

Routledge Studies in the History of Iran and Turkey

THE CHOBANIDS OF KASTAMONU

**POLITICS, PATRONAGE AND RELIGION IN
THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ANATOLIA**

Bruno De Nicola



“This book sheds new light on an important but neglected aspect of Anatolian history in the Mongol period. By focusing on literary production in a dedicated region, northwest Anatolia, this book makes a significant contribution both to medieval Anatolian and to Persian literary cultural studies, bringing to light sources neglected by existing scholarship and showing the value of focused regional research both for literary and political history more broadly.”

Andrew Peacock, *University of St Andrews, Scotland*



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The Chobanids of Kastamonu

This book provides a novel approach to the history of medieval Anatolia by analysing political, religious and cultural developments in the region of Kastamonu during the reign of the Chobanid dynasty (c. 1211–1309).

During the 13th century, the Chobanids consolidated a local dynasty in western Anatolia – a borderland between Islam and Christianity – becoming cultural actors patronising the production of religious, scientific and administrative works in the Persian language. These works, though surviving today in manuscript form, have received little attention in modern historiography. The book therefore attends to this gap in the research, incorporating a detailed study of texts by little-known authors from the time. The book explores the relationship between Islam and the Chobanid dynasty in the context of the wider process of Islamisation in medieval Anatolia, hypothesising that Turkmen dynasties played a fundamental role in this process of Islamisation and acculturation. *The Chobanids of Kastamonu*, then, offers an in-depth study of a Turkmen local dynasty that achieved political autonomy, financial independence and cultural patronage in medieval Anatolia vis-à-vis the main political powers of the time.

Attentive to religious diversity, state formation and processes of transculturation in medieval Anatolia, the book is key reading for scholars of Middle Eastern history and Islamic studies.

Bruno De Nicola is Research Associate at the Institute of Iranian Studies in the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Vienna). His main areas of research are the cultural history of medieval and early modern Eurasia, the Mongol Empire and the study of Islamic manuscripts.

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The Chobanids of Kastamonu

Politics, Patronage and Religion in Thirteenth-Century Anatolia

Bruno De Nicola

The Chobanids of Kastamonu

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Thirteenth-Century Anatolia

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To my wife Marta and our children Lara and Marco, with love



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Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>List of tables</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiv</i>
<i>Note on transliteration</i>	<i>xvii</i>
Introduction	1
<i>The sources</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Historiography of medieval Kastamonu</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>The organisation of this book</i>	<i>9</i>
1 A territory in transformation: The political and intellectual context of Anatolia in the 13th century	14
<i>1.1 Seljuq Anatolia before the Mongols</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>1.2 Anatolia under the Mongols</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>1.3 Anatolia, land of opportunities: Migrations and the Anatolian cultural revolution from the 12th to the 14th century</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>1.4 Medieval Kastamonu: A borderland between Islam and Christianity</i>	<i>28</i>
2 A political history of the Chobanid dynasty	40
<i>2.1 The founding father: Husam al-Din Choban and the establishment of Chobanid rule in north-western Anatolia</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>2.2 Uncertain years: North-western Anatolia and the Mongol invasion</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>2.3 An alliance with the Mongols: The reign of Muzaffar al-Din Choban, r. 1280–91</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>2.4 Mahmud Bey and the end of Chobanid rule in Kastamonu</i>	<i>60</i>

3	Literary and architectural patronage under the Chobanids	73
	3.1 <i>The literary legacy of Chobanid Kastamonu</i> 74	
	3.1.1 <i>The Fustat al-‘adala fi qawa‘id al-sultana</i> 75	
	3.1.2 <i>The works of Husam al-Din Khu‘i</i> 80	
	3.1.3 <i>Qutb al-Din Shirazi and the Chobanids of Kastamonu</i> 85	
	3.1.4 <i>Other works connected to the Chobanids of Kastamonu</i> 89	
	3.2 <i>Architectural patronage in Chobanid Kastamonu</i> 92	
	3.2.1 <i>Patronage of Islamic institutions</i> 93	
	3.2.2 <i>The expression of popular religion: Religious and secular mausoleums (türbeler)</i> 98	
4	A mirror for princes for the Chobanids: Re-interpreting the <i>Siyar al-muluk</i>	115
	4.1 <i>The Siyar al-muluk (Siyasatnama)</i> 117	
	4.2 <i>The Fustat al-‘adala and the Siyar al-muluk: Comparing chapters and structure</i> 119	
	4.3 <i>Tailoring the Siyar al-muluk: Added and omitted sections in the Fustat al-‘adala</i> 124	
	4.4 <i>The making of a mirror for princes for Chobanid Kastamonu I: Religious references in the Fustat al-‘adala</i> 127	
	4.5 <i>The making of a mirror for princes for Chobanid Kastamonu II: References to 13th-century Anatolia in the Fustat al-‘adala</i> 131	
5	Islam under the Chobanids: Between heresy and the ulama	143
	5.1 <i>Antinomian Sufis in 13th-century Anatolia: The Fustat al-‘adala’s view on the Qalandars</i> 145	
	5.2 <i>On the origin of the Qalandars: Complementary views from the Fustat al-‘adala and the Manaqib-i Jamal al-Din Savi</i> 152	
	5.3 <i>The ulama’s reaction: A Hanafi–Shafi‘i dialogue in the Fustat al-‘adala</i> 157	
6	Socio-political aspects of north-western Anatolia in the 13th century	173
	6.1 <i>Inshā‘ (chancellery) literature: The evolution of a literary genre</i> 174	
	6.2 <i>An administration for the Turkmen: Husam al-Din Khu‘i and his manuals for letter-writing</i> 178	
	6.2.1 <i>Teaching the art of letter-writing: The Qawa‘id al-rasa‘il as a manual for scribes</i> 180	

6.2.2	<i>Theory into practice: Building a chancellery in medieval Kastamonu</i>	185
6.3	<i>Personal letters: A unique view on the socio-cultural history of 13th-century northern Anatolia</i>	189
7	Epilogue: A ‘proto-beylik’ in 13th-century Kastamonu	204
	<i>Appendices</i>	210
	<i>Bibliography</i>	224
	<i>Index</i>	247

Figures

2.1	Bodleian Library (University of Oxford), Ms. Laud or. 50, ff. 191b–192a	44
2.2	Majlis Library (Tehran, I.R. of Iran), Ms. 6398, f. 2b	53
2.3	Malek National Library (Tehran, I.R. of Iran), Ms. 1196, ff. 106b–107a	61
3.1	Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS. Supplément Turc 1120, f. 69a	77
3.2	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Supplément Turc 1120, f. 68b	79
3.3	National Library of Iran (Tehran, I.R. of Iran), Ms. 13074, f. 176a.	88
3.4	Picture of the Atabey Gazi Mosque	95
3.5	Picture of the Atabey Gazi Türbesi	101

Maps

1	Political map of Anatolia in the 13th century	xviii
2	The Ilkhanate in the 13th and 14th centuries	xix

Tables

4.1	Comparison of dedication in the final qasida of the <i>Siyar al-muluk</i> and the <i>Fustat al-'adala</i>	122
6.1	Stratification of titles according to the <i>Qawa'id al-rasa'il</i>	184

Appendices

1	Genealogical table of Chobanid rulers	210
2	Table of correlation of chapters between the <i>Fustat al-'adala</i> and the <i>Siyar al-muluk</i> (<i>Siyasatnama</i>)	211
3	Dynastic family tree of the Seljuqs of Rum	218
4	Table of selected surviving manuscripts of works dedicated to the Chobanids of Kastamonu	219

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This book is the consequence of a series of fortunate accidents. Technically, it began to be written over seven years ago when I started work for the ISLAMANATOLIA project at the University of St Andrews. During my initial months in the job I came across an anonymous manuscript described in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France as a 'traité sur les sectes hétérodoxes de l'Islam, par un auteur inconnu, qui l'a dédié à un grand émir, nommé Mouzaffer ed-Din Mas'oud ibn Âlbark'.¹ It was the first time that the name of this local Turkmen ruler of Kastamonu came to my attention. The text sounded fascinating, I ordered a copy from the BNF and my research on the text resulted in a research article. That could have been the end of my relationship with the region of Kastamonu were it not for Professor Andrew Peacock, who told me, over tea at a café in Beyoğlu, about the existence of other manuscripts composed for this amir in the 13th century. That conversation was the starting point for this book and set me on a quest to reconstruct and examine the history of Chobanid Kastamonu from the surviving literary corpus produced in this region.

My deepest gratitude goes, therefore, to Andrew Peacock, who not only pointed me in the direction of writing this book but has been the key person helping me in my academic and professional development since I joined him as a postdoctoral researcher on his project back in 2013. He deserves a great deal of credit because he accompanied the research and writing process of these chapters by always making useful comments, suggestions and remarks that have clearly improved the outcome of this project. I am grateful for the support, knowledge and guidance provided throughout the years and I am glad that mutual academic collaboration has continued after the conclusion of the project. I would also like to express my gratitude to Sara Nur Yıldız and Zeynep Oktay, my fellow postdoctoral researchers on the ISLAMANATOLIA project, for their constant support and help during all those years visiting the great city of Istanbul. It has been an enjoyable and enriching experience working with all of them.

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Finally, to my family, my son Marco, my daughter Lara and my wife Marta, my most sincere gratitude for their unconditional support during the preparation of this book.

Note

- 1 E. Blocquet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. 2 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1933), p. 169.

Note on transliteration

The transliteration style in this book has been done using the *IJMES* (*International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*) guidelines for transliterating Arabic, Persian and Turkish. We have followed this style using diacritical marks and italics to reflect Arabic or Persian words and phrases using Latin script in cases of technical terms and direct quotes from a text. Diacritics and special characters are not included on proper nouns (names of places, people, organisations), titles of works, or terms that are now in such common usage that they are found in one of the standard English dictionaries. The exception to the no-diacritics rule are that the ayn and hamza markers were retained in order to avoid confusion with single quote marks. Where a standard 'English' version exists for a name, place or term, that spelling was generally used. Likewise, we have standardised use of Chobanid as opposed to Çobanoğlu or other form of the name. As a rule, I have followed *IJMES* in terms of which diacritical marks are used and how vowels are reflected.

The full *IJMES* transliteration guidelines can be accessed in the following link: www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-middle-east-studies/information/author-resources/ijmes-translation-and-transliteration-guide.



Map 1 Political map of Anatolia in the 13th century.

Created by Fernando Llistosella.



Map 2 The Ilkhanate in the 13th and 14th centuries.

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Introduction

In 1996 the British historian Clifford E. Bosworth published a reference book that offers a chronology of Islamic dynasties which updated a previous work published by him in 1967.¹ Omitted in the first version of the work, the new edition listed among an extensive enumeration of Islamic dynasties the *Chobān Oghullarī* at number 123. The entry only includes a chronology of four rulers followed by a short text describing the campaign of the Turkmen Anatolian lord ‘Husām al-Dīn Chobān’ to Crimea in 1223. To my knowledge, this is the first specific reference to the Chobanids of Kastamonu in the English language in a major European publication acknowledging these Turkmen rulers as members of an Islamic dynasty. Although some general works on the history of Anatolia have made passing references to the Chobanids of Kastamonu, Western scholars have remained mostly unaware of (or uninterested in) this peripheral Turkmen dynasty.

The history of medieval Anatolia has attracted increasing attention in the last few decades. Scholars based in institutions across Europe, the United States and Turkey have been revisiting more traditional paradigms developed by scholars such as Köprülü and others during the 20th century. This new approach to the history of the Anatolian Peninsula in the period between the 12th and the 14th centuries is more in tune with the advice given by the French historian Claude Cahen some decades ago:

It is therefore important to study Asia Minor for itself, and only to allow the Ottoman point of view to be brought in step by step with the effective development of Ottoman influence in its history. That Asia Minor should be taken into account when studying the origins of the Ottoman Empire may, again with the appropriate precautions, be legitimate; but it does not follow that Asia Minor has to be studied as an introduction to the Ottoman Empire.²

This new approach to the history of Asia Minor in the centuries prior to the consolidation of the Ottoman dynasty in the Anatolian peninsula helped modern scholarship to break away from seeing this period as a mere precedent

2 *Introduction*

to the rise of the Ottomans, and to consider it a historical period in its own right. A re-evaluation of the period's historiography, archaeology and material culture has opened a new perspective on aspects of the political, economic and cultural history of the period. Our knowledge of the literary history of medieval Anatolia has increased dramatically in the last couple of decades. The publication and translation of the main historical chronicles of the period has provided a general narrative of the political history of the Seljuqs of Rum and their relationship with the Mongols of Iran (Ilkhanate) in the region after their conquest of Anatolia in the 1240s. Similarly, recent studies on manuscript production in medieval Anatolia have proven invaluable in understanding the region as a centre for the production, distribution and consumption of knowledge in the period. However, the picture we have of the political and cultural history of Anatolia is not homogeneous across the territory, and our knowledge of the historical development of the peninsula, especially in the 13th century, is rather unbalanced. While our understanding of the cultural and intellectual history of central and eastern Anatolia is advancing rapidly, the western and northern parts of the peninsula have received more modest attention from the scholarly world.

In this context, this book aims to contribute to the history of medieval Anatolia by looking at the developments of the region of Kastamonu under the reign of the Chobanid dynasty (r. 1210–1309). This work explores different aspects of the cultural history of the period while keeping two main objectives in mind. First, this study wants to explore the relationship developed between this peripheral Turkmen dynasty of north-western Kastamonu vis-à-vis the main political powers of the time (Byzantium, the Seljuqs of Rum, the Mongol Ilkhanate of Iran and the Golden Horde) and how it was integrated into the cultural and religious transformation that occurred in 13th-century Anatolia. We aim to explore whether an in-depth study of a peripheral dynasty such as the Chobanids of Kastamonu could serve as a useful case study to discuss mechanisms of state formation, dynamics of centrality and the periphery in Islamic empires and processes of Islamisation, transculturation and production of knowledge, that can be connected to the general context of the history of the Middle East. Second, this study is, to some extent, a methodological experiment that tries to confront the general tendency in Middle Eastern Studies that makes (ab)use of historical chronicles and narratives for the reconstruction of the past. As an attempt to challenge this tendency, this study aims to show that in the medieval Islamic world, our knowledge of the cultural history of a given time and place can be expanded by paying special attention to the literary works produced in this moment, even if they were not conceived as historical narratives.

Despite the increase of scholarly interest in medieval Anatolia in recent decades, certain aspects of the history of this period remain poorly understood. Among them is the functioning of the centre–periphery dynamics present in the Turco-Mongol states of medieval Eurasia. We know little about how the Seljuqs of Rum controlled the territory under their sway and how

different regions and populations across the peninsula interacted with the central court in Konya. How did the different Turkmen groups such as the Chobanids of Kastamonu, being both subjects of and rivals to the Seljuqs in different periods, interact with the sultanate court? How intertwined were they as representations of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’, not only in terms of political domination and rebellion but also in terms of the cultural and religious transformation that was occurring in the region? Similar questions can be extrapolated into a larger historiographical context that includes the ways in which the Mongols ruled Iran and how Mongol rule was exercised once the Ilkhanate took control of Anatolia in the mid-13th century. From the point of view of the Ilkhanate, Anatolia became yet another territory ruled by a subject dynasty that acknowledged Ilkhanid overlordship but maintained different degrees of political, cultural and religious autonomy. Southern areas of the Ilkhanate such as Fars or Kerman were also ruled in this period by Turkic dynasties such as the Salghurids or the Qutlughkhanids respectively, but maintained a close political, cultural and dynastic interaction with the Mongol court.³ In comparison, the Seljuqs of Rum had their own particularities with regard to their institutions, political organisation and cultural background, but were similarly confronted with the shifting of gravitational power from Anatolia into the Ilkhanate. The study of the manifestations of these realities circumscribed to the region of Kastamonu offers the opportunity to explore the dynamics of peripheral power structures in a complex multi-layered system of political domination, and religious and cultural transformation in medieval Anatolia that can serve as a departure point for future in-depth studies of the regional history of the period.

The main period of enquiry of the book begins in the 13th century, when the Seljuqs, led by Rukn al-Din Sulayman II (r. 1197–1204), finally defeated the Saltuqids at Erzurum and forced Armenian Cilicia into vassalage. His reign inaugurates the pinnacle of the political, military and cultural development of the Seljuq sultanate of Rum that was characterised by the expansion of religious foundations, patronage of the arts and scholars, and the institutional development of the court. In parallel, a closer control of the border was implemented by assigning specific titles and privileges to some Turkmen rulers that possibly already controlled regions of western Anatolia. Among them was Husam al-Din Choban, who, according to the historian Ibn Bibi, received in 1211–12 the title of amir and was acknowledged as ruler of Kastamonu in north-western Anatolia. Mostly incorporated into the Seljuq political structure for the military capability of his tribesmen, the descendants of Husam al-Din would consolidate a local dynasty in north-western Anatolia that would endure into the first decade of the 14th century. In the course of the 13th century, the Chobanids (in Turkish, *Çobanoğlu*) managed to survive the Mongol invasions of Anatolia in the 1240s that diminished Seljuq power in the region by accommodating to the changing political dynamics of this border region. However, in the context of Mongol-dominated Anatolia, the Chobanid rulers did not content themselves with surviving constant political turmoil, but went

4 *Introduction*

one step further into commissioning literary works, financing architectural projects and promoting the spread of Islam in their territories.

The sources

Many local dynasties across the Middle East exerted patronage and financed literary works in the 13th century, so the Chobanid dynasty of Kastamonu is hardly unusual in this respect. However, it is a particularly unusual case in that a relatively large number of the literary works connected to this peripheral dynasty (dedicated to the rulers or composed in the region during their reign) have survived to our day in various manuscripts that receive little or no attention at all in modern historiography.⁴ This offers a particularly interesting corpus of works ranging in topics from astronomy, administrative literature and religious accounts to manuals of letter-writing that offer a substantial amount of alternative information to the more standard historical narratives available for the period. In addition, while this book makes extensive use of this literary corpus, it does not disregard some of the main historical sources of the period. Because Kastamonu was a border zone between Islam and Christianity in the 13th century, references to the region can be found in sources from different origins.⁵ Historical accounts produced in Islamic Anatolia, Byzantium, the Ilkhanate and the Arab world make occasional and sporadic mentions of the history of Kastamonu. Although information is not abundant with regard to Kastamonu in any of these accounts, their infrequent references help to better contextualise some of the political events occurring in the region. More abundant – albeit far from comprehensive – information on Chobanid Kastamonu can be found in a group of local chronicles composed in Anatolia during the 13th and early 14th centuries that have traditionally been the core of the historical research on medieval Anatolia.⁶

Among this group of sources are the local chronicles composed in Persian by Ibn Bibi (d. after 1285), Aqsara'i and the chronicle of the Anonymous Historian(s) of Konya.⁷ The references to the Chobanids in these accounts vary according to the period in which they were composed and the political circumstances in which the authors found themselves at the time of writing. Ibn Bibi, for example, provides vivid accounts of the different military campaigns in which Husam al-Din, the founder of the Chobanid dynasty, participated. However, for the most part, his account fails to provide any meaningful information on the events occurring in the region after Husam al-Din returned victorious to his homeland after his campaign in Crimea. Ibn Bibi only returns to mention Chobanid rulers in the context of the intervention of Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek (r. 1280–91), grandson of Husam al-Din, to assist the future Sultan Mas'ud II (d. 1308) against his brother and rival to the Seljuq throne, Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan.⁸ While Ibn Bibi provides details of the early Chobanid rulers, the remaining local chronicles are useful for the events occurring in the second half of the 13th century. Overall, this group of sources is useful for gaining a perspective of how Kastamonu was seen from the Seljuq

court and the role that the Chobanids played in the larger political scenario of the peninsula. However, they only provide general accounts, mostly concerned with military campaigns, political alliances and rebellions against the central power, while offering very limited information on any aspect of the economic, social, or cultural life of 13th-century Kastamonu.

Because of the territorial proximity between Kastamonu and the Byzantine Empire in the 13th century one would expect that Greek sources would be particularly interested in the events taking place in the region across their borders.⁹ There are, for example, specific mentions to the town of Kastamonu in some narrative Greek sources, such as the letter by the priest Niketas Karantinos (fl. 13th century).¹⁰ However, Byzantine scholars have noticed that despite the long tradition of historical writing existing in the Byzantine Empire, only three main chronicles of Greek origin actually deal with the different Turkish groups that occupied Anatolia in the 13th and 14th centuries. The earliest of these accounts is the work of George Akropolites (d. 1282), a Nicaean nobleman who wrote a historical account of his time, but interrupted his narrative in the year 1261.¹¹ Because of his origin, his main focus is the events concerning the history of the Empire of Nicaea (r. 1204–61), but he makes specific references to developments in the Seljuq court and the advance of the Mongols in the 1240s. In this context, this account specifically mentions Kastamonu during the 1250s, a particularly obscure period in the history of the region.

George Pachymeres (d. 1310) was a disciple of Akropolites and had a successful ecclesiastical career in Constantinople.¹² His *Historical Relations* is possibly the most relevant historical work on Islamic Anatolia produced in Byzantium.¹³ This account, ‘despite its difficult rhetorical style and tortuous syntax, is one of the most reliable sources for Byzantine-Turkish relations’.¹⁴ Pachymeres’ history provides a unique description of the final decades of Chobanid rule in Kastamonu and is an important source – despite some confusing passages and a chaotic chronology of events – to reconstruct aspects of the revolt that precipitated the decline of the Chobanids.¹⁵ Nicephoros Gregoras (d. 1360) is a later author writing in the early 14th century, but whose work deals mostly with events in Byzantium during the 13th century and the early decades of the 14th century.¹⁶ He relies largely on both Akropolites and Pachymeres but offers some complementary accounts based on the use of contemporary sources, providing, for example, some alternative views on the last years of the Chobanids that add to Pachymeres’ account.

In addition to contemporary Greek and Anatolian-Persian sources, there are a number of other sources that, although referring to the region of Kastamonu in passing, offer pivotal information on different aspects of medieval Anatolia. An example of this is the account of the Andalusian historian and geographer Ibn Sa‘id (d. 1286), who passed through Anatolia on his way to Mecca and compiled a geographical account of the peninsula on his return to al-Andalus.¹⁷ Ibn Sa‘id’s description offers some interesting insights into the economic and social life of Anatolia during the early years of the Mongol conquest. He provides a particularly vivid description of the conflicts between

6 Introduction

Turkmen groups and Christians on the Byzantine frontier and highlights the importance of trade in the economy of different Anatolian cities. This includes the city and area of Kastamonu, where he not only confirms the wide establishment of Turkmen populations in the region, but also provides relevant information on the role of the city as a centre of the slave trade and was connected commercially with the port of Sinop on the Black Sea.¹⁸

A much richer description of the city is provided by Ibn Battuta (d. 1377), another traveller from the Western Islamic world who spent over 40 days in Kastamonu during the 14th century.¹⁹ His description of the city, although reflecting aspects of urban life in 14th-century Kastamonu – and consequently post-Chobanid – is useful to establish the existence of certain aspects of the economic and religious life of the city that might have remained in place from the 13th century. It allows us to infer, with caution, the permanence of certain characteristics of the city.²⁰ Although considerably more modest in their description of the city and region, other works by authors for whom we have no record of them visiting Anatolia also mention Kastamonu. Among them, the geographical works of al-'Umari (d. 1348) and Hamdallah Mustawfi (d. 1349), the latter offering some limited information about the city of Kastamonu during the 14th century.²¹

Scattered references to the city of Kastamonu appear also in some hagiographic accounts such as the *Manaqib al-'arifin* of Shams al-Din Aflaki, the biographer of Jalal al-Din Rumi.²² Although these references are made only in passing, they help us to contextualise some of the original sources composed in Kastamonu that will be at the centre of this research. By making specific references to Sufi shaykhs living in early 14th-century Kastamonu, this hagiography is a good witness, for example, of the evolution of the Islamisation process that occurred in Kastamonu during the 13th century. In the same direction, other scarce but useful documents are the limited number of endowment documents (*awqāf*) and inscriptions that survive from the period.²³ There are no records of coins being minted by the Chobanids of Kastamonu, but the earliest coins known to us date from the third decade of the 14th century made by the Jandarid (Candaroglu) dynasty in the name of the Mongol Ilkhan of Iran Abu Sa'id (r. 1316–35).²⁴ Although limited in their quantity and scope, these sources offer fundamental information that can, on occasion, serve as a point for validation or refutation of narrative sources. Finally, although general studies on Anatolian architecture often omit references to the region of Kastamonu, the archaeology and material culture of the region offers important information on political, religious and cultural aspects of the city of Kastamonu and its surrounding region.²⁵

Historiography of medieval Kastamonu

Chobanid Kastamonu occupies a marginal place in the historiography of medieval Anatolia, often overshadowed by the later expansion of the successor Jandarid dynasty and their political and military interaction with the early

Ottomans. With some honourable exceptions, the majority of the books covering 13th-century Anatolia focus mostly on central and eastern parts of the peninsula while leaving the western frontier out of the analysis or limited to a short, peripheral reference.²⁶ The reason for this is, as we have seen, the limited attention that the Chobanids attracted from the main chroniclers of the period and the difficulty in reconciling their accounts with the Greek sources. In the mid-20th century, Turkish historiography began to explore source material coming from the region in an attempt to incorporate it into the larger context of sources of the Seljuq period. Osman Turan, for example, investigated some of the sources produced in Chobanid Kastamonu as part of a larger study on 'Official documents' (*Resmî vesikalar*) and published in 1953 a pioneering article on the unique manuscript of the work *Fustat al-'adala*.²⁷ These two are the earlier studies on the literary production of the region but containing only limited information on the historical context in which these works were produced. The contribution of Osman Turan in making these texts available and providing some initial interpretations on the material has been pivotal in facilitating research for this current study.

Perhaps prompted by the slow but steady surfacing of sources from the region encouraged by scholars such as Osman Turan, medieval Kastamonu generated a certain amount of debate among Western scholars during the 1970s.²⁸ This was sparked by the famous French scholar Claude Cahen's publication of an article dedicated to the history of Kastamonu in the 13th century, in which he argues that the region has been marginalised from the main sources of the period because of its location in a remote place far from the centres of power.²⁹ This idea was taken up by Greek scholar Elizabeth Zachariadou who, motivated by Cahen's statement, tried to find evidence on the region of Kastamonu in Byzantine sources.³⁰ Mostly relying on the above-mentioned chronicle of Pachymeres, Zachariadou discusses the use of some Greek terminology (especially that of *amouriou*) in trying to shed some light mostly on the final decades of the history of Chobanid Kastamonu. Although her conclusions have been challenged, as we will see, by more recent scholarship in the field, these early contributions helped to visualise the political relevance of 13th-century Kastamonu in the larger Anatolian context and the difficulties that the source material available presents for the study of the region.

A much more comprehensive approach to the history of the region was carried out in the early 1990s by the Turkish historian Yaşar Yücel, who produced a two-volume work dedicated to the study of the different Anatolian beyliks.³¹ The first of these two volumes covers the two dynasties that controlled the region of Kastamonu and north-western Anatolia from the 13th to the 15th century. There is a clear imbalance in the length of the research when compared with the analysis that Yücel was able to do for each of these dynasties. The section dedicated to the Chobanids occupies only a fifth of the book and the entire political, social and literary history of the dynasty is described in 50 pages. Despite the limited scope of Yücel's analysis of the Chobanids, this section of the book was the most exhaustive and in-depth

study of the history of the dynasty up to that time and remains a crucial work for the study of 13th-century Kastamonu. Unlike Turan, Yücel attempted to provide a more comprehensive political, economic and social analysis of the Chobanids vis-à-vis the textual evidence surviving from the period. Yücel's work is the first to engage in discussing the Turkmen origin of the dynasty, provides a chronological description of the deeds of Chobanid rulers and discusses the role of the dynasty as a pivotal part of the political dynamics of Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia. However, while Yücel mentions the role of some Chobanid rulers as patrons of literature and includes transcriptions of some of the works composed in Kastamonu, he does not use these texts to add to our understanding of the social history of the period. In other words, while he mentions the rulers' active role in financing the production of literary works, he fails to engage more deeply in the implications that the production of these particular texts had for the development of the administrative, religious and cultural history of Chobanid Kastamonu. Yücel's pioneering work remains, nonetheless, a reference work for the study of medieval Kastamonu and beyond, and a pivotal study from which the present study has benefited greatly.

Since Yücel's publication, general studies on the history of medieval Anatolia have relied on this work for referencing events occurring in 13th-century Kastamonu, and little has been added to this standard narrative.³² However, at the turn of the 21st century, a number of region-based studies appeared that began to challenge some of the ideas presented by previous research and opened new fields of research on the region's history. Among them, the study by Dimitri Korobeinikov focusing on the specific events leading to the 'revolt of Kastamonu' of 1291–93 challenged some of the statements made previously by Zachariadou and gave a different dimension to the role of the Chobanids in the history of medieval Anatolia.³³ Korobeinikov manages to reconcile the terminology used by Pachymeres with the Islamic accounts to reconstruct a coherent narrative of the revolt.³⁴ By using a larger spectrum of sources that include both Islamic and Byzantine accounts, Korobeinikov shifted the traditional perspective that viewed the Chobanids as marginal political actors and centred his attention on the political developments occurring in the region and the implications that this frontier had in our understanding of the history of both Islamic Anatolia and the Byzantine Empire in the 13th century. Further, Korobeinikov challenged the idea of considering the Chobanids as just another Anatolian beylik kingdom, suggesting that the characteristics of this particular dynasty set it apart from other Anatolian kingdoms that developed in the 14th century.³⁵ A similar regional approach has been taken by Andrew Peacock in a group of articles dedicated to different aspects of the history of north-western Anatolia in the 13th century. Especially relevant for its contribution to our knowledge of the Chobanids of Kastamonu is the analysis of a particular 'letter of victory' (*Fatihnama*), in which the Chobanid ruler Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek is said to have invaded a pair of Byzantine castles on the Bay of Gideros on the shores of the Black Sea in 1284.³⁶ Further,

different research focusing on the history of Sinop, Cide and Kastamonu as a frontier between the Seljuqs and the Byzantine Empire has contributed greatly to enhancing the historical relevance of the region in understanding the complex political arena of 13th-century Anatolia and the region of Kastamonu.³⁷

Finally, in recent years, Turkish scholars based in Kastamonu have also greatly enhanced the visibility of the Chobanids in Anatolian historiography. Although publishing extensively on the Jandarids as well, Cevdet Yakupoğlu has contributed a great deal in the last decade to the study of different aspects of the history of Chobanid Kastamonu. Particularly relevant are his contributions to the study of patronage, endowments and religion among the Chobanids in the 13th century.³⁸ More recently, the publication of a monograph in collaboration with Namiq Musali has contributed greatly to our knowledge of *inshā'* literature under the Chobanids and has assisted considerably in the preparation of Chapter 6 of this book.³⁹ However, despite this increasing interest and awareness of the relevant role that Chobanid Kastamonu played in the history of Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia, many newly published studies on the history of the period either omit this frontier region or reduce it to a marginal place in their general analysis. It is hoped that this study can counter this trend and promote further research on the contribution that local and regional history can make to our general understanding of the medieval Middle East.

The organisation of this book

This study is divided into six chapters, each presenting different aspects of the political, religious and cultural history of the Chobanid dynasty that ruled over north-western Anatolia from c. 1211 to 1309. By focusing on a number of local sources and unique manuscripts, this research offers new perspectives on the development of a local political entity in Seljuq- and Mongol-dominated Anatolia. The book makes use of the case of this local dynasty to engage in broader topics affecting the cultural development of Anatolia and the Mongol-dominated Middle East. The book initially offers a section (Chapter 1) that contextualises the emergence of this dynasty within the history of the peninsula from the arrival of the first Turkish groups in the late 11th century until the removal of the Chobanids at the hands of the new dynastic order of the Jandarids at the beginning of the 14th century. Once the historical context has been presented, the following chapter (Chapter 2) looks at a variety of original sources to suggest a historical reconstruction of a chronological political history of the Chobanid dynasty, from the earlier references we have in the sources until the demise of the dynasty in the early 14th century. The chapter compares and contrasts the political trajectory of the different Chobanid rulers vis-à-vis the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuqs of Rum and the Mongols of Iran, showing how the Turkmen rulers adapted to the always-changing political circumstances of 13th-century Anatolia, while shifting political alliances in order to consolidate their control over the region. Once Chobanid rule in Kastamonu became firmly established from the 1280s onward, the way was

open for its rulers to set up a political agenda that promoted the production of different Persian literary works and facilitated the construction of secular and religious buildings in the region. A survey of the literary and architectural legacy is presented in Chapter 3, aiming to evaluate aspects of patronage, production and distribution of literary works and the financing of religious and secular buildings in the urban and rural landscape of the city of Kastamonu and its surrounding region during the 13th century.

The remaining sections of the book explore aspects of socio-cultural history of the region by focusing mainly on the evidence contained in texts produced in Chobanid Kastamonu. The composition of a work based on the classical Persian *Siyasatnama* (*Siyar al-muluk*) often attributed to the Seljuq vizier Nizam al-Mulk, offers a good opportunity to investigate how culturally Persian individuals used these texts as a way to obtain economic rewards and improve their career prospects at the court (Chapter 4). The author's alterations to the classical text to produce the new work dedicated to the Chobanid ruler is also part of the analysis of this section. The chapter suggests, by considering the arrangement of contents and chapter omissions in the new text vis-à-vis the original work, that this new composition reflects aspects of the religious, political and social history of Chobanid Kastamonu that are omitted in more traditional source material. A similar methodology of having a locally produced text at the centre of the analysis is implemented in the following section of the book (Chapter 5), which is dedicated to exploring aspects of religion under Chobanid rule. This section is based on the analysis of different unique accounts of the practices and beliefs of a group of antinomian Sufis (Qalandars) in a text dedicated to the Chobanid ruler Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek (r. 1280–91). The chapter explores the idea of 'orthodoxy', included in another section of the same text, by offering a complementary view between Hanafi and Shafi'i interpretations of Islamic law. This chapter argues that by looking at this specific text composed for a Chobanid ruler, it is possible to suggest that a debate took place at the Kastamonu court on aspects of religious matters that are completely absent from the majority of the sources available from the period. Finally, a closing section (Chapter 6) engages with a number of little-known texts composed under the cultural patronage of the Chobanid dynasty to discuss different aspects of socio-political life in 13th-century Anatolia. The main focus of this section is the genre of *imshā'* (chancellery letters) and the art of letter-writing that, based on the relatively high number of texts of this genre produced in this region, became especially popular in 13th-century Kastamonu. These letters, written by Husam al-Din Khu'i (d. c. 1309) and dedicated to the Chobanids, had not only a clear stylistic, but also a pedagogical, purpose that indicates an attempt to provide the Chobanid realm with a diplomatic apparatus, which suggests the Chobanids had a more elaborate conception of the state than previously assumed. This genre of letter-writing inspired the court and became popular among individuals of a literate Anatolian elite. A unique sample of personal letters produced in Kastamonu is also added to the analysis of this section as it helps to reconstruct a picture of

the socio-economic conditions of north-western Anatolia in the 13th century from a personal perspective.

Overall, this book aims to offer a comprehensive explanation for the emergence and development of the Chobanid dynasty in Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia for a better understanding of the characteristics of the rule of this Turkmen dynasty, the patronage of Persian literature promoted by the court and the socio-religious transformation of this territory under their rule. We do not expect that this research will be the final word on any of the aspects developed in this book, but rather a useful contribution to the history of medieval Anatolia.

Notes

- 1 Clifford E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
- 2 Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330* (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1968), p. 361.
- 3 Denise Aigle, *Le Fârs sous la domination mongole: politique et fiscalité, XIIIe–XIVes* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 2005).
- 4 A detailed description of the literary works connected to the Chobanids of Kastamonu is provided in Chapter 3. See also a selection of surviving manuscripts connected to the literary history of Chobanid Kastamonu in the Appendix 4: Table of selected surviving manuscript witnesses of works dedicated to the Chobanids of Kastamonu.
- 5 Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihi'nin Yerli Kaynaklar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943), English translation by Gary Leiser, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992). For an analysis of different available sources dealing with 13th-century Anatolia, see Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 7–39.
- 6 Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*; Sara Nur Yıldız, 'Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing', PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago (2006), pp. 20–29; Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 10–17.
- 7 Ibn Bibi, *El-Evâmirü'l-Alâ'iyye fi'l-Umûri'l-Alâ'iyye*. Facsimile edition by Adnan Sadık Erzi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956), Persian edition, *al-Avamir al-'ala'iyya fi al-umur al-'ala'iyya ma'ruf bih Tarikh-i Ibn Bibi*. Edited by Zhalah Muttahidin (Tehran: Pizhuhishgah-i 'Ulum-i Insani va Mutala'at-i Farhangi, 2011), partial Turkish translation, *Anadolu Selçukî Devleti tarihi*. Edited and translated by Feridun Nâfız Uzluk (Ankara: Uzlum Bazımevi, 1941). Karim al-Din Mahmud b. Muhammad Aqsara'i, *Musamarat al-akhbar va musayarat al-akhyar*. Edited by Osman Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1944). Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq dar Anatuli*. Edited by Nadira Jalali (Tehran: Daftar-i Nashr-i Miras-i Maktub, Ayinah-i Miras, 1999).
- 8 This event also attracts the attention of both Aqsara'i and the Anonymous Historian of Konya; see Chapter 2.

12 Introduction

- 9 Leonora Neville, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- 10 I am grateful to Dimitri Korobeinikov for calling my attention to this source. On the Greek edition of Niketas Karantinos' work, see Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 313.
- 11 Georges Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*. Translated by Ruth Juliana Macrides (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- 12 For a short biography of Pachymeres and a bibliographical guide to his life and works, see Neville, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, pp. 237–42.
- 13 *George Pachymeres, Relations historiques*. Edited and translated by Albert Failler (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984).
- 14 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 18.
- 15 See Chapter 2.
- 16 Nicephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*. Edited by Ludwig Schopen, 3 vols (Bonn: Webber, 1829–35).
- 17 Ibn Sa'id, *Kitab al-jughrafiyya* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Tijariyya lil-Tib'a wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi', 1970). On this work, see Claude Cahen, 'Ibn Sa'id sur l'Asie Mineure seljuqide', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (1968), pp. 41–50.
- 18 For more on trade in medieval Kastamonu, see Chapter 1.
- 19 Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ad 1325–1354*. Edited and translated by Charles Defrémery and Beniamino R. Sanguinetti, vol. 2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1962).
- 20 See Chapter 1.
- 21 Al-'Umari, *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar*. Edited by Kamil Salman al-Juburi (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2010); *idem, Das mongolische Weltreich: Al-'Umarī's Darstellung des mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār Ibn-Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī, Aḥmad Ibn-Yahyā, 1301–1349*. Translated by Klaus Lech (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968); Hamdallah Mustawfi, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al Qulub*. Translated by Guy Le Strange (London: Luzac & Co., 1919).
- 22 Shams al-Din Ahmad Aflaki, *Manaqib al-'arifin*. Edited by T. Yazıcı, 2 vols (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1959–61); *idem, The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manaḡeb al-'Arefin*. Translated by J. O'Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
- 23 Inscriptions will be analysed in Chapter 3. For *waqfiyyas* in Kastamonu from the Chobanid to the Ottoman period, see Cevdet Yakupoğlu, 'Selçuklular, Beylikler ve Osmanlılar Döneminde Kastamonu Çevresinde Ahiler', *Erdem* 55 (2009), pp. 157–74. A recent survey on some waqf inscriptions in Anatolia was recently published in Andrew Peacock, 'Waqf Inscriptions From Medieval Anatolia', in Oğuz Tekin, Christopher H. Roosevelt and Engin Akyürek (eds), *Philanthropy in Anatolia through the Ages* (Istanbul: Koç University, 2020), pp. 183–203.
- 24 Philip N. Remler, 'Ottoman, Isdendiyarid, and Eretnid Coinage: A Currency Community in Fourteenth Century Anatolia', *Museum Notes* (American Numismatic Society) 25 (1980), pp. 167–88.
- 25 For an overview of Chobanid architecture, see Chapter 3.
- 26 Recent exceptions to this pattern are Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*; Rustam Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia*.

- 27 Osman Turan, 'Selçuk Türkiyesi Din Tarihine Dair Bir Kaynak: *Fuṣṭāt al-'adāle fī kavā'id is-saltāna*', in *idem*, 60. doğum yılı münasebetiyle: *Fuad Köprülü armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010), pp. 531–64.
- 28 Turan also included some references to Kastamonu in his contribution to the Cambridge History of Islam series; see Osman Turan, 'Anatolia in the Period of the Seljuks and the *Beyliks*', in P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis (eds), *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 1A (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 295–323.
- 29 Claude Cahen, 'Questions d'histoire de la province de Kastamonu au XIIIe siècle', *Selçuk Üniversitesi Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1971), pp. 145–58.
- 30 Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, 'Pachymeres on the "Amourioi" of Kastamonu', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1977), pp. 57–70.
- 31 Yaşar Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar*, 2 vols (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991).
- 32 For example, the introduction to the edition of the works by the Kastamonu-based Husam al-Din Khu'i (d. c. 1309), written by Sughra Abbaszade, includes some information on the region of Kastamonu and the Chobanids but does not add any new information to the narration of the events provided by Yücel. This introduction is, instead, very useful for the study of Khu'i's texts composed under Chobanid rule. See Husam al-Din Khu'i, *Majmu'ah-i asar-i Husam al-Din Khuyi*. Edited by Sughra Abbaszade (Tehran: Miras-i Maktub, 2000), pp. 9–84.
- 33 Dimitri Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt of Kastamonu, c. 1291–1293', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), pp. 87–118. This article is based on a chapter of Korobeinikov's first PhD dissertation entitled 'Northern Anatolia in the Eleventh-Fifteenth Centuries: The Byzantine Heritage in the Time of Turkic (Seljukid and Ottoman) Conquests'. This thesis is only available in Russian.
- 34 The different interpretations of the revolt will be explained in more detail in Chapter 3.
- 35 Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt of Kastamonu', pp. 116–17; This is an important point that is central for the present study and to which we will return later in the book.
- 36 Andrew Peacock, 'Cide and its Region from Seljuk to Ottoman Times', in Bleda S. Düring and Claudia Glatz (eds), *Kinetic Landscapes. The Cide Archaeological Project: Surveying the Turkish Western Black Sea Region* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 375–91.
- 37 See specially Andrew Peacock, 'Sinop: A Frontier City in Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010), pp. 103–24, 537; *idem*, 'The Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and the Turkmen of the Byzantine Frontier, 1206–1279', *al-Masaq* 27 (2014), pp. 267–87.
- 38 Cevdet Yakupoğlu, 'Selçuklular, Beylikler ve Osmanlılar Döneminde Kastamonu Çevresinde Ahiler', *Erdem* 55 (2009), pp. 157–74; *idem*, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü Çobanoğlu Muzaffereddin Yavlak Arslan Medresesi ve Camii', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 36:61 (2017), pp. 41–74; *idem*, 'Candaroğulları Beyliğinde ve Muasiri Türk Devletlerinde Hanefilik' *IV. Uluslararası Şeyh Şa'bân-ı Velî Sempozyumu III* (Kastamonu: Kastamonu University, 2017), pp. 489–512.
- 39 Cevdet Yakupoğlu and Namiq Musalı, *Selçuklu İnşâ Sanatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2018).

1 A territory in transformation

The political and intellectual context of Anatolia in the 13th century

The first time a Turkmen ruler of Kastamonu appears in the historical records is in connection with a military campaign in which a local amir named Husam al-Din Choban comes to the assistance of the future Seljuq sultan Kayqubad in Ankara in 1211. The conflict and its aftermath are narrated by the court historian Ibn Bibi some 70 years after the events and we do not have any information about who this Husam al-Din was, how he came to power, or why he was assisting this particular faction of the Seljuq dynasty in this particular war of succession. There is silence in the sources about the Chobanids of Kastamonu before 1211 and it is unlikely – albeit that there is always hope – that any new sources might surface in the future that offer further information about this specific period in this local dynasty's history. In trying to minimise the historical lacuna about the Chobanids before this foundational event, but also in subsequent periods of the 13th century when we lack specific references to the Chobanids, this chapter attempts to offer a short survey of the political and intellectual context of Anatolia from the 11th to the early 14th century. Pivotal in contextualising Chobanid Kastamonu is to give an overview of the political history of the Seljuqs of Rum, the Mongol domination of Anatolia and the cultural transformations that occurred in the peninsula from the coming of the Turks in the late 11th century up to the fall of the Mongol Ilkhanate of Iran in 1335. It is relevant to offer an historical evaluation of the process of migration that brought groups of Turkmen people and many individual literati and religious leaders into the peninsula from the late 12th century. They came mainly – but not only – from Khurasan, Central Asia and the Levant, and made a clear contribution to the development of the intellectual milieu in which the Chobanids of Kastamonu came to power. Finally, the chapter closes with an overview of general aspects of the geography, economy and social organisation of Kastamonu to better contextualise the landscape which the Chobanids ruled in the 13th century.

