevket. "Die osmanische Hofgeschichtsschreibung im Dienste von Identitätskonstruktion und Herrschaftslegitimation." In Michael Borgolte et al.

- (eds). *Integration und Desintegration der europäischen Kulturen im Mittelalter*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2011, 151-165.
- Küçükhüseyin, Şevket. "Ghazā in Early Ottoman Chronicles." In Francesca Bellino and Michele Bernardini (eds). *Ghāzī and Ghazw in Muslim Literature and Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming in 2016.
- Lindner, Rudi Paul, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.
- Lowry, Heath W. "Impropriety and Impiety Among the Early Ottoman Sultans (1351-1451)." *Turkish Studies Association Journal* 26. No. 2 (2002): 29-38.
- Lowry, Heath W. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- Lowry, Heath W. "Gaza and Akin in Early Ottoman Usage." In Eugenia Kermeli and Oktay Özel (eds). *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities and "Black Holes": Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*. Istanbul: İsis, 2006, 47-50.
- Ménage, Victor L. "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography." In Bernard Lewis and Peter M. Holt (eds). *Historians of the Middle East*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, 168-179.
- Ménage, Victor L. *Nesrî's History of the Ottomans. The Sources and Development of the Text*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Ménage, Victor, L. Review of Kortantamer's *Leben und Weltbild*. *BSOAS* 38, no. 1 (1975): 160-162.
- Neşri. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ (Neşrî Tarihi)*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995.
- [Oruç]. *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, ed. Franz Babinger. Hannover: Lafaire 1925.
- Sawyer, Caroline. "Revising Alexander: Structure and Evolution in Ahmedî's Ottoman *İskendernâme* (ca. 1400)." *Edebiyât* 13, no. 2 (2002): 225-243.
- Sılay, Kemal. "Ahmedi's History of the Ottoman Dynasty." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 16 (1992): 129-200.
- Sılay, Kemal. "The Usage and Function of Digressions in Ahmedî's History of the Ottoman Dynasty." *Turcica* 23 (1993): 143-151.
- Şikâri. *Karamanname. Zamanın Kabramanı Karamaniler'in Tarihi*, ed. Metin Sözen and Necdet Sakaoğlu. İstanbul: Karaman Valiliği, 2005.
- Temizel, Ali. "Ahmedî'nin *Bedâ'î'u's-Sıhr fî Sanâyi'îş-Şî'r* İsimli Eserindeki Türkçe ve Farsça Şiirleri." *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 14 (2003): 89-105.
- Tuchman, Barbara W. *A Distant Mirror. The Calamitous 14<sup>th</sup> Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.
- Turna, Babür. "Perception of History and the Problem of Superiority in Ahmedî's *Dastân-i Tevârib-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osman*." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62, no. 3 (2009): 267-283.



- Vāhidi's Menākub-i Hıvoca-i Cihān ve Netice-i Cān*, ed. Ahmet T. Karamustafa. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1993.
- Werner, Ernst. *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht – Die Osmanen (1300-1481). Ein Beitrag zur Genese des türkischen Feudalismus*. Vienna et al.: Hermann Böhlhaus, 1972.
- Yınanç, Mükrimin H. "Bayezid I," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, 369-392.
- Zachariadou, Elizabeth A. "Marginalia on the History of Epirus and Albania (1380-1418)." In Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans* Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007, 195-210.
- Zachariadou, Elizabeth A. "Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman Chronicles." *Der Islam* 60 (1983): 286-296.



Part III.  
Mobility, Networks and Patrons



## Chapter 10

# Mobility of Scholars and Formation of a Self-Sustaining Scholarly System in the Lands of Rūm during the Fifteenth Century

*Abdurrahman Atçıl*

Beginning in the eleventh century, Muslim Turks gradually established political control over the Byzantine territories in Anatolia and the Balkans, areas typically referred to as the lands of Rūm (*bilād al-Rūm*, lit. the lands of the Romans) or, simply Rūm, by Muslim authors, even after the Muslim conquests. A vibrant local Muslim scholarly tradition, however, did not immediately emerge in these lands following the establishment of Muslim political control. For many centuries, scholarly activities in Rūm continued mainly through the contributions of immigrants or local scholars who had received an advanced Islamic education abroad. One might wonder whether this state of affairs continued indefinitely. Did the immigration of scholars in large numbers to the lands of Rūm ever stop? If so, when? Was there a development of a self-sustaining scholarly system in Rūm? Did the institutions there train high-level scholars? If so, when did this begin?

Ertuğrul Ökten's recent study provides significant insights into the mobility of scholars.<sup>1</sup> Based on the data on scholars provided by Ahmed Taşköprüzade's (d. 968/1561) *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya*,<sup>2</sup> Ökten concludes out that the numbers of Rūm scholars who either originated elsewhere or received their education abroad began to decline in respect to indigenous scholars, born and educated in Rūm, beginning in the early fourteenth and continuing until the mid-sixteenth century. Ökten observes a significant fractional drop of the numbers of the former

---

Acknowledgements: I would like to acknowledge that the fellowship of the Brain Circulation Scheme (BİDEB 2236-114C009), co-funded by TÜBİTAK and the Marie Curie Action of the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) of the European Commission, provided the financial support for the research and writing of this paper. I am grateful to Andrew Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız for inviting me to the workshop at the Orient Institut, Istanbul where this paper was first presented and discussed. I am especially thankful to Ertuğrul Ökten who discussed with me this paper several times and made critical interventions.

<sup>1</sup> Ertuğrul Ökten, "Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya*," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 41 (2013): 55–70.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmed Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fi 'Ulāmā' al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985).

group during the reign of Murad II (823/1420-847/1444, 847/1444-855/1451), followed by a more or less steady decline in the subsequent period.<sup>3</sup>

One significant point in the Ökten's analysis, which he does not discuss in detail, is that, generally speaking, there is not an apparent and consistent drop in the absolute number (as opposed to the fractional drop, mentioned in the paragraph above) of scholars who moved inward to the lands of Rüm (3, 3, 1, 16, 5, 10, 10, 12, 8, and 12 scholars in the reigns of the first ten Ottoman sultans, in sequence) in the period of 1300–1550.<sup>4</sup> This shows that the pace of scholars' movement to Rüm did not necessarily tend to decrease in the said period. Hence, it might be inferred, the significantly lower proportion of incoming scholars from Murad II's reign onward resulted not from deceleration in the inward mobility of scholars. Instead, it resulted from an increase in the number of scholars who had been born or educated in the lands of Rüm.

In this essay, focusing on the developments pertinent to the mobility of scholars, I aim to uncover the origins of a self-perpetuating scholarly system in the lands of Rüm during the fifteenth century. I first examine the conditions, which might have influenced scholars' decision to move around, in the lands of Rüm and other Muslim lands during the fifteenth century, and suggest that the tempo at which scholars moved to the lands of Rüm probably remained consistent and perhaps even increased from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. I then attempt to show that during the fifteenth century the scholarly scene in the lands of Rüm began to change and move in the direction of being self-sufficient. To better understand this phenomenon, I investigate the developments responsible for the emergence of scholars educated entirely in Rüm during the fifteenth century. I draw attention to the region's relative political stability, the concurrent presence of a critical number of high-level scholars, and the establishment of a growing number of well-funded madrasas of royal prestige as factors that made it possible for scholars to receive an advanced education in the lands of Rüm.

<sup>3</sup> Mobile scholars represent 100 percent of all scholars in the section of the book treating those in the reign of Osman (d. ca. 724/1324); 60 percent of those in the reign of Orhan (d. 763/1362); 25 percent of those in the reign of Murad I (d. 791/1389), 61 percent of those in the reign of Bayezid I (d. 805/1403); 83 percent of those in the reign of Mehmed I (d. 824/1421); 32 percent of those in the reign of Murad II (d. 855/1451); 16 percent of those in the reign of Mehmed II (d. 886/1481); and 18 percent, 16 percent, and 11 percent of those in the reigns of Bayezid II (d. 918/1511), Selim I (d. 926/1520), and Süleyman (d. 974/1566), respectively. For this, see Ökten, "Scholars and Mobility," 60–61. Ökten's work does not specify the geographical boundaries of the lands of Rüm, which included the whole of Anatolia and the Balkans, as a unit of reference for the mobility of scholars; thus, he counted as instances of mobility the movement of scholars from Anatolian lands not under Ottoman rule to Ottoman lands. This does not negate the utility of Ökten's data for our purposes, as cases of such mobility (from Anatolia to Ottoman lands) are too few to undermine the applicability of the general trend (which Ökten identified for the inward mobility of scholars to Ottoman lands) to the inward mobility of scholars to the lands of Rüm.

<sup>4</sup> Ökten, "Scholars and Mobility," 60.

*Pull Factors for Muslim Scholars in the Lands of Rūm in the Fifteenth Century*

One of the insights this essay offers is that, during the fifteenth century, scholars continued to move to the lands of Rūm at the same pace, or even at a greater pace, than they did during the fourteenth century. In the absence of all-encompassing and detailed data for the mobility of scholars during the said period, one way to pursue after this insight is to look at the factors in Rūm, which could attract scholars. Here, I want to draw attention to three factors for the inward mobility of scholars to Rūm.

First of all, increasing political stability in Rūm from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century is an important factor encouraging the immigration of significant numbers of scholars into Rūm, peaking in the fifteenth century. For most of the fourteenth century, following the complete collapse of the Seljuk state and the waning of Mongol rule, fragmentation and uncertainty dominated the political scene in Rūm. Several Turkmen principalities, together with the remnants of the Mongols and the Byzantines, competed for political supremacy with frequent changes of the borders.<sup>5</sup> Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I, driven by imperial ambitions, sought to unite the lands of Rūm under his own rule. However, at the turn of the fifteenth century, Timur (d. 807/1405) severely punished him for these imperial ambitions; consequently, the Ottoman polity entered a decade-long crisis with the reconstitution of the former political status quo characterized by political fragmentation and uncertainty.<sup>6</sup> When the Ottomans overcame the crisis, they established more stable political environment following a renewed conquest campaign, resulting in the annexation of the Aydinid principality in 827/1424, the Germiyanid lands in 831/1428, Istanbul in 857/1453, the Morea in 864/1460, Trabzon in 865/1461, and the Karamanid principality in 878/1474.<sup>7</sup> As such, the borders of Rūm and of Ottoman lands gradually converged.

While political unity does not necessarily presume the existence of favourable conditions for the immigration of scholars,<sup>8</sup> in the case of the lands of Rūm, po-

<sup>5</sup> For a perceptive discussion on conceptualizing the history of the lands of Rūm, see Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25, esp. 8–9.

<sup>6</sup> Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 17–35; Rudi Paul Lindner, "Anatolia, 1300–1451," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet, *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 102–137.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Shāhrukh's political consolidation in Khurasan and Transoxiana had the opposite effect, causing many important scholars and intellectuals to leave. For this, see İlker Evrim Binbaş, "The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt: Shāhrukh, the Hurūfis, and the Timurid Intellectuals in 830/1426–27," *JRAS* series 3, 23, no 3 (2013): 1–38.

litical unity was accompanied by an improvement of the institutional framework allowing for the development of scholarly pursuits and, albeit indirectly, served as an incentive for many scholars to relocate to the lands of Rūm. The second factor for the inward mobility of scholars was a great surge in the construction of madrasas by pious individuals throughout the lands of Rūm during the fifteenth century. The increased number of madrasas highly likely motivated mobile scholars to choose the lands of Rūm, as they could easily find professorship positions in the madrasas. Fig. 10.1 shows that during the thirteenth century, fifty-six madrasas were built. The founders of these institutions included the Seljuk rulers of Rūm and their officials, as well as Mongol statesmen and others.<sup>9</sup> During the fourteenth century, another fifty-six madrasas were established: twenty-seven of these were constructed in lands under the control of the Ottoman dynasty,<sup>10</sup> while the other twenty-nine were built in the lands of other principalities.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, during the fifteenth century, 108 madrasas were founded: ninety-six in Ottoman lands<sup>12</sup> and twelve in the realms of other Muslim principalities in the region.<sup>13</sup>

Fig. 10.1: Madrasas built in the lands of Rūm from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century\*

Political power in the place and at the time of construction	Madrasas built in the thirteenth century	Madrasas built in the fourteenth century	Madrasas built in the fifteenth century
Ottomans	–	27	96
Seljuks of Rūm and other principalities	56	29	12

*Source.* Data for this table are mainly drawn from Gül, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde*, 14–88. The other sources consulted are Ahmet Vefa Çobanoğlu, “İsmail Bey Külliyesi,” *TDVİA*; Aptullah Kuran, “Karamanlı Medreseleri,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 8 (1969), 209–23.

Whereas the number of new madrasas built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seems to have been the same (fifty-six each), the number built in the fifteenth century was nearly double (108). A thorough explanation of this accelerated madrasa construction in the whole of Rūm merits study in its own right. However, it is worth considering the relationship among the increasing political unity and concentration of economic power in a centre and the acceleration of

<sup>9</sup> For this, see Ahmet Gül, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde Eğitim-Öğretim ve Bunlar Arasında Daru'l-Hadislerin Yeri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997), 14–33.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 36–44.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 14–33.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 44–88.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 14–88. It is worth mentioning that the data for other principalities in the fifteenth century is of course not directly comparable with that of the fourteenth century, as they were increasingly absorbed into the Ottoman lands as the Ottomans took over Anatolia.



construction activity. That most of the madrasas, built during the fifteenth century, took place in the Ottoman lands supports this suggestion. In addition, considering that forty-three of 108 new fifteenth-century madrasas were built in Istanbul, Thrace, and the Balkans, the conquest of new lands and the desire to endow them with Muslim institutions can be seen as driving this proliferation of madrasas in the fifteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, Ottoman state formation, which accelerated after the capture of Constantinople in 1453, increased the demand for the services of scholars. A hierarchical bureaucracy in which professorial and judicial positions were connected with scribal and financial positions developed, providing scholars with the opportunity to pursue professional careers in government service. From the mid-fifteenth century onward, scholars were increasingly incorporated into this bureaucracy.<sup>15</sup>

As far as the incoming scholars were concerned, the upsurge in madrasa construction generated the need for more professors – that is, for more scholars. In addition, the decision to employ scholars systematically, not only in academic positions (educational and judicial) but also in purely bureaucratic ones (scribal and financial), further increased the need for their services. Thus, it became easier for scholars find appropriate professional placement in the lands of Rūm.

### *Push Factors for Muslim Scholars during the Fifteenth Century*

The favourable conditions for scholars in the lands of Rūm does not in itself, however, entirely explain the relocation of mobile scholars there; outside factors likewise played an important role in their movement. Here, a brief survey of the scholars and the political conditions of the regions they left, including western Iran, Khurasan, Transoxiana, Azerbaijan, Khwarazm, the Qipchaq steppes and the Arab lands will help better understand the outside causes motivating them to settle in Rūm during the fifteenth century.

<sup>14</sup> Oruç Paşa Madrasa in Dimetoka, which was built in 803-804/1401, was probably the first madrasa built in Thrace and the Balkans under the Ottomans. For basic information about this madrasa, see Mustafa Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1984), 168–69; Gül, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde*, 44–45. For Gazi Evrenos Madrasa in Yenice-i Vardar, constructed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, see Machiel Kiel, “The Incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire, 1353–1453,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet, *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 166.

<sup>15</sup> For the legal regulations that formed the basis of the hierarchical bureaucracy, see *Kanunname-i Ali Osman*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), esp. 5–18. See also Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âlî, 1541–1600* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 191–231; Richard C. Repp, “Some Observations on the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy,” in Nikki R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 17–32.

Timur acquired great fame with his military and political successes over a vast territory, from the borders of China to Eastern Europe, and from India to Anatolia.<sup>16</sup> In addition to becoming an invincible conqueror, he wanted to be known as a great patron of scholars. To this end, he invited, sometimes forcibly, some of the most prestigious scholars of his time to take up residence in his capital of Samarqand: most notable are the theologians Sa'd al-Din Taftāzāni (d. 792/1390) and Sayyid 'Ali Jurjāni (d. 816/1413), as well as Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429), the renowned expert in variant Qur'an readings.<sup>17</sup> When Timur died in 807/1405 and his descendants became embroiled in succession struggles, some of these scholars left Samarqand to relocate elsewhere. For example, Jurjāni resettled in Shiraz, while Jazarī wandered in Herat, Yazd, and Isfahan before also taking up residency in Shiraz.<sup>18</sup>

During the reigns of the Timurid rulers, who were famous for their patronage of scholars, Transoxiana and Khurasan experienced a cultural florescence. For example, Shāhrukh (d. 850/1447), the main power in Khurasan and Transoxiana after 811/1409, completed the conspicuous madrasa and *khanqah* complex in Herat in 812/1410 and appointed four of the most prestigious scholars of the time as professors there.<sup>19</sup> His son Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449) likewise built a madrasa and observatory in Samarqand, employing and training the best scholars and astronomers of his day.<sup>20</sup> Under the Timurid rulers, Sultan Abū Sa'id (d. 873/1469) and Sultan Husayn Bayqara (d. 911/1506), Herat became one of the most advanced cultural centres of the Islamic world.<sup>21</sup>

Despite this cultural richness, scholars and their patrons had reason for concern. The Turco-Mongol political understanding of collective sovereignty nur-

<sup>16</sup> Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 67–78.

<sup>17</sup> For information about the lives of these scholars, see Şükrü Özen, "Teftâzânî," *TDVİA*, vol. 40, 299–308; Josef van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit: Leben und Werk des 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Ğurğani (gest. 816/1413)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013); Tayyar Altıku-laç, "İbnü'l-Cezerî," *TDVİA*, vol. 20, 551–57. For Muḥammad Jazarī, see also İlker Evrim Binbaş, "A Damascene Eyewitness to the Battle of Nicopolis: Shams al-Din Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429)," in Nikolaos G. Chrissis and Mike Carr (eds), *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 153–75.

<sup>18</sup> Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics, and Religion in Timurid Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 215–16.

<sup>19</sup> Maria Eva Subtelny and Anas B. Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh," *JAOS* 115 (1995): 210–14; Manz, *Power, Politics, and Religion*, 214–17. See also Khwandamir, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, trans. and ed. W. M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1994), 354–55.

<sup>20</sup> Yavuz Unat, "Uluğ Bey," *TDVİA*, vol. 42, 127–29. See also Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iḳ al-Nu'māniyya*, 14–17.

<sup>21</sup> Maria E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition, Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 39–42; Maria E. Subtelny, "A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlāsiyya Complex of 'Ali Shir Navā'i in 15th-Century Herat and Its Endowment," *JAOS* 111 (1991): 38–61.

tured the aspirations of all male members of the ruling family for supreme or regional rule, frequently engendering dynastic struggles, and resulting in a continuous political tension.<sup>22</sup> Princes descended from Timur along different genealogical lines competed with one another through various means, each trying to carve a space for himself. Continuous tension and frequent warfare among the Timurid princes contributed to political destabilisation in the region during Shāhrukh's reign and afterwards.<sup>23</sup> The Turkmen polities, the Aqqyunlus and the Qaraqunlus, added to this regional political destabilization by competing for control over the same territories which the Timurid princes were fighting for.<sup>24</sup>

This rapid turnover of rulers in the region, Timurid and Turkmen, seems to have been a catalyst in scholars' movement. Scholars who had cast their lot with particular princes or rulers as high-profile supporters, were forced to flee upon the defeat of their patron to another political contender. Moreover, the constant military strife undermined security in the cities and the countryside alike. This probably encouraged some scholars, even if they were not associated with a losing party, to move away in search of a new residence.

In addition, throughout the fifteenth century, the lands put under Timur's rule were not religiously stable: several individuals and groups experimented with religious ideas and, in some cases, associated them with political goals. Examples of such experiments are the messianic movement of Ishāq Khuttalāni (d. 827/1424) and Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464) in 1424,<sup>25</sup> the assassination attempt of the Hurūfis against Shāhrukh in 1427,<sup>26</sup> and the successful messianic movement of the Safavids in the last decades of the century.<sup>27</sup> The rulers as well as the successful rebels in different parts of the region recognised the strong political appeal of religious movements and took action to suppress them. In many of these cases, scholars were among those persecuted and forced to leave their homes.

As scholars from Iran, Azerbaijan, Khurasan, and Transoxiana—collectively dubbed the “Acem lands” by Ottoman authors<sup>28</sup>—decided to change their place of

<sup>22</sup> Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, 36–38; Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlılarda Saltanat Veraseti Usulü ve Türk Hakimiyet Telakkisiyle İlgisi,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 14 (1959): 69–94.

<sup>23</sup> Manz, *Power, Politics, and Religion*, 245–75.

<sup>24</sup> John E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*, rev. and expanded ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998), 144–67.

<sup>25</sup> Shahzad Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhsīya Between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 2003), 45–54.

<sup>26</sup> Shahzad Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford: Oneword, 2005), 101–5. For a different interpretation of this assassination attempt, see Binbaş, “The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt,” 1–38.

<sup>27</sup> Said Amir Arjomand, “The Rise of Shah Esmā'il as a Mahdist Revolution,” *Studies on Persianate Societies* 3 (2005): 44–65.

<sup>28</sup> Ali Arslan, “Osmanlılar'da Coğrafi Terim Olarak 'Acem' Kelimesinin Manası ve Osmanlı-Türkistan Bağlantısındaki Önemi (XV.–XVII. Yüzyıllar),” *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 8 (1999): 83–87.

residence, many chose the lands of Rūm as their destination. In some cases, specific reasons for their movement are evident. For example, Kutbuddin Acemi (alternatively, Quṭb al-Dīn al-‘Ajamī; d. 903/1497) was the Timurid ruler Abū Sa‘īd’s close associate and personal physician. When the latter was defeated and killed by the Aqquyunlu Uzun Ḥasan in 873/1469, Acemi left Herat for Mehmed II’s court.<sup>29</sup> Sirac Hatib, who was famous for his eloquent sermons and musical knowledge, served one of the Qaraqyunlu commanders. When the Qaraqyunlus were defeated by the Aqquyunlus in 871/1467, he escaped in secrecy for the lands of Rūm. There he approached Alaeddin Fenari, then the judge of Bursa and Sirac Hatib’s friend from their student years. With Fenari’s mediation, Sirac Hatib was appointed as the preacher in Mehmed II’s newly completed mosque in Istanbul.<sup>30</sup> Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, also known as Hafız-ı Acem (d. 958/1551) received his education in Tabriz, but when the Safavids captured that city, he, together with his brother Abdülfettah (alternatively, ‘Abd al-Fattāh; d. 924/1518) made for Rūm. With the help of Kadıasker Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman (d. 922/1516), Hafız-ı Acem received appointments to several madrasas in Ankara, Merzifon, and Istanbul.<sup>31</sup> In many other cases, the evidence does not attest the immediate reason scholars left the Timurid and Turkmen territories for Rūm;<sup>32</sup> one can surmise, however, that the aforementioned political and politico-religious crises were behind a significant number of scholars’ leaving the ‘Acem lands to take up residence in Rūm.

The Mongols under the leadership of Batu (d. 653/1256), Chinggis Khan’s grandson, conquered Khwarazm and the Qipchaq territories north of the Black Sea and established the polity known as the Khanate of the Golden Horde. Beginning in the fourteenth century, the Mongols of this khanate began to convert in large numbers to Islam.<sup>33</sup> It seems that some regions of the khanate, such as Khwarazm, Saray, and the Crimea, became distinguished as significant centres of

<sup>29</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu‘māniyya*, 220; Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Ḥadā’iq al-Shaqā’iq*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 235–36.

<sup>30</sup> Hanna Sohrweide, “Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich (1453–1600): Ein Beitrag zur türkisch-persischen Kulturgeschichte,” *Der Islam* 46 (1470): 267. See also Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu‘māniyya*, 219: “when the civil war (*fitna*) broke out in the lands of ‘Acem, he escaped to the lands of Rūm wearing the clothing of nomadic Turks (*‘alā zayy al-atrāk*).”

<sup>31</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu‘māniyya*, 449–51; Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Ḥadā’iq al-Shaqā’iq*, 449–51. See also Ömer Faruk Akün, “Hafız-ı Acem,” *TDVİA*, vol. 18, 80–83.

<sup>32</sup> For some examples, see Sohrweide, “Dichter und Gelehrte,” 263–302; Abdurrahman Atçil, “The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship, 1300–1600” (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010), 54–55, 82–86, 109–18; Tofigh Heiderzadeh, “Iran Alimlerinin Osmanlı Devletine Gelişi ve Osmanlı Bilimine Katkıları (Timur Döneminin Başından Safevi Döneminin Sonuna Kadar),” trans. Aysu Albayrak, *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 2 (1998): 219–25.

<sup>33</sup> Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 81–100.

Islamic scholarship.<sup>34</sup> But after the destruction of Toktamış Khan (d. 807/1405) by Timur in the last decade of the fourteenth century, the khanate gradually disintegrated. It was succeeded by various small polities which continuously fought one another. This political instability, like that in the Timurid and Turkmen lands, sent Golden Horde scholars in search of more politically stable areas. *Al-Shaqāʾiq* contains references to the movement of three such scholars to the lands of Rūm during the fifteenth century. The famous Hanafi jurist educated in Saray, Ḥāfiẓ al-Din al-Kardārī, known as Ibn al-Bazzāzi (Hafizüddin Kerderi Bezzazi; d. 827/1424), reportedly went to Anatolia where he became engaged in debates with Şemseddin Fenari (d. 834/1431).<sup>35</sup> The Crimean scholars, Sharaf al-Din Kamāl (Şerefüddin Kemal) and Sayyid Aḥmad (Seyyid Ahmed), also moved to the lands of Rūm in a much later period and received the patronage of the Ottoman sultans.<sup>36</sup> Much further research is need on the Islamic scholarly tradition of the Khanate of the Golden Horde, a greatly neglected topic. However, it seems safe to presume that, since we know that such important scholars as Kardārī, Şerefüddin Kemal, and Seyyid Ahmed relocated to the lands of Rūm, others about whom we currently have no knowledge joined or followed them.

The realm of the Mamluk sultanate—namely, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia—evaded the destructive advance of both the Mongols and Timur. Thus, in the later middle period, these lands (especially Egypt and Syria) became safe havens and attractive destinations for people—scholars in particular—who had left their country of residence. So, in contrast to the eastern lands, no exodus of scholars from Mamluk lands to Rūm took place during the fifteenth century. However, some individual scholars, who probably had personal problems with the rulers or the society around them, chose to migrate from Syria and Egypt to the lands of Rūm. For example, the aforementioned Ibn al-Jazarī went to Bursa in 1396 and served in Bayezid I's court after encountering several judicial problems with the waqf officials in Damascus and the Mamluk commanders in Cairo.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, Shams al-Din Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿil, who became famous as Molla Gürani (d. 893/1488), moved to Ottoman lands in the early 1440s, after he had been punished in and banished from Cairo by Sultan Malik Zāhir Jaqmaq (d. 857/1453).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 106–142.

<sup>35</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 29; Ahmet Özel, “Bezzâzi,” *TDVİA*, vol. 6, 113–114.

<sup>36</sup> For biographies of Şerefüddin Kemal and Seyyid Ahmed, see Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 81–83.

<sup>37</sup> Altıkulaç, “İbnü'l-Cezerî.”

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 83–90. See also Richard C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London: Ithaca, 1986), 166–74. There are other examples of scholars who moved from the Mamluk territories to the lands of Rūm in the fifteenth century; for example, see the biographies of Alaeddin Ali Arabi and İbrahim Halebi in Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 150–55, 499–500.

The foregoing review indicates that the unstable political conditions that encouraged scholars to relocate persisted throughout the fifteenth century. A great number of scholars from western Iran, Khurasan, Transoxiana, Azerbaijan, and the Qipchaq lands left (or had to leave) their country. A significant segment of these chose to relocate to—and found suitable positions for themselves in—the lands of Rūm.

### *The Rise of Locally-Educated Scholars in the Lands of Rūm during the Fifteenth Century*

Fig. 10.1 indicates that madrasas existed in the lands of Rūm from the thirteenth century onward.<sup>39</sup> But it seems that until the fifteenth century, these madrasas did not or could not regularly train high-level scholars able to produce learned books and treatises in the Islamic tradition and to train others to do the same. During the fourteenth century, probably due to the inadequacy of the madrasas system in Rūm and a generally unfavourable intellectual environment, a significant number of scholars left for other cultural centres in order to pursue advanced education. For example, Edebalı (d. 726/1525), Hattab Karahisari (d. after 717/1317), ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Qayşari (Abdulmuhsin Kayseri) (d. 761/1360), and Qadi Burhān al-Din Aḥmad (Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed) (d. 800/1398), all Anatolians, went to Syria for their final years of schooling.<sup>40</sup> Other students from the same area, such as Dā’ūd al-Qayşari (Davud Kayseri) (d. 751/1350), Ahmedı (d. 815/1412), Şeyh Bedreddin (d. 823/1420), Hacı Paşa (d. after 827/1424), and Şemseddin Fenari went to Egypt for their advanced education.<sup>41</sup> Still others, among them Alaeddin Esved (d. 800/1397), Alaeddin Rūmi (d. 841/1437) and Alaeddin Koçhisari, went to the ‘Acem lands to study.<sup>42</sup> During the fourteenth century, most of the students who did not leave Rūm probably could not acquire such a high level of learning: it is almost impossible to identify a fourteenth-century scholar known to have completed his entire education in the lands of Rūm who also acquired the competence to produce works and train students at the advanced level.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, high-level Islamic scholarship in the lands of Rūm depended to a great extent on the activities of scholars educated elsewhere.

<sup>39</sup> In fact, there were madrasas established in the twelfth century. For some examples, see Aptullah Kuran, “Tokat ve Niksar’da Yağı-basan Medreseleri,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 7 (1968): 39-43; Osman Turan, “Selçuklu Devri Vakfiyeleri I: Şemseddin Altun-aba Vakfiyesi ve Hayatı,” *Belleten* 11 (1947): 197-236; Refet Yinanç, “Selçuklu Medreselerinden Amasya Hilafet Gazi Medresesi ve Vakıfları,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 15 (1982): 5-22. See also Gül, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde*, 14-19.

<sup>40</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniyya*, 4-5, 10-11, 19-20.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, 22-29, 48-49, 52-53, 71-73.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 47, 105-6.

<sup>43</sup> One possible exceptional case is İbn Melek (d. after 821/1418), who was the son of the famous scholar Kadı İzzeddin Ferište. For information about him, see Mustafa Baktır, “İbn Melek,” *TDVİA*. vol. 20, 175-176.

During the fifteenth century, however, madrasas in the lands of Rüm independently trained successive generations of high-level scholars capably of producing significant scholarship and of training other scholars of equal calibre. To illustrate this point, I offer the following examples.

Molla Yegan (d. ca. 865/1461) received his early education in Aydın and completed his advanced education in Bursa under Şemseddin Fenari. He taught in some of the madrasas in Bursa. He also served as the judge of Bursa and the chief jurist (*şeyhülislam*). It is not known whether he produced any scholarly work, but it was reported that he proved his high competence in Islamic jurisprudence when he was challenged by other prestigious scholars of his time.<sup>44</sup> He supervised the advanced education of Hızır Beg (d. 863/1459), Ayasuluk Çelebisi Mehmed, Hayreddin Halil (d. 879/1474), Efdalzade Hamidüddin (d. 908/1503), Hacıhasanzade (d. 911/1505), and others.<sup>45</sup>

Hızır Beg initially studied under his father, Celaleddin, in Sivrihisar and then received advanced education under Molla Yegan in Bursa. He first taught in Sivrihisar and later became the professor of the Sultaniye Madrasa in the same city. Eventually, he became the first judge of Istanbul under Ottoman rule. He proved his ability in debates with a scholar from the Arab lands and with Molla Gürani. He wrote the famous Arabic theological summation in verse, *al-Qaşıda al-Nūniyya*, in addition to other scholarly works.<sup>46</sup> Among the scholars whose advanced work Hızır Bey supervised in Bursa are Hocazade Mustafa (d. 893/1487), Hayali Ahmed (d. 875/1470 [?]), and Molla Kestelli (d. 901/1495).<sup>47</sup>

Hocazade Mustafa received his early education in Ağras from Ayasuluk Çelebisi Mehmed and completed his studies under Hızır Beg. He taught in the Sultaniye Madrasa in Bursa, in one of the Sahn Madrasas in Istanbul, and in a madrasa in İznik. He also served as the *kadıasker* and the judge of İznik. Proof of his incisive mind and vast knowledge can be seen in his success in debates with other scholars before Mehmed II and in his reputable scholarly works in Arabic, such as *Tabāfut al-Falāsifa*, *Hāshbiya ‘alā Sharḥ al-Marwāqif*, and *Hāshbiya ‘alā Hidāyat al-Hikma*.<sup>48</sup> He trained the famous scholars Molla Sireceddin, Molla Kirmasti

<sup>44</sup> For a biography of Molla Yegan, consult Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniyya*, 79–80. See also Abdülkadir Özcan, “Molla Yegan,” *TDVİA* vol. 30, 265–266.

<sup>45</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniyya*, 91–94, 96–97, 120–23, 158, 171–73.

<sup>46</sup> For a biography of Hızır Beg, see *ibid.*, 91–94. See also Mustafa Said Yazıncıoğlu, “Hızır Bey,” *TDVİA*, vol. 17, 413–415.

<sup>47</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniyya*, 126–47. For Hızır Bey and his students in Bursa, see also M. Sait Özervarlı, “Osmanlı Kelam Geleneğinden Nasıl Yararlanabiliriz?” in Ali Akyıldız, Ş. Tufan Buzpınar and Mustafa Sinanoğlu (eds), *Dünden Bugüne Osmanlı Araştırmaları: Teşpitler, Problemler, Teklifler* (Istanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2007), 199–200.

<sup>48</sup> For a biography of Hocazade Mustafa, see Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniyya*, 126–39; Saffet Köse, “Hocazade Muslihuddin Efendi,” *TDVİA*, vol. 18, 207–209.

(d. 900/1494), Mustafa Yarhisari (d. 911/1505), and Tacizade Cafer Çelebi (d. 921/1515), as well as others.<sup>49</sup>

All these men – professors and students, with the exception of Şemseddin Fenari- – were educated entirely in the lands of Rûm. Four generations of scholars (the students of Molla Yegan, Hızır Beg, Hocazade, as well as those of Hocazade's students) did not need leave Rûm in order to receive the high-level education that would enable them to produce elite scholarship and train others who could do the same. This shows that during the fifteenth century, the scholarly system in Rûm had acquired the ability to train new members, and its complete reliance for advanced scholarship on the contributions of incoming scholars, characteristic of the fourteenth century, had ended. What happened in the fifteenth century? How did the madrasas Rûm begin to train advanced scholars?

It seems that multiple interconnected factors lay behind the availability of cutting-edge education offered in the madrasas of the lands of Rûm and the consequent reluctance of scholars to go abroad for education. As we have discussed above, first of all, political conditions appear to have been a critical element. The extension of Ottoman power brought relative stability and uniformity to the lands of Rûm and may have encouraged prestigious scholars to move there. The growing monopolisation of economic power in the hands of the Ottomans made possible policy undertakings and expensive investments aimed at elevating the standards of madrasa education in the lands of Rûm. Second, during first half of the fifteenth century, a critical number of high-level scholars educated outside the lands of Rûm, such as Şemseddin Fenari, Burhân al-Din Harawî, Faḥḥallâh Shirwânî, and Sirâj al-Din Ḥalabî, were able to train enough students in the lands of Rûm to man an indigenous self-sustaining scholarly system which continued to attract and train new members.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, the prevalence of madrasas by fifteenth-century in which advanced studies could be undertaken needs to be stressed. Madrasas, as it is well known, were not uniform in their curriculum or aims. Each were designed according to its founder's preferences and desires and, varied in size and in the particular resources available to it. By extension, the quality and status of the personnel and the level of education each school provided differed from madrasa to madrasa. Without attempting to offer a thorough categorisation of madrasas in the period under study, here I will highlight importance of the madrasas of royal foundation and prestige. Built by members of the ruling dynasties, usually in their capital cities, madrasas sponsored by members of the ruling family, were particularly important in the development and continuation of advanced learning in the lands of Rûm. Reflecting the prestige of the ruling dynasty, these institutions were generously endowed and usually became the professorial posts of the most-

<sup>49</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya*, 196–97, 206–08, 324–25.

<sup>50</sup> For biographies of these scholars, see *ibid.*, 22–29, 59, 107–08, 168.



respected scholars of the time. As such, they became the most likely venues for high-level research and teaching.

The list of madrasas in Fig. 10.2 is probably not exhaustive but clearly shows the rapid increase in the number of madrasas of royal-prestige in the fifteenth century. The table shows that twenty-four madrasas were founded in the fifteenth century, as opposed to seven in the fourteenth. This proliferation of madrasas of royal-prestige, well-funded and closely attended by the ruling houses, probably encouraged well-respected scholars of the Islamic world to move to and remain in the lands of Rūm. It also played a role in convincing students in the area with high aspirations to stay and pursue advanced studies in their homeland.

To summarise, in sharp contrast to the situation during the preceding century, in the fifteenth century madrasas in the lands of Rūm developed the capacity to train scholars at the highest level. The region's rising political stability, its concentration of high-level scholars, and the establishment of well-funded madrasas of royal-prestige combined to bring about this change in the educational system's ability to sustain itself. As a consequence, it was no longer necessary to relocate to other cultural centres of the Islamic world in order to pursue an advanced education, and a group of home-educated scholars emerged in the lands of Rūm.

### *Conclusion*

During the fifteenth century, scholars from various parts of the Islamic world moved to the lands of Rūm more or less at the same pace they had during the fourteenth century. Conditions and opportunities attractive to scholars, such as political stability and the availability of patronage and employment, persisted and improved in the lands of Rūm during the fifteenth century. In addition, circumstances that could drive scholars out, such as political instability, a rapid turnover of rulers, and internal political, social, and religious strife, abundantly existed in other parts of the Islamic world during the same period. As a consequence, many scholars left their homelands and many of these chose the lands of Rūm.

Meanwhile, during the fifteenth century, scholars who had been educated exclusively in the lands of Rūm began to gain prominence there. Ottoman territorial expansion and the resulting political stability and power concentration, the convergence of a critical number of high-level scholars, and a growing number of well-funded royal-prestige madrasas produced an educational system that could sustain itself by training new professors of the same calibre as the existing ones. Thus, scholars rarely left Rūm for educational pursuits, as their predecessors had done, instead completing their studies in their homeland. Very little friction arose between incoming scholars and Rūm-educated scholars at that time because the opportunities for men with scholastic training were continuously expanding, thanks to the establishment of new madrasas and thanks to the formation and expansion of the Ottoman state.

Fig. 10.2: Madrasas of royal prestige built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the lands of Rûm

<i>Name</i>	<i>Founder</i>	<i>Time Established</i>	<i>City</i>
Mehmed Bey Madrasa	Mehmed Bey (d. 734/1334), the Aycinid ruler	First quarter of the fourteenth century	Bingi
Manastır Madrasa	Orhan, the Ottoman ruler	1335	Bursa
Orhan Gazi Madrasa	Orhan	ca. 1335	İznik
Süleyman Pasha Madrasa	Süleyman (d. 758/1357 [?]), son of Orhan	before 1357	İznik
Tol Madrasa	Emir Musa (d. 757/1356), the Karamanid ruler	1339	Ermeneek
Emir Musa Madrasa	Emir Musa	Between 1340 and 1356	Karaman
Kaplıca Madrasa	Murad I, the Ottoman ruler	1365	Bursa
Yıldırım Madrasa	Bayezid I, the Ottoman ruler	1388 [?]	Bursa
Hatuniye Madrasa	Nefise Sultan, the wife of Karamanid Alaeddin Bey and the daughter of Ottoman Murad I	1381	Karaman
Ak Madrasa	Ali Bey (d. after 1424), the Karamanid ruler	1409	Niğde
Eski Cami Madrasa	Mehmed I (d. 1420), Ottoman ruler	1413	Edirne
Sultaniye Madrasa	Mehmed I	1419	Bursa
Üç Şerefeli Madrasa	Murad II (d. 1451), the Ottoman ruler	Between 1437 and 1447	Edirne
Muradiye Madrasa	Murad II	1430	Bursa
Darulhadis Madrasa	Murad II		Edirne
Halebiye Madrasa	Murad II		Edirne

<i>Name</i>	<i>Founder</i>	<i>Time Established</i>	<i>City</i>
The Madrasa in the İmaret of İbrahim Bey	İbrahim II (d. 1464), the Karamanid ruler	1432	Karaman
Zincirli Madrasa	İbrahim II	First half of the fifteenth century	Aksaray
İsmail Bey Madrasa	İsmail Bey (d. 1461), the Candarid ruler	Between 1451 and 1457	Kastamonu
Ayasofya Madrasa	Mehmed II (d. 1481), the Ottoman ruler	1453	İstanbul
Eyüp Madrasa	Mehmed II	ca. 1458	İstanbul
Sahn Madrasas (8 madrasas)	Mehmed II	1463-70	İstanbul
Peykler Madrasa (the madrasa next to Üç Şerefeli Madrasa)	Mehmed II	Between 1453 and 1481	Edirne
Kalenderhane Madrasa	Mehmed II	Between 1453 and 1481	İstanbul
Bayezid II Madrasa	Bayezid II (d. 1512), the Ottoman ruler	1486	Amasya
Bayezid II Madrasa	Bayezid II	1487	Edirne

*Source.* The information for this table is drawn from the following sources: Metin Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri, Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devri*, 2 vols. (İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Tarihi ve Rölove Kürsüsü, 1970); Cahid Baltacı, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri* (İstanbul: İnan Matbaası, 1976); Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri*; Gül, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde*; Çobanoğlu, "İsmail Bey Külliyesi," Kuran, "Karamanlı Medreseleri."