1.1 Seljuq Anatolia before the Mongols

The early history of the Seljuq domination of Anatolia is poorly documented, with many gaps and conflicting narratives of the events. The formative period of the sultanate of Rum begins with the initial Turkish incursions in the peninsula and concludes with the consolidation of Seljuq control at the end of the 12th century. The Battle of Manzikert in 1071 CE, in which the Seljuq Turks defeated the Byzantine army and the emperor Romanus IV Diogenes (r. 1068–71) was captured by Alp Arslan, is often given as the foundational event that marks the starting point for the establishment of Seljuq supremacy in the peninsula.¹ However, raid-like incursions by different Turkish groups have been documented especially in the eastern parts of the peninsula from at least four decades before the battle.² The incapacity of the Byzantine Empire to militarily contain the Turkish advance meant that by the late 11th century, Turkish armed groups began to settle in the Anatolian Peninsula, establishing military control over different regions and eventually establishing the first Turkic dynasties in Anatolia. The Danishmandid and Saltuqid dynasties became political actors in the complex political situation of 12th-century Anatolia. The newcomers quickly integrated themselves in a fluid scenario that mixed military campaigns, alliances and diplomacy between a multitude of factions that included the remaining Byzantine Empire, the newly established Crusader states in the Middle East and the rise of Sulayman b. Qutlumush, generally considered the founder of the Seljuq dynasty of Rum.³

During the first half of the 12th century, the Seljuqs of Rum were just another piece in a mosaic of realms that occupied the Anatolian Peninsula. Central and northern Anatolia were in the hands of the Danishmandids, the eastern parts of the peninsula were under the control of the Saltuqids based in the city of Erzurum and the Artuqids ruled over Diyarbakır, Harput and Mardin. In addition to these Turkish principalities, a new Armenian kingdom consolidated in Cilicia while the Black Sea and the Mediterranean coast remained in the hands of the Byzantines. It was not until the mid-12th century when, under the reign of Mas'ud I (r. 1116–56), the Seljuqs of Rum would begin to emerge as the most powerful Turkish state in Anatolia. Initially a vassal of the Danishmandid amir, Mas'ud managed first to be a clever politician and exploit internal divisions among the Danishmandids in his own favour to increase his political influence in the peninsula. He also proved to be a skilful military commander. In 1146, he managed to defend the city of Konya from a Byzantine attack under the command of Emperor Manuel Comnenus (r. 1143–80) and only a year later he achieved a sound military victory against the Christian armies of the Second Crusade at the Battle of Dorylaeum.⁴

Kılıç Arslan II (r. 1156–92), son and successor of Mas'ud, consolidated the territories gained by his father but was also challenged by other members of his family. The persecution of internal opposition drove Kılıç Arslan to expand his domains into central and western Anatolia, which, in turn, increased the concerns of the Byzantine emperor over the growing influence of the sultan.

The emperor Manuel Comnenus launched an expedition against the Seljuqs and the armies met at the Battle of Myriocephalum in 1176.⁵ The Byzantine armies suffered a crushing and humiliating defeat that would put an end to any future aspirations of the emperor to recover central and western Anatolia from the Seljuqs. In the following years, Kılıç Arslan II would attempt to expand his influence further east, managing to overcome the rival Danishmandid dynasty by incorporating its territories into the sultanate, but he was unable to enter Syrian areas due to the rise of the figure of Salah al-Din (r. 1169–93) in those lands.

However, the successful military campaigns of Kılıç Arslan II and the consolidation of Seljuq control over large parts of Anatolia encountered some internal problems. The patrimonial understanding of the reign of the sultan meant that even before the end of his reign, he had divided his territories among his sons and relatives and assigned to them the title of malik, while reserving for himself the epithet of sultan. The different lords acted as autonomous rulers in their fiefdoms, fragmenting the political power of the sultanate and promoting rivalries and enmities among rulers of the different regions. This fragmentation of power may explain why in 1190 the armies of the Third Crusade managed to occupy and sack Konya over five days without the sultan being able to prevent it. Further, the central power vacuum made it possible for different Turkmen groups to range freely in border areas with Byzantium, while the sultan's direct authority was restricted to Konya and the major urban centres of the sultanate.⁶ These borderlands would remain in the hands of these Turkmen groups during the first half of the 13th century, when local rulers originally belonging to these groups, such as the Chobanids of Kastamonu, would attempt to expand their influence into urban areas and consolidate a local dynasty over these frontier regions.

At the turn of the 13th century, the fate of the sultanate shifted when Rukn al-Din Sulayman II (r. 1197–1204) became sultan, replacing his deposed brother Kaykhusraw I. He managed to bring most of the autonomous maliks under his control but suffered a humiliating defeat against the Georgians in the east of Anatolia.⁷ His brother remained among the rebel maliks opposing Rukn al-Din Sulayman's hegemony in the sultanate. Although Kaykhusraw was eventually defeated in battle by Rukn al-Din Sulayman in 1204, the rebel was fortunate in that the sultan passed away the same year. The deposed Kaykhusraw I (r. 1205–11) would reclaim the throne for a second time after removing the underage 'Izz al-Din Kılıç Arslan III (1204–05) after a short time in office. The centralising efforts of Rukn al-Din Sulayman were reversed by Kaykhusraw, who would once again follow the policy of assigning his sons as maliks across the peninsula. Malatya was given to the eldest son Kayka'us I, Tokat was assigned to Kayqubad I, and the third son Jalal-al-Din Kayfaridun received Koyluhisar, the ancient city of Nicopolis in Lesser Armenia.⁸ Conflict between the brothers erupted as soon as the sultan died in 1211, culminating in the Battle of Ankara that same year where Kayka'us I (r. 1211–20) defeated his brother Kayqubad I, despite the latter receiving military support from the Chobanids of Kastamonu (see Chapter 2).

Kayka'us I managed to expand his territories by adding in 1214 the important port of Sinop on the shores of the Black Sea to the previous incorporation of the Mediterranean port of Antalya by his father in 1207.⁹ This allowed him to call himself 'sultan of the two seas' as an honorific title and reinforce the position of the Seljuq sultanate by increasing trade, opening possibilities for new military expansion and using the new economic bonanza to finance the patronage of literature and architecture.¹⁰ Despite this, the peak of Seljuq territorial expansion and royal prestige would come when Kayka'us died and his brother, the once defeated 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I (r. 1220–37), ascended to the throne of the sultanate. As we will see, he would continue the military expansion initiated by his brother by commissioning the first and only maritime campaign to Crimea; he managed to control most of the peninsula (with the exception of the Empire of Trebizond and the limited lands of Byzantium east of Constantinople) and eliminated the Mangujakids, the only remaining Turkish principality that opposed Seljuq supremacy.

During the reign of 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I, however, the indirect consequences of the Mongol advance in Central Asia began to be felt in Anatolia. The Khwarazmshah sultan Jalal al-Din (r. 1220–31), who had escaped the downfall of his father's empire in Khwarazm, became militarily active in eastern Anatolia during the early 1230s. From the Seljuq perspective, there was a benefit in the fact that Jalal al-Din's invasion of the Caucasus weakened their rival kingdom of Georgia. However, his presence in the area also attracted the attention of the Mongols to these western parts of the Islamic world. The sultan tried to ally first with the Ayyubids of Syria but this alliance failed and both parties met on the battlefield in eastern Anatolia. Eventually, the Seljuqs managed to drive the Ayyubids back into Syria, but soon afterwards the Mongol general Baiju (d. 1259) invaded eastern Anatolia, sacking Erzincan and reaching the countryside of Sivas in 1232. With the Mongol threat on his doorstep, 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad nominally submitted to the Great Khan Ögötei (r. 1229–41), keeping Anatolia as a subject region but without real Mongol control over the area.¹¹

The reign of 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad has been seen as a golden age in the history of the Seljuqs of Rum because of the cultural and artistic sophistication achieved in the sultanate. However, politically, control over the territory was not always in the hands of the sultan. Local rulers (amirs) such as Husam al-Din Choban ruled autonomously in certain regions of the peninsula while the sultan, like his predecessors, tried to distribute his sons in major cities around the sultanate to control the autonomy of these local rulers. Despite these efforts, there seemed to be centrifugal forces pulling power away from Konya and increasing the power of local amirs and members of the court. In this context, it is not surprising that after 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad died in 1237, the succession was decided by a powerful military and political elite that promoted his son Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (1237–46), going against the wishes of the deceased sultan, who wanted to pass his throne to his other son 'Izz al-Din Kılıç Arslan. The new ruler tried to continue his father's military

expansion to the east but the Mongol presence in eastern Anatolia became more persistent. Different Turkmen revolts also erupted in various regions of the sultanate, contributing to the erosion of the sultan's prestige and military strength. The *coup de grâce* of Kaykhusraw's reign came at the Battle of Köse Dağ in 1243, when a Mongol army led by Baiju defeated the Seljuq army led by Kaykhusraw II, forcing the sultan to find refuge in Konya and leaving central Anatolia at the mercy of Mongol raids. The sultan sent an embassy to the court of Batu (d. 1255), ruler of the Golden Horde, whereby the Seljuqs submitted to the Mongols and agreed to pay a substantial annual tribute.

1.2 Anatolia under the Mongols

The expansion of the Mongol Empire outside of the Mongolian steppes began in 1206 with the rise of a young Mongol leader, called Temüjin, who was acknowledged by his peers as Chinggis Khan (d. 1227). Subsequently, Eurasia underwent a political, economic and cultural transformation of unprecedented dimensions. The new ruler and his descendants built the largest continuous empire that had ever existed, ruling the region extending from the Korean peninsula to Anatolia and from Siberia to northern India. They not only gained control over the Eurasian steppes and the Turco-Mongol nomads living there, but also incorporated some of the larger sedentary-based civilisations of the time into their realm, such as the Chinese, the north-eastern domains of the Orthodox Christian kingdoms, and the eastern and central lands of the Islamic world. Ögetei Khan (r. 1229–41), son and successor of Chinggis Khan, continued his father's military expansion towards central and southern China in the East and into the Russian steppes in the West. The western front of the Mongol conquest defeated the Cumans and Qipchaq federations on the Volga River, subdued the principalities of Novgorod and Vladimir, and annexed the territories of the Rus Federation by sacking its capital Kiev in late 1240. Then, the Mongols continued into eastern Europe, defeating a fragmented Polish army before proceeding to invade Dalmatia, Moravia and Hungary. While the Mongols were preparing for the invasion of Austria, the princes leading the expedition heard the news that the Great Khan Ögetei had died and they turned for home to participate in the election of the new Mongol leader. In their return eastward, the Mongols sacked Bulgaria but the sudden death of the Khan saved central Europe from a more widespread Mongol invasion.

In the early 1230s, Ögetei Khan appointed Chormaqan as the leading commander of the western Mongol territories. He settled in Azerbaijan, from where he directed the pursuit of the fugitive Khwarazm sultan Jalal al-Din and sent his troops to raid Georgia, Armenia and eastern Anatolia on several occasions.¹² The Mongol looting of these regions forced the Seljuq sultan 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I to submit to the Great Khan but the sultan died; his successor Kaykhusraw II took some time to put together the embassy that would send gifts and confirmation of submission to the Great Khan. However, while the embassy of Kaykhusraw II was on its way, a number of deaths among

the different participants in the agreement complicated the deal. In the years 1241–42, both Ögetei Khan and Chormaqan died and Baiju was appointed as his replacement on the western front.¹³ In the absence of his son Güyük (r. 1246–48), who was fighting in eastern Europe, the throne of the Great Khan was occupied by the widow regent empress Töregene Khatun (r. 1241–46).¹⁴ It has been suggested that the power vacuum caused by the death of Ögetei was used by Batu Khan (d. 1255) to incorporate the Caucasus into his domains to the detriment of other Chinggisid lineages. The death of Chormaqan, who was the major authority in the region, removed the opposition and favoured Batu's agenda, so that Batu managed to bring Baiju under his command.¹⁵ With the backing of Batu, Baiju decided to disregard the offer of submission of the sultan of Rum and moved westward to invade Anatolia from the east. He easily took Erzurum and occupied central parts of the peninsula.¹⁶ Kaykhusraw II tried to react to the invasion and directed his army to confront the Mongols. The two armies met at Köse Dağ on 6 Muharram AH 641 (26 June 1243).¹⁷

The outcome of the Battle of Köse Dağ was a clear defeat for Kaykhusraw II, who, after committing strategic mistakes on the battlefield, was forced to flee before the end of the conflict, abandoning his troops to find refuge first in Tokat before returning to Konya and then moving to his winter palace in Antalya.¹⁸ Unlike the previous incursions by the Mongols in Anatolia, the invaders did not retreat to Azerbaijan after the Battle of Köse Dağ. Instead, they took Kayseri and Sivas and then moved south-east to sack Harran, as well as peacefully acquiring Mardin.¹⁹ Baiju first directed his troops into Diyarbakır and the Jazira, and then into Syria and the Crusader principality of Antioch. In the face of the catastrophic defeat of the sultan's forces, Kaykhusraw seems to have removed himself from the frontline of the diplomacy of the sultanate, leaving the negotiation of a peace treaty with the Mongols in the hands of his court officials.²⁰ This time, however, the embassy acknowledging Kaykhusraw's submission to the Mongols was not sent to the imperial capital in Qaraqorum in Mongolia but to the court of Batu Khan based on the lower Volga River. With this act, the Seljuqs of Rum entered into the sphere of influence of the Golden Horde and inaugurated a new political order in the region.²¹ Batu appointed Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Isfahani as governor of Rum, evidencing, for the first time, a direct involvement of the Mongols in the internal power dynamics of the sultanate. From that moment onwards, viziers such as Isfahani would increase their role in the administration of the realm by acting as regents for underaged sultans.²²

In the 1250s, Hülegü (d. 1265), a grandson of Chinggis Khan, assembled a large army in Mongolia and advanced westward. Not encountering any serious military opposition, the Mongol military annexed the territories corresponding to present-day Afghanistan, Iran and eastern Turkey to the Mongol Empire and went further into the Arab world by conquering Damascus and advancing as far as Jerusalem. In the process, the Mongols added the newly conquered territories to their dominions and destroyed the hitherto impenetrable fortress of the Ismailis in Alamut, sacked the city of Baghdad and executed the

Abbasid caliph in 1258.²³ Hülegü's conquests led to the establishment of the Mongol Ilkhanid dynasty in Iran that ruled the region between 1260 and 1335. From the point of view of Mongol history, the newly added Mongol domain quickly became an autonomous political entity within the Mongol Empire that competed with other similar Mongol khanates of the Golden Horde and Chaghatai (Central Asia). But from the point of view of Islamic history, the Ilkhanate transformed the political borders of the previous Abbasid, Seljuq, Khwarazmian and Ayyubid dynasties, and provoked a profound change in the conception of rule in Iran, which for the first time in over 600 years was ruled by a non-Muslim ruler with seemingly omnipresent military power. The impact of the Mongol conquest on the cultural history of Iran has been addressed by scholars of medieval Islamic history and Iranian Studies to a certain extent. Especially in the last few decades, studies on the political, social and economic aspects of the Ilkhanate have been undertaken both in Iran and in the West.²⁴ Abundant research has been done on some aspects of Mongol rule in Iran, exploring the role of the Ilkhans, their wives and some Mongol officials in the administration of Iran during the Mongol period.²⁵

The establishment of the Ilkhanate with its capital in Tabriz also had a deep impact in Anatolia. Although since the submission agreement between Batu and the amirs of Kaykhusraw II the sultanate of Rum had fallen under the influence of the Golden Horde, in 1251 a *quraltai* (Mongol royal assembly) that elected Möngke as the Great Khan had granted Hülegü all the western territories of the empire.²⁶ In Hülegü's interpretation of his orders, his brother would have included Iran, Iraq and the *tamma* (garrison) of Rum assigned originally to Chormaqan and Baiju. Consequently, when Hülegü's army, including members of all the different Mongol uluses (states), conquered Iran, sacked Baghdad and settled in Tabriz, Anatolia became a territory of conflict between the new Mongols of Iran and the Golden Horde. When Hülegü arrived in the Caucasus, he forced Baiju to switch alliance from the Golden Horde to the newly arrived Mongols and commanded him to immediately dispatch his soldiers to reconquer Anatolia in his name.²⁷ A large army commanded by Baiju marched into the peninsula. The sultan 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us II (r. 1246–60), grandson of Kaykhusraw II, tried to oppose the Mongols but was defeated at the Battle of Aksaray in 1256 and forced to flee to Nicaea.²⁸ As Andrew Peacock has observed, the presence of the Mongol army in the peninsula had both political and cultural consequences. On the one hand, it pushed the Turkmen into the corners of the peninsula and into more peripheral areas such as Kastamonu. On the other hand, the Turkic background of the Mongols also contributed to the ongoing process of Turkicisation of Anatolia from a majority Greek-Christian area into a Turco-Muslim territory.

From this moment onwards, the fate of the Seljuq sultans would be decided neither in Konya, nor at the Golden Horde, but from Iran. Hülegü divided Anatolia between the two Seljuq contenders to the throne. He agreed to restore Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan IV (r. 1248–65) after he went to Iran to pay homage to the Mongol ruler, but the Ilkhan forced him to share his position with the

defeated Kayka'us II who, profiting from the absence of Rukn al-Din, had reconquered Konya with the help of the Byzantines. Hülegü's Solomonic decision would not be in force for too long because a new political figure was consolidating power in the peninsula. Mu'in al-Din Sulayman *Parvāna* (d. 1277), at the time a vizier of Rukn al-Din, plotted against Kayka'us II until the sultan was forced into exile in Byzantium first, and then obliged to find refuge in Crimea in 1262. This left Rukn al-Din IV as the sole ruler of the Seljuqs under the protectorate of the Mongols of Iran and the influence of the *parvāna*. However, conflict arose between the sultan and the governor due to the increasing influence of the latter in assigning land and positions to his own followers. Eventually, the sultan was assassinated and Mu'in al-Din, having full support of the Ilkhanate, appointed Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw III (1265–84), the underage son of Rukn al-Din, as the sultan of a realm under the real control of the *parvāna*.

This opened an unstable political period in Anatolia marked by a weak sultan, powerful viziers, internal revolts and the involvement of foreign powers in the sultanate's affairs. While Mu'in al-Din Parvana increased his power, the Mongols demanded his military support for their war against the growing influence of the Mamluks in Syria. Anatolia acquired an increasing importance for the Ilkhans as a source of men and resources, which in turn made it a target of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars (r. 1260–77), who not only offered refuge to exiled members of the family of Sultan Kayka'us II, but also increased his influence in the politics of the Seljuq sultanate of Rum during the 1270s. Domestically, the sultanate was also subject to the constant rebellion of different Turkmen groups that, like the Chobanids of Kastamonu, began to consolidate their power in different areas of the peninsula. The most threatening of these revolts was that organised by Muhammad Beg (r. 1261–78), leader of the Qaramanids, who managed to bring different Turkmen groups under his command and to challenge both the Mongols and Seljuqs for political hegemony in the peninsula. Despite initial military gains, which included the conquest of Konya, Muhammad Beg was eventually defeated by a combined Seljuq-Mongol army and executed in 1278. Contemporary to these events, Baybars, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt (r. 1260–77), apparently allying with Mu'in al-Din Sulayman Parvana, invaded Anatolia in 1277. The Mamluks seem to have been betrayed by the *parvāna*, who never joined the Mamluk expedition, and the Ilkhan Abaqa (r. 1265–82) eventually managed to force the Mamluks to withdraw back to Syria. This turbulent period of the sultanate's history finished with the execution of Mu'in al-Din Parvana and the re-organisation of the sultanate by the Mongol envoy Shams al-Din Juwayni (d. 1284).²⁹

During the last two decades of the 13th century, the Mongols returned to their policy of divide and rule in Anatolia. They first split the sultanate between Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw III (1265–84) and Mas'ud II (r. 1284–1308), and then Tegüder Ilkhan (r. 1282–84) commanded the execution of the former for treason and left the latter as the sole ruler of the sultanate. His successor Arghun (r. 1284–91) confirmed Mas'ud II as sultan but simultaneously appointed

his brother Geykhatu as governor of Anatolia, with the idea of establishing a more visible presence of Mongol rule in the peninsula. The new governor counted on the support of powerful officials such as the amir Mujir al-Din b. Mu‘azz and the vizier Fakhr al-Din Qazvini. However, when Arghun died in 1291, the appointment of Geykhatu as Ilkhan created a power vacuum in the peninsula that triggered the eruption of different Turkmen revolts, including that of Kastamonu in 1291–93, which would end the life of Muzaffar al-Din Choban.³⁰ Geykhatu’s departure from Anatolia initiated a chaotic period in the history of the peninsula that saw an increase in Qaramanid autonomy, and different revolts erupting against Mongol rule. Sultan Mas‘ud II sided with one of these revolts commanded by a certain Baltu in 1297, forcing the new Ilkhan Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) to remove Mas‘ud from office and appoint a nephew of Sultan ‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad III (1298–1302). In trying to secure the loyalty of the sultanate, the Ilkhan made the unusual move of allowing Kayqubad III to marry a Mongol princess.³¹ However, only four years after his appointment, the new sultan was also involved in yet another revolt that was suppressed by Ghazan in 1302. This led to Kayqubad III’s exile to Isfahan and the re-establishment of Mas‘ud II as sultan of Rum for a second and final term.

Our knowledge of the second term of Mas‘ud II is vague and generally omitted in the sources. Although some coins were minted at the beginning of his reign, we do not have any information about his deeds in the first decade of the 14th century and he seems to have vanished into thin air around 1308 without leaving any traces in the sources about the date of his death or any apparent heir to the throne. Incidentally, the disappearance of the Seljuq dynasty of Rum coincides with the end of the Chobanids in Kastamonu and the emergence of the Jandarid dynasty as the ruling Turkmen in the area. The disappearance of Mas‘ud II might be less of a mystery but yet another example of a political re-structuring within a more general policy of the Mongols carried out by the Ilkhan Öljeitü (r. 1304–16) and implemented across the Ilkhanate. In the 14th century, the Ilkhans decided to remove local dynasties from their territories and devised a more direct rule over those peripheral territories under their rule, such as southern Iran and Anatolia. It seems that after 50 years of Mongol rule in Iran and with the conversion of the Ilkhans to Islam, the Mongols could manage without the legitimacy provided by local Turkic rulers in these areas. The end of the Seljuqs of Rum is contemporary with the removal of the Salghurids of Fars and the Qutlughkhanids of Kerman, opening a period of direct Mongol rule across the Ilkhanate that would last until the end of the last Ilkhan of Iran, Abu Sa‘id (r. 1316–35). The Seljuqs’ disappearance, however, did not mean that Anatolia was unified under the Mongols. Instead, the 14th century is generally considered ‘the beylik period’, in which different principalities competed for power and territory in Anatolia until a supposed reunification took place under the Ottomans. Nevertheless, as we will see in this book, Anatolia was far from unified during the 13th century, with peripheral powers such as that of the Chobanids playing a fundamental

role in shaping the history of Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia during the 13th and 14th centuries.

1.3 Anatolia, land of opportunities: Migrations and the Anatolian cultural revolution from the 12th to the 14th century

The political history of Anatolia in the 13th century mixes armed conflict, political fragmentation and unstable rule, but simultaneously this was a period of rich cultural production that began in the 12th century, reached its peak during the reign of ‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad I (r. 1220–37) and was maintained into the 14th century. This cultural process was not homogeneous through time, nor was it consistent across the peninsula. A quick look at this phenomenon highlights different stages in this cultural development that demonstrated different characteristics in terms of patronage, literary genres and language use that define different periods and regions in Seljuq and post-Seljuq Anatolia. In explaining the cultural and literary boom that took place in this period, scholars have highlighted a number of key factors that help to explain, even if only partially, why this region at the fringes of the Islamic world became a remarkable centre for cultural production in the 13th century, one equivalent to other areas where Islam had been rooted for longer than in Anatolia. Medieval Kastamonu was part of this phenomenon and the Chobanids played, as we will see, a crucial part in promoting culture in their realm. For this reason, it is relevant, even if in a schematic way, to present here some key aspects of the more general cultural context in which Chobanid rulers such as Muzaffar al-Din Choban lived and which inspired him to promote his own cultural initiatives.

Some of the characteristics shown in the development of literary production in Seljuq Anatolia are rooted in a model that had already been implemented during the reign of the Great Seljuqs (r. 1040–1220). Early Seljuq sultans such as Alp Arslan (r. 1063–72), Malik Shah (r. 1072–92), or Sanjar (r. 1117–57) actively financed poets, scientists and men of letters during their reign.³² The decentralised nature of the Great Seljuq Empire meant that patronage was not confined to a single place or restricted to the imperial court. The Seljuq sultans moved their court around their territories and selected different regions as their main dwelling areas. For example, Malik Shah would choose Isfahan as his capital, while Sanjar promoted patronage of literature in the Central Asian city of Marv. In addition, the decentralisation of the state meant that governors, local officials and royal family members would promote and finance literary production across Iran and Central Asia in areas like Hamadan in the West or Nishapur and Herat in the East. After the death of Sanjar, political instability grew in the empire and certain territories acquired further political autonomy from the Seljuq court. Regions such as Khwarazm, Kerman, Azerbaijan and Anatolia developed local dynasties related to the Seljuqs which, in turn, would carry out their own patronage activity.³³

The extensive court patronage seen across the Seljuq Empire did not materialise in Anatolia immediately after the conquest of the peninsula in the late 11th

century.³⁴ We need to wait until the late 12th century for evidence of courtly patronage of men of letters at the court of the Seljuqs of Rum. This might be due to the fact that before this period, the Seljuq court in Anatolia might not have developed a ‘complex bureaucratic apparatus’ such as the one already existing at the court of the Great Seljuq Empire.³⁵ Therefore, literary patronage began to emerge in Anatolia during the reign of Kılıç Arslan II (r. 1156–92), when the sultanate consolidated territorial expansion in Anatolia and began to shift its political and intellectual association less towards Byzantium and more into the Muslim world. This does not mean that the Greek culture vanished from Anatolia or that large parts of the peninsula’s population ceased to be culturally Greek. Rather, it evidences that once they consolidated their political and economic power, the Seljuq sultans of Rum began to see themselves as part of the Islamic world’s dynastic, religious and cultural tradition.

The reasons behind this burst in cultural activity in the Seljuq sultanate of Rum in the 13th century are multiple and complex. The transformation of Anatolia from a border-zone territory into a centre of literary production of the Islamic world certainly has political, economic and social roots. First, political circumstances such as the collapse of the Seljuq dynasty of Iraq with the death of Tughril III (d. 1194) left the Seljuqs of Rum as the only legitimate political descendants of the prestigious Great Seljuq Empire. This gave the Seljuq sultans a boost in confidence regarding the legitimacy of their court in Konya as the sole rightful heirs to the prestigious dynasty of the Great Seljuqs. Similarly, the Mongols’ emergence in Central Asia and their conquest of the empire of Khwarazmshah shook the political balance in the Islamic world. The distance of the Seljuqs of Rum from the Mongol threat in the first half of the 13th century helped to further increase their prestige and consolidated their position in the Islamic world. Second, the Seljuqs of Rum enjoyed favourable economic conditions in this period thanks to prosperous trade relationships not only with Iran but also with Syria, and especially with the Black Sea after the conquest of city of Sudak in 1223 by Husam al-Din Choban.³⁶ The peninsula itself also provided important revenues to the Seljuq court. The Seljuqs had incomes from the production of agricultural products such as wine and grain, from which they obtained important revenues for the royal treasury.³⁷ Booty from raids and military campaigns in Christian territories in the form of slaves who were sold in slave markets was also an important source of income.³⁸ Finally, these circumstances were accompanied by the social phenomenon of the migration of literati and religious men from different parts of the Islamic world. This migration was sometimes forced by political circumstances such as the Mongol invasions or regional instability, sometimes stimulated by the economic opportunities created in prosperous Anatolia, and often a consequence of both.

The migration of people into Anatolia from different parts of the Islamic world is a pivotal phenomenon to understand the socio-cultural and religious transformations that occurred in the peninsula from the late 11th century up to the mid-15th century. The arrival of people with Turkic, Persian, Arab and

Mongol backgrounds during this period is one reason – albeit not the only one – that explains the long but steady process of Islamisation of Anatolia.³⁹ Traditionally, it was understood that these groups occupied very specific roles in the social structure of Anatolia after the Battle of Manzikert. In this view, while Turkic groups became a military and political elite in the peninsula, those individuals having a Persian or Arabic cultural background would mostly be accommodated as members of the administration, involved in cultural and professional activities, or play a role in the region's religious life. Despite being a useful categorisation based on the view portrayed in historical sources, this division of society is rather arbitrary and does not reflect aspects of cultural hybridity, transculturation and multiculturalism that were certainly present in medieval Anatolia. In addition, these migrations have often been explained as the movement westward of an elite of literati and religious leaders fleeing the Mongol invasion at the beginning of the 13th century. However, the process was neither unidirectional, since, for example, some scholars such as the Iberian Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240) came from the west, nor was it solely motivated by the Mongol invasions of Central Asia in 1218, since many Central Asian and Iranian migrants are documented arriving in Anatolia from at least the 11th century.⁴⁰

The new political scenario seems to have 'engendered a new confidence in a court that explicitly sought to adopt sophisticated Persian cultural models, as signified by the sultans' use of regal names redolent of ancient Iranian legend as recorded in Firdawsi's *Shahnama*'.⁴¹ More recently, it has been suggested that the adoption of Persian names by the Seljuq Sultans might be also connected to the influence of Perso-Islamic Neoplatonism and mystical ideas permeating the court at the time of Kiliç Arslan (d. 1192).⁴² This context of political reassurance, philosophical enlightenment and economic benevolence certainly favoured the development of courtly patronage that would begin during the reign of Kiliç Arslan II (r. 1156–92) and would continue throughout the 13th century, when the patronage activity would be extended to courtly officials, local amirs and peripheral Turkmen dynasties such as the Chobanids of Kastamonu. The sultanate of Rum became a pole of attraction to people in search of a better future as a place where there was a prospect of financial reward and social promotion. Patronage played a fundamental role in attracting individuals and articulating personal interaction in the multicultural environment of medieval Anatolia. The peninsula became a land of opportunity for literate men who would compose, edit, or copy literary works in Persian and Arabic before dedicating them to Seljuq sultans, amirs, or officials in exchange for economic reward or a position at the court. For example, as early as during the last decades of the 12th century, Kiliç Arslan II was the dedicatee of the work *Kamil al-ta'bir*,⁴³ written by a migrant court physician Hubaysh al-Tiflisi (d. c. 1204), one of the early works produced in Anatolia dealing with the interpretation of dreams.⁴⁴ In addition to the sultan, the maliks ruling regions of the peninsula also became active patrons of literature in this period. For example, just to mention some of them, the Central Asian-born Yahya b. Habash

Suhrawardi (d. 1191) dedicated one of his works known as *Partawnama*⁴⁵ to the ruler of Niksar, and the local ruler of Tokat was mentioned in a qasida written by the poet Zahir al-Din Faryabi (d. 1201).⁴⁶

Literary patronage among the Seljuqs of Rum intensified during the first half of the 13th century, a period generally considered as the peak of political, economic and cultural achievement of the sultanate. Different works dedicated either to Seljuq sultans or members of the ruling elite were composed in this period in both Arabic and Persian.⁴⁷ Some of these works reflect an increasing interest in a Perso-Islamic tradition that would be predominant at the Seljuq court of the 13th century. Many works composed for Seljuq sultans would be authored by migrants coming from the wider Islamic world, but, at the beginning of this century, local Anatolian writers would also contribute to the growing demand for literary works from the court. For example, Muhammad b. Ghazi of Malatya composed in 1201 the *Rawdat al-'uqul*, a Persian collection of fables, and dedicated it to Sultan Rukn al-Din Sulayman Shah.⁴⁸ Then, in 1209, he would continue his literary production by composing the *Barid al-sa'ada*, a work on political advice composed in Sivas for his student and future sultan of Rum 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us I (r. 1211–20).⁴⁹ In this early period, migrants continued to arrive in the peninsula and the Iranian-born Muhammad b. 'Ali Ravandi (f. 1202) dedicated his *Rahat al-sudur* to Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (r. 1192–96 and 1205–11).⁵⁰

This tendency for court patronage among the Seljuqs of Rum would reach its peak during the reign of 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I (1220–37). A remarkable number of texts connected to the reign of this sultan have survived to our day. Perhaps the most popular is the *Mirsad al-'ibad* written by the Iranian Sufi Najm al-Din Razi (d. 1256).⁵¹ This work is a Sufi mirror for princes dedicated to Kayqubad I during the period when Razi was living in Anatolia in the first half of the 13th century. However, as Peacock has noted, the wide circulation of this text was not in the version offered to the sultan but rather a less sophisticated edition made for a less royal Sufi audience.⁵² Even though the Persian language acquired great prestige in the Seljuq court during this period, Arabic remained an important literary language due to its long literary tradition and its status as the language of Islam.⁵³ Hence, in addition to Persian texts, to Kayqubad was dedicated the Arabic work *al-Ajwiba 'an ishkalat al-Imam al-Razi fi al-Qanun fi al-tibb*, composed by Najm al-Din al-Nakhjavani (active 13th century) as a commentary on a work on medicine by the famous Ibn Sina (d. 1037).⁵⁴ Further, we know of other authors that were also under the financial patronage of Kayqubad during this period. The little-known Yahya b. Sa'id b. Ahmad (fl. 13th c.), the author of a mirror for princes in Persian entitled *Hadayiq al-siyar* composed possibly while in exile in Erzincan and Ahmad b. Sa'd al-'Uthmani al-Zanjani (d. c. 1227), author of the *al-Lata'if al-'ala'iyya*, are among those literati that enjoyed the financial support of the sultan.⁵⁵

The arrival of the Mongols in the middle decades of the 13th century did not interrupt the literary production of Anatolia. In fact, Mongol domination

helped the integration of the sultanate into the broader Islamic world, opening the region to further migrations of scholars and religious leaders whose presence in Anatolia would increase in the second half of the 13th century.⁵⁶ Mongol rule in Anatolia promoted a further influx of people into Anatolia, either directly, through the patronage of its own officials in the peninsula, or indirectly by forcing the migration westward of people. Mongol officials such as Shams al-Din Juwayni or Mu‘in al-Din Parvana were active patrons of literature during the Mongol occupation of Anatolia. The former is credited for promoting the spread of Iranian culture in the peninsula by appointing men of Iranian origin into different positions in the administration of Anatolia.⁵⁷ An active patron of literature, Shams al-Din Juwayni (d. 1284) appears in the dedication of works by poets such as Humam-i Tabrizi (d. 1314) and in two works by Qutb al-Din Shirazi (d. 1311), the famous scholar who Juwayni appointed as qadi of Sivas.⁵⁸ Similarly, Mu‘in al-Din appears as the dedicatee of the *Mashariq al-darari*, a Persian commentary on a Sufi poem written by the Central Asian migrant Muhammad b. Ahmad Farghani.⁵⁹ It is in this context that local rulers and officials from across Anatolia would recognise the prestige that patronage could bring to their political aspirations and join Mongol officials in financially supporting the production of literary works. The same Qutb al-Din Shirazi dedicated works not only to a ruler of Chobanid Kastamonu, as we will see in Chapter 3, but also produced a Persian translation of a classical Greek work on mathematics by Euclid (*Tarjuma-yi Tahrir-i usul-i Uqlidis*) for Taj al-Din Mut‘azz b. Tahir, a bureaucrat in the Seljuq court whose father was brought to Anatolia when he acted as ambassador for his former lord Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah during the 1220s.⁶⁰

The migration process and the literary production in 13th-century Anatolia also had a special religious component. Islam in general and Sufism in particular appears to have been appealing in Anatolia to those local rulers in the lower layers of political influence. Many of those who found their way to the peninsula from Central Asia and Iran were religious scholars and Sufi masters who received the patronage of the Seljuq sultans, Mongol officials and local rulers throughout the 13th century. The better known of these Sufi leaders is the family of Jalal al-Din Rumi, who left their original homeland of Balkh in Central Asia to travel across Iraq and Iran to finally settle in Anatolia. Rumi's father, Baha' al-Din Valad (d. 1231), was a Sufi thinker who initially tried to find residence in various Anatolian cities such as Sivas, Erzincan and Karaman (Larende) before eventually settling in Konya in 1227–28 under the patronage of Sultan ‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad I.⁶¹ The close relationship with the court continued under Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273), his son Sultan Valad (d. 1312) and their followers of the Mevlevi Sufi order.⁶² However, the case of Rumi's family was not unique and other Sufi personalities such as Abu Hafs ‘Umar Suhrawardi (d. 1234),⁶³ Najm al-Din Razi (d. 1256)⁶⁴ and Awhad al-Din Kirmani (d. 1237–8),⁶⁵ just to mention a few examples, would play a fundamental role in the development of different Sufi ideas and practices in 13th-century Anatolia. Whether these Sufi migrants remained permanently in

Anatolia or were only in transit, they all helped both to speed up the process of Islamisation in Anatolia and to integrate the territory further into the broader intellectual and religious networks of the Islamic world.⁶⁶

Native and migrant Sufis also contributed to the prolific literary activity of 13th-century Anatolia. Sufi texts were patronised by rulers, circulated across elite circles and read by followers of these Sufi leaders across the peninsula.⁶⁷ Sufis produced works on a variety of genres including doctrinal texts, poetry or hagiographies (lives of Sufi saints) which, like other works on astronomy, fiqh (Islamic law), or literature mentioned above, would compete for patronage, be copied by scribes and circulate in the hands of followers across the territory. However, manuscript evidence suggests that, with the exception of the works of Jalal al-Din Rumi, the literary production of 13th-century Anatolia had little impact in the intellectual production outside the peninsula. Instead, Sufi literature produced there would be highly influential in 14th-century Anatolia, and especially once the Ottomans consolidated their control of the peninsula from the 15th century onwards.

Migrant Sufis from Central Asia and Iran certainly promoted Persian as a literary language since a large proportion of the Sufi literature produced in Anatolia in the 13th century was in this language. Arabic remained a widely used literary language while Turkish would only begin to challenge Persian as the preferable vehicle of Sufi literature in Anatolia after the decline of Mongol rule there during the 14th century.⁶⁸ Political, economic and social circumstances during the 12th and the 13th centuries transformed Anatolia from a peripheral borderland of Islam into a 'land of opportunity' for men of letters, fortune seekers, religious leaders and professionals from across the Muslim world. Their migration contributed to a literary revolution that saw a boom in the production, dissemination and consumption of knowledge in 13th-century Anatolia. Although this phenomenon received important support from the court, it also extended into other areas of the peninsula. The Chobanids of Kastamonu are an example of how these practices initiated by the Seljuqs and the Mongols were continued by local Turkmen rulers, becoming an important source of income and prestige for migrants that arrived in Anatolia in search of a better future.

1.4 Medieval Kastamonu: A borderland between Islam and Christianity

In terms of geography, Kastamonu is a region of hilly terrain dominated by forests and patches of agricultural land. The borders of this territory coincide broadly with the Byzantine province of Paphlagonia, overseen by one main urban centre. The town was among other urban centres in Anatolia such as Sinop, Trebizond, or Iconium (Konya) at the time of the Turkish invasion of the late 11th century, but functioned more as a military garrison rather than a centre of cultural life. The town of Kastamonu is situated in a narrow valley created by a small tributary river of the upper Gokirmak in the north-western corner of the Anatolian Peninsula. In medieval times, the citadel

lay on the western bank of the river, crowned at the top of the hill by the Byzantine castle that still dominates the valley from its strategic location. It is surprising that despite the town having a privileged strategic position along the ancient Roman trade route into Anatolia, there is no mention of the city in any documents extant from the late Roman period and there are no references to the town in Byzantine sources until the 11th century. It is possible that the new town developed only in the 10th or 11th century out of a military garrison when other more important urban centres of the region such as Pompeiopolis (modern Taşköprü) began to decline.⁶⁹ Different attempts have been made to explain the city's toponym, from its association with ancient towns such as Germanicopolis or Sora to try to connect the phonetic relation between the name of the city and the ancient Hittites.⁷⁰ However, neither of these theories seems to be conclusive enough and it is generally accepted – albeit not convincing the majority of scholars in the field – that the name Kastamonu could be related to the extensive property that the imperial Comneni family had in the region.⁷¹

More concrete references to the town of Kastamonu appear in Byzantine sources during the early 12th century. The Byzantine princess Anna Comnena (d. 1153), author of the biographical and historical account of the Byzantine Empire known as the *Alexiad*, mentions in passing the town of Kastamonu when describing the time when her father Alexius Comnenus (d. 1118) was a military commander of the imperial troops during the late 11th century. She mentions that, after confronting a group of Turkmen soldiers in Amasya, her father was returning to Constantinople when he was ambushed by a different Turkmen group in the proximity of Kastamonu.⁷² She does not offer any description of the town or make any special mention of the relevance of this urban settlement for the fate of her father. However, according to Anna Comnena, in his retreat, the emperor found the whole region deserted by Greeks and occupied by Turks raiding freely in the area.⁷³ Despite a short-lived reconquest of the region by the now-emperor John Comnenus in 1123 from the Danishmandids, the settlement of Turkic people in the area continued until, by the mid-12th century, Byzantine forces had retreated completely and groups of Turkmen seem to have established military control over the Kastamonu countryside. During the reign of the Seljuq sultan Rukn al-Din Sulayman Shah II (r. 1196–1204), the region of Kastamonu seems to have been closely bound to the Seljuqs of Rum, though maintaining an important degree of political autonomy. In the 13th century, Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribi, an Andalusian traveller who visited Anatolia, mentions that this was a 'stronghold of the Turkomans'.⁷⁴

Byzantine Anatolia was the heartland of agricultural Byzantium at the time of the Turkish invasions. However, the mountainous terrain of Kastamonu makes this territory among the least fertile for extensive agriculture and the production of wheat, grapes, or olives, just some of the products cultivated on the peninsula during Byzantine times.⁷⁵ The Pontic Range to the south and the Black Sea to the north are geographical features that determined land productivity and availability of crops in medieval Kastamonu. The Arab geographer

al-'Umari (d. 1349) reports that the region's forests provided timber for ship construction for the port of Sinop.⁷⁶ Ibn Battuta, who spent 40 days in the city during the 14th century, describes it as 'one of the largest and finest of cities, where commodities are abundant and prices low'.⁷⁷ He describes different products available, including fat mutton and bread, and also local produce such as sweetmeats made of honey, walnuts and chestnuts.⁷⁸ The abundant supply of wood meant firewood was extremely cheap in the region, something Ibn Battuta was grateful for, as he found the region extremely cold. Although Ibn Battuta's visit occurred during the early Jandarid period in the history of Kastamonu, there is no reason to believe that the availability of products in the city's markets differed greatly only a few decades earlier during the Chobanid rule of the city.

Not being a major centre of agricultural production, the main economic activity of the region seems to have been trade and a humble artisan production of at least some woollen products from local animals.⁷⁹ This is reinforced by a passing reference in early 14th-century sources to the presence of an *akhī* (brotherhood) acting in the city of Kastamonu.⁸⁰ An isolated mention of a certain Şeyh Ahi Şurve appears in a *waqf* (endowment) foundation dated Rabi' I AH 703 (October 1303), where he donates a number of properties for the foundation of a *zāwiya* (lodge).⁸¹ Although controversial and often disputed by scholars, the term *akhī* is generally used to describe the leaders of groups of unmarried Muslim men who congregated in communities generally referred as *futuwwa*.⁸² These men organised in fraternities were not only devoted – often violent – religious individuals, but the majority of them were involved in commerce and trade or are described as craftsmen, artisans and merchants living in urban settlements.⁸³ The presence of these individuals and the foundation of *futuwwa zāwiyas* in Chobanid Kastamonu is evidence of the consolidation of Islam in the city of Kastamonu (discussed further in Chapter 3), but also denotes the presence of an incipient wealthy urban class connected to trade actively participating in the development of Kastamonu at the end of Chobanid rule.