## Bibliography

- Akün, Ömer Faruk. "Hâfız-ı Acem." *TDVİA*, vol. 18, 80-83.
- Arjomand, Said Amir. "The Rise of Shah Esmâ'il as a Mahdist Revolution." *Studies on Persianate Societies* 3 (2005): 44-65.
- Arslan, Ali. "Osmanlılar'da Coğrafi Terim Olarak 'Acem' Kelimesinin Manası ve Osmanlı-Türkistan Bağlantısındaki Önemi (XV.-XVII. Yüzyıllar)." *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 8 (1999): 83-87.
- Atçıl, Abdurrahman. "The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship, 1300-1600." PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010.
- Baktır, Mustafa. "İbn Melek." *TDVİA*, vol. 20, 175-176.
- Bashir, Shahzad. *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurūfis*. Oxford: Oneword, 2005.
- Bashir, Shahzad. *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakshīya Between Medieval and Modern Islam*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 2003.
- Bilge, Mustafa. *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri*. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1984.
- Binbaş, İlker Evrim. "A Damascene Eyewitness to the Battle of Nicopolis: Shams al-Din Ibn al-Jazari (d. 833/1429)." In Nikolaos G. Chrissis and Mike Carr (eds). *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204-1453*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014, 153-75.
- Binbaş, İlker Evrim. "The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt: Shāhrukh, the Hurūfis, and the Timurid Intellectuals in 830/1426-27." *JRAS* series 3, 23, no 3 (2013): 1-38.
- DeWeese, Devin. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.
- Fleischer, Cornell H. *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âlî, 1541-1600*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Gül, Ahmet. *Osmanlı Medreselerinde Eğitim-Öğretim ve Bunlar Arasında Daru'l-Hadislerin Yeri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997.
- Heiderzadeh, Tofigh. "İran Alimlerinin Osmanlı Devletine Gelişi ve Osmanlı Bilimine Katkıları (Timur Döneminin Başından Safevi Döneminin Sonuna Kadar)." Tr. Aysu Albayrak. *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 2 (1998): 211-42.
- Imber, Colin, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*. York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- İnalçık, Halil. "Osmanlılarda Saltanat Veraseti Usulü ve Türk Hakimiyet Telakkisiyle İlgisi." *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 14 (1959): 69-94.
- Kafadar, Cemal. "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum." *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7-25.
- Kanunname-i Ali Osman*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003.
- Kastritsis, Dimitris J. *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-1413*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

- Khwandamir. *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, tr. and ed. W. M. Thackston. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1994.
- Kiel, Machiel. "The Incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire, 1353–1453." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet. *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 138–91.
- Köse, Saffet. "Hocazade Muslihuddin Efendi." *TDVİA*, vol. 18, 207–209.
- Kuran, Aptullah. "Tokat ve Niksar'da Yağlı-basan Medreseleri." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 7 (1968): 39–43.
- Kuran, Aptullah. "Karamanlı Medreseleri." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 8 (1969): 209–23.
- Lindner, Rudi Paul. "Anatolia, 1300–1451." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet. *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 102–137.
- Manz, Beatrice Forbes. *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Manz, Beatrice Forbes. *Power, Politics, and Religion in Timurid Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Mecdi Mehmed Efendi. *Ḥadā'iq al-Shaqā'iq*. Ed. Abdülkadir Özcan. İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989.
- Ökten, Ertuğrul. "Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of *al-Shaqā'iyiq al-Nu'māniyya*," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 41 (2013): 55–70.
- Özcan, Abdülkadir. "Molla Yegan." *TDVİA*, vol. 30, 265–266.
- Özel, Ahmet. "Bezzâzi." *TDVİA*, vol. 6, 113–114.
- Özen, Şükrü. "Teftâzânî." *TDVİA*, vol. 40, 299–308.
- Özerverli, M. Sait. "Osmanlı Kelam Geleneğinden Nasıl Yararlanabiliriz?" In Ali Akyıldız, Ş. Tufan Buzpınar and Mustafa Sinanoğlu (eds). *Düünden Bugüne Osmanlı Araştırmaları: Tespitler, Problemler, Teklifler*. İstanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2007, 197–213.
- Repp, Richard C. *The Müfti of İstanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy*. London: Ithaca, 1986.
- Repp, Richard C. "Some Observations on the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy." In Nikki R. Keddie (ed.). *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972, 17–32.
- Sohrweide, Hanna. "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich (1453–1600): Eine Beitrag zur türkisch-persischen Kulturgeschichte." *Der Islam* 46 (1970): 266–302.
- Subtelny, Maria E. "A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlaṣiyya Complex of 'Alī Shir Navā'ī in 15th-Century Herat and Its Endowment." *JAOS* 111 (1991): 38–61.

- Subtelny, Maria E. *Timurids in Transition, Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Subtelny, Maria Eva, and Anas B. Khalidov. "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh." *JAOS* 115 (1995): 210–36.
- Taşköprüzade, Ahmed. *al-Sbaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fi 'Ulāmā' al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985.
- Turan, Osman. "Selçuklu Devri Vakfiyeleri I: Şemseddin Altun-aba Vakfiyesi ve Hayatı." *Belleten* 11 (1947): 197–236.
- Van Ess, Josef. *Die Träume der Schulkweisheit: Leben und Werk des 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Gurğāni (gest. 816/1413)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013.
- Woods, John E. *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*. Revised and expanded edition. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.
- Yazıcıoğlu, Mustafa Said. "Hızır Bey." *TDVİA*, vol. 17, 413-415.
- Yinanç, Refet. "Selçuklu Medreselerinden Amasya Hilafet Gazi Medresesi ve Vakıfları." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 15 (1982): 5–22.

## Chapter 11

# Was Ede Bali a Wafāʿī Shaykh? Sufis, Sayyids and Genealogical Creativity in the Early Ottoman World

*Jonathan Brack*

In two recent publications, Adam Sabra draws attention to “the increased significance of the family in the practice and rhetoric of Sufism of the later Middle Ages.” From sons increasingly succeeding their fathers as shaykhs and the control over *zāwiyas* passing within families to a considerable interest in the shaykh’s role as a spiritual father, from the later Middle Ages Sufism was increasingly becoming a “family affair.” Similarly, one notices in Sufi writings an increased emphasis on the shaykh’s domestic life and familial ties.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, as Sabra shows, some Sufi families such as the Egyptian Bakrīs based their claim to spiritual authority less on their Sufi *silsila* – an unbroken chain of Sufi masters leading to the formative era of Sufism – and more on their claims to noble biological descent, in particular descent from the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>2</sup> In such cases, Sufi writings, particularly hagiographies, were crucial vehicles for anchoring, disseminating, and perpetuating descent-based claims to spiritual authority.

The fifteenth-century transmission and translation from Arabic into Ottoman Turkish of the *Menākīb-i Seyyid Ebū’l-Vefāʿ* (henceforth, *Menākīb*), the hagiography of the eleventh-century Sufi Sayyid Tāj al-ʿĀrifin Abū al-Wafāʿ Muḥammad (d. 495/1101 or 501/1107), is a case study for how not only the composition of hagiographical works, but also their transmission and translation were meaningful for reasserting and generating descent-based claims to Sufi authority. A renowned Iraqi Sufi shaykh of Kurdish origins, Tāj al-ʿĀrifin Abū al-Wafāʿ was the great

---

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Kathryn Babayan, Gottfried Hagen and Rudi Lindner for seeing through the many incarnations of this paper and their ever-insightful advice. I am also indebted to Erdem Cipa and Marian Smith for their valuable comments. Or Amir, Daphna Ephrat, Kazuo Morimoto and Nimrod Luz kindly answered my many questions along the way. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the SCSC mini-conference “Space and piety in the Irano Mediterranean frontier” (San Juan, October 2013) and in the workshop organised by Andrew Peacock, Bruno de Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (Istanbul, September 2014). I thank the organisers and participants in both venues for their helpful suggestions and comments.

<sup>1</sup> Adam Sabra, “The Age of the Fathers: Gender and Spiritual Authority in the Writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Šaʿrānī,” *Annales Islamologiques* 47 (2013): 133-149.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Sabra, “Household Sufism in Sixteenth-century Egypt: The Rise of al-Sāda al-Bakriya,” in Denis Gril et al (eds), *Sufism in the Ottoman Era, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 2010), 101-118.

grandson of the fourth Imām ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the presumable founder of the Wafā’iyya (Vefā’iyye) Sufi order.<sup>3</sup> Scholars of Ottoman history have shown interest in the *Menākīb* mainly for its later fifteenth-century preface, which linked the eleventh-century Sayyid Abū al-Wafā’ and his Wafā’i Sufi order to his alleged kin, Seyyid Vilayet (d. 929/1522),<sup>4</sup> who was the son-in-law of the famous dervish chronicler Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 1484). At Seyyid Vilayet’s behest the first portion of Abū al-Wafā’’s vita was translated into Ottoman Turkish in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries. The preface to the *Menākīb* also identified Shaykh Ede Bali, Osman’s famous father-in-law and interpreter of his imperial founding dream, as one of Abū al-Wafā’’s Sufi deputies (*kbalifa*).<sup>5</sup> The recent resurfacing of privately-held documents, mainly Sufi diplomas (*ijāzas*) and Sayyid genealogies (*shajaras*), linking certain Alevi *dede* ancestries to Sayyid Abū al-Wafā’ has drawn additional attention to the saint’s *Menākīb*. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak and Ayfer Karakaya-Stump each used these documents as the basis for an elaborate thesis, in which they argued that the Wafā’i Sufi order had an instrumental role in the earliest stages of the diffusion of Sufism in Anatolia and in the emergence of Alevi communities and identities.<sup>6</sup>

The transmission process of the *Menākīb* and its translation from Arabic into Ottoman Turkish is understudied. While the Ottoman *Menākīb* has survived in a large number of manuscripts,<sup>7</sup> only one manuscript of an Arabic vita of Abū al-Wafā’ has been identified to date and its relationship to the *Menākīb* has yet to be clarified. This paper examines textual evidence for the transmission of Abū al-Wafā’’s vita from a member of a Jerusalemite family called the Badris, descendants

<sup>3</sup> On Sayyid Abū al-Wafā’ and his Kurdish background (on his mother’s side), see Ayla Krupp, *Studien zum Menākīb-nâme des Abu l-Wafā’ Tāğ al-‘Arifin* (München: Trofenik, 1976), 26-29; Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, “Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia” (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2008), 38-42; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha’rānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Diniyya, 2005), vol. 1, 240-41.

<sup>4</sup> On Seyyid Vilayet, Reşat Öngören, *Tarihçe Bir Aydın Tarikatı: Zeyniler* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), 127-30.

<sup>5</sup> Ayşenur Özkul, “Tâcül-‘Arifin Ebü’l-Vefâ’nin Menākibi” (PhD Dissertation, Marmara University, 2008), 110-115. However, as will be shown, both Seyyid Vilayet’s biological relationship with Abū al-Wafā’, and Shaykh Ede Bali’s Sufi affiliation with Abū al-Wafā’’s Sufi order must be questioned.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, “The Wafā’i Tariqa (Wafā’iyya) during and after the period of the Seljuks of Turkey: a new approach to the history of popular mysticism in Turkey,” *Les Seldjounkides d’Anatolie (Mésogéios)* 25-26 (2005): 209-248; idem, *Ortaçağ Anadolu’sunda İki Büyük Yerleşimci (Kolonizatör) Derviş Yahut Vefâ’iyye ve Yeseviyye Gerçeği: Dede Garkın & Emirci Sultan (13. Yüzyıl)*, 43-75; Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, “The Vefâ’iyye, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of ‘Heterodox’ Islam in Anatolia: Rethinking the Köprülü Paradigm,” *Turcica* 44 (2012-13): 279-300; eadem, “Documents and Buyruk Manuscripts in the Private Archives of Alevi Dede Families: An Overview,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 3 (2010)P 273-86; Karakaya-Stump, “Subjects of the Sultan.”

<sup>7</sup> Özkul lists 25 manuscripts in Turkey and seven in collections outside of Turkey. Özkul, *Menākīb*, 3.



of the brother of the eleventh-century Sayyid Abū al-Wafā', to the Istanbul shaykh Seyyid Vilayet, who commissioned the translation of the work in the late fifteenth-century. The reconstruction of the contacts between Seyyid Vilayet and the Badrī family of Jerusalem is significant for two reasons. First, it does not support the recent arguments for the diffusion of the Wafā'ī Sufi order in medieval Anatolia. On the contrary, the detailed account of the Badrī family shows that such a Sufi order likely did not exist in the first place, certainly not prior to the fifteenth century.

Second, the reconstruction of the history of the transmission and Ottoman reception of Abū al-Wafā's vita sheds new light on Seyyid Vilayet's motivation for commissioning the translation of the *Menākīb*. I argue that the significance of Sayyid Abū al-Wafā' and his *Menākīb* for Seyyid Vilayet lay not in Abū al-Wafā's alleged role as a Sufi order founder, but rather in his capacity as a celebrated Sufi descendant of the prophet Muḥammad to render the prestige, authority, and privileges associated with the Prophet's progeny accessible to Seyyid Vilayet.<sup>8</sup> The transmission of Abū al-Wafā's saintly vita from Jerusalem to Istanbul and its translation into Ottoman was an opportunity to reaffirm and perpetuate the status of Seyyid Vilayet as a biological descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad and his claim to descent based spiritual authority. Through subtle narrative ploys and a measure of genealogical creativity, the translator of the Abū al-Wafā's *Menākīb* reduced the genealogical distance between the fifteenth-century Seyyid Vilayet and the eleventh-century Abū al-Wafā' on the one hand, and on the other, introduced Seyyid Vilayet's "new" eleventh-century saintly kin into a core moment in the Ottoman dynastic narrative. The *Menākīb*, thus, consolidated Seyyid Vilayet's reciprocal relationship of patronage with the House of Osman.<sup>9</sup> The Ottoman reception of Abū al-Wafā's saintly life further reveals, therefore, the increased entanglement of kinship-based and Sufi-based claims of authority in the fifteenth century, to which Sabra recently attested. It appears that the recent arguments in favour of the Wafā'ī order arise not only from the continuous, futile attempts to unearth a "definitive" *ṭarīqa* for medieval Anatolia,<sup>10</sup> but also from the historically fuzzy boundaries between kinship and Sufism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The paper is divided into four sections. It starts with an outline of the recent thesis about the presence of the Wafā'ī Sufi order in medieval Anatolia, particu-

<sup>8</sup> On the social and monetary gains, legal privileges and other benefits related to *Sayyidhood* as well as on techniques of forgery of claims of descent, see Zoltan Szombathy, "Motives and Techniques of Genealogical Forgery in Pre-Modern Muslim Societies," in Sarah Bowen Savant and Helena de Felipe (eds), *Genealogy and Knowledge in Muslim Societies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 24-36.

<sup>9</sup> On this reciprocal relationship of spiritual protection and guarantee of success for material support and veneration, which Omid Safi terms "bargaining with Baraka," see Omid Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 125-157.

<sup>10</sup> For a recent criticism of this trend, Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "The Origins of Anatolian Sufism," in Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (ed.), *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), 67-95.

larly as presented in the work of Karakaya-Stump, and the main problems with the evidence for this thesis. I then examine evidence for the transmission of the *Menâkıb* from the Jerusalemite Badrî-Wafâ'î family to Seyyid Vilayet. I follow this with a discussion of the nature of the Badrî-Wafâ'îs' "Household Sufism," and the Jerusalemite family's role as the main impresarios of Abū al-Wafâ's saintly legacy. Finally, I examine the subtle genealogical manipulations in the introduction to the Ottoman *Menâkıb* and how its author bound Seyyid Vilayet to his alleged eleventh-century relative Abū al-Wafâ' as well as introduced Shaykh Ede Bali to the ranks of the *khalifas* of the Sufi Sayyid.

### I. The Wafâ'îyya Reconsidered

In his seminal article on Aşıkpaşazade's chronicle, İnalçık argued that one of the main goals of the work was to demonstrate the crucial role that the shaykhs of the Wafâ'î Sufi order played in the Ottoman dynasty's rise to power. In addition to Shaykh Ede Bali, the order registered among its members key figures such as Baba İlyās, Aşıkpaşazade's forefather and instigator of the mid-thirteenth-century revolt, and Baba İlyās' disciple Geyikli Baba.<sup>11</sup> İnalçık further noted that the close ties between the Ottoman dynasty and the Wafâ'îyya were one of the main reasons for the dynasty's patronage of Aşıkpaşazade and his son-in-law Seyyid Vilayet.<sup>12</sup>

Ocak and Karakaya-Stump have expanded on İnalçık's work, arguing on the basis of the recently recovered Alevi documents, mainly Sufi diplomas (*ijâzas*) and Sayyid genealogies (*shajaras*), that the Wafâ'îyya Sufi order had an extensive presence in medieval Anatolia.<sup>13</sup> Karakaya-Stump, in particular, has questioned the influential twentieth-century Turkish scholar Mehmed Fuad Köprülü's (d. 1966) claims regarding the role of the Central Asian heterodox Yasawî (Yesevî) dervishes in the spread of Sufism and the Islamisation of Anatolia. She suggests that, unlike the Shiite-oriented Yasawî dervishes, the Wafâ'î *ṭarîqa* was informed, at least initially, by the pro-Sunni, anti-Shiite stance of its eleventh-century founder, Sayyid Abū al-Wafâ'.<sup>14</sup> The order presumably branched out from the Shunbukiyya *ṭarîqa*

<sup>11</sup> Yürekli has recently included in this list the thirteenth century saint Hacı Bektaş as well. Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 60-65.

<sup>12</sup> Halil İnalçık, "How to Read 'Ashîk Pasha-zâde's History," in C. Heywood and C. Imber (eds), *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage* (Istanbul: Isis, 1994), 36, 45-48.

<sup>13</sup> Karakaya-Stump, "The *Vefâ'îyye*," 279-300; eadem, "Documents and Buyruk manuscripts," 273-86; eadem, "Subjects of the Sultan"; see also, for example, Ocak's discussion of Dede Garkın and his Wafâ'î Sufi branch in Ocak, "The Wafâ'î *Tarîqa*," 221-229; idem, *Dede Garkın*, 53-64.

<sup>14</sup> See also Karamustafa, "The Origins of Anatolian Sufism," 89-90. Ocak, however, depicts the medieval Wafâ'îyya as consisting of heterodox, unruly Turkish dervishes similar to Köprülü's "Yasawiyya."

named after Abū al-Wafā'’s Sufi master, Abū Muḥammad al-Shunbuki (thus, becoming the Shunbukiyya-Wafā'īyya sub-order).<sup>15</sup>

Karakaya-Stump argues that, while the order disappeared from Iraq shortly after its foundation, its offshoots thrived in Anatolia. By the late twelfth century, Wafā'ī dervishes were found in eastern-east-central Anatolia, and after the suppression of the Baba'ī revolt (1239-41), in which they had at least partially participated, they migrated west to the domains of the early Ottomans. Over the course of the next four centuries, the Wafā'īs evolved in several trajectories: some were subjected to Safavid “Shiitizing influences,” becoming a major building block of the Qizilbash movement, and thus envisioned as a union of dervish groups rather than a tribal coalition. Others were absorbed into the Abdāls of Rūm and later assimilated into the Bektashi Sufi network. In contrast, another group developed close ties with the Ottoman elite and played a significant role in its emerging orthodox Sunni-oriented identity. Amongst the latter we find the historian Aşıkpaşazade who, while also associated with the *ṭarīqa* of the fifteenth-century Herati Sufi shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khāfi, was keen on recording in his chronicle the contributions of the Wafā'ī shaykhs, in particular, Shaykh Ede Bali, to the success of Osman and his descendants.<sup>16</sup>

There are a number of problems with the “Wafā'ī thesis,” foremost among them being the lack of any clear reference to the order’s presence in pre-fifteenth-century Anatolia.<sup>17</sup> There are also several significant discrepancies in the identification of

<sup>15</sup> Trimmingham concluded the existence of a Shunbukiyya-Wafā'īyya sub-order affiliated with the Rifā'īyya order on the basis of Taqī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Wāsiṭi’s (d. 743/1343) *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin fi Ṭabaqāt Khirqat al-Mashāyikh al-‘Arifin*. J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 281. The *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin* awaits a more in-depth study, yet one should note that it is hardly a factual history for ascertaining the existence of certain Sufi orders. As a means of organizing, categorizing, and charting a complex web of Sufi and scholarly relationships of earlier generations, its author applies the concept of the *khirqā*, the Sufi cloak transmitted from master to disciple as an initiation into a specific spiritual genealogy. The author’s ultimate goal was to establish the influential position of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī, eponym of the Rifā'īyya order, and his teachers, at the centre of numerous intersections of spiritual trajectories. Hence, Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī is referred to as *shaykh al-ṭarā'iq*, shaykh of the Sufi paths. *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin fi Ṭabaqāt Khirqat al-Mashāyikh al-‘Arifin* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Miṣr, 1305/1887), 17. Curiously, the Ottoman translation of Abū al-Wafā'’s vita implies a measure of competition between Abū al-Wafā' and Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī or, at least, among their followers. Karakaya-Stump, “Subjects of the Sultan,” 41.

<sup>16</sup> For a helpful overview of the latest arguments about the Wafā'īyya order, see Derin Terzioğlu, “Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization,” in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 87-89.

<sup>17</sup> None of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Arabic accounts on Sayyid Abū al-Wafā' such as Wāsiṭi’s *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin* or al-Sha‘rāni’s biographical notice of Abū al-Wafā' note the dissemination of his disciples into Anatolia. Al-Sha‘rāni, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1, 240-241; al-Wāsiṭi, *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin*, 41-44. The earliest of the Wafā'ī *ijāzas* from the Alevi archives dates to the mid fifteenth century, and the majority of them are from the sixteenth century. For the Alevi documents, Karakaya-Stump, “The *Vefā'īyye*.” The main evidence in favour of a Wafā'ī presence in medieval Anatolia comes from a single endow-

the early Anatolian Wafā'īs. Thus, in spite of Ede Bali's central role in the Ottoman foundation narrative, only one source, the introduction to the *Menākīb*, links the shaykh to Sayyid Abū al-Wafā'.<sup>18</sup> Aşıkpaşazade, for example, presents his thirteenth-century forefather Baba Ilyās as the deputy (*khalīfa*) of eleventh-century Sayyid Abū al-Wafā', but neglects to mention Ede Bali's Wafā'ī affiliation, in spite of the latter's central contribution to Osman's victories in his chronicle. On the other hand, the *Menākīb* that was translated at the behest of Aşıkpaşazade's son-in-law makes no reference to Aşıkpaşazade's forefather Baba Ilyās, in spite of the *Menākīb*'s clear reliance on Aşıkpaşazade's chronicle for Osman's dream narrative.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Baba Ilyās's alleged affiliation with Sayyid Abū al-Wafā' or his order is not mentioned in Elvan Çelebi's mid-fourteenth-century hagiography of his ancestor Baba Ilyās, whom Aşıkpaşazade a century later identifies as the *khalīfa* of Abū al-Wafā'.

No account explicitly recognises Seyyid Vilayet or Aşıkpaşazade as Wafā'ī Sufis. In fact, as will be discussed, even Seyyid Vilayet's biological connection to Sayyid Abū al-Wafā' is uncertain. This picture is further complicated by Seyyid Vilayet's relationship with members of the Jerusalemite Badrī family. In spite of their role as impresarios of Abū al-Wafā''s saintly memory, the Badris were never members of a Sufi order supposedly founded by their eleventh-century relative. Moreover, no mention of such an order is made in the detailed biographical accounts of the family members.

---

ment (*waqfiyya*) deed from 672/1274, for the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Maḥmūd b. Shaykh 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Baḡhdādī, also known as Shaykh Marzubān, near Sivas. The Shaykh is also referred to as *al-Wafā'ī al-Hanafī* but *only* in the second *waqfiyya* established for the shrine in 943/1536, that is, three centuries later, and therefore, does not necessarily support the thesis of a widespread Wafā'ī presence in medieval Anatolia. Hasan Yüksel, "Selçuklular Döneminden Kalma bir Vefai Zaviyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 25 (1995): 235-250.

<sup>18</sup> Karakaya-Stump, "The *Vefā'iyye*," 290.

<sup>19</sup> The relationship between the two texts has been noted by İnalçık, "How to Read 'Ashik Pasha-zade's History," 47-48. İnalçık, however, seems to have confused Seyyid Vilayet and the Zaynī Shaykh Wafā' (Vefa) (d. 896/1491), a disciple of shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudsi (*ibid.*, footnote 62). On Shaykh Wafā' and 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudsi, Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 76-84, 130-158. The other reference to Baba Ilyās in relation to Abū al-Wafā''s order is found in the quote of the fourteenth-century dervish Geyikli Baba: "I am a disciple of Baba Ilyās and from the *ṭarīqa* of Sayyid Abū al-Wafā'." To the best of my knowledge, this quote appears first in Aşıkpaşazade's work, which is the only account that refers to Baba Ilyās as a deputy of Abū al-Wafā'. Aşıkpaşazade, *Die altosmanischen Chronik des Aşıkpaşazade*, ed. Friedrich Giese (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1972), 3 and 43. The sentence is subsequently repeated with little variance by later Ottoman authors such as Lamii Çelebi and Taşköprüzade. Lamii Çelebi, *Nefahāt-i Üns-i Lāmi'i*, The University of Michigan, MS Isl. 388 (dated 1264/1848), 704 (available online at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015079130558>); Taşköprüzade, *Sbaqā'i*, 11. For a full list of references, see Ocak, "The Wafā'ī Tariqa," 232-33. On Geyikli Baba, Ocak, *Le revolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'heterodoxie musulmane en anatolie au XIIIe siècle* ([Ankara: Imprimerie de la societe turque d'histoire, 1989), 118-121.

## II. *The Menākīb-i Seyyid Ebü'l-Vefā' and the Jerusalemite Badrī-Wafā'ī Family*

According to the preface to the *Menākīb*, during a visit to Cairo on his way to the *hajj* in 880/1475, Seyyid Vilayet studied with a Sufi named of Sayyid Wafā' son of Sayyid Abū Bakr, from whom he received a teaching certificate (*ijāza*) and the two-volume *vita* of the eleventh-century Abū al-Wafā'.<sup>20</sup> The Ottoman *Menākīb* does not offer more detail about Sayyid Wafā'. However, another fifteenth-century source, Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi's (d. 928/1522) Mamlūk history of Jerusalem and Hebron, *al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Tā'rikh al-Quds wa'l-Khalil*, contains a short biographical notice of one Tāj al-Din Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad (d. 891/1486; henceforth, Tāj al-Din II) son of Sayyid Taqī al-Din Abū Bakr (d. 859/1454),<sup>21</sup> who resided in Cairo when Seyyid Vilayet was visiting the city. Tāj al-Din II was a member of the influential Jerusalemite Badrī family, whose members actively cultivated the legacy of their eleventh-century relative Sayyid Abū al-Wafā', and is likely the same Sayyid Wafā' son of Sayyid Abū Bakr, from whom Seyyid Vilayet received the *Menākīb* and his *ijāza*.

This identification of Sayyid Wafā' as the Badrī Tāj al-Din II finds further support in the additional links between Seyyid Vilayet, and his Istanbul circles, and other members of the Badrī family. According to Mujir al-Din, Tāj al-Din II's brother, Shihāb al-Din Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad (d. 882/1477/8), traveled from Jerusalem to Istanbul in 880/1475, the same year that Seyyid Vilayet headed to Cairo. Shihāb al-Din met in Istanbul with Molla Gürani ("Shihāb al-Din al-Kūrāni"), Sultan Mehmed II's famous tutor and evidently the *ḥadīth* teacher of Seyyid Vilayet,<sup>22</sup> and received an audience with the Ottoman sultan, who honoured him and awarded him a generous stipend. According to *al-Uns al-Jalil*, Shihāb al-Din was very popular in *Rūm* and gathered around him followers. He passed away in Istanbul two years later.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Özkul, *Menākīb*, 114. See also Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1975), 207. The date for the completion of the translation and the introduction to the *Menākīb* is unclear. However, the introduction must have been completed after Aşıkpaşazade's death. See, Özkul, *Menākīb*, 114. İnalçık suggests that Aşıkpaşazade died in 908/1502. İnalçık, "How to Read 'Ashiḳ Pasha-zāde's History," 34.

<sup>21</sup> As we shall see, Tāj al-Din b. Taqī al-Din was named after his grandfather, Sayyid Tāj al-Din Abū al-Wafā' I, who established the Wafā'iyya lodge in Jerusalem. Mujir al-Din further notes that this Tāj al-Din II authored several works on *taṣawwuf*. Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, *al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Tā'rikh al-Quds wa'l-Khalil* (Amman: Maktabat Dandis, 1999), vol. 2, 314.

<sup>22</sup> Taşköprüzade, *Shaqā'iq*, 208.

<sup>23</sup> During the second half of the fifteenth century, Shihāb al-Din Aḥmad headed his family's Sufi lodge in Jerusalem, known as the Wafā'iyya *zāwiya*. Unlike the rest of his family who were Shafī'i, Shihāb al-Din was an adherent of the Hanafī *madhhab*. Mujir al-Din, vol. 2, 351-352.

Nimrod Luz and Daphna Ephrat have studied Tāj al-Dīn II's family, the Badrīs (*al-badriyya*),<sup>24</sup> on the basis of Mujīr al-Dīn's account of the family's history.<sup>25</sup> The Badrīs originated with Sayyid Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 650/1253), a descendant of Sālim, the brother of Sayyid Abū al-Wafā' (figure 11.1),<sup>26</sup> who emigrated to Palestine in the first half of the thirteenth century and settled in the remote village of Dayr al-Shaykh in Wādī al-Nusur in Jerusalem's hinterland, where the family's residence and Badr al-Dīn's gravesite soon became a focal point of devotion. With a reputation for virtue, sanctity and miracles, the Badrīs' influence gradually grew over the course of the next three centuries and the family advanced both socially and geographically, that is, in the direction of the centre of Jerusalem. According to *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, during the second half of the thirteenth century, the small village of Dayr al-Shaykh became too crowded for Badr al-Dīn's descendants. Subsequently, 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 696/1293), Badr al-Dīn's grandson, established a family *zāwiya* in the Christian village of Shafrāt on the outskirts of Jerusalem. As Luz demonstrates, the family played a pivotal role in the transformation of the Christian site into a predominantly Muslim village, which is today known as Sharafāt. Mujīr al-Dīn claims that the name Sharafāt was assigned to the village due to the honour (*sharaf*) bestowed on it by the settlement of the Badrī descendants of the Prophet (*ashraf*). After settling in Sharafāt, the family members' blessing (*baraka*) attracted large crowds including members of the Mamlūk military elite, who offered their patronage to the family. Subsequently, in the second half of the fourteenth century, 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ's great-grandson 'Alī (d. 757/1356) received the entire village of Sharafāt as an endowment (*waqf*) from the Amir Manjak al-Sayfi, governor of Damascus.

In the year 782/1370, 'Alī's son, Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad I, purchased and renovated a compound at one of the most prestigious locations within Jerusalem, just bordering the wall of the Ḥaram al-Sharif. The site later became known as the *zāwiya al-Wafā'iyya*. Throughout the fifteenth century, his descendants, to whom Mujīr al-Dīn refers as *Banū Abū al-Wafā'*, held exclusively the position of shaykh of the Wafā'iyya lodge ("*Shaykh al-Wafā'iyya fī al-quds al-sharif*").

<sup>24</sup> Unlike Luz and Ephrat, I follow Mujīr al-Dīn of the fifteenth century in referring to the family as the Badrīs after their ancestor, Sayyid Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 651/1253). For the title of *al-badriyya*, Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, vol. 2, 245. The Jerusalemite *Banū Abū al-Wafā'* was one branch of the larger, extended Badrī family. The Badrī-Wafā'i family of Palestine should not be confused with the Wafā'iyya *sādāt*, who established a family led Sufi sub-order of the Shādhliyya in Cairo and were a leading Sufi family in the city from the fourteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century. For the Wafā'iyya, see Richard J. A. McGregor, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: the Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

<sup>25</sup> Nimrod Luz, "Aspects of Islamization of Space and Society in Mamluk Jerusalem and its Hinterland," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 133-54; Daphna Ephrat, *Spiritual Wayfarers, Leaders in Piety: Sufis and the Dissemination of Islam in Medieval Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 158-60, 161-65.

<sup>26</sup> Badr al-Dīn was son of Yūsuf b. Badrān b. Ya'qūb b. Maṭar b. Sālim. Krupp, *Studien*, 21.

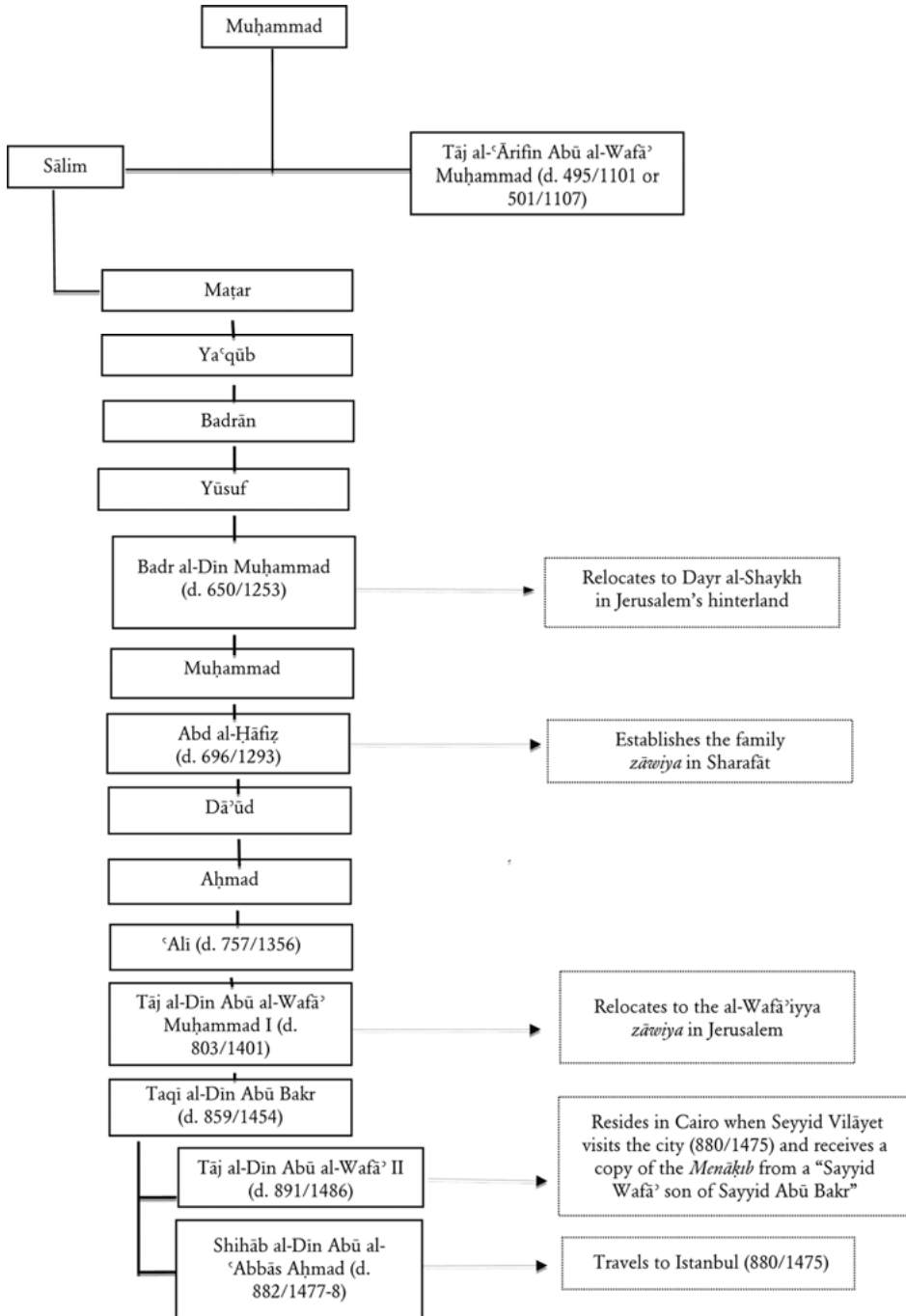


Figure 11.1: The Badri-Wafā'ī family tree.

They became one of the leading families of Mamluk and later Ottoman Jerusalem dominating influential positions such as supervisor of the descendants of the Prophet (*niqābat al-asbrāf*) of Jerusalem between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>27</sup>

The descendants of Sayyid Badr al-Dīn and, especially, his fourteenth-century offspring Tāj al-Dīn I, showed a keen interest in the legacy of their eleventh-century kin. To date the sole recognised manuscript of an Arabic vita of Abū al-Wafāʾ is the *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn Athār Ūlī al-Safāʾ wa-Tabsirat al-Muqtadīn bi-Tariq Tāj al-ʿArīfīn Abū al-Wafāʾ* composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Shabrīsī al-Wāsiṭī in 777/1376.<sup>28</sup> Al-Wāsiṭī writes that he received permission to author the work when he visited Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Wafāʾ Muḥammad I, a descendant of Sālim, the brother of Sayyid Abū al-Wafāʾ, in Jerusalem on his way back from the *ḥajj* in 773/1371-2.<sup>29</sup> The first part (*juzʾ*) of the manuscript consists of Abū al-Wafāʾ’s saintly vita and the second part encompasses the vitas of Abū al-Wafāʾ’s parents, his teachers, and disciples. Al-Wāsiṭī also devotes a section to the descendants of Abū al-Wafāʾ’s brother Sālim including hagiographic accounts on Abū al-Wafāʾ’s nephew and heir, Maṭar, and his offspring, the Badrī family.<sup>30</sup> Earlier scholarship suggested that al-Wāsiṭī’s *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn* and the Ottoman *Menākīb* reflect different versions of the vita of Abū al-Wafāʾ.<sup>31</sup> However, a comparison of key passages in the two works indicates that the Ottoman *Menākīb* is probably based on al-Wāsiṭī’s work.<sup>32</sup> We find additional evidence of this in the section on Sayyid Abū al-Wafāʾ’s lineage (*nasab*), which appears in both *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn* and the *Menākīb*. Al-Wāsiṭī states that he confirmed Abū al-Wafāʾ’s ancestry with the family’s genealogy (*nasab*), which was dated to the year 608/1211-12 and “is in the name of Sayyid Badr, who is buried at Wādi al-Nusūr.” The latter is Sayyid Badr al-Dīn, the ancestor of the Badrīs of Dayr al-Shaykh and Jerusalem. Al-Wāsiṭī also notes that the same Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Wafāʾ I who granted him the permission to write the vita reported to al-Wāsiṭī that their *nasab* is the reliable copy of the Abū

<sup>27</sup> Mujir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, vol. 2, 81, 241-45, 279, 291; Luz, “Islamization,” 136-141; Ephrat, *Spiritual Wayfarers*, 158-60, 161-65.

<sup>28</sup> The unique manuscript of the work, dated 878/1473, is currently housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (MS arabe 2036).

<sup>29</sup> Al-Wāsiṭī also provides Tāj al-Dīn I’s full lineage leading to Sālim. *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn* fol. 3v; Krupp, *Studien*, 21.

<sup>30</sup> From Sayyid Badr al-Dīn, who settled in Wādi al-Nusūr in the first half of the thirteenth century, to ‘Alī, father of Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Wafāʾ Muḥammad I, whom al-Wāsiṭī met in Jerusalem. This section contains new details on the family including a description of Tāj al-Dīn fighting off the crusaders by throwing stones at them from above his horse. *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn* fol. 129r-136v.

<sup>31</sup> Ayla Krupp, *Studien*, 20-23. Al-Wāsiṭī himself notes to have consulted for his *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn* a number of works on Abū al-Wafāʾ. Another Arabic fourteenth-century source on Abū al-Wafāʾ, *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin*, mentions that more than one author composed hefty hagiographies (*fi mujallad dakbm*) of Abū al-Wafāʾ. *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin*, 42.

<sup>32</sup> I am currently working on a detailed comparison of the two works.



al-Wafā'’s ancestry.<sup>33</sup> The Ottoman *Menāqib* faithfully repeats the information about Abū al-Wafā'’s lineage noting too that it is confirmed by Shaykh Badr’s *nasab*.<sup>34</sup> However, it omits al-Wāsiṭi’s note that he witnessed himself the family’s genealogy, and Tāj al-Dīn’s testimony as to the reliability of the Jerusalemite Badr-Wafā’is’ copy.

Another manuscript possibly linked to the descendants of Sayyid Badr al-Dīn is currently held at the private library of the Khālidi family in Jerusalem. The library lists in its possession a manuscript of an early thirteenth-century work titled *Fakhr Āl Zayn al-‘Ābidīn bi-Manāqib al-Sayyid Tāj al-‘Ārifīn*, which evidently, al-Wāsiṭi too notes to have consulted for his vita. The names of several of the offspring of Abū al-Wafā'’s brother (*dburriyyat akhībi*) Sālīm are listed at the manuscript’s end. The names can be identified as belonging to the Badrī family. The list appears to reach (and end with) Tāj al-Dīn, and therefore, it is plausible that the manuscript was originally copied during his tenure as head of the family *zāwiya*, in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

### III. The Badrī-Wafā’is’ “Household Sufism” and their Eleventh-Century Kin

As noted, all known hagiographies of Abū al-Wafā’ are linked to the Badris. Nevertheless, Mujir al-Dīn, who is well acquainted with the family history, briefly notes their familial connection to Abū al-Wafā’, but not the family’s affiliation with the order he allegedly founded in Iraq. On the contrary, Mujir al-Dīn’s account of the Badris demonstrates, as Daphna Ephrat argues, “the process by which individual Sufis and Sufi modes of piety gained prominence [in late medieval Palestine] [...] outside the framework of an established and widespread *ṭarīqa*.”<sup>36</sup> As Ephrat

<sup>33</sup> *Tadlīkirat al-Muqtafīn*, fol. 6v.

<sup>34</sup> “*Rāwī eydür, Seyyid Bedir ki Vādī-yi Nūsūr’da defn olunmuştu [...] onun dabi nesebinde bu vecbile yazılmıştır.*” In addition, three other sources al-Wāsiṭi notes to have consulted for his *Tadlīkirat al-Muqtafīn* are also referenced in the *Menāqib* as a confirmation for Abū al-Wafā’’s correct lineage. Özkul, *Menāqib*, 120.

<sup>35</sup> In addition to Tāj al-Dīn, we find the names Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Dā’ūd, Aḥmad, and ‘Abd al-Ḥāfīz. According to the catalogue, the author of *Fakhr Āl Zayn al-‘Ābidīn bi-Manāqib al-Sayyid Tāj al-‘Ārifīn* was Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr b. Rūzba al-Baghdādī al-Qalānisyyī al-‘Atṭār (al-Ṣūfī) (d. 633/1235). See *Fibris al-Makhtūṭāt* at <http://www.khalidi.org/manuscripts.html> (page 641; entry 1689). On Ibn Rūzba’s transmission of hadīth in Aleppo, Baghdad and elsewhere, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A’lām al-Nubalā’* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1981-) vol. 22, 387-88. The copy currently housed at al-Maktaba al-Khālidiyya was made in 1118/1706 by Ḥusayn b. al-‘Ajlūnī, probably from the earlier copy made in the second half of the fourteenth century for Tāj al-Dīn. Interestingly, *Fakhr Āl Zayn al-‘Ābidīn bi-Manāqib al-Sayyid Tāj al-‘Ārifīn* is comprised of two sections/volumes (*qismayn*), the first including the *manāqib* and the second the sayings and teachings of Abū al-Wafā’.

<sup>36</sup> Ephrat, *Spiritual Wayfarers*, 133.

shows, the majority of individual Sufis in medieval Palestine were not fully or exclusively affiliated with one particular Sufi path. The proliferation of Sufism in Palestine was the product of fluid and informal social networks that coalesced around charismatic Shaykhs, their offspring, and their tombs.<sup>37</sup>

The Badri-Wafā'is of Jerusalem were no exception in this regard.<sup>38</sup> However, the establishment of the *zāwīya* that came to be known as al-Wafā'iyya or the dwelling of the *banū Abū al-Wafā'* in Jerusalem by Tāj al-Dīn I in the second half of the fourteenth century appears to have led a number of scholars to presume that the family was also known, prior to the fifteenth century, as the *Abū al-Wafā'* family or that they were affiliated, at least nominally, with the Wafā'iyya Sufi order.<sup>39</sup> It is important to note that there is no indication that Mujir al-Dīn uses the name al-Wafā'iyya to refer to anything other than the Jerusalemite family *zāwīya*. In Mujir al-Dīn's work, *banū Abū al-Wafā'* refers to the Badri family branch that took hold within the city, that is, the descendants (*banū*) of the fourteenth-century Tāj al-Dīn *Abū al-Wafā'* Muḥammad I, after whom (and not the family's eleventh-century relative) the Jerusalem family lodge, al-Wafā'iyya, was likely named.<sup>40</sup> As we suggested earlier, that the Badri family has no visible connections to the Wafā'i order casts doubt on the existence of such an order, certainly prior to the fifteenth century.

In spite of the absence of any reference to the family's ties to a Sufi order founded by Abū al-Wafā', the Badris were, nevertheless, clearly invested in promoting the legacy of their eleventh-century saintly relative. According to the *Menākīb*, Abū al-Wafā' designated his nephew and adopted son, Maṭar the son of Sālīm, ancestor of the Jerusalemite family, as heir to his spiritual state (*ḥāl*).<sup>41</sup> Fur-

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-60. Mujir al-Dīn refers to the Badris in their early stages in Dayr al-Shaykh as *ahl badhibi al-tariqa*, which Ephrat translates as "people of this spiritual path." As she notes, *ahl al-tariqa* or *ahl al-tariq* often denotes a diffused and informal social network of people "centered around a certain Sufi *wali* of well-established spiritual authority" rather than a Sufi order. *Ibid.*, 153, 159.

<sup>38</sup> I use the name "Badri-Wafā'is" to distinguish the Badri family branch that took hold in Jerusalem under Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad I from the late fourteenth century.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 158, 160; Luz, "Islamization," 141.

<sup>40</sup> In the biographical entries of the descendants of Tāj al-Dīn, Mujir al-Dīn uses the designation "*Shaykh al-Wafā'iyya fi al-quds*" or "*Shaykh fuqarā' al-Wafā'iyya fi al-quds/bi'l-ard al-muqaddasa*" (Shaykh of the poor/Sufis of the Wafā'iyya in Jerusalem or Palestine), which can refer both to the Jerusalem lodge or to a Sufi order, though Mujir al-Dīn never uses the term *al-tariqa al-Wafā'iyya*. Mujir al-Dīn, however, also designates some of the descendants of Tāj al-Dīn I with the *nisba* al-Badri. See, for example, Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ishaq *al-Badri* al-Husayni (d. 874/1469), who was son of Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Tāj al-Dīn I. Mujir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 301.

<sup>41</sup> "*Benim bālime vārişsin.*" Özkul, *Menākīb*, 145. Sayyid Maṭar, Abū al-Wafā's nephew, is also known as Shaykh Maṭar al-Bādharā'i/nī. In *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin*, al-Wāsiṭi lists Maṭar al-Bādharāni among Sayyid Abū al-Wafā's disciples. *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin*, 42. Sha'rāni writes that Maṭar al-Bādharā'i was one of the famed shaykhs of Iraq, a Kurd who dwelt in the village of Bādharā' in the province of Najaf and that Abū al-Wafā' would say that Maṭar was his heir (for his spiritual state and possessions). Al-Sha'rāni, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1, 262-263.

thermore, the *Menākīb* also notes that the descendants of Maṭar administrated the shrine of Abū al-Wafā' in Iraq.<sup>42</sup>

The Jerusalemite family played a significant role in the textual consolidation of Abū al-Wafā''s legacy at least from the fourteenth century onwards. Their interest in maintaining Abū al-Wafā''s saintly memory appears to have been part of their endeavour to establish and cultivate their genealogical pedigree, which was traced back to the fourth Imam 'Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn. The family's efforts in this matter came to fruition during the tenure of Sayyid Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr (799-859/d. 1454), the son of Tāj al-Dīn I, as head of the Wafā'īyya lodge. Under Taqī al-Dīn, the family received considerable recognition in the city as attested by Taqī al-Dīn's well-attended funeral and the special prayer carried out for his sake in the al-Aqṣā mosque after the Friday prayers. Taqī al-Dīn also had the family's sayyid ancestry (*sharaf*) confirmed by an oral testimony (*bayyina shar'īyya*) when a relative shaykh visited the city in 855/1451.<sup>43</sup> Taqī al-Dīn is the first family member to whom Mujir al-Dīn grants the prestigious surname *al-Husaynī*, descendant of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, by which the Badrī-Wafā'īs, the Ḥusaynis of Jerusalem later became known.<sup>44</sup>

The Jerusalemite family's attempts to perpetuate and consolidate their sayyid lineage are possibly echoed in the vita as well. One of the first anecdotes in the *Menākīb* involves a king of Bukhara, who refuses to aid Abū al-Wafā' on the grounds that his claim to descend from Ḥusayn b. 'Alī is fictitious. The Prophet, then, appears to the king in a dream and reprimands him for insulting his descendants (*evlād*), in particular, Abū al-Wafā'.<sup>45</sup> Such a tale could constitute a warning for those doubting the pedigree of Abū al-Wafā''s relatives as well. That his biological descent was instrumental in shaping Abū al-Wafā''s legacy is further evident in his designation as *sayyid al-aqtāb*, the Sayyid of the axial saints, which merges together both his spiritual and biological authority.<sup>46</sup> For the Badrī-Wafā'ī family, therefore, the significance of Abū al-Wafā''s legacy lay not in his role as an order

<sup>42</sup> According to one of the stories in the *Menākīb*, one of the descendants of Munjih b. Ya'qūb b. Maṭar b. Sālim was the *mutawallī* of the shrine of Abū al-Wafā' in Qalminiyya, Iraq. Özkul, *Menākīb*, 177. As noted earlier, Badr al-Dīn, who emigrated to Palestine in the first half of the thirteenth century, was son of Yusūf b. Badrān b. Ya'qūb b. Maṭar.

<sup>43</sup> Literally, a "proof conforming to the shari'a," a testimony of two or more witnesses. On this and other means for confirming Talibid genealogies, see Kazuo Morimoto, "The formation and development of the science of Talibid genealogies in the 10<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> century Middle East," *Oriente Moderno* 18, no. 2 (1999): 541-570, esp. 566. I thank Dr. Morimoto for his help with this passage.

<sup>44</sup> Mujir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, vol. 2, 291.

<sup>45</sup> Özkul, *Menākīb*, 125-26; *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafin*, fol. 8v.

<sup>46</sup> Özkul, *Menākīb*, 139. The conflation of Sayyid descent and saintly status was further elaborated by the fifteenth-century Egyptian sayyid scholar al-Samhūdi (d. 911/1506), who argued that descent from the Prophet is the most important reason for God granting the status of *'ulamā'-awliyā'* (saintly scholars) to an individual. Kazuo Morimoto, "The Prophet's Family as the Perennial Source of Saintly Scholars: al-Samhūdi on *'Ilm* and *Nasab*," in Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Alexandre Papas (eds), *Family Portraits with Saints: Hagiography, Sanctity, and Family in the Muslim World* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2014), 106-124.

founder, but as a genealogical marker linking the Jerusalemite family to the prestige associated with the family of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and the Prophet.<sup>47</sup> As impresarios of their mythical eleventh-century Iraqi uncle, the Badrī-Wafāʾīs were cultivating their own claim to descent based spiritual authority. As noted earlier, al-Wāsiṭī's vita of Abū al-Wafāʾ, the *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn*, which was probably the basis for the Ottoman *Menākīb*, includes also a section on the miraculous deeds of the Badrī-Wafāʾīs' ancestor, Sayyid Badr al-Dīn, and his descendants.

The documents from the Alevi family archives corroborate the role of the eleventh-century Iraqi saint as a gateway to claiming Sayyid descent. Karakaya-Stump notes that the documents, mainly Sufi diplomas (*ijāzas*) and genealogies (*shajaras*), connecting Alevi *ocak* members both in terms of biological descent and Sufi lineage to a nephew of Sayyid Abū al-Wafāʾ identified as Sayyid Khamīs,<sup>48</sup> were often issued, copied and approved at the Karbala shrine by the Ḥusaynī syndic of the descendants of the Prophet, and were used to testify to the Sayyid status of members of the early *ocak* communities.<sup>49</sup> The early modern period saw a proliferation

<sup>47</sup> The legacy of Sayyid Abū al-Wafāʾ also played a role in the co-optation of a sixteenth-century antinomian dervish in Aleppo. As Watenpaugh observes, seventeenth century accounts of Shaykh Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Wafāʾ (d. 991/1583) increasingly normalised the figure of the deviant dervish editing the “antisocial saint into a redeemable figure.” The dervish's full name was revealed to be Abū Bakr ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ, his genealogy was retrospectively traced back to Sayyid Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn Abū al-Wafāʾ and he was granted Sayyid status. Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, “Deviant Dervishes: Space, Gender, and the Construction of Antinomian Piety in Ottoman Aleppo,” *IJMES* 37, no. 4 (2005): 541-542.

<sup>48</sup> According to the *ijāzas*, Sayyid Khamīs was the son of Sayyid Ghānim, a brother of Sayyid Abū al-Wafāʾ. The Ottoman *Menākīb* lists a Sayyid Ghānim among the seven adopted sons of Abū al-Wafāʾ (below), but identifies him as a nephew, not a brother, of the latter. As Karakaya-Stump notes, the *Menākīb* “does not fully support the accuracy of Wafāʾī *silsila* provided in the Alevi documents.” Karakaya-Stump, “Subjects of the Sultan,” 48-50.

<sup>49</sup> Karakaya-Stump, “Documents and Buyruk manuscripts,” 273-286; eadem, “Subjects of the Sultan,” 43-45, 79-80. The function of such documents as proofs of sayyid descent can be seen in the example of a Sufi diploma (*ijāza*) dated 10 Muḥarram 905/17 August 1499 that was given to a Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Qarqīnī (Garkīnī). The author of the *ijāza* notes at the beginning of the document that Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Qarqīnī was a descendant (*nisba*) of *al-sayyid al-sharīf* Nuʿmān known as al-Qarqīnī, and that this sayyid lineage was proven to him and he found it reliable (*qad thabata ʿindi wa-ṣaḥīḥ ladayya*). The *ijāza*, then, states that the al-Qarqīnī family reaches (*al-wāsilīn*) Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn Sayyid Abū al-Wafāʾ. This statement could be read either as reference to the family's Sufi or biological lineage. The *ijāza* subsequently delineates Muḥammad al-Qarqīnī's status as *shaykh al-shuyūkh* over all the successors (*khulafāʾ*) and disciples of Sayyid Abū al-Wafāʾ, a position which he was given by Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sayyid Ibrāhīm, whose *silsila* reaches Sayyid Khamīs, nephew of Sayyid Abū al-Wafāʾ. The document ends with Abū al-Wafāʾ' s sayyid lineage. Interestingly, the document was written and signed by a Sayyid as well. For images of the two copies of the document, see Ocak, *Dede Garkın*, 195-224. On the Dede Garkins, *ibid.*, 53-71, and Karakaya-Stump, “Subjects of the Sultan,” 68-77. The name of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sayyid Ibrāhīm appears on other *ijāzas* as well. See *ibid.*, 54, 77-82, for a discussion of the document, Sayyid Muḥammad and his full *silsila*. The language of the *ijāzas* constantly conflates *silsila* derived authority with authority derived from privileged sayyid descent.

in claims to descent from the Prophet, in particular amongst tribal leaders in Anatolia. As Canbakal and others argue, claims to sayyidhood provided both a means of protection against the growing burden of Ottoman taxation, and an additional locus of authority and communal solidarity in the face of tribal breakdown due to the Ottomans' centralisation measures.<sup>50</sup>

Like Alevi *ocak* claims to sayyidhood, the Jerusalemite Badrī-Wafā'īs' emphasis on kinship, both in their genealogical claims to spiritual authority and their hereditary practices, was not unusual in the later Middle Ages and early modern periods, when Sufism increasingly became a "family affair" as Adam Sabra has recently noted.<sup>51</sup> The family's descent-based status played a considerable role in their transition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries into a "Sufi household" (*bayt*), a term recently coined by Sabra for the distinct, "non-*ṭariqa*" mode of Sufi organisation featured by the Egyptian Bakrī family. In the sixteenth century, the Bakrīs, a Cairo family of Sufis and scholars who administrated the shrine and endowments of the popular fifteenth-century Egyptian saint 'Abd al-Qādir al-Dashtūti (d. 924/1518?), became a wealthy and politically influential household with a strong foot in the *zāwiya* scene of Cairo.<sup>52</sup> As Sufis, the Bakrīs emphasised their noble pedigree as biological descendants of both the first caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq and Ḥasan b. 'Ali, often over their *silsila*-derived authority. In Sabra's words, "their claim to hereditary spiritual leadership was buttressed with an emphasis on genealogy." In addition to the weight they granted their sayyid descent, the Badrī-Wafā'īs shared other traits of the Bakrīs' distinct "household Sufism": a lack of a clear-cut affiliation with a specific Sufi order,<sup>53</sup> the prominence of hereditary succession, and an interest in translating spiritual and scholarly reputations into political influence and economic gains.

There are other reasons why we should not view the Badrī-Wafā'īs as a Sufi order. There are no references to other Wafā'ī shaykhs in Palestine, who were affiliated with the family but were not its biological members, at least not in Mujir al-Din's extensive biographical notices. Furthermore, as far as we know, the fam-

<sup>50</sup> Hülya Canbakal, "The Ottoman State and Descendants of the Prophet in Anatolia and the Balkans (c. 1500-1700)," *JESHO* 52 (2009): 542-78. Similarly to claims to Sayyid descent, Sufi affiliations and discipleship, too, could reinforce claims to hereditary authority and social bonds within communities by providing "both discursive and ritual affirmations of communal legitimacy and cohesion," particularly in cases of economic and political pressures on such tribal communities. Devin DeWeese, "Yasavi *ṣhayḥs* in the Timurid Era: Notes on the Social and Political role of Communal Sufi Affiliations in the 14th and 15th Centuries," *Oriente Moderno*, New Series, 15, no. 76, special issue, ed. Michele Bernardini, *La civiltà timuride come fenomeno internazionale* (1996): 173-88.

<sup>51</sup> Adam Sabra, "The Age of the Fathers," 133-149.

<sup>52</sup> Adam Sabra, "Household Sufism," 101-118.

<sup>53</sup> While some disciples of the Bakrīs were also associated with the Shādhili order (Sabra, "Household Sufism," 115), at least one member of the Badrī-Wafā'ī family, Burhān al-Din Abū Ishāq (d. 784/1382-3), was also associated with the Qādiriyya path (*ṭariqa*) in spite of his initial training in the family Wafā'iyya *zawiya*. Mujir al-Din, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 301-2.

ily did not establish additional *zāwiyas* after the Wafāʾiyya lodge in the late fourteenth century. According to Mujir al-Dīn, Taqī al-Dīn was dressed by his father with the Wafāʾī Sufi cloak (*al-kbirqa al-wafāʾiyya*), a practice commonly identified with the initiation of the novice into the spiritual genealogy of a Sufi order.<sup>54</sup> Yet, the bestowal of a *kbirqa* does not necessarily indicate the existence of a Sufi order. Moreover, as Denis Grill demonstrates, during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, the bestowal of the *kbirqa* did not suggest an individual's exclusive association with one Sufi *ṭariqa*. In fact, it was common amongst Sufis to have received *kbirqas* from multiple masters signifying the transmission of several spiritual influences in one person.<sup>55</sup> If Mujir al-Dīn is correct in stating that Taqī al-Dīn was dressed with the *kbirqa* by his father Tāj al-Dīn I, then, Taqī al-Dīn must have been an infant when he received the cloak since Tāj al-Dīn died a few years after his son's birth. The bestowal of the *kbirqa* in Mujir al-Dīn's account signifies the transmission of hereditary spiritual authority from Tāj al-Dīn I the father to Taqī al-Dīn in spite of the former's untimely death. By designating the Sufi cloak here as *al-kbirqa al-Wafāʾiyya*, Mujir al-Dīn is referring either to the names of Tāj al-Dīn Abū *al-Wafāʾ* Muḥammad I, the Wafāʾiyya *zāwiya* he established in Jerusalem, or perhaps Tāj al-Dīn's specific Sufi path and method of training (*ṭariqa*), but not to the Iraqi born Wafāʾiyya order. We have here another indication of the broader social reality in which kinship ties and in particular, the relations between shaykhs and their sons, were increasingly articulated through and regulated by the Sufi bonds between master and disciple, and hereditary sacred authority was progressively construed in Sufi idioms. The bestowal of the *kbirqa* is, therefore, also an indication of the role lineage played in Taqī al-Dīn's assertion of his spiritual status.<sup>56</sup>

As is the case with the Egyptian Bakrīs, the Jerusalemite Badri-Wafāʾīs also gained considerably from the change in the political regime that ensued from the Ottoman conquest.<sup>57</sup> From the sixteenth century onwards, family members occupied prestigious offices such the *niqābat al-asbrāf* in Jerusalem and elsewhere, chief Hanafi *mufti* of Jerusalem and the office of the shaykh of the Ḥaram al-Sharif.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Mujir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 291.

<sup>55</sup> Denis Grill, "De la *kbirqa* à la *ṭariqa*: continuité et évolution dans l'identification et la classification des voies," in Grill et al, *Sufism in the Ottoman Era*, 57-81.

<sup>56</sup> For Sufism and kinship, Sabra, "Household Sufism," 118.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 103, 118. The Jerusalemite family's contacts with Istanbul courtly circles as of the late fifteenth century possibly also had a role in the Badri-Wafāʾī family's privileged position in Jerusalem after the Ottoman conquest of greater Syria in 922/1516.

<sup>58</sup> The family reached the zenith of its power at the beginning of the eighteenth century with Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafāʾ al-Wafāʾī al-Ḥusayni. The latter successfully led in 1111/1700 the rebellion of the *naqib al-asbrāf* of Jerusalem against the Ottomans' decision to permit the French consul to establish residence in the city. By 1116/1705, however, the Ottoman army retook the city and subsequently, the Badri-Wafāʾī family lost its wealth and power. Another *asbrāf* family, the Ghadiyya, attained the position of *naqib al-asbrāf* of the city and

#### IV. Seyyid Vilayet as a Creative Genealogist

İnalçık identifies Seyyid Vilayet as a Wafā'ī shaykh. Neither Seyyid Vilayet nor his father-in-law and Sufi master Aşıkpaşazade, however, are explicitly recognised in any text as Wafā'ī Sufis. Rather, the two are identified as affiliates of the *ṭarīqa* or *silsila* of the influential fifteenth-century Herati shaykh Zayn al-Din al-Khāfi (d. 838/1435), who had three *khalīfas* stationed in Anatolia.<sup>59</sup> Taşköprüzade, for example, states that Aşıkpaşazade's master 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudsi was one of the *khalīfas* of Zayn al-Din, and that Seyyid Vilayet received his Sufi training (*ṭarīqat al-taşawwuf*) and *ijāza* from Aşıkpaşazade. Furthermore, the introduction to the *Menākīb* ends with Seyyid Vilayet's Zaynī *silsila* (*silsile-i meşāyib*), not a Wafā'ī *silsila*.<sup>60</sup> In the introduction to the *Menākīb*, Seyyid Vilayet is referred to as son of "Sayyid al-Wafā'ī,"<sup>61</sup> but this is probably in reference to his grandfather, who is called "al-Sayyid Abū al-Wafā' al-Baghdādi" in a late fifteenth-century *mulknāme*.<sup>62</sup>

Seyyid Vilayet's ties to the eleventh-century Abū al-Wafā' appear, therefore, to have been entirely kinship-based. Seyyid Vilayet's familial connection to Abū al-Wafā', however, has been questioned.<sup>63</sup> The introduction to the *Menākīb* claims that Seyyid Vilayet's father Aḥmad (d. 1486/481), who emigrated from Iraq to Bursa in 841/1437-8, was a descendant of Sayyid Pir Ḥayāt al-Din, a cousin and adopted son of eleventh-century Abū al-Wafā'. The author of the *Menākīb* enumerates Seyyid Vilayet's lineage up to Ḥayāt al-Din (figure 11.2),<sup>64</sup> but does not disclose the rest of the line leading from Sayyid Ḥayāt al-Din to the Prophet

---

also assumed the title of the Ḥusaynis, which has been the source for some confusion among historians of the period. Michael Winter, "The *Asbrāf* and the *Naqīb al-Asbrāf* in Ottoman Egypt and Syria," in Kazuo Morimoto (ed.), *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies* (London: Routledge, 2012), 150-51.

<sup>59</sup> Taşköprüzade does not mention at all the eleventh-century Abū al-Wafā' in his detailed biographical notice of Seyyid Vilayet. *Şhaqā'iq*, 207-9. For Zayn al-Din Khāfi and his Anatolian *khalīfas*, Taşköprüzade, *Şhaqā'iq*, 41-45, and more generally, Öngören, *Zeyniler*.

<sup>60</sup> Özkul, *Menākīb*, 115. Seyyid Vilayet's *silsila* leads through his master Aşıkpaşazade to the shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudsi and his master Zayn al-Din Khāfi and continues with the renowned Sufi Ma'ṛūf al-Karkhī, and through the latter's association with the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍa, with the imams, 'Alī and the Prophet Muḥammad. The inclusion of the Imāms is not surprising considering their reputation for the transmission of spiritual knowledge. Sufi chains that included the first eight imāms were labeled the "Chain of Gold" (*silsilat al-dhabab*) and were common among the Sufi orders such as the Naqshbandiyya. Hamid Algar, "Imām Mūsa al-Kāzīm and Şūfi Tradition," *Islamic Culture* 64, no. 1 (1990), 9.

<sup>61</sup> Özkul, *Menākīb*, 113.

<sup>62</sup> For the *mulknāme* from 891/1491, see İnalçık, "How to Read 'Aşık Pasha-zāde's History," 31.

<sup>63</sup> Krupp, *Studien*, 12-13; Hans Joachim Kissling, "Scheich Sejjid Vilājet (1451-1522) und sein angebliches Menāqybnāme," *ZDMG* 113/38 (1963), 62-68.

<sup>64</sup> Seyyid Vilayet was son of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Sayyid Ishāq b. Sayyid 'Alām al-Din ('Alā' al-Din in *Şhaqā'iq*) b. Sayyid Khalil b. Jihāngir b. Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Sidi/Pir Ḥayāt al-Din. Taşköprüzade, *Şhaqā'iq*, 207; Özkul, *Menākīb*, 114.

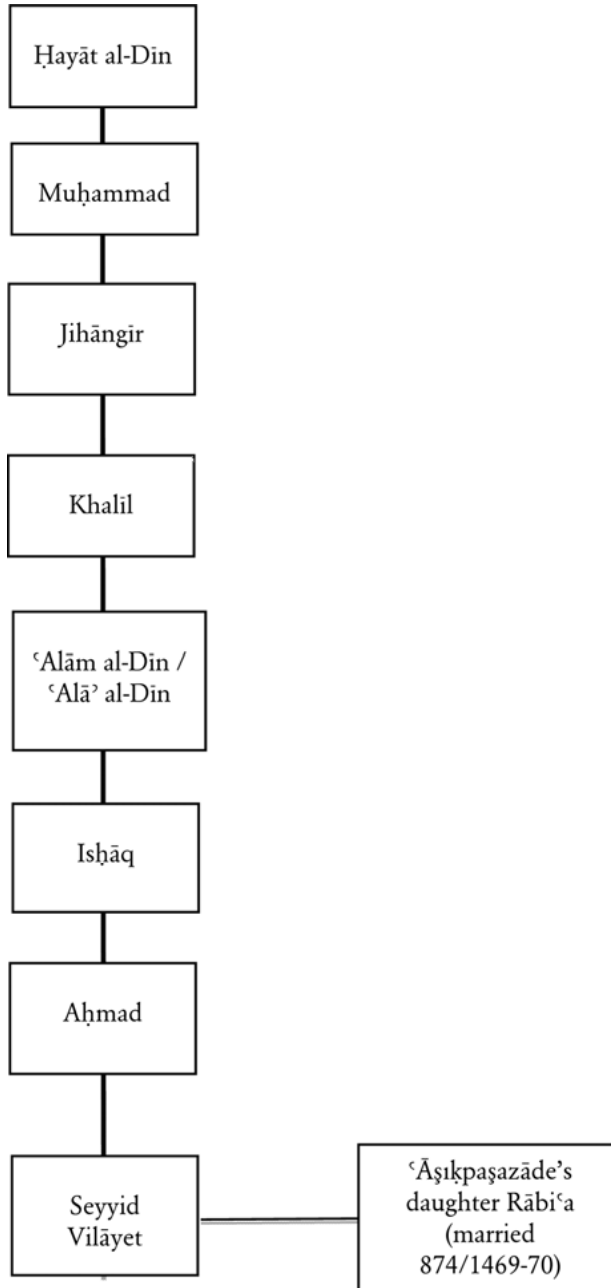


Figure 11.2: From Ḥayāt al-Dīn to Seyyid Vilāyet.



Muḥammad, claiming that it would take too much space and that it is available in an unidentified work entitled *Baḥr al-ansāb*.<sup>65</sup> Unlike the *Menākīb*, Taşköprüzade offers Seyyid Vilayet's full sayyid lineage, which includes the segment leading from Ḥayāt al-Din to the Prophet Muḥammad. Yet, according to Taşköprüzade, Ḥayāt al-Din descended from an altogether different patrilineal line of Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidin<sup>66</sup> than that of Abū al-Wafā':<sup>67</sup> whereas Ḥayāt al-Din descended from Zayn al-ʿĀbidin's son Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Abū al-Wafā' was a descendant of Zayn al-ʿĀbidin's son Zayd (figure 11.3).

Still, as noted, the introduction to the *Menākīb* explicitly states that Abū al-Wafā' and Ḥayāt al-Din were descendants of two brothers (*iki karındaş ʿiyâlleridir*), thus giving the impression that that two were first cousins, whereas their earliest shared blood ancestor was Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidin, several generations back. The missing segment of Seyyid Vilayet's lineage in the *Menākīb*, therefore, seems to be an intentional attempt to divert the reader's attention from the inconsistencies in Seyyid Vilayet's genealogical connection with Abū al-Wafā' and possibly, from other issues with Seyyid Vilayet's claim to Muhammadan descent.

The *Menākīb* translator's subtle genealogical manipulation, which shortens the significant familial distance between the two distant cousins, finds further grounding in the second claim made in the introduction to the *Menākīb*. According to the text, Sayyid Abū al-Wafā' took on Ḥayāt al-Din as his son (*onu oğul edinmiştir*) by the command of the Prophet.<sup>68</sup> In a dream narrative in the *Menākīb*, the Prophet Muḥammad tells Abū al-Wafā', who had no children of his own, that God had granted him seven sons and sets out together with Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidin and Ḥusayn to select his new sons from amongst his blood relatives. The first of these adopted sons is Abū al-Wafā''s nephew, Sayyid Maṭar, the ancestor of the Jerusa-

<sup>65</sup> *Baḥr al-Ansāb* was a generic title that was assigned to numerous works of sayyid genealogy. *Baḥr al-Ansāb*, therefore, might not refer here to a specific work, but is meant to assert the authenticity of Pir Ḥayāt al-Din's sayyid descent by referring the reader to an unspecified genealogical guidebook. I am grateful to Dr. Morimoto for this information.

<sup>66</sup> According to Taşköprüzade, Ḥayāt al-Din was son of al-Sayyid Riḍa b. Sayyid Khalil b. Sayyid Mūsa b. Sayyid Yahya b. Sayyid Sulaymān b. Sayyid Afḍal al-Din b. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Imām [Muḥammad] al-Bāqir b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidin. See Taşköprüzade, *Es-Saqā'iq en-No'mānīje: enthaltend die Biographien der türkischen und im osmanischen Reiche wirkenden Gelehrten*, ed. and tr. O. Rescher (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1978), 224.

<sup>67</sup> Sayyid Abū al-Wafā' and his half-brother Sālim were sons of Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Din b. Ḥasan b. al-Murtaḍa al-Akbar b. Zayd b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidin. Mujir al-Din, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 241; Özkul, *Menākīb*, 120. One possible resolution is that Ḥayāt al-Din's mother was a sister of Abū al-Wafā''s father Muḥammad; yet no account mentions this relationship. Furthermore, there is a considerable generational gap between the two: Ḥayāt al-Din has eight generations leading to Zayn al-ʿĀbidin while Abū al-Wafā' has only five generations.

<sup>68</sup> Özkul, *Menākīb*, 130-131.

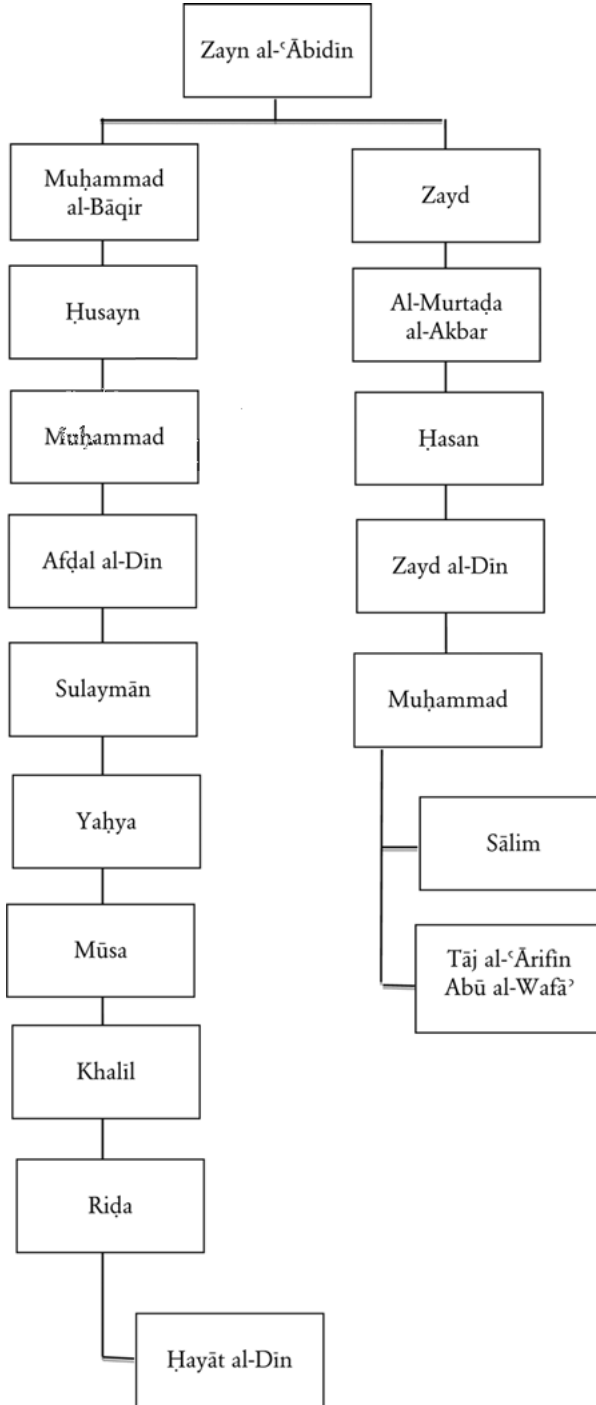


Figure 11.3: Abū al-Wafāʾ and Ḥayāt al-Din.

lemite Badrī-Wafā'īs.<sup>69</sup> However, Ḥayāt al-Dīn, ancestor of Seyyid Vilayet, is not listed among the seven adopted sons. Working with the hagiographic motif of Abū al-Wafā'ʾs adopted sons, the translator of the *Menākīb* finds an opportunity to creatively introduce Seyyid Vilayet's ancestor into the nuclear family of Abū al-Wafā'ʾ.<sup>70</sup>

A further step in these genealogical ploys is the retroactive addition of the fourteenth-century Shaykh Ede Bali to the ranks of the *khalīfas* of the eleventh-century Sayyid Abū al-Wafā'ʾ. As noted above, the *Menākīb* is the only source that refers to Ede Bali's Wafā'ī affiliation. As İnalçık notes, the account of Ede Bali's interpretation of Osman's famous dream in the introduction closely relies on Aşıkpaşazade's narrative, but also alters the sequence of events following the dream as it appears in Aşıkpaşazade's history in order to further establish Ede Bali's contribution to Osman's success.<sup>71</sup> The text attributes, quite literally, Osman's successful rise to the support of the noble lineage of Abū al-Wafā'ʾ. Why make such a claim and, furthermore, why open the hagiography with this narrative? Sayyid Abū al-Wafā'ʾ here functions as proxy for his fictive kin, Seyyid Vilayet. Through the relationship between Ede Bali and Abū al-Wafā'ʾ, Abū al-Wafā'ʾ is integrated into the Ottoman dynastic narrative, and by extension so do his kinsfolk, Seyyid Vilayet and his ancestors. In other words, through Ede Bali and Abū al-Wafā'ʾ, Seyyid Vilayet and his sayyid pedigree are granted a stake in Ottoman history.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 130-131. The dream narrative does not appear in al-Wāsiṭi's *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn*. While both the *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn* and the *Menākīb* start off the same way, with Abū al-Wafā'ʾ explaining to his wife his celibacy, the *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn* continues with an account that presents Sayyid Maṭar alone as his uncle's spiritual heir and designated son. One's impression from a comparison of the two texts is that the translator of the Ottoman *Menākīb* changed the account inserting the dream narrative, and not that al-Wāsiṭi replaced the dream story with a different account. A better comparison of the two works in their entirety, however, might yield new insights. *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafīn*, fol. 11r.

<sup>70</sup> Alevi documents, on the other hand, argue that the biological ancestor of the *ocaks* was Sayyid Khāmis son of Sayyid Ghānim, the brother of Abū al-Wafā'ʾ according to the documents. Sayyid Ghānim Abū al-ʿAbbās is listed among the adopted sons of Abū al-Wafā'ʾ in the *Menākīb*. According to the work, he was a nephew of Abū al-Wafā'ʾ from a brother named Munjih. The hagiographic adoption motif seems to have, therefore, allowed a variety of agents to claim familial and spiritual ties to Abū al-Wafā'ʾ and foreground their sayyid status. Karakaya-Stump, "Subjects of the Sultan," 47-49.

<sup>71</sup> İnalçık, "How to Read 'Aşık Pasha-zāde's History," 48. İnegöl, where Osman is defeated just prior to having his visionary dream, becomes also Osman's first military victory (*evvel fetḥi*, moving its date ahead to 684/1285) instead of Karacahisar (in 687/1288 in Aşıkpaşazade's work), so it might immediately follow Osman's dream, which, according to the *Menākīb*, is dreamt at Ede Bali's lodge and not in its vicinity as it appears in Aşıkpaşazade's chronicle. By having Osman's first victory immediately follow Osman's dream and Shaykh Ede Bali's favourable interpretation of it as a sign foretelling the grandeur of his dynasty, the introduction portrays Osman's exchange with Ede Bali as a turning point in Osman's fortunes and the key to his future victories.

The introduction to the *Menākīb* also tries to position Ḥayāt al-Din, Seyyid Vilayet's ancestor, on par with Abū al-Wafā' stating that the former, like Abū al-Wafā', had many hagiographic vitas, some of which were translated from Persian into Ottoman by Seyyid Vilayet himself. Whether or not Seyyid Vilayet was translating his ancestor's hagiographies, if such texts did, in fact, exist, the translation of Abū al-Wafā''s vita is portrayed here as part of a larger project aimed at converting Seyyid Vilayet's foreign genealogical credentials into local Ottoman currency. This was also carried out through anecdotes and stories told about Seyyid Vilayet, some of which appear in Taşköprüzade's biographical notice and are clearly aimed at cementing Seyyid Vilayet's claim to a biological and spiritual connection to the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>72</sup> It was around this time, the turn of the sixteenth century, that the Ottomans started monitoring claims to sayyid descent through the office of *naqīb al-asbrāf* as a growing number of groups and individuals claimed sayyidhood.<sup>73</sup> There is no reason to suspect that Seyyid Vilayet's pedigree was questioned, though his *sayyidhood* clearly played an important role in building his reputation. If one theme stands out in Taşköprüzade's biography of Seyyid Vilayet, it is that the latter was *ṣaḥīb al-nasab*, of true Muhammadan bloodline.<sup>74</sup>

We might be mistaken, therefore, to overstate the fictiveness of Seyyid Vilayet's genealogical ties to Sayyid Abū al-Wafā'. In fact, it is possible that their shared sayyid ancestry through Imam Zayn al-Ābidin is what brought together Seyyid Vilayet and the Jerusalemite Badrī-Wafā'ī Shaykh Tāj al-Din II in Cairo in 880/1475.<sup>75</sup> The incorporation of Seyyid Vilayet's ancestor, the adopted Ḥayāt al-Din, into the mythical family of Abū al-Wafā' in the Ottoman *Menākīb* might, therefore, echo the admittance of Seyyid Vilayet into the intimate circle of Sufi disciples of Shaykh Tāj al-Din II, further blurring the already fuzzy boundaries between kinship and Sufism in fifteenth-century Sufi networks.

The overlap between Sufism and kinship, real or imagined, in Seyyid Vilayet's relationship with Tāj al-Din II can also explain the insertion of Seyyid Vilayet's alleged kin, Abū al-Wafā', into the lineage of Seyyid Vilayet's father-in-law, Aşıkpaşazade. The claim in Aşıkpaşazade's history that his forefather Baba İlyās was a deputy (*kbalifa*) of Abū al-Wafā' can be viewed as an extension of the "union" between Seyyid Vilayet and his Sufi master Aşıkpaşazade. Their relationship was, indeed, cemented through kinship, that is, Seyyid Vilayet's marriage to Aşıkpaşazade's daughter in 874/1469-70. Aşıkpaşazade's history demonstrates that biological pedigree and claims to tangible connections to the Prophet mattered to fifteenth-century Sufis such as the Anatolian disciples of the Zayni Shaykh

<sup>72</sup> Taşköprüzade, *Şaḡā'iq*, 208-9.

<sup>73</sup> Canbakal, "The Ottoman State," 542-78.

<sup>74</sup> Thus, he is referred to as *ṣaḥīb al-nasab* in Taşköprüzade's dictionary, or, *zū'l-ḥaseb ve'l-neseb* in the *Menākīb*.

<sup>75</sup> Seyyid Vilayet's relationship with Tāj al-Din Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad II might have preceded or followed Shihāb al-Din's (Tāj al-Din's brother) arrival in Istanbul.

‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudṣī, and were instrumental in the rivalries between Sufi communities over prestige, devotees and resources.<sup>76</sup>

### Conclusion

The fifteenth-century incorporation of Aşıkpaşazade’s forefather, Baba Ilyās, and Shaykh Ede Bali into the *silsila* of the eleventh-century Iraqi Sayyid Abū al-Wafā’ was hardly unique. As several scholars have shown in recent years, Sufi *silsilas*, which linked Sufi communities to earlier unaffiliated and independent Sufi authorities, were often the product of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the *silsila* became the primary legitimizing and organizing principle of Sufi life and Sufi protocols of succession. Sufi authors projected the centrality of the *silsila* as an

<sup>76</sup> For example, in one passage in Aşıkpaşazade’s chronicle, the Zaynī shaykh ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudṣī (d. 856/1452, disciple of the Heratī Sufi shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khāfi and master of Aşıkpaşazade), who was responsible together with his Anatolian disciples for establishing Zayn al-Dīn’s *silsila* in Ottoman lands (Edirne, Bursa and Istanbul), enters into a heated debate with the Safavid Shaykh Junayd (d. 864/1460) when the latter visits the lodge of Şadr al-Dīn Qūnawī in Konya. Asked whether he considered the companions of the Prophet (*aşhāb*) worthier or the Prophet’s descendants (*evlād*), ‘Abd al-Laṭīf argues for the precedence of the companions over the Prophet’s offspring since the former alone are referred to in the Quran (*muhājirin wa’l-anşār*). In response, Junayd asks whether ‘Abd al-Laṭīf was there in person when the verses descended, a response which propels ‘Abd al-Laṭīf to accuse Junayd of blasphemy (*kāfir*) and use his influential position with the Karamanids to guarantee that Junayd and his followers would be unwelcomed in Anatolia. Morimoto has recently questioned Allouche’s earlier reading of this passage arguing that the dispute between the two shaykhs does not point to Junayd’s claim to Alid descent in Aşıkpaşazade’s chronicle. However, as a member of an influential Jerusalemite family of scholars descending from Ghānim *al-Anşārī* al-Khazraji (d. 632/1234-5), ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudṣī was the offspring of one of the Prophet’s companions, the *anşār*. The dispute between the two Shaykhs is, therefore, over the relative merits of their own pedigrees, not over an obscure theological point. The Zaynis, who were known to regard followers of other Sufi communities as adversaries that needed to be warded off, might have sought to counter the appeal in Anatolia of the Safavid shaykhs by circulating a narrative underscoring the preeminence of the noble pedigree of their own master over the ‘Alid ancestry of their Safavid rivals. Aşıkpaşazade’s ensuing narrative clearly positions the Zaynis as a spearhead against the Safavid threat. Aşıkpaşazade, *Aşıkpaşazade tārīhi*, edited by ‘Alī Bey (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmiri, 1332/1914), 264-266. On ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudṣī’s pedigree, see Taşköprüzade, *Şhaqā’iq*, 41; Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 77. For biographies of prominent members of the Ibn Ghānim family, Mujir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, 2:247, 272, 297. Kazuo Morimoto, “The Earliest ‘Alid Genealogy for the Safavids: New Evidence for the Pre-Dynastic Claim to Sayyid status,” *Iranian Studies* 43, no. 4 (2010): 462. On the Zaynis’ active pursuit of their Sufi rivals, Hasan Karataş, “The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries” (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 87-91. For the importance of tangible connections to the Prophet (*silsilas*, visionary dreams, imitation of the Prophet’s vita, and even the transmission of corporal contact) for Sufi communities, see, Shahzad Bashir, “Muḥammad in Şūfi Eyes: Prophetic Legitimacy in Medieval Iran and Central Asia,” in Jonathan E. Brockopp (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Muḥammad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 201-225.

unbroken chain of transmission onto earlier, formative eras of Sufism.<sup>77</sup> While we might be able to partially reconstruct the earliest stages of these communities, the historical value of these *silsilas* is primarily found in what they tell us about the time period in which they were formed. To investigate the early formation of Sufi networks, we must free ourselves from a teleological *ṭarīqa* mindset and defy the temptation to project backwards later institutional patterns and communal labels.