Unlike other Anatolian cities, Kastamonu's economic activity appears to have been oriented towards the north and west instead of the east. The influence of the Mongols of Iran seems to have been limited in Kastamonu in terms of commercial ties. Writing from the Ilkhanate, Hamdallah Mustawfi (d. 1349) mentions that although it was of similar size to other Anatolian cities, the revenues obtained by the Ilkhans from Kastamonu (15,000 dinars) were only a third of the dividends received from Niğde (45,000 dinars) and only a tenth of Niksar (187,000), both described, like Kastamonu, as medium-sized cities by the Persian historian.⁸⁴ As their city was strategically located on the crossroads between the routes connecting the Black Sea with central Anatolia and Constantinople with the eastern parts of the peninsula, Kastamonu's rulers benefited from the commerce that passed through their territories.⁸⁵ As a frontier zone, political tensions and military confrontations between Christian and Muslim armies on the border caused the occasional closure of trade routes and

disruptions in commerce in the region.⁸⁶ References to the 13th century are scarce but during the early 14th century we know that horses were bred in the region and later sold in markets as far away as Egypt.⁸⁷ The apparent influx of Qipchaqs and Cumans into the region of Kastamonu in the mid-13th century might have favoured trade across the Black Sea, which became especially lucrative.⁸⁸ Through the port of Sinop,⁸⁹ which in different periods was under the command of Kastamonu's rulers, there was trade in slaves, grain and horses between northern Anatolia and the Crimean Peninsula under the protection of the Mongols of the Golden Horde in the mid-13th century.⁹⁰ The slave trade seems to have been especially profitable, expanding its routes into the Mediterranean Sea where slaves captured in the region of Kastamonu are documented as being sold in the markets of the island of Crete to be shipped to Venice.⁹¹

Medieval Anatolia's political developments transformed Paphlagonia/Kastamonu from a Byzantine province into a multicultural and pluri-religious borderland. The social composition of medieval Kastamonu is difficult to reconstruct with the available sources. However, we know that Turkic people arrived in Kastamonu in different waves.⁹² After the first wave of Turkic people that penetrated westward into Anatolia and ambushed Alexius Comnenus at the end of the 11th century, a new wave of Turkmen followed during the early decades of the 13th century and continued into the 14th century.⁹³ The newcomers were being pushed westwards by the political instability created in Central Asia and Khurasan by the Mongol invasions.⁹⁴ Groups of Turkmen arrived in the vicinity of Kastamonu around the 1250s and 1260s, when the concentration of Turkmen reached a peak around the border between the Seljuqs and the Empire of Nicaea.⁹⁵ The Turkic population further increased in Anatolia after the arrival of Cuman Turks from across the Black Sea and the Mongol armies and officials that would settle in the peninsula from the second half of the 13th century onwards. The presence of these groups in Kastamonu is poorly documented but, as we will see in Chapter 2, there is evidence suggesting that one of the region's rulers in the 1250s was of Cuman origin. In addition to these Turco-Mongol groups, there is evidence that urban people of Iranian and Central Asian origin accompanied the Turkic migration from the very beginning. An inscription in the city of Nicaea suggests that these Persianised individuals were part of the contingent of people that invaded the region at the end of the 11th century.⁹⁶ In Kastamonu, the presence of these urban Persian individuals is documented only from the 1260s onwards and becomes more visible after the 1280s.⁹⁷ Finally, even less clear is the fate of the native Greek population that lived in Kastamonu at the time of the Turkmen's advance on the region in the 11th century. We cannot but speculate that some might have found refuge in other regions of the Byzantine Empire, but a proportion of this population might also have remained in the region. It is possible that Greek people remained the majority of the population of the town of Kastamonu and urban areas of the region until the 1250s, when we have the first architectural and documentary evidence of Turkmen presence in urban settlements in Kastamonu (see Chapter 3).

Like other parts of Anatolia, medieval Kastamonu was a region in profound transformation, where changing ways of living, shifting religious affiliation and mixed cultural identities were common among its inhabitants. There has been debate on to what extent a nomadic lifestyle remained among Turkic populations once they had settled in Anatolia after the 11th century. There is a general consensus, however, that a process of sedentarisation affected these Turkic people so that the majority of the Turkmen had abandoned their nomadic lifestyle by the mid-13th century, settling down more or less permanently in different regions across the peninsula.⁹⁸ In the case of the Chobanids of Kastamonu, evidence of this process is poorly documented because we lack any specific reference to their way of life or precise place of dwelling until the 1280s. However, as we will see, one of the first references in the sources to Husam al-Din Choban is that he was appointed commander of the Seljuq fleet that attacked Crimea in the early 1220s (see Chapter 2). Commanding ships can hardly be considered a nomadic activity, suggesting that as early as the initial decades of the 13th century, the Chobanids might have begun to sedentarise in the region despite maintaining some nomadic characteristics, such as a preference for horse-riding and hunting, and the establishment of winter and summer camps within the area of their territory.⁹⁹ A process of Islamisation also occurred in Kastamonu during the Chobanid period. The region shifted from being a Greek and Christian-dominated territory in the 10th century to a majority Muslim one at the time of the fall of the Chobanids in 1308. However, details of how this process occurred and how it affected local populations are poorly documented and we know almost nothing about the fate of the Christian communities that surely inhabited Kastamonu during this period.

We also know very little about the religious affiliation of the Chobanids before the 1270s. The foundation of mosques and shrines in rural areas of Kastamonu in the first half of the 13th century confirms an Islamic affiliation of Turkmen groups dwelling in the countryside, but they offer little information about the doctrines they followed.¹⁰⁰ It is only after the 1270s that the Chobanid rulers' interest in Islam becomes more evident. The foundation of the Atabey Gazi mosque in the city of Kastamonu or the specific patronage of Muzaffar al-Din Choban (r. 1280–91) of literary works with clear religious components suggests that Islamisation in the region consolidated during the last decade of the 13th century. Similar difficulties can be found in trying to establish borders in the cultural or ethnic identity of the people living in Kastamonu. A broad distinction could be made between the Turkic origin of the Chobanid rulers, the Persianised identity of the people working as professionals, members of the court administration or religious classes, and a native Greek-Christian population that, for the most part, is absent from the available sources.¹⁰¹ However, these delimitations, although used across this book to categorise social groups, cannot be strictly followed. We do not have any reference to women in the Chobanid court and consequently we do not know if, like the Seljuqs, the Chobanid rulers married Christian wives. Similarly, although

culturally embedded in Persian traditions and using Persian as his main choice for writing, we cannot rule out the possibility that Husam al-Din Khu'i (d. c. 1308), who composed several works for the Chobanid rulers, was ethnically Turkish or had a strong Turkish identity. As with Islamisation, Turkicisation of the society also occurred and intensified in the 14th century when the Jandarid dynasty displaced the Chobanids from Kastamonu. However, during the 13th century, we should take into account the ambiguities and nuances involved when trying to define social groups in medieval Kastamonu, both in terms of religious and ethno-cultural affiliation.

Notes

- 1 Alfred Friendly, *The Dreadful Day: The Battle of Manzikert, 1071* (London: Hutchinson, 1981); Carter V. Findley, *The Turks in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 71; Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).
- 2 Andrew Peacock, *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation*. (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 151–63.
- 3 Claude Cahen, 'Qulumush et ses fils avant l'Asie Mineure', *Der Islam* 39:1 (1964), pp. 14–27; Alexander Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040–1130* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 171–97.
- 4 Paul M. Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 73–75.
- 5 Speros Vryonis, Jr., 'The Battles of Manzikert (1071) and Myrioccephalum (1176). Notes on Food, Water, Archery, Ethnic Identity of Foe and Ally', *Mésogeios* 25/26 (2005), pp. 49–70.
- 6 Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 258–85; Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 112–17.
- 7 On the relationship between the Kingdom of Georgia and the Sultanate of Rum, see Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Georgia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th Centuries', *Anatolian Studies* 56 (2006), pp. 127–46.
- 8 Andrew Peacock, 'Saljuqs iii. Saljuqs of Rum', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online* www.iranicaonline.org/articles/saljuqs-iii.
- 9 Songül Mecit, 'Kingship and Ideology under the Rum Seljuqs', in Christian Lange and Songül Mecit (eds), *The Seljuqs: Politics, Society and Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 69.
- 10 Andrew Peacock, 'Black Sea Trade and the Islamic World Down to the Mongol Period', in Gülден Erkuť and Stephen Mitchell (eds), *The Black Sea: Past, Present and Future: Proceedings of the International, Interdisciplinary Conference, Istanbul, 14–16 October 2004* (London: British Institute at Ankara, 2007), pp. 69–70.
- 11 Ibn Bibi, *El-Evāmīrū'l-Alā'iyye fi'l-Umūrī'l-Alā'iyye*, pp. 453–54. A translation of the edict allegedly sent by the Mongols to the Sultan is provided by Sara Nur Yıldız, 'Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing', PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago (2006), pp. 167–68.

- 12 John A. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History of the Il-khāns', in *idem*, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 334.
- 13 On Ögetei's death, see Ata Malik Juwayni, *The History of the World Conqueror*. Vol. 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 200; Rashid al-Din, *Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1998), p. 330; Chormaqan died in 1242 after being paralysed for some time. See Peter Jackson, 'Čormaqun', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cormaqun-mongol-cormaqun-in-pers
- 14 Bruno De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp. 66–72.
- 15 Yıldız, *Mongol Rule*, p. 174.
- 16 The Armenian historian Grigor of Akanc' describes the capture of Erzurum; see Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, 'History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc' hitherto ascribed to Marak'ia the Monk: The Armenian Text Edited with an English Translation and Notes', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12:3/4 (December 1949), p. 307.
- 17 The description of the battle can be found in Ibn Bibi, Fasc. pp. 526–57; see also Sara Yıldız, *Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History-Writing, 1243–1282* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2006, pp. 182–87; Claude Cahen, 'Köse Dagh', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, vol. 5.
- 18 Yıldız, *Mongol Rule*, pp. 183–84.
- 19 Rashid al-Din, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*. Edited by Muhammad Rawshan and Mustafa Musavi, 4 vols (Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, 1373/1994), p. 398.
- 20 This is according to Ibn Bibi's account. See Ibn Bibi, *El-Evāmīrū'l-Alā'iyye fi'l-Umūri'l-Alā'iyye*, pp. 541–43. See also Yıldız, *Mongol Rule*, pp. 187–88.
- 21 Charles Melville, 'Anatolia Under the Mongols', in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 51–101, p. 4.
- 22 The regencies of Isfahani first and Jalal al-Din Karatay later would last until 1255. See Yıldız, *Mongol Rule*, pp. 190–224.
- 23 For an overview of the Mongol conquest of the Islamic world, see among others Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017). On the death of the Abbasid caliph and the sack of Baghdad, see among others John A. Boyle, 'The Death of the Last 'Abbasid Caliph: A Contemporary Muslim Account', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6:2 (1961), pp. 145–61.
- 24 Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985); George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2003); Michael Hope, *Power, Politics, and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Ilkhanate of Iran* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Bruno De Nicola and Charles Melville, *The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
- 25 Thomas T. Allsen, 'Politics of Mongol Imperialism: Centralization and Resource Mobilization in the Reign of the Grand Qan Möngke, 1251–1259', PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota (1979); Peter Jackson, 'From Ulus to Khanate: The Making of the Mongol State, c. 1220–c. 1290', in Reuven Amitai and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 12–38.

- 26 Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, pp. 139–42.
- 27 Rashid al-Din, *Jami' u' t-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, pp. 486–87; see a full account of the events in Yıldız, *Mongol Rule*, pp. 261–62.
- 28 Sara Nur Yıldız, 'Baiju: The Mongol Conqueror at the Crossfire of Dynastic Struggle', in Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack and Francesca Fiaschetti (eds), *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2020), p. 51.
- 29 Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 152–78.
- 30 Dimitri Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt of Kastamonu, c. 1291–1293', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), pp. 87–118.
- 31 Peacock, 'Saljuqs iii'.
- 32 For an account of the authors patronised by Seljuq sultans, see Daniela Meneghini, 'Saljuqa V. Saljuq Literature', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/saljuqs-v
- 33 Andrew C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 7–8.
- 34 The first known text composed in Arabic in Anatolia is the *Taqwim al-'adwiyya*, a work on medicine apparently composed in Malatya during the mid-12th century and dedicated to a Danishmandid prince. See Andrew Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 34.
- 35 Peacock, 'Saljuqs iii'.
- 36 See Chapter 2. For an idea of the wealth accumulated by Seljuq Sultans, see the description of the residential palace and hunting grounds built by 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad I in Scott Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia: Seljuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey* (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2000), pp. 67–77.
- 37 Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, p. 483; Kate Fleet, 'The Turkish Economy, 1071–1453', in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 238–89.
- 38 Both the ransom paid by rulers captured by Turkmen soldiers and the selling of Armenian Christians as slaves is mentioned by Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj*, Ttranslated by E. A. Wallis Budge, vol. I (London, 1932), p. 321.
- 39 For an overview on the Islamisation of Anatolia, see Andrew Peacock, 'The Islamisation of Anatolia', in *idem* (ed.), *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp. 135–55.
- 40 For example, Peacock suggests that Persian migrants might have accompanied the Turkish military campaigns already by the 11th century. See Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 33.
- 41 For the use of *Shahnama* in wall inscriptions under the Seljuqs, see Scott Redford, 'The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique', *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), pp. 154–55.
- 42 Yalman has suggested that the influence of the ideas of Shahāb al-Dīn ibn Habash al-Maqtul Suhrawardī Maqtul Suhrawardi and his 'philosophy of illumination' might have influenced the Sultans to name their sons after heroes and kings taken from the *Shahname*. See Suzan Yalman, 'From Plato to the Shāhnāma: Reflections on Saintly Veneration in Seljuk Konya', in Suzan Yalman and A. H. Uğurlu (eds), *Sacred Spaces and Urban Networks* (Istanbul: ANAMED, 2019), pp. 136–38 [119–40].

- 43 Hubaysh b. Ibrahim Tiflisi, *Kamil al-ta'bir: asari jami' bih zaban-i Farsi dar khvabguzari va ta'bir-i ru'ya* (Tehran: Miras-i Maktub, 2015).
- 44 Ahmet Ateş, 'Hicri VI.–VIIi (XII.–XIIIV.) Asırlarda Anadolu'da Farsça Eserler', *Türkiyat Mecması* 7–8 (1948), pp. 94–135; Cevat İzgi, 'Hubeyş et-Tiflisi', *TDVİA* 18 (1998), pp. 268–89.
- 45 Ms. Fatih 5426, ff. 53a–80a. This manuscript was copied in the 14th century by a scribe originally from Ankara, Shaykh 'Ali b. Dustkhuda b. Khwaja b. al-Hajj Qumari al-Anqarawi.
- 46 Other examples include works dedicated to the rulers of the Mangujakid principality of Erzincan or the Saltuqids of Erzurum. See a description of these works in Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, pp. 34–35.
- 47 For an overview of individual authors writing in Persian and whose presence has been documented in medieval Anatolia, see Osma G. Özgüdenli, 'Persian Authors of Asia Minor, Part 1', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persian-authors-1; *idem*, 'Persian Authors of Asia Minor, Part 2', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persian-authors-2.
- 48 This is one of the rewritings of the original *Marzbannama* composed in the 10th century in Mazandarani Persian dialect by a certain Marzban b. Rustam. Incidentally, the other existing rewriting of this work is that of Sa'd-al-Din Varavini (fl. 1210–25), who dedicated his composition to a local ruler of Azerbaijan. This second version is mentioned in the only manuscript composed in Chobanid Kastamonu that has survived to our day. See Chapter 6.
- 49 Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 36.
- 50 Carole Hillenbrand, 'Rāwandī', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.
- 51 Najm al-Din Razi, *Mirsad al-'ibad*. Edited by Muhammad Amin Riyahi (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intisharat-i 'Ilmi va Farhangi, 1986). Translation into English by Hamid Algar, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return = (Meršād al-'ebād men al-mabdā' elā'l-ma'ād): A Sufi compendium* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1982).
- 52 Peacock, 'Advice for the Sultans of Rum: The "Mirrors for Princes" of Early Thirteenth Century Anatolia', in Bill Hickman and Gary Leiser (eds), *Turkish Language, Literature, and History: Travelers' Tales, Sultans, and Scholars Since the Eighth Century* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 290.
- 53 On the remaining prominence of Arabic in Anatolia, see Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 176.
- 54 Y. Tzvi Langermann, 'Ibn Kammuna at Aleppo', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17 (2007), pp. 1–19.
- 55 C.-H. de Fouchécour, 'Hadayeq al-Siyar: un miroir des princes de la court de Qonya au VIIe–XIIIe siècle', *Studia Iranica* 1 (1972), pp. 219–28; İhsan Fazlıoğlu, 'Sultan I. Alâuddîn Keykubâd'a Sunulan Siyasetname: el-Letâifu'l-alâiyye fi'l-fedâilî's-seniyye', *Divan: İlmi Araştırmalar* 1 (1997), pp. 225–39.
- 56 Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 8.
- 57 He was also an active patron of architecture; for example, between 1271 and 1272 he financed the construction of the Çifte Minareli Madrasa in Sivas; see Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia After the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rum, 1240–1330* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 77–79.
- 58 Muhammad b. Faridun Humam, *Divan-i Humam-i Tabrizi*. Edited by Rashid 'Ayvazi (Tehran: Farhangistan-i Zaban va Adab-i Farsi, 1394 [2015 or 2016]); on Humam-i Tabrizi see Leonard Lewisohn, 'Humām al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī', in *Encyclopaedia of*

- Islam*, Third Edition, online version; Shirazi dedicated a work on astronomy in Arabic (*Nihayat al-idrak fi dirayat al-aflak*) and another on Islamic jurisprudence (*Sharh al-fiqh*) to Juwayni. See M. Minuvi, 'Mulla Qutb al-Shirazi', in Vladimir Minorsky, Mujtaba Minuvi and Iraj Afshar (eds), *Yadnamah-yi Irani-yi Minurski* (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tihiran 1969), pp. 165–205.
- 59 Muhammad b. Ahmad Farghani, *Mashariq al-darari al-zuhar fi kashf haqa'iq nazm al-durar*. Edited by Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani (Tehran: 1357/1978); Giuseppe Scattolin, 'Al-Farghānī's Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriq's Mystical Poem al-Tā'īyyat al-Kubrā', MIDEO. 21. 1993, pp. 331–83; William C. Chittick, 'Farghānī, Sa'īd al-Dīn', *Encyclopedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fargani-said-al-din-mohammad-b-ahmad-sufi
- 60 Aq̄sara'ī, *Musamarat al-akhbar va musayarat al-akhyar*, p. 65.
- 61 The most comprehensive study on the life of Rumi and his family published in recent times is Franklin Lewis, *Rumi—Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teachings, and Poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2000).
- 62 Andrew Peacock, 'Sufis and the Seljuk Court in Mongol Anatolia: Politics and Patronage in the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Sulṭān Walad', in Andrew Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), pp. 206–26. Other Sufis such as Ibn 'Arabi were also close to the Seljuq court; see Sara Nur Yıldız and Haşim Sahin, 'In the Proximity of Sultans: Majd al-Din Ishāq, Ibn 'Arabi and the Seljuk Court', in Andrew Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *The Seljuks of Anatolia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 173–205.
- 63 Eric S. Ohlander, *Sufism in an Age of Transition: 'Umar al-Suhrawardī and the Rise of the Islamic Mystical Brotherhoods* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- 64 Mohammad-Amin Riahi, 'Dāya, Najm-al-Dīn Abū Bakr 'Abd-Allāh', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/daya-najm-al-din
- 65 Lloyd Ridgeon, 'The Controversy of Shaykh Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī and Handsome, Moon-Faced Youths: A Case Study of Shāhid-Bāzī in Medieval Sufism', *Journal of Sufi Studies* 1:1 (2012), pp. 3–30; Bruno De Nicola, 'The Ladies of Rūm: A Hagiographic View of Women in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Anatolia', *Journal of Sufi Studies* 3:1 (2014), pp. 132–56; B. M. Weischer, 'Kirmānī', *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Second Edition, online version. The hagiography of Awhad al-Din Kirmani has been recently translated by Lloyd Ridgeon, *Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī and the Controversy of the Sufi Gaze* (London: Routledge, 2017).
- 66 It needs to be mentioned that native Anatolian Sufis were also highly influential in 13th-century Anatolia, such as Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (d. 1274), one of the most popular authors in Anatolia according to the number of copies of his manuscripts that have come down to us. See Richard Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man: The Metaphysical Anthropology of Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
- 67 For an overview of the surviving literary corpus produced by Sufis in medieval Anatolia, see the online database produced by the project 'The Islamisation of Anatolia' at <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/anatolia/data/>.
- 68 Andrew C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, 'Literature, Language and History in Late Medieval Anatolia', in *idem* (eds), *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century Anatolia* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2016), pp. 20–45.
- 69 Taşköprü remained a relatively important town during the Chobanid period and became one of the urban centres that received the patronage of the Chobanid rulers.

- See Chapter 3. For a short account on the history of Pompeiopolis in late Antiquity, see Max Ritter, 'The End of Late Antiquity in Paphlagonia: Desurbanization from a Comparative Perspective', in Kristina Winther-Jacobsen and Lâtife Summerer (eds), *Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2015), pp. 123–25.
- 70 D. Gür and Y. Yıldırım, 'Paphlagonia Bölgesi'nde Geç Antik ve Erken Bizans Yerleşimi: Sora', *Journal of History Culture and Art Research* 6:3 (2017), pp. 757–80.
- 71 Korobeinikov reads the name of the city as 'Castra Comnenon' (Kastamonu); see Dimitri Korobeinikov, 'How "Byzantine" Were the Early Ottomans? Bithynia in ca. 1290–1450', in I. V. Zaitsev and S. F. Oreshkova (eds), *Osmanskii mir i osmanistika. Sbornik statei k 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia* (Moscow: 2010), p. 222.
- 72 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 73.
- 73 Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 111–12.
- 74 Quoted in Colin Heywood, 'Kaştamūnī,' *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.
- 75 Nicolas Trépanier, *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia: A New Social History* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015), p. 5.
- 76 On the use of timber in northern Anatolia, see Ahmad b. Yahya al-'Umari, *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar*. Edited by Kamil Salman Juburi, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2010), p. 225. On the timber trade in the regions of Kastamonu and Sinop, see Ibn Sa'id, *Kitab al-jughrafiyya*, p. 175; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 158; Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Sinop: A Frontier City in Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia', *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010), p. 116.
- 77 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. Edited and translated by H. A. R. Gibb, vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1962), p. 461.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 462.
- 79 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 320.
- 80 On the meaning of the term *akhī*, see Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 117; Iklil Selçuk, 'Suggestions on the Social Meaning and Functions of *Akhi* Communities and their Hospices in Medieval Anatolia', in Patricia Blessing and Rachel Goshgarian (eds), *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100–1500* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp. 95–113.
- 81 Folder no. Mü. 5/13 591, page 12, order number 16. I am grateful to Iklil Selçuk for calling my attention to this document. A list of the early *waḳfiyyas* in the archive can be found in İbrahim Ateş, 'Yunus Emre'nin Vakıf İlkeleri İstikametindeki Düşünceleri ve Belgeleri Muhtevastındaki Zaviyeleri', *Vakıf Haftası Dergisi*, 8 (1991), pp. 117–34.
- 82 On *futuwwa* organisations in Turkey and Iran, see Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 77–80; Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, pp. 117–44.
- 83 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*.
- 84 Hamdallah Mustawfī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulūb*. Translated by Guy Le Strange (London: Luzac & Co., 1919), p. 97.
- 85 For a general overview of trade in the Black Sea, see Peacock, 'Black Sea Trade and the Islamic World', pp. 65–72; Virgil Cioçiltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- 86 Ian Booth, 'Ghazis, Roads and Trade in North-West Anatolia 1179–1291', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 31: (2007), pp. 127–45. Bandits are also mentioned by Aflaki on the road connecting the cities of Amasya and Kastamonu in the early 14th century. See Shams al-Din Ahmad Aflaki, *Manaqib al-'arifin*, Edited by T. Yazıcı, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1959–61), p. 933; *idem*, *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manaqeb al-'Arefin*. Translated by J. O'Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 653.

- 87 Peacock, 'Sinop: A Frontier City', p. 119.
- 88 Korobeinikov, 'How "Byzantine" were the Early Ottomans?', p. 223. Dimitri Korobeinikov, 'The Cumans in Paphlagonia', *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi* 18 (2015), pp. 29–44.
- 89 Although it is located 100 kilometres inland, the Andalusian traveler Ibn Sa'īd refers to Kastamonu as a port. The confusion seems to reflect a strong connection between Kastamonu and the coastal cities of the Black Sea such as Sinop. See Claude Cahen, 'Ibn Saïd sur l'Asie Mineure seldjuqide', *Tarih Arařtırmaları Dergisi* 6 (1968), pp. 47–48.
- 90 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 231; Peacock, 'Islamisation in the Golden Horde and Anatolia: Some Remarks on Travelling Scholars and Texts', *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 143 (2018), pp. 151–64.
- 91 Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, 'Liquid Frontiers. A Relational Analysis of Maritime Asia Minor as Religious Contact Zone in the 13th–15th Century', in Andrew Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 139–41.
- 92 Claude Cahen and M. Cahen, 'La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure (seconde moitié du XIe siècle)', *Byzantion* 18 (1948), pp. 5–67.
- 93 Rustam Shukurov, 'Two Waves of Nomadic Migration in the Pontos in the Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries', *International Journal of Black Sea Studies* 1 (2006), pp. 29–44.
- 94 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 314–17.
- 95 Shukurov, 'Two Waves of Nomadic Migration', p. 30.
- 96 See Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 33; Clive Foss, 'Byzantine Responses to Turkish Attack: Some Sites of Asia Minor', in Ihor Ševčenko and Irmgard Hutter (eds), *AETOS: Studies in Honor of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart: De Gruyter, 1998), pp. 154–71.
- 97 It is suggested that Sa'd al-Din al-Haqq, a physician deployed in Kastamonu, might have been active in the region around the 1260s; see Chapter 6. There is also evidence that the migration of 'Persians' might also happened in the early 13th century in some regions of the former Byzantine empire, as the Turks advanced and settled in Western regions of the peninsula. See Rustam Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 969–68.
- 98 Speros Vryonis, 'Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 41–71.
- 99 This is documented in the 12th century in areas such as the regions of the Sangarios and Maeander rivers in the south of the region of Kastamonu on the western frontier. See Andrew Peacock, 'The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm and the Turkmen of the Byzantine Frontier, 1206–1279', *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 26:3 (2014), pp. 270–71.
- 100 Bruno De Nicola, 'Urban Agency in the Borderlands', *Medieval Worlds* 14 (2021), pp. 155–61.
- 101 Some research has been done on Orthodox communities in 13th-century Anatolia, but it focuses on the eastern parts of the peninsula. See Dimitri Korobeinikov, 'Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries. Part 2: The Time of Troubles', *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 17 (2005), pp. 1–29.

2 A political history of the Chobanid dynasty

By the time of the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, different groups of Turkmen people had been penetrating the Anatolian Peninsula for forty years. These territories could no longer be held by a Byzantine Empire submerged in internal turmoil and civil war.¹ Only a few years after the battle, the region of Kastamonu (Byzantine province of Paphlagonia) saw the arrival of a group of Danishmandid Turks, who attacked the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus when he was in the area in 1073–74. The emperor was taken by surprise by the mobile military capability of the Turks and was forced to flee from Kastamonu.² The tradition of the Turkic settlement in the area attributes the conquest of the region to a general named Karatekin, who would have been responsible for also incorporating the cities of Sinop and Çankırı to the Danishmandid domains in 1084–85.³ Little is known about this period but it seems that the area remained in the hands of the Danishmandid dynasty, which persisted in its constant raiding of the coastal towns of the Black Sea.⁴

Sixty years after expelling the Byzantines from the region, the emperor John Comnenus (d. 1143) managed to retake the castle of Kastamonu in two occasions in 1132–33, from where the Byzantine troops advanced eastwards to occupy Çankırı before returning triumphantly to Constantinople in 1133.⁵ However, the military victory did not result in secure control over the territory. The death of both the Byzantine emperor and the Danishmandid ruler Muhammad within a few months of each other seems to have paved the way for the entrance of a third political actor in the region: the Seljuqs of Rum. Having their centre of power in the central parts of Anatolia, the Seljuqs appear to have incorporated Kastamonu into their domains at some point after 1143. It seems that after the conquest, the lands of Kastamonu were converted into an *iqṭā'* for the benefit of the sultan's family.⁶

Despite the nominal domination of the Seljuqs of Rum from the second half of the 12th century, an increasing number of Turkmen people of different origin settled in the region of Kastamonu.⁷ For this early period, little is known about these people, their social organisation, their religious affiliations, or their relationship with the Greek populations living in the area. It is assumed that they were nomads (or semi-nomads) and although the majority might have

already converted to Islam before entering Anatolia, they were only slightly Islamised. Despite the uncertainty, it appears that rather than being a homogeneous group, these Turkmen possibly belonged to a variety of tribes and clans, as happened with other nomadic groups in pre-modern Eurasia, that formed confederations where their military capability acted as a common denominator.⁸ The ancestors of the members of the Chobanid dynasty that emerged in the 13th century arrived in the region in this period as part of the military contingent of Turkmen that began to operate in the border between Byzantium and the Seljuqs in western Anatolia.

It is difficult to be certain about the tribal origin of the Turkmen rulers who would start to become notorious in the 13th century. Most of the information we have for the period comes from later sources which see this poorly documented period as an ideal moment to fabricate the origin of their contemporary Turkish rulers.⁹ For example, the early Ottoman historian Yazıcızade Ali mentions that the founder of the Chobanid dynasty belonged to the Qayı (Kayı) tribe.¹⁰ It is interesting that there was a general perception in the early Ottoman court that Osman Bey (founder of the Ottoman dynasty) was also a member of the Kayı tribe.¹¹ However, Wittek has questioned the veracity of these claims, suggesting that the connection between Osman and the Kayı tribe is only a fabrication of the Ottoman genealogists of the 15th century who were embedded in the 'romantic' movement in the court of Murad II (d. 1451) that was trying to connect the Ottomans to the principal line of the Oghuz Turks.¹² However, both Wittek and Köprülü face the problem of having to base their opinions on references to a formative period that is poorly documented for both the building of later dynasties and about what constituted the borderland in the Seljuq sultanate.¹³

A similar fabrication of a myth of origin might have taken place in the case of the Chobanids, as the only reference we have on their tribal origins comes from Yazıcızade Ali in the early 15th century. However, unlike the case of the Ottomans, there was no specific political gain in making this attribution beyond the possibility of trying to connect both the early Ottomans and the Chobanids to a common origin.¹⁴ The moment when the ancestors of the Chobanids entered Anatolia is uncertain. References to upheavals among Turkmen and Kurdish tribes are recorded for the region of Mosul, but to what extent these conflicts displaced some of these groups westwards into Anatolia is unclear.¹⁵ Large numbers of Turkmen people settled in Anatolia in different waves from the 11th to the 13th century.¹⁶ As Peacock has shown, Greek sources mention only groups of Turkmen of between 2,000 and 10,000 people in the early period, but numbers had reached around 100,000 in southern Anatolia by the late 12th century.¹⁷ Ibn Sa'īd mentions that in the mid-13th century there were 100,000 Turkmen tents distributed in the area of Kastamonu.¹⁸ Although numbers are unreliable, they at least offer an insight into the perception by these chronicles of Greek and Arab origin of the extensive populations of Turkmen that settled in the peninsula during this period.

By the time Sultan Rukn al-Din Sulayman Shah II (r. 1196–1204) took control of the throne in Konya, the region of Kastamonu seems to have been closely bound to the Seljuqs of Rum, even though it maintained an important degree of political autonomy. From then onwards, the Turkmen's military capability became a fundamental force in securing the area politically and favoured a process of Islamisation, that would consolidate during the 13th century. Turkmen settlement in north-western Anatolia has often been connected with some decline in the productivity of the land and the vitality of trade in the area.¹⁹ However, these assumptions are mostly based on the accounts of Byzantine chronicles of George Pachymeres (d. 1310) and Nicephoros Gregoras (d. 1360), who wrote in the early 14th century. As we saw in Chapter 1, there was a boom in certain areas of trade during the 13th century.²⁰ In fact, it appears that the economic problems that existed in the province of Paphlagonia began long before the Turkish arrival during the 11th century, with desertification of farmland, abandonment of rural areas and a collapse of urban life being documented from the 8th century onwards and increasing during the 11th century.²¹ In this context, the initial years of the 13th century witnessed the consolidation of Turkmen control in Kastamonu and the emergence of the first powerful individuals among the Turkmen communities.

2.1 The founding father: Husam al-Din Choban and the establishment of Chobanid rule in north-western Anatolia

As is generally the case, when trying to trace the origins of the founders of medieval Islamic dynasties, historians are forced to move more in the terrain of speculation than fact. The case of Husam al-Din Choban, the founder of the Chobanid dynasty, is no exception. Some Turkish historians have suggested that he might have been connected somehow to the prominent military commander Amir Karatekin, mentioned above, who allegedly took Paphlagonia from the Byzantines in the late 11th century.²² However, these references appear not to be based on original sources but on speculation driven, perhaps, by the symbolic role played by Karatekin in Turkish historiography. In fact, by the mid-12th century, Karatekin had become a symbol and the point of origin for the Islamisation of the region, with his tomb being built in the castle of Çankırı in the second half of the 12th century.²³ Similar speculation regarding the conquest of Kastamonu by the Chobanids are stimulated by references in early Ottoman literature and the connection of the region to the legendary Sufi saint Sarı Saltuk.²⁴ The *Saltukname*, an epic account of the life of this Turkish hero, was compiled only in the 15th century by Abu al-Hayr Rumi (*fl.* 15th century) for an Ottoman prince. According to this mostly literary account, the father of Sarı Saltuk died as a martyr fighting the Byzantine armies during the conquest of Kastamonu led by Husam al-Din Choban in the early 13th century.²⁵ Unconfirmed by any other sources of the period, this reference, like the attempt to link Husam al-Din with Karatekin, appears to be a way of

portraying a certain continuity of Turkmen-Islamic presence in the area that cannot be validated with the available sources.

The only historical source we have for this early period of the Chobanid dynasty is the account of Ibn Bibi (d. not before 1282), who grants a high position to Husam al-Din in his narrative, possibly for his sympathies to Sultan Kayqubad I.²⁶ In his account, Ibn Bibi refers to the Chobanid leader always as *malik al-umarā'* (king of amirs), an unspecific title that probably had more military than political significance.²⁷ Although there should be only one 'king of amirs' in the sultanate, the name of Husam al-Din is mentioned together with that of Saif al-Din Amir Qizil, also described as *malik al-umarā'*. The title has been used often interchangeably with that of *beylerbey* (bey of beys), 'the two titles occur ... indiscriminately in the texts [sources], or even in the same text [source].'²⁸ It has been suggested that both versions of the title were meant to indicate the supremacy of one Turkmen leader over the other tribal chiefs.²⁹ However, this suggestion is difficult to confirm when the surviving manuscripts dedicated to Chobanid rulers refer to Husam al-Din Choban simply as amir and not as *malik al-umarā'* (Figures 2.1a,b).³⁰ Although the term appears, for example, in the *Qawa'id al-rasā'il wa fara'id al-faza'il*, a work composed in Kastamonu and dedicated to a member of the Chobanid family in the mid-1280s as a manual for diplomacy, it provides no specific explanation of the title-holder's duties.³¹ With the scant information available, the use of titles in this period is unclear and inconsistent. As we will see, the titles used by the rulers of Kastamonu varied during the 13th century, suggesting that from a Chobanid perspective, the title was a distinction and a symbol of power while the actual duties attached to the post were not clearly delineated.

The first mention of Husam al-Din Choban in Ibn Bibi's account is in connection with the internal political upheavals that occurred in the Seljuq court at the beginning of the 13th century. When Sultan Kaykhusraw I (d. 1211) died on the battlefield of Alaşehir, the Seljuqs of Rum not only lost a battle against the Greek Empire of Nicaea, but the sultanate was submerged into a deep succession crisis.³² Three sons of the sultan claimed the throne, with Kayka'us (d. 1220) having the support of the Seljuq nobility and Kayqubad (d. 1237) challenging his brother thanks to the initial support of the king of Cilician Armenia and his uncle Mughith al-Din, who ruled autonomously over the region of Erzurum.³³ Kayka'us moved more quickly, using diplomacy to bend the Armenian support of his brother towards his side first and defeating Mughith al-Din in battle later.³⁴ Kayqubad was forced to withdraw westwards and barricaded himself into the fortress of Ankara in 1211 waiting for his brother's army to besiege him. At this point, Ibn Bibi mentions that *Malik al-umarā'* Husam al-Din Amir Choban and *Malik al-umarā'* Sayif al-Din Amir Qizil, who were the highest men and allies (*a'wān*) of the kingdom, and with their numerous servants (*kasrat-i atbā'*), followers (*ashyā'*), possessions (*māl*), men (*rijāl*) came to the assistance (*mustazhar*) of Kayqubad.³⁵ Unfortunately for them, they could not withstand the siege by the superior forces against

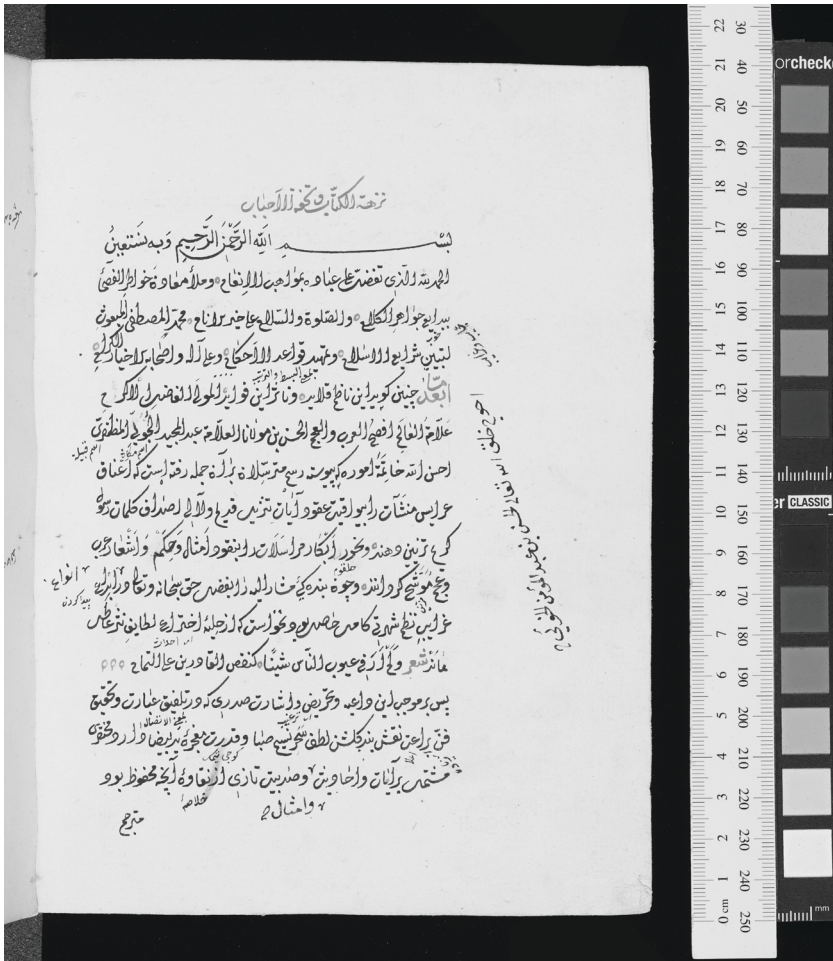


Figure 2.1 (a,b) Bodleian Library (University of Oxford), Ms. Laud or. 50, ff. 191b–192a. Preface of the Husam al-Din Khu’i’s *Nuzhat al-kuttāb wa tuhfāt al-ahbāb* showing dedication to Muzaffar al-Din Choban and addressing Husam al-Din Choban as *amir* (folio 192a, line 14).

Ankara, and the city fell. Husam al-Din Choban had to move back to his territories in Kastamonu, Kayqubad was imprisoned and Kayka’us secured his ascension to the throne of the Seljuqs of Rum.³⁶ The scarce information for the event in the sources offers an unclear picture of the motivation (or obligations) of Husam al-Din in taking Kayqubad’s side in this struggle. However, his participation in the battle shows, for the first time, that this Turkmen chief was not only in command of troops and resources, but had also begun to play an active role in the internal politics of the Seljuq sultanate.

the Chobanids, was crowned as the new sultan of Rum. The military support given nine years earlier in Ankara to the new sultan finally paid off; Kayqubad not only confirmed Husam al-Din as ruler of north-western Anatolia but also asked him to command the only overseas expedition ever carried out by the Seljuqs, to invade the peninsula of Crimea.³⁹

The main target of the military expedition was the city of Sudak, an important commercial port on the south-eastern coast of the Crimean Peninsula situated in an almost straight line directly across the Black Sea from the city of Sinop.⁴⁰ In the early 13th century, the Seljuqs exercised a protectorate over the city, which was controlled by different Cuman-Qipchaq princes. The city-port played a pivotal role as a hub for commercial activities between different Rus principalities such as Kiev, Vladimir and Novgorod as well as Byzantium.⁴¹ The city was not only an important economic port exporting different furs (bear, beaver, squirrel, etc.) and slaves, but also had an important strategic position in terms of the expanding vision that Kayqubad had for the sultanate.⁴² The Mongol conqueror Chinggis Khan (d. 1227) had dispatched part of his Mongol army into Iran in pursuit of the fugitive Sultan Muhammad II Khwarazmshah (d. 1220).⁴³ The army, led by the famous Mongol commander Jebe, advanced relentlessly across Khurasan, which bordered the Caspian Sea on its southern shore, but did not advance once Sultan Muhammad escaped to an island in the Caspian Sea. Instead, Jebe continued north via the Caucasus Mountains to invade southern Russia and Crimea in 1223 before returning to the Mongol base camp in Central Asia via the Russian steppes. When the Mongols left, the Rus retook the city of Sudak, which Kayqubad I saw as an opportunity to organise a maritime expedition to expel the new occupants and re-establish the Seljuq protectorate over the city.

Ibn Bibi, the main source we have on the campaign, mentions that the expedition was commanded by Husam al-Din Choban, who set sail at the head of his army from Sinop to Crimea in 1220s.⁴⁴ The Turkish ships arrived in Sudak and the population of the city offered to recognise the sultan and to pay tribute.⁴⁵ Messages were exchanged between Husam al-Din and the city rulers in an attempt by the latter to gain time until a Qipchaq army came to their aid. However, the Chobanid amir was informed of the advance of the enemy and managed to disembark his army from the ships. As narrated by Ibn Bibi, this was a clever move by Husam al-Din, because at dawn the next morning the Qipchaq army attacked their camp. They managed to repel the attack and won a great victory, which forced the Rus leader to accept the authority of the Seljuq sultan; the Rus were also forced by Husam al-Din to pay annual tribute.⁴⁶ The tribute appears to have provided a large amount of booty and slaves that were sent back to Anatolia.

After coming to terms with the Rus ruler, Husam al-Din finally turned his attention to the city of Sudak, which despite new attempts by its inhabitants to pay tribute, offer loyalty and return the properties of Muslim merchants, was nonetheless invaded and sacked after a fierce battle.⁴⁷ Before returning to Kastamonu, Husam al-Din took members of the respected (*mu'tabar*) families

of Sudak as hostages and secured the city by leaving soldiers garrisoned there.⁴⁸ Ibn Bibi dedicates a poem to the next decision taken by Husam al-Din Choban, which involved establishing sharia law in the city and declaring Islam as the official religion of the Sudak:

The land was stormed with the sound of *takbīr*.
The air was filled with the feathers of the shining angel⁴⁹
The religion of the Prophet was renewed
[because] spreading religion is the kings' legacy
[Even] to a place that no one knew
The place of Islam in the Universe
All voices were praising and celebrating God
It was like an arrow was shot in the chest of unbelievers
In this form, with majesty, elegance and strength
the hero of the World came to the city.⁵⁰

It is interesting how the Anatolian historian depicts the Chobanid amir as hero of the world (*jahān-i pahlavān*), giving him all the credit for bringing these Christian lands into the realm of Islam. However, as Andrew Peacock has suggested, it was a common Seljuq policy after the conquest of a city to declare Islam as the new religion of the place, but this did not necessarily imply the conversion of the population to Islam.⁵¹ Therefore, Ibn Bibi's depiction of Husam al-Din as a champion of Islam might be seen more as a formulaic description of the historian reflecting a common policy of the Seljuqs than a faithful representation of the conversion of Sudak's population to Islam.

After the campaign, Husam al-Din returned to Kastamonu, having gained enormous prestige as well as the favour of the sultan, and establishing favourable conditions for trade across the Black Sea.⁵² However, after his return, there is no record of any political, military, or economic activity involving Husam al-Din Choban.⁵³ Since both Muslim and Byzantine chronicles are silent about the region of Kastamonu in this period, we do not know how the Chobanid leader was received back in his home town, or what was the fate of his family in the decades to come. The date of Husam al-Din's death is a mystery, but he probably died during the 1230s or the 1240s at the latest. It appears that in this period and up to the time of the Mongol invasion of Anatolia in 1243, the region of Kastamonu may have remained peaceful, or at least did not draw the attention of chroniclers.