The reconstruction of the social networks that facilitated the transmission of the *Menākīb-i Seyyid Ebū'l-Vefā'* from a Jerusalemite family of Sufi sayyids to a fifteenth-century Ottoman Sufi shaykh challenges recent conventions as to the existence of the Wafā'ī Sufi order in medieval Anatolia, certainly prior to the fifteenth-century. This investigation into the detailed account of the Badrī-Wafā'ī family in Mujir al-Dīn's remarkable work reveals that there is no evidence for the family's affiliation with the Wafā'ī Sufi network in spite of the family's central role in the cultivation of the legacy of their eleventh-century saintly kin Sayyid Abū al-Wafā', who allegedly founded the Wafā'ī order. The Badrī-Wafā'īs followed a different model of Sufi organisation, that of the "Sufi household." For the Badrī-Wafā'īs, the importance of Sayyid Abū al-Wafā''s legacy lay not in his role as an order founder, but as a means of promoting the family's claim to an inherited spiritual authority and, equally, if not more important, a privileged genealogical status.

This conclusion, in turn, requires that we also re-examine the claims made in the preface to the *Menākīb* concerning Shaykh Ede Bali's affiliation with Abū al-Wafā' and Seyyid Vilayet's biological connection with the eleventh-century sayyid saint. Seyyid Vilayet appears to have descended from a different line of Zayn al-Ābidin than that of Abū al-Wafā'. The *Menākīb* translator deployed several strategies in order to shorten the significant familial distance between the Seyyid Vilayet and Abū al-Wafā'. Shaykh Ede Bali was not a Wafā'ī Sufi. He might not have been associated with a specific Sufi order, Sufi lineage, or even a master-disciple relationship. Nevertheless, his retroactive integration into Abū al-Wafā''s Sufi network in the *Menākīb* is significant. While we can now determine certain Sufi *silsilas* to be later, fifteenth or sixteenth-century creations, we are rarely able to reconstruct with certainty the historical circumstances and motivations that led to the inclusion or exclusion of certain figures from these initiatic chains. The case of Seyyid Vilayet's fictive kinship with Abū al-Wafā' makes for a valuable exception. In the case of the Ottoman transmission and translation of the vita of the sayyid saint Abū al-Wafā', we find that spiritual and biological gene-

<sup>77</sup> Karamustafa, "The Origins of Anatolian Sufism," 67-95; Devin DeWeese, "Spiritual Practice and Corporate Identity in Medieval Sufi Communities of Iran, Central Asia, and India: The Khalvati/Ishqī/Shattāri Continuum," in Steven Lindquist (ed.), *Religion and Identity in South Asia and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Patrick Olivelle* (Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 2011), 251-300; DeWeese, "The Legitimation of Bahā' ad-Din Naqshband," *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques* 50, no. 2 (2006): 261-305; John Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 28-44.

alogies were manipulated and manufactured not with the aim of linking present Sufi communities to certain past authorities, but with the goals of perpetuating and consolidating individual claims to biological pedigree, on the one hand, and anchoring relationships of patronage, on the other. The case of the Ottoman reception of Sayyid Abū al-Wafā', therefore, invites us to consider the malleability of kinship and Sufi lineages and networks in the fifteenth century and the creative forces that engineered them.

### *Bibliography*

- Algar, Hamid. "Imām Mūsa al-Kāzīm and Šūfi Tradition." *Islamic Culture* 64, no. 1 (1990): 1-14.
- Aşıkpaşazade. *Die altosmanischen Chronik des Aşıkpaşazade*, ed. Friedrich Giese. Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1972.
- Aşıkpaşazade. *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi*, ed. 'Alī Bey. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1332/1914.
- Bashir, Shahzad. "Muḥammad in Šūfi Eyes: Prophetic Legitimacy in Medieval Iran and Central Asia." In Jonathan E. Brockopp (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Muḥammad*. Cambridge, 2010, 201-225.
- Canbakal, Hülya. "The Ottoman State and Descendants of the Prophet in Anatolia and the Balkans (c. 1500-1700)." *JESHO* 52 (2009): 542-78.
- Curry, John. *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.
- DeWeese, Devin. "Spiritual Practice and Corporate Identity in Medieval Sufi Communities of Iran, Central Asia, and India: The Khalvati/'Ishqī/Shattāri Continuum." In Steven Lindquist (ed.). *Religion and Identity in South Asia and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Patrick Olivelle*. Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 2011, 251-300.
- DeWeese, Devin. "The Legitimation of Bahā' ad-Dīn Naqshband." *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques* 50, no. 2 (2006): 261-305.
- DeWeese, Devin. "Yasavī *šhayḥs* in the Timurid Era: Notes on the Social and Political Role of Communal Sufi Affiliations in the 14th and 15th Centuries." In Michele Bernardini (ed.). *La civiltà timuride come fenomeno internazionale (Oriente Moderno, NS 15 [1996])*, 173-88.
- al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1981-. 25 vols.
- Ephrat, Daphna. *Spiritual Wayfarers, Leaders in Piety: Sufis and the Dissemination of Islam in Medieval Palestine*. Cambridge: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 2008.

- Gril, Denis. "De la *khirqā* à la *ṭarīqa*: continuité et évolution dans l'identification et la classification des voies." In Denis Gril et al (eds). *Sufism in the Ottoman Era, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2010, 57-81
- İnalçık, Halil. "How to Read 'Āshīk Pasha-zāde's history." In C. Heywood and C. Imber (eds). *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*. Istanbul: Isis, 1994, 31-50.
- Karakaya-Stump, Ayfer. "The *Vefā'iyye*, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of 'Heterodox' Islam in Anatolia: Rethinking the Köprülü Paradigm." *Turcica* 44 (2012-13): 279-300.
- Karakaya-Stump, Ayfer. "Documents and Buyruk Manuscripts in the Private Archives of Alevi Dede Families: An Overview." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 3 (2010): 273-86.
- Karakaya-Stump, Ayfer. "Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi communities in Ottoman Anatolia." PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2008.
- Karamustafa, Ahmet T. "The Origins of Anatolian Sufism." In Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (ed.). *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society*. Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005, 67-95.
- Karatas, Hasan. "The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomani- zation of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the city of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2011.
- Kissling, Hans Joachim. "Schejch Sejjid Vilājet (1451-1522) und sein angebliches Menāqybnāme." *ZDMG* 113, no. 38 (1963): 62-68.
- Krupp, Ayla. *Studien zum Menāqybnāme des Abu l-Wafā' Tāğ al-Ārifin*. München: Trofenik, 1976.
- Lamii Çelebi. *Nefahāt-i Ūns-i Lāmī'i*. The University of Michigan, MS. Isl 388 (dated 1264/1848) available online at [http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id= mdp.39015079130558](http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015079130558).
- Luz, Nimrod. "Aspects of Islamization of Space and Society in Mamluk Jerusa- lem and its Hinterland." *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 133-54.
- McGregor, Richard J. A. *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: the Wafā' Sufi Or- der and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004.
- Morimoto, Kazuo. "The Formation and Development of the Science of Talibid Genealogies in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Century Middle East." *Oriente Moderno* 18, no. 2 (1999): 541-570.
- Morimoto, Kazuo. "The Prophet's Family as the Perennial Source of Sainly Schol- ars: al-Samhūdi on 'Ilm and Nasab." In Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Al- exandre Papas (eds). *Family Portraits with Saints: Hagiography, Sanctity, and Family in the Muslim World*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2014, 106-124.



- Morimoto, Kazuo. "The Earliest 'Alid Genealogy for the Safavids: New Evidence for the Pre-Dynastic Claim to Sayyid Status." *Iranian Studies* 43, no. 4 (2010): 447-469.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. "The Wafā'î Tarîqa (Wafā'iyya) During and After the Period of the Seljuks of Turkey: A New Approach to the History of Popular Mysticism in Turkey." *Les Seldjoukides d'Anatolie (Mésogéios)* 25-26 (2005): 209-248.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *Le revolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'heterodoxie musulmane en anatolie au XIIIe siècle*. [Ankara:] Imprimerie de la societe turque d'histoire, 1989.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *Ortaçağ Anadolu'sunda İki Büyük Yerleşimci (Kolonizatör) Derviş Yabut Vefâ'iyye ve Yeseviyye Gerçeği: Dede Garkın & Emîrci Sultan (13. Yüzyıl)*. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Merkezi, 2011.
- Öngören, Reşat. *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı: Zeyniler*. İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003.
- Özkul, Ayşenur. "Tâci'ül-Ârifin Ebü'l-Vefâ'nin Menâkıbı." PhD Dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2008.
- Sabra, Adam. "The Age of the Fathers: Gender and Spiritual Authority in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Şa'râni." *Annales Islamologiques* 47 (2013): 133-149.
- Sabra, Adam. "Household Sufism in Sixteenth-Century Egypt: The Rise of al-Sâda al-Bakriya." In Denis Gril et al (eds). *Sufism in the Ottoman Era, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2010, 101-118.
- Safi, Omid. *The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- al-Sha'râni, 'Abd al-Wahhâb. *Al-Ṭabaqât al-Kubrâ*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqâfa al-Diniyya, 2005. 2 vols.
- Szombathy, Zoltan. "Motives and Techniques of Genealogical Forgery in Pre-Modern Muslim Societies." In Sarah Bowen Savant and Helena de Felipe (eds). *Genealogy and Knowledge in Muslim Societies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014, 24-36.
- Taşköprüzade. *Al-Shaqâ'iq al-Nu'mâniyya*. Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-'Arabî, 1975.
- Taşköprüzade. *Es-Saqâ'iq en-No'mâniyye: enthaltend die Biographien der türkischen und im osmanischen Reiche wirkenden Gelehrten*, ed. and tr. O. Rescher. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1978.
- Terzioğlu, Derin. "Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization." In Christine Woodhead (ed.). *The Ottoman World*. New York: Routledge, 2012, 86-99.
- al-'Ulaymî, Mujîr al-Din. *al-Uns al-Jalîl bi-Tâ'rikh al-Quds wa'l-Khalîl*. Amman: Maktabat Dandis, 1999. 2 vols.
- al-Wâsiṭi, Shihâb al-Din Aḥmad al-Shabrîsi. *Tadbkirat al-Muqtafin Āthār Ūli al-Şafâ' wa-Taḥsirat al-Muqtadin bi-Ṭariq Taj al-'Ārifin Abū al-Wafâ'*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS arabe 2036.

- al-Wāsiṭi, Taqī al-Din ʿAbd al-Raḥman. *Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin fi Ṭabaqāt Kbirqat al-Mashāyikh al-ʿĀrifin*. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Miṣr, 1305/1887.
- Watenpaugh, Heghnar Zeitlian. "Deviant Dervishes: Space, Gender, and the Construction of Antinomian Piety in Ottoman Aleppo." *IJMES* 37, no. 4 (2005): 541-542.
- Winter, Michael. "The *Asbrāf* and the *Naqīb al-Asbrāf* in Ottoman Egypt and Syria." In Kazuo Morimoto (ed.). *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies*. London: Routledge, 2012, 139-157.
- Yüksel, Hasan. "Selçuklular Döneminden Kalma bir Vefâi Zaviyesi." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 25 (1995): 235-250.
- Yürekli, Zeynep. *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektasbi Shrines in the Classical Age*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

## Chapter 12

# Optics and Geography in the Astronomical Commentaries of Faḥallāh al-Shirwānī

*Scott Trigg*

As the Ottomans expanded their territory throughout the fifteenth century, and particularly after the conquest of Constantinople, *‘ulamā’* specializing in various fields of knowledge made their way to Anatolia from other parts of the Islamic world. This migration of scholars contributed to the growth in textual production across a range of genres, notably texts dealing with the rational sciences such as mathematics, astronomy, and logic. A key source for the growth of the early Ottoman scientific tradition was the scholarly network that flourished under the Timurids in Central Asian cities such as Samarqand, which was home to a thriving madrasa and observatory established by the sultan Ulugh Beg in the early fifteenth century. As İhsan Fazlıoğlu has argued, the Samarqand school was “one of the most important pillars...of the Ottoman philosophical-scientific system” and it was by way of Samarqand that the works of leading medieval Islamic scholars such as Naşır al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), and al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413) entered the early Ottoman madrasas.<sup>1</sup> In particular, Mūsā Qāḏizāde (Kadıızade) al-Rūmī, director of the Samarqand madrasa and one of the primary overseers of astronomical observations collected for Ulugh Beg’s new *Zij Sulṭānī*, played a leading role in shaping the scientific curriculum through his teaching and extensive commentaries on fundamental texts. Although Qāḏizāde himself did not return to his native Anatolia, many of his students did, carrying the texts and commentaries that would form the core of early Ottoman scientific education.

This chapter focuses on one of Qāḏizāde’s prominent students, Faḥallāh al-Shirwānī, who spent most of his career in Anatolia, writing on and teaching a range of disciplines, including the mathematical sciences, logic, Quranic exegesis, and Islamic law. After providing a brief biography, I will analyse and discuss two of Shirwānī’s astronomical texts that exist today in manuscript form – a *sharḥ* (commentary) on Naşır al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s *Tadbkīra* and a *ḥāshiyā* (supercommentary) on Qāḏizāde’s commentary on the *Mulakkbbaş* of al-Jaghminī. These commentaries, which have not been closely studied by modern historians, were completed late in

---

<sup>1</sup> İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School: A Basis for Ottoman Philosophy and Science,” *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 14 (2008), 4, originally published as İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “Osmanlı felsefe-biliminin arkaplanı: Semerkand matematik-astronomi okulu,” *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar* 14 (2003): 1-66.

Shirwānī's life and reflect his experiences as a student in Samarqand and a teacher in Anatolia, Egypt, and Arabia. Previous generations of historians have tended to view the prevalence of commentaries in the post-classical (ca. 1200-1900 CE) Islamic period as a sign of scientific or intellectual "decline," and therefore few scholars have devoted much time or effort to reading this vast collection of texts. However, recent work has begun to challenge this narrative in an attempt to reassess commentaries as potential sites of intellectual engagement.<sup>2</sup>

In this spirit, I am interested in these commentaries for their potential to provide a window into the "classroom," i.e., as a way of getting a sense of what was being read and taught in the fifteenth century. Each of Shirwānī's astronomical texts contains large sections devoted to a related field, optics in one case and geography in the other. In the first case, Shirwānī's appendix on optics represents a rare example of an Islamic scholar demonstrating a profound understanding of Ibn al-Haytham's landmark discoveries in the following four centuries. It also points out how a correct understanding of light and human vision could reveal practical challenges to conducting astronomical observations, such as accurately measuring the magnitudes of distant objects or understanding how the phenomenon of refraction through the atmosphere affected attempts to observe the heavens. His selection of topics for further elaboration provides a glimpse of the most important and perhaps most difficult concepts a student might need to understand at the elementary and intermediate levels of study. In the second case, Shirwānī's extended discussion of the cities and regions of the inhabited world, often including geographic coordinates of localities, demonstrates that the traditions of Arabic and Persian geographic texts continued into fifteenth century Anatolia and suggests that post-classical commentaries provide a way to trace routes of transmission and influence on the sources of the early Ottoman scientific tradition.

### *Shirwānī's biography*

We possess a moderate amount of information about Shirwānī's life and works from biographical dictionaries and histories of the early Ottoman state by al-Sakhāwī, Taşköprüzade, Katib Çelebi, and others, where he is often described as

---

<sup>2</sup> For the rational sciences and philosophy, see Robert Wisnovsky, "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-Classical (ca. 1100-1900 AD) Islamic Intellectual History: Some Preliminary Observations," in Peter Adamson, Han Baltussen, and M. W. F. Stone (eds), *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Latin and Arabic Commentaries*, vol. 2 (Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2004), 149-191; Asad Ahmed, "Systematic Growth in Sustained Error: A Case Study in the Dynamism of Post-Classical Islamic Scholasticism," in Asad Ahmed, Behnam Sadeghi, and Michael Bonner (eds), *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Asad Ahmed and Margaret Larkin, "The *Hāshbiya* and Islamic Intellectual History," *Oriens* 41 (2013), 213-216; and Jon McGinnis and Asad Ahmed, "Rationalist Disciplines in Post-Classical (ca. 1200-1900 CE) Islam," *Oriens* 42 (2014), 289-291.

Qāḍizāde's student and a scholar in his own right.<sup>3</sup> He was born around 820/1417 in the Shamāhi region of Shirwān (modern Azerbaijan). We know little about his family, but when Shirwāni left Samarqand after completing his education, he mentions that his father travelled with "delegates of the ruler of Shirwān" to bring him home, indicating they were relatively prominent.<sup>4</sup> He began his education in Shirwān, but soon travelled to Ṭūs where he studied with the Shiite scholar al-Sayyid Abū Ṭālib, mastering a major text on theoretical astronomy, namely al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjāni's commentary on Naṣir al-Din al-Ṭūsī's thirteenth-century treatise, *Tadbkira fī 'Ilm al-Hay'a* (Memoir on astronomy). Ṭūsī's *Tadbkira* is a seminal text in Islamic theoretical astronomy, laying out the principles of a program for both reforming Hellenistic models of planetary motion and resolving outstanding difficulties in astronomy.<sup>5</sup>

Shirwāni's encounter with the *Tadbkira* in Ṭūs marked the beginning of a lifelong interest in astronomy and mathematics. In 839/1435 he became a student at the Samarqand madrasa established by the Timurid "scholar-sultan" Ulugh Beg. During Shirwāni's time at Samarqand, Qāḍizāde and other astronomers under the direction of Ulugh Beg were engaged in a decades-long program of observations that would lead to the production of a new, more accurate star catalog and revised set of astronomical tables called the *Zij Sultāni*.<sup>6</sup> Under Qāḍizāde's direction, Shirwāni studied mathematics and astronomy, as well as the linguistic sciences, theology, and Islamic law. In the field of *kalām*, Shirwāni studied al-Ījī's influential *al-Mawāqif fī 'Ilm al-Kalām* with the help of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjāni's commentary. Before leaving Samarqand he wrote a commentary on Islamic jurisprudence, which he presented to Ulugh Beg.

After five years at Samarqand, Shirwāni completed his education in 844/1440 and received permission from Qāḍizāde to go out into the world and teach all he had learned. In the text of his *Sharḥ al-Tadbkira*, Shirwāni includes a detailed *ijāza* from Qāḍizāde authorizing him to teach not only mathematics and astronomy, but also jurisprudence and *kalām*.<sup>7</sup> Normally an *ijāza* was given for texts in the so-called "Islamic sciences" of Quranic exegesis and the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad, jurisprudence, and Arabic grammar, so it is exceptional and rare to find a surviving *ijāza* connected to the exact sciences. This list of topics, and spe-

<sup>3</sup> See also Cemil Akpınar, "Fethulla es-Sirvani," *TDVİA*, vol. 12, 463-466, and Fazlıoğlu, "The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School."

<sup>4</sup> Shirwāni, *Sharḥ al-Tadbkira*, Topkapı MS Ahmet III 3314, 16b.

<sup>5</sup> Naṣir al-Din al-Ṭūsī, *Naṣir al-Din al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy = al-Tadbkira fī 'Ilm al-Hay'a*, ed. and tr. F. Jamil Ragep, 2 vols. (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam* (New York: Arno Press, 1981), Chapter 7.

<sup>7</sup> The *ijāza* is contained in three extant manuscripts of Shirwāni's *Sharḥ al-Tadbkira*: Topkapı Ahmet III MS 3314, fol. 15b-17a; Süleymaniye Damad İbrahim Paşa MS 847, fol. 14b-16a; and University of Tehran *Majmū'at-i Mishkāt* MS 493, fol. 11a-12a.

cific texts, contained in the *ijāza* illustrates the range of scholarship carried out in Samarqand under Qāḏizāde and Ulugh Beg.<sup>8</sup>

After Samarqand, Shirwānī first returned to his father in Shirwān and taught there for a few years. With Qāḏizāde's encouragement he travelled to Anatolia. Qāḏizāde was originally from a prominent family in Bursa, where his father was a scholar and his grandfather had been a judge.<sup>9</sup> Along with the contacts Qāḏizāde possessed as head of Ulugh Beg's madrasa in Samarqand, such social connections may have helped Shirwānī start his career in Anatolia. He settled in Kastamonu in north central Anatolia and was received by the local ruler İsmail Beg (r. 1443-1461) of the Isfandiariid (Candarid) dynasty. He lectured there for several years, teaching from the *Tadhkira* and commentaries by Qāḏizāde on other mathematics and astronomy texts, as well as lecturing on *kalām*.<sup>10</sup> The biographical sources report he lectured at madrasas and taught many students, among whom are mentioned Muḥyi al-Din Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Niksāri and Kamāl al-Din Mas'ūd b. Ḥusayn al-Shirwānī, the latter a famous scholar and author of works on logic and theology.<sup>11</sup>

Shirwānī also received patronage from the influential grand vizier Halil Paşa, to whom he dedicated a Quran commentary in 857/1453 in Bursa.<sup>12</sup> That same year Shirwānī accompanied Halil Paşa to the conquest of Constantinople, and around this time he dedicated a treatise on music theory to Mehmed II.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately for Shirwānī, after the conquest of Constantinople the sultan had Halil Paşa executed. Having lost his patron, it appears Shirwānī was unsuccessful in joining the sultan's circle and instead returned to Kastamonu where he continued teaching for several years. However, around 872/1467 while Shirwānī was lecturing at madrasas in Iraq and Mecca after making the *ḥajj*, Mehmed II wrote a letter inviting him to visit Istanbul after returning from Arabia.<sup>14</sup> Shirwānī passed through Cairo, spend-

<sup>8</sup> For a translation and discussion of the *ijāza*, see Fazlıoğlu, "The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School," 40-49.

<sup>9</sup> F. Jamil Ragep, "Qāḏizāde al-Rūmi: Salāḥ al-Din Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Rūmi," in Thomas Hockey et al.(eds), *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (New York: Springer, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iḳ al-Nu'māniya fi 'ulāmā' al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniya* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, 1975), 65-66.

<sup>11</sup> Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iḳ al-Nu'māniya*, 65, and Katib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub wa-'l-Funūn* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941), vol. 1, col. 39.

<sup>12</sup> *Tafsir ayat al-Kursi*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library Fatih MS 167 and Bayezit Devlet Library, MS 628.

<sup>13</sup> A facsimile of Istanbul Topkapı Sarayı Ahmet III MS 3449, with brief introduction by Fuat Sezgin, is available as Fathallāh Shirwānī, *Majalla fi al-Mūsīqi (Codex on Music)*, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1986).

<sup>14</sup> Mehmed II's letter to Shirwānī was published in *Fatih Devrine Ait Münşeat Mecmuasi*, ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan Erzi (Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaası, 1956), XXIII. I would like to thank Abdurrahman Atçil for bringing this letter to my attention.

ing an unknown amount of time there on his way back to Anatolia.<sup>15</sup> In 878/1473 he completed a *ḥāshīya* (super-commentary) on Qāḍīzāda's commentary on a famous elementary astronomical text and dedicated it to Mehmed II in a second, apparently unsuccessful, attempt to gain patronage from the sultan. In 879/1475 Shirwānī completed his commentary on Tūsi's *Tadbkīra*, which does not contain a dedication but was likely given to Mehmed II as it was already held at the Topkapı Palace library during the reign of Mehmed's successor Bayezid II.<sup>16</sup> A few years later, approximately 60 years old, he left Anatolia to return to his hometown in Shirwān where he remained for about eight years until his death in 891/1486.

As is apparent from his biography, Shirwānī's scholarly interests included a range of different fields, from the mathematical sciences to jurisprudence and theology. Most of Shirwānī's extant manuscripts are in Arabic, although a couple of Persian texts are attributed to him as well. Aside from the texts already mentioned, he wrote a *ḥāshīya* on al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* on *kalām* and a commentary on Taftāzānī's work on logic and *kalām*, *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wa'l-Kalām*. His most important works, however, were the two astronomical commentaries completed near the end of his career that are the focus of the remainder of this paper.

### Optics

Early in his commentary on the *Tadbkīra*, following the sections discussing the principles of geometry and natural philosophy that were required for the study of astronomy, Shirwānī introduces a lengthy appendix (*tadlīmīb*) drawing explicitly on Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-Manāzīr* (*Optics*). Shirwānī is a significant figure in the history of optics in Islamic societies. For reasons that remain unclear, Ibn al-Haytham's original, substantially correct, explanation of light and visual perception in the eleventh century had a split legacy in the Latin and Arabic traditions. It was translated into Latin near the end of the twelfth century, and generations of scholars in the Latin *perspectiva* tradition studied Ibn al-Haytham's work. However, he seems to have had almost no impact on the Arabic-speaking world for centuries following his death. It was not until the thirteenth century that Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī, student of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, wrote a detailed commentary/analysis of Ibn al-Haytham's *Manāzīr*.<sup>17</sup> Shirwānī's Appendix, which drew on Fārisī's edition of the *Manāzīr*, as well as additional treatises by

<sup>15</sup> On the dates of Shirwānī's *hajj* and activities outside Anatolia, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Abī al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsi, 1935-36), vol. 6, 166-167.

<sup>16</sup> In addition to Ahmet III's seals, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III MS 3314 contains Bayezid II's seal on fol. 1a and 368b.

<sup>17</sup> The fate of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* in the Islamic Arabic and Persian worlds is outlined in A. I. Sabra, "The 'Commentary' that Saved the Text: The Hazardous Journey of Ibn al-Haytham's Arabic *Optics*," *Early Science and Medicine* 12 (2007): 117-133.

Ibn al-Haytham, represents one of the few known Arabic-language encounters with Ibn al-Haytham's work and is a valuable source for understanding the development of optics in the post-classical period.<sup>18</sup>

Shirwānī's discussion of optics in the Appendix reflects three principal goals for including this material in an astronomical text. His first goal was to explain Ibn al-Haytham's theory of vision as a combination of intromission, geometric analysis of rays, and the Galenic description of the eye's physiology [sections 1-3, 8]. Since Ibn al-Haytham's work was essentially unknown in the Islamic world, Shirwānī's readers would have been familiar with a diversity of theories about human visual perception largely inherited from Antiquity. The extramissionist position, represented by "mathematicians" such as Euclid and al-Kindi, was that sight occurs by means of a ray of visual power emerging from the eye, travelling along straight lines to the visible object, and so questions such as the perceived size and position of objects at various distances from the eye could be treated as geometric problems. An alternative, intromission position held by "philosophers" such as Aristotle and Ibn Sinā, argued that a "form" of the object must travel from the object to the eye in order for it to be perceived. Shirwānī goes over a number of flaws and counterarguments to both of these theories before providing a summary of how Ibn al-Haytham resolved the question. The basis of Ibn al-Haytham's theory was the demonstration that light radiates in all directions from each point on an object, and then by assuming that each point on the eye is most sensitive to the single ray entering perpendicular to the eye's surface we can restore a one-to-one correspondence of points on the eye with distinct points in the visual field, reproducing the cone of visual rays of the mathematicians and producing an explanation for the coherent visual image that is sensed and interpreted by the brain.<sup>19</sup> The fact that Shirwānī quotes long sections from Ibn al-Haytham describing and refuting his predecessors suggests that he thought Ibn al-Haytham's criticisms bore repetition, or were not widely known in the fifteenth century. Shirwānī thus felt compelled to criticise the theories that his students would be reading in the course of their education, before summarizing Ibn al-Haytham's own synthesis.

Shirwānī's second goal was to differentiate between the phenomena of reflection and refraction [sections 4-7]. The Arabic terms for reflection and refraction are nearly identical in pronunciation and orthography (as in English), and the words were frequently confused or used interchangeably in ancient and Islamic

<sup>18</sup> For a more detailed analysis of Shirwānī's discussion of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics*, see Scott Trigg, "Optics as an Ancillary to Astronomy: Ibn al-Haytham's *Manāẓir* in Faḥallāh al-Shirwānī's *Sharḥ al-Tadbkīra*," forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> See David Lindberg, *Theories of Vision From Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), Ch. 4; Ibn al-Haytham, *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham: Books I-III: On Direct Vision*, ed. and tr. A. I. Sabra, 2 vols. (London: Warburg Institute, 1989), Vol. 2, Introduction; and A. I. Sabra, "Ibn al-Haytham's Revolutionary Project in Optics: The Achievement and the Obstacle," in J. Hogendijk and A. I. Sabra (eds), *The Enterprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).



discussions of optics, going back to Euclid's *Optics* and continuing down to the work of both Ṭūsī and Shirwānī.<sup>20</sup> Shirwānī doubtless felt his readers and students were in need of a correct exposition that would clear up misunderstandings and errors in other texts. For example Ṭūsī, in a treatise on refraction as well as in his recension of Euclid's *Optics*, claimed that a ray incident upon the surface of water led to the appearance of four equal angles, the incident ray, the reflected ray, the penetrating ray, and a "refracted" ray which actually bent backwards in the water in the direction of the source of the ray.<sup>21</sup> After summarizing Ibn al-Haytham's explanation of refraction, wherein a ray passing from one medium into another is bent either towards or away from the line perpendicular to the surface based on the relative density of the two media, Shirwānī proceeds to point out that refraction plays an essential role both in the process of visual perception as well as providing explanations for certain errors in perception.

Finally, Shirwānī includes detailed mathematical proofs from Ibn al-Haytham's *Manāẓir* and other treatises in an attempt to fulfil a third goal of showing how the principles of optics applied to specific issues in astronomy, such as the use of refraction in explaining the apparent difference in magnitude and relative distances of celestial objects at the horizon compared to the zenith [sections 9-10], and a mathematical analysis of shadows based on the relative sizes of the luminous and opaque bodies, with applications to eclipses and the phenomena of umbra and penumbra [section 11]. These large sections of the Appendix focus on problems associated with astronomical observations. Shirwānī draws on mathematical, physical, and psychological arguments to identify these problems for his readers, in some cases providing solutions and in others referring the reader to a fuller explanation in Ibn al-Haytham's work, and in this way he prepared his students and readers for some of the complications they would encounter in the practice of astronomy.

### *Geography*

In the post-classical Islamic period, the main focus of theoretical astronomy (*ilm al-hay'a*) was the broad attempt to understand the various celestial phenomena on the basis of observation and to develop mathematical and natural philosophical models of the cosmos that could exist in physical reality and accurately predict the motions of the heavens. This tradition of physical modelling grew out of the Islamic encounter with Hellenistic astronomy, especially the works of

<sup>20</sup> Euclid, *The Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics*, ed. and tr. Elaheh Kheirandish (New York: Springer, 1999), vol. 2, 54-59.

<sup>21</sup> H. J. J. Winter and W. 'Arafat, "A Statement on Optical Reflection and 'Refraction' Attributed to Naṣir ud-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī," *Isis* 42, no. 2 (1951): 138-142. In his *Tanqīḥ al-Manāẓir*, Fārīsī also refers to Ṭūsī's misunderstanding of refraction.

Claudius Ptolemy (d. ca. 170 CE), and some of the leading figures in this enterprise were Naşır al-Din al-Ṭūsi, Quṭb al-Din al-Shirāzi, and others associated with the Ilkhanid observatory at Maragha. Their texts were studied by advanced students of astronomy, and required a solid grasp of physical principles as well as the mathematical tools of geometry and trigonometry in order to understand the complex models being presented and criticised.

The basic principles of astronomy could be studied in many texts, but the most popular introduction to the material was *al-Mulakkbbaş fi al-Hay'a al-Basīta* (Epitome of Plain Theoretical Astronomy) by al-Jaghmini. Dating to the early thirteenth century, the *Mulakkbbaş* can be found today in thousands of extant manuscript copies in Arabic and Persian. The *Mulakkbbaş* provided a simplified overview of astronomical phenomena without geometric proofs, and was divided into two parts that summarised the configuration of the celestial orbs and the terrestrial world respectively.<sup>22</sup> It could be studied on its own as part of an elementary collection of texts in the sciences, although due to the highly technical and complex astronomical material being discussed in rather concise terms it was often supplemented by a commentary that made it useful for intermediate students, such as the commentary written by Qāḏizāde al-Rūmī and dedicated to Ulugh Beg in 1412. Qāḏizāde's commentary on the *Mulakkbbaş* was brought to Anatolia by Shirwāni and others, where it eventually became a part of the Ottoman scientific curriculum and was still studied into the eighteenth century, with approximately 300 extant manuscript copies located today in Istanbul libraries, including one in Qāḏizāde's own hand. Qāḏizāde's commentary itself was the subject of many supercommentaries, including the one by Shirwāni known as *al-Farā'id wa-l-Fawā'id fi Tarwīḥ Sharḥ al-Mulakkbbaş*, also referred to in the biographies as a *ḥāshiya* or *ta'liqāt* on *Sharḥ al-Mulakkbbaş*. At present the sole extant manuscript of Shirwāni's *ḥāshiya* is Topkapı MS Ahmet III 3294, consisting of 99 folios with fifteen lines per page in a *ta'liq* script, and which was completed in 878/1473 and presented to Mehmed II in Istanbul.<sup>23</sup>

In the preface, Shirwāni describes his early education and praises Qāḏizāde's teaching, explaining that he based the commentary in part on notes from Qāḏizāde's lectures in Samarqand. He then travelled to Constantinople to present it as a gift (*tuhfa*) to the Sultan, who is described in effusive praise as a symbol of knowledge and wisdom.<sup>24</sup> However, an inspection of the manuscript and its contents reveals that it was not necessarily intended for the sultan's personal benefit,

<sup>22</sup> See Sally Ragep, "Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Jaghmini's *al-Mulakkbbaş fi al-hay'a al-basīta*: An Edition, Translation, and Study," PhD Dissertation, McGill University, 2014. I am grateful to Sally Ragep for sharing a copy of her dissertation before it became publicly available.

<sup>23</sup> In the colophon, Ahmet III MS 3294 fol. 99a, Shirwāni encodes this date in a phrase using the *abjad* system of letter values: "*fi sanat tārikhubā wa yanşarak Allābu naşrām azizām.*"

<sup>24</sup> Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III MS 3294, fol. 1a-3a.

but more likely as a source of discussion among intellectuals at court. Unlike other commentaries that contain the entirety of the base text divided into sentences, phrases, or individual words surrounded by the commentator's observations and additions, and which could therefore be read on their own as a self-contained text, Shirwānī's *ḥāshīya* only refers to Jaghminī's and Qāḏizāde's statements and does not quote them in their entirety. Shirwānī's text therefore presumes that the reader is either familiar with Qāḏizāde's commentary or has a copy so that both can be read side by side. Indeed, Qāḏizāde's commentary already goes into great detail and stands as an intermediate textbook on its own. Shirwānī's super-commentary reads in some parts like a set of instructor's notes for clarifying difficult passages or providing context and background to the concepts in the base text. However, there are also long, detailed sections that expand on Qāḏizāde's remarks and almost become an appendix or supplement on a specific topic.

In Part II Jaghminī relates how, following Ptolemy, geographers divide the surface of the globe into quarters with the inhabited region of the Earth being one of the two northern quarters. By taking a set of lines parallel to the equator, this inhabited region can be subdivided into seven sections or "climes" in which the length of the longest day of the year is the same.<sup>25</sup> Qāḏizāde supplements the list of climes and their latitudes with lists of the major cities or regions in each clime. Altogether this takes four pages in Qāḏizāde's *Sharḥ*.<sup>26</sup> At this point, Shirwānī launches on a detailed description of the more than 130 regions and cities mentioned by Qāḏizāde that requires 58 folio pages or nearly a third of the entire manuscript.<sup>27</sup> An interesting feature of this section is the fact that Shirwānī reports longitude and latitude coordinates for many locales, which provides a means of comparing his data with earlier Arabic and Persian geographic texts and astronomical tables in order to uncover his sources. This study of Shirwānī's geographic data is intended as a contribution to the broader investigation of routes of transmission and scientific influence in post-classical Islamic science, particularly the topic of *ḥay'at al-ard* (configuration of the Earth) in Islamic astronomy.

The table at the end of this chapter presents the longitude and latitude coordinates for over 60 locales listed in Shirwānī's *ḥāshīya* (figure 12.1). Tabulating this data allowed for location-by-location comparison with coordinates from dozens of *zījes* and geographic texts.<sup>28</sup> Allowing for minor scribal errors, approximately three

<sup>25</sup> Various classical authors specified different sets of latitude lines for dividing the Earth into climes, but these seven were commonly attributed to Ptolemy. See Ragep, "Jaghminī's *Al-Mulakḥḥaṣ*," 345-347; cf. J. L. Berggren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 7-13, and Claudius Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, tr. G.J. Toomer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), Bk II [1-6].

<sup>26</sup> Süleymaniye Library, Fatih MS 3403 fol. 50b-52a.

<sup>27</sup> Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III MS 3294, fol. 56b-85b.

<sup>28</sup> E. S. Kennedy and M. H. Kennedy, *Geographical Coordinates of Localities From Islamic Sources* (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1987).

quarters of Shirwānī's values match those found in the geographic dictionary *Muʿjam al-Buldān* by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī (d. 626/1229).<sup>29</sup> Further investigation reveals that Shirwānī's comments on many other locales without geographic coordinates are also taken from Yāqūt's text. Yāqūt, a scholar and biographer from Baghdad, spent most of his life traveling widely throughout the Middle East and Central Asia and gathering information for his celebrated works of geography, biography, and literary history.<sup>30</sup> His *Muʿjam al-Buldān* is organised alphabetically and contains geographic descriptions in addition to histories of locales and biographic details of prominent individuals. It was abridged in the fourteenth century by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, however that text is not the source of Shirwānī's data because it does not contain geographic coordinates.<sup>31</sup> In addition, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī reportedly wrote an abridgement called *Mukhtaṣar Muʿjam al-Buldān* in the late fourteenth/early-fifteenth century; however there does not seem to be much information about this text. Katib Çelebi confused it with the abridgement by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, quoting most of the latter's introduction but attributing it to al-Suyūṭī.<sup>32</sup> In the absence of evidence to the contrary we will assume Shirwānī obtained the majority of his geographic data from Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-Buldān*.

Yāqūt's text is a geography, travel guide, dictionary, and history all in one. In the introduction he explains that his aim was to provide the correct written forms of place names, their locations, and knowledge of their histories. Such knowledge would benefit the levying of taxes in conquered regions or investigating *ḥadīth* and histories, and would be useful for physicians and astrologers whose practices relied on the local environment, as well as poets and grammarians who could draw on illustrative examples.<sup>33</sup> Yāqūt cited works from a large number of ancient and Islamic authors, and Shirwānī copies these references in many of his comments.<sup>34</sup> For Shirwānī's purposes in an astronomical commentary, however, the relevant information was only the mathematical geography (longitude and latitude coordinates as well as travel times between locales) and thus he dispensed with most of Yāqūt's narratives and anecdotes. In effect, Shirwānī took a work of one genre (geographic dictionary) and reconfigured it into a

<sup>29</sup> Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, (Leipzig: 1886-1873). See also Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam Al-Buldān*, ed. and tr. Wadie Jwaideh (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

<sup>30</sup> On Yāqūt's life and works, see S. M. Ahmad, "Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1973) and Claude Gilliot, "Yāqūt al-Rūmī," *EP*.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, *Marāšid al-Iṭṭilāʿ ʿalā Asmāʾ al-Amkina waʾl-Biqāʿ*, ed. T. W. Juynboll (Leiden: Brill, 1852-1864).

<sup>32</sup> Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam Al-Buldān*, ix-x. However, Jwaideh notes that according to Brockelmann, *GAL Supp.* I, 880 a MS copy is in the Aṣafiyah collection in Hyderabad.

<sup>33</sup> Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam Al-Buldān*, 4-9.

<sup>34</sup> Yāqūt lists his predecessors and their works, some of which are no longer extant, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam Al-Buldān*, 10-13.

work of the other major post-classical geographic genre, the general geographic treatise organised by Ptolemaic climates.<sup>35</sup> Shirwānī's borrowing of merely the "facts" from Yāqūt's text, rather than the stories and personal accounts, perhaps explains why he does not refer to Yāqūt as the source of this information. Elsewhere in his commentaries he is scrupulous about attributing arguments and explanations to sources such as Ptolemy, Ibn Sinā, Ṭūsi, and Shirāzī.

Of the remaining locales in Shirwānī's *ḥāshīya* whose coordinates do not match those found in *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, four have descriptions taken from Yāqūt with coordinates that are difficult explain by simple scribal error (Erzincan, Ardabil, Sulṭāniya, and Bukhara). An additional six locales (Herat, Balkh, Kesh, Samarqand, al-Lān, and Bulghār) have coordinates that match or nearly match values found in the group of Persian *zījes*, including the *Zij Īlkhānī* from the Maragha Observatory and Ulugh Beg's *Zij Sulṭānī*. However, one curious oversight is the fact that Shirwānī does not provide coordinates for Maragha at all, neither the value reported in Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-Buldān* nor the one in the *Zij Īlkhānī* itself. The *Zij Sulṭānī* copies the coordinates of these locales from the earlier *Zij Īlkhānī* except for the coordinates of Samarqand, which were presumably determined from scratch as part of the Ulugh Beg's program of re-deriving solar, lunar, and planetary parameters for use in calculating the new astronomical tables. Shirwānī's coordinates for Samarqand, however, match Ṭūsi's *Zij Īlkhānī*. For Herat, Balkh, Kesh, and Bulghār, Shirwānī's comments largely come from *Muʿjam al-Buldān*. However, Shirwānī also includes an explanation that Kesh is now more famous as Shahri Sabz (the "Green City") due to its moderate climate and abundant vegetation, comments that do not derive from *Muʿjam al-Buldān*. His comments on Samarqand and al-Lān do not match Yāqūt's text either, indicating that he was including personal knowledge or quoting from an additional, as yet unknown source.

Shirwānī's entry for Constantinople is unique in that it simultaneously differs from Yāqūt's description and can be definitively dated to within Shirwānī's lifetime. Whereas Yāqūt's comments includes topics such as the history of Roman kings, the naming of the city, and descriptions of the city gates, Shirwānī refers to the fact that Constantinople was formerly part of the Christian lands but has now become one of the great cities of the lands of Islam.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, Shirwānī notes that some *zījes* (including Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, the *Zij Īlkhānī*, and the *Zij*

<sup>35</sup> Gerald Tibbetts, "Later Cartographic Developments," in J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds) *History of Cartography, Volume 2, Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 142-143. In theory, these coordinates could be used to assist in constructing maps or comparing astronomical observations in one locale with those recorded at another. However, given the difficulty in measuring longitudes or the distances between two locales with much accuracy it is perhaps not surprising that few Arab map-makers relied on tables of coordinates for drawing their world maps.

<sup>36</sup> For Yāqūt's description, see Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *Muʿjam Al-Buldān*, vol. 4, p. 95-97. Shirwānī's comments are Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III MS 3294 fol. 83b-84a.

*Sulṭānī*) report Constantinople's latitude as 45° but "this is not in agreement with practice" (*wa hawwa lā yakūn mūrāfiq<sup>aw</sup> bi-l-ʿaml*). Instead, Shirwānī reports a latitude of 41° in agreement with the modern value of approximately 41° 01'. Given the accuracy of this value and the fact that he lived and worked in Constantinople after Mehmed II's conquest, in all likelihood this value reflects Shirwānī's own astronomical observations.

One complicating factor when comparing coordinates from different sources is the fact that ancient and Islamic astronomers used two different locations as the prime meridian from which to measure longitudes. One group followed Ptolemy in locating the 0° meridian at the Fortunate Isles (usually thought to be the Canary Islands), while another took the "western shore of the encompassing sea (Atlantic)" 10° east of the Fortunate Isles on the coast of Africa. As a result longitudes from one set of tables generally differ by 10° from the other, although the occasional practice of measuring relative longitudes from a major city such as Baghdad introduced further variation in later tables.<sup>37</sup> Shirwānī was clearly aware of these different "standard" meridians because he discusses them in his *ḥāshiya* on the *Mulakkbbaṣ* as well as in his commentary on the *Tadbkira*.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Yāqūt quotes al-Birūnī on the different systems for latitude in the introduction to *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, noting that "intelligence and skill are required in order to distinguish one from the other."<sup>39</sup> Given that Yāqūt drew on such a large collection of sources for his material he does not claim that all coordinates are reckoned according to the same meridian, and notes that his practice in general was to report what he found and leave it to the reader to exercise judgment.<sup>40</sup> For example, the two longitudes he reports for Constantinople appear to be based off the Ptolemaic meridian at the Canary Islands, but for the most part the longitudes in Yāqūt's text seem to be based on the Atlantic coast meridian adopted by the astronomers associated with the caliph al-Ma'mūn and al-Khwārazmī in his *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard*. In contrast, the *zījes* compiled at Maragha and Samarqand were based on the Ptolemaic meridian. As a result, the longitudes Shirwānī added to his *ḥāshiya* for Herat, Balkh, Kish, Samarqand, al-Lān, and Bulghār are 10° greater than the "theoretical" longitudes that might be calculated relative to the other locales in the *ḥāshiya*. Although Shirwānī was a trained astronomer, it is perhaps unfair to expect him to have recognised this difference given the confusion surrounding this topic in his sources.

<sup>37</sup> See the discussions of prime meridians in Gerald Tibbetts, "The Beginnings of a Cartographic Tradition," in Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography, Volume 2, Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, 102-104, and Kennedy and Kennedy, *Geographical Coordinates of Localities From Islamic Sources*, xi.

<sup>38</sup> Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III MS 3294 fol. 56b, Ahmet III MS 3314 fol. 282a-b.

<sup>39</sup> Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam Al-Buldān*, 60, quoting from Birūnī's *Tajhim*.

<sup>40</sup> Yāqūt al-Hamawī, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam Al-Buldān*, 13-15.

As Giancarlo Casale points out, despite the assumptions of previous historians it remains an open question as to how much access the early Ottomans had to the works of Arab and Persian mathematical geographers. Although Istanbul libraries currently hold large numbers of such manuscripts, much work remains to be done to trace their provenance and determine whether they were obtained from Arab lands as the Ottoman Empire expanded in the 1500s.<sup>41</sup> The texts known to have circulated in Anatolia in this period are largely “wonders of creation” cosmographies, such as Qazwīnī’s *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* or Ahmet Bican’s *Dürr-i Mekuûn*, and contain only stylised world maps.<sup>42</sup> Mehmed II is also known to have sponsored the copying of a set of Arabic geographic manuscripts containing stylised, decorative maps.<sup>43</sup> At least with respect to the Indian Ocean region, it is unlikely that detailed geographic information circulated among Ottoman scholars prior to the sixteenth century.<sup>44</sup> It is true that portolan maps used for navigation in the Mediterranean did spread from Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but these did not include much detail beyond coastlines. The other significant source of cartographic information during the reign of Mehmed II was the “rediscovery” of Ptolemy’s *Geography* by Italian humanists and subsequent production of new “world maps.” Although Ptolemy’s *Geography* had been known to Arabic scholars since the Abbasid era, it stimulated rather more interest in mathematical geography than in the production of maps. Thus, rather than drawing on an extant tradition of Arabic cartography, Mehmed II commissioned a translation of the *Geography* from Greek in 870/1465 and also sought to obtain Italian reproductions.<sup>45</sup> Given this context, Shirwānī’s inclusion of a vast trove of geographic information, such as approximate measurements of the area of different regions along with coordinates and travel times between cities, may have been highly desirable information for Ottoman elites and another example of the transmission of knowledge made possible by the movement of madrasa scholars through networks connecting Istanbul to centres such as Cairo and Samarqand. Shirwānī’s incorporation of material from Yāqūt’s *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* into his *ḥāshiya* on the *Mulakḥkhaṣ* represents one piece of evidence about early Ottoman access to Arab geographic manuscripts prior to the sixteenth century, although we cannot determine whether Shirwānī

<sup>41</sup> Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2010), 15-22.

<sup>42</sup> On the material and social history of *‘ajā’ib* literature, see Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011). Bican’s Ottoman Turkish text with critical apparatus and commentary in German is available as Ahmet Bican, *Dürr-i Mekuûn: kritische Edition mit Kommentar*, ed. Laban Kaptein (Asch: Laban Kaptein, 2007).

<sup>43</sup> Karen Pinto, “The Maps Are the Message: Mehmet II’s Patronage of an ‘Ottoman Cluster,’” *Imago Mundi* 63, no. 2 (2011): 155-179.

<sup>44</sup> Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 17-18.

<sup>45</sup> Ahmet Karamustafa, “Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans,” in Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography, Volume 2, Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, 209-210.

owned a copy of Yāqūt's text or whether he took notes from it at some point during his travels.

### *Conclusion*

I conclude with some brief remarks and speculation about the role of patronage in Shirwānī's career. As mentioned earlier, the Ottoman biographical sources specifically link Shirwānī with Anatolian elites such as İsmail Beg in Kastamonu, the grand vizier Halil Paşa, and Mehmed II himself. Despite spending many years in Kastamonu, Shirwānī does not seem to have dedicated any texts to İsmail Beg. In contrast, although Shirwānī dedicated multiple texts to Mehmed II, he left Istanbul at various points in his career to teach and travel for extended periods of time, perhaps implying that he did not receive the benefits one might expect from a patron. It is not even clear whether Shirwānī dedicated the texts to Mehmed II in an attempt to gain the sultan's favour, or whether he needed permission to use the sultan's name ahead of time. One factor in Shirwānī's later career may actually have been his former association with the executed grand vizier. Perhaps Shirwānī's contacts no longer had the connections necessary to bring him closer to the sultan's court.

Another factor is suggested by near-contemporary anecdotes about the careers of scholars under Mehmed II. As part of a process of reforming the fiscal affairs of the Ottoman territories, Mehmed II claimed ownership of endowed properties (*waqf*) and redistributed lands and tax rights to the military. Most Ottoman scholars considered this dissolution of *waqfs* illegal, and it made his patronage practices highly controversial.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, Mehmed himself was building new mosques and endowing madrasas in Istanbul in an effort to rebuild the city, as well as forcibly resettling the inhabitants of conquered regions and strongly encouraging merchants from wealthy cities such as Bursa to relocate, efforts that were met with strong resistance.<sup>47</sup> All of this gave Mehmed and his closest advisors a large degree of control over the careers of scholars, by controlling appointments to positions as judges and madrasa lecturers.<sup>48</sup> For example, shortly before Shirwānī dedicated his commentary on the *Mulakkbkas* to Mehmed in 878/1473, Mehmed had appointed one of Shirwānī's colleagues from Samarqand, the famous 'Alī Qūshji,

<sup>46</sup> Oktay Özel, "Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II's 'Land Reform' Revisited," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 2 (1999): 226-246.

<sup>47</sup> For an impressive, detailed study of Mehmed II's efforts to reconstruct the city, and in so doing reorder social and public space, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

<sup>48</sup> Anooshahr argues that Taşköprüzade's anecdotes reflect "an endemic pattern of dismissal and excessive royal interference in the affairs of the ulema" in Ali Anooshahr, "Writing, Speech, and History for an Ottoman Biographer," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 60, no. 1 (2010): 52.



as head of the Ayasofya madrasa.<sup>49</sup> Given the available sources, it is difficult to determine the extent to which Shirwāni's career is representative of other scholars prior to the creation of a more centralised bureaucracy governing scholarly appointments in a hierarchy of legal and administrative positions.<sup>50</sup> Ultimately, further research is necessary to better understand the practices and obligations of patronage under Mehmed II before we can effectively evaluate Shirwāni's career.

Finally, it is relevant to recall that Mehmed II's reign was a time of turmoil in Anatolia, particularly in Istanbul. Repeated plagues afflicted the city, with contemporary chronicles describing massive outbreaks in 859/1455 and 872/1467 in which perhaps over 50% of the population died or fled, as well as smaller outbreaks over the following decade. The sultan and his court had to remain in the Balkans after military campaigns rather than return to the city in 859/1455 and 872/1467 in order to avoid the plague, and over a decade of efforts by Mehmed II to repopulate Istanbul were likely wiped out.<sup>51</sup> Shirwāni's extended absences from Istanbul may have a different significance when viewed in this context.

This study of Shirwāni's texts highlights the value in reconsidering commentaries as sources for new narratives about science, institutions, and the circulation of knowledge in the post-classical period. Shirwāni's engagement in his astronomical commentaries with important sources from related fields, such as Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* and Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's *Dictionary of Countries*, suggests that attention to other commentaries has the potential to reshape our understanding of the scientific interests of scholars and elites alike. His incorporation of "new" material in his commentaries, and the relevance of this material for both students of astronomy as well as a broader audience at the Ottoman court, suggests that to gain a better understanding of the nature and development of scholarly commentaries we must continue to read these texts in relation to evolving disciplinary boundaries (or the lack thereof), and with attention to the local cultural and political influences. What we find in Shirwāni's career and texts are examples of the kinds of intellectual activities that, while not new scientific discoveries themselves, lay the groundwork for future developments. His work represents a combination of concerns with both theoretical and practical knowledge, and a bridge between the long-standing scholarly tradition of the eastern Islamic world and the emerging Ottoman scientific context.

<sup>49</sup> İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Qūshji: Abū al-Qāsim 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Qūshcī-zāde," in Hockley et al., *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*.

<sup>50</sup> For a biographical study of the early Ottoman *muftis*, see R. C. Repp, *The Mufti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London: Ithaca Press, 1986). See also the engaging account of sixteenth century developments in Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

<sup>51</sup> Heath Lowry, "Pushing the Stone Uphill: The Impact of Bubonic Plague on Ottoman Urban Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in idem, *Defterology Revisited: Studies on 15th and 16th Century Ottoman Society* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008).

Fig. 12.1 Longitude and latitude coordinates for places mentioned in Fathallāh Shirwānī's *ḥaṣḥiya*

	Shirwānī		Yāqūt		notes
	Long.	Lat.	Long.	Lat.	
Haḍramaut	71°	12°	71°	12°	
Sabā'	64°	17°	64°	17°	
Hajar	63°	24° 15'	73°	24° 15'	Shirwānī's longitude is likely a scribal error.
Bahrayn	74°	24° 45'	74° 20'	24° 45'	Shirwānī's longitude is likely a scribal error dropping "+ 1/3"
Manṣūra (M. al-Sind)	93°	22°	93°	22°	
Ṭanja	8°	35° 30'	8°	35° 30'	
al-Sūs	34°	-	34°	-	Attributed to Ptolemy in both texts, Shirwānī does not know which Sūs he meant.
Sūsa	34° 18'	32° 16'	34° 18'	32° 45'	Attributed to Ptolemy in both texts, Shirwānī's latitude "32 + 1/5 + 4" is a scribal error.
al-Qayrawān	31°	30° 40'	31°	30° 40'	Most other sources in Kennedy list latitude 31° 40'.
Miṣr (Cairo)	54° 40'	29° 15'	54° 40'	29° 15'	
Ṭabariyya (Tiberias)	57° 45'	32°	57° 45'	32°	
al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon)	70° 20'	33° 20'	70° 20'	33° 20'	
Baghdād	70°	33° 20'	70°	33° 20'	Most other sources in Kennedy list latitude 33° 25'.
Wāsiṭ	71° 40'	33° 20'	71° 40'	33° 20'	
Baṣra	74°	31°	74°	31°	
al-Ahwāz	75°	32°	75°	32°	
Shirāz (capital of Fārs)	78° 30'	29° 30'	78° 30'	29° 30'	
Qundahār	110°	30°	110°	30°	
Rhodes, Island of	50°	35° 30'	50°	35° 30'	
Qubrus (Cyprus)	61° 15'	35° 03'	61° 15'	35° 03'	No other source in Kennedy gives latitude ending in 03'.

	Shirwāni		Yāqūt		notes
Ṭarsūs	58° 30'	36° 22.5'	58° 30'	36° 15'	Shirwāni writes latitude 36 + 1/4 + 1/8, likely error writing 1/8 ( <i>thumma</i> ) for “thumma.”
Atarāblus Shām (Tripoli)	60° 35'	34°	60° 35'	34°	
Antākiya (Antioch)	69°	35° 30'	69°	35° 30'	Attributed to Ptolemy in both texts.
Halab (Aleppo)	69° 30'	35° 25'	69° 30'	35° 25'	
Āmid	75° 40'	35° 15'	75° 40'	35° 15'	
Arzanjān (Erzincan)	64° 50'	39° 40'	-	-	Shirwāni's comments are from Yāqūt. Coordinates do not match any source in Kennedy, although latitude matches <i>Zij Ilkhāni</i> which has 77° - 39° 40'.
Naşibin	75° 20'	36° 12'	75° 20'	36° 12'	No other source in Kennedy gives latitude ending in 12'.
Moşul	69°	34° 20'	69°	34° 20'	
Surra Man Rā (Samarra)	69° 40'	37° 10'	69° 40'	37° 10'	All sources in Kennedy other than Yāqūt give latitudes close to 34°.
Marāgha	-	-	73° 20'	37° 20'	Shirwāni mentions astronomical observations by Ṭūsi.
Tabriz	-	-	73° 10'	37° 30'	Shirwāni immediately proceeds to paraphrase Yāqūt's discussion of Azerbaijan.
Adhatbayjan	73°	40°	73°	40°	
Hulwān	71° 45'	34°	71° 45'	34°	
Ardabil	73°	-	80°	36° 33'	Shirwāni quotes Yāqūt's description of location relative to Caspian Sea, Tabriz.
Nihāwand	72°	36°	72°	36°	
Hamadān/Hamadhān	73°	36°	73°	36°	
Sulṭāniyya	71°	36°	-	-	Not mentioned by Yāqūt. Shirwāni describes it as a famous town ( <i>balda</i> ) 7 days from Tabriz, coordinates do not match any source in Kennedy.
Qazwin	“same as Daylam”	-	75°	37°	Shirwāni quotes Yāqūt that it is 27 <i>farsakhs</i> from Rayy.

	Shirwāni		Yāqūt		notes
	75°	36° 10'	75°	36° 10'	
Daylam		36° 10'	75°	36° 10'	
Sāwah	77° 20'	35' (sic)	77° 50'	35°	Shirwāni writes longitude as 77° + 1/3, likely missing + 1/2 from Yāqūt. For latitude, read <i>darija</i> for <i>daqiqa</i> .
Qumm	74°	34° 40'	64°	34° 40'	No other source in Kennedy gives longitude 74°, likely scribal error.
Amul	77° 20'	37° 45'	77° 20'	37° 45'	
Amul/Ammuya	85° 30'	37° 40'	85° 45'	37° 40'	Both texts locate it on the road from Bukhara to Marv. Shirwāni's longitude is likely a scribal error dropping "+ 1/4"
Astirābād	79° 50'	38° 45'	79° 50'	38° 45'	
Jurjān	80° 45'	38° 15'	80° 45'	38° 15'	Yāqūt gives alternate coordinates 86° 30' - 40°, Shirwāni mentions that "it is said its latitude is 40°."
Nisābūr	80° 45'	37°	80° 45'	37°	
Ṭūs	81°	37°	81°	37°	
Harāh (Herat)	94° 20'	34° 30'	-	-	Shirwāni's comments are taken from Yāqūt, who does not give coordinates. Shirwāni's coordinates match <i>Zij Ilkhāni</i> .
Marv al-Shāhijān	84° 20'	37° 35'	84° 20'	37° 35'	
Anbār (Fallujah)	69° 30'	32° 40'	69° 30'	32° 40'	Shirwāni mentions there is another Anbār near Balkh in Juzjān region.
Balkh	101°	36° 40'	115° - 37° <i>Maljanna</i> 88° 35' - 38° 40' ( <i>Abu 'Aun</i> )	( <i>K. al-Maljanna</i> ) 88° 35' - 38° 40' ( <i>Abu 'Aun</i> )	Shirwāni's comments are taken from Yāqūt, but his coordinates nearly match the value 101° - 36° 41' from <i>Zij Ilkhāni</i> .
Tubbat (Tibet?)	130°	39°	130°	37°	Shirwāni's comments are taken from Yāqūt, likely scribal error in latitude.
'Ammūriyya	53°	37°	53°	37°	Both Shirwāni and Yāqūt refer to Abu 'Aun's <i>zij</i> for these coordinates.
Qaysāriyya Rūm	67° 20'	41° 50'	67° 20'	41° 50'	

	Shirwānī		Yāqūt	notes
Bukhārā	87°	40° 15'	87° - 41° ( <i>K. al-Malḥama</i> ) 36° 50' lat. only ( <i>Abn</i> <i>ʿAtm</i> )	Shirwānī's latitude does not match any source in Kennedy, perhaps significant scribal error from Yāqūt's first value.
Kesh (Shahri Sabz)	99°	39° 30'	-	Some comments taken from Yāqūt, Shirwānī adds that the name Shahri Sabz is due to the mild climate and abundance of vegetation. Coordinates may be copied from <i>Zij Ilkhānī</i> which has 99° 30' - 39° 30'
Samarqand	99°	40°	89° 30'	Shirwānī's comments are not taken from Yāqūt. Coordinates match <i>Zij Ilkhānī</i> but not Ulugh Beg's <i>Zij Sulṭānī</i> which has 99° 16' - 39° 37'.
Isbijāb	98° 10'	39° 50'	98° 10'	
Ṭarāz	100° 30'	40° 25'	100° 30' 40° 25'	
Qustantiniyya (Constantinople)	99° 50'	41°	59° 50' - 45° 56° 20' - 43° ( <i>K. al-Malḥama</i> )	Yāqūt's value appears in <i>Zij Ilkhānī</i> , Shirwānī's longitude is likely a scribal error as all other sources report values near 49° or 59°. Shirwānī comments are not taken from Yāqūt, and he notes some <i>zījes</i> report latitude 45° but this "is not in agreement with practice."
al-Lān	80°	44°	-	Shirwānī's comments differ from Yāqūt on this land/people in the Caucasus. Coordinates may reflect a scribal error from 83° - 44° in <i>Zij Ilkhānī</i> .
Bulghār	90°	49° 30'	-	Shirwānī's comments are from Yāqūt. Coordinates match the <i>zīj</i> of Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Maghribī (colleague of Ṭūsī at Marāgha), although not <i>Zij Ilkhānī</i> which has 87° - 49° 30'.

Shirwānī = *Ḥāshiyā* on Qāḍīzāde's *Sharḥ al-Mulakḥḥas*, MS Ahmet III 3294

Yāqūt = Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Murjān al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig: 1886-1873)

Kennedy = E. S. Kennedy and M. H. Kennedy, *Geographical Coordinates of Localities From Islamic Sources* (Frankfurt: 1987)

## Bibliography

- Ahmad, S. M. "Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī." In *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1973, vol. 14, 546-548.
- Ahmed, Asad. "Systematic Growth in Sustained Error: A Case Study in the Dynamism of Post-Classical Islamic Scholasticism." In Asad Ahmed et al. (eds). *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook*. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 343-378.
- Ahmed, Asad and Margaret Larkin. "The *Ḥāsbiya* and Islamic Intellectual History." *Oriens* 41 (2013): 213-216.
- Akpınar, Cemil. "Fethullah eṣ-Şirvani." *TDVİA*, vol. 12, 463-466.
- Anooshahr, Ali. "Writing, Speech, and History for an Ottoman Biographer." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 60, no. 1 (2010): 43-62.
- Berggren, J. L. and Alexander Jones. *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Berlekamp, Persis. *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Bican, Ahmet. *Dürr-i Mekkûn: kritische Edition mit Kommentar*, ed. Laban Kaptein. Asch: Laban Kaptein, 2007.
- Casale, Giancarlo. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Euclid. *The Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics*, ed. and tr. Elaheh Kheirandish. New York: Springer, 1999.
- Fazlıoğlu, İhsan. "Osmanlı Felsefe-Biliminin Arkaplanı: Semerkand Matematik-Astronomi Okulu." *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar* 14 (2003): 1-66.
- Fazlıoğlu, İhsan. "Qūshjī: Abū al-Qāsim 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Ali ibn Muḥammad Qushçizāde." In Thomas Hockey et al. (eds). *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*. New York: Springer, 2007.
- Fazlıoğlu, İhsan. "The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School: A Basis for Ottoman Philosophy and Science." *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 14 (2008): 3-68.
- Fleischer, Cornell. *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Āli*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Ibn al-Haytham. *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham: Books I-III: On Direct Vision*, ed. and tr. A. I. Sabra. 2 Vols. London: Warburg Institute, 1989.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq. *Marāşid al-İttilā' 'alā Asmā' al-Amkina wa'l-Biqā'*, ed. T. W. Juynboll. Leiden: Brill, 1852-1864.
- Kafescioğlu, Çiğdem. *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

- Karamustafa, Ahmet. "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans." In J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds). *History of Cartography, Volume 2, Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Katib Çelebi. *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub wa'l-Funūn*. Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941.
- Kennedy, E. S. and M. H. Kennedy. *Geographical Coordinates of Localities from Islamic Sources*. Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1987.
- Lindberg, David. *Theories of Vision from al-Kindi to Kepler*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- Lowry, Heath. "Pushing the Stone Uphill: The Impact of Bubonic Plague on Ottoman Urban Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." In idem, *Defterology Revisited: Studies on 15th and 16th Century Ottoman Society*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008, 17-50.
- Lugal, Necati and Adnan Erzi (eds). *Fatih Devrine Ait Münşeat Mecmuasi*. Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaası, 1956.
- McGinnis, Jon and Asad Ahmed. "Rationalist Disciplines in Post-Classical (ca. 1200–1900 CE) Islam." *Oriens* 42 (2014): 289-291.
- Özel, Oktay. "Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II's 'Land Reform' Revisited." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 2 (1999): 226-246.
- Pinto, Karen. "The Maps Are the Message: Mehmet II's Patronage of an 'Ottoman Cluster'." *Imago Mundi* 63, no. 2 (2011): 155-179.
- Ptolemy, Claudius. *Ptolemy's Almagest*. Translated by G.J. Toomer. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Ragep, F. Jamil. "Qāḏizāda al-Rūmī: Salāḥ al-Din Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Rūmī." In Thomas Hockey et al. (eds). *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*. New York: Springer, 2007.
- Ragep, Sally. "Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Jaghmini's *al-Mulakkbhas fi al-bay'a al-basīṭa*: An Edition, Translation, and Study." PhD Dissertation, McGill University, 2014.
- Repp, R. C. *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy*. London: Ithaca Press, 1986.
- Sabra, A. I. "Ibn al-Haytham's Revolutionary Project in Optics: The Achievement and the Obstacle." In J. Hogendijk and A. I. Sabra (eds). *The Enterprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003, 85-118.
- Sabra, A. I. "The 'Commentary' that Saved the Text: The Hazardous Journey of Ibn al-Haytham's Arabic *Optics*." *Early Science and Medicine* 12 (2007): 117-133.
- al-Sakhāwī. *al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Abl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsi, 1935.
- Sayılı, Aydın. *The observatory in Islam*. New York: Arno Press, 1981.

- Shirwānī, Faḥallāh. *Majalla fī al-Mūsīqī (Codex on Music)*, ed. Fuat Sezgin. Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1986.
- Taşköprüzade. *al-Shaḡarīq al-Nuḡmāniya fī ʿUlamā al-Dawla al-ʿUlmāniya*. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabi, 1975.
- Tibbetts, Gerald. "The Beginnings of a Cartographic Tradition." In J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds). *History of Cartography, Volume 2, Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Tibbetts, Gerald. "Later Cartographic Developments." In J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds). *History of Cartography, Volume 2, Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn. *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy = al-Tadhkira fī ʿIlm al-Hayʿa*, ed. and tr. F. Jamil Ragep. 2 Vols. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993.
- Winter, H. J. J. and W. ʿArafat. "A Statement on Optical Reflection and 'Refraction' Attributed to Naṣīr ud-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī." *Isis* 42, no. 2 (1951): 138-142.
- Wisnovsky, Robert. "The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-Classical (ca. 1100-1900 AD) Islamic Intellectual History: Some Preliminary Observations." In Peter Adamson et al. (eds). *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Latin and Arabic Commentaries*. Vol. 2. Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2004, 149-191.
- Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig: 1886-1873.
- Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed and tr. Wadie Jwaideh. Leiden: Brill, 1959.



## Chapter 13

# Literary Culture in Fifteenth-Century Kütahya: A Preliminary Assessment

*Sooyong Kim*

In speaking of the Turkish literary scene of the early fifteenth century, E. J. W. Gibb long ago observed that Kütahya was “the birthplace of so many of the poets of those days.”<sup>1</sup> Certainly, by the turn of the century, Kütahya emerged as a major cultural centre in western Anatolia, for the Germiyan *beylik* based there had provided refuge to and sponsored numerous poets, writers, and translators. It was in the capital city that works in Turkish especially began to be produced in appreciable amounts, most notably by the poet Şeyhi, the last noteworthy literary figure associated with Kütahya. The example of Şeyhi also points to the shifting fortunes of the city as a place of patronage. He first received patronage from the Germiyan ruler Yakub II and, while still in Kütahya, finally from the Ottoman sultan Murad II. The change in patrons reflected the political instability of the time, and as coincidence would have it, Şeyhi died a few years after Kütahya had come under permanent Ottoman control in 831/1428.<sup>2</sup> His death usually marks the end of Kütahya as a flourishing cultural centre in Ottoman literary historiography.

Accordingly, literary activity in Kütahya, and activity in the region more broadly, prior to Şeyhi’s death in circa 834/1431, has been sufficiently documented, with attention directed toward the Germiyan court’s promotion of Turkish as a literary language. In the words of Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, “Germiyan was particularly important for the extensive use of Turkish in works composed in the areas of literature, Sufism and learned knowledge.”<sup>3</sup> Whether the promotion of Turkish as a literary language was a conscious effort on the part of the Germiyan court to distinguish themselves culturally from other political rivals, including the Ottomans, is difficult to determine, due to the lack of contemporary sources. What is apparent, however, is that when the Ottomans took control of Kütahya, the city was an established centre for Turkish literary production, in prose and verse, and of a secular variety, from mirrors for princes to panegyrics, in addition

---

<sup>1</sup> E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. 1 (London: Luzac, 1900), 299.

<sup>2</sup> Yakub II, with no male heirs, bequeathed that after his death the city and principality be given to Murad II.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, “Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life, 1071-1453” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet, *Byzantium to Turkey 1071-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 411.

to translations and adaptations of Persian collections of moralizing fables and romances.<sup>4</sup>

That said, literary activity in Kütahya in the decades thereafter has been little explored by scholars, particularly after Mehmed II re-established the city as the capital of the province of Anatolia in 854/1451, after a period of further instability. This paper, then, examines the situation in Kütahya and the surrounding region in view of the poets who originated from there around that time, and also the effect of shifts in patronage patterns. It considers as well the impact of the Ottoman biographical dictionaries of poets, generically known in Turkish as *tezkiye-i şuarâ*, which were compiled from the early sixteenth century onward in shaping our knowledge and perception of the literary scene of Kütahya and beyond.<sup>5</sup> The biographical dictionaries are, in fact, our major source for assessing the scene there, but they constitute a belated source that is not without problems, for the focus tends to be on poets based in Istanbul, in the imperial capital.

### *Cemali and Şeyhi's Legacy*

The picture we have of the cultural situation of Kütahya post-1451 is quite limited, and the city does not appear to have been a site of any significant literary patronage. Despite its status as a core administrative capital, Kütahya was not a favoured residence of Ottoman princes then, in comparison to Konya, Amasya, or Manisa.<sup>6</sup> Of the governors assigned to Kütahya, a few were known supporters of poets, namely the future grand viziers Koca Davud Paşa and Hersekzade Ahmed Paşa.<sup>7</sup> But we have no information whether any support was provided during their tenure, at some time in the 1470s and 1480s. It would not be until the middle of the sixteenth century that Kütahya could be regarded once again as a centre for patronage when two of Süleyman's sons, Bayezid and Selim II, had extended residences there. Both were keen literary patrons and had gathered a circle of poets around them.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For a survey of Turkish works produced under the Germiyanids, see Halil İnalçık, "The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments, and Court Poets," trans. Michael D. Sheridan, *Journal of Turkish Literature* 5 (2008): 29-49. Cf. idem, "Klasik Edebiyat Menşei: İrani Gelenek, Saray İşret Meclisleri ve Musâhib Şairler," in *Türk Edebiyat Tarihi*, ed. Talât Sait Halman, vol. 1 (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006), 244-59.

<sup>5</sup> For example, see Kadir Güler and Ersen Ersoy, "16. Yüzyıl Kaynaklarına Göre Germiyan ve Kütahya Şuarâsı Üzerine Değerlendirmeler," *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 24 (2009): 173-182.

<sup>6</sup> On Konya, Amasya, and Manisa, see Halûk İpekten, *Divan Edebiyatında Edebî Mubtiler* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996), 166-178, 181-185.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-52.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 210-217.

If Kütahya was not a great site of patronage before then, it had the institutions necessary for a literary culture to continue to flourish. There were a number of madrasas established during Germiyan rule that remained important places of learning under Ottoman administration, especially the madrasa and library founded by Yakub II in the heart of the city beside its largest mosque, the Ulu Camii.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, there was a prominent Mevlevihane with a library, situated not far from the mosque, though it does not seem that the lodge was particularly active in the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In any case, Kütahya was home at one time to several noteworthy scholars and Sufi shaykhs, including Şeyh Demirtaş (d. 935/1528-29), a member of the Khalwatî (Halvetî) who authored a gloss on 'Atfâr's Persian mystical allegory *Manîq al-Ṭayr* and eventually set up a lodge of his own in Cairo.<sup>11</sup>

The poet perhaps most associated with Kütahya, after Şeyhi, is his nephew Cemali. Yet we know almost nothing about his life and career. The early biographers, Edirneli Sehi and Latifi, writing their *tezkires* in the 1530s and 1540s respectively, give scant background detail, and there is some discrepancy between them over where the poet was originally from. Sehi states that Cemali was simply from Karaman, whereas Latifi claims that he could also be from Bursa.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, as İ. Çetin Derdiyok has recently argued, Cemali was probably born in Karaman around 813-15/1410-12, but raised in Kütahya with his uncle when the city was still a lively literary centre.<sup>13</sup> Subsequently, Cemali lived for a period in Bursa and then resided in Istanbul soon after its conquest. He remained there until his death, sometime at the beginning of Bayezid II's reign.<sup>14</sup>

While the biographers makes no mention of what Cemali occupation held, besides being a poet, we can gather from his whereabouts that he moved to Bursa and Istanbul in search of great patrons, which he succeeded in obtaining. The poetic works he produced bear that out. We learn from his *mathnavî Hümâ*

<sup>9</sup> The Yakub Bey madrasa became the highest-ranking school in Kütahya after Mehmed II had centralised the state education system, with teachers receiving a daily salary of 50 *akçe*. On the madrasa, see Câhid Baltacı, *XV-XVI. Asırlar Osmanlı Medreseleri: Teşkilât, Tarih* (Istanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1976), 210-13; and also İsmail Çiftçioğlu, "Germiyanogulları Dönemi Kütahya Medreseleri," *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 15 (2006): 167-169.

<sup>10</sup> Hasan Özönder, "Kütahya Mevlevîhânesi," *Şelçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (1996): 76.

<sup>11</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Bizans ve Selçukiyelerle Germiyan ve Osman Oğulları Zamanında Kütahya Şebri* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1932), 267.

<sup>12</sup> Sehi, *Heşt Bibişt, Sehi Beg Tezkiresi: İnceleme, Tenkidli Metin, Dizin*, ed. Günay Kut (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1978), 274; Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ ve Tabıratü'n-Nuzamâ: İnceleme-Metin*, ed. Rıdvan Canım (Ankara, 2000), 215.

<sup>13</sup> *Cemâlî: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Dîvânı: İnceleme, Tenkidli Metin, Tıpkıbasım*, ed. İ. Çetin Derdiyok (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1994), 4-5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. Most scholars date his death at the end of Bayezid II's reign, around 1512. But Derdiyok has strongly made the case against that.

ve *Hümâyûn*, written in 850/1446 and modelled on Khwājū Kirmānī's fourteenth-century Persian telling of the romance, that Cemali had come into the service of the grand vizier Çandarlı Halil Paşa at that time and was a regular presence at the court of Murad II in Bursa.<sup>15</sup> Cemali dedicated his version of the romance to Murad II and before then a *zeyl* or supplement to another romance, Şeyhi's *Husrev ve Şirin*, to the sultan around 834/1430-31. There is no doubt that the personal and literary connection to his uncle helped Cemali gain the sultan's favour and establish his reputation as a poet.<sup>16</sup>

The situation did not differ once Cemali was in Istanbul, where he found himself in the company of Mehmed II and the grand vizier Mahmud Paşa (d. 879/1474). Cemali wrote in 860/1456 another *mathnawī*, the *Miftāh al-Faraj* ("Key to Joy"), a collection of stories in the mould of Sa'dī's classic *Gulistān*, and submitted it to Mehmed II.<sup>17</sup> Cemali seems to have received ample patronage from Mehmed II, since in his extant *dīwān*, the *qaşidas* and other poems of praise are largely devoted to him, with a couple to his vizier.<sup>18</sup> In addition, Cemali apparently participated in Mehmed II's last campaign to Albania in 1478 and composed a short *mathnawī* afterward about the experience that is akin to a travel account. In it, Cemali expresses regret about joining what would turn out to be a difficult campaign:

*K'Arnavud iline sefer itdüm  
Padişeb gidicek bile gitudüm  
Ne bilem üçler idi ya yidiler  
İki ayda varur gelür didiler  
İki aylık yarağ-ile gitudüm  
Gör ki ğāfille ben baña nitdüm  
Eliyle özine itdüğün er  
Bu meseldür ki eylemez iller*

I ventured to Albanian land,  
I went when the padishah did.  
What do I know? Some saints,  
They said, "It'd take two months."  
So I went with two-month's supplies,

<sup>15</sup> Osman Horata, "XV. Yüzyıl Şairlerinden Cemâlî'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1991): 62. Although unlikely, Günay Kut has suggested the remote possibility that someone else authored *Hümâ ve Hümâyûn*, based on the fact that Sehi somewhat confuses Cemali with the older Germiyan poet Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, who died in circa 807/1404 (idem, "Cemâlî," *TDVİA*, vol. 7, 316; see also *Cemâlî*, ed. Derdiyok, 5-8).

<sup>16</sup> See Osman Horata, "Cemâlî'nin *Hümâ vü Hümâyûn* Mesnevisi," *Marmara Üniversitesi Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7 (1993): 281-306. The romance is also known by the title *Gülşen-i Uşşâk* ("Garden of Lovers"), and Latifi incorrectly mentions that the work was dedicated to Mehmed II (idem, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ*, 215).

<sup>17</sup> See Osman Yıldız, "Cemâlî-i Karamanî ve *Miftâbu'l-Ferec*," *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2 (1996): 271-92; and Cemali, *Miftâbu'l-Ferec: Tenkitli Metin*, ed. İ Çetin Derdiyok (Adana: Türkojoloji Araştırmaları, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> *Cemâlî*, ed. Derdiyok, 50-83.

But unaware what I'd do to myself.  
The proverb goes like this:  
"A man's often his worst enemy."<sup>19</sup>

Cemali was quite old when he participated in the campaign, and he does not appear to have been especially active after writing his account of it, since we know of no major works produced during Bayezid II's reign.

رخش آینه عالم نما شد  
لبش بیار دلها را شفا شد  
بدل شادی اگر بیگانه باشد  
چه غم چون باغمش جان آشنا شد  
منم در عشق چون مانند فرهاد  
نگارم خسرو شیرین لقا شد  
بقانون نی ای مطرب غزل گو  
که این آیین خوش قانون ما شد  
حفا کن ای صفای جان دلها  
که کن جور تو جمالی را وفا شد

His cheeks become Alexander's mirror,  
His lip the cure for the sick at heart.  
If joy's a stranger to the heart,  
The soul's become a friend to what grief!  
Since I've fallen in love like Farhad,  
My idol's become a Shirin-faced Khusraw.  
Oh minstrel, recite with zither and flute,  
For this welcome rite's become our right.  
Oh delights of the soul and heart be cruel,  
For your torment's become faith for Cemali.<sup>20</sup>

Additionally, Cemali composed poems in Arabic, and these too are of the shorter variety, with the exception of a *qaşıda* in praise of Mehmed II. And there is also a *mulamma'*, a poem composed half in Arabic and Persian, a chronogram commemorating the completion of the fortress of Rumelihisarı:

مالك مملکت محمد خان  
زين الحصن في ممالک  
گشت تاریخ وقت مینایش  
خلد الله ملك مالک

<sup>19</sup> Kayahan Erimer, "Gün Işığında Çıkan Değerli Bir Eser," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* (1973-1974): 271 (277). Cf. İ. Çetin Derdiyok, "XV. Yüzyıl Şairlerinden Cemâlî'nin, Fâtih Sultan Mehmed'in Arnavutluk Seferini Anlatan Bir Mesnevisinin Seyahatname Olarak Değerlendirilmesi," in Adem Balaban and Bünyamin Çağlayan (eds), *Uluslararası Dil ve Edebiyat Çalışmaları Bildirileri* (Tirana: Universiteti "Hëna e Plotë" (BEDËR) Press, 2012), 73-74.

<sup>20</sup> *Cemâlî*, ed. Derdiyok, 108 (168).

The realm's lord, Mehmed Khan,  
Adorned his country with a fortress.  
The construction time has passed;  
May God now perpetuate his reign.<sup>21</sup>  
(856/1452)

That Cemali could compose verse both in Arabic and Persian suggests that he had studied at a madrasa and also had Persian instruction, possibly at the Mevlevihane, while in Kütahya as a youth. Other works he produced indicate that his knowledge of Arabic and Persian was considerable and that his output was rather diverse, at times with a pedagogical purpose in mind. Cemali apparently translated into Turkish and versified al-Nawāwī's popular thirteenth-century hadith compilation *al-Arba'in* at some point in his career.<sup>22</sup> He also authored a poem in Turkish that introduces various meters and rhetorical figures – including enigmatic figures that allow Persian words to be extracted from Turkish ones, Arabic words from Persian ones – entitled *al-Risāla al-ʿAjība fi al-Şanāʿi wa'l-Badāʿi* and presented to Mehmed II prior to the *Miftāh*.<sup>23</sup>

Cemali may be regarded as a prototype of an Ottoman poet, given his ability to produce poetry in the older established literary languages, and in the newly developing Turkish. His patrons appreciated and sought after works especially in Persian, as is the case with Mehmed II and also with Mahmud Paşa. As Sara Nur Yıldız has observed, perhaps more so than the sultan, Mahmud Paşa gave “special importance to Persian letters,” often patronizing poets from Iran.<sup>24</sup> Mahmud Paşa himself capably wrote poetry in Persian.<sup>25</sup> And of particular note, Cemali composed a short poem in Persian eulogizing the vizier.<sup>26</sup> In a milieu where the court privileged literary expertise and talent in Persian, Cemali definitely fits the profile of a poet who could achieve and maintain success.