Despite the historical uncertainty over the final years of his life, the figure of Husam al-Din would be pivotal in the development of north-western Anatolia during the 13th century. He became the first Turkmen chief to hold autonomous control over the region and be recognised as amir by the sultan. Further, he actively engaged militarily in Seljuq politics by taking sides in the internal political struggles of the 1211 between Kayka'us and Kayqubad, and, finally, successfully commanded the only overseas maritime military expedition of the Seljuqs to Crimea. Although his role as a promoter of Islam may have been

exaggerated by Ibn Bibi, the idea of Husam al-Din Choban as a champion of Islam was rooted in the imaginary of the region (see Chapter 3). Those Turkmen rulers that succeeded him in the region would be either his relatives or, even those with doubtful blood connections to him, would claim a link to his figure.

2.2 Uncertain years: North-western Anatolia and the Mongol invasion

The political development of north-western Anatolia in the decades that followed the Mongol invasion of the peninsula is characterised by a succession of changing alliances and wars between the Mongols and the Chobanid rulers. For the most part, the region of Kastamonu appears to have escaped the plunder of initial Mongol campaigns led by Baiju in the early 1240s, which sacked the cities of Kayseri and Sivas.⁵⁴ However, this did not mean that in the coming years the interests of the Mongol rulers and their officials would not clash with the authority of Husam al-Din Choban's. During these years, the Chobanid line of succession becomes a blur, perhaps due to the difficulty that these Turkmen lords had in establishing their political authority from the arrival of the Mongols up to the 1280s.

It is unclear what happened after the death of Husam al-Din Choban in terms of succession. Although Yücel suggest that the authority of the region passed directly to Husam al-Din's son Alp Yürek, the events that followed the Mongol invasion of Anatolia in Kastamonu cast some doubt on this apparently smooth transition of power.⁵⁵ This assumption is based on Ibn Bibi's *a posteriori* suggestion that first Alp Yürek and later his son Muzaffar al-Din held the province of Kastamonu based on a right of inheritance. However, during the 1250s and at least up to 1262, the person being recognised as *beylerbey* of Kastamonu was a certain Shams al-Din Yavtash (Tuvtaş), who held the position of guardian of the castle of Kastamonu until his death, possibly in late 1256.⁵⁶ It has been suggested that by the root of his name (*Yav*) it is possible to identify Shams al-Din with a Cuman (Qipchaq) origin.⁵⁷ If this is the case, it can be used as definitive proof of the suggestion made by Cahen that there was no blood connection between Husam al-Din Choban and Shams al-Din Yavtash.⁵⁸ In addition, the high position acquired in the region by Cumans possibly from Crimea or the Russian steppes points towards a much more fluid transit of people across the Black Sea than previously thought.⁵⁹ In fact, the emergence of a non-Chobanid leader like Yavtash as *beylerbey* of Kastamonu suggests that by the mid-13th century, Kastamonu and its surrounding territories (including Sinop) was not an autonomous region under the descendants of Husam al-Din Choban. Rather, it seems to have remained under the authority of the Seljuq sultan but more closely connected to the Mongols of the Golden Horde. The death of Shams al-Din Yavtash appears to be a turning point in the relationship between the Chobanids and the region under their military command. It was during this period when an administrative reform in the region was carried out by which the title of *beylerbey* became detached from the economic revenues produced in the region.

By 1256, it is possible that Husam al-Din Choban's son, Alp Yürek, might have received the title of *beylerbey* and some revenues associated with it, causing the confusion in Ibn Bibi about the Chobanid line of succession. However, we also know that after the death of Shams al-Din Yavtash, the economic revenues of the region of Kastamonu (*iqṭā'*) were granted not to a member of the Chobanid family but to Mongol-appointed vizier known as Shams al-Din Baba Tughra'i, who, unfortunately for him, died only a few years later without ever visiting the region assigned to him.⁶⁰ His death coincided with the resolution of a dynastic dispute among the Seljuqs of Rum when Sultan Kılıç Arslan IV (d. 1265), thanks to the support of the Mongols, defeated his brother 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us II (d. 1280) in 1260 and forced him into exile in Crimea.⁶¹ To replace the deceased officer, a new vizier called Taj al-Din Mut'azz was appointed by the victorious faction.⁶² He was granted the revenues of Kastamonu, confirming the establishment of an administrative separation between the person holding the title of *beylerbey*, with military and political attributions, and vizier, who would be the beneficiary of the economic produce of the region.⁶³ This division apparently continued into the 14th century since, at the death of Taj al-Din Mut'azz in 1277, his son Amir Shah received the *iqṭā'* of Kastamonu as a hereditary right that he would hold until 1309, incidentally the very same year in which Chobanid rule ended in the region.

The rights of Baba Tughra'i first and later his son Taj al-Din Mut'azz over the region's economic produce did not mean that they had any special political influence over these territories. In other words, it appears that political and economic influence over the region fell into different hands from this period onwards. On one hand, it is possible that after 1256, Alp Yürek might have become the *beylerbey*, perhaps retaining military authority over the Turkmen people of the region but having limited political authority over the urban settlements and the sedentary population. In this period, the role of the Chobanid family appears to have been relegated to lower layers of authority created by the new Mongol officials sent from the Mongol Ilkhanate based in Iran.⁶⁴ This overlap can be seen in the fact that, although the nominal sovereignty of the region continued to rest on the Seljuq sultan, during the 1270s, the real authority in the region appears to have been the powerful pro-Mongol official Mu'in al-Din Sulayman Parvana (d. 1277), who acted as de facto ruler of Rum.⁶⁵ Mu'in al-Din was eventually executed for treason by the Mongols, but his son Mu'in al-Din Muhammad Bey replaced his father. He continued to be the governor of north-western Anatolia until 1295, but his main residence was in Sinop. It appears that his influence also reached the city of Kastamonu until as late as 1299, but we only have evidence of him having visited the city twice during his entire time in office.⁶⁶

Despite the seizure of political authority and economic benefits from the region by the Mongols and their officials, the Turkmen presence in the region did not fade away but rather intensified during the period. Alp Yürek seems to have lost and gained authority intermittently in the region from the time he took control of Kastamonu. Although he is never mentioned by name

in the sources, it is unlikely that he did not participate in any of the various conflicts that occurred between the Turkmen people settled in the region and the different powers – whether Mongol, Byzantine, or Seljuq – that competed for this border region. The Chobanids remained militarily active in the region. Only a decade after the Mongols invaded Anatolia, a group of Turkmen from the region of Kastamonu moved westwards and took the city of Tokat in 1250, which they controlled until 1257.⁶⁷ At that moment, a combined military effort between the *parvāna*, the Seljuq sultan Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan IV and the Mongols managed to expel the Turkmen occupying force and established Mu‘in al-Din Sulayman Parvana as the ruler of the city.⁶⁸ It is perhaps this event that triggered the above-mentioned division of economic and political authority in Kastamonu. The allocation of the region’s *iqṭā‘* to the Mongol vizier Shams al-Din Baba Tughra’i was done immediately after these events, suggesting that perhaps the allocation of this wealth to a Mongol could have been a punishment for the Turkmen conquest of Tokat. Further, even though the name of Alp Yürek is not mentioned as participating in the conquest of Tokat at any point in the sources, the implication that the Chobanid family was involved in the campaign cannot be discarded.

Their position in a border zone with the Christian Empire of Nicaea, a successor kingdom to a Byzantium under Latin control, meant that Turkmen groups from Kastamonu also had an active interaction with their western neighbours. As we will see, there was constant tension on the frontier between the Chobanid and the Greek empires throughout the second half of the 13th century. In the 1250s, the Turkmen of Kastamonu became involved in Anatolia’s internal politics involving the Empire of Nicaea, the Seljuqs of Rum and the Mongols. From 1254, and in the name of the exiled emperor Theodore II Lascaris (r. 1254–58), a future Byzantine emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus (d. 1282), was the governor of the province of Mesothynia and Optimatoi.⁶⁹ These regions shared borders with the western territories of the Chobanid area of influence, separated only by the Sakarya River.⁷⁰ Around 1256, the relationship between governor and emperor deteriorated, and the former was forced to escape and find refuge at the court of the Seljuq sultan Kayka’us II (d. 1280), where many of the exiled Palaeologus family were living.⁷¹ Despite being robbed by some Turkmen nomads from Kastamonu, Michael Palaeologus made it to the Seljuq court in Konya. The sultan welcomed him and assigned to the future Byzantine emperor a high military rank commanding the Christian troops who served the sultan. While Theodore II began to use classical Byzantine diplomacy to obtain a peace treaty with the new Mongol lord, confrontation between the Mongols and the Seljuqs became unavoidable. Michael Palaeologus commanded part of the Seljuq troops at the Battle of Aksaray against the Mongols in 1256.⁷² The Mongols defeated the sultan’s army, forcing Michael to withdraw to the north-western territories of the sultanate. The Byzantine historian Akropolites mentions that after the defeat in battle the future Byzantine emperor joined

the commander-in-chief (*peklerpakis*) of the sultan of Rum when he returned to his home town of Kastamonu after the defeat.⁷³ The title of *peklerpakis* has been established as a Greek translation for *beylerbey* and the person accompanying Michael Palaeologus as the above-mentioned Shams al-Din Yavtash (Tuvtaş).⁷⁴

As we have seen, the *beylerbey* Shams al-Din Yavtash died possibly soon after arriving back in Kastamonu, which supports the idea, based on often conflicting accounts, of some scholars suggesting that Michael Palaeologus became, at least for a short period, governor of the city of Kastamonu and/or a beneficiary of the region's *iqṭā'*.⁷⁵ The presence of the Byzantine emperor-to-be in the region as the representative of the Seljuq sultan might have been, as Andrew Peacock has suggested, motivated by the close relationships that Michael could have developed with the Turkmen of the region when serving as the governor of the other side of the Sakarya River only a few years earlier.⁷⁶ He did not stay long in the region, as in 1257 the Mongol commander Baiju brought his army there, reconquering Tokat from the Chobanids, as mentioned above, and arriving at the doors of the castle of Kastamonu.⁷⁷ According to the chronicle of Akropolites, the Mongol advance forced the Palaeologus family to flee from the city. However, the simultaneous death of the Nicaean emperor Theodore II in 1258 together with the ascension of his underage son John IV Laskaris, catapulted Michael Palaeologus to the position of regent of the empire first and emperor later when in 1261 the Nicaeans reconquered Constantinople from the Latins.⁷⁸ From the Chobanids' point of view, these events show an involvement of the Turkmen of Kastamonu in the affairs of Anatolia throughout the 1250s, with an apparent opposition to the Mongols that can be observed both during the offensive over the city of Tokat and in the presence of the *beylerbey* at the Battle of Aksaray.

Anatolia's political scenario was transformed in the second half of the 1250s and early 1260s. The Seljuq defeat at Aksaray against the Mongols, the restoration of Byzantium under Michael VIII, the exile of Sultan Kayka'us II and the consolidation of Hülegü as Ilkhan of Iran were different factors contributing to the subjugation of the Seljuqs by the Ilkhanate. In Kastamonu, different Turkmen revolts erupted, led on occasion by rebels of Central Asian origin who had the now-exiled 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us II as 'a symbol of resistance against the hated Mongols and viewed the sultan's defeat as their own'.⁷⁹ Byzantium also played its cards and got involved in the region, first by sending military expeditions to counteract the Turkmen military presence in the area and simultaneously pursuing diplomatic ties with the Mongols.⁸⁰

The Mongols not only signed a treaty with Byzantium and established a convenient sultan on the throne of Konya (forcing Kayka'us II into exile a few years earlier), but also placed Mongol officials in different parts of the peninsula to exercise closer control over the territory.⁸¹ Although many Turkmen supporters of Kayka'us II were forced to relocate on the European side of the Byzantine Empire, the Chobanids appear to have stayed in their

territories despite their participation in the revolt against the Mongols.⁸² Notwithstanding some sporadic revolts in the region, it appears that the *parvāna* managed to control the region of Kastamonu in the 1260s and 1270s, with Turkmen upheavals moving south to the regions of Denizli, Khunas and Dakman during this period.⁸³ Not even the appointment of Fakhr al-Din ‘Ali (d. 1288), also known as Sahib ‘Ata, as the new viceroy by the Mongols diminished the control that the *parvāna* had over Kastamonu, which became seen as a *marche* or military buffer zone on the border under the supervision of the already mentioned Taj al-Din Mu‘tazz.⁸⁴ The pro-Seljuq and anti-Mongol initiatives of the Chobanids that had characterised the region since the Battle of Köse Dağ changed during these years of Mongol officials’ control over the region. The execution of the powerful *parvāna* Mu‘in al-Din Sulayman in 1277 appears to have provided a new opportunity to the Turkmen of Kastamonu to adopt a new active role in the peninsula’s politics. For starters, the Chobanids made a clear statement of their change of alliances when they participated in the defence of Sinop in the face of an attack launched by the Greek Empire of Trebizond in 1277.⁸⁵ Although the Turkmen of Kastamonu might have assisted the city in defence of their own interests (Sinop had been under the authority of Kastamonu on many occasions during the 13th century), the battle placed them fighting side-by-side with the soldiers of the *parvāna*, a Mongol official.

Some Turkmen groups revolted against the Mongols and their officials and even attacked Konya on a number of occasions in the late 1270s. The invasion of the Mamluk sultan Baybars in 1275–77 finally precipitated the decline of the rule of the *parvāna* in the region.⁸⁶ The Ilkhan Abaqa (d. 1281) sent his brother Kongurtay to suppress the Turkmen and exercise more direct control over Anatolia.⁸⁷ While Turkmen groups from Tokat, Aksaray and Ermenek were defeated by the Mongol army, the Chobanids were spared and seen now as convenient allies in the borderlands.⁸⁸ An even closer relationship between the Mongols, a pro-Mongol Seljuq line of descent and the Chobanids would become more firmly established in the 1280s, as we will see. However, the period between 1243 and 1280 remains rather obscure in the history of Kastamonu. Even though Alp Yürek, the son of Husam al-Din Choban, was present in the region and some sources suggest that he even died as a martyr (*shahīd*) (see Figure 2.2) on the battlefield,⁸⁹ his capacity to exercise actual dominion over the region appears to have been limited. Although he may have retained some military authority, economic benefits and political autonomy within the region of Kastamonu, the fate of the region appears to have rested first in the hands of a non-Chobanid *beylerbey* such as Shams al-Din Yavtash and then passed to the influence of the *parvāna* and Mongol officials up to 1277. The military help provided by the Chobanids to the *parvāna* in Sinop might have served to prepare the ground for a new political scenario. The death of Alp Yürek in c. 1280 and the ascension of his son Muzaffar al-Din Choban brought Kastamonu, even if temporarily, to a new role in the political arena of 13th-century Anatolia.

مذهب مختار است از غیر از شوری نمود . بنا برین بنامه در خطاری
 ی بود که این مذهب مختار است و خلاصه آن اسرار در مختاری است با ند
 کرد و در تمام این سخن و بیاد این مختار از حضرت علیا و بارگاه و الا
 محدود و مختار و غیره را با دی و الا نعم بعد از افضال و الا کرامت نه الملك
 عهد السلطنه العظمه انسان عزیز الشرف پیچی فضایل السلف ملک را و
 العرب و العجم قروه زعامت جیوش الامم منظر الدنيا و الا این سام السلام
 و المبین خیر الکا بر و الا فاضله العالمین سیلا له مکارم و الا خلقه صفوه اکار الزانق
 انسا العالم انصار جهان کبر و اشرفه انزل بولغان سلان بنظیر السعد السید
 قروه الکاه و سلطان الغلوه جسام المله و الا این البیوتک اولم الله علاه و وقت
 اقتداره که صیبه بر کربانی و الحساقین در افاقه و الا قطار ساریت و حقیقت اشبه
 اباه فاطمه بر جنتین میزان قاضی و طاصوه اشارتین در عالمی مخلص و هو فراه
 فی اشباه نقاد یافت که فصل چند شرح اوضاع افلاک و اجرام پیر در از
 و غیره تعبیر از یکا معانی با الفاظ باسی طراز ناع و اید قول بلاغ خاص
 و عام را شامل بود و قول مدعول و ناقص و کامل را کامل پس حکم از خاطر
 و الا امثال فرغانه از انوار حضرت و شرایط مطاوعت است که در تمام اوقات
 افاد و انوار اختیارات مظهری نام کرده شد تا بواسطه آنستاب بان جناب
 مقبول عالمیان و طلب جهانیان کرد . اسطرابع اطاف از جناب
 جنان است که چون بنظرها بوش مشرف کرد در اکثر خطی بازل الطلاع
 یابند بعد از شرف اصلاح عفو را که از عادات سادات و سادات
 عادات است استعمال فرزند . ابرز سجانه و تعالی دولت و رفعت
 این خاندان مجید و در نزل در اراذ و جاه و حشمت این و در زمان حسن ششم
 در نضاعد انه المحب اللطیف . و وضع و اساس این کتاب بر چهار
 مقالات ازین افاده و وضع هر مقالتی بر چند باب بدین تفصیل .

Figure 2.2 Majlis 6398, f. 2b. Showing dedication to Muzaffar al-Din Choban by Qutb al-Din Shirazi and reference to Alp Arslan as Shahid (line 8).

2.3 An alliance with the Mongols: The reign of Muzaffar al-Din Choban, r. 1280–91

If the life of Alp Yürek is difficult to trace and the history of the Chobanids is evasive until the end of the 1270s, this perception changes when in about 1280 Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek (d. c. 1291) emerged as the head of the Turkmen of Kastamonu.⁹⁰ There is little doubt that he was the grandson of Husam al-Din Choban, since some early manuscripts dedicated to him and his son make clear reference to his line of descent.⁹¹ However, if his family ties offer no mysteries, his titles and ranks have generated some discord among Turkish scholars. As we have seen above, his grandfather (Husam al-Din Choban) was referred to by Ibn Bibi as *malik al-umarā'* and *beylerbey* by Turkish historiography. His father (Alp Yürek) is referred to as a *shahīd* but was never mentioned as having the title amir.⁹² To figure out the actual role occupied by Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek in the structure of Seljuq Anatolia from the point of view of his titles and ranks presents some challenges with the existing evidence. The historian Ibn Bibi, writing in around 1281, not only returns the title of amir to Muzaffar al-Din but adds to his titles the Persian rank of *sipahdār* (military commander) of Kastamonu.⁹³ The 14th-century historian Karim al-Din Aqsara'i (d. c. 1320) confirms the attribution of the second title, but does not mention the title of amir. Instead, he refers to him as a *ṭarafdār*, a term commonly used to refer to a 'partisan', but in this case might be used to refer to royal status to imply the meaning of 'king' or 'prince'.⁹⁴ However, it is interesting that the surviving manuscripts dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din or his son do not include any references to either of the two titles *sipahdār* or *ṭarafdār*.⁹⁵ This portrays a rather confusing image, with those historians writing about the Chobanid ruler from the Seljuq court addressing him more often with a title denoting a more military role (*sipahdār*) while those authors that received financial support from Muzaffar al-Din would address him as amir. This second term would imply, firstly, recognising that Muzaffar al-Din had real political control over the region, and secondly, it would help to legitimise his position as it would imply a clear hereditary dynastic connection with his grandfather Husam al-Din Choban.⁹⁶

The early 1280s were unstable years in the history of Anatolia. The Mongols had to deal with a new Mamluk campaign led by Baybars' son Qalawun (r. 1279–90) in 1279–80 that was stopped only after the reinforcement of the Ilkhanid troops led by Abaqa's brother Möngke Temür. Further, the execution of the *parvāna* had left a power vacuum in the administration of Anatolia that the puppet sultan Kaykhusraw III could not fulfil. Finally, another internal dispute among different Seljuq princes emerged when Kayka'us II, the already mentioned sultan of Rum, who was forced into exile first in Constantinople and then in Crimea in the mid-1260s, died in AH 679 (1280–81).⁹⁷ Two of his surviving sons (Mas'ud b. Kayka'us and his brother Rukn al-Din) hurried to claim their rights to the Seljuq throne. This event shifted the role of Kastamonu in the region's politics, marking Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek as an important political agent in the historical records.

According to Ibn Bibi, after the death of Kayka'us II, it would have been Mas'ud who would have the right to rule because his father allegedly nominated him as heir but instead, it was his brother who moved faster and travelled across the Black Sea to Anatolia to gain the upper hand over his brother.⁹⁸ The same source mentions that Rukn al-Din arrived in Sinop from his exile in Crimea but shortly afterwards was captured by a group of soldiers from Kastamonu (*nauwāb-i qastamūniyya*) near Amasya and delivered to the *sipahdār* of the region, Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek, who imprisoned the prince in the city castle (*qal'a*).⁹⁹ Mas'ud arrived in Anatolia shortly afterwards and the Chobanid ruler went to welcome him in the port of Sinop, where he pledged alliance to him and acknowledged Mas'ud as the rightful Seljuq sultan.¹⁰⁰ Initially, Mas'ud seems to have intended to execute his brother but eventually pardoned him, apparently leaving Rukn al-Din as a prisoner in the castle of Kastamonu.¹⁰¹ Due to the proximity of the borderland, Byzantine sources also record these events with special attention, even though the information is at times confusing and not very accurate.¹⁰² Pachymeres, although occasionally mixing up the chronology of the events, offers an interesting complementary account. For example, he provides some important information on the political developments of the region between the Chobanids (possibly referred to as *amoirus*) and the deposed prince Rukn al-Din b. Kayka'us at the end of Muzaffar al-Din's time in office.¹⁰³

Muzaffar al-Din's loyal service of Mas'ud's cause granted the former a preferential position as ally of the new aspirant to the Seljuq throne. After securing the captivity of the rebel Rukn al-Din, both men went together to Tabriz, the capital of the Ilkhanate, to meet the Ilkhan in person and obtain Mongol support to crown Mas'ud as sultan of Rum.¹⁰⁴ On arrival at the capital, the Ilkhan Abaqa (d. 1282) welcomed the two allies and granted Mas'ud control over Diyarbakır, Harput, Malatya and Sivas.¹⁰⁵ However, while the two men were still at the court, Abaqa died and his brother Tegüder Ahmed (r. 1282–84) became the new Mongol Ilkhan of Iran. Regarding Anatolia, Tegüder decided to continue the policy of divide and rule that characterised Mongol dominion in this period.¹⁰⁶ Overlooking the different Seljuq contenders, he gave Kaykhusraw III the sultanate of Rum while granting Mas'ud control over the Karamanid territories of eastern Anatolia's coastal areas. Aqsara'i mentions how Mas'ud accepted the decision, moved to the assigned region and settled in Erzincan to begin his duties in collaboration with old officers of his father.¹⁰⁷ By contrast, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw III was not satisfied with this decision. For that reason, when two simultaneous rebellions commanded by relatives of Tegüder (one in Khurasan led by his nephew Arghun and another in Anatolia by his brother Kongurtay/Qonqortai) erupted only a year after the coronation of the Ilkhan, Kaykhusraw III decided to join Kongurtay's aspirations against Tegüder.¹⁰⁸ Having to decide between two open fronts, Tegüder first turned his attention to Rum and managed to suppress Kongurtay's revolt, capturing Kaykhusraw III, who was put on trial and eventually executed in March 1284.¹⁰⁹

In view of these events, Tegüder reverted to his former decision and appointed Mas‘ud as Sultan of Rum. However, the Ilkhan’s victory was short-lived and the eastern revolt commanded by Arghun managed to gain the support of the Mongol *noyans* (commanders) needed to confront Tegüder, who was eventually defeated in 1284.¹¹⁰ After the coronation of Arghun in 1284, he confirmed the appointment of Mas‘ud II as the Seljuq sultan and in turn granted Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek full control over the region of Kastamonu.¹¹¹ The actual extent of the new Chobanid area of influence is unclear. Although sources generally suggest that Arghun gave Muzaffar al-Din his home region in north-western Anatolia, Niazi has suggested that Ibn Bibi’s reference to Arghun giving Mas‘ud control over Sivas and Malatya should not be read literally. Instead, he thinks that actual political control over these cities might have been in the hands of Muzaffar al-Din Choban.¹¹²

It is unclear from the available sources how long Muzaffar al-Din spent at the Mongol court in Tabriz. However, since his confirmation as amir of Kastamonu did not arrive until Arghun became Ilkhan, it is possible that he remained in Tabriz from his arrival in late 1281 until late in 1284.¹¹³ The time spent in the Ilkhans’ cultural capital might have made an impression in the mind of a provincial warlord such as Muzaffar al-Din. The interaction with the multicultural environment of 13th-century Tabriz and wealthy people at the court should be counted as one of the reasons that explains the interest and financial investment in literary works that characterised Muzaffar al-Din Choban’s rule. It is plausible to suggest that either when he was in Tabriz, or if he really had political control over Sivas and Malatya, he might have come into contact with the famous scholar Qutb al-Din Shirazi (d. 1311), from whom he commissioned the composition of the astronomical work *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari*.¹¹⁴ The acts of patronage witnessed in the Mongol capital certainly inspired Muzaffar al-Din, as we will see in Chapter 3, to continue the financial support of other authors not as internationally recognised as Shirazi, but with relevance to Kastamonu’s political and religious situation, such as the *Fustat al-‘adala* and the *inshā’* works of Husam al-Din Khu‘i.

Patronage also provided Muzaffar al-Din with a tool to promote an image of himself that superseded that of a simple local Turkmen warlord. The financial support of these works written in Persian reflects Muzaffar al-Din’s intention to be part of similar patronage activities taking place in the important urban centres such as Tabriz and Konya.¹¹⁵ This peak in literary and architectural activity stimulated by the Chobanid court coincided with a period of political stability at the Mongol court during the reign of Ilkhan Arghun (r. 1284–91) and the deployment in Anatolia of the Ilkhan’s brother and future Ilkhan Geykhatu (r. 1291–95).¹¹⁶ The appointment of the Ilkhan’s brother as governor brought not only tightened the Mongols’ military control over the peninsula, but also carried with it a number of administrative reforms destined to maximise the extraction from Anatolia for the benefit of Mongol officials.¹¹⁷ In this new approach to Anatolian matters taken by the Ilkhans, with Muzaffar al-Din as amir the Chobanid dynasty prospered culturally but did not abandon

the military component inherent to the responsibilities of Turkmen rulers of the frontier.

In the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il wa fara'id al-faza'il*, written by Husam al-Din Khu'i in AH 684 (1285), one of the letters identified as *Surat-i fatihnama* (transcript of a letter of conquest) is included in the fourth section (*qism-i chahārum*).¹¹⁸ Serving as an example of diplomatic letters, this particular missive contains a unique account of the conquest of the two Byzantine castles of Gideros (*Kidirūs*) by Muzaffar al-Din Choban and his Turkmen soldiers in Rajab AH 683 (September 1284).¹¹⁹ As Peacock has highlighted, the purpose of the letter was to be 'circulated within the ruler's realm to celebrate his conquest, and sometimes to other rulers as well'.¹²⁰ Hence, the account is not free from exaggerations and sublimations of the pious character and military genius of the ruler. However, despite its bias, it is unique evidence of the active role played by Muzaffar al-Din Choban in the region after returning from his stay in Tabriz. The letter gives details of the development of the battle, stating that siege equipment was used by the Chobanid troops to throw rocks and naphtha (*naffāt*) over the inner-wall houses. Rocks eventually forced the collapse of the protective walls and the ensuing fire caused chaos among the people, who tried to escape by sea in boats, risking drowning rather than facing the certainty of being burnt to death.¹²¹ The castle eventually fell into the Chobanids' hands after a week of siege, and the surrounding area, including probably the city of Cide, was incorporated into the territories of the Kastamonu Turkmen.

The presence of Geykhatu in Anatolia during these years helped to suppress some attempts at rebellion. In one attempt, in Konya in 1290, the Mongol prince managed not only to stop a revolt and punish the rebel viziers but also made a name for himself – in spite of later developments – as a peacemaker by pardoning the city of Konya for revolting.¹²² In describing these events, the Anonymous Historian of Konya refers to a certain Khwaja Nasir al-Din b. Yavlak Arslan, one of Muzaffar al-Din's sons, as being the first appointment to office (*mansib*) made by the Seljuq sultan Mas'ud II back in AH 682 (1283).¹²³ The presence of a son of Muzaffar al-Din in the Seljuq court is a testimony of the close relationship between the Chobanids, the Seljuq court and the Mongols in this period. Greek sources also mention that Nasir al-Din lived in Constantinople for a while before moving back to Anatolia to serve at the Seljuq court.¹²⁴ He achieved the high position of *mustawfi*, being in charge of registering property, gardens, water sources and trade initiatives in Konya after the revolt, for the financial benefit of the triumphant Mongol prince.¹²⁵ Geykhatu's peaceful handling of the aftermath of the Konya revolt has been the subject of some scholarly debate because of the inconsistency with which the same Mongol prince dealt with similar uprisings. In explaining the unique account of a peaceful settlement of the revolt by Geykhatu, Melville has suggested that the reason for this benevolent account might be that Nasir al-Din b. Yavlak Arslan could have been a patron of the Anonymous Historian of Konya.¹²⁶ If the assumption is correct, the literary patronage activities

performed by Muzaffar al-Din in Kastamonu were being mirrored by one of his sons in the Seljuq capital.

This period of literary patronage, political stability and territorial expansion lasted until 1291, when the politics of the Mongol court and Anatolia's difficult power balance would once again destabilise the Chobanid dynasty and its territories. The sudden death of Arghun Ilkhan placed Geykhatu as one of the major candidates to replace his brother on the Ilkhanid throne together with Baiju (d. 1295) and his nephew Ghazan (d. 1304).¹²⁷ Geykhatu hurried to assemble his Mongol troops stationed in Anatolia and with the support of powerful amirs such as Amir Chupan (d. 1323) and Qurumshi (d. 1319?), he managed to overcome the other candidates and was crowned in Ahlat (eastern Turkey) on 24 Rajab AH 690 (23 July 1291).¹²⁸ However, the removal of the Mongol troops from the peninsula uncovered old resentments across Anatolia that had remained submerged by the Mongol military superiority. The support of Muzaffar al-Din Choban for the Mongol overlordship of Rum and his close ties with the Seljuq sultan Mas'ud II appears to have aroused some antipathy towards him, not only in foreign lands but also within the territories he controlled in north-western Anatolia.

Until recently, there has been debate about the events connected to the 'revolt of Kastamonu' that took place from about 1291 until 1293.¹²⁹ The main problem has been the different and apparently contradictory accounts provided by the Islamic and the Greek sources. One problem has been the fact that Pachymeres claims that Malik Masour, the main instigator of the revolt, found refuge in Byzantium for a short period of time in 1290 at the beginning of the revolt.¹³⁰ The similarity in the phonetics of the words Masour and Mas'ud generated some confusion as to whether this name could be a reference to Sultan Mas'ud II.¹³¹ To assume this would have discredited Pachymeres' account, because Aqsara'i clearly explains that Mas'ud was an ally of both the Mongols and the rulers of Kastamonu who opposed the revolt.¹³² Recently though, Korobeinikov has suggested convincingly that Malik Masour stands for *malik al-manşūr* (victorious king), a title used on several occasions on Seljuq coins, and that in this case it could be referring not to Mas'ud II but to his brother Rukn al-Din b. Kayka'us II,¹³³ who was imprisoned by Muzaffar al-Din Choban a decade before the revolt.¹³⁴ Similarly, after some scholarly debate, some other terms that appeared in conflict between the sources have been settled and today there is little doubt that Pachymeres' Amouroi and his son Nastratios refer respectively to Muzaffar al-Din Choban and his son Nasir al-Din mentioned above.¹³⁵ Consequently, both Greek and Islamic accounts echo the events of the revolt, providing a different description of the events but apparently agreeing on the personalities involved in the conflict.

Greek sources provide some further information on the political developments leading to the revolt, and they coincide with Islamic sources in the early stages of the uprising.¹³⁶ Both Pachymeres and Gregoras are vague on the chronology of the events but recount the return of Malik Rukn al-Din

(Malik Masour) to Anatolia after the death of his father in 1280, in agreement with the account provided in the Islamic sources mentioned above.¹³⁷ However, instead of mentioning that Muzaffar al-Din captured him and supported Mas'ud II, the Byzantine sources claim that Arghun gave Kastamonu to Rukn al-Din. Following Byzantine sources, the Ilkhan's decision was opposed by the Chobanid amir (Amouroi), who fought Rukn al-Din and forced him to seek refuge and support in Constantinople.¹³⁸ Allegedly, the emperor refused to help and Rukn al-Din returned to Kastamonu just at a time when the situation had changed in the region, allowing him to kill Muzaffar al-Din Choban and all his sons except a certain 'Ali.¹³⁹ The latter would oppose Rukn al-Din by fighting a guerrilla war against him until eventually the Chobanid leader managed to kill Rukn al-Din in battle.¹⁴⁰ From here onward, the account is more centred on the story of 'Ali's warfare against Byzantium and does not provide any details on the Mongol or Seljuq reaction to the uprising.

Islamic sources offer a different succession of events but also centre the origin of the uprising in a group of Turkmen in the region of Kastamonu and Zalifre/Safranbolu who decided to back a revolt led by Malik Rukn al-Din b. Kayka'us II against his brother Mas'ud II.¹⁴¹ The rebel faction had the initial upper hand when they met in battle the loyal army of Muzaffar al-Din Choban, who according to Aqsara'i, died (*fanā shud*) during the confrontation.¹⁴² In the face of the danger posed by the uprising, Mongol and Seljuq leaders mobilised to suppress the revolt. Mas'ud II was ordered by Geykhatu to lead the Seljuq army, which was reinforced by non-turkic Seljuq infantry troops (*tājīk*) and 3,000 Mongol horsemen sent by the Mongol prince to support the expedition. When the army was approaching the Chobanid territories, it was surprised in an ambush in the hilly terrain near Kastamonu. The rearguard, with the sultan and his soldiers, was defeated, and Mas'ud was taken to confinement in Kastamonu, in what might have seemed like sweet revenge in the eyes of Rukn al-Din (imprisoned by command of Mas'ud's brother in the same place only a decade before). In the face of this, the Mongol officials sent by Geykhatu had different strategies. On one hand, the vanguard in command of the Mongol general Kuktay decided to abandon the campaign, but on the other hand Karay, another Mongol commander, organised the remaining troops, assaulted the Turkmen and freed the sultan from the rebels before returning to their base camp in the region of Osmancık.¹⁴³ The Anonymous Historian of Konya's account is much less detailed than that of Aqsara'i, but he includes Nasir al-Din, the son of Muzaffar al-Din, among the officials that accompanied the Seljuq-Mongol army to Kastamonu. Similarly, as in his description of Geykhatu's benevolent treatment of Konya, this source places Nasir al-Din b. Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek as fundamental in the successful outcome of the mission. According to this source, it was Nasir al-Din alone who first managed to end the revolt in the city of Safranbolu by bribing the Turkmen in the region and then persuading the rebels to surrender Malik Rukn al-Din to him to be executed.¹⁴⁴ Although the participation of Nasir al-Din in the campaign is plausible, the prominent role that he occupies

in the narrative of the *Anonymous Chronicle* might be yet another case of sublimation of his role done to please the patron of the work.

Despite the attention that the revolt attracted in different contemporary sources, it is difficult to discern a clear picture of the events. Yet, all accounts highlight the fact that the bulk of the rebels were Turkmen people of the region, who saw in the figure of Rukn al-Din the possibility of opposing Chobanid leadership. The reasons for this discontent are unclear, but perhaps the close ties that Muzaffar al-Din had developed with the Mongols since his confirmation by Arghun Ilkhan as ruler of the region gained him enemies among different Turkmen groups on the frontier. Further, there is a clear involvement, even if subtle, of Byzantine diplomacy in the entire uprising. Despite the entente between the Mongols of Iran and Byzantium since the time of Abaqa Ilkhan, the Chobanids continued to attack Byzantine targets – such as the castles of Gideros – despite their good relationships with the Mongols. Therefore, some degree of support by Constantinople to the Turkmen rebels of Safranbolu (on the border with Byzantium) and to Rukn al-Din cannot be ruled out, as a way for the Byzantines to destabilise the uncomfortable neighbour that Muzaffar al-Din Choban of Kastamonu had proved to be over the years.¹⁴⁵ Finally, the revolt also shows the dependence that the Chobanids had on Mongol support to maintain their supremacy over other Turkmen groups in the area. As soon as Geykhatu and his army left Anatolia in 1291 to claim the throne of the Ilkhanate, the opposing forces managed to kill Muzaffar al-Din and set in motion the decline of Chobanid rule in Kastamonu.

2.4 Mahmud Bey and the end of Chobanid rule in Kastamonu

Although sources do not agree on the date for the death of Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek, it is possible that he died in battle during the initial clashes of the revolt of Kastamonu in about 1291. According to Aqsara'i the succession was straightforward and after his death, his son replaced him as amir of Kastamonu.¹⁴⁶ However, either because he did not know the name of the heir or because it was obvious to his readers, Aqsara'i does not provide a name for the successor to the amirate of Kastamonu. As we have seen, one of the candidates to succeed Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek could have been Nasir al-Din, who was a *mustawfi* at the court of the Seljuqs in Konya and according to the Anonymous Historian came with Mas'ud's army to Kastamonu during the revolt. Another candidate comes from a dedication of the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il wa fara'id al-faza'il* of Husam al-Din Khu'i to a certain Amir Mahmud, son of Muzaffar al-Din Alp 'Yuliq Arslan' (Figure 2.3).¹⁴⁷ Finally, while Byzantine sources confirm the existence of a son called Nasir al-Din, they also bring a third candidate to the debate. Pachymeres claims that all but one of Muzaffar al-Din's sons were killed during the rebellion (including Nasir al-Din) – only 'Ali survived.¹⁴⁸ The interest of Greek sources in this character is connected to the sustained warfare he carried out against Byzantium in the years after the revolt, but they also imply that 'Ali changed the policies of his father by

abandoning the loyal attitude to the Mongols and Seljuqs, which regained the support of the Turkmen of Kastamonu.¹⁴⁹

Hence, the succession of Muzaffar al-Din is rather confusing because the different sources do not agree on the fate of his sons. The most likely scenario is that when Muzaffar al-Din was killed, there were three of his sons who actively participated in post-revolt Kastamonu. We lose track of the first of his possible heirs, Nasir al-Din, after these events. Neither his death at the hands of Malik Rukn al-Din, as suggested by Pachymeres, or the opposite view given by the Anonymous Historian, in which Nasir al-Din bribed the Turkmen of Safranbolu and then executed Rukn al-Din, can be confirmed. There is a possibility that Amir Mahmud could be a title rather than a name and, as suggested by Yücel, Nasir al-Din became the *amir mahmūd* of Kastamonu.¹⁵⁰ In this view, then there would be only two sons of Muzaffar al-Din. However, this is

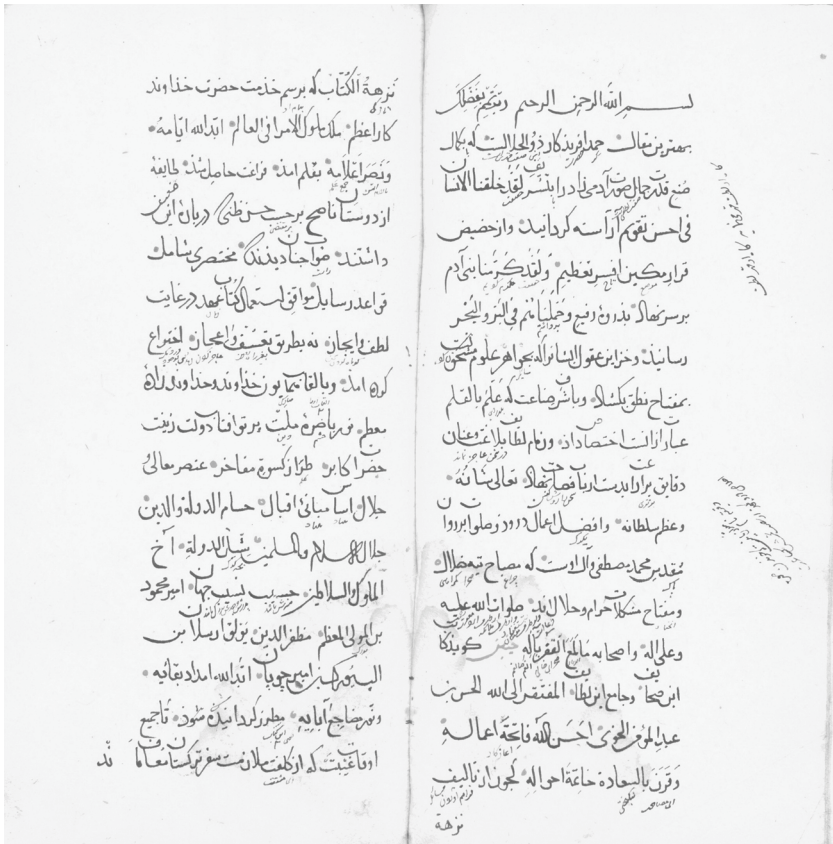


Figure 2.3 Malek National Library 1196, ff. 106b–107a. Showing dedication to Amir Mahmud (f. 107a, line 13).

unlikely since Ottoman sources actually mention Mahmud Bey as the ruler of Kastamonu in the first decade of the 14th century.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, the already mentioned reference to Amir Mahmud in the introduction of the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* composed in Rajab of AH 684 (1285) suggests that there was a son called Mahmud before the revolt began in 1291 (see Figure 2.3). Consequently, it appears that three sons of Muzaffar al-Din were alive when their father died. The successor as the political head of the Chobanids appears to have been Amir Mahmud, but it was his brother 'Ali who became an active military commander in the region.

The available information on the political and military history of the region of Kastamonu during the 1290s and 1300s is rather limited. Further, the borders of political influence between Mongol officials, local rulers and Turkmen groups are also blurred. For example, Mu'in al-Din Muhammad (d. 1297), the son of the *parvāna* Mu'in al-Din (d. 1277), received financial rights over Kastamonu from the Mongols in 1296, casting some doubt on where the influence of one ruler ended and the other began.¹⁵² However, it appears that even if parts of the economic revenues were shared with Mu'in al-Din Muhammad, political control over the region was in the hands of the Chobanids, who, under the command of 'Ali b. Muzaffar al-Din, attacked the Byzantine territories on the Sakarya River's western shores, especially from 1299 onwards. After a few years of confrontation, a peace proposal between the Chobanids and Byzantium was drafted in 1302.¹⁵³ However, the treaty was rejected by the different Turkmen factions that made up the Chobanid army, explaining the participation of 'Ali Chobanid siding with Osman Gazi (d. 1323–24), when the founder of the Ottoman dynasty faced the Byzantine army at the Battle of Bapheus (1302).¹⁵⁴ Finally, when the Mongols and the Byzantines signed a peace treaty, also in 1302, the potential strategic danger of being trapped in between the two new allies (Byzantium and the Mongols) forced 'Ali to make peace with Constantinople in 1304.¹⁵⁵ The relationship between the Chobanids and Byzantium appears to have calmed down by the beginning of the 14th century and, due to the silence of the Greek sources about the fate of 'Ali Chobanid after the signing of the peace treaty, we know nothing further about his life.

The final years of the Chobanid dynasty are included in some early Ottoman sources such as the *Selçukname* of Yazıcızade 'Ali (*fl.* 15th c.), which, despite not being totally trustworthy in terms of historical accuracy, at least offers a reference to Mahmud b. Muzaffar al-Din ruling in Kastamonu during the first decade of the 14th century.¹⁵⁶ By this time, the Chobanids had accumulated a century of experience in manoeuvring in the unstable political arena of Anatolian politics between larger political entities such as the Seljuqs of Rum, the Byzantines and the Mongols. However, the *coup de grâce* to the dynasty came from neither of these regional powers. Instead, it was an inner Turkmen revolt that originated within the Chobanid territories. In 1309, Sulayman Pasha Jandar (d. c. 1339–40), the son of Shams al-Din Yaman Jandar (*fl.* 1291), one of the local Turkmen chiefs subject to

the Chobanids during the time of Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek, rebelled in the small town of Eflani against Chobanid overlordship.¹⁵⁷ From this small town located between Safranbolu and Kastamonu, Sulayman rapidly gained momentum and directed his troops towards the Chobanid capital. The new Jandarid (also called Isfandiariid) leader raided the city and besieged Mahmud inside the castle of Kastamonu until he was forced to capitulate.¹⁵⁸ Mahmud Bey, the last Chobanid ruler, was captured and eventually executed some time before 1314, by which point, according to Aqsara'i, Sulayman Pasha was already fully established as ruler of Kastamonu.¹⁵⁹ The new Turkmen ruler quickly expanded his domains and incorporated Sinop and Safranbolu into his territories, appointing his sons as governors in these towns.¹⁶⁰ Like the Chobanid rulers before him, Sulayman Pasha recognised Mongol overlordship and declared himself a subject of the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id (r. 1317–35) to secure his rule over the region.¹⁶¹ The end of Chobanid rule in north-western Anatolia did not mean a decline in Turkmen control over the region. On the contrary, the Jandarid dynasty would dominate the region until the Ottomans managed to incorporate these territories into their domains in the second half of the 15th century.

Notes

- 1 Jean-Claude Cheynet, 'Manzikert—un désastre militaire?', *Byzantion* 50 (1980), pp. 410–38; Speros Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 85–113; Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 7–10; Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330* (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1968), pp. 64–66; *idem*, 'La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure (seconde moitié du XIe s.)', *Byzantion* 18 (1948), pp. 5–67. Peter Frankopan, 'The Fall of Nicaea and the Towns of Western Asia Minor to the Turks in the Later 11th century: The Curious Case of Nikephoros Melissenos', *Byzantion* 76 (2006), pp. 153–84.
- 2 Colin Heywood, 'Kaṣtamūnī,' *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 73.
- 3 Osman Turan, *Selçuklular ve İslamiyet-Nakışlar Yayınevi* (Istanbul: Nakışlar Yayınevi, 1980), p. 85.
- 4 Budge, E. A. W. (ed.), *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus: Being the First Part of his Political History of the World: Translated from the Syriac*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 257.
- 5 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 95. See a description of the conflict in Songul Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs: Evolution of a Dynasty* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 149–56. The triumphal procession of John II across Constantinople in 1133 is described by Theodore Prodromos, the Byzantine court poet. See Paul Magdalino, 'The Triumph of 1133', in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium: In the Shadow of Father and Son*. Edited by Alessandra Bucossi and Alex Rodriguez Suarez (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 53–70.

- 6 This is based on a later reference to the assignment of the revenues of Kastamonu in 1259 to a Mongol official. See Aqsara'i, *Musamarat al-akhbar*, pp. 65–6; Dimitri Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt of Kastamonu, c. 1291–1293', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), p. 90. The *iqṭā'* was a form of land distribution and administrative system that originated in the Buyid period. For more, see Claude Cahen, 'Iḳṭā'', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.
- 7 For an analysis on the arrival of Turkmen people in Anatolia, see Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'From the Balkhān-Kūhīyān to the Nāwakīya', in Jürgen Paul (ed.), *Nomad Aristocrats in a World of Empires* (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013), pp. 55–80. On the topic, see also Claude Cahen, 'Les tribus turques d'Asie Occidentale pendant la période seljukide', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 51 (1948–52), pp. 178–87.
- 8 The use of the terms 'clan' and 'tribe' when referring to medieval nomadic societies has been the subject of debate in recent decades. For a discussion on the topic, see David Sneath, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
- 9 Peacock, 'From the Balkhān-Kūhīyān to the Nāwakīya', pp. 55–56.
- 10 Yazıcızade Ali, *Saljuqnāma*. Edited by Martin Theodoor Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjucides d'Asie mineure, d'après l'abrégé du Seldjouknāmeḥ d'Ibn-Bībī*, vol. III (Leiden: Brill, 1902), pp. 320–21.
- 11 Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, 'Kayi kabilesi hakkmda yeni notlar', *Bellekten* VIII:31 (1944), pp. 421–52.
- 12 Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: Studies in the History of Turkey, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries* (London, Routledge, 2013), p. 155.
- 13 A clear explanation of these two conceptions and the involvement of nationalistic historiography in Köprülü's approach is explained in Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 37–40.
- 14 In fact, both dynasties collaborated in the late 13th century; see below.
- 15 These events happened in 1185–86. See 'Izz al-Din b. al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rikh*. Translated by D. S. Richards, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 310.
- 16 Speros Vryonis, 'Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 41–71.
- 17 Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljuq History: A New Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 84.
- 18 Claude Cahen, 'Ibn Saïd sur l'Asie Mineure seldjuqide', *AÜDT C Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (1968), p. 48; Yaşar Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar*, vol. I: *Çobanoğulları–Candaroğulları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), p. 36.
- 19 Dimiter Angelov, 'Certain Phases in the Conquest of the Balkan People by the Turks', in Andrew Bostom (ed.), *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005), p. 465.
- 20 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 155–56.
- 21 Peacock, *Early Seljuq History*, p. 160. See archaeological evidence for this decline in Claudia Glatz and Roger Matthews, *At Empires' Edge: Project Paphlagonia: Regional Survey in North-Central Turkey* (London: British Institute at Ankara, 2009).

- 22 See, for example, Ali Sevim and Yasar Yücel, *Türkiye Tarihi. 1, Fetihden Osmanlılara Kadar 1018–1300* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1995), p. 181. Yücel also refers to Halil Yınanç, ‘Anadolu Selçukiler tarihine ait bazı kaynaklar’, III. *Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1948), p. 96; Selahattin Döğüş, ‘Osmanlı Fütuhatina Candarlı Sahasından Gelen Yardımlar’ Faaliyetleri’, in Halil Çetin (ed.), *Kuzey Anadolu’da Beylikler Dönemi Sempozyumu* (Çankırı: Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), pp. 415–16; also documented in the recent archaeological study of the evolution of the urban centre of Euchaita/Avkat directed by John Haldon, who found evidence of the ‘effective disappearance [of Avkat] as a settlement of any importance after the Seljuk and Turkmen occupation of the area in the 1070s’; see John Haldon, ‘Euchaita: From Late Roman and Byzantine Town to Ottoman Village’, in John Haldon, Hugh Elton and James Newhard (eds), *Archaeology and Urban Settlement in Late Roman and Byzantine Anatolia Euchaita-Avkat-Beyözü and its Environment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 210. For a general survey, see Philipp Niewöhner (ed.), *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia From the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- 23 Alexander D. Beihammer, ‘Christian Views of Islam in Early Seljuq Anatolia: Perceptions and Reactions’, in Andrew C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 58. On the *turbe* (tomb), see Alev Kuru Çakmakçoğlu, ‘Çankırı Fatih Emir Karatekin’ in Türbesi’, *Bilig* 43 (2007), pp. 63–84.
- 24 Ahmet Karamustafa, ‘Islamisation through the Lens of the *Saltuk-name*’, in Andrew C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 549–64.
- 25 Şükrü Halûk Akalın, ‘EBÜLHAYR RÛMÎ’, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10, p. 361.
- 26 Ibn Bibi, *al-Avamir al-‘ala’iyya fi al-umur al-‘ala’iyya ma’ruf bih Tarikh-i Ibn Bibi*. Edited by Zhalah Muttahidin (Tehran: Pizhuhishgah-i ‘Ulum-i İnsani va Mutala’at-i Farhangi, 2011) [hereafter Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin]; Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçukî Devleti Tarihi*. Edited and translated by Feridun Nâfiz Uzluk (Ankara: Uzlum Bazimevi, 1941) [hereafter Ibn Bibi/Uzluk]; Ibn Bibi, *El-Evamirü’l-Alâ’iyye fi’l-Umûri’l-Alâ’iyye*. Facsimile edition by Adnan Sadık Erzi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1956) [hereafter Ibn Bibi/Erzi].
- 27 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 229.
- 28 *Beylerbey* is a Turkish term, apparently of possible Byzantine origin. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 228. Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 36; Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri* (Istanbul: Alfa Tarih, 2014), pp. 83–84.
- 29 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 229.
- 30 See Ms. Laud 50, f. 192a. (Figure 2.1)
- 31 Khu’i, *Majmu‘a*, pp. 231–32. The same mention appears in the abridged version of this work entitled *Ghunyat al-talib wa munyat al-katib* by the same author. See Chapter 3 for a description of these works.
- 32 The Empire of Nicaea was founded by the Laskaris family after they had to flee Constantinople when the Latins of the fourth crusade took the Byzantine capital in 1204. It became one of the successor states of Byzantium in the Anatolian Peninsula. See a good historical analysis of the Nicaean state in Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 40–80.

- 33 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 127. The third brother, Kayferidun, made himself strong in Antalya and tried to secure support from the Christian kingdom of Cyprus. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 120–21.
- 34 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 120–21.
- 35 Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 137; Ibn Bibi/Uzluq, pp. 56–57.
- 36 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 121.
- 37 Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, pp. 92–93.
- 38 The distribution of mosques located mostly in the countryside of the region of Kastamonu in this period suggests that the Turkmen might have stayed outside the city during the reign of Husam al-Din. See Bruno De Nicola, ‘Urban Agency in the Borderlands’, *Medieval Worlds* 14 (2021), p. 159; also Chapter 3.
- 39 A. C. S. Peacock, ‘The Saljūq Campaign against the Crimea and the Expansionist Policy of the Early Reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kayqubād’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16:2 (2006), pp. 133–49.
- 40 Janet Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 25–26.
- 41 Janet Martin, *Medieval Russia, 980–1584* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 72; Claude Cahen, ‘Le commerce anatolien au début du XIIIe siècle’, in *Mélanges d’histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 91–101.
- 42 ‘Izz al-Din b. al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi’l-ta’rikh*. Translated by D. S. Richards, vol. 3 (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 223. William of Rubruck visited the city in 1253 and found an important trading activity in the region: William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*. Translated by Peter Jackson (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 64–65.
- 43 Ibn Bibi presents the origin of the invasion as a response by Kayqubad to the complaints of some merchants who had complained that they were not allowed by the Russians to trade in Sudak. In response, the sultan ordered Husam al-Din Choban to mount the expeditions against the infidels that had offended the merchants. See Bibi/Muttahidin, pp. 281–84; Ibn Bibi/Uzluq, p. 119.
- 44 The account of the campaign by Ibn Bibi can be found in Bibi/Muttahidin, pp. 279–305; Ibn Bibi/Erzi, pp. 300–30. The precise date of the naval invasion is contested and there is no agreement among scholars about when the campaign started or how long did the occupation of Sudak lasted. See Peacock, ‘The Saljūq Campaign against the Crimea’ pp. 138–40.
- 45 Bibi/Muttahidin, pp. 281–84; Ibn Bibi/Uzluq, p. 120.
- 46 Ibn Bibi specifies these payments as a tribute or capitation tax (*kharāj*) and contributions (*bāj*). Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 301.
- 47 Bibi/Muttahidin, pp. 302–03.
- 48 Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 305.
- 49 The word *surūsh* means ‘messenger’ or ‘angel’, which is generally associated with the archangel Gabriel in the Islamic tradition. See William W. Malandra, ‘Sraoša’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sraosa
- 50 See original verses in Persian in Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 305; Ibn Bibi/Erzi, p. 328. English translation by the author.
- 51 Peacock, ‘The Saljuq Campaign’, p. 135; see also Osman Turan, ‘Les souverains seldjoukides et leur sujets non-musulmans’, *Studia Islamica* I (1953), pp. 65–100.
- 52 Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness*, p. 26.

- 53 Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 40.
- 54 George Lane, *Mongol Rule in Thirteenth Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 61–62.
- 55 Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 40.
- 56 Bibi/Muttahidin, pp. 532–54. Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, p. 94.
- 57 Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, p. 94, fn. 23.; *idem*, ‘The Cumans in Paphlagonia’, *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi* 18 (2015), pp. 29–44.
- 58 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 244.
- 59 Andrew C. S. Peacock, ‘Islamisation in the Golden Horde and Anatolia: Some Remarks on Travelling Scholars and Texts’, *Revue des Mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 143 (2018), pp. 151–64.
- 60 Aqsara’i, *Musamarat*, p. 63; Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, p. 94. On his death, see Aqsara’i, p. 67.
- 61 Claude Cahen (1971) ‘Questions d’histoire de la province de Kastamonu au XIII^e siècle’, *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, III, p. 152.
- 62 On the Mongol advance on Kastamonu, see Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 197–98.
- 63 Aqsara’i, *Musamarat*, p. 73; Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, p. 94; Heywood, ‘Kaṣṭamūnī’.
- 64 An example of this overlap can be seen, among others, in the figure of Mehmed Beg (son of the son of the *parvāna* Mu‘in al-Din), who after AH 671/1271 supposedly administered the region from his residence in Sinop and then was placed officially in charge of Kastamonu after 1295 and until 1299.
- 65 He had control over most of central and north Anatolia, apparently including Kastamonu, by reference to an inscription with the name of one of his sons that is still visible in a house in the city. See Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, pp. 95–96.
- 66 Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, p. 95
- 67 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 276.
- 68 Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), p. 48.
- 69 On Theodore II Lascaris, see Dimiter Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 204–52. See also the more recently publication by Dimitier Angelov, *The Byzantine Hellene: The Life of Emperor Theodore Laskaris and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- 70 Georges Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, translated by Ruth Juliana Macrides (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 315; See further references for this region in Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 193, fn. 153.
- 71 Peacock, ‘The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm’, p. 277; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 193.
- 72 Aqsara’i, *Musamarat*, pp. 41–42; Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq dar Anatuli*, p. 98. Despite the arrival of Hülegü in Iran at the end of the decade of the 1250s, Mongol forces in Anatolia during this period should be connected politically with the Mongols of the Golden Horde.
- 73 Akropolites, *George Akropolites*, p. 316; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 276.
- 74 Akropolites, *George Akropolites*, p. 318, fn. 13.
- 75 Peacock, ‘The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm’, p. 277

- 76 Peacock, 'The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm', p. 277, fn. 53.
- 77 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 197.
- 78 Akropolites *George Akropolites*, §65, §66 and §69, pp. 316–28.
- 79 Rustam Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 123.
- 80 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, pp. 71–74; Lippard, 'The Mongols and Byzantium', pp. 24–25.
- 81 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 226–27; Vryonis, 'Nomadization', p. 47.
- 82 Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 123–24.
- 83 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 280.
- 84 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 283–84. Fakhr al-Din was also a prolific patron of Islamic institutions such as the Gök Medrese in Sivas. See Ethel Sara Wolper, 'The Politics of Patronage: Political Change and the Construction of Dervish Lodges in Sivas', *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 44–45; J. M. Rogers, 'The Çifte Minare Medrese at Erzurum and the Gök Medrese at Sivas: A Contribution to the History of Style in the Seljuk Architecture of 13th Century Turkey', *Anatolian Studies* 15 (1965), pp. 63–85.
- 85 Peacock, 'Sinop', p. 108.
- 86 Reuven Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 159–78; Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 37–38.
- 87 Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Jami' al-tawarikh*, ed. Muhammad Rawshan and Mustafa Musavi, vol. 2 (Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, 1373/1994), pp. 1103–04 / Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Jami'u't-tawarikh: compendium of chronicles*. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1998), p. 538.
- 88 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 292.
- 89 This is mentioned by Yücel (although he erroneously refers to this work as the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il*) as a reference to the martyrdom of Alp Yürek appearing in the copy of the *Nuzhat al-kuttab* dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek. The mention of Alp Yürek as a *shahid* can be seen in the dedication of manuscripts such as Khu'i's work in Ms. Fatih 5406, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, f. 33a; Shirazi's Fatih 5302, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, f. 2a and another copy of Shirazi's work held at the Majlis Library in Tehran, Ms. 6398, f. 2b, see Figures 2.2a and b. Also, Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 41. The dedication was maintained in later copies of the text, see Figure 2.1.
- 90 The actual date on which the transition of power between Alp Yürek and his son occurred cannot be established but it definitely occurred before 1283–84, when the anonymous *Fustat al-'adala* was composed. See Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 42; Turan, 'Selçuk Türkiyesi Din Tarihine', p. 532.
- 91 See, for example, the dedication in Anonymous, *Fustat al-'adala fi qawa'id al-sultana*, Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. 69a; Husam al-Din Khu'i, *Nuzhat al-kuttab wa tuhfat al-ahbab*, Ms. Fatih 5406, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, f. 33a; Qutb al-Din Shirazi, *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari*, Ms. Fatih 5302, f. 2a; Husam al-Din Khu'i, *Qawa'id al-rasa'il wa fara'id al-faza'il*, Fatih 5406, f. 60a. See Appendix 4, 'Table of Selection of Surviving Manuscripts'.
- 92 It has been suggested that his name 'Alp' might be not the first name of Yürek but actually a title, which was used among different Turkish nobles across the Middle East from the 11th century and into the Ottoman period. See Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 41; on the term 'Alp', see Orhan F. Köprülü, 'Alp' *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, p. 525.
- 93 'Amir Muzaffar al-Din Yülaq Arslan sipahdar-i Qashtamuniya.' Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 635.

- 94 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, pp. 273–74. The anonymous historian of Konya also refers as *amirān* (amirs) to the rulers of Kastamonu in this period. See Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq dar Anatuli*. Edited by Nadira Jalali (Tehran: Daftar-i Nashr-i Miras-i Maktub, Ayinah-i Miras, 1999), p. 129. On the meaning of *ṭarafdār* see *Dehkhoda Dictionary* online www.parsi.wiki/fa/wiki/308815/%d8%b7%d8%b1%d9%81%d8%af%d8%a7%d8%b1.
- 95 None of them mention the Persian terms, but only the *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari* of Qutb al-Din Shirazi refers to Muzaffar al-Din as *ashraf amirān*. See Ms. Fatih 5302, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, f. 2a. Husam al-Din Khu'i, on the other hand, refers to him as amir in the text but not in the dedication of the work. See Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 282.
- 96 A similar attempt appears in the modification of a qasida originally from the *Siyar al-muluk* of Nizam al-Mulk that is incorporated into the *Fustat al-'adala*, a work dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din b. al-Yürek. See Chapter 4.
- 97 A very detailed account of the exile and the people that accompanied the Sultan can be found in Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*, pp. 99–134.
- 98 Ibn Bibi, Facsimile, ff. 735–40.
- 99 Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, pp. 634–35.
- 100 Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 635. Yücel *Anadolu*, pp. 44–45.
- 101 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 277.
- 102 Elizabeth A. Zacharadou, 'Pachymeres on the "Amourioi" of Kastamonu', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1977), pp. 65–68; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 'Pachymère et les sources orientales', *Turcica* 32 (2000), pp. 425–34.
- 103 On this, see below. For a discussion on the terminology used by Pachymeres to refer to the different political actors in the struggle, see Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 277–78; *idem*, 'The Revolt', pp. 102–07; Failler (transl.), *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, p. 672, XIII-22.
- 104 Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 635.
- 105 Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 635; Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, p. 134.
- 106 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 294–95; Melville, 'Anatolia Under the Mongols', pp. 62–63.
- 107 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, p. 138.
- 108 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 294–95; Melville, 'Anatolia Under the Mongols', p. 74.
- 109 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, p. 139; Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq dar Anatuli*, p. 109.
- 110 John A. Boyle, 'The Dynastic and Political History of the Il-khāns', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, edited by John A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 365–68. See also a particularly interesting account of the Arghun–Tegüder confrontation in Anonymous, *Akhbar-i Moghulan dar anbana-i Mulla Qutb: az majmu'ah-i khatti-i muvarrakh-i 685, Kitabkhanah-i Ayat Allah al-'Uzma Mar'ashi Najafi (Qum)* (Qum: Kitabkhanah-i Buzurg-i Hazrat Ayat Allah al-'Uzma Mar'ashi Najafi, 2010), pp. 54–66; Reuven Amitai, 'The Conversion of Tegüder Ilkhan to Islam', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), pp. 15–43.
- 111 Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 43.
- 112 Kaveh Niazi, *Qutb al-Din Shīrāzī and the Configuration of the Heavens: A Comparison of Texts and Models* (New York: Springer, 2014), p. 81. For Ibn Bibi's mention of the allocation of the cities, see Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 635.
- 113 See Chapter 3.

- 114 Kaveh Niazi, 'A Comparative Study of Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's Texts and Models on the Configuration of the Heavens', PhD Dissertation (Columbia University, 2011), pp. 110, 157–58.
- 115 An interesting collection of articles on the cultural life of medieval Tabriz can be found in Judith Pfeiffer (ed.), *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). On patronage in Seljuq Anatolia, see *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, edited by Andrew C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2016).
- 116 Geykhatu was sent with his uncle Hulachu to Anatolia to act as the region's governor in 1285. See Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Jami' al-tawarikh*, ed. Muhammad Rawshan and Mustafa Musavi, vol. 2 (Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, 1373/1994), p. 1155; Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq*, p. 120.
- 117 Melville, 'Anatolia Under the Mongols', pp. 75–76; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 295–96.
- 118 See full letter in Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 282–85.
- 119 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 282. The castles were located in the bay of Gideros, around 150 kilometres north-west of Kastamonu on the coast of the Black Sea. Namiq Musali and Cevdet Yakupoğlu, 'Çobanoğulları Uc Beyliği Dönemine Ait Gideros Fetihnâmesi (683/1284): Çeviri ve değerlendirme', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 37 (63), pp. 77–134.
- 120 Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Cide and its Region from Seljuk to Ottoman Times', in *Kinetic Landscapes. The Cide Archaeological Project: Surveying the Turkish Western Black Sea Region*, edited by Bleda S. Düring and Claudia Glatz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 377–78.
- 121 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 284–85.
- 122 On this, see Melville, 'Anatolia Under the Mongols', p. 77; Mevlevi hagiographical accounts make Sultan Valad, the son of Jalal al-Din Rumi, responsible for appearing in a dream to Geykhatu and instructing him to pardon the city of Konya. See Aflaki, *Manaqib al-'arifin*, I, pp. 331–33; *idem*, *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manaqeb al-'Arefin*, trans. J. O'Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 229–31; Faridun b. Ahmad Sipahsalar, *Risala-yi Sipahsalar dar manaqib-i hazrat khudavandgar*, edited by Muhammad Afshin Vafa 'i (Tehran: Sukhan, 2006–07), pp. 87–88. As Peacock has observed, the claim seems totally unrealistic and certainly indicates the intention of Aflaki to connect the descendants of Rumi with the powerful secular rulers of the time. Yet it simultaneously reflects a certain recognition of the Mongols as rulers of Anatolian by Mevlevi Sufis and tensions among these Sufis who are trying to connect the Mongols not only with Islam but also with their own spiritual masters. See Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Sufis and the Seljuk Court in Mongol Anatolia: Politics and Patronage in the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Sultān Walad', in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, edited by Andrew C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), p. 213.
- 123 Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq*, p. 119; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium*, p. 278.
- 124 Zacharadou, 'Pachymeres', p. 70.
- 125 *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq*, pp. 120–21; Melville, 'Anatolia Under the Mongols', p. 77.
- 126 Charles Melville, 'The Early Persian Historiography of Anatolia', in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies*

- in *Honor of John E. Woods*, edited by Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 153–54.
- 127 Arghun died on 7th Rabi' I AH 690 [10 March 1291], see Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, translated by Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1998), p. 580.
- 128 Rashid al-Din, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 580; on the later history of these amirs among the Mongols of Iran, see Charles Melville, 'Abū Sa'īd and the revolt of the amirs in 1319', *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, edited by Denise Aigle (Tehran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1997), pp. 89–120.
- 129 The best scholarly analysis of the revolt is Dimitri Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt of Kastamonu, c. 1291–1293', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), pp. 87–118; also Yücel, *Anadolu*, pp. 46–48.
- 130 Failler, Albert (ed. and transl.), George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984), vol. 3, p. 360, X-25.
- 131 See Osman Turan, *Tiirkiye Secuklulan hakkında Resmi Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1958), pp. 9–12 and 32–33.
- 132 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, pp. 170–72.
- 133 Ibn Bibi refers to him as Malik Rukn al-Din Kayumarth. See Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 553.
- 134 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium*, p. 277; Zacharadou, 'Pachymeres', p. 66; for the use of the title *malik al-manşūr* on Seljuq coins, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 'Pachymère et les sources orientales', *Turcica* 32 (2000), pp. 425–34.
- 135 See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 312; *idem*, 'Questions d'Histoire de la Province de Kastamonu au XIIIe Siècle', *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3 (1971), pp. 145–58; Elizabeth A. Zacharadou, 'Pachymeres on the "Amourioi" of Kastamonu', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1977), pp. 57–70; Halil İnalçık, 'The emergence of the Ottomans', in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, edited by P. Holt, A. Lambton and B. Lewis, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 267; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 277.
- 136 Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt', pp. 106–09.
- 137 Failler (transl.), *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, p. 358, X-25.
- 138 Failler (transl.), *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, p. 360, X-25.
- 139 Failler (transl.), *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, p. 361, X-25. The French translation does not mention the name of 'Ali as it does the Greek text. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Nicéphori Gregorae Byzantina historia graece et latine cum annotationibus*, edited and translated by L. Schopen and I. Bekker (Bonn: Webri, 1829–55), pp. 137–38; Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt', pp. 99–100.
- 140 Gregoras suggests that 'Ali actually assassinated Rukn al-Din. See Gregoras, *Nicéphori Gregorae Byzantina*, pp. 137–38.
- 141 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, pp. 170–71; Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq*, p. 179.
- 142 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, p. 171.
- 143 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, pp. 171–79.
- 144 Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq*, p. 179.
- 145 Korobeinikov also mentions this involvement of Byzantine diplomacy among the Turkmen proto-beyliks of the region but highlights that the influence of Byzantium over the frontier Turks diminished in the final decades of the 13th century and especially in the 14th century. See Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt', p. 117.
- 146 Aqsara'i, *Musamarat*, p. 171.

- 147 The transliteration of the name is taken from Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 26. See Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 60a; Malek National Library, Ms. 1196, f. 54a (Figure 2.3).
- 148 Failler (transl.), *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, p. 361, X-25
- 149 He launched guerrilla attacks against Byzantium. Failler (transl.), *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, p. 359, X-25.
- 150 Yücel, *Anadolu*, I, pp. 48–51; Also suggested by Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, p. 310.
- 151 Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, p. 114.
- 152 Peacock, ‘Sinope’, p. 107; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 276.
- 153 Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 279–80.
- 154 On the battle, see Halil İnalçık, ‘Osman Gazi’s Siege of Nicaea and the Battle of Bapheus’, in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)*, edited by Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1993), pp. 77–98.
- 155 Korobeinikov, ‘The Revolt’, p. 114.
- 156 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 310–11; Yücel refers to the *Selçukname* in Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 57, fn. 35.
- 157 On Shams al-Din Yaman Jandar and Sulayman Pasha, see Yücel, *Anadolu*, pp. 57–65.
- 158 Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, pp. 121–22.
- 159 Aqsara’i, *Musamarat*, pp. 311–12.
- 160 Ibn Battuta mentions Suleyman and his sons in his account of the region See Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battūta*. Edited and translated by H. A. R. Gibb, vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1962), p. 461.
- 161 Yücel, *Anadolu*, pp. 59–60.

3 Literary and architectural patronage under the Chobanids

In the medieval Islamic world, patronage of the arts, literature and architecture was common practice. Rulers, queens and high officers in courts across the Middle East and Central Asia dedicated substantial amounts of money and resources to support the production of specific literary works and the construction of buildings in the cities under their command. The motivation of these elites in promoting art and architecture varied in individual cases. Although patronage activities served to fulfil a sense of transcendence of the patron and to satisfy their personal commitment to a particular institution or praise of a literary work, patronage also played a fundamental role in securing the patron's political position and projecting the image of a learned ruler in the eye of allies and enemies alike.¹ After the establishment of the Great Seljuq dynasty in the 11th century, the successive Turco-Mongol dynasties that ruled the Middle East and Central Asia up to the 15th century made special use of patronage. Some major dynasties ruling the Middle East from the 12th to the 15th century (Seljuqs of Rum, Ilkhans and Timurids) invested large sums in literary and architectural patronage once they conquered and settled in the region. Although it was often the grand imperial courts that led this patronage, local dynasties that were subject to these powers mimicked their practices and invested locally in securing their presence in the cultural milieu of the territories under their control.

In the course of the Chobanid dynasty's conflictive political history, its rulers managed not only to navigate political alliances in the ever-changing power balance of 13th-century Anatolia, but simultaneously left a rich cultural legacy that has survived to our day. This legacy comprises both a literary and an architectural heritage that was financially supported by different Chobanid rulers, especially during the second part of the 13th century. The commitment of this Turkmen dynasty to the support of cultural expression is not unique in the sense that other dynasties of Turkic origin patronised literature, art and architecture both before and after the Chobanids. However, the phenomenon continues to be, in my opinion, of remarkable historical relevance, as it is a clear manifestation of a process of acculturation and social approximation between rulers and subjects of different cultural backgrounds. This chapter is

dedicated to surveying the cultural legacy left by the Chobanids during their decades as rulers in the region of Kastamonu. The first part offers an account of some of the main literary works dedicated to Chobanid rulers, looking at their contents and aspects of literary production contained in the surviving manuscripts. The second part looks at some of the main buildings patronised by the Chobanids and that are still standing in the urban landscape of the city of Kastamonu and its surroundings.

3.1 The literary legacy of Chobanid Kastamonu

All the surviving literary works by different authors dedicated to Chobanid rulers were composed in a period of 30 years from the beginning of the 1280s to the first decade of the 14th century. This is by no means a coincidence, since, as we saw in the previous chapter, these three decades correspond to a period of military expansion, political security and economic growth in the Chobanid territories. The literature patronised by the Chobanid dynasty is diverse from the point of view of the subjects covered, but there are also certain shared characteristics that give these texts a thematic coherence to the point of conforming to a small literary corpus for the period. The texts discussed below cover aspects of astronomy, religious sciences, hagiographic accounts, epistolary manuals (*inshā'*), mirrors for princes, dictionaries and examples of letter-writing. Of them, five works produced in this period can be clearly identified as dedicated to a ruler of Kastamonu and they include three different authors of Iranian origin. However, the number of texts produced in the region rises to ten if we include those that were not specifically dedicated to a ruler but were produced under Chobanid rule.

The main shared characteristic of this corpus is that all the works produced for the Chobanids are written in Persian.² This prevalence of the Persian language is a distinct feature of this 13th-century dynasty, compared with the local dynasties that would occupy Anatolia from the early 14th century onwards.³ The reason for this preference for the Persian language over Turkish seems to be connected to the cosmopolitan and vernacular characteristics of the former, which culturally connected the Islamic world from Anatolia to India and Central Asia through Iran.⁴ Further, the absence of any patronage of Turkish literature by the Chobanids is consistent with the paucity of Turkish literature produced in 13th-century Anatolia.⁵ In this context, the rulers of Kastamonu in the 13th century would use Persian as the language of cultural patronage and only during the 14th century would other local dynasties of Anatolia begin to include Turkish as a literary language.⁶ In addition, the Iranian or Khurasanian origin of many of the men of letters that lived and worked in 13th-century Anatolia might also have contributed to make Persian the main written language of the Chobanids (see Chapter 1). Nonetheless, a personal inclination by the rulers of Kastamonu to patronise literature in Persian languages cannot be ruled out, since, although some of the authors patronised were able to write in Arabic, Chobanid patronage followed what seems to have

been the common trend in 13th-century Anatolia of using Arabic for technical works while using Persian as the main vehicle for literary writing.⁷ This might allow us to speculate that at least the later Chobanid rulers and members of the royal family were proficient enough in Persian and had an actual interest in reading (or rather listening to someone reading) the texts they patronised.

Whether this was actually the case or not, these texts certainly served a more prosaic purpose. On the one hand, they could be presented as tangible proof of the ruler's wealth and helped to portray an image of a lord who, although retaining the military capabilities associated with his Turkmen origins, was also deeply interested in science and religion. On the other hand, some of these works have a clear didactic purpose – if not for the rulers themselves, at least for the incipient court that the Chobanids were trying to establish in north-western Anatolia from the late 1270s onwards. This is especially evident in the different manuals of diplomacy and dictionaries produced under the Chobanids that are discussed below.⁸ Finally, these texts' religious component and references to Islamic values, law and orthodoxy were also useful to reflect an image of a court deeply committed to Islam in an area that bordered the territories of Byzantium, over a region recently Islamised and by rulers of nomadic origin whose Islamic beliefs were often questioned by urban elites.

3.1.1 *The Fustat al-'adala fi qawa'id al-sultana*

Judging by the number of manuscripts that have survived of this work, the *Fustat al-'adala* was not the most popular text produced for the Chobanid rulers. However, it is perhaps the one containing the richest information from the point of view of the period's political, religious and social history. Nowadays, the only copy of the work is in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁹ Perhaps due to a misleading cataloguing decision to place the codex under 'Turkish manuscripts' instead of Persian, the text received little scholarly attention, with only a handful of scholars showing interest in it. Among them, the famous Turkish scholar Osman Turan partially reviewed the text, adding a transcription of a section of the work to his article published in 1953.¹⁰ Most recently, Muhammad 'Ali Yusufi wrote a short overview of the text based on a microfilm version of the Paris manuscript that is held in the library of the University of Tehran (microfilm number 6541).¹¹ My recent analysis of the manuscript is yet another contribution to the study of this little-known text.¹² In addition, Ahmet Karamustafa and Yaşar Ocak have made use of the text in their research on the antinomian Sufis in medieval Anatolia, but neither of them seems to have gone beyond the specific information on these dervishes contained in the text.¹³

The work includes a section on the practices and beliefs of the antinomian Sufis that is of paramount historical importance, as we will see in Chapter 5. However, the manuscript containing the *Fustat al-'adala* presents a number of particularities regarding the authorship, the date of composition and the patronage of the work that are worth mentioning here. One of this

manuscript's complexities is that at some point it was bound back to front, with the last sections of the work appearing at the beginning of the manuscript and the earlier parts in the last folios of the codex.¹⁴ This misplacing of the text might be behind the confusion existing in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, which considers these two parts of the texts as different works.¹⁵ However, this mistake has already been pointed out by Turan, who – on the basis of linguistic similarities and cross-references in both texts – has suggested that both parts belonged to the same work.¹⁶ The confusion comes also from the fact that the contents of the two parts are different from one another. While the first part of the manuscript (second part of the original work) is a description of heresies in Islam and their historical development, the second part (first part in the original work) is mostly a transcription of the *Siyar al-muluk* (*Siyasatnama*), the famous mirror for princes by the Seljuq vizier Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092).¹⁷

A more detailed analysis of the information contained in these two sections is provided in other chapters of this book. But in addition to the reversed binding of the work, the only extant manuscript of the *Fustat al-'adala* lacks the beginning of the original work and the section connecting the two parts of the manuscript. Consequently, the authorship of the work is not attributed anywhere in the text, suggesting that it might have been recorded in the original preface, now lost. Fortunately, there is an indirect way by which the name of the work's possible author can be suggested. A reference in the *Kashf al-zunun*, the bibliographical work written by Katip Çelebi (d. 1657) in the 17th century mentions the existence of a work very similar to the *Fustat al-'adala* in content, where the name of the author is given as Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Khatib.¹⁸ This reference allowed some Turkish historians such as Turan and Köprülü to identify this person as the author.¹⁹ However, beyond this passing reference, the name of the author is, as far as I am aware, not mentioned in any other source of the period, leaving the manuscript Supplement Turc 1120 as the only available source to uncover aspects of the author's life and personality. Although the text offers no specific biographical information about the author, his writings suggest a good knowledge of Quranic verses and a familiarity with various hadiths. There is also a particular section where he shows a deep knowledge of both Hanafi and Shafi'i legal traditions.²⁰ Further, he makes extensive use of some classical Persian literature, such as the already mentioned *Siyar al-muluk* and quotations from Firdawsī's *Shahnama*.²¹ This evidence suggests that Muhammad al-Khatib (if that was the name of the author) might have been on the one hand an 'alim – or at least had received some religious instruction – and, due to his knowledge of Persian classics and use of the Persian language, was possibly of Eastern Anatolian or Iranian origin.²²

If the identity of the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* is elusive, the date of copying of the manuscript is clearly stated in f. 69a as the year AH 990 (1582) (see Figure 3.1).²³ Despite this clear reference to the date of copying, Blochet suggests in his catalogue entry that this date should be taken as the date of composition and should be read as AH 690 (1291), and he suggests that the

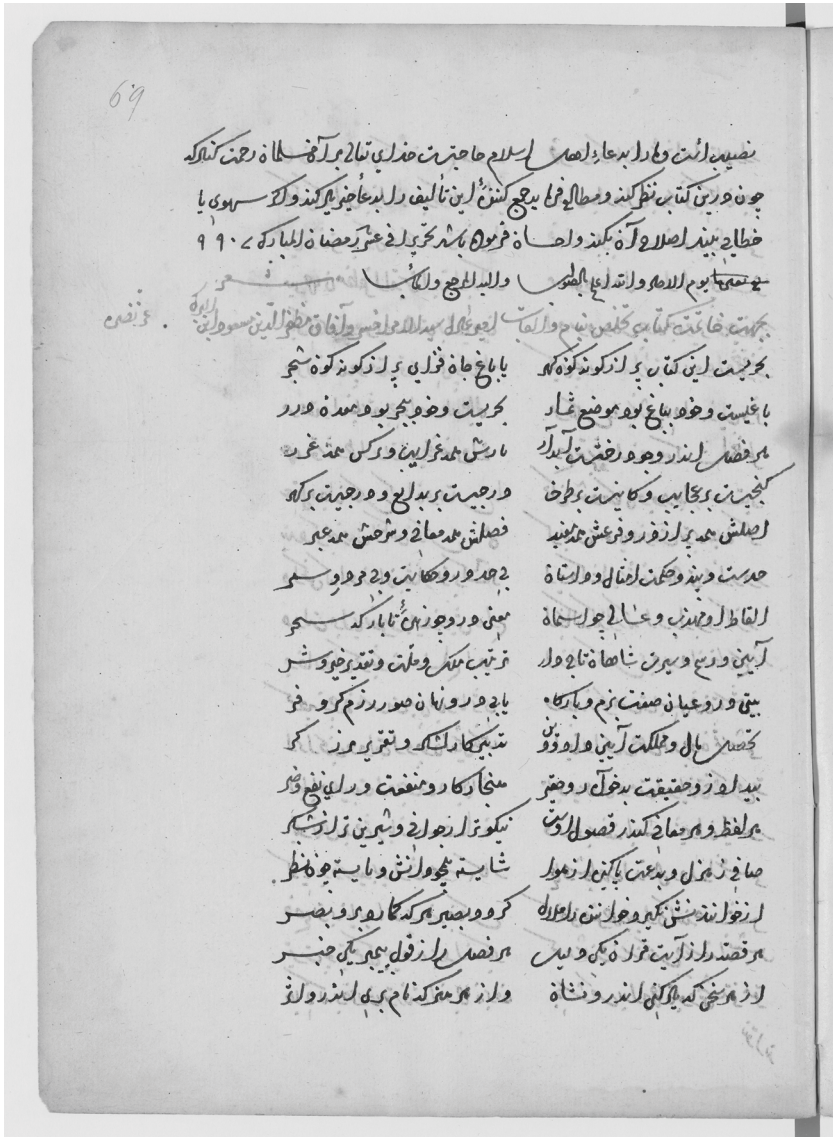


Figure 3.1 Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS. Supplément Turc 1120, f. 69a showing colophon and date of ms.

date in the manuscript is a mistake made by the copyist. However, this argument does not stand up in light of the clear early Ottoman *ta'liq* script in which the manuscript is written, therefore Blochet's suggestion was categorically rejected by Osman Turan over half a century ago.²⁴ Blochet's confusion might come from trying to reconcile the date he saw in the manuscript colophon with the historical reference to Mas'ud Shah b. Kayka'us (f. 68a), who was also known as Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Mas'ud II r. 1284–97 and 1303–08), last Seljuq sultan of Rum and ally of Muzaffar al-Din Choban.²⁵ In relation to Sultan Mas'ud, the author hopes (*umīd mi dāram*) that with the sultan's rise to power, the heretics that had been mushrooming in Islamic lands since the time of the Great Seljuqs would be annihilated (*maḥw gardānad*) (see Figure 3.2).²⁶ It is this reference that might have tempted Blochet, when he catalogued the work, to try to accommodate the date of the copy of the manuscript (AH 990) to AH 690 within the first reign of Mas'ud II.

The *Fustat al-'adala* is dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din Choban, whose name the author inserted in between some verses of a long and incomplete qasida originally included at the end of the work.²⁷ In the text, the name appears as 'Mir Jahan Muzaffar al-Din ibn A.L.P.R.K', leaving little doubt about the connection with the Chobanid ruler.²⁸ The qasida is not the original work of the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* but rather a well-known poem that was used as a poetic closure in Nizam al-Mulk's famous *Siyar al-muluk*. In fact, as pointed out by Alexey Khismatulin, this copy of the *Fustat al-'adala* is further evidence that the qasida was already considered part of the general work of Nizam al-Mulk by the end of the 13th century and that it might have accompanied the first redaction of the *Siyar al-muluk*.²⁹ With the aim of presenting sections of the *Siyar al-muluk* as his own compositions, the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* made some changes in the original poem to suit the work's new patron. He inserted the name of the dedicatee (Muzaffar al-Din) in the poem in the exact place where the original qasida had the name of the sultan of the Great Seljuqs, Malik Shah (r. 1072–92), who was allegedly the dedicatee of the original *Siyar al-muluk*, and removed Nizam al-Mulk's name from the qasida.³⁰

Similar to other works dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din, such as that by Qutb al-Din Shirazi mentioned below, the author might not have lived in the region of Kastamonu and may instead have resided in another part of the Anatolian Peninsula.³¹ The description of the work in the *Kashf al-zunun* points to the possibility that it was composed in Aksaray, and therefore closer to the Seljuq centre of power in Konya.³² The Chobanids' capacity to patronise scholars and their works outside of their own area of influence in north-western Anatolia is an interesting aspect both of the expanding political, military and economic situation of the dynasty and the diversification of patronage in 13th-century Anatolia. In addition, the contents of the *Fustat al-'adala* make this source arguably the most relevant in the history of the Chobanids. Its original first part, paraphrasing and commenting on the *Siyar al-muluk*, and the second part offering a unique description of Qalandars in 13th-century Anatolia,

Chobanids, possibly in search of knowledge but certainly looking for legitimacy in the fragmented political scenario of late Mongol Anatolia.

3.1.2 *The works of Husam al-Din Khu'i*

While we know little about the origin and whereabouts of the author of the *Fustat al-'adala*, there is evidence that the most prolific author connected to Chobanid patronage actually lived in Kastamonu in the later 13th and early 14th centuries.³³ His full name is Hasan b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Husam al-Din Khu'i (d. c. 1308), and his *nisba* points towards the city of Khoy in the province of Western Azerbaijan in modern Iran as his birthplace. It is unclear when he found his way to Anatolia but some scholars have suggested that he might have been the son of the famous painter and illustrator 'Abd al-Mu'min Khu'i (fl. 13th century).³⁴ If so, his father's paintings can still be seen today in an illustrated manuscript copy of the *Varqah va Gulshah*, a *mathnavi* poem written by the Ghaznavi poet Ayyuqi and held at the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul.³⁵ The images in this manuscript have been dated to the 13th century, and the fact that the text is in a Seljuq *naskh* style confirms this dating. Further, the name of the illustrator also appears, possibly together with that of his brother ('Abd Allah), as a witness in a *waqfnāma* document for the construction of a madrasa in Konya dated AH 649 (1251).³⁶ It has been noticed that 'Abd al-Mu'min not only appears at the highest position in the signing ranking of the waqf, but his title of *al-naqqāsh* that appears in the signature of the illustration in the Topkapı Sarayı manuscripts was replaced by the title *al-shaykh* in the *waqfnāma*. These two elements might be an indication of 'Abd al-Mu'min's advanced age at the time of the signing of the waqf. If so, then the arrival of the Khu'i family into Anatolia may have been during the first half of the 13th century and Konya may have been their initial place of residence.³⁷

Husam al-Din Khu'i was a scribe, poet and lexicographer, but we do not know where or how he received his training in these arts. He became a munshi for Muzaffar al-Din Choban and the most prolific writer in the Kastamonu court, leaving up to seven works written mostly in Persian.³⁸ The oldest manuscript copy containing works of Husam al-Din Khu'i that has survived to the present is Ms. Fatih 5406, held at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, including three works by the author and copied in AH 709 (1309), only a year after the author's death.³⁹ It is uncertain when Husam al-Din Khu'i moved to Kastamonu but it must have been at some point before the 1280s due to the dedication of the *Nuzhat al-kuttāb* to his patron Muzaffar al-Din b. Yavlaq Arslan (Alp Yürek) (d. 1291).⁴⁰ The colophon of the version copied in Ms. Fatih 5406 states that the work was composed entirely during the month of Muharram AH 684 (March 1285).⁴¹ This date confirms the impetus given to patronage by Muzaffar al-Din when he was confirmed by the Ilkhan Arghun as the new *sipahsālār* of Kastamonu after his visit to the Mongol court in Tabriz.⁴² Husam al-Din Khu'i states that he dedicates this work to the ruler with the hope that, when his majesty reads this work and reflects on it, he will

remember his age-old servitor (the author), and he'll grant him (Husam al-Din Khu'i) a great honour or favour.⁴³

The *Nuzhat al-kuttab* is a work that, despite containing limited factual information, can be seen as an interesting testimony of the process of Islamisation taking place in the area. The work aims at explaining four different types of citations that can be used in the writing of letters. It is divided into four parts, each including 100 sample citations from different sources that can be used by scribes to enhance the cultural level of the letter when addressing rulers or important personalities.⁴⁴ The first part includes 100 verses of the Holy Quran, and the second includes the same number of quotations from hadiths on different issues. Similarly, the third part contains 100 pieces of advice from caliphs and the fourth the same number of samples of Arabic poems with their Persian translations.⁴⁵ The work is written in a somewhat artificial style with a clear pedagogical purpose: to bring classical Islamic text and poetry closer to the reader.⁴⁶ In the same way that the above-mentioned *Fustat al-'adala* introduces Persian classics in its narrative to embellish the text and highlight the knowledge of the author, the *Nuzhat al-kuttab* features quotations from holy texts with the dual aim of providing the court with material to be used in letter-writing while also reflecting the author's proficiency in the management of sacred texts. These quotations could embellish royal correspondence but also might be signalling an inner attempt to bring closer to the Chobanid court and its subjects sacred texts from the Islamic tradition that might not have been popularly known among the recently Islamised Turkmen rulers or their subjects living on the border with Christian Byzantium.⁴⁷

The other work by Husam al-Din Khu'i containing a dedication to a ruler of Kastamonu is the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il wa fara'id al-faza'il*. According to the author himself, the work was composed after he finished the *Nuzhat al-kuttab* with the aim of providing a set of rules for use in writing letters. It was written at the request of some of the author's friends (*dūstān*).⁴⁸ He dedicated the work to the last Chobanid ruler Amir Mahmud, who assumed control of the region of Kastamonu after his father's death in battle in 1291.⁴⁹ However, it appears the work was composed before Amir Mahmud's ascension to the throne, possibly in the month of Rajab AH 684 (1285).⁵⁰ Only two copies of this work remain available in manuscript form, one being the already mentioned Ms. Fatih 5406 and the other held also in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul in the Esad Efendi collection, number 3369.⁵¹ The work is a good example of *inshā'* literature, with a detailed list of advice on how to write to rulers depending on their rank and the purpose of the letter, but it is also a guide for communicating eloquently outside the court.