That said, Cemali was not highly appreciated by his peers when it came to his Turkish poetry. Two huge collections of *naʿzires* or parallels mainly to *ghazals*, dating from the early sixteenth century, Eğridirli Hacı Kemal's anthology from 918/1512 and Edirneli Nazmi's from 930/1524, confirm this. Hacı Kemal's anthology, for instance, contains no base poems by Cemali and only two parallel poems of his. By contrast, there are 125 base *ghazals* attributed to Ahmed Paşa

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 72 (138). On the chronogram, see Derdiyok, “Fâtih Devri Şâirlerinden Cemâlî'nin Divanı'nda Yer Alan İki Tarih,” *Tarih ve Toplum: Aylık Ansiklopedik Dergi* 120 (1993): 378.

<sup>22</sup> Kadir Güler, *Kütahya Şâirleri I* (Kütahya: Kütahya Valiliği, 2010), 187. It is also possible that the work was composed by the Sufi poet Cemal Halveti (d. 899/1494). For a list of his works, see Mehmed Serhan Tayşi, “Cemâl-i Halveti,” *TDVİA*, vol. 7, 303.

<sup>23</sup> Güler, *Kütahya Şâirleri*, 188-189; and *Cemâlî*, ed. Derdiyok, 22-23. Both these works have yet to be published, and further research needs to be conducted on them.

<sup>24</sup> Sara Nur Yıldız, “Historiography xiv. The Ottoman Empire,” *ELI*, vol. 12, 404.

<sup>25</sup> Sehi, *Heşt Bibişt*, 115.

<sup>26</sup> Derdiyok, ed., *Cemâlî*, 82-83.

(d. 902/1497), the highest amount for the anthology.<sup>27</sup> The case is similar for Nazmi's anthology, with no base poems by Cemali and ten parallel poems of his. The largest total of base *ghazals*, about fifty, again belongs to Ahmed Paşa.<sup>28</sup> The two anthologies plainly show that Cemali was not a preferred model for the *ghazal*, or even the *qaşıda*, among his peers. But a slightly later and anonymous anthology of mystical poetry both in Persian and Turkish, compiled in 940/1533-34, includes a short selection from Cemali's *Miftāh*.<sup>29</sup> This anthology at least indicates that Cemali was respected as a *mathnawī* writer and perceived as a poet with a mystical bent, surely shaped in part by Şeyhi's reputation as such.<sup>30</sup>

The early biographers' opinion of Cemali as a poet is not much different. Sehi, writing in 945/1538, simply states that Cemali had a style of his own and that his *ghazals* are "pure" (*pāk*). He mentions nothing else about Cemali's work and then quotes a few rather straightforward couplets from a *ghazal* of his:

*Neyleyim şol gönüli ʿışkuñla hayrān olmaya*  
*Neyleyim şol cām kim sen cāna kurbān olmaya*  
*Varmayam şol bezme kim anda mey-i meyl içmeyem*  
*Girmeyem şol cem'e kim ʿuşşāk-ı mestān olmaya*

What shall I do for a heart that won't fill with your love?  
 What shall I do for a soul that won't sacrifice for you?  
 I shall not come to that feast where I won't drink love's wine;  
 I shall not enter that gathering where no lovers are drunk.<sup>31</sup>

Latifi, writing almost a decade later in 953/1546, is more expansive in his appraisal of the poet. He likewise commends Cemali for his rhetorically rich and imaginative style, implicitly acknowledging his expertise in the poetic tradition, and notes that his style was even appreciated by present-day *literati*. Yet Latifi wonders why Cemali did not gain the fame he deserved. Latifi, like Sehi, wrote at a time when *literati* were in a better position to judge what poets could accomplish in Turkish, and he gives a hint about the reason for Cemali's lack of critical

<sup>27</sup> Yasemin Ertek Morkoç, "Eğridirli Hacı Kemal'in Cami'ün Nezâir'i: Metin ve Mecmua Geleniği Üzerine Bir İnceleme," 3 vols., Ph.D. diss., Ege University, 2003. Both poems are also found in Cemali's divan (*Cemālî*, ed. Derdiyok, 87 (no. 8), 103-4 (no. 42)).

<sup>28</sup> Edirneli Nazmi, *Mecmâ'u'n-Nezâ'ir: İnceleme-Tenkili Metin*, ed. M. Fatih Köksal (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012), 45-59. It is clear from the parallel poems of Cemali included in Nazmi's anthology that he was aware of the work of his younger peers, like Necati (d. 1509), and there is even one to a *ghazal* by Ahmed Paşa (ibid., 612-613, 625, 378, 1386). Cf. Faruk K. Timurtaş, "Fatih Devri Şairlerinden Cemali ve Eserleri," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 4 (1951): 201-204.

<sup>29</sup> Muharrem Ergin, "Câmi-ül-Meâni'deki Türkçe Şiirleri," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 3 (1949): 542.

<sup>30</sup> Three of the extant copies of the *Miftāh* date between 898/1492-93 and 920/1514, suggesting that the work was circulated around. On Şeyhi and his poetry, see Faruk K. Timurtaş, "Şeyhi'nin Hayatı ve Şahsiyeti," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 5 (1953): 91-120.

<sup>31</sup> Sehi, *Heşt Bibişt*, 274.

success prior to pointing it out. Latifi specifically refers to Cemali's work as "ancient verse" (*nazm-i kadim*).<sup>32</sup>

Elsewhere in his biographical dictionary, Latif makes clear what he means by "ancient." In his entry for Ahmed Paşa, he mentions that this vizier under Mehmed II put to rest the earlier style of Turkish poetry and called forth a "new battle cry" (*şî'âr-i cedid*). Latifi then adds, "He made the earlier dress more beautiful, the previous attire better adorned and more precious," fittingly because he was "draped in that expressive dress of Persian" – that is, he was not solely a blanket imitator of the Persian *ghazal* and *qaşida*.<sup>33</sup> Thus, as far as Latifi is concerned, those who came before, and even a contemporary like Cemali, are regarded as "ancient," despite their expertise in Persian. And for him, the leading poet among this group, connected mostly to the Germiyan court in Kütahya, is Şeyhi, whose most noteworthy contribution was in the development of the Turkish *mathnawî*.<sup>34</sup> Latifi is the first to distinguish between ancient and modern poets, emphasizing skill in lyric and panegyric poetry, thus marking the outlines of a particular Ottoman literary historical narrative and one linked intimately with the Ottoman court: Ahmed Paşa was born and educated in the old capital of Edirne where he was instructed in Arabic and Persian; he taught at a madrasa endowed by Murad II in Bursa; and he personally tutored Mehmed II in Istanbul. The outlines of this narrative can be seen earlier in the anthologies, in which Ahmed Paşa is the clear favourite model for the *ghazal*.

In light of Ahmed Paşa's close links to the court and concomitant success as a poet, it would have been surprising for someone like Cemali to have achieved a better reputation. For sure, the fact that Cemali was not a prolific composer of *ghazals* did not help his situation. The *dîwân* he compiled, probably at the end of Mehmed II's reign, contains only fifty-two *ghazals*, along with twelve *qaşidas*.<sup>35</sup> Tellingly, Latifi identifies Cemali primarily as *mathnawî* writer, for he credits his *Hümâ ve Hümâyûn* at the outset, which he deems a mere translation that is nonetheless "enchanting" (*sihr-intisâb*), and quotes verses from it.<sup>36</sup> Latifi goes on to cite several more of Cemali's verses and informs us these are his most famous:

*Tâ ki girdi ol nihâl-i tâze 'işret bâğına*  
*Döndi şem'-i meclisün beñzi hazân yaprağına*  
*Nâle-i uşşâkdan âhenk uğurladun diyü*  
*Tutuben kâmiş yürütdiler neyün barmâğına*  
*Mâ'il olsa gönliñe nola Cemâlî tiğ-i yâr*  
*Meyl ider 'âdet budur ki şu yirün alçağına*

<sup>32</sup> Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ*, 215.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 337, 339-340.

<sup>35</sup> *Cemâlî*, ed. Derdiyok, 30-31, 33.

<sup>36</sup> Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ*, 215.



When that fresh sapling entered revelry's garden,  
 The party candle's shine turned to autumn's leaf.  
 Saying, "You made music out of the lovers' wail,"  
 They plucked the reed for the flute's finger.  
 So what Cemali if the dear sword targets your heart?  
 It's custom that water seeks to flow to the bottom.<sup>37</sup>

In tone and language, the verses are comparable to the couplets Sehi supplies, and come from a parallel to a *ghazal* by Nihali (d. 949/1542).<sup>38</sup>

That Latifi singles out a parallel poem of Cemali, to a *ghazal* by a younger poet of middling reputation, as his most famous underscores his "ancient" status. The personal and literary connection Cemali had to his uncle Şeyhi, while assisting him in gaining the favour of Murad II and Mehmed II, was obviously seen in a circumscribed manner by *literati* who sought to give pride of place exclusively to Ottoman court patronage – a view that Latifi's assessment of Cemali neatly encapsulates, projecting him back to a bygone era. One wonders then, whether any poet originating from Kütahya and the former Germiyan territory could ever get beyond such a historicising perspective. And from that perspective, we might ask whether there would be any interest among the biographers to draw attention to a literary milieu that was not fostered by the court.

### *Two Additional Poets*

Of the poets from Kütahya and the surrounding region who ended up in Istanbul in the latter half of the fifteenth century, we are aware of two more who are recorded in the biographical dictionaries. These figures, however, were not professional poets in the way that Cemali was, for he was mainly dependent on patrons in order to earn a livelihood. Because of that, they were equally not as productive as he was. Nevertheless, their careers and work provide us with some further insight into the literary scene of the Kütahya area and also into the broader migration of scholars and men of religion to the capital of Istanbul.

One of the two poets is İzari Kasım Çelebi, better known as Molla İzari. As his title indicates, he was a member of the *ulamā*. İzari held a number of teaching appointments, his last in Istanbul at the Semaniye madrasa complex, and died while at that post in 901/1496. He was born in Germiyan and according to Aşık Çelebi, a later biographer writing in 976/1568, one of Şeyhi's nephews.<sup>39</sup> What İzari did in his early years, as is the case with Cemali, the biographers have almost nothing to say. Taşköprüzade, the biographer of scholars and Sufi shaykhs, does mention in his dictionary from 965/1558 that İzari had at one time studied with

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 216.

<sup>38</sup> *Cemālî*, ed. Derdiyok, 28. Cf. Edirmeli Nazmi, *Mecmuâ'tu'n-Nezâ'ir*, 2249, 2252.

<sup>39</sup> Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ: İnceleme-Metin*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (Istanbul, 2010), vol. 2, 1058. Sehi mentions simply that İzari was a relative of Şeyhi (Sehi, *Heşt Bibişt*, 148).

Molla Abdülkerim Efendi (d. 900/1495), who would become grand mufti or *shaykh al-Islām* under Bayezid II, but not exactly where and when, whether in Istanbul after the conquest.<sup>40</sup> Still, given the familial connection as cousins, like Cemali, İzari probably first studied at a madrasa in Kütahya and learned Persian there as well, before moving on to be trained by specific scholars. Taşköprüzade notes that İzari had good enough Persian to compose poetry in it and quotes these verses:

زهی غواص دریای معانی  
تعالی الله از بین گوهر فشانی  
ز تحریک قلم فرخنده حالش  
که آمد بس نکو زین قرعه فالش

What a diver to the depths of meaning!  
God be exalted from this pearl showering!  
With the stroke of his auspicious pen,  
So many good things came from his lot!<sup>41</sup>

The early biographers, however, do not acknowledge at all İzari's ability to compose poetry in Persian. Sehi says nothing specific about his output, whereas Latifi states that his Turkish verses were admirable, his style "fine" (*latîf*), and that most were composed in the *kbafif* (*bafif*) meter – a meter not commonly employed for the *ghazal*.<sup>42</sup> Latifi then quotes several couplets from a *ghazal* of İzari in that meter, which he mentions are among his renowned, and which Sehi also cites. Sehi quotes thus:

Şakın âbumdan ey nigâr şakın  
Yile varur bu rûzgâr şakın  
Göge ağarken ejder-i âbum  
Yakmasun dâmenüñ şerâr şakın

Beware of my sigh, oh idol, beware!  
Beware this wind is unforgiving!  
When my sigh's dragon rises to the sky,  
Beware not to let your skirt spark fire!<sup>43</sup>

Sehi and Latifi do not cite any other *ghazal*, but they do provide in full a quatrain by İzari. It is a poem not that different in content than the verses quoted from the *ghazal*, and the final line is from the Quran:

<sup>40</sup> Taşköprüzade, *Tercüme-i Şakâ'ik-i Nu'mâniye*, trans. Mecdi (Istanbul: Tabhane-i Amire, 1269/1852), 300. On Abdülkerim's teaching posts, see *ibid.*, 177. According to Faruk K. Timurtaş, İzari was in Istanbul in 1470 when he had met with Mehmed II after the completion of the Semaniye (*idem*, "Şeyhi'nin Hayatı ve Şahsiyeti," 95). The meeting probably took place when İzari was already a teacher at either the Eyyub Sultan or the Kalenderhane madrasa.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 301. For some of his other Persian verses, see Güler, *Kütahya Şairleri I*, 314.

<sup>42</sup> Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ*, 387.

<sup>43</sup> Sehi, *Heşt Bibişt*, 149. Cf. Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ*, 387.

*Bir yaña küşte-gir-i 'ışk-ı nigâr  
 Bir yaña âteş-i gam-i dildâr  
 Bilmezem kaçkısıyla tutuşayım  
 Wa-qinâ Rabbanâ 'adbâba'l-nâr*

On one side is love's slayer for the idol,  
 On the other grief's fire for the beloved.  
 I don't know which will take hold of me –  
 Our Lord protect us from fire's torment! (Q. 2:201) <sup>44</sup>

We do not know much more about İzari's work. It does not seem that İzari composed sufficient poetry to compile a *divân*, nor is there indication by the biographers that he produced any extended piece in verse. But in Edirneli Nazmi's anthology, besides ten parallels poems, there are two base *ghazals* by İzari that do illustrate that he was at least better appreciated than Cemali with respect to lyric poetry. One of them is İzari's *ghazal* that both Sehi and Latifi cite, which Bayezid II even composed a parallel to it.<sup>45</sup>

That said, it appears that İzari's fame as a poet rested principally on a *qaşıda* of his. Sehi informs us that when İzari was teaching at the Semaniye, he became involved in a rivalry with Molla Lutfi (d. 899/1494), a fellow instructor there and former custodian of Mehmed II's private library. Sehi tells further that İzari composed a parallel to a *qaşıda* by Lutfi, in which out of "coldness" (*zem*) toward his colleague he added at the end a couplet denigrating him:

*Şimdi 'âlem benim ağıyâr ile destânım okur  
 Kışsa-i beşt bibişt Âdem ü Seytân şekl*

Now the world reads my story with my enemies,  
 Like Adam and Satan, the tale of eight paradises. <sup>46</sup>

Both *qaşidas*, which are in praise of Bayezid II, are recorded in Hacı Kemal's anthology.<sup>47</sup> And while the biographers after Sehi make no specific mention of this couplet, in various manners, they speak of İzari's rivalry with Lutfi, a subject of controversy who was eventually executed on grounds of heresy.<sup>48</sup>

İzari's rivalry with Lutfi, played out in the literary arena, highlights the intense competition among the teachers of the Semaniye madrasas, the highest-ranking Ottoman educational institutions at the time, since an appointment there could lead to an important state office. Such a possibility must have influenced İzari's

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> See Edirneli Nazmi, *Mecma'u'n-Nezâ'ir*, 2103-2104.

<sup>46</sup> Sehi, *Heşt Bibişt*, 149.

<sup>47</sup> Morkoç, "Eğridirli Hacı Kemal'in Cami'ün Nezâir'i," vol. 2, 1236-42. Cf. Eğridirli Hacı Kemal, *Cami'u'n-Nezâ'ir*, Beyazıt State Library MS 5782, fol. 208b-210b. The anthology contains just this parallel poem of İzari.

<sup>48</sup> Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ*, 215; Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ*, vol. 2, 1059. On Lutfi, see İbrahim Maraş, "Tokatlı Molla Lutfi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Felsefesi," *Divân: İlmî Araştırmalar* 14 (2003): 119-136.

choice to move to Istanbul, though his position never exceeded that of his own teacher, the future grand mufti. In this regard, İzzari's career trajectory is hardly distinguishable from Cemali's, which peaked a little earlier and was professionally less prominent. In sum, both of these cousins were ambitious, well-educated men from Kütahya who ultimately sought out the opportunities afforded in the newly established capital of Istanbul and found varying degrees of success.

Of course, not every poet who originated from Kütahya and the region were related to one another.<sup>49</sup> The other poet in question, Şeyh Abdullah İlahi, had no connection at all to Şeyhi. Much of what we know about İlahi comes from Latifi and biographers such as Taşköprüzade, and predictably, information about his early life is scarce.<sup>50</sup> İlahi was born in the town of Simav, near Kütahya, and studied at the local madrasa. While still young during Mehmed II's reign, he went to Istanbul to further his education. İlahi next made his way to Samarqand to continue studying with the scholar Molla Tusi (d. 887/1482), who had departed Istanbul probably in the late 1460s. In Samarqand and afterward in Bukhara, he became initiated into the Naqshbandi order as a disciple after having made the acquaintance of numerous shaykhs. And Latifi notes that, before returning to Simav, İlahi had met the scholar and poet Jāmi (d. 898/1492), an adherent to the order, in Herat.<sup>51</sup> Upon his return to Simav, likely in the early 1470s, İlahi set up a Naqshbandi lodge in Simav – hence his title – and then in Istanbul at the beginning of Bayezid II's reign, though Taşköprüzade mentions that he had been personally invited back to the city earlier by Mehmed II.<sup>52</sup> İlahi eventually retired in Rumeli and died in 896/1491 at Vardar Yenicesi, where his tomb quickly became a popular place of pilgrimage.

Needless to say, scholarly attention has been devoted to İlahi's important role in the establishment of the Naqshbandi order within the Ottoman realm.<sup>53</sup> But for our purpose, we are more concerned with his poetry, which İlahi mainly composed in Persian. That he did so ought not be surprising, given the extended time he spent in Iran and Transoxiana and a desire to disseminate mystical in-

<sup>49</sup> Sehi records that İzzari had a younger brother, Cenani, who was also a poet. Sehi's entry is rather brief, and offers few details, except that Cenani was a timar holder and died in the battle of Çaldıran in 1514 (idem, *Heşt Bibişt*, 247-48). Sehi is the sole biographer to make mention of him.

<sup>50</sup> Sehi has no entry for İlahi. Aşık Çelebi's is confused, and the Turkish verses quoted are likely the work of another poet.

<sup>51</sup> Latifi, *Tezkiretü's-Şu'arâ*, 126. For an itinerary of İlahi's travels, see Mustafa Kara, "Molla İlahî'ye Dair," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 7-8 (1988): 365-366, n. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Taşköprüzade, *Tercüme-i Şakā'ik-i Nu'māniye*, 263. There has been debate over when the invitation was made. Mustafa Kara has argued that it must have been made by Mehmed II toward the end of his reign, before his death in 1481 (idem, "Molla İlahî'ye Dair," 366-367).

<sup>53</sup> For example, see Kasım Kufralı, "Molla İlahî ve Kendisinden Sonraki Nakşbendiye Muhihi," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 3 (1949): 129-151; and also Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 2005), 35-45.

sight. And whatever prior knowledge İlahi had of Persian must have improved with his stay there.

It appears that his works, including his poetry, were largely produced after his return.<sup>54</sup> One of the two treatises Latifi specifically cites for İlahi, his *Zād al-Musbtāqin* (“Provisions for the Lovers”), was written in Turkish at the end of his life in 895/1490.<sup>55</sup> Latifi remarks that the *Zād* was esteemed among mystics as a devotional guide.<sup>56</sup> Interestingly, in the preface to the treatise, İlahi states that he wrote in Turkish because there was demand from his pupils and friends who did not know Arabic and Persian.<sup>57</sup> That seems to have been the primary reason behind his prose works in Turkish, which are in the majority, with some in Arabic and Persian.

Be that as it may, it is through his poetry, Persian in particular, that İlahi was most recognised by *literati* who were mystically inclined like Latifi. In this respect, İlahi’s association with Jāmī, must have imparted some prestige to him; for it was Jāmī, emblematic of the efflorescence of Persian literary culture under Hüsayn Bayqara in Herat, whom the Ottoman elites in Istanbul sought to emulate in Turkish. According to Taşköprüzade, once in the city, İlahi attracted state officials, high-ranking ‘*ulamā*’, and the capital’s rich to his gatherings.<sup>58</sup> It was in these gatherings that İlahi undoubtedly recited his Persian verse, which in turn got circulated outside his immediate circle.

Latifi quotes only İlahi’s Persian verses. The first is the opening couplet of a divine hymn (*nefes-i kudsi*):

چار چیز است نامرادانرا مراد اندر جهان  
ترك مال و ترك جاه و ترك راحت ترك جان

Four things are asked for those ungratified here –  
Abandon wealth, status, comfort, and the soul.<sup>59</sup>

This couplet Taşköprüzade cites as well, at the end of his notice for İlahi.<sup>60</sup> And like Latifi, Taşköprüzade quotes just İlahi’s Persian verses.

Besides another couplet, Latifi furnishes a quatrain by İlahi, which he describes as useful for conveying the concepts of *tawakkul* and *taslim*, complete trust in and surrender to God. He adds that the quatrain was particularly intended for everyone (*‘amma-yi anām*), to have them behave in good faith and be resigned to their fate:

<sup>54</sup> *İlâhî Divanı*, ed. İsmail Hikmet Ertalyan (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1961), 11-18.

<sup>55</sup> Kara has pointed out that the other work Latifi attributes to İlahi, his *Najât al-Arwâh* (“Salvation of the Souls”), is mistaken (idem, “Molla İlahî’ye Dair,” 377-378).

<sup>56</sup> Latifi, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şu‘arâ*, 126.

<sup>57</sup> Kara, “Molla İlahî’ye Dair,” 376.

<sup>58</sup> Taşköprüzade, *Tercüme-i Şakâ’ik-i Nu‘māniye*, 263.

<sup>59</sup> Latifi, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şu‘arâ*, 126. Cf. idem, *Tezkire-i Latîfi*, ed. Ahmed Cevdet (Istanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1314/1896), 51.

<sup>60</sup> Taşköprüzade, *Tercüme-i Şakâ’ik-i Nu‘māniye*, 265.

گر کار تو نیکست به تدبیر تو نیست  
 ور نیز بدست هم تقصیر تو نیست  
 تسلیم رضا پیشه کن و شاد بری  
 که نیک و بد همان بتدبیر تو نیست

If your affairs are good, it's not by your plan;  
 If also bad, it's not due to your failure in duty.  
 Make accepting fate your trade and rejoice,  
 For what's good or bad is not by your plan.<sup>61</sup>

Lamii Çelebi, a follower of the Naqshbandi order, translated and adapted into Turkish Jāmi's collection of hagiographies, *Nafahāt al-Uns* ("Breaths of Intimacy"). The work, finished in 927/1521 and a source used by Taşköprüzade, has an appendix featuring some thirty Anatolian shaykhs, among whom is İlahi. Lamii quotes a couplet of his, not cited by either Taşköprüzade or Latifi, that identifies the place of his birth, the district of Tekellüf in Simav, while making a pun on the name, which means "burden":

در تکلف شد اِلاهی را مقام اندر سِماو  
 گرچه خود را از تکلف دور کرد از دیرگاه

In Tekellüf, within Simav, was İlahi's abode,  
 Yet from fate's burden he distanced himself far.<sup>62</sup>

As the couplet illustrates, İlahi's poetry can be rhetorically sophisticated. Simply a glance at the *ghazals* contained in his *dirwān*, more than 100, testify to that.<sup>63</sup> Regarding his Turkish poetry, there are not many individual poems. Only twenty or so *ghazals* are included in his *dirwān*, and for the most part edification, and not craftsmanship, seems to have been the aim, as is the case with his Turkish prose works. Nor does it appear that İlahi's Turkish verses were especially appreciated. In the anthologies, merely two parallel poems are recorded and of no real significance.<sup>64</sup> Here is an example of a Turkish *ghazal* of his:

‘Āşık oldur ki cān fedā kıla  
 Gönlünü derde mübtelā kıla  
 Nefs-i pāsından arda gönlün  
 Cānını şāhib-i şafā kıla  
 ‘Işık yolında ‘āşık-i şādık  
 Bîñ cefā göre vü vefā kıla  
 ‘Işık u derd ile hoş şafā süre

<sup>61</sup> Latifi, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şu‘arā*, 127. Cf. idem, *Tezkire-i Latîfî*, 51.

<sup>62</sup> Lamii Çelebi, ed. and trans., *Nefehâtü’l-Ûns min Hadarâti’l-Kuds* (Istanbul: Marifet, 1980), 460; *İlâhî Divanı*, ed. Ertaylan, 1.

<sup>63</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Morkoç, "Eğridirli Hacı Kemal'in Cami'ün Nezâir'i," 1121-1122, 2331-2332. Cf. Beyazıt State Library MS 5782, fol. 186b.

*Kuvvet-i cān mihnet ü belā kıla  
Başım sıdık ile İläbî-veş  
Hâk-i dergâh-i Muştafâ kıla*

The lover is he who'll sacrifice his soul,  
Who'll make his heart ache for pain.  
He'll swell his heart with attentive breath;  
He'll have his soul seized with delight.  
The true lover on the path of love,  
He'll suffer plenty, and still be loyal.  
He'll go gladly on with love and pain,  
As the soul's might will test and torment.  
He who's like İlahi, with firm conviction,  
He'll have his head dust the Prophet's convent.<sup>65</sup>

If not all of his poetry was of the same calibre but merely a means to express mystical notions, that did not prevent İlahi from earning the interest of the powerful and rich in Istanbul. Yet remarkably, he initially gained a following in Sivrihisar after his return. As Taşköprüzade tells it, İlahi had promptly gathered around him a considerable circle of students and *'ulamā'*, and his reputation was such that it spread to the capital.<sup>66</sup> What this suggests to us is that there was a local audience ready for his spiritual message – an audience that was also capable of receiving it through poetry and passing it on. In other words, a literary culture still persisted in the Kütahya area, but one definitely less courtly in outlook. And in spite of fate taking İlahi and the spotlight away to Istanbul, we can safely assume that this scene continued backstage.

### *Kütahya Revisited*

The case of İlahi points to the importance of the Mevlevi presence in the maintenance of at least a Persian-oriented literary culture in Kütahya and the surrounding region. But to what extent remains to be seen, since we have no account of Mevlevi literary activity specific to the area in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The situation equally applies to literary activity in general, including scholarly production. There appears to be very little of note to have emerged from Kütahya or nearby places, though further research is required in this regard. What is clear, however, is that if we take the careers of Cemali, İzari, and İlahi as representative of those of a poet, a scholar, and a Sufi shaykh respectively – though the sample size is small – men with talent or insight at the time consistently migrated from the Kütahya area to the capital of Istanbul, where patronage was concentrated. The effect simply was to reduce Kütahya's status as literary centre.

<sup>65</sup> *İläbî Divanı*, 123.

<sup>66</sup> Taşköprüzade, *Tercüme-i Şakā'ik-i Nu'māniye*, 262-63. Lamii mentions that İlahi even received gifts from the kazasker or chief military judge of Rumelia (idem, *Neşehâtü'l-Üns*, 461).

We may nonetheless surmise from the examples of the three figures discussed that the institutional support for basic poetic training, in the form of madrasas, never diminished in Kütahya after the city had come under Ottoman control. But Ottoman *litterati*, with a bias toward emphasizing the efflorescence of Turkish poetry under the patronage of the court in Istanbul, had next to no incentive to recognise alternative literary milieus, bustling or not. Moreover, from the historicising perspective of the biographers that privileges Ottoman achievement, Kütahya was primarily viewed as a past-its-prime place associated with Germiyanid rule. And that revisionist view, I argue, shaped their attitude toward poets from Kütahya and the region, and the scarce attention paid to them. What the biographers ultimately present to us, then, is an Ottoman construction of literary Kütahya, with Şeyhi as the last great poet to originate from there.

### *Bibliography*

- Abdullah İlahi. *İlâhî Divanı*, ed. İsmail Hikmet Ertalyan. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1961.
- Aşık Çelebi. *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ: İnceleme-Metin*, ed. Filiz Kılıç. 3 vols, Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010.
- Baltacı, Câhid. *XV-XVI. Asırlar Osmanlı Medreseleri: Teşkilât, Tarîh*. Istanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1976.
- Cemali. *Miftâbü'l-Ferec: Tenkitli Metin*, ed. İ Çetin Derdiyok. Adana: Türkoloji Araştırmaları, 1998.
- Cemâli. *Hayatı, Eserleri ve Divânı: İnceleme, Tenkidli Metin, Tıpkıbasım*, ed. İ. Çetin Derdiyok. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1994.
- Çiftçioğlu, İsmail. "Germiyanogulları Dönemi Kütahya Medreseleri." *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 15 (2006): 161-80.
- Derdiyok, İ Çetin. "XV. Yüzyıl Şâirlerinden Cemâlî'nin, Fâtih Sultan Mehmed'in Arnavutluk Seferini Anlatan Bir Mesnevisinin Seyahatname Olarak Değerlendirilmesi." In Adem Balaban and Bünyamin Çağlayan (eds), *Uluslararası Dil ve Edebiyat Çalışmaları Bildirileri*. Tirana: Universiteti "Hëna e Plotë" (BEDËR) Press, 2012, 65-85.
- Derdiyok, İ. Çetin. "Fâtih Devri Şâirlerinden Cemâlî'nin Divanı'nda Yer Alan İki Tarih." *Tarih ve Toplum: Aylık Ansiklopedik Dergi* 120 (1993): 377-78.
- Edirneli Nazmi. *Mecma'u'n-Nezâ'ir: İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin*, ed. M. Fatih Köksal. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012. Online publication: <http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10721,edirneli-nazmi-mecmaun-nezairpdf.pdf?0>.
- Edirneli Sehi. *Heşt Bibişt, Sebî Beg Tezkiresi: İnceleme, Tenkidli Metin, Dizin*, ed. Günay Kut. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1978.
- Eğridirli Hacı Kemal. *Câmi'u'n-Nezâ'ir*. Beyazıt State Library MS 5782.



- Ergin, Muharrem. "Câmi-ül-Meâni'deki Türkçe Şiirleri." *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 3 (1949): 539-569.
- Erimer, Kayahan. "Gün Işığında Çıkan Değerli Bir Eser." *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* (1973-1974): 265-281.
- Gibb, E. J. W. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*. Vo1. 1. London: Luzac, 1900.
- Güler, Kadir. *Kütahya Şâirleri I*. Kütahya: Kütahya Valiliği, 2010.
- Güler, Kadir and Ersen Ersoy, "16. Yüzyıl Kaynaklarına Göre Germiyan ve Kütahya Şuarâsı Üzerine Değerlendirmeler." *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 24 (2009): 173-182.
- Horata, Osman. "Cemâlî'nin *Hümâ vü Hümayûn* Mesnevisi." *Marmara Üniversitesi Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7 (1993): 281-306.
- Horata, Osman. "XV. Yüzyıl Şairlerinden Cemâlî'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri." *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1991): 51-81.
- İnalcık, Halil. "The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments, and Court Poets." Translated by Michael D. Sheridan. *Journal of Turkish Literature* 5 (2008): 5-75.
- İnalcık, Halil. "Klasik Edebiyat Menşei: İrani Gelenek, Saray İşret Meclisleri ve Musâhib Şairler." In *Türk Edebiyat Tarihi*, ed. Talât Sait Halman. Volume 1. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006, 221-282.
- İpekten, Halûk. *Divan Edebiyatında Edebî Mubitler*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996.
- Jâmi. *Nefebâtü'l-Üns min Hadarâti'l-Kuds*, translated by Lamii Çelebi. İstanbul: Marifet, 1980.
- Kara, Mustafa. "Molla İlâhî'ye Dair." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 7-8 (1988): 365-392.
- Kufraı, Kasım. "Molla İlâhî ve Kendisinden Sonraki Nakşbendiye Muhiti." *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 3 (1949): 129-151.
- Kut, Günay. "Cemâlî." *TDVİA*, vol. 7, 361.
- Latifi. *Tezkiretü's-Şuarâ ve Tabsiratü'n-Nuzamâ: İnceleme-Metin*, ed. Rıdvan Canım. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2000.
- Latifi. *Tezkire-i Latifi*. Edited by Ahmed Cevdet. İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1314/1896.
- Le Gall, Dina. *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700*. Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 2005.
- Maraş, İbrahim. "Tokatlı Molla Lütü: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Felsefesi." *Dîvân: İlmî Araştırmalar* 14 (2003): 119-136.
- Morkoç, Yasemin Ertek Morkoç. "Eğridirli Hacı Kemal'in Cami'ün Nezâir'i: Metin ve Mecmua Geleneği Üzerine Bir İnceleme." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ege University, 2003.

- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. "Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life, 1071-1453." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet, *Byzantium to Turkey 1071-1453*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 353-422.
- Özönder, Hasan. "Kütahya Mevlevihânesi." *Şelçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (1996): 69-89.
- Taşköprüzade, Ahmed ibn Muştafa. *Tercüme-i Şakā'ik-i Nu'māniye*. Translated by Mecdi Mehmed Efendi. Istanbul: Tabhane-i Amire, 1269/1852.
- Tayşi, Mehmed Serhan. "Cemâl-i Halvetî." *TDVİA*, vol. 7, 303.
- Timurtaş, Faruk K. "Şeyhi'nin Hayatı ve Şahsiyeti," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 5 (1953): 91-120.
- Timurtaş, Faruk K. "Fatih Devri Şairlerinden Cemali ve Eserleri." *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 4 (1951): 189-213.
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. *Bizans ve Selçukîlerle Germiyan ve Osman Oğulları Zamanında Kütahya Şebri*. Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1932.
- Yıldız, Osman. "Cemâli-i Karamanî ve *Miftâbu'l-Ferec*'i." *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2 (1996): 271-292.
- Yıldız, Sara Nur. "Historiography xiv. The Ottoman Empire." *Elr*, vol. 12, 403-411.

# Index

Note: The letter f following a page number indicates a figure and n an endnote.

- ‘Abd al-Fattāh *see* Abdülfettah  
‘Abd al-Hāfiz 340  
‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Qayṣarī (Abdu’l-Muhsin Kayseri) *see* al-Qayṣarī, ‘Abd al-Muhsin  
‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ud, Companion of the Prophet 64n70  
Abdal Musa 74, 88  
*abdāls* (Sufi saints) 74, 81, 94, 95n87  
Abdāls of Rūm (*Abdālān-ı Rūm*) 55, 57n34; 73, 74, 77, 337  
seven *abdāl* 112  
Abdülcebbaroğlu Ahmed  
*Leṭāyifü’l-Kudsıyye* (Sacred Stories) 203, 232  
*Tuhfetü’l-Leṭāyif* (A Gift of Stories) 202  
Abdülfettah (‘Abd al-Fattāh) 322  
Abdülkerim Efendi, Molla 392  
Abdülmuizz b. Abdurrahman 103  
Abdülvası Çelebi 256n49  
*Ḥalilnâme* 252  
*abjad* system 112  
Abraham, prophet 252, 277  
Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad, Shihāb al-Din 339  
Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arī 228  
Abū al-Ḥasan: *Bishāratnâme* 125, 131  
Abū al-Wafā’, Sayyid Tāj al-‘Arifin *see* Tāj al-‘Arifin Abū al-Wafā’, Sayyid  
Abū Bakr, Sayyid Taqī al-Din *see* Taqī al-Din Abū Bakr, Sayyid  
Abū Bakr al-Şiddiq, Caliph 347  
Abū Bakr-i Tihri, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* 155  
Abū Ḥanifa 60, 64, 64n72; 110; *see also* Hanafis; Hanifis: school of law  
Abū Ishāq, Burhān al-Din 347n53  
Abū Ishāq, Shāh Shaykh Jamāl al-Din 222–3, 224  
Abū Sa‘id, Sultan (Ilkhanid) 149n53; 182  
Abū Sa‘id, Sultan (Timurid) 320, 322  
Abū Sa‘id Bahādur Khan *see* Abū Sa‘id, Sultan (Ilkhanid)  
Abū Ṭālib, al-Sayyid (Shiite scholar) 363  
‘Acem lands 321, 322, 324  
Acemi, Kutbuddin (Quṭb al-Din al-‘Ajāmī) 322  
*adab* literature 28, 34–5, 37, 38, 116, 198–9, 212, 228,  
Aydınid court 201–6  
and Islamisation 231, 235  
medical 206–10  
religious 235  
*Tire Miscellany* 198, 217–31, 219f, 220f, 221f  
Aflāki 58n39; 59; 202, 61n58  
Afyon 107  
Ağras 325  
Aḥmad, Sayyid (Seyyid Ahmed) (Crimean scholar) 323  
Aḥmad of Niğde 58n38, 67n85  
Aḥmad b. Sayyid Ishāq b. Sayyid ‘Alām al-Din (father of Seyyid Vilayet) 349n64  
Aḥmad ‘Isā Beg 210n53  
Aḥmad Jalāyir 306  
Ahmed Fakih: *Çarḥnâme* 30  
Ahmed Paşa 384, 388–9, 390  
Ahmed Rıdvan: *İskendernâme* 249–50, 251  
Ahmedi (Taceddin Ahmed ibn İbrahim) 35, 39, 184, 185, 235, 285–95, 297, 308, 324  
*İskendernâme* 38–9, 184, 185, 246, 249–52, 254–71, 272–3, 276, 278–9, 285–7, 295, 305, 308  
life 286  
*Mirqāt al-adab* 233  
*Tevāriḥ-i Mulūk-i Āl-i ‘Osmān* 256–60, 288–308  
religious attitude 289, 293  
Ahmed-i Dai 178n12, 287n8  
‘Ā’isha bt. Abi Bakr 64n70  
al-‘Ajāmī, Quṭb al-Din *see* Acemi, Kutbuddin  
al-Akhlāṭī, Ḥusayn 121, 126n101  
Ahi Evren 179  
Aksaray 53n14, 329  
‘Alā’ al-Din Kayqubād I *see* Kayqubād I, ‘Alā’ al-Din  
‘Alā’ al-Din Kayqubād III *see* Kayqubād III, ‘Alā’ al-Din  
‘Alā’ al-Din Sāwa 190

- ‘Alā al-Dīn “the Fortunate” *see* Kayqubād III, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn
- ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Yār ‘Ali Shīrāzī *see* Yār ‘Ali Divrīki: ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Yār ‘Ali Shīrāzī
- Alaeddin Ali (Karamanid ruler) 303
- Alamūt 61, 66
- Alanya mint 149
- Albania 386–7
- alchemy 187
- alcohol  
   use by Qalandars 58  
   use by Emir Süleyman 301  
*see also* wine
- Alevi-Bektashi literature 73
- Alevi  
   communities 334  
   documents and archives 336, 337n17, 346, 353n70  
   *dede* 334  
   *ocak* 346, 347, 353n70  
   texts 78, 79
- Alevi-Bektashi literature 73
- Alevism 73, 78
- Alexander Romance 38, 243–79  
   Ahmedi: *İskendernâme* 254–71, 274, 305  
   Byzantine 245–8  
   “Chapbook of Alexander” (*Fyllada tou Alexandron*) 247, 248  
   Greek 245–8, 269  
   Hamzavi: *İskendernâme* 272–8  
   “History of Hungary” (*Tārīḫ-i Ungurus*) 250–1  
   perception and uses 273, 278–9  
   Persian 265  
   *Sadd-i Iskandari* (“Wall of Alexander”) 250  
   Turkish 248–54
- Alexandria 205, 209
- Aflākī, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad 58n39
- ‘Ali (great-grandson of ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz Badrī) 340
- ‘Ali al-A‘lā (*khalīfa* or spiritual successor of Faḍlallāh Astarābādī) 140
- ‘Ali al-Riḍa, Imam 349n60
- ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib Imam 60-1, 118, 152n61, 227  
   doctrine of 88–91
- ‘Ali b. Ḥusayn Anṣārī, Zayn al-‘Aṭṭār *see* Zayn al-‘Aṭṭār Ali b. Ḥusayn Anṣārī
- ‘Ali b. Mu‘īn al-Dīn Sulaymān Parwāna 67
- Ali b. Salih, Hoca (of Ayasuluk) 200–1
- Ali Beg (Dulkadirid) 125
- ‘Ali Miṣrī, Shaykh 116
- Ali Paşa, Çandarlı *see* Çandarlı Ali Paşa
- Alp Arslan 66
- alphabet, Perso-Arabic 112  
   and esoteric knowledge 123, 138  
*see also* ‘ilm al-ḥurūf
- Altın Bugha 205
- Amalekites 303
- Amasya 122, 329f, 286, 329, 384
- Amid 154, 377
- Amrad Shīrāzī Garūbad 62n61
- Anatolia 19, 25, 28–9, 31, 34, 37, 38, 116, 125, 128, 130, 176, 178, 197, 198, 199, 204, 207, 208, 218, 229–31, 286, 395
- Anatolia, medieval; *see also* Rūm  
   conquest of by Muslim Turks 21, 315  
   geographical situation 20, 25, 27  
   Ilkhanid rule in 23, 51, 53, 67, 224  
   Ilkhanid cultural trends in 229, 231  
   Islamicisation of 49, 231,  
   movement of scholars to 40, 41, 315, 364  
   Ottoman expansion in 25, 28, 40, 302–3, 306  
   Seljuk rule in 53, 67, 244, 257, 276  
   transfer of knowledge to 31, 39, 199, 229, 230, 361  
   Turkish principalities (*beyliks*) 19, 23–8, 69
- Anatolian Turkish *see* Turkish: Old Anatolian Turkish
- Ankara 262, 288, 306, 307, 322  
   battle of (1402) 287; *see also* Timur:  
   conquest of Anatolia
- Anṣārī, ‘Ali b. Ḥusayn (Zayn al-‘Aṭṭār) 211
- Antalya: madrasa 122; *see also* Pamphylia
- anthologies (anthologising) 126, 186, 192, 222, 224n101, 226–7
- Anushirwan *see* Khusraw Anushirwan
- apocalypticism 244
- apostates 60
- Aqquyunlus 27, 101, 146–7, 150, 153–6, 321, 322  
   coin hoard 37, 137–57  
   Great Civil War 155
- Aqsarā’i, Karīm al-Dīn Mahmud b. Muḥammad 67n85, 190
- Arabic 31, 33  
   literature 33, 35, 36, 41, 91, 101, 193, 224, 226–8, 229, 232–4, 245, 387–8