The work is also divided into four sections (*qism*) dedicated to explaining different aspects in the production of letters. The first section entitled 'On the art of letters and the arrangement of correspondence' (*Fann al-rasā'il wa tartīb mukhātabāt*) includes samples on how to arrange epithets for prayers (*du'ā*), services (*khidmāt*) and salutations (*taḥāyā*), descriptions of passion (*sharḥ ishtiyāq*) and requests for meetings (*tamannā-yi mulāqāt*). Further, the section

has subdivisions, explaining the appropriate way to address members of the court depending on their rank. The first of two different categories (*ṣanf*) of addressee (*mukhāṭabāt*) includes the higher ranks such as the sultan, wife of the sultan and women in the harem, senior dignitaries and military commanders, and lower ranks in the court administration such as the deputy governor, governor of the city, supervisor, and *muḥtasib* (supervisor of bazaars and trade). The second category (*ṣanf*) is divided into two further categories, with the higher reserved for judges, teachers, great scholars, *sādāt* (*sayyids*, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), preachers, ascetics, deputies of the judges, magistrates and protectors; the lower category is for commanders, physicians, astronomers, writers, secretaries and relatives (cousin, mother, sister, daughter and servants).⁵² The second section of the work deals with more structural aspects of the letter. For example, it suggests where the names of the sender and addressee of the letter should be placed, then provides a full explanation on the need for dating letters correctly, and on how to understand the dating of religious letters arriving from afar. Different examples of letters are provided using an ornate style, word play, inverted forms of speech, the rhythm of letters, and metaphors, and there are also examples of letters asking for favours.⁵³ In the third section, the subjects of the letters are more mundane and restricted to a more domestic sphere. The examples provided deal with conversations between friends, including topics such as congratulation, inauguration, passion, intercession, condemnation, favour, gratitude and appreciation, complaint, visit and condolence. Finally, the fourth section deals with *taqrīrāt* (expression) and *khaṭābāt* (speech) and the important role the good implementation of these concepts has in clarifying the duties of government officials.⁵⁴

These two works of Husam al-Din Khu'i dedicated to rulers of the Chobanid dynasty share a common goal in providing the court with a more elaborate set of diplomatic tools in a decade when the rulers of Kastamonu were expanding their territories and consolidating their political position in the region. Especially in the case of the *Nuzhat al-kuttab*, the emphasis on religious quotation also appears to be a reflection of the need to transmit the idea of a fully Islamised dynasty in case there were any doubts among potential allies and enemies. The literary production of Husam al-Din Khu'i did not stop there – he wrote two further works on related topics of administration which he did not dedicate to members of the royal dynasty. The first was the *Rusum al-rasa'il wa nujūm al-faza'il*, a work composed in AH 690 (1291) dealing again with rules for writing letters, but also including titles and ranks of imperial officials that needed to be used in the court according mostly to 11th-century Seljuq practices.⁵⁵ The text includes brief explanations on the responsibilities and salaries of these officials and also some firmans (imperial decrees) to be used as examples for court dignitaries.⁵⁶ The only surviving copy of this work is in the Nurbanu Sultan collection at the Hacı Selim Ağa Library (Üsküdar), nowadays part of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. The colophon of this work mentions that the text was copied by a certain Muhammad b. Hajji Ya'qub b. Musa al-Nakidi in AH 879 (1474).⁵⁷

The remaining text on letter-writing by Husam al-Din Khu'i is the *Ghunyat al-talib wa munyat al-katib*,⁵⁸ which deals with issues very similar to those described in the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* – to the point that the former is almost an abridged version of the latter, with the exception of a few words.⁵⁹ The composition of this work is given in the only surviving manuscript (Fatih 5406, ff. 72a–98b) as Rabi' II AH 709 (1309), which provides evidence suggesting not only that Husam al-Din Khu'i lived at least until that date, but also that he continued writing prolifically during the early 14th century, when the Chobanids' political situation was rather different from the decades before.⁶⁰ The dedication of this work, however was not to a ruler or prince but to a member of his own family. In the preface, Husam al-Din Khu'i thanks his father (*valid*) for inspiring the composition of the text, as he claims that it was from him that he acquired his knowledge on the styles of correspondence and rules of letter-writing. This mention might be the reason why Abbaszade, in his edition of the text, suggests that Husam al-Din Khu'i's father was the dedicatee of the work.⁶¹ However, the same preface suggests that the work is dedicated to Nasr Allah, who both Yazıcı and Özergin identify with the author's son, Nasr al-Din b. Husam al-Din Khu'i.⁶² The production of such a work for his own son also suggests an attempt to perpetuate his own family in the court at a time when the Chobanid dynasty was collapsing rapidly.

Katip Çelebi attributes to Husam al-Din Khu'i another work of *inshā'* he refers to as *Kanz al-lata'if*.⁶³ He describes this work as consisting of 50 letters but also mentions that the author of the work refers to himself as 'Ahmad ibn 'Ali Ahmad'. Consequently, it is possible that the Ottoman bibliographer was actually referring to the *munasha'āt* of Ahmad b. 'Ali Ahmad al-Samarqandi (d. early 15th c.). This work, written in Persian like those of Khu'i, became fairly popular from the 15th century onwards and several copies remain available in different collections.⁶⁴ The use of Persian and the ornate style used might have confused Katip Çelebi in the attribution of this work, as he might have thought it could be another of the various compositions made by the munshi of the Chobanid court.⁶⁵ However, while the text cannot be added to the corpus of *inshā'* literature produced by Husam al-Din Khu'i, it reflects the reputation acquired by him as a key author in the composition of this literary genre well into the 17th century, when Çelebi was composing his famous bibliographical dictionary.

In addition to these manuals of letter-writing, Husam al-Din Khu'i also wrote an Arabic–Persian vocabulary entitled *Nasib al-fityan*. The work is modelled on a previous work called *Nisab al-sibyan* written by Abu Nasr Farahi (fl. 13th century). Actually, it would be more accurate to say that Husam al-Din Khu'i expanded, rather than composed, this work since he only added an interlineal Persian translation to the original Arabic work which, according to Farahi, was composed in order to 'facilitate the study of Arabic language and fundamentals of prosody by school children'.⁶⁶ Husam al-Din Khu'i's addition of a Persian translation of the vocabulary certainly served a similar pedagogic purpose in Kastamonu. The *Nasib al-fityan* became a useful book for learning

Arabic not only among children, but also for adult officials of a court poorly versed in the Arabic language, such as that of the Chobanids of Kastamonu, and remained widely popular in the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁷ In fact, this interest of Husam al-Din Khu'i in bringing the Arabic language closer to his readers in Kastamonu is also evident in other of his works. For example, the above-mentioned *Nuzhat al-kuttab wa tuhfat al-ahbab* includes numerous quotations taken from Arabic poetry that are rendered together with a Persian translation, making the original Arabic a more approachable language to Husam al-Din's audience, which was mostly literate in Persian.⁶⁸

Another vocabulary connected to this author, albeit carrying far more controversy, is the *Tuhfa-yi Husam*, a Persian–Turkish dictionary often attributed to Husam al-Din Khu'i.⁶⁹ According to Tahsin Yazıcı, the only manuscript of this work used to be in the city of Mosul but it is now lost.⁷⁰ However, making no reference to the Mosul manuscript, other copies supposedly of the same work found in Cairo and Berlin were used to produce an edition of the text that was first published in Baku, before being reprinted recently in Iran.⁷¹ The edition attributes the text to Husam al-Din Khu'i and describes the text as consisting of 1,311 Persian words for 1,304 Turkish words, making a total of 2,615 words presented in 296 couplets.⁷² Husam al-Din's name does not appear in the original work used for the edited version, which has raised questions about the authorship of the text. Erdoğan Boz has recently suggested that the text included in this edition published in Iran by Sadikova and 'Alyakbaruva is a misattribution to Husam al-Din Khu'i.⁷³ Instead, he suggests that the text edited is actually another copy of the extremely popular Turkish–Persian vocabulary known as *Tuhfa-yi Husami* (*Tuhfe-i Hüsamî*) by Husam b. Hasan al-Qunawi, fl. c. 1400.⁷⁴ The work was composed in AH 802 (1399–1400) and, according to Boz, manuscript number 1398 of the Haraççioğlu collection held at the İnebey Library in Bursa has striking similarities with the text edited by Sadikova and attributed to Husam al-Din Khu'i.⁷⁵ If this is the case, then the *Tuhfa-yi Husam* was not written by Husam al-Din Khu'i and its attribution is a result of its being confused with a Persian–Turkish vocabulary written by Husam al-Din Qunawi that was widely copied in the Ottoman Empire and of which several copies have survived to the present.⁷⁶

The similarities found by Boz between the edited edition and the manuscript in Bursa are corroborated with other existing copies of Husam Qunawi's work consulted in the National Library in Ankara.⁷⁷ However, mystery remains over the lost manuscript once held at the library in Mosul mentioned by Yazıcı. In his contribution to the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Yazıcı makes this attribution based on a catalogue he mentions, but does not refer to in full, as *Fihrist-i mahtutat-i Mawsil*. I found no publication with this title but in the similarly named work *Kitab mahtutat al-Mawsil*, there is a reference to a vocabulary that seems to be the one quoted by Yazıcı. The catalogue includes a *majmū'a* listed as number 234 including three works and dated AH 889. The second of these works is described as 'a composition in verse (*manzūmat*) divided into 20 sections (*qaṭ'at*) translating Persian words into Turkish and organised (*nazm*)

by Ḥusām b. Ḥasam al-Qūnavī'.⁷⁸ Consequently, it appears that Tahsin Yazıcı has also misread the entry in the catalogue he used to attribute the Mosul copy to Husam al-Din Khu'i and this lost copy of the work appears to have been yet another copy of the *Tuhfe-i Hüsami* of Husam Qunawi. There might still be debate about the attribution of this work or even the possible existence of a Persian–Turkish vocabulary written by Husam al-Din Khu'i. Perhaps the confusion comes from the fact that Husam Qunawi mentions that in composing his own vocabulary he found inspiration in the Arabic–Persian vocabulary (*Nasib al-fityan*) mentioned above and composed by Husam al-Din Khu'i.⁷⁹ This, and the fact that both individuals are called Husam, might have created some confusion and misattribution of Qunawi's vocabulary to Khu'i in an attempt to prove the existence of a Persian–Turkish vocabulary already composed in Anatolia in the late 13th and early 14th centuries.⁸⁰ We cannot fully disregard the fact that some other vocabulary, perhaps composed by Khu'i, may have existed and served as a model for Husam Qunawi, but in view of the lack of available evidence, this remains mere speculation. Nonetheless, the circulation of dictionaries or vocabularies plus a clear interest in the translation of Arabic passages in the work of Husam al-Din Khu'i are indications of the linguistic transformation that was occurring in Kastamonu, at least at court level. The multilingualism led to increasing need among local rulers to facilitate communication in the diverse environment of Mongol Anatolia.

Finally, like other men of letters in his time, Husam al-Din Khu'i left some poetry in the Persian language compiled in a work known as the *Multamasat*, which is considered his *dīvān* of poetry.⁸¹ In the preface to this work, Husam al-Din states that it contains 100 *rubā'īs* with different requests or supplications (*multamasāt-i mutafarraḡ*) made at court by companies (*ma'āshir*) and boon companions (*munādamāt*) of the sultan.⁸² The only copy of this work survived in a late (17th- or 18th-century) *majmū'a* containing other works in Arabic, Turkish and Persian.⁸³ The work lacks any dedication and the name of the sultan in question is not given in the text. However, together with the other works mentioned above, this work adds to the interest of Husam al-Din Khu'i's literary production for affairs of the court and the state, placing his works at the centre of the construction of a political apparatus at the service of an incipient dynasty in north-western Anatolia.

3.1.3 *Qutb al-Din Shirazi and the Chobanids of Kastamonu*

The dedication to a ruler of Kastamonu of a work by the famous Qutb al-Din Shirazi (d. 1311) is perhaps the highest achievement of the Chobanid rulers in terms of prestige, and denotes the dynasty's growing political and economic influence in Anatolia during the 1280s.⁸⁴ Born in Shiraz in 1236, he became famous during his lifetime as one of the finest scholars of his time. At a young age, he studied medical science to work initially a practitioner at a local hospital in Shiraz, but later he became more interested in discussing the works of the famous Ibn Sina (d. 1037).⁸⁵ He left his home town at the age of 26

and, after spending some time in Baghdad, he reached the Observatory of Maragha in north-western Azerbaijan, founded by the Mongol Ilkhan Hūlegū (d. 1265) and directed at the time by the famous Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 1274).⁸⁶ Under the tutelage of the latter, Qutb al-Din studied medicine, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy and worked as a scribe, copying several works by Tusi that survive to the present day.⁸⁷ By 1274, he found his way to Konya, where he briefly studied with Sadr al-Din Qunawi (d. 1274) and obtained the position of qadi (judge) of Sivas and Malatya thanks to his proximity to the governor of Anatolia (Mu‘in al-Din Sulayman, d. 1277) and the Mongol vizier Shams al-Din Juwayni (d. 1285).⁸⁸ From the late 1270s, Qutb al-Din Shirazi settled in Sivas and began a prolific literary production of over 50 attributed works on themes including religion, medicine, mathematics and astronomy.⁸⁹ His proximity to the Ilkhanid court might have brought Shirazi permanently to Tabriz in the 1290s, where he would live, apart from a short period away in Gilan, until his death in 1311.⁹⁰

During his lifetime, Qutb al-Din Shirazi became a recognised astronomer thanks partly to the prestige gained by being a disciple of Tusi but also because of the quality of his works on this subject. While in Anatolia, Shirazi composed two astronomical works in Arabic. One was the *Nihayat al-idrak fi dirayat al-aflak* composed in Sivas in 1281 and dedicated to Shams al-Din Juwayni.⁹¹ This was his major work on astronomy up to that point and aimed to synthesise some of the astronomical theories he had learned while studying in Maragha.⁹² The second work was composed between Sivas and Malatya in 1285 and entitled *al-Tuhfat al-shahiyya fi al-hay’a*, composed between Sivas and Malatya in 1285. Although similar in content to the *Nihayat al-idrak*, this work adds some additional material on astronomical sciences.⁹³ Also written in Arabic, this work was dedicated to Taj al-Din Mu‘tazz b. Tahir, a bureaucrat of the Seljuqs of Rum whose father acted as qadi for Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah (d. 1231) before the family joined the rulers of Anatolia in the 13th century.⁹⁴ Traditionally, it has been suggested that based on these two Arabic texts, Qutb al-Din Shirazi produced a Persian translation and summary that came to be known as the *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari* (Selections for Muzaffar) in honour of the patron of the work, Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek, ruler of Kastamonu.⁹⁵

The idea that the *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari* is only an abridgement of the two other Arabic works has been questioned recently by Niazi.⁹⁶ In his view, the *Ikhtiyarat* might have been completed some time before December 1284, which means that this Persian work would have been written before the *Tuhfat al-shahiyya*.⁹⁷ In fact, there is a copy of the work currently held at the National Library of the I. R. of Iran with a colophon dating the copy of the manuscript on the 22 Jumada I 682 (23 August 1283) by a certain Muhammad b. Mahmud b. Abd al-Rahman Tabrizi (Figure 3.3).⁹⁸ This reinforces Niazi’s chronology of the composition of Shirazi’s astronomical works and confirmed that the *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari* must have been composed in the city of Sivas some time before Shirazi composed the *al-Tuhfat al-shahiyya fi al-hay’a*. The *Ikhtiyarat*, together with the other two Arabic texts of the author, focuses on the study of

the upper planets and contains a critique of certain Ptolomean principles.⁹⁹ Although Arabic was a more conventional language for writing scientific literature, this work was written in Persian, which perhaps contributed to the popularity it achieved in medieval and modern times. A relatively high number of manuscript copies of the text were produced in Anatolia and other parts of the Islamic world (especially in Iran) that have survived to the present.¹⁰⁰ The oldest copy held at Turkish libraries (Ms. Fatih 5302) was copied in Muharram AH 722(?) (1322) in the city of Antalya.¹⁰¹ The name of the copyist is hard to read, but it appears to be Muhammad al-Tustari, suggesting an Iranian origin for this presumably Anatolian resident.¹⁰² The manuscript bears seals from the libraries of the Ottoman sultans Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) and Mahmud I (r. 1730–54), which, together with other copies dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, suggests that interest in this work was still high in early Ottoman times.¹⁰³

To my knowledge, Shirazi never visited Kastamonu, so the dedication to Muzaffar al-Din was not the product of the astronomer visiting the Chobanid court. One possibility is that the dedication was done by Shirazi from his residence in Sivas through the mediation of a visiting dignitary from Kastamonu, or that the ruler visited Sivas when travelling, as described in Chapter 2, with Mas‘ud II to the court of Abaqa in Tabriz in the early 1280s. Another possibility is that, since based on the date of copy of ms. 13074 (Figure 3.3), the date of composition of the work must be prior to 1283 CE, then there may have been an encounter between the ruler of Kastamonu and Qutb al-Din Shirazi during the imprecise numbers of years that Muzaffar al-Din spent at the Ilkhanid court. Shirazi was a frequent visitor to the Mongol court in Tabriz during the time when he occupied his post as qadi of Sivas. Hence, it is not impossible that Muzaffar al-Din and Shirazi met at the Mongol court in Tabriz, with the latter dedicating the *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari* to this emerging Turkmen leader who had become a Mongol ally on the western borders of the Ilkhanate.¹⁰⁴

Niazi has suggested that when Ibn Bibi mentions that the Mongol Ilkhan gave Sultan Mas‘ud control over Sivas and Malatya, this should not be read as a literal assignment of the cities’ control to the sultan, but rather that they were placed under his command. In his view, it is possible that the actual political control over these cities might have been given to Muzaffar al-Din of Kastamonu.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, if this interpretation is correct, in 1284, Shirazi would have been the qadi of these cities under the control of the Chobanid ruler. Considering this historical context makes more reasonable this work being dedicated to a peripheral ruler like Muzaffar al-Din by a prestigious scholar such as Shirazi. Further, there seems to be a clear language distinction in the dedication of the works of Qutb al-Din Shirazi, who dedicated his Arabic works mostly to senior Ilkhanid and Seljuq dignitaries such as Shams al-Din Juwayni (d. 1284), the Seljuq prince Taj al-Din Mu‘tazz b. Tahir, or Ghazan Khan’s *ṣāhib dīwān* Sa‘d al-Din Muhammad Savaji (d. 1298), who would probably have had a good command of this language. However, the author had to compose a work on astronomy in Persian to satisfy the needs

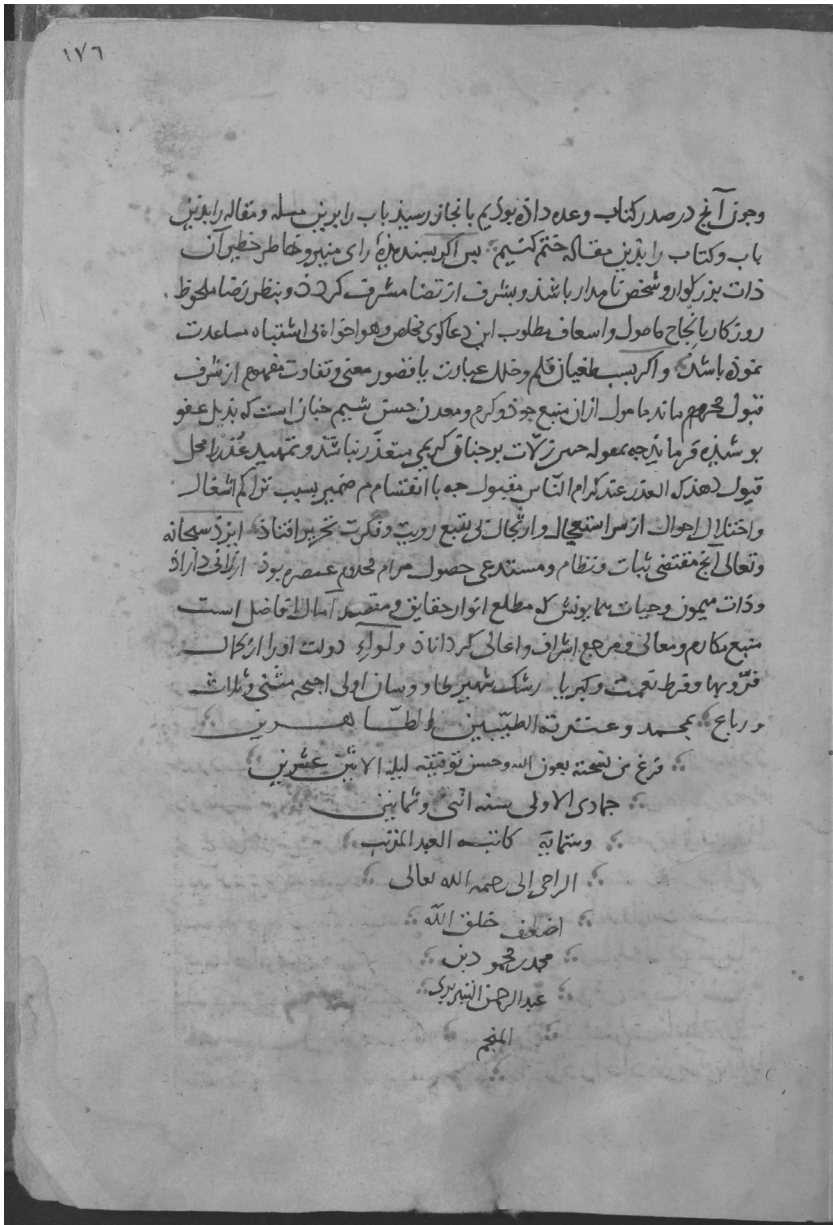


Figure 3.3 National Library of Iran (Tehran, I.R. of Iran), Ms. 13074, f 176a. (Colophon of the *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari*).

of the Turkish-speaking Muzaffar al-Din, who, as suggested by all the texts patronised by him and his family, probably had a decent command of Persian at this time.

A brief final remark needs to be made about another possible work of Qutb al-Din Shirazi, of which the existence is somewhat uncertain. In his PhD dissertation and the edited version of it, Walbridge lists a work named *Intikhab-i Sulaymaniyya*, which he translates as ‘Salomon’s Choice’.¹⁰⁶ According to him, this would be an abridged version or summary of the famous *Ihya’ ‘ulum al-din* (Revival of Religious Sciences), written by Abu Hamid Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ghazali (d. 1111).¹⁰⁷ The composition of such a work would be interesting as further evidence of Shirazi’s concern with Sufi ideas and of his knowledge and interest in Ghazali’s work. But what is further relevant for the purpose of this book is that Walbridge claims that this work was dedicated to Amir Mahmud b. Muzaffar al-Din (d. 1309), last ruler of the Chobanid dynasty. Unfortunately, Walbridge provides no manuscript evidence for the existence of this text and he only refers to Mujtaba Minuvi’s article on Shirazi, where I found no references about this particular work.¹⁰⁸ Contrary to Walbridge’s claim, Uzunçarşılı makes a connection between the name of the work, *Intikhab-i Sulaymaniyya* and the first ruler of the Jandarid dynasty (Sulayman Pasha, d. c. 1340) who succeeded the Chobanids in north-western Anatolia.¹⁰⁹ However, Uzunçarşılı does not provide any references to existing or lost manuscript copies of the text to back up his assertion about the dedication of this work to Sulayman Pasha.¹¹⁰ The whereabouts of this work are still being investigated, but if it exists and was really copied for Amir Mahmud, it will provide yet more evidence of the concern with religion shown by the rulers of this emerging dynasty and the continuing patronage of Shirazi’s works.

3.1.4 Other works connected to the Chobanids of Kastamonu

Literary production in the Persian language in north-western Anatolia during the 13th century was not limited only to those works composed specifically for the Chobanids or by authors working in their court. Other works were copied and circulated in the area, providing an even larger corpus that served to complement the general idea of the region’s literary activity. Scattered evidence suggests that Chobanid patronage might also have extended to other regions outside Kastamonu, where these rulers had direct or indirect political influence. Sinop appears to be the place of the composition of a work by Mu’ayyid al-Din al-Jandi (d. 1312–13), the *Nafhat al-ruh wa tuhfat al-futuh*, a Persian work composed not later than AH 704 (1303–04), in which the author tries to bring Sufism more accessible for non-Arabic speakers.¹¹¹ Jandi mentions that he wrote this book for a pious noble lady of Sinop, descendant of a certain Zayn al-Dunya wa al-Din, which, as suggested by Peacock, could either be the name of a person or a royal title (it means ‘ornament of the religion and the world’).¹¹²

Following this suggestion, the title might have belonged to a descendant of the *parvāna* Mu‘in al-Din Sulayman, who was the Mongol governor of Anatolia in the 1270s, or perhaps a member of the Chobanid royal family that controlled the city of Sinop in this period.¹¹³ Similarly, Melville has suggested the possibility that Nasir al-Din, a son of Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek, could be the patron of the anonymous *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq*, one of the surviving chronicles of the Seljuqs of Rum.¹¹⁴ Although composed by different hands over a considerable period of time, the work reached its current form in Konya not before AH 741 (1341–42), offering therefore another example of the patronage of literary works by the Chobanids spreading beyond the borders of the region of Kastamonu to include other cities such as Sinop and Konya.¹¹⁵

The study of manuscript production in the Kastamonu area in this period is useful for uncovering a select group of people – possibly at the court and in literate circles – that consumed certain types of literary genres. There are not many manuscripts copied in north-western Anatolia that have survived to the present. In fact, manuscript production in Kastamonu seems to have begun at a much bigger scale under the Jandarid dynasty (1308–1461) and especially from the 15th century onwards, when manuscripts copied in Kastamonu become more available in Turkish libraries.¹¹⁶ In other areas dominated by the Chobanids, the situation was very similar to that of their capital. With the exception of one manuscript copied in Sinop apparently in AH 708, places like Çankırı, Tosya, Çorum and Samsun left no dated manuscripts until the Ottoman period.¹¹⁷

One remarkable exception to the lack of surviving manuscripts from the period is a copy of a Persian *majmū‘a* (compendium of works) preserved as manuscript Fatih 5406, mentioned above. It contains not only the oldest copy we have of three texts by Husam al-Din Khu‘i (including the only copy of his work *Ghunyat al-talib wa munyat al-katib*), but also holds other works bound in this codex that offer a window on the type of texts circulating in the region during the late years of Chobanid rule. The initial folios (ff. 1–32) of the manuscript correspond to the famous *Nasihāt al-muluk*, which attribution to the above-mentioned Ghazali (d. 1111) has been contested.¹¹⁸ On this occasion, however, the theme of the work is rather different from that of the *Intikhab-i Sulaymaniyya* mentioned above and allegedly translated by Shirazi and dedicated to Mahmud Bey Choban. The *Nasihāt* was probably composed in AH 499 (1105) although there are some questions regarding the dedication, date of composition and authenticity of the work.¹¹⁹ This is one of the classic texts belonging to the genre of mirrors for princes that became popular in the Persian-speaking world from the 11th century onwards (see Chapter 4).

The copy of Ghazali’s work in this area of Anatolia in the 13th century and its inclusion together with works of Husam al-Din Khu‘i offers, in my view, some interesting connotations. First, part of the political theory contained in the *Nasihāt al-muluk* makes an interesting point about the need for unity between religion (*dīn*) and kingship (*pādishāhī*) in a rightful ruler.¹²⁰ This emphasis on the need for a ruler to embrace religion as a way to get closer

to the ideal of government is a recurrent theme in all the surviving literature patronised by the Chobanids from the *Fustat al-'adala* to some of the works of Husam al-Din Khu'i. Consequently, the inclusion of the *Nasihah* helps to reinforce this notion of the need for a commitment to religious matters from secular rulers that will be specifically highlighted in the *Fustat al-'adala* (see Chapter 5). Secondly, like some of Khu'i's works included in this *majmū'a*, the contested second part of the *Nizahat al-Muluk*, which might not have been written by Ghazali but circulated together with the uncontested first part, contains a detailed explanation of offices and chancellery practices dating from the time of the Great Seljuqs. Hence, there might be a practical purpose in the introduction of the *Nasihah* in this compendium, as a way to help the reader to contextualise some of the words, titles and concepts mentioned by Khu'i in his works. Finally, although the circulation of this particular text in its original Persian language appears to have been rather limited since its composition, the version in Ms. Fatih 5406 was copied in its original language, emphasising once again the interest in this type of literature and the preference for Persian as a written language during the Chobanids' rule of Kastamonu.¹²¹

The fifth and last work included in the manuscript Fatih 5406 is of a different nature to all the others. The text (ff. 99–130) includes mostly personal letters written by a certain Sa'd al-Din Mas'ud, a medical doctor, poet and scholar originally from eastern Anatolia or western Iran.¹²² He left up to seven letters that are referred to as 'aid letters' by Osman Turan in his description of the work.¹²³ Chapter 6 discusses this work and the significance it might have for our understanding of Anatolia's social and cultural history in the 13th century. Yet, what is relevant to this section is that it was copied together with one work by Ghazali and three by Husam al-Din Khu'i in the same codex. The letters were composed in northern Anatolia and describe various landscapes, impressions and personal feelings of the author in the territories controlled by the Chobanids. The text includes poetic descriptions of Sinop and accounts of the author's travels to the towns of Samsun, the region of Canik and even some references to the more distant city of Niksar.¹²⁴ Beyond the historical value of these letters, I believe its inclusion at the end of the manuscripts reflects, as in the case of the *Nasihah*, the intention of the copyist/compiler of the manuscripts to complement the other texts in the compendium. The letters of Sa'd al-Din could serve as further examples of different types of letter-writing similar to those offered by Husam al-Din Khu'i in his two works included in Ms. Fatih 5406. As seen above, both the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* and the *Rusum al-rasa'il* make special references to this topic.

It is hard to be conclusive on the full scale of manuscript production in 13th-century Kastamonu, when only one unique codex produced during this period in the region has survived until the present. However, when this unique copy is considered in conjunction with works patronised by the dynasty, it is possible to see some thematic commonalities that give us a more nuanced picture of the possible literary milieu of the period. The inclusion of Ghazali's *Nasihah al-muluk* and even the later addition of a section of the *Siyar*

al-muluk in Ms. Fatih 5406 seems to go hand-in-hand with texts patronised by the Chobanids.¹²⁵ Like the *Fustat al-'adala*, on top of having an important religious component, it dedicates a large part of the work to commenting on the *Siyasatnama* of Nizam al-Mulk. Those works copied in the only surviving manuscript produced in the final years of Chobanid rule have a considerable thematic coherence. The literary production in this part of Anatolia in the 13th century shows a shared concern with aspects of kingship, rule and diplomacy. Consequently, even though no further manuscripts produced in the area have survived, the collective analysis of the literary genres produced under their rule demonstrates that Chobanid literary patronage was not a simple act of 'buying prestige', but was rather a coherent policy of literary production.

3.2 Architectural patronage in Chobanid Kastamonu

The political fragmentation of Anatolia, due to the decline of the centralised patronage of the Seljuqs of Rum in the late 13th century and especially in the 14th century, has been seen as the reason for the diversification of architectural patronage and styles in different parts of Anatolia.¹²⁶ In the case of Kastamonu and north-western Anatolia, the patronage of architecture was especially prominent under the Jandarid dynasty, with the construction of a number of mosques in the capital as well as other major cities of the realm such as Sinop.¹²⁷ The architectural splendour of 14th-century Kastamonu surprised even the famous Ibn Battuta, who after spending over a month in the city, described it as among 'the largest and finest cities [of Anatolia]'.¹²⁸ However, the architecture of Kastamonu began a deep transformation in the 13th century, when the Chobanid dynasty took control of the city and began to cement its power over the region.

It is a general tendency among Turco-Mongol empires that after taking control and settling in an area largely populated by native subjects, they used architecture as a way to alter the landscape of the conquered people.¹²⁹ The patronage of architecture among these rulers served a double purpose. On the one hand, it was a way in which the conquerors could demonstrate their supremacy over the subjects, as they transformed the space of the defeated population, even if the rulers would dwell initially in rural areas and did not reside permanently in the cities they conquered. On the other hand, this patronage helped stimulate proximity between rulers and the urban nobility that generally was left with the task of collecting taxes and administering the towns and cities. There is no reason to doubt that, although on a lesser scale, the Chobanids followed patterns of architectural patronage similar to other dynasties with a nomadic origin before them. They mainly invested their financial support in the construction or restoration of mosques and rulers' graves, which functioned as key buildings that symbolised the dynasty's presence in religious and secular statements of power in the city.¹³⁰

The building that dominates the landscape in the city of Kastamonu is the castle, situated at the top of a sandstone hill that rises 112 metres over the city

centre of the modern city.¹³¹ The castle was constructed by the Byzantines at the end of the 12th century as one of a number of fortifications in the still Greek-dominated province of Paphlagonia.¹³² Although the castle was certainly used by the Chobanid rulers on different occasions, there is no evidence of any major financial involvement on the dynasty's part in repairing or expanding the fortress.¹³³ The lack of evidence of any major construction works being carried out in the castle does not mean that the patronage of the Chobanids focused only on religious buildings. For example, the name of Muzaffar al-Din Mas'ud b. Alp Yürek appears also in an inscription dated AH 729 (1328–29) as one of the founders of a public bath (hammam) in the region of Taşköprü, a few kilometres east of the city of Kastamonu.¹³⁴ This suggests that the involvement of the Chobanid rulers in financing public buildings in the region went beyond the type of buildings we will describe in this chapter. However, this section aims only at providing a general overview of the main buildings still standing in the city of Kastamonu that received financial patronage from the Chobanid court and to connect that with the region's religious and political context in the 13th century. In doing so, we are cautiously leaving aside an important architectural heritage scattered in rural areas and small towns around the Chobanid territories.¹³⁵ We hope further research on the architectural legacy of the dynasty in the region might complement the information provided in this brief section.

3.2.1 Patronage of Islamic institutions

A decent amount of research has been done on the patronage of religious buildings among local Turkmen and Turco-Mongol dynasties in 13th-century Iran and Anatolia.¹³⁶ This type of patronage has been a common phenomenon across the Middle East since the time of the Great Seljuqs' expansion in the 11th century. This act of patronage can be seen not only as a way in which a new dynasty was able to gain legitimacy over the conquered people, but also as a testimony of the gradual Islamisation of these new nomadic elites who had settled in Islamic lands. In Anatolia, the construction of mosques and the transformation of churches into Islamic buildings has been documented throughout the peninsula from the 11th century onwards.¹³⁷ This transformation of the religious landscape did not mean a clear-cut substitution of Christian buildings for Islamic ones, but being a Muslim dynasty at the frontier between Islam and Christianity, the Chobanids played a role in the transformation of the religious landscape of 13th-century north-western Anatolia. Although the evidence is not always clear on the personal involvement of a particular ruler in the support of a given building, it was certainly in the 13th century when the regions of Kastamonu, Safranbolu, Sinop and Çankırı began to witness the construction of mosques and madrasas that would expand during the 14th century.¹³⁸

The first example of Chobanid patronage of a religious building is generally thought to be the support of the dynasty's founder Husam al-Din Choban for the construction of a place of worship in the Akçasu neighbourhood in

the town of Kuzyaka, a few kilometres south of the city of Kastamonu.¹³⁹ The mosque is known as the Akçasu Camii and is said to have been founded before 1250. Little survives today of the building's original structure as renovations carried out during the 20th century appear to have changed its original shape.¹⁴⁰ The external wall of the mosque has also been replaced and cleaned on different occasions, erasing any possible inscription that could have been made in the walls. The mosque shape is nowadays in a rectangular plan of 8 x 14 m, including a prayer hall and a minaret that are very similar to those found in other mosques in central Kastamonu. However, the centre of the mosque looks like a small replica of the Atabey Gazi mosque (see below), which confirms the Chobanid origin of this building (see Figure 3.4).¹⁴¹ The Akçasu mosque is a small building on the outskirts of Kastamonu and consequently may have had little impact on a city where, during the first half of the 13th century, there may still have been a large Christian population. However, this early construction might have served to provide a place of worship for the recently Islamised Turkmen people that accompanied Husam al-Din Bey into north-western Anatolia. Its location might also reflect the position of the royal camp at the times when the Chobanids stayed close to the city of Kastamonu.

It was not until the 1270s, around the same time that there was an upsurge in building activity throughout Mongol-ruled Anatolia, that the first mosque was constructed inside the city of Kastamonu by Chobanid initiative. The Atabey Gazi mosque is one of oldest of its kind in the city.¹⁴² Like the Akçasu Camii, it has a rectangular plan in a much larger scale (30.5 x 19 m) but it is located inside the city, a few metres downhill from the Byzantine castle. The mosque is also referred to as the Kırk Direkli Camii (Forty Columns Mosque) because of the pillars that support the roof of the building. The whole interior of the building is made of wood, making the mosque one of the few remaining examples of the wooden mosques built in medieval Anatolia.¹⁴³ The mosque continued to be one of the major architectural references in the city throughout the Ottoman period, being the place of burial of Kastamonu elites up to the 19th century.¹⁴⁴ Today the building is fully functional and is open for prayers after some major renovations were recently made.

The mosque takes the name of the legendary figure of Atabey Ghazi (Gazi), a hero-like figure who allegedly fought in the region against the Byzantines in the 12th century. The tradition around the mosque's foundation is embellished with jihadi connotations. Some sources mention that the original building was a Christian church that Husam al-Din Choban converted into a mosque on a Friday, after he took the city from the Byzantines. The new ruler allegedly expelled the Christian clerics while they were delivering a sermon and from that day onwards, the building became the congregation mosque where Friday prayers were conducted by Muslims.¹⁴⁵ However, an inscription has survived on the wall of the mosque dating the construction of the building to the year 1273.¹⁴⁶ The inscription places the construction of the mosque in a period of Kastamonu's history that, as we saw in Chapter 2, is rather obscure.

Nonetheless, the inscription might be referring to a re-foundation of the mosque as an initiative of Alp Yürek (Yavlaq Arslan) (d. c. 1280), the son of Husam al-Din Choban. Consequently, the Atabey Gazi mosque is the product of the patronage of a second generation of Turkmen rulers, who now seem to have had not only the resources to build larger buildings, but to do it inside the city walls and close to the garrison castle that protected the town.



Figure 3.4 Picture of the Atabey Gazi Mosque in Kastamonu.

The Atabey Gazi mosque was expanded a few years later by Alp Yürek's son Muzaffar al-Din, and became the main centre of Kastamonu's religious life. By the third decade of the 14th century, the Maghribi traveller Ibn Battuta visited the city of Kastamonu and had the chance to witness how the members of the Jandarid ruling dynasty of Kastamonu conducted Friday prayers in the mosque:

This mosque is a wooden building of three stories; the sultan, the officers of state, the *qāḍi* and the jurists, and the chief officers of the army pray in the lowest story; '*Afandī*', who is the Sultan's brother, together with his entourage and attendants, and some of the townspeople, pray in the middle story; and the sultan's son and heir (he is his youngest son, and is called al-Jawad),¹⁴⁷ with his retinue, slaves and attendants, and the rest of the population, pray in the top story. The Quran-readers assemble and sit in a circle in front of the *mihrāb*, and along with them sit the *khaṭīb* and the *qāḍi*. The sultan has his place in line with the *mihrāb*. They recite the *Sūra* of The Cave with beautiful intonations, and repeat the verses in a marvellous arrangement. When they finish the recital of this, the *khaṭīb* mounts the *mimbar* and delivers the address. He then prays, and after finishing this prayer, they perform further additional prayers. The reader now recites one tenth of the Quran in the sultan's presence, after which the sultan and his suite withdraw. The reader proceeds to recite before the sultan's brother; he also withdraws with his attendants at the end of this recital, and the reader then recites before the sultan's son. When he finishes this recital, the *mu'arrif* stands up and praises the sultan in Turkish verse, and praises also his son, calling down blessings on both, and retires.¹⁴⁸

The expansion of the Atabey Gazi mosque was not the only contribution made by Muzaffar al-Din to the construction of religious buildings in the city of Kastamonu. He also financed the construction of another small mosque in a new neighbourhood of the city that began to be built in the 13th century downhill from the castle. Also known as the Soğukkuyu mosque, the building remained a place of worship until 1941, when it was sold and the land passed into the hands of the General Directory of Endowments (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*).¹⁴⁹ The mosque apparently also included a madrasa that provided religious education and contained a small collection of books. The school became relatively prestigious and was still running in the 15th century, when hagiographic literature of the Halveti Sufi order refers to the madrasa.¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the building that hosted the madrasa survived only until 1963, when it was demolished and the collection of 125 books that formed its library were transferred to the Kastamonu İl Halk Kütüphanesi.¹⁵¹

The city of Kastamonu was not the only urban centre that received financial support for the construction of religious buildings from Chobanid rulers. Under the reign of Muzaffar al-Din, the town of Taşköprü, located some 45 km north-east of Kastamonu, became an alternative centre of power for the

dynasty. The town developed close to the Roman city of Pompeiopolis, and Turkish populations settled in the area from the 11th century.¹⁵² However, in the 13th century, it acquired a more relevant strategic position as it became one of the stopping points in the route connecting Kastamonu with the port of Sinop.¹⁵³

A passage in the book of travels of Ibn Battuta recalls that after spending some days in Kastamonu, he travelled to a 'certain village' where he lodged at a large *zāwiya*. He describes this hospice as 'one of the finest hospices that I saw in that country'.¹⁵⁴ The Maghribi traveller mentions that the hospice was built by a great amir of the past whom he calls Fakhr al-Din. It is highly probable that Ibn Battuta is referring to the village of Taşköprü and that the actual name of the amir is Muzaffar al-Din Choban, the name of whom he might have confused by a slip of memory.¹⁵⁵ Evidence of Ibn Battuta's visit to Taşköprü is even more compelling when the traveller adds that the same amir founded a bath house (hammam) and a bazaar, and made an endowment for the congregational mosque in the town. He also mentions that endowments were made to sustain poor Muslims who were coming from the Holy Cities, Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Khurasan and other parts of Rum, so they could eat and stay in the *zāwiya*.