- coin inscriptions 145, 146n43, 149, 150, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168
- documents 145, 149, 150n55
- geographical manuscripts 373
- hagiography in 40
- medieval "Republic of Letters" 21
- religious and scholarly works 38, 198, 201, 213–15, 325, 365–6, 368
- Arabic script
- Burhan al-Din Ahmad: *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt* 113
- esoteric practices 76, 116; *see also* *ilm al-ḥurūf*
- arbāb al-tawḥīd* 230
- architecture: Anatolian: Mamluk influences 218; *see also* mosques
- Ardabil 371, 377
- Ardashir 227
- Aristotle 227, 261, 269, 275, 366
- Armenian
- clerical classes 151
- colophon 155–6
- futuwwa* texts 151
- language 193
- language on Ilkhanid coinage 138n3
- Shirīn as princess 205
- Armenians (of Anatolia) 151
- ascetics 94, 227, 229–30
- Aşık Çelebi 271, 391
- Aşık Paşa 35
- Garibnâme* 33, 188n38
- Aşıkpaşazade 251–2, 305, 334, 336, 337, 338, 349, 354, 355n76
- Astarābādī, 'Aziz b. Ardashir 127–8, 130
- Bazm u Razm* 101, 115, 116–18, 119
- Astarābādī, Faḍlallāh 122, 123, 126, 130n113, 131, 138, 139
- Jāwidānnāma* 124–5
- astronomy, theoretical 41, 269, 295, 361, 367, 368, 369, 375
- calendars 226
- tables 368, 371
- texts 54, 262n69, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367–8, 369, 370
- atheists 57
- al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Atṭār, Farid al-Din Muḥammad 37, 183, 184, 190, 202
- Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* 85–8, 174, 178–9, 181, 385
- authorship, notions of 177, 183, 185n32, 192, 193
- Aws tribe 227
- Ayasuluk (Selçuk) 33, 38, 197n1, 199, 200, 201, 215n72, 217, 230, 231
- madrasa 214
- Aydinid principality (*beylik*) 26, 197n1
- court culture and literature 28, 32, 33, 34ff, 197–235
- Ottoman conquest and annexation of 27, 217, 317
- Azerbaijan 63, 144n27, 319, 321, 324, 363, 377
- Baba Ilyās 336, 338, 354, 355
- Baba'ī revolt (1239-41) 337
- al-Bābartī, Akmal al-Din Muḥammad al-Rūmī al-Miṣrī 286
- Badi' al-Jamāl of Shiraz, Muzaffarid Princess 211
- Badr al-Din Muḥammad, Sayyid 340, 341, 342, 343, 345n42, 346
- Badri family 334–5, 338, 340, 340n24, 342, 343, 344
- Badri-Wafā'ī family 336, 339–40, 342–8, 353–4, 356
- family tree 341f, 343, 345
- Bāgh-i Iram (Garden of Iram) 225
- Baghdad 60–1, 62, 148, 205n28, 209, 210, 230, 258n55, 370, 372, 376
- Mongol conquest of 22, 56, 148, 258
- al-Baghdādī, Junayd 230
- al-Baghdādī, Maḥmūd b. Shaykh 'Ali al-Ḥusaynī, Shaykh *see* Marzubān, Shaykh al-Baghdādī, Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl b. Ilyās b. Aḥmad al-Khūyī *see* Ibn al-Kutubī al-Shāfi'
- Baḥr al-ansāb* (Sayyid genealogy) 351
- Bahrām Shāh 204
- Bakrī family 333, 347
- Balıkesir 27
- Balıḥ Sultan 75
- Balkans 25, 27n26, 31, 33, 40, 139, 140, 252, 253, 262, 265, 278, 290, 307, 315, 316n3, 319, 375
- Balkh 371, 372, 378
- al-Balkhī, Muḥammad (disciple of Sāwī) 59n49
- Barbaro, Josaphat 59
- Barqūq, Sultan 115, 121, 259, 305

- Barsbay, al-Ashraf, Sultan 154  
 Basra 112, 227, 376  
 Battle of Ankara 287  
 Battle of Kosovo 246, 303, 304  
 Battle of Nicopolis 295, 307  
 Batu 322  
 Bayburt 37, 142, 144, 153  
 Bayezid I, Sultan 27n26, 30n36, 127, 217, 254, 259–60, 261, 262, 263, 287, 305, 306–7, 308, 316n3, 317, 323, 328, 392, 393  
 Bayezid II, Sultan 249, 316n3, 329, 365, 385, 387, 392, 393, 394  
 Bayezid, şehzade (son of Süleyman I) 384  
*begs* 25, 27n26, 29, 197, 199, 231  
*Behcetü'l-Hadā'ik fi Mev'izeti'l-Ḥalā'ik* 29n34  
 Bektaş, Hacı *see* Hacı Bektaş  
 Bektashis 55, 73–5, 77, 140, 337  
   doctrine of the Four Gates and Forty Stations 78–80  
   proto-Bektashis 139–40  
   religiosity 139–40  
   texts 78–79  
 Bektashism 36, 75, 77, 78  
 Bereket, Hekim *see* Hekim Bereket (Bereket the Physician)  
 Bergama 27  
 Berke Faqih 205  
 Beshbaliq (Besh-Baliq) 63n66  
*beyliks* 19, 23–34, 53, 67, 69, 101, 197, 287, 383  
 Biga 107  
 Bilāl Ḥabashi (Bilāl b. Rabāh) 62  
 biographical dictionaries 41, 250, 255, 271, 362, 384, 390, 391  
 Birgi (Pyrgion) 33, 197n1, 200, 207n39, 214n66, 328  
   Birgi madrasa 200, 201, 214, 231  
 al-Biṣṭāmī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 121, 122  
 al-Biṣṭāmī, Abū Yazid 230  
 Bithynia 298  
 Bitlis 125–6  
 Blochet, Edgar 50, 51, 53  
 Bolayır 301  
 “Book of Kings” *see* *Shābnāma*  
 Bozdağı *see* Birgi  
 Bozdağı (mountain) 225  
 Bukhara 63n66, 345, 371, 378, 379, 394  
 Bulghār 371, 372, 379  
 al-Būnī, Ahmad, Shaykh 116  
 Burhān al-Din Aḥmad (Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed) 35, 36, 101–31, 324  
   background 101–2  
   correspondence with Yār 'Alī 123–4  
   *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt* 36, 101–21, 104f, 105f, 106f, 126–31  
   Arabic script 113  
   compared to Nesimi 126  
   contents 107–10, 131  
   cosmology 123–4, 125  
   date 127  
   intellectual formulation and milieu 116–19, 121, 130  
   language 125  
   manuscripts and translations 102–10  
   number symbolism 112–13, 124  
   purpose 110, 126–8, 130  
   seven imams concept 111–13  
   *Tarjīh al-Takwīh* 101, 102, 108  
   thought 110–16  
 Bursa 35, 121, 263, 287, 288, 289, 290, 298, 307, 322, 323, 325, 328, 349, 355n76, 364, 374, 385, 386, 390  
*Bıyruḳ* manuscripts 78  
 Buzurgmihr (legendary vizier) 56n28  
 Byzantines  
   conflict with Ottomans 266  
   civil war 207  
   culture 200, 268  
   Empire 33, 175, 278  
   Emperor 243  
 Cairo 23n12, 40, 115, 121, 217, 230, 231, 323, 339, 340n24, 364, 373, 376, 385  
   Bakri family 347  
   Badri-Wafa'i family 354  
   Manṣūri Hospital (al-Bimāristān al-Man-ṣūri; Manṣūriyya) 211–12, 213, 215–16  
 caliphate 257  
   Mongol destruction of 56, 148, 258  
   Ottoman aspirations for 256  
 Caliphs, Abbasid 56, 257  
   and astronomers 372  
   and coins 148, 149, 152n61  
   and Seljuks 66, 149n52  
 Caliphs, early 56, 227, 257, 298, 347; *see also*  
   Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, Caliph; 'Umar b. al-Khattab,  
   Caliph; 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Imam  
   descendants of 347

- as models of exemplary behavior 61  
 Canary Islands 372  
 Candarids (Candarogulları) 23, 26–7, 28, 117–18, 329  
   Candarid-İsfendiyarids 41, 364  
 Çandarlı Ali Paşa (early Ottoman grand vizier) 300, 302  
 Çandarlı Halil Paşa (Ottoman grand vizier) 364, 374, 386  
 Çandarlı Kara Halil (Hayreddin) Paşa (early Ottoman grand vizier) 302  
 Çandarlı family of Ottoman viziers 259  
 Canı Beg 205n26  
 cannabis 58, 62, 63–4, 93  
 cartography 373  
 Cathay 273, 275, 277; *see also* China  
 Cem, Ottoman Prince 252  
 Cemali 42, 384–91, 392, 393, 394, 397  
   *Hümā ve Hümāyūn* 385–6, 390–1  
   life 385  
   *Miftāḥ al-Faraj* (“Key to Joy”) 386, 389  
 Cemile Han Melek Hatun 204  
 Cenani 394n49  
 censuses 95n87  
 China 180, 181, 182, 222, 277, 320; *see also*  
   Cathay  
 Chinese coin inscriptions 138n3  
 Chinggis Khan 258, 278  
 Chinggisids 322  
   dynastic claims and political discourse 33, 156  
   legacy and political order 39, 146, 147, 148, 258, 278  
 Christianity 21, 49, 243  
 Christians 33, 115, 151, 197, 202, 209, 210, 217, 243, 246, 304  
   interaction with Muslims 248, 265, 278, 300, 306, 307, 340, 371  
 Chübān (Çoban), Hüsām al-Dīn *see* Hüsām al-Dīn Chübān (Çoban)  
 Clement VI, Pope 217  
 Çoban, Hüsām al-Dīn *see* Chübān (Çoban), Hüsām al-Dīn  
 Çobanids 26n24, 36, 53, 54, 58, 65, 67–8, 257  
 coins 138n3; *see also* Erzincan coin hoard; mints  
 colophons 53, 155, 214, 368n23  
 Constantinople 19, 244, 253, 278, 368, 371–2, 379  
 Ayasofya 278, 329  
 Ayasofya madrasa 375  
 conquest of 244, 319, 361, 364  
 sieges of 19, 248n16, 265, 270, 296, 307–8, 318–19, 364  
   *see also* Istanbul  
 copyists 51, 55, 68, 103, 111, 198, 215, 216n78, 223–4, 226  
   *Tire Miscellany* 38, 198, 217–22, 224, 226–31  
 Çorum 95n87  
 cosmographies 252, 253, 269, 273, 373  
 cosmology 112, 114–15, 116, 122, 123–4, 125, 180n18, 253  
 court literature 197–235  
 courts 20, 368  
   Ayidinid 201–31  
   Bayezid I 323  
   culture 28, 35; *see also* court literature  
   Germiyanid 383  
   Ottoman 68, 268, 289–94, 295, 306, 348n57, 375, 397  
   Western Anatolian 290  
 craftsmen, itinerant 218n84  
 Crimea 322  
 Crusades 243, 252, 270, 307  
 Damascus 20, 30, 62, 62n59, 117, 222, 323, 340  
 Dārā, Shah *see* Darius III, King  
 Dārāb (Dārābid) *see* Darius III, King  
 Dargazini, Jalal-i (disciple of Sāwi) 59, 62n61  
 Darab, King 265  
 Dargazini, Jalal-i 59, 62n61  
 Darius III, King 39, 243, 245, 247, 248, 261, 265–9, 278  
 al-Dashtūti, ‘Abd al-Qādir 347  
 Dayr al-Shaykh 340, 342, 344n37  
 Dehhani 184  
 dervishes 32, 36, 55, 57, 634, 73, 74, 76, 88, 89, 90, 95, 116, 118, 126, 140, 289–90, 298, 334, 336, 337, 338n19, 346n47; *see also* Qalandars; Sufis  
 Devlet Hatun 260  
 didactic literature 34, 39, 76, 96, 173n2, 177n9, 185, 192, 193, 209, 228–9, 235, 251, 252, 269, 270, 296, 302, 303  
 al-Dimashqī, ‘Ali b. Mushaymish 218  
 Dimetoka 249

- diplomas (*ijāza*) 117, 213n62, 363, 364  
 Sufi 334, 336, 337n17, 339, 346, 349  
 Diyār Bakr 154  
 Diyār Rābi'a 154  
 doctors 206, 209, 321  
 [Dulkadiroğlu] Ali Beg 125  
 [Dulkadiroğlu] Nasreddin Beg 125
- Ebu'l-Hayr-i Rumi 252n30  
 Ede Bali, Shaykh 40, 334, 336, 337, 338,  
 353, 355, 356  
 Edirne 107, 287, 288, 290, 291, 307, 328,  
 329, 355n76, 390  
 Eğridir 27, 192; *see also* Psidia  
 Efdalzade Hamidüddin 325  
 Egypt 20, 21, 38, 116, 150, 199, 212, 213,  
 222, 245, 286, 323, 324, 362  
 Gülşehri 192  
 Islam 21  
 lodge of Kaygusuz 74  
 Mamluk literature 22  
 Qalandars 63  
*see also* Alexandria; Cairo; Mamluks
- Elvan Çelebi 184, 338  
 English vernacular 31, 32n45  
 Enveri 292, 306n103  
 Ephesus 200, 207n38  
 epics 251, 252, 268, 271, 273  
 Eretna 23  
 Ertuğrul 278n106, 298, 300  
 Erzincan 155–6, 371  
 Aqquyunlu Great Civil War 155–6  
 Hamza's attack on 154  
 intellectual and cultural life 151  
 mint 142, 143, 144, 145, 149n53, 153  
 Erzincan coin hoard 37, 137–8, 139–68  
 description 141–53  
 inscriptions 141, 141f, 142, 144–53, 151f,  
 153f, 157–68  
 historical context 150, 153–6  
 origin 140–1  
 Erzurum 59, 149  
 Eşrefids (Eşrefoğulları) 23, 26  
 Esved, Alaeddin 324  
 Euclid 366, 367  
 Evren, Ahi *see* Ahi Evren  
 Evrenos Beg, Hacı (Gazi) 300, 302n77, 307  
 Gazi Evrenos Madrasa (Yenice-i Vardar)  
 319n14
- Fables of Bidpai see Kalila and Dimna*  
 Faḍlallāh Astarābādi *see* Astarābādi, Faḍlallāh  
 Fahri 178n12, 205  
*Husrev ü Şirin (Khusraw u Shirin)* 205–6,  
 233  
*Fakhr Āl Zayn al-Ābidin bi-Manāqib al-Sayyid*  
*Tāj al-Ārifin* 343  
 Fakih, Ahmed *see* Ahmed Fakih  
 Farghāni, Sa'd al-Din  
*Mashbāriq al-Darāri* 112  
*Muntabā al-Madārik* 107, 108, 109  
 al-Fārisi, Kamāl al-Din 365, 367n21  
 Faṭīma 227  
 Fenari, Alaeddin 322  
 Fenari, Şemseddin (Molla Fenari) 286, 323,  
 324, 326  
 Filibe 27n26  
*fiqh* 49, 64, 102, 117; *see also* jurisprudence  
 Firdawsī 246  
*Shābnāma* ("Book of Kings") 56, 245–6,  
 263, 264, 265, 266, 271, 276  
 French 31, 32n4  
*Fusṭāt al-Ādāla fi Qawā'id al-Saltana* 50–69,  
 52f  
 authorship 54–5, 65, 68  
 contents 51, 56–61  
 dating 51, 53, 68  
 legal insights 64–5, 68  
 patronage 53–4  
 political insights 65–8  
 production 55  
 religious insights 61–4, 68  
 script 51, 53  
 titles 50–1
- Galen: Galenic medicine 206, 208, 209,  
 233, 234, 366  
 Gallipoli: Ottoman conquest of 268n80  
 gardens 190–1  
 Bāgh-i Iram 225  
 metaphorical 150–1, 152, 182n22, 188,  
 391  
 al-Garkini, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-  
 Qarqini *see* al-Qarqini, (Garkini), Shaykh  
 Muḥammad b.  
 Ḥasan  
 Gazi Evrenos Madrasa (Yenice-i Vardar)  
 319n14  
 Geikhatu, Ilkhan 26n24, 53n16, 67  
 Genç Ahi Muhammed 201n14



- genealogies (*shajara, silsila*)  
 Badri-Wafa'i family 341f, 342–3, 345, 346, 347, 348  
 Ottoman 244, 276, 300  
 sayyid 345n42, 351  
 Seyyid Vilayet 349–55  
 Sufi 336, 346, 348  
*see also* Muḥammad, Prophet: descent from; spiritual lineages  
 genealogical forgery 40, 244, 276, 335–6, 347, 349–51, 353, 354, 355n76, 356  
 geography 25, 26n23, 27, 181, 269, 295  
 and optics 41, 362, 369–74  
 texts 369, 370, 373  
 Georgian script 138n3  
 Germiyanids 23, 26, 28, 33, 34, 41, 197n2, 207n39, 260, 286, 287, 289, 291, 317, 383, 385, 390, 391, 398  
 Geyikli Baba 336, 338n19  
 Ghānim, Sayyid 346n48, 353n70  
 al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad 133, 255  
*Ayyubā al-Walad* 121, 131  
*Kimyā-yi Sa'āda* 102  
*Sawāniḥ* 119  
 al-Ghazālī, Aḥmad 132  
*ghazals* 101, 126, 181n19, 184, 185, 204, 225, 388–9, 390, 391, 392, 393, 396–7  
 Ghazan Khan 37, 174, 175, 182, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191  
 Ghiyāth al-Din, Mir: *Istiwānāma* 125–6  
 Ghiyāth al-Din Kaykhusraw III, Sultan *see* Kaykhusraw III, Ghiyāth al-Din  
 Ghiyāth al-Din Mas'ūd II, Sultan *see* Mas'ūd II, Ghiyāth al-Din, Sultan  
 Gideros castle 54  
 Gog and Magog 244, 277  
 Golden Horde 23n12, 204, 322–3  
 Gonzales de Clavijo, Ruy 59  
 Greek: Alexander Romance in 245–8, 269  
 Gregory Palamas 268n80  
 Gülşehirli 35, 173–193  
*Falakuṇāma* 173–4, 177, 182–3, 184, 186–91, 193  
*Manṭıku't-Tayr* 33, 37, 174, 177n11, 178n13, 180–2, 183, 184, 186, 190, 191, 192, 193  
 penname 184, 185, 191–2  
 status 185  
 Gürani, Molla *see* Molla Gürani  
 Gushtasp (legendary Iranian king) 56n28  
 Hacı Bektaş (Veli) 30n36, 32, 74, 75n12, 78, 179, 336n11  
*Maḳālāt* 74n12, 75n12, 179  
 lodge 140  
 Hacı Kemal, Eğridirli 388, 393  
 Hacı Paşa (Celalüddin Hızır) 38, 198, 213–17, 229, 230–1, 234, 324  
 commentaries on religious texts 217  
*Hāshiyat (Sharḥ) Ṭawālī' al-Anwār fi 'Ilm al-Kalām* 216, 233  
*Müntehab-i Şifā'* 213, 234  
*al-Sa'āda wa'l-Iqbāl Murattab 'alā Arba'at Aqrwāl* 215  
*Sharḥ (or Hāshiyat) Lawāmi' al-Asrār fi Sharḥ Matālī' al-Anwār* 216, 234  
*Shifā' al-Asqām wa Darwā' al-Ālām* 214, 215, 234  
*al-Ta'lim fi 'Ilm al-Ṭibb* 214–15, 233  
*Teshbil* 213, 234  
*al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa* 215  
 Hacıhasanzade 325  
 hadith 54, 60, 64, 107, 108, 110, 132, 176n9, 201, 203, 226n110, 286, 339, 343n35, 370, 388  
 Ḥāfız 20, 22, 56  
 Hafız-ı -Acem (Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad) 322  
 hagiographies 32, 40, 59, 60, 61–2, 69, 88, 92–3, 202, 251, 271, 333, 334–5, 338, 339, 342, 343, 345, 346, 354, 356, 396  
*ḥajj* 109, 112, 113, 124, 342, 364, 365n15  
 al-Ḥalabī, Sirāj al-Din 326  
 Halil Paşa *see* Çandarlı Halil Paşa  
 al-Ḥallāj, Ḥusayn b. Manşūr al-Baghdādi 230  
 Halveti *see* Khalwati  
 al-Hamadhāni, Badi' al-Zamān 228  
 Hamidids (Hamidoğulları) 23, 26, 27  
 Ḥamūya, Sa'd al-Din 121, 123, 132, 133  
 Ḥamza Bahādur 144  
 Ḥamza b. Kara Osman 153, 154  
 Hamzavi 249, 251, 271–2  
*Hamzanāme* 249, 252n30, 272  
*Iskendernāme* 249, 254, 256, 257, 272–8  
 Hanafis 122, 286, 323, 339n23, 348  
 school of law 55, 64, 65, 68, 122  
 Harawī, Burhān al-Din 326  
 al-Ḥarīrī 228

- Hasan Ağa 302n77  
 Hasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu’min Ḥusām al-Din Khūyi *see* Khūyi, Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu’min Ḥusām al-Din  
 Hasan b. ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭālib, Imam 56, 347  
 Hasan b. Kara Osman 153, 154  
 Hasangazi 149  
 hashish *see* cannabis  
 Hatiboğlu: *Leṭāyifiuāme* 183–4  
 Hattab Karahisari 324  
 Hatun Ana 74  
 Hayali Ahmed 325  
 Haydaris (Haydariyya) 55, 57n34, 94  
 Hayreddin Halil 325  
 Hekim Bereket (Bereket the Physician) 207  
*Tuhfe-i Mübārizi* 207–10, 232  
 Herat 320, 322, 371, 372, 378, 394, 395  
 heresy 55, 56, 57, 60–2, 63, 65, 66–7, 123, 127, 138, 292, 393  
 Qalandar 36  
 heretics 57, 61, 65, 66, 68  
 al-Ḥilli, ‘Allama 117, 131  
 Hindavi language 21  
 Hippocrates (Abuqrāt) 214  
 historiography 175nn3,5  
 Ottoman 39, 285, 292, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 307–8, 383  
 Seljuk 66  
 Serbian 300  
 history: literature as 249, 250–2, 270, 305  
 Hızır Beg 325, 326  
*Hızırname* (“Book of *Khidr*”) 252  
 Hocazade Mustafa 325  
 Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān (Companion of the Prophet) 64n70  
 Hülegü, Ilkhan 56, 65–6, 148  
 Hungary 250–1  
 Hurufis 55, 122, 125–6, 130, 131, 139, 156–7  
 assassination attempt against Shāhrukh 321  
 cosmology 123, 124  
 and Erzincan hoard 37, 137–40, 146, 156  
 identity 138  
 influence on Bektashis 75  
 and Islamic scripture 138–9  
 and Mehmed II 123  
 persecution of 140  
*see also* Astarābādi, Faḍlallāh  
 Ḥusām al-Din Çelebi 188  
 Ḥusām al-Din Chübān (Çoban) 53  
 Ḥusām al-Din Khūyi *see* Khūyi, Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu’min Ḥusām al-Din Khūyi al-Ḥusayn, Muṣṭafā  
 Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭālib, Imam 56, 115, 227n112, 351  
 Ḥusayn Bayqara, Sultan 320, 395  
 Ḥusaynis of Jerusalem *see* Badri-Wafā’i family  
 Ibn ‘Abd al-Haqq 370  
 Ibn al-‘Alqamī 56n29  
 Ibn al-Bayṭār: *al-Jāmi’li Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa’l-Aghdhiya* (“The Compendium of Simple Drugs and Food”) 210–11, 212  
 Ibn al-Bazzāzi: Ḥāfiẓ al-Din al-Kardārī (Hafizüddin Kerderi Bezzazi) 323  
 Ibn al-Fāriḍ 122  
 Ibn al-Haytham 41, 362  
*Kitāb al-Manāzir (Optics)* 365, 367, 375  
 Ibn al-Jazarī, Shams al-Din 20, 320, 323  
 Ibn al-Kutubī al-Shāfi’i, Yūsuf b. Ismā‘il al-Khūyi al-Baghdādi 60, 210, 227  
*Kitāb Mā Lā Yasa’u al-Ṭabīb Jablahu fi’l-Ṭibb (Jam’ al-Baghdādi)* (What a Physician Should Not Be Ignorant About in Medicine) 210  
 Ibn al-Rūmī (Abbasid poet) 228  
*‘Ajā’ib al-Maqdūr fi Nawā’ib Timūr* 101  
 Ibn ‘Arabī 107, 108, 126, 127, 177  
 and Burhān al-Din 110–13, 115, 118, 119, 126  
*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikām* 118, 119  
*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* 115  
*Mir’at al-‘Arifin* (attrib.) 115  
 “seven *abdāl*” 112  
 Ibn Arabshāh 20  
 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 58, 62n62, 200–1, 206, 225n107  
 Ibn Bibi 53n16, 65, 276n99  
 Ibn Buṭlān: *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥab* (Tables of Health, *Tabula; Tacuini Sanitatis*) 209  
 Ibn Hanīf, Companion of the Prophet 227  
 Ibn Khaldūn 20, 127, 268  
 Ibn Melek 324n43  
 Ibn Muqaffa’ 204  
 Ibn al-Nafis 214, 215–16  
*Mūjiz al-Qānūn* 215  
 Ibn Rūzba 343n35  
 Ibn Sinā 111n30, 213n64, 214, 366, 371  
*Qānūn* 198, 207, 208, 215n73, 232

- ijāza* (teaching certificate) *see* diplomas
- al-Ījī: *al-Mawāqif fi ʿIlm al-Kalām* 363
- Īlahi, Şeyh Abdullah 42, 394–7
- Zād al-Mushtāqīn* (Provisions for the Lovers) 395
- Ikhwan al-Şafā
- cosmology 112
- Rasāʾil* (Epistles) 112, 121, 122
- Ilkhanids 23, 25–6, 33, 37, 38, 53, 65, 66, 138n3, 174, 175, 179, 181, 182, 199, 216, 217, 222n95, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 231, 258, 270, 368
- ʿilm al-bayʿa (astronomy) 367
- ʿilm al-ḥurūf (letterism) 36, 115, 121–6, 130, 132
- Ilyās, Baba *see* Baba Ilyās
- imams: seven imams concept 111–13
- India 21, 32, 223n98, 255n45, 320
- Indian Ocean 373
- Īnjū, Jalāl al-Dīn Masʿūd, Shāh 222
- Īnjū, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ishāq, Shāh Shaykh 222n95, 224
- Injuids 222n95, 223, 224
- intertextuality 38, 223n100, 225, 244, 250
- Iran 20, 21, 22, 34, 64, 269, 321, 322n30, 364, 394
- Alexander’s conquest of 243, 245, 265, 269
- ancient kings of 257
- cultural and intellectual traditions and trends 38, 218, 228, 229, 231
- coins 150n55
- Ilkhanid 25, 34, 38, 66, 199, 229
- poets and scholars from 65, 65n77, 213, 229, 319, 321–2, 324, 388
- political instability 224, 324
- political traditions 205, 224
- Savafid 55
- Timurid 140
- and Turan 276
- see also* Isfahan; Shiraz; Tabriz
- Iraq 25, 63, 227, 349, 364
- Abū al-Wafāʾ shrine 345, 345n42
- Wafāʾiyya order origins 333–4, 337, 343, 344n41, 348, 355
- see also* Baghdad; Basra
- ʿIrāqī, Fakhr al-Dīn 177, 226n110
- Lamaʿāt* 119
- İsa b. Bayezid (Ottoman prince) 263
- İsa Beg, Fahrüddin (Aydınid) 35, 38, 198, 205, 206, 213, 214, 216, 217–18, 222, 223, 224, 225, 230, 233f, 234f, 286
- İsfahan 139, 222n95, 229, 320
- al-İşfahānī, Abū Bakr (disciple of Sāwī) 59–60
- al-İşfahānī, Qadi Nizām al-Dīn 229
- İsfendiyar Beg b. Bayezid 27n26
- İsfendiyarids (İsfendiyaroğulları) 27; *see also* Candarids
- İskandarūs (son of Alexander the Great) 264
- İskendernāmes* *see* Alexander Romance
- Islam
- Alexander in 243
- Bilāl Ḥabashī and 62n60
- Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad on 110
- co-existence with Christianity 49
- court culture 28
- early history 257
- expansion 20, 21, 260, 265, 270, 276
- in *Fustāṭ al-ʿAdāla fi Qarwāʿid al-Saḫāna* 57
- Golden Horde khanate 322–3
- holy sites 256n49
- and Ottoman Empire 244
- “post-classical” period 22
- Shiites 49, 55
- Sunni 49
- see also* Muslims
- Islamisation
- institutions and 214, 315, 318
- vernacularisation and 21, 28
- İsmail (grandson of Candarid ruler İsfendiyar Beg b. Bayezid) 27n26
- İsmail Beg (Candarid-İsfendiyarid ruler) 364, 374
- İsmailis 66, 68, 112, 127
- Istanbul 317, 322, 325, 386, 397
- court 348n57, 397
- geographical manuscripts 373
- madrasas 318–19, 322, 329, 375
- plague 375
- Topkapı Palace library 365
- see also* Constantinople
- İzari Kasım Çelebi (Molla İzari) 42, 391–4, 397
- İzmir *see* Smyrna
- İznik 268n80, 298, 325, 328
- ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs I *see* Kaykāʾūs I, ʿIzz al-Dīn

- ‘Izz al-Din Kaykā’us II *see* Kaykā’us II, ‘Izz al-Din
- Ja‘far b. Ya‘qūb (Aqquyunlu prince) 143, 144, 152–3, 154, 155, 156, 168
- Ja‘far b. Ya‘qūb b. Kara Osman (Aqquyunlu prince) 143, 152, 154, 155, 156
- al-Jaghmini, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad: *al-Mulakkbāṣ fi al-Hay’a al-Basiṭa* (Epitome of Plain Theoretical Astronomy) 361–2, 368–70, 372, 373, 374
- Jahāngir (Aqquyunlu prince) 154
- Jahānshāh, Qaraquyunlu Sultan 154
- Jalayirids 205n28, 218n89, 257, 258, 305–6
- Jāmī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān 394, 395  
*Nafahāt al-Uns* (“Breaths of Intimacy”) 396
- Jahān Muẓaffar al-Din b. A.L.P.R.K, Mir *see* Muẓaffar al-Din Mas‘ūd b. Alp-Yürak
- Jaqmaq, Malik Zāhir, Sultan 323
- Jawliqism 57, 58
- Jerusalem 245, 246, 342n30, 343, 348n57, 355n76  
al-Aqṣā mosque 345  
Badri and Badri-Wafā’i family of 334–6, 338, 339, 340, 342, 344, 345, 346–8, 354, 356  
French consul in 348n58  
Ḥaram al-Sharīf 340, 348  
Khālidi family library 343  
*naqīb al-asḥraf* 348n58  
*niqābat al-asḥraf* 342, 348  
Wafā’iyya lodge 339nn21, 23, 340, 344, 345, 348
- Jews: as doctors 206
- jihād 33, 36, 109, 111, 113–16, 125, 125n97, 130, 131, 132
- al-Junayd (al-Baghdādi), Shaykh 227, 230, 355n76
- al-Jurjāni, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘Alī 20, 320, 361, 363, 364
- jurisprudence 55, 64, 68, 102, 286, 325, 363, 365; *see also fiqh*
- Kadızaḍe al-Rūmī, Mūsā *see* Qāḍizāḍe (Kadızaḍe) al-Rūmī, Mūsā  
*kalām* 49, 60, 213, 216, 233, 234, 286, 363, 364, 365  
*Kalila and Dimna (Fables of Bidpai)* 203–4  
Kamāl, Sharaf al-Din (Şerefüddin Kemal) 323
- Kara Halil Paşa, Çandarlı *see* Çandarlı Halil Paşa
- Kara Yülük, Osman (Aqquyunlu) 125
- Karaman: madrasas 328, 329
- Karamani Mehmed Paşa (Ottoman grand vizier) 296
- Karamanids (Karamanoğulları) 23, 26, 27, 28, 101, 128, 299, 304, 317, 328, 329, 355n76, 385  
occupation of Konya (1277) 29  
and Ottomans 303
- Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg 29
- Karasids 27
- al-Kardarī, Ḥafīz al-Din (Ibn al-Bazzāzi) *see* Ibn al-Bazzāzi
- Kashgar 63n66
- al-Kāshgharī, Maḥmūd: *Dirwān Lughāt al-Turk* 150n54
- Kastamonu 23, 26, 27, 36, 41, 53, 54, 66, 67, 68, 69, 329, 364, 374
- Katib Çelebi 68, 370
- Kaygusuz Abdal 73–96  
audiences 95–6  
hagiography 88, 92–3, 95n85  
religious opinions 76–7  
social context 91–6  
works  
*Delil-i Budalā* 75–6, 89  
*Dil-güṣā* 76, 83–4, 86–7  
*Gülistan* 75, 76  
*İkinci Mesnevi* 93–4  
*Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa* 76, 83–4, 88–90, 89  
*mathnawīs* 75, 76  
*Mesnevi-i Baba Kaygusuz* 75–6, 77–85, 87–8  
*Minbernāme* 93, 94  
*Salātnāme* 92–3, 94  
*Serāynāme* 76, 82, 85–6  
*Üçüncü Mesnevi* 91  
*Vücüd-nāme* 76, 90
- Kayı tribe 257, 276
- Kaykā’us I, ‘Izz al-Din, Sultan 51
- Kaykā’us II, ‘Izz al-Din, Sultan 148
- Kaykhusraw III, Ghiyāth al-Din, Sultan 149
- Kayqubād I, ‘Alā’ al-Din, Sultan 51, 65
- Kayqubād III, ‘Alā’ al-Din, Sultan 53, 190, 298
- Kayseri 23, 149n52, 176n8
- Kayseri, Davud *see* al-Qayşarī, Dā’ūd
- Kemah 37, 142, 143, 152, 153, 154, 155–6

- Kemal, Eğridirli Hacı: *Cāmi'ü'n-Nezā'ir* 184  
 Kemal Ümmi, Larendeli 183–4  
 Kesh 371  
 al-Khāfi, Zayn al-Din 337, 349, 355n76  
 al-Khalidi, Sharaf al-Din Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad  
 al-Tabrizi: *Rashaf al-Alhāz fi Kashf al-Alfāz*  
 226  
 Khalwati (Halveti) 385  
 Khamis, Sayyid 346, 353n70  
 al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b.  
 Maḥmūd 54, 55, 56  
 Khaṭīb-i Fārisi: *Manāqib* 59, 62, 63  
 al-Khazraji, Ghānim *al-Anṣārī* 355n76  
 Khiḍr 252, 261–2, 269, 273  
 Khotan 63n66  
 al-Khudrī, Abu Sa'īd, Companion of the  
 Prophet 64n70  
 Khurasan 41, 63, 230, 317n8, 319, 320, 321,  
 324  
 Khusraw Anushirwan 56n28, 227  
*Khusraw u Shīrin* 204, 205  
 Khuttalāni, Ishāq 321  
 Khūyi, Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Ḥusām al-  
 Din 65, 67–8  
*fahmāma* 54  
*Qarā'id al-Rasā'il wa-Farā'id al-Faḍā'il* 54  
 Khwāja Ishāq: *Kāshif al-Asrār* 140  
 Khwājū Kirmāni 386  
 Khwarazm 322  
 al-Khwārazmī, Abū Bakr 228  
*Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* 372  
 Kılıç Arslan IV, Rukn al-Din, Sultan 148  
 Kinalizade Hasan Çelebi 255  
 Kılıç Arslan b. Aḥmad 154  
 al-Kindi 366  
 kingship 60, 131  
 al-Kirmāni, Awhād al-Din 177  
*Manāqib-i Awhād al-Din Kirmāni* 61n58,  
 62n59  
 Kırşehir 32–3, 35  
 Kish 372  
 Koca Davud Paşa 384  
 Konya 20, 29, 59, 148, 216, 355n76, 384  
 Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad 175, 178, 192, 336  
*Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutassavıflar (Early*  
*Mystics in Turkish Literature)* 28, 29  
 Kritovoulos: *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*  
 269n82  
 al-Kubrawi, Najm al-Din Dāya al-Rāzi,  
 Shaykh 230  
 Kul Mesud: *Kalīla and Dimna* 203–4, 232  
 al-Kūrāni, Shihāb al-Din *see* Molla Gürāni  
 al-Kurd, Shams (disciple of Sāwi) 59n49  
 al-Kurdi, Muḥammad 59n49  
 Kütahya 26, 33, 260, 287  
 literary culture 383, 384  
 Cemali 385–91, 397  
 Ilahi, Seyh Abdullah 394–7  
 Izari Kasim Celebi 391–4, 397  
 Şeyhi 386, 389, 390, 391  
 Yakub Bey madrasa 385  
 Lamii Çelebi 338n19, 396, 397n66  
 al-Lān 371, 372  
 languages  
 literary 31–2  
 vernacular 21, 30–1, 32  
*see also* multi-lingualism  
 Larendeli Kemal Ümmi *see* Kemal Ümmi,  
 Larendeli  
 Latifi 385, 389–90, 392, 395  
 Latin 31, 32n45, 226, 248, 250, 365  
 law 55, 64, 65, 68, 109  
 letters  
 mystic properties of 121, 122  
 science of 138n4, 139–40  
 symbolism of 146  
*see also* 'ilm al-ḥurūf  
 Levant 63  
 libraries 50, 103, 215, 218, 272, 343, 365,  
 384, 393  
 literacy 20, 21, 251, 253  
 literary genres 19, 252–3  
 Lorestan 223n95  
 Luhrāsp (legendary Iranian king) 56n28  
 Lu'lu'a (Lü'lü'e/Hasangazi) 149  
 Lutfi, Molla *see* Molla Lutfi  
 al-Madinatayn 256  
 madrasas 213–14, 216, 231, 318–19, 320,  
 322, 324, 325, 326–9, 361, 363, 364, 375,  
 384, 385, 393, 397  
 Mahmud I, Sultan 103, 148n48  
 Maḥmūd Bahadır b. Kara Osman,  
 Aquyyunlu 144, 154  
 Mahmud Beg: "History of Hungary" (*Tārīḥ-i*  
*Ungurus*) 250–1  
 Mahmud Beg (Çobanid) 54  
 Mahmud Pasa 386, 388

- Mahmut (Maḥmūd) (brother of Shaykh Hasan) 156  
*majmūas* 35, 119, 120f, 121, 122, 123, 128, 129f, 130, 131–3, 234  
*Maḳtel-i Hüseyin* 117–18  
 Malatya 229, 305  
 al-Malik al-Şāliḥ, Ayyubid Sultan 210  
 Mamluks 22, 25, 154, 175, 259, 260n60, 270, 277, 323–4, 340; *see also* Egypt; Syria  
 al-Ma'mūn, Caliph 372  
 Manisa 384  
 Maṣūr Qālāwūn, Sultan 216  
 Manuel II, Byzantine Emperor 268, 300  
 maps *see* cartography  
*maqāma* 228  
 Maragha 229, 368, 371, 372  
 Mardin 59  
 Ma'rūf al-Karkhi 349n60  
 Marzubān, Shaykh: Maḥmūd b. Shaykh 'Alī al-'Alī al-Ḥusayni al-Baghdādī 338n17  
 Mas'ūd II, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Sultan 29, 53, 61, 66–7, 68, 149, 190  
 Maṭar, Sayyid 344, 351  
 mathematics 363, 368  
*mathnawīs* 28, 30n36, 75, 76, 198, 203, 205, 385–6, 389, 390–1  
 Maturidism 102  
 Mazdakism 57  
 Mecca 364  
 medical texts 198, 206–17  
 Mediterranean 373  
 Mehmed I, Sultan (Mehmed Çelebi) 255, 263, 268, 288, 294, 302, 316n3  
 Mehmed II, Sultan 30, 123, 215, 255, 316n3, 321, 339, 364, 365, 368, 373, 374, 386, 387, 391, 394  
 Mehmed Beg, Aydınoğlu Mübarizeddin 33, 198, 200, 201, 206, 207, 225, 230  
 Mehmed Beg, Karamanoğlu 29  
*Menākīb-i Seyyid Ebū'l-Vefā'* 333, 334–5, 339, 342, 343, 344–5, 346, 349–50, 351, 353–4, 356  
 mendicants 57, 58, 63  
 Merzifon 322  
 messianism 138, 139, 321  
 Mevlevis 59, 68, 202, 397  
 mints 21, 142, 148–9, 153  
 Mir Ghiyāth al-Dīn *see* Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Mir  
 Mir Sharif (Hurufi) 140  
 Mirānshāh, Timurid Sultan 138, 147–8  
 Mircea 27n26  
 mirrors for princes 61–2, 243, 254, 270–1, 295  
 Mişri, 'Alī, Shaykh 116  
 Molla Gürani 323, 325, 339  
*al-Qaşıda al-Nūniyya* 325  
 Molla Kestelli 325  
 Molla Kirmasti 325  
 Molla Lutfi 393  
 Molla Sireceddin 325  
 Molla Tusi 394  
 Molla Yegan 325  
 Mongolian: inscriptions 138n3  
 Mongols 23, 33  
   Ahmedi on 258–9  
   and Çobanids 67–8  
   conquest of Khwarazm 322  
   Empire 63n66, 243, 257  
   of Iran 67  
   and Qalandars 65–6  
   sack of Baghdad 56, 258  
 Morea 317  
 mosques 21, 57, 200, 214, 217–18, 298, 322, 345, 374, 385  
 Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman, Kadıasker 322  
 Muḥammad, Prophet  
   biographies of 202–3  
   in Alexander Romance 269  
   in Burhān al-Dīn's *Iksir al-Sa'ādāt* 108, 109, 113, 114  
   descent from 333, 340, 341f, 345n46, 346, 347, 350f, 354  
   in *Fustāṭ al-'Adāla fi Qawā'id al-Saltāna* 64  
   in Gülşehri's *Falaknāma* 186–7  
   in Kaygusuz Abdal's *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa* 89, 90  
   in *Menākīb-i Seyyid Ebū'l-Vefā'* 345, 351  
   prohibition of cannabis 63  
   prohibition of wine 63  
   status of 122  
 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad *see* Hafız-ı Acem  
 Muḥammad b. Qaraman, Amir 201n14  
 Muḥammad b. Sayyid İbrāhīm, Sayyid 346n49  
 Mujir al-Dīn *see* al-'Ulaymī, Mujir al-Dīn  
 al-Mulk, Nizām: *Siyāsatnāma* 51  
 multilingualism 177, 178, 204, 207, 218, 224, 231  
 Murad I, Sultan 30, 118, 130, 301, 303, 304, 305