In confirming some of Ibn Battuta's descriptions, Yakupoğlu has identified up to five different structures erected by the Chobanids in this town. In addition to the bath (hammam) mentioned above, which has been recently renovated and is currently in use by the modern inhabitants of the town, a fountain (*çeşme*) and a Sufi lodge (*zāwiya*) are also attributed to the Chobanid ruler's financial support.¹⁵⁶ While the fountain, dated from the period 1279–91, was destroyed during a fire in 1927, the *zāwiya* is located outside the town, in the village of Tokaş.¹⁵⁷ The remaining two buildings are a mosque and a madrasa commissioned together by Muzaffar al-Din to be built side-by-side in the town of Taşköprü. Like the fountain, the madrasa was destroyed in the 1927 fire and a new mosque (Yeni Camii) was built in its place in the 1950s. However, accounts from the 19th century describe the place as an active school that educated around 20 students.¹⁵⁸ Different pieces of documentary evidence (*awqāf*) confirm the successive endowments given to both the madrasa and the mosque by the Jandarid and the Ottoman dynasties that took over the town of Taşköprü from the 14th century onwards.¹⁵⁹

These early examples of patronage of religious buildings in the Kastamonu area were the prolegomena for the larger expansion of Islamic institutions in the region in the 14th century and especially in the 15th century, during the peak of Jandarid influence in the area. However, some older mosques also remain in the region, dating from the first half of the 14th century and the early post-Chobanid period. One of them, located in the Ibn al-Najjar neighbourhood in Kastamonu, is known as the İbn-i Neccar Camii, built in AH 754 (1353) under the rule of Adil Bey Jandar (r. 1346–61). According to the inscription in *naskh* script found in the mosque, the building was founded by a certain al-Hajj Nasir b. al-Murad al-Mushtahir, known as Ibn Najjar, about

whom there seems to be little information apart from the suggestion that he came from a family of carpenters (*najjār*).¹⁶⁰ Other examples of early religious constructions in the 14th century are the Mahmud Bey Camii, built in AH 768 (1366–67) and a number of early 14th-century mosques built by this dynasty in Sinop, where patronage of mosques among the Jandarids started before that in Kastamonu.¹⁶¹

If compared with the expansion of construction in the 14th century, the Chobanids' patronage activity of Islamic architecture seems rather modest. However, the foundation of two mosques and a madrasa in the area is testimony to the gradual assimilation of this Turkmen dynasty into the religious and urban elites of Kastamonu. The early establishment of a mosque outside the city, the apparent expropriation of a church to be transformed into a mosque, and the later foundation of a madrasa exemplify how, in the course of three generations, the Chobanid rulers went from military protectors on the outskirts of town to central actors in supporting the Islamisation of Kastamonu in the 13th century.

3.2.2 *The expression of popular religion: Religious and secular mausoleums (türbeler)*

We need to emphasise the fact that Kastamonu was, in the 13th century, a frontier zone, far from the centre of the Islamic world but close to the weakened but still prestigious Christian empire of Byzantium. As such, the region underwent a long process of Islamisation throughout the 13th century in which the construction of mosques and madrasas was perhaps connected to a more orthodox Islam, represented by the ulama and the urban elites of Kastamonu that benefited from these places of worship and education. However, in parallel, there is always a less institutionalised Islam that is generally connected, although not exclusively, to the middle and lower ranges of society. In addition, the growing autonomy that the region of Kastamonu enjoyed in the 13th century, with the political fragmentation of first Seljuq and then Mongol political power, favoured the development of more popular types of religiosity in this border area of Anatolia. The newly Islamised Turkmen populations that migrated to the area appear to have favoured the proliferation of tombs (*türbeler*) of saints in the countryside and then also in the city, where they became part of the urban landscape from the second half of the 13th century onwards. These tombs grew in parallel with the mosques and madrasas generally more associated with the religious establishment.¹⁶² Yet, the more popular character of this form of spirituality does not mean that the secular powers, who constantly tried to please the upper classes, disregarded these alternative expressions of Islamic faith. On the contrary, both the Chobanids and the successor Jandarid dynasty supported the construction of shrines, encouraging pilgrimage to these sites that, in turn, produced not only economic benefits, but also played an important role in spreading Islam in a region that was far from homogeneous.¹⁶³

One of these graves still standing in the region is the last resting place of a certain Aşıklı Sultan. According to tradition, he was a Seljuq commander

who fell at the wall of the Kastamonu castle when the Seljuqs besieged the Byzantines in 1116. We do not know the name of the shrine's architect, or the exact date when the building was erected, but its styles leave little doubt about its 13th-century origin, marked also by some Seljuq symbols such as the eight-pointed star carved in the rock that can still be seen on one of the walls of the shrine. The tomb was rebuilt in 2013 with the main entrance now covered with a door-size piece of glass that allows the visitor to see inside the tomb. In the interior, there are five sarcophagi containing the bodies of an unidentified martyr named Muhammad al-Maghribi, three anonymous saints and, in the middle, the coffin of Aşıklı Sultan.¹⁶⁴ There is one particular feature of this site that illustrates the pilgrimage nature of the site and the type of religiosity of people who visited (and still visit) such places. The sarcophagus of Aşıklı Sultan has a glass-covered part at the bottom of the coffin. Through this little window, the modified feet of the saint can be seen emerging from the coffin in rather a good state of conservation, so that at least a part of the saint is made totally visible to pilgrims.¹⁶⁵

In the same way that small mosques were being constructed outside the city of Kastamonu, tombs of Sufi shaykhs were also built in the countryside. An example of this type of building is the tomb of Şeyh Ahmet, located in the present district of Gököy, around 12 km north of the city centre. The grave is attached to what seems to be the oldest mosque in the area and built in stone and rubble material, with the characteristic wooden roof of the period.¹⁶⁶ An inscription mentions the date of 1206, but it has been suggested that the building could be even older and may have been constructed by the same Şeyh Ahmet who is buried there together with a Seljuq general that died in battle during the conquest of the region by Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kılıç Arslan II (r. 1156–92). In addition, the modern building of the Nasr Allah mosque, in the centre of the city of Kastamonu hosts a grave that has been dated to AH 671 (1272). Apparently, the building functioned as a hospital in the 13th century, where Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattah-i Wali (Abdülfettâh-ı Velî, d. 1272) used to reside and perform healing practices.¹⁶⁷ The place became an important centre of pilgrimage in the 13th century and in later years, reinforced by the claim that the shaykh was a son of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), the founder of the Qadiriyya Sufi order.

The construction of these *türbeler* not only served to glorify martyrs of past battles against the Christians or to venerate Sufi saints. During the Chobanid period, a shrine was constructed to bury the body of a religious scholar known as 'Ala' al-Din. The sparse information available about him in the tomb suggests that he came from Central Asia (either Balkh or Bukhara) and was a famous commentator on the Quran, which granted him the title of *mufasssır* (*müfesssır*). As far as I am aware, no works by him seem to have survived, but we know of the existence of his *tafsîr* (commentary) thanks to a reference to the work mentioned in Aflaki's *Manaqib al-'arifin*. According to the Mevlevi hagiographer Ulu 'Arif Çelebi, the grandson of Jalal al-Din Rumi carried a rather unusual copy of 'Ala' al-Din's work with him while travelling in the vicinity of

Tabriz. As a way to put an end to a discussion with Shihab al-Din Maqbuli-yi Qirshahri, 'Arif Çelebi exchanged his valuable copy for a rather ordinary copy of the *Bahr al-haqa'iq*, a Quranic commentary by Shaykh Najm al-Din Razi (d. 1256).¹⁶⁸ Aflaki portrays this as an act of generosity on the part of his spiritual leader, 'Arif Çelebi, and notes that the work of 'Ala' al-Din of Kastamonu became known across Anatolia after this point.¹⁶⁹ The tomb was constructed in 1289 by a Turkmen lord who at the time was in the service of the Chobanid dynasty – the future first ruler of the Jandarid dynasty Shams al-Din Yaman Jandar (d. early 14th century), about whom we have very little information.¹⁷⁰

With the extensive construction of these *türbeler*, it is not surprising that the Chobanid rulers themselves had their own graves and mausoleums. Although none of them has survived in the city, it is suspected that the Karanlık Evliya Türbesi, constructed in clear Seljuq style in Kastamonu's Yavuz Selim neighbourhood, might host one of the Chobanid rulers. No inscriptions can be found on the building and no reference to the identity of the people buried in the tomb has come to light so far.¹⁷¹ Similarly, the Atabey Gazi Türbesi, the most emblematic tomb of the city, has mysterious origins (see Figure 3.5). Built in an octagonal form, it lacks any inscriptions that reveal any further details regarding the date of the building. Yet its construction is generally attributed to the time of Husam al-Din Choban himself, as part of the same tradition that connects him to the conversion of the Byzantine church into the Atabey mosque. Although this seems to be unlikely, the Atabey Türbesi is located next to the mosque in the building's south-east corner and contains three sarcophagi that have not been identified. Nonetheless, the fact that one of them is considerably larger than the others has encouraged speculation that it could have been the resting place of Husam al-Din Choban (see Figure 3.5).¹⁷²

Some records suggest that a tomb dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek was built in the city after his death. According to some accounts, it was located next to the mosque constructed by Muzaffar al-Din in the Sanat Okulu Street in the Saraçlar neighbourhood. Unfortunately, the tomb – and the mosque that stood next to it – was destroyed in the first half of the 20th century, but it would have been a few hundred metres south of the Atabey Gazi mosque in Kastamonu. In this place, a few tombstones can still be seen today poking out of the grass in a rather empty slot at the corner of two small streets. Scholars have argued that these stones share some characteristics of 13th-century Seljuq tombstones and believe that this might be the remains of the cemetery that surrounded the mosque.¹⁷³ The names on the tombstones have not survived and therefore they cannot be clearly identified as tombs of Chobanid rulers, although it is believed that they might belong to Turkmen military commanders (such as Vehbi Gazi) of the Chobanid armies.¹⁷⁴

Other lesser-known or unidentified personalities are buried in various different tombs across the city dating from the 13th century.¹⁷⁵ The construction of these mausoleums/shrines expanded even further from the 14th century onwards with the arrival of the Jandarid dynasty, leaving the region from Sinop to Çankırı full of these small constructions dedicated to martyrs, Sufi shaykhs,



Figure 3.5 Picture of the Atabey Gazi Türbesi.

local rulers and local personalities. These shrines played different roles in the region's religious, political and economic development. They served to fulfil a popular need to express a type of religiosity different from that of the more institutionalised expression represented by the ulama. Simultaneously, they helped to spread Islam in both urban and rural areas of the region by planting these centres of worship in the landscape. In the case of the tombs of local rulers, their graves also served as propaganda to legitimise their rights over the territory and secure the dynasty's succession.¹⁷⁶

The economic expansion of the Chobanids and the involvement of rulers in patronage of religious buildings, as seen in the previous section, meant that by the late 13th and early 14th century, more spaces of religious expression begin to appear in the region of Kastamonu. In this period, court patronage was no longer the only source of funding for Kastamonu's expanding architecture. Although relatively modest at this point, some private initiatives begin to emerge in this period that contributed to shape the landscape of the region's urban settlements. As we saw in Chapter 1, our knowledge of how trade was organised in the city of Kastamonu during the Chobanid period is very limited. The only solid account of the city's commercial vitality comes from the account of Ibn Battuta, who visited the region in the first half of the 14th century. As we have seen, he describes a variety of products produced and consumed in the area, together with a lively trade environment in the city. The proximity to the Black Sea shores and the strategic location of Kastamonu as a hub of different trade routes created a favourable environment for the presence of a particular social class of traders and artisans, generally known as *akhīs*, in medieval Kastamonu. This is a controversial term generally used to describe the leaders of groups of unmarried Muslim men congregated in communities often referred to as *futuwwa*.¹⁷⁷

As Sufi orders would do from the 14th century onwards, *futuwwa* organisations owned their own *zāwiyas* (lodges), were organised as brotherhoods and had an important religious component that united their members as a group. These fraternities were also dedicated to commerce, business and trade, as their members were often craftsmen, artisans and merchants living in urban settlements. During the late 13th and early 14th centuries, *akhī* lodges were founded in the region of Kastamonu thanks to the financial support of the rulers but also with the contribution of wealthy local landowners and traders. Ibn Battuta describes how he found accommodation in different *zāwiyas* during the time he spent in Kastamonu. He spent one night in the *zāwiya* founded by Muzaffar al-Din Choban in Taşköprü. Then, he left the town in the direction of Sinop, and on the way:

we spent a second night in a hospice on a lofty mountain without any habitations. It was established by one of the Young *akhīs* called Nizam al-Din, an inhabitant of Qastamuniya, and he gave it as endowment a village, the revenue from which was to be spent for the maintenance of wayfarers in this hospice.¹⁷⁸

The presence of *akhīs* in the region of Kastamonu appears to have been widespread across the territory, including urban centres and rural areas. Ibn Battuta's observations are corroborated in other source material, some of which even precedes the time of the Maghribi traveller's visit. There are references to *akhīs* in medieval Kastamonu mainly contained in waqf (endowment) documents found today at the Vakıflar Archives in Ankara. Although most of these endowments date to the 15th century, two of them date from the period of Chobanid rule.¹⁷⁹ An entry in the archive mentions that a certain Şeyh Ahi Şurve was the endower who donated the funds for the foundation of a *zāwiya* in the neighbourhood of Beyçelesi, located in Kastamonu, in the month of Rabi' I, AH 703 (October 1303).¹⁸⁰ Apart from land for the construction of the lodge, the waqf lists a number of properties endowed by Şeyh Ahi Şurve in different towns around the city of Kastamonu (Hisarcık, Kuzyaka). Further, the *akhī* donated a farm in the coastal district of Karasu by the Black Sea, two gardens (*bağçe*) – one in the *zāwiya* itself and another in the centre of the city of Kastamonu – and hilly terrain that included a forest in a place given as Kızılca-viran.¹⁸¹ The properties were given in perpetuity to the lodge, with the condition that they could not be bought or sold, pledged, granted, or inherited, but only be used for the maintenance of the *zāwiya* and the community hosted in the property. The revenues of the properties were to be divided into three: one-third for the consumption and maintenance of the community, one-third to be managed by the endower, and a final third to be given to the poor.¹⁸²

Ibn Battuta's account demonstrates that *zāwiyas* served to accommodate travellers, religious scholars and poor people, while providing distinctive religious spaces for brotherhoods of *akhīs* and Sufis in the region. The establishment of these hospices required major economic investment on the part of a private sector that seems not only to have been increasing its economic capacity, but also felt the need for alternative religious spaces from those patronised by the court. While the tombs scattered across the region of Kastamonu served as places of pilgrimage, playing an economic role in attracting pilgrims, donations and offerings to this distant corner of the Islamic world, *zāwiyas* provided the means to facilitate the movement of people in the area while offering alternative places of worship and religious interaction.

Notes

- 1 Howard Crane, 'Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36 (1993), pp. 1–57; Patricia Blessing, 'All Quiet on the Eastern Frontier? The Contemporaries of Early Ottoman Architecture in Eastern Anatolia', in Patricia Blessing and Rachel Goshgarian (eds), *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100–1500* (Edinburgh, 2017), pp. 200–23.
- 2 With the notorious exception of the two surviving vocabularies that include translations of Persian into Turkish and Arabic into Persian. About the characteristics of these works, see below.

- 3 The golden age of scholarly works in pre-Ottoman Kastamonu is considered the reign of Kemalüddin İsmail Bey (r. 1443–61). See Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu*, p. 142. For patronage of Persian among other Turkic dynasties in Anatolia, see the recent work by Cailah Jackson, ‘Reframing the Qarāmānids: Exploring Cultural Life Through the Arts of the Book’, *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* (Published online: 22 November 2020) <https://doi.org/10.1080/09503110.2020.1813484>
- 4 Bert Fragner, *Die “Persophonie”. Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1999).
- 5 Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 147–57.
- 6 Sara Nur Yıldız, ‘Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Western Anatolia’, in Andrew C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), pp. 197–241.
- 7 Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 175.
- 8 A more in-depth analysis of the didactic purpose of these texts is provided in Chapter 6.
- 9 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120. A new Persian edition and Russian translation of this work is being prepared by Alexey Khismatulin.
- 10 Osman Turan, ‘Selçuk Türkiyesi Din Tarihine Dair bir Kaynak: *Fusṭāt al-‘adale fī ḳavā‘id is-Sulṭana*’, in Fuat Köprülü and Osman Turan (eds), *60. doğum yılı münasebetiyle: Fuad Köprülü armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010), pp. 531–64.
- 11 See Muhammad ‘Ali Yusufi, ‘Dar astanah-i tahqiq va nashr: *Fustat al-‘adala fi qawa‘id al-sultana*’, in *Fasl’namah-i Ayinah Miras*, 4:1 (2001), pp. 56–58. The micro-film number is 6541, located at the Library of the University of Tehran.
- 12 Bruno De Nicola, ‘The *Fusṭāt al-‘adāla*: A Unique Manuscript on the Religious Landscape of Medieval Anatolia’, in A. C. S. Peacock and S. N. Yıldız (eds), *Literature and Intellectual Life in Islamic Anatolia in the 14th–15th Centuries: Historical, Social and Political Perspectives* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), pp. 49–72.
- 13 See, for example, Ahmet Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends* (Oxford: OneWorld, 2006), p. 62; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda marjinal Süflük: Kalenderîler: XIV–XVII. yüzyıllar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), pp. 168 and 172.
- 14 See De Nicola, ‘The *Fusṭāt al-‘adāla*’, p. 51.
- 15 E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. II (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1933), pp. 160–70.
- 16 Turan, ‘Selçuk Türkiyesi’, p. 535.
- 17 For a description of the contents in the first part of the manuscript, see De Nicola, ‘The *Fusṭāt al-‘adāla*’, pp. 56–61. On the *Siyar al-muluk*, see Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government: or, Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyaset-nama of Nizam al-Mulk*. Translated by Hubert Darke (London: Routledge, 1978).
- 18 Katip Çelebi, *Keşf-el-Zunun*, column 1259.
- 19 Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, ‘Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihi’nin Yerli Kaynakları’, *Belleten* 7 (1943), pp. 379–458, English translation Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources*. Translated by Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1992), pp. 53–54.
- 20 See Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 55a–64b.

- 21 See Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 1a–1b, when characters from the *Shahnama* such as Jamasp, Goshtasp, or Bozarjomehr are mentioned.
- 22 De Nicola, ‘The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-‘adāla*’, p. 65.
- 23 On the relevance of copying this text in the 16th-century Ottoman Empire, see De Nicola, ‘The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-‘adāla*’, p. 55.
- 24 Turan, ‘Selçuk Türkiyesi’, pp. 531–32.
- 25 See Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330* (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1968), pp. 294–303; Charles Melville, ‘Anatolia Under the Mongols’, in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 73–81.
- 26 See Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 68a, lines 14–17.
- 27 The poem is based on a famous qasida that can be found in different versions of the *Siyar al-muluk*. For a transcription, translation (in Russian) and analysis of the qasida, see the recently published work by Alexey Khismatulin, *Amir Mu‘izzi Nishapuri: The Siyasat-namal/Siyar al-muluk: A Fabrication Ascribed to Nizam al-Mulk* (St Petersburg and Moscow: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie and Sadra, 2020), pp. 156–65.
- 28 See Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 69b; Turan, ‘Selçuk Türkiyesi’, p. 533.
- 29 Alexey Khismatulin, ‘Attribution of an Anonymous Qasida Appended to the First Redaction of the *Siyar al-muluk*: Stylometry Results’, in Ali M. Ansari (ed.), *Fruit of Knowledge, Wheel of Learning: Essays in Honour of Carole Hillenbrand* (London: Gingko Library, 2022), pp. 108–21.
- 30 The name replacement is done in lines 20–21 (corresponding to lines 21–22 of the original qasida) and the name of Nizam al-Mulk, which appears in line 19 of the original poem, is removed from the text. See Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 69b.
- 31 See, for example, Sara Nur Yıldız, ‘Aydinid Court Literature and the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Western Anatolia’, in Andrew C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2016), pp. 197–241.
- 32 Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-Zunun*. Edited by Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kılıslı Rifat Bilge, vol. 2 (1943; reprint, Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1972), column 1259.
- 33 The majority of Husam al-Din Khu‘i’s works have been edited. See Husam al-Din Khu‘i, *Majmu‘ah-i asar-i Husam al-Din Khu‘i*. Edited by Sughra Abbaszade (Tehran: Miras-i Maktub, 2000).
- 34 Kemal Özergin, ‘Selçuklu sanatçısı nakkas Abdülmü‘min el-Hoyî hakkında’, *Belleten* 34:134 (1970), pp. 219–29.
- 35 The name ‘Amal-i ‘Abd al-Mu‘min b. Muhammad al-Naqqash al-Khu‘i appears written as a signature at the bottom of the image on 58b of Ms. 841 of the Hazine Kitaplığı collection at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi. See an article on this manuscript in Oya Pancaroğlu, ‘Conditions of Love and Conventions of Representation in the Illustrated Manuscript of Varqa and Gulshah’, in Christiane Gruber (ed.), *The Image Debate: Figural Representation in Islam and Across the World* (London: Gingko, 2019), pp. 72–83.
- 36 Özergin, ‘Selçuklu sanatçısı’, pp. 227–28.
- 37 There is one unique manuscript (Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Halet Efendi Ek 92) of the work *al-Manahij al-sayfiyya*, for which authorship has been identified by Andrew Peacock as belonging to Nasir al-Din Mahmud b. Ahmad Khu‘i. Nothing is known about the life of the author except that he lived in the

- Konya area and, based on the dating of this manuscript (AH 660 (1262)), that he might have been active in the first half of the 13th century. As Andrew Peacock has suggested in a personal communication, the family connection between Nasir al-Din and the family of Husam al-Din Khu'i might be a possibility rather than a probability. Yet it certainly highlights the presence of quite a few individuals from Khuy active at the Seljuq court in the mid-13th century. See William C. Chittick, *Faith and Practice of Islam: Three Thirteenth Century Sufi Texts* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992), pp. 255–62; another person from Khuy named Najm al-Din Khu'i is mentioned in a 13th-century template used in a Persian accounting manual written in 1363 known as the *Risala-yi falakiyya*. See Baki Tezcan, 'The Memory of the Mongols in Early Ottoman Historiography', in H. Erdem Cipa and Emine Fetvaci (eds), *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013), p. 36, fn. 28.
- 38 A few details about his life can be found in Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 9–11; Cevdet Yakupoğlu and Namiq Musali, *Selçuklu İnşa Sanatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2018), pp. 31–40.
- 39 Partial description in Javad Bashari, 'Kitab va kitab-i parvishi', *Ayeneh-ye Pazhoohesh* 21:124 (2010), pp. 53–55.
- 40 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 33a.
- 41 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 58a. See Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari hakkında resmî vesikalar: metin, tercüme ve araştırmalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958), p. 172.
- 42 On the visit of Muzaffar al-Din to Tabriz, see Chapter 2.
- 43 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 159–60.
- 44 Tahsin Yazıcı, 'Hasan b. 'Abd-al-Mo'men', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hasan-b-abd-al-momen
- 45 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 155–219.
- 46 Abbaszade has compared the style of the *Nuzhat al-kuttāb* with that of the famous *Gulistan* of Sa'di Shirazi (d. 1291–92); see Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 31–34.
- 47 On religious aspects in the Chobanid court, see Chapter 5.
- 48 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 225.
- 49 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 60a, lines 4–5.
- 50 Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari*, p. 173; Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 293.
- 51 Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari*, p. 173.
- 52 Bruno De Nicola, 'Urban Agency in the Borderlands', *Medieval Worlds* 14 (2021), pp. 167–74
- 53 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 35–36. See Chapter 6 for more details on this work.
- 54 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 36–38.
- 55 See edition of the work in Husam al-Din Khu'i, *Gunyetu'l-kātib ve munyetu'l-tālib: Rusūmu'r-Resā'il ve nucūmu'l-Fazā'il*. Edited by Adnan Sadık Erzi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1963), pp. 17–46. For further discussions on these works see Bruno De Nicola, 'Urban Agency in the Borderlands', *Medieval Worlds* 14 (2021), pp. 167–74.
- 56 Yazıcı, 'Hasan b. 'Abd-al-Mo'men'; Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 39–40; Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari*, pp. 175–77.
- 57 Khu'i, *Gunyetu'l-kātib*, p. 46; Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 39–40, 373.
- 58 See edition of the work in Husam al-Din Khu'i, *Gunyetu'l-kātib ve munyetu'l-tālib: Rusūmu'r-Resā'il ve nucūmu'l-Fazā'il*. Edited by Adnan Sadık Erzi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1963), pp. 1–16. Turkish translation in

- Cevdet Yakupoğlu and Namiq Musali, *Selçuklu İnşa Sanatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2018), pp. 117–68.
- 59 Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları*, p. 176.
- 60 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 98b; Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 342.
- 61 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 39.
- 62 Özergin, 'Selçuklu sanatçısı', p. 229; Yazıcı, 'Hasan b. 'Abd-al-Mo'men'.
- 63 Çelebi, Katip, *Keşf-el-Zunun*, vol. 3, p. 1210.
- 64 See Süleymaniye Library, Carullah collection, 1747 (undated); Staatbibliothek Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 1078 (dated AH 844 (1440 CE)); another copy is in Balıkesir İl Halk Kütüphanesi, see www.yazmalar.gov.tr/eser/kenzul-letaiif-fima-yehtacu-ileyhitash%C3%AEhil-masahif/156137
- 65 Yakupoğlu and Musali, *Selçuklu İnşa Sanatı*, pp. 72–73.
- 66 Muhammad Dabirsiyaqi, 'Farāhī, Abū Naşr Badr-al-Dīn Mas'ūd', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farahi
- 67 A popular work apparently modelled on Abu Nasr Farahi's *Neşāb al-şeybā*. See mss. Süleymaniye, *Reşid Ef. 978; Lala İsmâil 644; Hasan Hüsnü 1102; Kayseri, Râşid Efendi, 11279*.
- 68 Tahsin Yazıcı, 'Hasan b. 'Abd-al-Mo'men', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hasan-b-abd-al-momen
- 69 The work has been repeatedly attributed to Husam al-Din Khu'i, even by Sughra Abbaszade in his edition of the works of the author; see Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 25–27.
- 70 Yazıcı, 'Hasan b. 'Abd-al-Mo'men'; he refers to the catalogue 'Fihrist makhtûât Mawşil', p. 115.
- 71 Tayyibe Eleskergızı and Cemile Sadıggızı, 'Hüsâm', *Geciken Armaganı' Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 5 (1996), pp. 115–24. For the Iranian edition by the same authors, see Husam al-Din Khu'i, *Tuhfa-yi Husam: Qadimi'tarin lughatnama-yi manzum-i Farsi bih Turki*. Edited by Jamila Sadikova and Tayyiba 'Alyakbaruva (Tehran: Takdirakht, 1389 (2010)). Other ancient and more popular Persian–Turkish vocabularies also circulated in the region: see Oleg F. Akimushkin, 'On the Date of "al-Sihāh al-'Ajamiyya"'s Composition', *Manuscripta Orientalia* 3:2 (1997), pp. 31–32; Charles A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, 3.1 (London: Luzac, 1984), pp. 7–9.
- 72 Eleskergızı and Sadıggızı, 'Hüsâm'in Geciken Armaganı', p. 119.
- 73 Erdoğan Boz, 'Farsça-Türkçe ilk Manzum Sözlük Tuhfe-i Hüsami'nin Bursa (ineybey) Nüshası', *Osmanlı Bursası'nda Dil-Kültür ve Edebiyat Bilgi Şöleni, 29–30 Mayıs 2013* (Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2013), pp. 69–74. I am grateful to Nicholas Kontovas for calling my attention to this article.
- 74 Almost nothing is known about this author apart from the fact that he lived in the last few decades of the 14th century and the early decades of the 15th century and was associated with Abu Muzaffar Orhan Beg, a prince from the region of Karaman. See Yusuf Öz, *Tarih Boyunca Farsça-Türkçe Sözlükler* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2010), p. 80.
- 75 Boz, 'Farsça-Türkçe ilk Manzum', p. 69.
- 76 A list of existing manuscripts of this work in Turkish libraries can be found in the online database of the ERC project 'The Islamisation of Anatolia', see <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/anatolia/data/documents/auth/local:mid:1380>
- 77 See Milli Kütüphane Yazmalar Koleksiyonu FB163, ff. 1b–11b (dated AH 951); Milli Kütüphane Yazmalar Koleksiyonu A4884, ff. 1b–17a (dated AH 993). I would like

- to thank Zeynep Oktay and Tulay Yurekli for their help in locating copies of these manuscripts.
- 78 Da'ud al-Chalabi al-Mawsili, *Kitab mahtutat al-Mawsil* (Baghdad: Matba'at al-Furat, 1927), p. 115. I am grateful to Daniel Kinitz for helping me in finding this work.
- 79 Öz, 'Tarih Boyunca', p. 80; Boz, 'Farsça-Türkçe ilk Manzum', p. 73.
- 80 Cevdet Yakupoğlu and Namiq Musali, *Selçuklu İnşa Sanatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2018), p. 72.
- 81 See edition of the text in Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 129–53.
- 82 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 131.
- 83 See Ms. Charullah 1685, ff. 183b–192a.
- 84 On Shirazi's life and works, see Mujtaba Minuvi, 'Mulla Qutb al-Shirazi', in Vladimir Minorsky, Mujtaba Minuvi and Iraj Afshar (eds), *Yadnamah-yi Irani-yi Minurski* (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tihiran, 1959), pp. 165–205.
- 85 At a later stage in his life, Shirazi composed his famous commentary on Ibn Sina's Qanun in three volumes entitled *al-Tuhfat al-Sa'diyya fi al-tibb* and dedicated to Sa'd al-Din Muhammad Savaji, d. 1298. A translation into Latin was done by Andrea Alpago in 16th-century Venice. See Qutb al-Din Shirazi, *Libellus de removendis nocumentis, quae accidunt in regimine sanitatis. Tractatus ejusdem Avicennae de syrupo acetoso*. Translated by Andrea Alpago (Venetia: Apud Cominum de Tridino, 1547).
- 86 On the observatory of Maragah, see Aydin Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam and its Place in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1960), pp. 187–222.
- 87 John Walbridge, 'The Philosophy of Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī: A Study in the Integration of Islamic Philosophy', PhD Dissertation (Harvard University, 1993), p. 16.
- 88 On Shams al-Din Juwayni and his patronage activity, see Esther Ravalde, 'Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, Vizier and Patron: Mediation between Ruler and Ruled in the Ilkhanate', in Bruno De Nicola and Charles Melville (eds), *The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 55–78.
- 89 See a list of his works in Walbridge, 'The Philosophy', pp. 235–76.
- 90 On the other hand, Niazi questions whether Shirazi would have made a trip to Gilan during the last decade of his life and believes he stayed in Tabriz until his death: Kaveh Niazi, 'A Comparative Study of Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's Texts and Models on the Configuration of the Heavens', PhD Dissertation (Columbia University, 2011), p. 105.
- 91 Walbridge, 'The Philosophy', p. 248.
- 92 A list of the different copies of this work in manuscript form can be found in Walbridge, 'The Philosophy', p. 250. Especially interesting are a copy held at the library of the University of Leiden (Or. 203) and another a copy in two volumes presently at the Köprülü Kütüphanesi (Fazıl Ahmet Paşa Koleksiyonu, nos. 956–7). The former was copied in the city of Erzincan in Rabi' II AH 682 (1283), only a year after the composition of the work. The latter is dated AH 683 (1284) and copied in Sivas, which suggests that most probably it was copied under the direct supervision of Qutb al-Din Shirazi himself.
- 93 John Walbridge, *The Science of Mystic Light. Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the Illuminationist Tradition in Islamic Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 1992), pp. 181–83.
- 94 Karim al-Din Mahmud b. Muhammad Aqsara'i, *Musamarat al-akhbar va musayarat al-akhyar*. Edited by Osman Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1944), p. 65.

- 95 All three astronomical texts have been studied in depth by Kaveh Farzad Niazi in his doctoral dissertation. See Niazi, 'A Comparative Study'.
- 96 Niazi, 'A Comparative Study', pp. 157–58; Kaveh Niazi, *Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the Configuration of the Heavens: A Comparison of Texts and Models* (New York: Springer, 2014), pp. 97–98.
- 97 Walbridge suggests that the work could also have been written during the early 1300s when Shirazi was out of Mongol favour, implying he was looking for patrons elsewhere. However, Walbridge bases this suggestion on the wrong date of death of Muzaffar al-Din as AH 704 (1304–05), when we know he died in battle in the early 1290s. See Walbridge, 'The Philosophy', p. 253; Walbridge, *The Science of Mystic Light*, p. 183.
- 98 National Library of Iran (Tehran, I. R. of Iran), Ms. 13074, f. 176a. (Figure 3.3).
- 99 For a detailed analysis of these three works of Shirazi, see Niazi, 'A Comparative Study', pp. 117–33.
- 100 For a list of manuscripts kept at Iranian and Russian libraries, see Walbridge, 'The Philosophy', p. 254.
- 101 See Ms. Fatih 5302, f. 164b.
- 102 Tustar is the Arabic name of the present city of Shushtar, located in the province of Khuzestan (Iran). See Johannes H. Kramers and Clifford E. Bosworth, 'Shushtar', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, online version http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6995
- 103 See Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya collection, no. 2574 (copied in Tabriz, in Safar 885); Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmed III collection, no. 3311 (dated 1423 CE); Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya collection, no. 2575 (copied in Muharram 912, contains seals of Bayezid II and Mahmud I and, according to the colophon, this copy was written specifically for Sultan Bayazid II to read). I thank Andrew Peacock for pointing out these details. Undated copies include Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2773 and Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmed III collection, no. 3310.
- 104 Niazi, 'A Comparative Study', p. 110.
- 105 Niazi, *Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the Configuration of the Heavens*, p. 81. For Ibn Bibi's mention of the allocation of the cities, see Ibn Bibi/Muttahidin, p. 635.
- 106 Walbridge 'The Philosophy', p. 271.
- 107 Translations of different parts of this work have been published by the Islamic Texts Society in the UK.
- 108 According to Walbridge, the reference should be in Minuvi, 'Mulla Qutb al-Shirazi', pp. 172–73.
- 109 Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu devletleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1969), p. 123.
- 110 Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu*, pp. 142–43, 213.
- 111 For an edition of the work with an introduction with information about the life of the author, see Mu'ayyid al-Din al-Jandi, *Nafhat al-ruh wa-tuhfat al-futuh*. Edited by Najib Mayil-i Harawi (Tehran: Intisarati Mawla, 1362 (1983)).
- 112 Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Two Sufis of Ilkhanid Anatolia and their Patrons: Notes on the Works of Mu'ayyid al-Din Jandi and Da'ud al-Qaysari', in Suzan Yalman (ed.) *Cultural Encounters in Anatolia in the Medieval Period: The Ilkhanids in Anatolia* (Ankara, VEKAM, 2019), pp. 11–28.
- 113 On the Parvana and Çobanoğlu control of Sinop, see Chapter 2. I was unable to identify this woman, but the title used by Jandi to refer to her (*malikat al-malikāt*)

- was a common epithet used to refer to women members of royal houses. See Rustam Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 203–04.
- 114 Anonymous, *Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq dar Anatuli*; Melville, ‘The Early Persian Historiography of Anatolia’.
- 115 Melville, ‘The Early Persian Historiography of Anatolia’, pp. 150–53.
- 116 There are over 200 manuscripts listed as copied in Kastamonu in Turkish library catalogues, of which none is mentioned as being copied in the early 14th century. Other more ancient manuscripts are available at the Kastamonu Yasma Eser Kütüphanesi but they all appear to be brought from other places. See Ahmed Ateş, ‘Kastamonu Genel Kitaplığında bulunan bazı mühim arapça ve farsça yazmalar’, *Oriens* 5:1 (1952), pp. 28–46.
- 117 The manuscript copied in Sinop can be found in the Burdur II Halk Kütüphanesi, no. 1860. It is a copy of an Arabic work entitled *Sharh wiqayat al-riwayafi masa’il al-hidaya* by the astronomer and religious scholar ‘Ubayd Allah b. Mas’ud Mahbubi (d. in Bukhara in 1346). It is uncertain if he ever visited Anatolia but he frequently references Qutb al-Din Shirazi’s astronomical work. See Glen M. Cooper, ‘Şadr al-Sharī’a al-Thānī: ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Mas’ūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī al-Ḥanafī’, *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (New York: Springer, 2007), pp. 1887–89. The present manuscript was copied by a copyist named Muhammad b. Ishaq Aksasihri (Mehmed b. İshak Akçaşehri), whose *nisba* denotes an origin in the small town of Akçaşehir in the province of Karaman.
- 118 Ghazali, *Nasihāt al-muluk*. Edited by Jalal al-Din Huma’i (Tehran: Anjuman-i Asar-i Milli, 1972); for an English translation, see Ghazali, *Ghazzālī’s book of Counsel (Naṣīhat al-mulūk)*. Translated by F. R. C. Bagley (London: Oxford University Press, 1964). Patricia Crone suggest that while the first part of the *Nasihāt al-muluk* might has been composed by Ghazali, the second part of the work (the Mirror for Princes) might be a misattribution. See Patricia Crone, ‘Did al-Ghazzālī write a Mirror for Princes?’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), pp. 161–91. Others, however, argue that both parts of the text could have been written by Ghazali. See a reference to those defending this position in Omid Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge in Pre-Modern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Enquiry* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina University Press, 2006), p. 117. In any case, both parts of the work seem to have circulated together as part of the same work from the mid-12th century onwards.
- 119 Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge*, p. 115.
- 120 Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge*, p. 119.
- 121 It was the Arabic translation of the *Nasihāt*, known as the *al-Tibr al-masbuk fi Nasihat al-muluk*, which became popular especially in the Mamluk and then Ottoman courts. See Ghazali, *Ghazzālī’s Book of Counsel*, xxi. On the importance of mirrors for princes among the Chobanids, see Chapter 4.
- 122 For a preliminary description of the letters, see Bruno De Nicola, ‘Letters from Mongol Anatolia: Professional, Political and Intellectual Connections among Members of a Persianised Elite’, *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 56:1 (2018), pp. 77–90.
- 123 Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları*, pp. 156–71.
- 124 On the travels of this doctor, see Bruno De Nicola, ‘The Trip of a Medieval Physician: A Rare Description of Mobility in Mongol Anatolia’, in Claudia Rapp and Yannis Stouraitis (eds), *Microstructures and Mobility in Byzantium* (Vienna: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2023), pp. 183–201.

- 125 In folio 58b of the same manuscript, there is a page in between two of the major works that has a part of a work written horizontally in Arabic. This page has the title *Siyar al-muluk* but the text does not belong to the work of Nizam al-Mulk; instead it corresponds to the fourth *bāb* of the second part of the Arabic version of Ghazali's *Nasihah al-muluk*. See al-Ghazali, *al-Tibr al-masbuk fi Nasihat al-muluk* (Beirut: Mu'assasat 'Izz al-Din, 1996). I am grateful to Alexey Khismatulin for helping me to identify this text.
- 126 On patronage of architecture in medieval Anatolia, see among others Howard Crane, 'Anatolian Saljuq Architecture and Its Links to Saljuq Iran', in Robert Hillenbrand (ed.), *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Edinburgh in 1982* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1994), pp. 263–68; Suzan A. Yalman, 'Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220–1237)', PhD dissertation (Harvard University, 2011); Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia After the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).
- 127 Howard Crane, 'Art and Architecture, 1300–1453', in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 266.
- 128 Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. Edited and translated by H. A. R. Gibb, vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1962), p. 461.
- 129 A famously studied case is that of Tamerlane and the patronage of architecture in his empire. See Mika Natif, 'Patronage of Art and Architecture under the Timurid Dynasty in Central Asia', PhD dissertation (Indiana University, 2000).
- 130 Bruno De Nicola, 'Urban Agency in the Borderlands', *Medieval Worlds* 14 (2021), pp. 155–78.
- 131 For a description of the terrain in which the castle was built, see T. Topal, M. K. Akin and M. Akin, 'Rockfall Hazard Analysis for an Historical Castle in Kastamonu (Turkey)', *Nat Hazards* 62 (2012), pp. 255–74.
- 132 Other fortifications in the area are Mollah Ahmet Kalesi (north of the city of Kastamonu) and Araş Kalesi to the west of the city. See James Crow, 'Alexios Komnenos and Kastamon: Castles and Settlement in Middle Byzantine Paphlagonia', in Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (eds), *Alexios I Komnenos* (Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1996), pp. 12–36.
- 133 On the use of the Castle by the Chobanids, see Chapter 2 on the occasion when Muzaffar al-Din imprisoned Rukn al-Din b. Kayka'us II in the castle. The maintenance and additions to the castle in Islamic times were mostly done during the Candaroğlu and Ottoman periods.
- 134 Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, vol. I, pp. 152–53; Cevdet Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşkoprü Çobanoğlu Muzaffereddin Yavlak Arslan Medresesi ve Camii', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 36:61 (2017), p. 46.
- 135 For a general, yet ancient, work on inscriptions in Kastamonu, see Mehmet Behçet, *Kastamonu: âsar-i kadimesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Maarif Vekâleti, 1341 (1925)). See also different contributions in Scott Redford (ed.), *Legends of Authority: The 1215 Seljuk Inscriptions of Sinop Citadel* (Istanbul: Koç University, 2014).
- 136 Examples are the cases of the Salghurids in Fars and the Qutluğkhanids of Kerman in southern Iran. See Denise Aigle, *Le Fârs sous la domination mongole: politique et fiscalité, XIIIe–XIVe s.* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement

- des études iraniennes, 2005); Bruno De Nicola, 'Pādshāh Khātūn (1256–1295): an Example of Architecture, Religious and Literary Patronage in the Ilkhanid Iran', in Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack and Francesca Fiaschetti (eds), *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia* (Berkeley CA: California University Press, 2020), pp. 270–89. For Anatolia, see Howard Crane, 'Notes on Saldjūq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36:1 (1993), pp. 1–57; more specifically, see Suzan Yalman, 'The "Dual Identity" of Mahperi Khatun: Piety, Patronage and Marriage across Frontiers in Seljuk Anatolia', in Patricia Blessing and Rachel Goshgarian (eds), *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100–1500* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp. 224–52; Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia After the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rum, 1240–1330* (London: Routledge, 2016).
- 137 On the negotiation of sacred spaces in medieval and early Ottoman Anatolia, see Speros Vryonis, 'Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 41–71; Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929); for a criticism on Hasluck's argument, see Tijana Krstić, 'The Ambiguous Politics of "Ambiguous Sanctuaries": F. Hasluck and Historiography on Syncretism and Conversion to Islam in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Rumeli', in David Shankland (ed.), *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2013), pp. 247–62.
- 138 On the Jandarids, see Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, vol. I, pp. 125–42.
- 139 Not to be confused with another mosque also referred to as Akçasu mosque located in the neighbourhood of the same name in the north part of the city of Safranbolu.
- 140 İlyas Kara, *Her yönüyle tarihten günümüze Kastamonu*, vol. 1 (Kastamonu: Bilge Kastamonu Gazetesi, 1997), p. 197.
- 141 Hüsnü Acar, *Çobanoğulları Beyliği Dönemi ve Kastamonu Fatih Emir Hüsameddin Çoban Bey* (Istanbul: Rem Matbaacılık, 1997), p. 37. See Figure 3.4.
- 142 Another early example is the mosque of Şeyh Ahmet in Gököy. See below.
- 143 Another example is the Kasaba Köy Camii, located in the town of Kasaba, close to Kastamonu. This mosque was built in the second half of the 14th century by the Candaroğlu dynasty and stands as one of the main examples of this type of building. See Mahmut Akok, 'Kastamonu'nun Kasabaköyünde Candaroğlu Mahmut Bey Camii', *Belleter* 10 (1946), pp. 293–301.
- 144 See Halit Çal and Özlem Ataoğuz Çal, *Kastamonu Atabey Gazi Camisi ve Türbesi Hazirelerindeki Mezar Taşları* (Kastamonu: Kastamonu Belediye Başkanlığı, 2010).
- 145 Acar, *Çobanoğulları Beyliği*, p. 43; Fazıl Çiftçi, *Kastamonu Camileri-Türbeleri ve Diğer Eserler* (Ankara: Türk Diyanet Vakfı Yayın Matbaacılık, 1995), pp. 91–93.
- 146 Acar, *Çobanoğulları Beyliği*, pp. 41–42.
- 147 Perhaps referring to one of Sulayman Jandarid's sons, Ibrahim (r. 1341–?) or 'Ali. See Yücel, *Anadolu*, p. 66.
- 148 Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. 2, p. 464.
- 149 Cevdet Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü Çobanoğlu Muzaffereddin Yavlak Arslan Medresesi ve Camii', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 36:61 (2017), p. 46–47.
- 150 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), p. 96.