- Murad II, Sultan 121, 204n25, 213, 247n16, 316n3, 383, 386, 391
- Musa (Ottoman Prince) 256n49, 287
- Musa, Abdal *see* Abdal Musa
- Mushaymish family 218n84
- music 322, 364
- Muslims  
     cannabis consumption 63  
     interaction with Christians 248, 265, 278, 300, 306, 307, 340, 371  
     political control 315  
     *see also* Islam; Shiites; Sunnis
- Muştafa al-Ḥaydār 142n15, 143, 145n35
- Muştafa al-Ḥusayn 142, 143, 145, 152, 155, 158-167
- al-Mustaʿsim, Caliph 56n29, 257
- Mutahharten 127, 148n48
- Muzaffar al-Din Masʿūd b. Alp-Yürak (Muzaffar Yavlak Arslan) *see* Yavlak Arslan, Muzaffar al-Din
- Muzaffarids 223n95
- mystics 289
- naqīb al-asrāf* 354; *see also under* Jerusalem
- Naqshbandi order 394
- Naşrallah, Abū al-Maʿālī 204
- Nasreddin 125
- Navāʿī, Mir ʿAlī Shir 20, 250
- al-Nawāwī 388
- nazire* (“parallel poems”) 126, 184, 388; *see also* Ömer b. Mezid: *Mecmūʿatüʾn-Nezāʾir*
- Nazmi, Edirneli 388, 389, 393
- Nesimi, Seyyid İmadeddin 20, 123, 125, 126, 140  
     *Muḳaddimetüʾl-Ḥaḳayik* 124–5
- Neşri, Mehmed 296, 301, 302n77  
     *Cibānnümā* (chronicle) 268n81, 277, 301
- networks  
     intellectual/scholarly 21, 39, 139, 140, 155, 179, 373  
     Sufi 40, 344, 354, 356, 357  
     textual 38, 41, 373, 175, 178, 230, 235
- Nigde 328
- Nihali 391
- al-Niksāri, Abū Bakr (disciple of Sāwī) 59n49
- al-Niksāri, Muḫyī al-Din Muḫammad b. İbrāhīm 364
- al-Nili, Sayyid Muḫammad: *Kulliyat-i Qānūn* 117
- Nizām al-Din al-İşfahāni, Qāḍi *see* al-İşfahāni, Qāḍi Nizām al-Din
- Nizām al-Mulk: *Siyāsatnāma* 51
- Nizāmi 37, 190, 256, 257  
     Alexander Romance 246, 264, 269  
     *Khusraw u Shirin* 198, 204, 205–6  
     *Makbzan al-Asrār* 184–5, 187n37
- Noah 64
- nomads 26, 33, 146, 275–6, 277, 278
- number symbolism 112–13, 115, 124
- numismatics *see* coins
- Nürbakhsh, Muḫammad 321
- al-Nürī, Yūsuf b. Muḫammad b. İbrāhīm:  
     *Kashf al-Asrār ʿalā Lisān al-Tuyūr waʾl-Azbār* 233
- Nushin-Ravān, Khusraw *see* Khusraw Anushirwan
- Ocaks 346, 353
- Oghuz Khan 146
- Oghuz Turks 257, 275–6, 277, 278
- Öljeytü Sulṭān 147
- Ömer b. Mezid: *Mecmūʿatüʾn-Nezāʾir* 126, 184
- optics 362, 365–7
- oral literature 77n24, 91, 192, 203, 252, 271, 273
- Orhan Gazi, Sultan 266, 298, 300, 316n3
- Oruç 301, 305
- Oruç Paşa Madrasa (Dimetoka) 319n14
- Osman, house of: *Chronicles of the House of Osman* 249, 253, 259n57, 272
- Osman I 316n3, 353
- Ottomans 19, 244, 257  
     Ahmedi's history of 294–308  
     and *beyliks* 28  
     and Byzantium 265, 268  
     coinage 146  
     court 68, 123  
     dynastic legitimacy 276  
     economic power 326  
     enemies 27, 303, 304  
     and geography 373  
     *ghazi* role 254, 256, 260n60, 265, 298, 299, 300, 303, 304  
     and Iran 55  
     and *Menāḳib-i Seyyid Ebūʾl-Vefāʾ* 335, 336  
     political fragmentation 317  
     success 25, 270, 290  
     succession 263–4, 266

- taxation 347
- pādīshāh* 23, 199, 218, 243
- paideia* 34
- Palestine 340, 343–4
- Pamphylia 27
- Panjatantra* 204
- pantheism 122, 125
- parallelism 227
- Parwāna, Muʿin al-Din Sulaymān 67
- patronage 20, 28, 34, 37, 40, 41, 53–4, 66, 68, 69, 107, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 182–3, 186, 189, 190, 192, 193, 199, 200, 213, 214, 217, 230, 231, 235, 255, 256, 260–1, 270, 271, 286–7, 293, 297, 301, 302, 308, 320–1, 323, 327, 335, 336, 340, 357, 364, 365, 374, 375, 383, 384–5, 386, 388, 391, 397, 398
- Pechy, John 210n51
- pennames 37, 174, 180, 183, 184–5, 187n37, 190, 191–2
- Persian 21–2, 31, 33
- Alexander Romance 246–7, 265
- coin inscriptions 138n3
- fables 204
- gravestone inscriptions 201
- Hurufis and 139
- literature in 35, 68, 175, 192, 193, 231; *see also* Cemal; *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla fī Qarwāʿid al-Saltāna*; *Gülşehri: Falaknāma*; *Tire Miscellany*
- medical works in 211
- outlawing of 29
- Plato's *Phaedo* 103
- poetry in 177n9, 388, 389, 392, 394, 395–6
- scholarly works in 368
- Philadelphia 307
- Philip II, king of Macedon 247, 265, 266, 269
- Pir Ḥayāt al-Din, Sayyid 349, 351
- family tree 352f
- Plato 108, 274
- Persian translation of *Phaedo* 103
- poetry 176
- mystical 32–3
- in Persian 177n9, 388, 389, 392, 394, 395–6
- and prose compared 252–3
- Sufi 76
- in Turkish 28, 388–9, 392, 395
- see also ghazals*; *qaṣīdas*; *matbnawīs*; verse narratives
- prophets 56, 202; *see also* Muḥammad, Prophet; Solomon
- prose 176, 252–3
- pseudo-Methodius 277
- Apocalypse 246n8
- Psidia 27
- Ptolomy, Claudius 368, 369, 372
- Geography* 373
- Pūr Bahā 289n17
- Pyrgion *see* Birgi
- Qādiriyya 347n53
- qadis* 214, 260n61
- Qāḍizāde (Kadızaḍe) al-Rūmī, Mūsā 361, 363, 364
- commentary on al-Jaghmini's *Mulakkbkhaṣ* 361–2, 368–70
- Qalandars 50, 53, 55, 57, 94
- appearance 58–9
- beliefs and practices 60, 62, 63, 65, 68
- hagiographies 69
- heresy 36
- Hülegü's encounter with 65–6
- origin of 62
- spread of 63
- twelve-gored cap 74
- Qalminiyya (Iraq) 345n42
- Qaraquyunlus 154, 321, 322
- al-Qarqini (Garkini), Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan 346n49
- al-Qayṣari, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin 122, 324
- al-Qayṣari, Dāʿūd (Davud Kayseri) 324
- qaṣīdas* 38, 110, 199, 218, 220f, 222, 223–5, 226, 229, 255, 293, 294, 386, 387–8, 389, 390, 392, 393
- al-Qazwini: *ʿAjāʿib al-Makblūqāt* 373
- Qipchaqs 31, 205, 319, 322, 324
- Qitai 63n66
- Qizilbash 55, 337
- al-Qudsi, ʿAbd al-Laṭif *see under* Zaynī shaykhs
- al-Qumi, Muʿayyad al-Din 56n29
- al-Qūnawī, Ṣadr al-Din 127, 226, 132, 133, 177, 226, 355n76
- and Burhān al-Din 36, 107–12, 115, 118, 119
- correspondence with Ṭūsī 118, 226



- Miftāḥ al-Ghayb* 118  
treatises in Yār ‘Ali Divriki’s *Majmū‘a*  
121, 133  
Yār ‘Ali and 119
- Quran  
Ahmedi and 289n17, 297, 298, 303  
Alexander the Great and 266  
in Burhān al-Dīn’s *Iksir al-Sa‘ādāt* 108  
in *Fuṣṭāṭ al-‘Adāla fī Qawwā‘id al-Saltāna* 54  
Gog and Magog in 277  
in Gülşehir’s *Falaknāma* 188–9  
Hacı Paşa’s commentary on 213, 234  
in İzārī’s poetry 392–3  
*Mir‘at al-‘Arifin* commentary on 115–16  
recital of 206  
scholars of 320  
al-Shirwānī’s commentary on 364  
*tafsīr* (exegesis, commentary) 361, 363  
water of life quest in 261  
wine references in 223n100
- Qūshji, ‘Ali (Ali Kuşçu) 374–5  
Quṣṭāntīniyya *see* Constantinople
- Ramadan 58, 273, 293  
Rashid al-Dīn Faḍlallāh: *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārikh*  
146  
al-Rāzi, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyā:  
*Kitāb al-Hāwī fī ‘l-Ṭibb (al-Hāwī)* 209, 226  
al-Rāzi, Fakhr al-Dīn 229  
Rāzi, Najm al-Dīn (Dāya) 173n2, 177  
reading: public 271  
religions: and literature 176n8, 321; *see also*  
Christianity; Islam; Sufism  
religious texts 217, 235, 289; *see also* sacred  
literature  
“Republic of Letters” 20–3  
Roman heritage 21; *see also* Rūm  
romances 205–6; *see also* Alexander  
Romance; *mathnavīs*  
Rukn al-Dīn Kılıç Arslan IV, Sultan *see* Kılıç  
Arslan IV, Rukn al-Dīn, Sultan  
Rūm 53, 190, 222, 268, 269, 270, 323  
madrasas 324, 325  
Qalandars 68  
scholars 315–29  
pull factors 317–19  
push factors 319–24  
rise of 324–7  
Rumeli 287, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306, 307  
Rumelihisarı fortress: in poetry 387–8  
Rūmi, Jalāl al-Dīn 21–2, 30n36, 59, 175,  
177, 184, 190, 193, 202, 265, 370  
Rustam (Rüstem), hero of *Shāhnāma* 274,  
275, 276  
Rüstem (copyist) 203n21  
Sa‘di of Shiraz 181, 184, 190–1, 225  
*Gulistān* 386  
Šadr al-Shari‘a 102  
Safavids 131, 321–2, 337, 355n76  
coinage 139n8, 147n45  
Said Emre 30n36, 32  
al-Sakkakī, Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad: *Miftāḥ*  
*al-‘Ulūm* 229  
Sālīm (brother of Sayyid Abū al-Wafā‘) 340,  
342, 343, 344, 351n67  
Saltuk, Sarı 252n30, 262  
*Šaltuḳnāme* (“Book of Saltuk”) 252, 262  
Samarqand 20, 41, 63n66, 222, 270, 320,  
361, 362, 363, 364, 368, 371, 372, 379,  
394  
al-Samarqandī, ‘Imād b. Mas‘ūd 198, 218,  
222, 225, 229, 230, 233  
praise for in *Tire Miscellany* 219f  
al-Samarqandī, Najīb al-Dīn: *aqrābādīn* 214  
Samarqandī, Naṣrallāh b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min  
Munshi 223n97  
al-Samhūdi 345n46  
Sanā‘i 173n2, 184, 190  
Saray 322, 323  
Sarica Kemal 296  
Sārūs (Seljuk mint in Anatolia) 149n52  
Saveh 59n46  
al-Sāwī, Jamāl al-Dīn (founder of the  
Qalandariyya) 59, 62–3  
disciples 59n49, 62  
*Manāqib-i Sāwī* 59, 62  
al-Sayfi, Manjak, Amir 340  
*sayyid* genealogies (*shajara*) 336  
scholars  
movement and travel 20–1, 38, 41, 58,  
65, 140, 201, 315, 316, 317, 319, 321,  
322, 323, 361, 363, 364, 368, 370, 373,  
374, 391, 394n51  
“scholar-sultan” *see* Ulugh Beg; Burhān al-  
Dīn Aḥmad  
scholastic tradition 221  
scientific works 226, 361, 368; *see also*  
astronomy; geography; mathematics;  
optics

- Sehi, Erdineli 385, 386n15, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394n49
- Selim I, Sultan 316n3
- Selim II, Sultan 384
- Seljuks, Anatolian (Rûm) 19, 23, 25, 26, 29, 51, 53, 61, 67, 68, 69, 102, 175, 179, 217, 244, 257–8, 276, 317, 318
- Burhān al-Dīn's claims as successor 103
- and Hanfism 64, 65
- and heresy 61, 66
- intitulation 148, 149
- and Ottomans 298
- claims as successors 244, 256, 276
- textual sources on 19
- Seljuks, Great 67
- persecution of heresies 61
- as protectors of the caliphate 66
- Serbia 248, 300
- Şeyh Bedreddin Mahmud Simavi *see* Simavi, Şeyh Bedreddin Mahmud
- Şeyh Demirtaş 385
- Şeyhi 41, 42, 204n25, 287n8, 383, 386, 389, 390, 391
- Şeyhoğlu 184, 287n8
- Kenzü'l-Küberā* 183
- Şeyhoğlu Mustafa 386n15
- Şeyyad Hamza: *Yūsuf ve Zeliha* 30
- Shaddād b. ʿĀd 225n102
- Shādhiliyya (Wafāʾiyya sub-order) 340n24, 347n53
- al-Shāfiʿi (Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad) 60, 227
- Shafiʿism 55, 64, 65, 68, 117
- Shābnāma* (“Book of Kings”) *see* Firdawsī: *Shābnāma*
- Shāhrukh b. Timur 139, 144, 148, 153–4, 155, 317n8, 320, 321
- shajara see* genealogies
- sharaf* 340, 345; *see also* Sayyidhood
- Sharafāt 340
- al-Shaʿrānī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 337n17
- sharīʿa* law 109
- Sharīf, Mīr *see* Mīr Sharīf
- shathīyyāt* (genre of Sufi poetry of an ecstatic nature) 76
- Shaykh Ḥasan (Aqquyunlu) 144, 154, 156
- Shiism (Twelver) 55, 121n75
- political expression 227
- and Shafiʿism 117
- and Sufism 123, 130–1, 138, 336
- and Sunnism 49, 121, 130–1
- Shiites 118, 138, 227, 229, 363
- Shiite-Sunni divide 121, 123
- Sunni-Shiite coexistence 49, 117, 121, 123
- see also* ʿAli b. Abi Ṭālib, Imam
- Shiraz 180, 181, 182, 199, 211, 222, 224, 225, 231, 320, 376
- Shirāzi, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Yar ʿAli *see* Yār ʿAli
- Divriki: ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Yār ʿAli Shirāzi
- al-Shirāzi, Quṭb al-Dīn 68, 131, 229, 361, 365, 367, 378, 371
- Iktiyārāt-i Muẓaffārī* 54
- al-Shirwāni, Faṭḥallāh 41, 326, 361–75
- astronomical texts 361–2
- biography 362–5
- ḥāshīya* (supercommentary) on Qāḍizāde's commentary on al-Jaghmini's *Mulakkbhaş* 361, 365, 368–9, 372, 373
- commentaries and glosses (misc.) 364, 365
- longitude and latitude coordinates 376f–80f
- optics 365–7
- Sharḥ al-Tadbkira* 361, 363, 365, 372
- al-Shirwāni, Kamāl al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Husayn 364
- al-Shunbuki, Abū Muḥammad 337
- Shunbukiyya (Wafāʾiyya sub-order) 337
- Şikari 299–300
- silsila see* Sufis: spiritual lineages
- Simav 394, 396, 397
- Simavi, Şeyh Bedreddin Mahmud 126n101, 286, 32
- Sinan ed-Din Yusuf Paşa 298
- Sinop 26, 27, 58
- Sirac Hatib 322
- Sireceddin, Molla *see* Molla Sireceddin
- Sivas 27n26, 35, 36, 54, 101, 115, 119, 127, 176n8, 229, 338n17
- Sivrihisar 325
- Smyrna (İzmir) 33, 197n1, 207, 211, 217
- Socrates 103
- Solomon, prophet 90
- storytelling 251–2, 271, 278
- Sufis 229–30
- Abdālān-i Rûm* 74
- Ahmedi's attitude to 289n17
- spiritual lineages (*silsila*) 140, 333, 346nn48, 49, 347, 349, 355–6; *see also* genealogies

- tariqa* (*tarikāt*) 40, 335, 336, 337, 338n19, 343, 344nn37, 40, 347, 348, 349, 356  
*see also* dervishes; Qalandars
- Sufism 21, 49, 176n6
- antinomian 36
- Astarabadi and 138
- “Chain of Gold” (*silsilat al-dhabab*) 349n60
- doctrine of the Four Gates 77–85
- family role 333, 347
- Germiyanids 383
- al-Ghazālī and 102
- “household” 40, 333, 336, 347, 356
- institutional 55, 63, 69, 91
- Islamisation and 21, 49, 176n6
- khalīfas* (deputies or spiritual successors of Sufi orders) 40, 74, 140, 334, 336, 338, 349, 353, 354
- khirqa* (Sufi cloak) 348
- literature and 35, 37
- Palestine 343–4
- philosophical 36, 109, 110
- al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn, Shaykh (*maqtūl*) 36, 123, 131, 230
- Partawmāma* 128, 129f, 130, 132, 133
- Şükru'llah 296
- Süleyman I, Sultan 249, 316n3, 384
- Süleyman (brother of İsfendiyar Beg b. Bayezid) 27n26
- Süleyman, Emir 39, 249, 260, 263, 264–5, 285–6, 287, 288, 289, 300, 308
- Süleyman b. Hacı Emir 119
- Süleyman b. Muḥammad el-Ḳonevī (copyist) 215
- Süleyman Çelebi (of Bursa) 35
- Süleyman Çelebi of Divriği 119
- Süleyman Şah (Germiyanid Prince) 286–7, 291
- sultan: as title 23
- Sultān-Maḥmūd (nominal Chinggisid sovereign in Erzincan) 148n48
- Sultān Walad 178n12, 179, 185, 190
- mathmawīs* 30n36
- Sultāniya 371
- Sunnis 77, 117, 123, 212
- Sunni-Shiite coexistence 49, 117, 121, 123
- Sunnism 117
- al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn: *Mukhtaṣar Muʿjam al-Buldān* 370
- Syria 20, 21, 64, 116, 303, 305, 323, 324; *see also* Damascus
- Syriac 245
- Tabriz 53, 139, 181n20, 225, 322, 377
- Tabrizī, Humām al-Dīn b. ‘Alā’ 225
- Taceddin Ahmed ibn İbrahim *see* Ahmedi
- Taceddin b. Hacı, Emir 119
- Taceddin İbrahim b. Hızır *see* Ahmedi
- Tacizade Cafer Çelebi 326
- al-Taftazānī, Sa’d al-Dīn 102n6, 117, 320, 365
- and Burhān al-Dīn 101, 102, 126–7
- Tahmasp, Shah 78n28
- al-Taḥṭānī, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī 117, 216n7
- Lawāmīʿ al-Asrār Sharḥ Maṭālīʿ al-Anwār* 216, 234
- al-Ṭāʿī, Dāwūd 230
- al-Ṭāʿī, Hātīm 228
- Tāj al-‘Ārifin Abū al-Wafāʾ, Sayyid 333–5, 336, 338, 340, 344, 345–6, 351, 356
- family tree 352f
- Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Wafāʾ Muḥammad I 339–40, 339n21, 342, 342–3, 344, 348
- Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Wafāʾ Muḥammad (Tāj al-Dīn II) 339, 340, 343, 354
- al-Ṭalaqānī, al-Fuḍayl Ibn ‘Ayāḍ 230
- tamğa* 141, 144, 145, 146, 149n54, 157–68
- Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr, Sayyid 339, 345, 348
- tariqa* (*tarikāt*)
- spiritual path 110, 344n37
- spiritual state 36, 79, 81, 85, 86, 89, 92
- Sufi order 40, 335, 336, 337, 338n19, 343, 344nn37, 40, 347, 348, 349, 356
- see also* Sufism
- Taşköprüzade 119n71, 122–3, 362, 374n483, 391–2, 394, 395, 396, 397
- al-Shaqāʿiq al-Nuʿmāniyya* 119, 315, 322n30, 323, 349n59, 351, 354, 374n48
- taxation 25, 26
- geographic knowledge for 370
- Ottoman 259, 347, 374
- Tegüder, Aḥmad 53
- Tekkeoğulları 26
- al-Thaʿlabī, Abū Ishāq: *ʿArāʾis al-Majālis fi Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* 202, 232
- Thessalonica 300
- Thrace 319

- Timur 101, 115, 128, 254, 258, 260n60, 276, 317, 320, 321, 323  
 Ahmedi's representation of 39, 277, 296, 305, 306  
 Enveri's representation of 306n103  
 invasion of Anatolia 127, 259, 263
- Timurids 140, 270, 276, 321, 361  
 challenge to Ottomans 257n51, 258  
 epistolary manuals 223  
 intitulation 148  
 political legitimacy discourses 147  
 political instability and movement of scholars 322, 323
- Tini Beg 204, 205n26
- Tire 33, 201n14, 231
- Tire Miscellany* 38, 198, 218–31, 219f, 220f, 221f  
 contents 227–8  
 copyist 223, 224, 226  
 pedagogical purpose 226
- Tokat 67
- Toktamış Khan 323
- Trabzon (Trebizond) 19, 246, 317  
 trade 217, 243  
 translation 32, 107, 235  
 of Arabic works into Persian 226  
 of Arabic works into Turkish 103, 107, 200–1, 211–12, 232, 233, 333, 334, 335, 354  
 from the Greek 103, 373  
 Persian interlineal 226  
 of Persian works into Turkish 41, 183, 192, 198, 202, 204, 206, 232, 233, 255, 276n99, 384, 390
- Transoxiana 31, 64, 317n8, 319, 320, 321, 324, 394
- Trebizond *see* Trabzon
- Trojans 269n82
- Ṭuġhril I, Sultan 66
- Ṭuġhril II b. Arslan, Sultan 204
- Turkestan *see* Beshbaliġ
- Turkic languages 27, 31, 150n54, 204, 207
- Turkish 21  
 Kaygusuz Abdal and 74, 91  
 Old Anatolian  
 emergence as a written language 19, 22, 25, 28–34, 35, 37–8, 91, 174–8, 198, 231, 253, 383  
 literature and literary studies in 174–5, 177–180, 181nn19, 20, 186, 192–3, 249–51, 252, 253, 271–2, 287n8  
 Ottoman 22  
 poetry in 28, 388–9, 392, 395  
 Turkish Linguistic Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) 272  
 Turkish nationalist paradigms 28, 29, 30, 42, 175n, 178  
 Turkmen 23, 25, 26, 27, 28–9, 33, 59, 317, 321, 322, 323  
 al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn 66, 112, 118, 229, 361, 363, 367, 368, 371, 394  
 correspondence with al-Qūnawī 118, 226  
*Tadbkīra* 361–2, 363, 364, 365, 372  
*Zij Īlkbānī* 371
- ʿUkkāsha, Jalāl al-Dīn Farīdūn 222  
*Raḥīqīyya* 223, 224–5
- ʿulamāʾ (religious scholars) 55, 57–8, 60, 64, 91, 126, 139n6, 212–13, 289, 345n46, 361, 391, 395, 397
- al-ʿUlaymī, Muġir al-Dīn: *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa'l-Khalīl* 339, 340, 343, 347–8, 356
- Ulugh Beg 148, 223n97, 320, 361, 363, 368
- ʿUmar b. al-Khattab, Caliph 298
- Umur Beg (Paşa) (son of Aydınoġlu Mūbarizeddin Mehmed) 33, 198, 201, 202, 203, 211, 217, 231, 232
- Umur Beg (son of Timurtaş Paşa) 103, 107
- Urgench 63n66
- al-ʿUrmawī, Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd 65n77, 216
- ö *Maṭālīʿ al-Anwār fi'l-Hikma wa'l-Manṭiq* 117, 216, 234
- ʿUthmān b. Ḥanīf 227
- ʿUthmān-i Rūmī, Shaykh 62, 63
- Utrar 63n66
- Uzun Ḥasan, Aqquyunlu 59, 153, 155, 156, 322  
*farmān* 147
- Vacidiye Madrasa (Kütahya) 287n8
- Vardar Yenicesi *see* Yenice-i Vardar
- Vefa, Shaykh *see* Wafāʾ (Vefa), Shaykh
- Yenice-i Vardar (Vardar Yenicesi) 319n14, 394
- vernacular texts 19, 21, 29–30, 38, 198  
 Greek 38, 245–8, 269  
*Khusraw u Shirin* 204

- vernacularisation 31–2, 34, 206, 231; *see also*  
 Turkish: Old Anatolian: emergence of as  
 a literary language  
 definition 30–1
- verse narratives 174n2, 176, 177, 178, 179,  
 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 191, 192,  
 193  
*see also mathnawīs*
- Vilayet, Seyyid (Zayniyya order) 334, 335,  
 336, 338, 339  
 Zayni genealogy (silsila) 349–55, 356  
 viziers 56
- Wafāʾ, Sayyid (son of Sayyid Abū Bakr) 339  
 Wafāʾ (Vefa), Shaykh 338n19  
 Wafāʾiyya (Vefaiyye) order 334, 336–8, 356  
*zāwiya* (dervish lodge, Jerusalem)  
 339n23, 340, 343, 344, 347n53, 348
- al-Warrāq, Maḥmūd (Abbasid poet) 228
- al-Wāsiṭi, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Shabrisi  
 342nn30, 31, 343  
*Tadhkirat al-Muqtaḍin Āthār Ūlī al-Ṣafāʾ wa-  
 Tabṣirat al-Muqtaḍin bi-Ṭariq Tajj al-  
 ʿArifin Abū al-Wafāʾ* 342, 346, 353n69
- al-Wāsiṭi, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān  
*Tiryāq al-Muḥibbin* 337nn15, 17, 344n41
- water of life 118, 128, 261, 305  
 wine  
 consumption of 58, 62, 304  
 law and 63, 64  
 Quranic references to 223n100
- wine poetry 222–4  
 Ahmedi 292, 293, 304
- wondertales 271
- Yahşı Fakih 294
- Yakub I (Germiyanid) 26, 287n8
- Yakub II 383, 384
- Yakub Beg Madrasa (Kütahya) 385n9
- Yaman *jandār* b. Alparslan, Shams al-Dīn  
 26n24
- Yāqūt, al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī: *Muṣjam Al-  
 Buldān* (Dictionary of Countries) 370,  
 371, 372, 373–4, 375
- Yār ʿAlī Divriki: ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Yār ʿAlī Shirāzi  
 118–19, 121, 122  
 correspondence with Burhān al-Dīn  
 123–4
- al-Lamaḥāt fi Sharḥ al-Lamaʿāt* 119  
*majmūʿa* 119, 120f, 121, 122, 123, 128,  
 131–3
- Yār ʿAlī Shirāzi, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn *see* Yār ʿAlī  
 Divriki
- Yasawi, Aḥmad (Ahmet Yesevi): *Dīvān-ı  
 Hikmet* 79n30
- Yasawī, Mustafa 326
- Yasawi (Yesevi) dervishes 336
- Yavlak Arslan, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Masʿūd b.  
 Alp-Yürak 26n24, 53, 54
- Yazd 320
- Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican (Yazıcızade) 253,  
 253n36  
*Dürr-i Meknūn* (“The Hidden Pearl”) 253,  
 373
- Yegan, Molla *see* Molla Yegan
- Yelbogha (governor of Aleppo) 119
- Yesevi, Ahmet *see* Yasawi, Aḥmad
- Yunus Emre 20, 76n22, 173n2, 179  
*dīvān* 30n36, 32, 78  
*Risāletü'n-Nushbiyye* 174n2
- Yusuf b. Muhammed b. Osman (student of  
 Hacı Paşa) 214, 215, 216n78
- Yusuf-ı Ankaravi: *Ṭariḫatnāme* 183
- Zakāni, ʿUbayd-i: *Kulliyāt* 224n101
- al-Zamakshārī 228–9  
*al-Kashshāf* 117
- zindiq* (pl. *zanādiqa*) 57, 60, 68; *see also*  
 heretics
- zāwiyas* 40, 201n14, 333, 347  
 communities 30n36, 32  
 of Shaykh Marzubān in Sivas 338n17
- Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Imam ʿAlī 227, 345–6, 351,  
 354
- Zayn al-ʿAttār Ali b. Ḥusayn Anṣārī 211
- Zayni shaykhs 355  
 Shaykh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Qudsi 349, 354–  
 5  
*see also* Wafāʾ (Vefa), Shaykh
- zij* astronomical tables 369, 371–2  
*Zij Sulṭāni* 361, 363, 371–2, 377, 378, 379  
*see also* al-Ṭūsi: *Zij Ilkhāni*
- Zoroastrianism 56; *see also* Mazdakism



ORIENT-INSTITUT  
ISTANBUL

---

ISTANBULER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

Alle erschienenen Titel sind auch als E-Books erhältlich. Sechs Jahre nach Erscheinen sind sie kostenfrei über [www.ergon-verlag.de](http://www.ergon-verlag.de) abrufbar.

1. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Sigrid Kleinmichel (Hrsg.), *Mîr ‘Alîšîr Nawwâ’î. Akten des Symposiums aus Anlaß des 560. Geburtstages und des 500. Jahres des Todes von Mîr ‘Alîšîr Nawwâ’î am 23. April 2001*. Würzburg 2003.
2. Bernard Heyberger, Silvia Naef (Eds.), *La multiplication des images en pays d’Islam. De l’estampe à la télévision (17-21 siècle). Actes du colloque Images : fonctions et langages. L’incursion de l’image moderne dans l’Orient musulman et sa périphérie. Istanbul, Université du Bosphore (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi), 25 – 27 mars 1999*. Würzburg 2003.
3. Maurice Cerasi with the collaboration of Emiliano Bugatti and Sabrina D’Agostiono, *The Istanbul Divanyolu. A Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity and Architecture*. Würzburg 2004.
4. Angelika Neuwirth, Michael Hess, Judith Pfeiffer, Börte Sagaster (Eds.), *Ghazal as World Literature II: From a Literary Genre to a Great Tradition. The Ottoman Gazel in Context*. Würzburg 2006.
5. Alihan Töre Şagunî, Kutlukhan-Edikut Şakirov, Oğuz Doğan (Çevirmenler), Kutlukhan-Edikut Şakirov (Editör), *Türkistan Kaygısı*. Würzburg 2006.
6. Olcay Akyıldız, Halim Kara, Börte Sagaster (Eds.), *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. Würzburg 2007.
7. Filiz Kural, Barbara Pusch, Claus Schönig, Arus Yumul (Eds.), *Cultural Changes in the Turkic World*. Würzburg 2007.
8. Ildikó Bellér-Hann (Ed.), *The Past as Resource in the Turkic Speaking World*. Würzburg 2008.
9. Brigitte Heuer, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Claus Schönig (Hrsg.), „Die Wunder der Schöpfung“. *Mensch und Natur in der türksprachigen Welt*. Würzburg 2012.
10. Christoph Herzog, Barbara Pusch (Eds.), *Groups, Ideologies and Discourses: Glimpses of the Turkic Speaking World*. Würzburg 2008.
11. D. G. Tor, *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the ‘Ayyār Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World*. Würzburg 2007.

12. Christopher Kubasek, Günter Seufert (Hrsg.), *Deutsche Wissenschaftler im türkischen Exil: Die Wissenschaftsmigration in die Türkei 1933-1945*. Würzburg 2008.
13. Barbara Pusch, Tomas Wilkoszewski (Hrsg.), *Facetten internationaler Migration in die Türkei: Gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen und persönliche Lebenswelten*. Würzburg 2008.
14. Kutlukhan-Edikut Şakirov (Ed.), *Türkistan Kaygıtı. Faksimile*. In Vorbereitung.
15. Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke, David Sklare (Eds.), *A Common Rationality: Mu'tazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg 2007.
16. Edward Badeen, *Summitische Theologie in osmanischer Zeit*. Würzburg 2008.
17. Claudia Ulbrich, Richard Wittmann (Eds.): *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narrative*. Würzburg 2015.
18. Christoph Herzog, Malek Sharif (Eds.), *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy*. Würzburg 2010.
19. Dorothée Guillemarre-Acet, *Impérialisme et nationalisme. L'Allemagne, l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie (1908 – 1933)*. Würzburg 2009.
20. Marcel Geser, *Zwischen Missionierung und „Stärkung des Deutschtums“: Der Deutsche Kindergarten in Konstantinopel von seinen Anfängen bis 1918*. Würzburg 2010.
21. Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke (Eds.), *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*. Würzburg 2010.
22. Barbara Pusch, Uğur Tekin (Hrsg.), *Migration und Türkei. Neue Bewegungen am Rande der Europäischen Union*. Würzburg 2011.
23. Tülay Gürler, *Jude sein in der Türkei. Erinnerungen des Ehrenvorsitzenden der Jüdischen Gemeinde der Türkei Bensiyon Pinto*. Herausgegeben von Richard Wittmann. Würzburg 2010.
24. Stefan Leder (Ed.), *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries)*. Würzburg 2011.
25. Börte Sagaster, Karin Schweißgut, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Claus Schönig (Hrsg.), *Hoşsohbət: Erika Glassen zu Ehren*. Würzburg 2011.
26. Arnd-Michael Nohl, Barbara Pusch (Hrsg.), *Bildung und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in der Türkei. Historische und aktuelle Aspekte*. Würzburg 2011.
27. Malte Fuhrmann, M. Erdem Kabadayı, Jürgen Mittag (Eds.), *Urban Landscapes of Modernity: Istanbul and the Ruhr*. In Vorbereitung.
28. Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)*. Würzburg 2012.
29. Hüseyin Ağuıçenođlu, *Zwischen Bindung und Abnabelung. Das „Mutterland“ in der Presse der Dobrudscha und der türkischen Zyprioten in postosmanischer Zeit*. Würzburg 2012.



30. Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız, Caspar Hillebrand (Eds.), *Venturing Beyond Borders – Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing*. Würzburg 2013.
31. Jens Peter Laut (Hrsg.), *Literatur und Gesellschaft. Kleine Schriften von Erika Glassen zur türkischen Literaturgeschichte und zum Kulturwandel in der modernen Türkei*. Würzburg 2014.
32. Tobias Heinzelmann, *Populäre religiöse Literatur und Buchkultur im Osmanischen Reich. Eine Studie zur Nutzung der Werke der Brüder Yazıcioğlu*. In Vorbereitung.
33. Martin Greve (Ed.), *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Würzburg 2015.
34. A.C.S. Peacock, Sara Nur Yıldız (Eds.), *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*. Würzburg 2016.
35. Burcu Yıldız, *Experiencing Armenian Music in Turkey: An Ethnography of Musicultural Memory*. Würzburg 2016.

ORIENT-INSTITUT  
ISTANBUL

---

ISTANBULER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

Alle erschienenen Titel sind auch als E-Books erhältlich. Sechs Jahre nach Erscheinen sind sie kostenfrei über [www.ergon-verlag.de](http://www.ergon-verlag.de) abrufbar.

1. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Sigrid Kleinmichel (Hrsg.), *Mîr ‘Alîšîr Nawwâ’î. Akten des Symposiums aus Anlaß des 560. Geburtstages und des 500. Jahres des Todes von Mîr ‘Alîšîr Nawwâ’î am 23. April 2001*. Würzburg 2003.
2. Bernard Heyberger, Silvia Naef (Eds.), *La multiplication des images en pays d’Islam. De l’estampe à la télévision (17-21 siècle). Actes du colloque Images : fonctions et langages. L’incursion de l’image moderne dans l’Orient musulman et sa périphérie. Istanbul, Université du Bosphore (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi), 25 – 27 mars 1999*. Würzburg 2003.
3. Maurice Cerasi with the collaboration of Emiliano Bugatti and Sabrina D’Agostiono, *The Istanbul Divanyolu. A Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity and Architecture*. Würzburg 2004.
4. Angelika Neuwirth, Michael Hess, Judith Pfeiffer, Börte Sagaster (Eds.), *Ghazal as World Literature II: From a Literary Genre to a Great Tradition. The Ottoman Gazel in Context*. Würzburg 2006.
5. Alihan Töre Şagunî, Kutlukhan-Edikut Şakirov, Oğuz Doğan (Çevirmenler), Kutlukhan-Edikut Şakirov (Editör), *Türkistan Kaygısı*. Würzburg 2006.
6. Olcay Akyıldız, Halim Kara, Börte Sagaster (Eds.), *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. Würzburg 2007.
7. Filiz Kural, Barbara Pusch, Claus Schönig, Arus Yumul (Eds.), *Cultural Changes in the Turkic World*. Würzburg 2007.
8. Ildikó Bellér-Hann (Ed.), *The Past as Resource in the Turkic Speaking World*. Würzburg 2008.
9. Brigitte Heuer, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Claus Schönig (Hrsg.), „Die Wunder der Schöpfung“. *Mensch und Natur in der türksprachigen Welt*. Würzburg 2012.
10. Christoph Herzog, Barbara Pusch (Eds.), *Groups, Ideologies and Discourses: Glimpses of the Turkic Speaking World*. Würzburg 2008.
11. D. G. Tor, *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the ‘Ayyār Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World*. Würzburg 2007.

12. Christopher Kubasek, Günter Seufert (Hrsg.), *Deutsche Wissenschaftler im türkischen Exil: Die Wissenschaftsmigration in die Türkei 1933-1945*. Würzburg 2008.
13. Barbara Pusch, Tomas Wilkoszewski (Hrsg.), *Facetten internationaler Migration in die Türkei: Gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen und persönliche Lebenswelten*. Würzburg 2008.
14. Kutlukhan-Edikut Şakirov (Ed.), *Türkistan Kaygıst. Faksimile*. In Vorbereitung.
15. Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke, David Sklare (Eds.), *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg 2007.
16. Edward Badeen, *Summitische Theologie in osmanischer Zeit*. Würzburg 2008.
17. Claudia Ulbrich, Richard Wittmann (Eds.): *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narrative*. Würzburg 2015.
18. Christoph Herzog, Malek Sharif (Eds.), *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy*. Würzburg 2010.
19. Dorothée Guillemarre-Acet, *Impérialisme et nationalisme. L'Allemagne, l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie (1908 – 1933)*. Würzburg 2009.
20. Marcel Geser, *Zwischen Missionierung und „Stärkung des Deutschtums“: Der Deutsche Kindergarten in Konstantinopel von seinen Anfängen bis 1918*. Würzburg 2010.
21. Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke (Eds.), *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*. Würzburg 2010.
22. Barbara Pusch, Uğur Tekin (Hrsg.), *Migration und Türkei. Neue Bewegungen am Rande der Europäischen Union*. Würzburg 2011.
23. Tülay Gürler, *Jude sein in der Türkei. Erinnerungen des Ehrenvorsitzenden der Jüdischen Gemeinde der Türkei Bensiyon Pinto*. Herausgegeben von Richard Wittmann. Würzburg 2010.
24. Stefan Leder (Ed.), *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries)*. Würzburg 2011.
25. Börte Sagaster, Karin Schweißgut, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Claus Schönig (Hrsg.), *Hoşsohbət: Erika Glassen zu Ehren*. Würzburg 2011.
26. Arnd-Michael Nohl, Barbara Pusch (Hrsg.), *Bildung und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in der Türkei. Historische und aktuelle Aspekte*. Würzburg 2011.
27. Malte Fuhrmann, M. Erdem Kabadayı, Jürgen Mittag (Eds.), *Urban Landscapes of Modernity: Istanbul and the Ruhr*. In Vorbereitung.
28. Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)*. Würzburg 2012.
29. Hüseyin Ağuıçenođlu, *Zwischen Bindung und Abnabelung. Das „Mutterland“ in der Presse der Dobrudscha und der türkischen Zyprioten in postosmanischer Zeit*. Würzburg 2012.

30. Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız, Caspar Hillebrand (Eds.), *Venturing Beyond Borders – Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing*. Würzburg 2013.
31. Jens Peter Laut (Hrsg.), *Literatur und Gesellschaft. Kleine Schriften von Erika Glassen zur türkischen Literaturgeschichte und zum Kulturwandel in der modernen Türkei*. Würzburg 2014.
32. Tobias Heinzelmann, *Populäre religiöse Literatur und Buchkultur im Osmanischen Reich. Eine Studie zur Nutzung der Werke der Brüder Yazıciöğl.* In Vorbereitung.
33. Martin Greve (Ed.), *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Würzburg 2015.
34. A.C.S. Peacock, Sara Nur Yıldız (Eds.), *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*. Würzburg 2016.
35. Burcu Yıldız, *Experiencing Armenian Music in Turkey: An Ethnography of Musicultural Memory*. Würzburg 2016.