- 151 Acar, *Çobanoğulları Beyliği*, p. 45; Çiftçi, *Kastamonu Camileri*, p. 258.
- 152 Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 259, 415 fn. 30.
- 153 There is also speculation that the favouritism of Muzaffar al-Din for the town of Taşköprü might be connected to a possible residence as governor in the area when Muzaffar al-Din was a prince. See Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü', p. 48. Placing the heir and princes in charge of urban centres was a common custom among Sultans of Rum (see Chapter 1) and apparently an identical situation happened in the case of the mysterious town of Simre that is mentioned in the medieval sources. See Oktay Özel, 'Simre', in Scott Redford (ed.), *Legends of Authority: The 1215 Seljuk Inscriptions of Sinop Citadel* (Istanbul: Koç University, 2014); Adrian Sounders, 'A Note on the Greek Text of the Arabic-Greek Bilingual Inscription at Sinop', in Redford, *Legends of Authority*; for the Arabic inscription mentioning Simre, see Redford, *Legends of Authority*, pp. 166–69.
- 154 Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. 2, p. 464.
- 155 See this suggestion also in Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. 2, p. 465, fn. 186.
- 156 Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü', p. 46.
- 157 I was unable to gather more information about this *zāwiya*.
- 158 Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü', p. 49. An inscription found in the madrasa can be found today in the Museum of Kastamonu. Yakupoğlu provides a transcription of the original Arabic and a Turkish translation of the inscription. See Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü', pp. 49–50.
- 159 Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü', pp. 51–64.
- 160 Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, vol. I, pp. 154–55.
- 161 For a summary on inscriptions found in mosques constructed during the early Candaroğlu period, see Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, vol. I, pp. 153–60.
- 162 Curry, *The Transformation*, p. 94; Ülkü Ü Bates, 'An Introduction to the Study of the Anatolian Türbe and its Inscriptions as Historical Documents', *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 4 (1970–71), pp. 72–84.
- 163 For an account of tombs from constructed from the 13th century onwards in the region of Çankırı, see Ahmet Ali Bayhan et al., 'Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devrinde Çankırı'daki İmar Faaliyetleri' in Halil Çetin (ed.), *Kuzey Anadolu'da Beylikler Dönemi Sempozyumu* (Çankırı: Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), pp. 171–200.
- 164 Kara, *Her yönüyle*, p. 202; Fazıl Çifci, *Kastamonu camileri, türbeleri ve diğer tarihi eserler* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Kastamonu Şubesi, 2000), p. 173.
- 165 Curry, *The Transformation*, p. 105
- 166 There is a waqf of the founding of this building as a *zāwiya* dated AH 603 (1206–07) that also granted the lodge the land around the building. See Talât Mümtaz Yaman, *Kastamonu tarihi* (Kastamonu?: Ahmed İhsan Matbaası, 1935), p. 85. As Korobeinikov has noted, this not only suggests a steady income produced in the area, but might also be a sign of a more permanent settlement of Turkmen tribes in the region. See Korobeinikov, 'The Revolt', p. 90, fn. 7.
- 167 The prestige of Abdülfettâh-ı Velî seems to have remained in the city of Kastamonu among his descendants. Şeyh el-Hac Mustafa, a grandson of Abdülfettâh and the founder of a dervish lodge has been suggested as the possible author of an Arabic *tafsîr* entitled *Jawahir al-asdaf*. Composed for the education of Taceddin İbrahim Beg (fl. 1440s), son of Isfendiyyar b. Bayezid (ff. 787/1385), ruler of the Candaroğlu

- dynasty of Kastamonu, the work contains interlinear translation in Turkish and was produced in 14th-century Kastamonu according to Abdulkadiroğlu. See Abdülkerim Abdulkadiroğlu, 'Cevahirü'l-Esdaf'ın Müellifi veya Mütercimi Meselesim', in Kastamonu Yüksekokulu Koruma Derneği (ed.), *Türk Tarihinde ve Kültüründe Kastamonu Tebliğler 19–21 Ekim 1988 Kastamonu* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1989), pp. 35, 40; Ahmet Topaloğlu, 'Kur'an-ı Kerim'in ilk Türkçe tercümeleleri ve Cevâhirü'l-âsdâf', *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 27 (1983), pp. 58–66.
- 168 Shihab al-Din Maqbuli-yi Qirshahri was a scholar and tutor in the Ilkhanid court. On Razi's life, see Najm al-Din Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return = (Merşād al-'ebād men al-mabdā' elā'l-ma'ād): A Sufi compendium*. Edited and translated by Hamid Algar (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1982), pp. 8–16. A copy of the *Bahr al-haqa'iq* is in the H. Hüsnü Paşa collection n. 37 at the Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi in Istanbul.
- 169 Aflaki, *Manaqib al-'arifin*, II, pp. 932–33 / Aflaki, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, p. 652.
- 170 Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, pp. 55–57.
- 171 Acar, *Çobanoğulları Beyliği*, pp. 51–52; Çiftçi, *Kastamonu Camileri*, p. 182.
- 172 Acar, *Çobanoğulları Beyliği*, p. 46; Çiftçi, *Kastamonu Camileri*, p. 176. See Figure 3.5.
- 173 Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü', p. 47.
- 174 Yakupoğlu, 'Kastamonu-Taşköprü', p. 47.
- 175 See, for example, the Devci Sultan Türbesi or the Maden Dede Türbesi.
- 176 As was the case of the Timurids later on, see Natif, 'Patronage of Art and Architecture', p. 36.
- 177 On the meaning of the term *akhī*, see Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 117. On *futuwwa* organisations in Turkey and Iran, see Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 77–80; Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, pp. 117–44.
- 178 Ibn Batutta, *The Travels*, Vol. 2, p. 465.
- 179 For a description of the waqfs from the region of Kastamonu into the Ottoman period, see Cevdet Yakupoğlu, 'Selçuklular, Beylikler ve Osmanlılar Döneminde Kastamonu Çevresinde Ahiler', *Erdem*, 55 (2009), pp. 157–74.
- 180 Folder no: Mü. 5/13 591, page 12, order number 16. I am grateful to İklil Selçuk for calling my attention to this document. A list of the early *waqfiyyas* in the archive can be found in İbrahim Ateş, 'Yunus Emre'nin Vakıf İlkeleri İstikametindeki Düşünceleri ve Belgeleri Muhtevasında Zaviyeleri', *Vakıf Haftası Dergisi* 8 (1991), pp. 117–34.
- 181 Yakupoğlu, 'Selçuklular', p. 166.
- 182 Yakupoğlu, 'Selçuklular', p. 166.

4 A mirror for princes for the Chobanids

Re-interpreting the *Siyar al-muluk*

The literary genre generally referred to as ‘mirrors for princes’ or ‘advice literature’ became popular in medieval courts both in Christian and Muslim territories. On the one hand, these works were conceived to provide rulers, officials and members of the court with a description of moral and practical duties towards their subjects, the administration of the state and their desired conduct in the eyes of God. On the other, mirrors for princes also had a more pragmatic purpose for the authors. The majority of them were composed to serve as evidence of the authors’ literary capability and used as a means to obtain positions in the court, or financial rewards, or to challenge political rivals. These works generally mix concepts of practical ethics with pragmatic issues that may arise during the reign of a ruler. The origin of this literary genre can be traced back to Antiquity, and the works of Aristotle, Plato, or Plutarch in ancient Greece or Seneca in Roman times would commonly be imitated in medieval times. Using some of these authors and adding early Christian traditions, different works on advice for rulers appeared in Europe and Byzantium from at least the 9th century, and the genre was consolidated at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries.¹

In the case of the Islamic world, these works generally include references to pre-Islamic kings, Greek and Hellenistic traditions and classic Islamic texts such as hadiths and the Quran.² Deborah Tor has recently demonstrated that there seems to have been no incongruity, in the eyes of pious medieval Muslims, in incorporating different aspects of pre-Islamic Iranian traditions of kingship into their work; this was rather perceived as complementary to the Islamic understanding of rulership.³ Often, a sense of realpolitik can be clearly distinguished in the selection of topics covered by these works.⁴ The influence of a Persian bureaucratic tradition in the structure of Islamic states since the late Umayyad period pervades this type of literature. In addition to this political character, mirrors for princes in the Islamic world became a genre that acquired popularity and prestige for its literary style and historiographical value.⁵ The animal fables contained in *Kalila wa Dimna*, an Arabic translation/adaptation made by Ibn al-Muqaffa’ (d. c. 756) of the Indian work known as *Panchatantra*, is considered as the initial example of advice literature.⁶ Yet this

literary genre became popularised in the Islamic lands in the Persian language at the time when this language was undergoing a period of literary revival in Khurasan during the second half of the 11th century. It is in this period when fundamental works in this genre appear written in Persian prose, such as the *Qabusnama* (also *Nasihatnama*),⁷ the *Siyar al-muluk* (*Siyasatnama*) ascribed to Nizam al-Mulk (1018–92), or the *Nasihat al-muluk* attributed to Ghazali (d. 1111), among others.⁸ As suggested by Bosworth, the appearance of all these works in the Khurasan area in the space of four decades can hardly be a coincidence and possibly signals a shift in the balance of power in the Islamic world towards the east, marked by the rise of the Great Seljuq Turks from the 11th century onwards.⁹

In the 13th century, during the Ilkhanid period, advice literature gained even further popularity. Although popular also in Arabophone territories such as Ayyubid Syria, the phenomenon has been interpreted as a reflection of the acculturation of both Mongols and Turks to the cultural ethos of their Persianised subjects.¹⁰ Yet despite the fact that there was certainly a process of Persianisation of the Mongol rulers, the majority of these texts were dedicated to local rulers subject to the Ilkhans in Anatolia, Iraq and southern Iran.¹¹ Particularly in Anatolia, a significant number of mirrors for princes were produced in the first half of the 13th century and dedicated to the Seljuq sultans of Rum before the Mongol invasion.¹² In this period, advice literature shared some common features such as having the *Nasihat al-muluk*, often attributed to Ghazali, as the main reference work, or being composed by little-known scholars and courtiers. However, the Mongol invasion transformed not only Seljuq politics but also its intellectual culture, affecting also the composition of advice literature in post-Mongol Anatolia. In the second half of the 13th century, works such as the *Lata'if al-hikma* of Siraj al-Din Urmawi (d. 1283), dedicated to Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us II (d. 1280), would influence the production of subsequent works in the mirror for princes genre, including the *Fustat al-'adala*, dedicated to the Chobanid ruler of Kastamonu.¹³ Incidentally, Qutb al-Din Shirazi, who also dedicated a work to the Chobanids, borrowed substantially from the *Lata'if al-hikma* for the composition of his *Durrat al-Taj*.¹⁴

As we saw in Chapter 3, the inclusion of a copy in Persian of the *Nasihat al-muluk* in a *majmū'a* composed in the Kastamonu region in the early 14th century attests to the influence that this work still had in the literary production of north-western Anatolia. The *Fustat al-'adala*, dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din Mas'ud b. Alp Yürek and composed in 1284–85, is based not on the *Nasihat al-muluk* but on another of the classic Persian advice literatures of the 11th century, the *Siyar al-muluk* (*Siyasatnama*) (see Chapter 3). This chapter will briefly introduce the *Siyar al-muluk*, the questions about its authenticity, the dissemination of the work and the influence it had on medieval Persian literature. After this introduction, this chapter will look at the adaptations made in the *Fustat al-'adala* to the original text by looking at the arrangement of contents and chapter omissions in the Chobanid text vis-à-vis the original

work. There follows an analysis of the additions made by the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* to his rendition of the *Siyar al-muluk* and what these additions might tell us about the particularities of the religious, political and social history of north-western Anatolia in the second half of the 13th century.

4.1 The *Siyar al-muluk* (*Siyasatnama*)

The *Siyasatnama* or, as it was known in medieval times, *Siyar al-muluk* has been generally attributed to the famous Seljuq vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1018–92). He was born in the village of Radkan near the Khurasanian city of Tus to a family of officials in the service of the Ghaznavid dynasty (977–1163).¹⁵ He is mentioned as having studied in Nishapur with the famous Shafi'i scholar Hibat Allah al-Muwaffaq before he was forced to flee the region with his father after the Great Seljuqs removed the Ghaznavids from the area in 1040.¹⁶ Finding his first job in the Ghaznavid court just a few years later, he spent some time in the Khurasanian cities of Balkh and Marv before returning to the Seljuq court, where he quickly climbed the political ladder of Seljuq administration to become the main political advisor first in the court of Sultan Alp Arslan (r. 1063–72) and later in that of his son and successor Malik Shah (r. 1072–92).¹⁷ According to the preface of the work, it was at the request of the former that Nizam al-Mulk set out to write this work as a manual for government, administration and behaviour that, in fifty chapters, enumerates different virtues and practices to be used by rulers, kings, or emperors.¹⁸

There are several dates proposed for the compilation of the *Siyar al-muluk*, with the latest one being AH 500 (1107) if we question the ascription of the text to Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092).¹⁹ The standard version consists of fifty chapters in which a variety of historical anecdotes are organised thematically for the ruler on different aspects of the arts of government. The text is a good source for the political history of its own time because it contains various attacks on the author's political rivals inside the court, such as Terken Khatun, the wife of Sultan Malik Shah.²⁰ Further, the book is not only a manual of administration but also represents the magnanimous power that the institution of the vizierate achieved in the hands of Nizam al-Mulk, reaching unprecedented influence in the administration of the Seljuq Empire.²¹ More recently, it has been suggested that the book might have served a more prosaic purpose. According to Khismatulin, the work could also be seen as both a motivation letter and a job description in which the author exposed his ideas about ruling and how it should be done, but with the very clear goal of securing a position in the administration of the Seljuq Empire. Khismatulin observes that there is a similar intention in other mirrors for princes, such as the *Rahat al-sudur* of Ravandi, which may constitute a separate genre of administrative literature²² that follows a particular pattern in its composition and that was used to apply for a position at the Seljuqs' court.²³ As we will see, a similar argument could be made for the Chobanid adaptation included in the *Fustat al-'adala* explored below.

The textual history of the *Siyar al-muluk* is complex and elusive.²⁴ When looking at different pre-modern manuscript versions of the work, it is apparent that they have significant differences from one another. It seems two main versions or redactions of the text exist: one made by a copyist named Muhammad Maghribi with an afterword on behalf of Nizam al-Mulk and a qasida appended to the main text. The other was made by an unknown medieval editor without the afterword and the appended qasida (see below).²⁵ In recent years, this variation in the work's contents has raised suspicions about the originality of the text and even the attribution of the composition of the work to Nizam al-Mulk.²⁶ Khismatulin has suggested that the Persian vizier probably only wrote a *muwdu'āt*, which is a short work agreement providing a description of official duties. Although his argument is not universally accepted because it does not explain the clear references to events in the life of Nizam al-Mulk in this section of the work, Khismatulin suggests that the agreement was later edited and commented on by other people and attributed to the famous vizier to provide legitimacy and authority to the text.²⁷

The text in both versions became immensely popular in medieval times, influencing other advice literature in the Middle East, and was seen as a reference work for court literature in the Islamic world.²⁸ Together with the other classic Persian mirrors for princes mentioned above, the *Siyar al-muluk* played an important role in the development of political thought in the pre-modern Islamic world that would reach its peak with scholars such as Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 1273) or Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406).²⁹ A number of the text's editions and translations have also been produced in modern times, with the most popular version in English being Darke's translation based on the Nakhjavani manuscript, copied in 673/1274 in Tabriz and representing the second version of the text.³⁰ Darke's translation came after an early Persian edition of the first version of the text and a translation in French done by Charles Schefer in the late 19th century, which helped to popularise the text among European scholars in the 20th century.³¹ Finally, the book has been edited and published in Iran several times, with editions by Abbas Iqbal and Alexey Khismatulin being taken in the following section of this chapter as one of the references for comparison of the text's adaptation appearing in the *Fustat al-'adala*.³²

Despite their popularity in Iran, mirrors for princes in general, and the *Siyar al-muluk* in particular, seem to have had a much narrower readership in medieval Anatolia.³³ In this context, the appearance of one of the text's two main versions ascribed to Nizam al-Mulk in the composition of a work dedicated to a local ruler of Kastamonu in the late 13th century is an interesting literary phenomenon that deserves special attention. How much of the original text was transmitted and how faithful the transmission was is relevant to understand not only the author's intentions of the author but also the potential literary taste of the work's patrons. The tailoring of its structure, the addition of specific elements and the removal of sections of the original text suggest a proper manufacturing of this work that goes beyond a simple transmission of a classical Persian text.

4.2 The *Fustat al-'adala* and the *Siyar al-muluk*: Comparing chapters and structure

The *Fustat al-'adala* is a unique work from the point of view of its contents and the singularity of the themes it covers. The only surviving manuscript of the *Fustat al-'adala* has two parts which were reversed from the text's original order.³⁴ The work is divided in five chapters (*bāb*), each of which contains different sections (*faṣl*; pl. *fuṣūl*). Perhaps because of the uniqueness of the information contained in the first part of the work, scholars have omitted or disregarded the rest of the work as being simply a transliteration of the *Siyar al-muluk* with little historical relevance.³⁵ While the text has been used on different occasions as a source for the Anatolia's religious history and the early development of antinomian Sufi movements in the region, it has never been analysed as a source for the political history of medieval Anatolia.

The second part of the manuscript, Supplement Turc 1120, which is in fact the first chapter of the work, occupies 45 folios and it contains mainly sections of the *Siyar al-muluk*. Yet, when one looks closely at the text, a number of features rapidly emerge that clearly suggest that this part cannot be easily labelled as a mere transcription of the other work, but is instead a more complex literary endeavour. A quick survey of the contents suggests that about 75 per cent of the text seems to have been taken from the *Siyar al-muluk*, but that it also introduces changes, as described below. Something in the area of 15 per cent of the text can be considered new stories, with only about 10 per cent or less of the remaining text totally unchanged from the original.³⁶ Out of the five chapters of the *Fustat al-'adala*, two chapters (*bāb* 1, ff. 73–118) and *bāb* 4, ff. 27–50) contain borrowings from the *Siyar al-muluk*.³⁷

It has been pointed out by both Louise Marlow and Andrew Peacock that mirrors for princes can tell us something about the court in which they were composed.³⁸ From this point of view, this particular literary genre can offer a unique insight into court life, helping us to uncover aspects of the political ideas, aspirations and representations of the Chobanid court that patronised the composition of this work. In the case of the *Fustat al-'adala*, one of the main problems in situating and contextualising the work lies in the fact that the early part of the work, and consequently the preface, is missing. This is where any information on the context of the text's production could be found.³⁹ This poses a problem, as we lack a description of the author's original intentions in composing this work. However, by comparing the surviving section of the *Fustat al-'adala* with various editions of the original text of the *Siyar al-muluk*, it is possible to reconstruct, even if only partially, the original contents of the work. Further, by looking at these omissions from the more standard version of the text, it is possible to suggest some of the author's intentions and uncover part of the agency of a text that, as has been suggested by Marlow, was generally produced to obtain a financial reward for their writing or to attain a high position at court – in this case, from the Chobanid ruler of Kastamonu.⁴⁰

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the two parts that divide the manuscript of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* have been reversed in the only existing manuscript of the work. The colophon of the text appears in folio 69a followed by a qasida poem that is left unfinished.⁴¹ The majority of European and modern editions do not include the poem in their editions and translations. This is because these scholars have often interpreted the fact that the colophons of the manuscripts used in their editions precede the poem as clear evidence of the poem being a later addition to the work.⁴² However, in his recent edition of the text in Russian, Khismatulin argues that the qasida was already present in the 12th-century version of the work that was originally used to copy the two manuscripts, which became the source for modern translators of the text.⁴³ In fact, the inclusion of the qasida in the *Fustat al-ʿadala* (composed in 1284–85) supports Khismatulin’s argument and suggests that the qasida was already present in the 12th-century version of the *Siyar al-muluk* used by the author of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* to compose his work. Further, the poem in the *Fustat al-ʿadala* is also located after the colophon, which suggests that placing the colophon before the poem could have been a common arrangement of the medieval rendition of the *Siyar al-muluk* and disproves the argument of the poem as a much later addition. Overall, the inclusion of the qasida as the closing element in the composition of the text also adds to the view that the author of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* was using the *Siyar al-muluk* as a template to produce a new text that he could present to his patron in Kastamonu.

Possibly unaware of its textual history, Muzaffar al-Din Choban would look at the *Fustat al-ʿadala* as if this was a new composition especially crafted for him. Nowhere in the surviving text is it mentioned that the *Siyar al-muluk* is being used as a source for the work. In fact, it makes sense to think about this as an intentional omission by the author, with the objective of receiving full credit from the patron for the composition of the book and/or increasing the author’s prestige in the eyes of the ruler. The author’s motivations in the composition of this work were not centred on transmitting or preserving a version of the *Siyar al-muluk*, but rather to convince his patron of his own literary skills and capabilities.

The grammar used in the text is simplified with regard to the already simple *Siyar al-muluk*. The author of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* modifies some of the sentences from the original text, even changing very simple auxiliary verbs used in the *Siyar al-muluk*. The style of the text becomes more ‘spoken’, since the author in most cases omits the conjunction ‘wa’ between sentences or synonyms that grammatically require this word. The lexicon and formulation of the text are also altered when the author of the new work seems to have revised the original *Siyar al-muluk* sentence by sentence to insert synonyms, or reformulated the order of words and sentences.⁴⁴ The reasons for this could be, firstly, an attempt to make the meaning of the text more accessible to his audience in northern Anatolia, whose exposure to classical Persian might have been limited. On the other hand, this modification of the language might be

an attempt to further hide the original text from the eyes of his readers and, in this way, avoid being accused of plagiarism and thus be able to claim authorship of this work.⁴⁵ In addition, the author selects specific chapters from the *Siyar al-muluk* and adds short stories and anecdotes from other sources, to present this work not only as an original composition, but also as proof of his value as a man of letters. In different places in the text, the author makes references to his wiliness and his availability to take up a position at the court. For example, the author makes explicit statements of his own at the end or the beginning of the stories presented in the work, emphasising that kings need to grant positions (*makān*) and offices (*maqām*) to those among scholars (*ulama*), men of grace (*faʿl*) and religion (*dīndār*) and those that are devoted (*zuhd*) and who fear God (*taqwā*).⁴⁶

Further evidence that the changes were made intentionally for the purpose of adapting an existing work to a new context can be found in some of the specific modifications made by the author of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* to the qasida that closes the original version.⁴⁷ Table 4.1 shows how the poem was copied to be almost identical to the original but with some specific lines (*bayts*) modified to obscure the text's origin. The *bayts* including the name of Nizam al-Mulk in the original rendition of the qasida are removed and the dedication of the work made originally to the Seljuq sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad b. Malik Shah (r. 1105–18) is replaced with the name of Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek, the work's Chobanid patron.⁴⁸

In addition to the change in the name of the work's dedicatee, other variations in the qasida are worth mentioning. Firstly, there is a clear awareness of the author of the *Fustat* about titles used by the local rulers of Kastamonu. In the poem, wherever the original poem had the word *shah* (emperor), it is replaced with the title word (a)mir (ruler/governor) – more appropriate to the rank of members of the Chobanid dynasty, as we saw in Chapter 2. Further, there is an effort in using the formula of the original qasida in *bayt* 23 to reinforce Muzaffar al-Din's dynastic claim to the amirate of Kastamonu, used to legitimise his position as ruler by stating a clear hereditary dynastic connection with his grandfather Husam al-Din Choban (see Chapter 2).

Among different editions of the *Siyar al-muluk*, there is not a standard textual arrangement. While Darke and Schefer arrange the text in fifty chapters, Köymen's Turkish edition does not include all the chapters of the other two.⁴⁹ The *Fustat al-ʿadala* makes its own arrangement of the sections (*fuṣūl*) borrowed from the *Siyar al-muluk* (ff. 73–118).⁵⁰ The text in the initial section (73a–77a) in the *Fustat al-ʿadala* corresponds to the contents of chapter XIII of Darke's version of the *Siyar al-muluk*. From the numbering given to the sections in the *Fustat al-ʿadala*, we can deduce that the initial section that has the beginning missing was section XII in the complete text. Hence, there is an almost exact correlation of section (*faṣl*) number and contents at the beginning of the text, suggesting that the missing initial part of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* may also have included the initial chapters of the standard *Siyar al-muluk*. It

Table 4.1 Comparison of dedication in the final qasida of the *Siyar al-muluk* and the *Fustat al-'adala*

<i>Fustat al-'adala</i>	<i>n.</i>	<i>Siyar al-muluk</i> ¹⁰⁶	<i>n.</i>
این دفتر مبارک و دستور خسروان / فرخنده باد بر شه منصور بر ظفر	19	این دفتر مبارک دستور خسروان / فرخنده باد بر شه دین دار و دادگر	21
میر جهان مظفر الدین ابن البرک / مسعود عادل و دانای پر هنر	20	سلطان غیاث دین محمد محمد آنکه / دادش خدای عرش بر اعدای دین ظفر	22
میری که بر سریر سعادت برای دین / او سرورست چون جد (و) میرست چون پدر	21	شاهی که بر سریر شاهی در سرای دین / شاهینشهبست چون جد و شاهست چون پدر	23
میران همه چو عقد تو هستی چو واسطه گیتی چو روضه است درو داد تو حضر	22	و هستی تو واسطه (sic) عقده همه چو شاهان گیتی چو روضه است و درو داد تو حضر	34
Translation			
This auspicious book and commands of kings / may it be auspicious for the victorious shah!	19	This auspicious book and commands of kings / may it be auspicious for a pious and righteous shah!	21
(a)mir of the world Muzaffar al-Din ibn Alp Yürek / a fortunate, righteous, wise and skilful (ruler)	20	Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad [= succour of Muhammad's religion], / to whom God in heaven gave victory over the enemies of religion.	22
The(a)mir in the royal throne for the fortune of religion / He is a sovereign like his grandfather and an amir like his father	21	The shah, on the royal throne in the palace of religion / is the shahinshah like his grandfather and a shah like his father.	23
All amirs are like a necklace and your being like the pearl in the middle, the universe is like a garden [also 'paradise'], and your justice is always present in it.	22	all the shahs are like a necklace and your being like the pearl in the middle, the universe is like a garden, and your justice is always present in it.	34

is at the end of this initial section (f. 77b) when we have the first titles written in the *Fustat al-'adala*. The text reads that this is section XIII, entitled 'On kings' boon companions and their manners',⁵¹ which corresponds to section XVII in the standard version of the *Siyar al-muluk*. From here onwards, the numbering of the sections stop matching but it is interesting to note that with the exception of the insertion of section XVII (*Siyar al-muluk* XL), the progression of sections and themes of the standard version of the *Siyar al-muluk* is mostly maintained in the *Fustat al-'adala*. That means that all the sections that survived in the part bound second in the Anatolian manuscript cover only those sections located between chapters XIII and XLII of *Siyar al-muluk*.⁵²

The themes of the sections (*fusūl*) from the original work included in the *Fustat al-'adala* are not selected randomly. When they are considered together, they reveal an inner coherence marked by a concern for aspects of the organisation of the court officials and agents. Firstly, some sections deal with the specific

duties of some courtly agents, such as spies (section XII), boon companions (section XIII), experienced advisors (section XIV), ambassadors (section XV) and servants (section XVI). Secondly, slaves seem to be one of the text's main concerns since a group of sections deal with the appropriate measures that need to be taken to deal with slaves in the court (sections XVI and XIX), and provide instructions on how to serve a king in this regard (section XVIII). After these *fuṣūl*, the last few sections incorporated from the *Siyar al-muluk* are more concerned with the role of the king himself in dealing with his officials by advising him not to take hasty decisions (section XX), on having a clear knowledge of the titles and ranks of agents (section XXI) and on preventing assigning the same job to two different people (section XXII). It is important to highlight that all these sections belong to the first part of the *Siyar al-muluk*, which is believed to have been written by Nizam al-Mulk himself, and offer less doubts about authenticity than the second part.

However, the *Fustat al-'adala* includes one section (section XVII) from the last eleven of the *Siyar al-muluk* in this part of the work that were added to the original work after the assassination of the Persian vizier and that are imbued with a sense of pessimism over the challenge that Ismailism posed to the Seljuq court.⁵³ This specific section corresponds to chapter XL in the standard version of the *Siyar al-muluk*, dealing with 'showing mercy for the creatures of God and the acts of bringing back the law and customs to its place'.⁵⁴ The remaining sections originally added to the *Siyar al-muluk* after the assassination of Nizam al-Mulk are inserted in the second part of the *Fustat al-'adala*, bound at the beginning of Ms. Supplement Turc 1120.⁵⁵ This group of sections (corresponding to sections XLII–XLVII of the *Siyar al-muluk*) are grouped in chapter (*bāb*) 4 of the *Fustat al-'adala* and deal with the rise of different heretic groups such as Qaramatians, Mazdakis, Batinis, Khurramites and others.

Considered together, the order of the chapters in the *Fustat al-'adala* allows a few preliminary interpretations. The bulk of the sections included in the initial part of the work (second part of the manuscript) show a concern with providing the reader with elements to set up a court in accordance with Nizam al-Mulk's ideal view of an Islamic state. The context in which the *Fustat al-'adala* is produced – that is, in the early 1280s – means that the themes of these chapters are of a piece with the type of literature produced by, for example, Husam al-Din Khu'i in this period for the same Chobanid leaders (see Chapter 6). Further, it is interesting to note the specific concern of the *Fustat*'s author to include sections related to slavery. The slave trade was active in Anatolia from the 13th century, with an intensive traffic of people from a variety of ethnic origins and religious affiliations, both genders and all ages.⁵⁶ The Mongol presence in the Crimea and the Russian steppes and the conquest of Anatolia by Baiju in 1243 opened the region to an extensive trading network in the Black Sea that made the Anatolian Peninsula a strategic location for the lucrative slave trade between western Europe and the Russian steppes.⁵⁷ We have no specific study on slavery in the Kastamonu region in the 13th century,

but research has shown that both Sinop and Kastamonu (both regions under Chobanid influence) were important in the trade routes of slaves from the Black Sea to Europe in the 14th and especially 15th centuries.⁵⁸ In addition, residents of Kastamonu were enslaved and sold to Christian traders even in the early 14th century, suggesting that this borderland region might have been an active area of slave capture.⁵⁹ The extensive references to slavery in the *Fustat al-ʿadala* might be interpreted as a result of the need to deal with a possible large influx of slaves in the Chobanid court, precipitated by their conquests over Christian populations in the 13th century and the strategic location of their territories on the long-range slave trade routes between the Golden Horde and Italian merchants in the second half of the 13th century.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that a group of sections included at the end of the *Siyar al-muluk*'s standard editions and translations are also reorganised in the *Fustat al-ʿadala*. In his translation of the *Siyar al-muluk*, Hubert Darke noticed that there was a change of tone in the topics covered in the text from sections XL onwards. He suggests that this is due to the later composition of these sections and to the fact that they were not seen by Malik Shah and were only added to the previous sections by a librarian after the death of the author.⁶⁰ The majority of these sections are grouped in *bāb* 4 of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* and inserted in between *bāb* 3 and *bāb* 5 that do not belong to the *Siyar al-muluk*.⁶¹ This is clearly an editorial decision by the author of the *Fustat al-ʿadala*, who was motivated by a need to contextualise the emergence and spread of the Qalandars in his own time (described in *bāb* 5), and so takes a number of sections from the *Siyar al-muluk* and presents them as an original chapter of his own authorship.

4.3 Tailoring the *Siyar al-muluk*: Added and omitted sections in the *Fustat al-ʿadala*

In the same way that the inclusion of certain sections of the *Siyar al-muluk* unveils the agency of the *Fustat al-ʿadala*, the omission of certain parts of the original work offers room for analysis. If we agree that the author of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* makes a conscious decision when including sections of the *Siyar al-muluk*, then the omissions might also have been intentional. Between the initial two sections included in the *Fustat al-ʿadala*, there is an omission of a section detailing the duties of 'courtiers' (section XIV in the *Siyar al-muluk*), another 'on being careful about messages in drunkenness and sobriety' (section XV) and finally one 'on the use of stewards at the court' (section XVI). Similarly, while sections XIV and XV in the *Fustat* are based on *Siyar al-muluk*'s sections XVIII and XXI respectively, it omits sections XIX and XX from the original work, which correspond to one section dealing with kings' guards or 'solitaries' (*mufradān*) (section XIX), their equipment, and on the provision and use of jewelled weapons (section XX).

Another part of the *Siyar al-muluk* including five sections (XXII–XXVI inclusive) is omitted. These sections could be seen as rather tedious for a reader

who is looking for amusement in reading the *Siyar al-muluk*. They deal with subjects such as keeping fodder for animals ready in posting houses (XXII), troops' salaries (XXIII), bringing soldiers from different races into the army (XXIV), taking hostages in the court (XXV) and keeping Turkmen in the service of the court as pages (XXVI). All these chapters share the characteristics of being not only short in length, but also containing details that seems rather irrelevant or even offensive (section XXVI) to the Turkmen dynasty to which the *Fustat al-'adala* is dedicated. After the insertion of section XXVII (see below), the group of sections between XXVIII and XXXIV and XXXVIII–XXXIX are left aside. Like the previous group, they seem to have little to do with the Chobanid dynasty of Kastamonu, as they deal more with protocol or etiquette in affairs of state and have little practical advice for the rulers or interesting anecdotes to share.

In my view, both the inclusion and the exclusion of these sections share a coherent rationale when placing the *Fustat al-'adala* in the historical context in which the text was produced. Although by the 1280s the Chobanids were already established as regional rulers in Kastamonu, the official legitimation of their rule came with the acknowledgement of Ilkhan Arghun of Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek as *sipahsālār* of the region in 1284. The composition of this version of the *Siyar al-muluk*, being almost contemporary with this event, cannot but look like a premeditated act by which a copy of the most famous mirror for princes in the Persian tradition is tailored for the newly named ruler of Kastamonu. The work's author seems to be very aware of his patron's cultural and religious background. The omissions from the original text intentionally exclude those issues that might be less appealing to a local Turkmen lord at the far western corner of an empire. The *Fustat al-'adala* leaves out sections of the *Siyar al-muluk* that deal with imperial court matters, financial issues such as disposition of salaries, the organisation of military equipment for the army, or detailed instructions on the organisation of a court that could not be easily extrapolate from the court of the Great Seljuqs into the incipient Chobanid court. Similarly, some sections that could even offend Muzaffar al-Din are left out, such as section XXVI on keeping Turkmen as pages, although some that could have been useful for a ruler controlling a sedentary rural population were omitted, such as section XXXVII that deals mostly with the status of peasants. Finally, the inclusion of certain sections mentioned above proves to have both a potential applicability in the arts of government for the Chobanid court and a special concern for the moral background of the anecdotes contained in the work. Islamic morality, as we will see in the next section, is also a special concern of the author, who tries to adapt the text to provide a more up-to-date religious content suitable for the Chobanid court in the midst of the process of Islamisation.

Special mention should be made of the inclusion of a full section that, although the title can be equated with section XVIII of the original *Siyar al-muluk*, has clearly been modified by relying on other sources. Section XIV of the *Fustat al-'adala* is titled 'On consulting on the king's concerns', but

although the theme of the section corresponds to the kind of title that can be found in many mirrors for princes, the contents of this chapter are very different in nature from the rest of the narrative. This short section (ff. 80b–81b) contains a number of poems in Persian and Arabic and two anecdotes. While the verses try to emphasise to the king the importance of having reliable advisors, the prose stories offer a different perspective to the *Siyar al-muluk*. The first anecdote is set up in the context of the early years of Islam. A man brings his wife to the presence of the caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khattab (d. 644), claiming that he has been with this woman for only six months and now she has given birth to a boy. The woman swears that the boy belongs to her husband and that she has never been with another man. Yet ‘Umar orders for her to be lapidated or stoned to death (*sangsār kardan*) for adultery because a pregnancy should last nine months. While she is being taken to the execution site, they come across the Prophet’s son-in-law ‘Ali b. Abi Talib (d. 661), who asks about the case and orders the executioners to return the woman to ‘Umar’s chamber. In front of the caliph, ‘Ali claims that the baby is the son of the woman’s husband and hence the woman was telling the truth. ‘Umar asks how he knows, and ‘Ali responds by quoting a verse of the Quran that states that a pregnancy lasts for 30 months when the 24 months of breastfeeding are included.⁶² In this way, ‘Ali would have proved that there can be a six-month pregnancy and therefore saved the life of the faithful woman wrongly accused of adultery. The story also mentions that ‘Umar acknowledged his mistake and said that if it was not for ‘Ali, ‘Umar would have perished (been ruined).

The story is well known in the Islamic world and is documented in numerous sources from both the Shia and the Sunni traditions.⁶³ The quote has been highly controversial, as it has been interpreted by Sunnis as a simple statement of ‘Ali being an advisor of Caliph ‘Umar and by Shias as proof of the higher knowledge of ‘Ali about the Quran. The *Fustat al-‘adala* makes no claim on the superior knowledge of ‘Ali over ‘Umar, but includes the story as illustrative of an event in which wise advice saved the prestige of the ruler (‘Umar). Hence, it would be risky to interpret the inclusion of this anecdote in the *Fustat al-‘adala* as a Shia statement. However, within Sunni legal tradition, the story also appears in a number of Shafi‘i texts and was used widely among Shafi‘i authors in medieval times.⁶⁴ Therefore, the intention of the story might be not to transmit Shia ideas to the author’s patron, but only to incorporate an anecdote with similar connotations from the perspective of advice, but coming from the Islamic tradition. In this context, the proximity of the *Fustat*’s author to Shafi‘i ideas makes it possible that the selection of this story might have been taken from literature familiar to the author and incorporated into the work.⁶⁵

The other story included in the section also has a caliph and an advisor as main characters, but in this case the plot is set in the early years of the Abbasid caliphate. The story deals with Caliph al-Mansur (d. 775) and his commander

Abu Muslim (d. 755), both of whom also appear in the *Siyar al-muluk*.⁶⁶ The story of Abu Muslim, a freed slave who became the victorious commander of the early Abbasid armies that rebelled against the Umayyad caliphs and then became a dangerous alternative power in Central Asia and Khurasan in the eyes of the new caliph al-Mansur, is well known in early Islamic historiography.⁶⁷ However, despite sharing the main characters, the stories are different. While the *Siyar al-muluk* makes reference to the two characters to speak about the rise of heresy in Khurasan,⁶⁸ the *Fustat* focuses on the execution of Abu Muslim by the caliph. As in the other anecdote contained in this section, the story's main aspect is the role of the advisors. The story focuses on how, following the advice of his officials, al-Mansur managed to bring Abu Muslim from the east to Baghdad, where he was advised to execute him – an act that the caliph allegedly performed there on the spot.⁶⁹ No references are made to the heretical movements that Abu Muslim apparently inspired in the eastern territories of the Abbasid caliphate, pointing towards the use of a source different from the *Siyar al-muluk* in the composition of this chapter of the *Fustat al-'adala*.

The inclusion of this new section in the work appears as a logical continuation of the previous ones. The section is also coherently constructed to continue with the tone of a mirror for princes and highlights the importance that advisors have in the decisions of the king, by using both prose anecdotes and verses in both Arabic and Persian. However, the sources used here are not the *Siyar al-muluk*, but stories brought from hadiths and the Islamic tradition. As we will see below, many of the additions to the *Siyar al-muluk* share with this section the Islamic background of the stories, as if the author of the *Fustat* was trying to match the advice given by the *Siyar al-muluk* with examples appearing in other Islamic sources with higher religious pedigree. The addition of this section is a clear indication of the direct intervention of the *Fustat*'s author in the composition of the text, as is the selections he made for the chapter arrangement, in terms of chapters included and omitted.

4.4 The making of a mirror for princes for Chobanid Kastamonu I: Religious references in the *Fustat al-'adala*

In recent years, Marlow has suggested that medieval mirrors for princes can be categorised into two different groups. The first one includes those with a more 'secular' tone, appealing to traditional Iranian conceptions of kingship that include especially Sasanian and pre-Islamic reference models. The second one is defined as being more 'religiously charged', where the role of prophets and the ulama become more apparent in the narrative.⁷⁰ Based on this paradigm, the first part of the *Fustat al-'adala* where the majority of the *Siyar al-muluk* is copied (ff. 73–118) would mostly fall into the first category, since the latter has a rather secular approach to kingship and enhances the role of

secular rulers above that of the religious establishment. However, when this particular section is placed in the context of the whole work, the emphasis between the secular and the religious becomes more balanced and the categorisation of the work within this duality might not be that straightforward. As mentioned above, *bāb* 5 of the *Fustat al-'adala* includes those sections of the *Siyar al-muluk* dealing with religious heresies, and the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* often includes references to and anecdotes regarding Islamic traditions, the Quran and hadiths in different sections extracted from the *Siyar al-muluk*. Consequently, the *Fustat al-'adala* has an important religious component both in adapting the contents of sections copied from the *Siyar al-muluk* (ff. 73–118 and *bāb* 4), and when the author adds new content dealing with criticism of antinomian Sufis (Qalandars) and his claim of a complementarity between Shafi'i and Hanafi legal traditions.⁷¹

Although based on a mirror for princes such as the *Siyar al-muluk*, the *Fustat al-'adala* is also an administrative text used by the author to seek the ruler's favour and a job at the court. The contents of the book, therefore, would be influenced not only by the taste of the ruler but also by characteristics of the position applied for and the background of the author.⁷² In view of this, the inclusion in the narrative of personalities and anecdotes with a relevant religious background suggests that the author of the *Fustat* might have been seeking a position with religious responsibilities in the Chobanid court. Offering religious advice to the rulers highlights an intention to add a religious component to the *Fustat* that is lacking in the original *Siyar al-muluk*.

One of these cases appears in section XIII of the *Fustat al-'adala*. The section begins with an anecdote that not only is unavailable in any edited version of the *Siyar al-muluk* but also appears to come from another source that has probably been lost. In the context of a section about boon companions (XVII) of the king, the author of the text inserts a story that firstly introduces a person called Kiyaharas, who is described as a knowledgeable scholar in science and religion, who was originally from the region of Tabaristan but has gained his knowledge in the region of Khurasan.⁷³ During his travels, he meets some dignitaries from the court of the caliph in Baghdad, whose name is not given and, amazed by his knowledge, these officers bring Kiyaharas into the caliph's presence. After confronting Kiyaharas with a number of tests in the court, they all surrender to his knowledge, and the caliph compels him to join the court as boon companion (*nadīm*) of the leader of Sunni Islam. After a decade has passed, a messenger from Samarqand arrives in Baghdad. He is an eminent scholar who asks permission to have the honour of engaging in philosophical/religious discussion at the caliph's palace. Permission is granted and all the major scholars of Baghdad gather to listen to the Central Asian messenger. Kiyaharas sits next to the caliph as his main confidant (*nadīm*) and at some point asks for permission to engage in discussion with the Central Asian messenger and promises to put an end to the debate.⁷⁴ Kiyaharas is granted permission, engages in the debate and comes out victorious, being awarded 7,000 dinars and expensive clothes by the caliph. Once he puts on the robes,

a mysterious voice comes through the trellis window (*shubbākāt*) ordering Kiyaharas ‘to go to the Madrasa Nizamiyya’ (*ilā Nizāmiyya, ilā al-Madrasat al-Nizāmiyya*).⁷⁵ From that very moment, the caliph realises that he cannot hold on to his companion any longer and allows Kiyaharas to leave for the madrasa, where, according to the *Fustat al-‘adala*, he becomes a follower of the teachings of Shafi‘i, abandoning his role at the caliphal court to pursue a full life as a religious scholar.

This short anecdote contains a number of interesting aspects that deserve our attention. The scholar mentioned only as Kiyaharas refers most likely to Shaykh ‘Ali b. al-Hasan Kiyaharas al-Tabari (d. 1110), also known as al-Kiya al-Harrasi, a Shafi‘i jurist and Ash‘ari theologian listed among some of the most famous scholars of Shafi‘i fiqh (Islamic law) with a special relevance to Quranic jurisprudence (*aḥkām al-Qur‘ān*).⁷⁶ At least one book of his authorship has survived until today and he was renowned for being one of the teachers in Islamic law in the Nizamiyya madrasa founded by the Seljuq vizier Nizam al-Mulk in Baghdad in 1065.⁷⁷ Ibn al-Hasan Kiyaharas al-Tabari was initially appointed as chair of the institution by the vizier himself in 483 AH (1090–91) to be replaced by the famous scholar Ghazali (d. 1111) only 16 months later. When Ghazali left the institution in the year 487 AH (1094–95), Kiyaharas al-Tabari was re-appointed as chair of the Nizamiyya madrasa until his death.⁷⁸ The story of Kiyaharas (Kiya al-Harrasi), as included in the *Fustat al-‘adala*, is, therefore, plausible as far as the main characters and locations are concerned and it has a literary coherence in including this anecdote of a famous scholar in the madrasa founded by Nizam al-Mulk, to whom the *Siyar al-muluk* is attributed. However, the story is not historically accurate since none of the available Arabic or Persian sources confirm that Kiya al-Harrasi was ever at the service of a caliph. Instead, we know that he was invited to Baghdad by Majd al-Mulk al-Qummi (d. 492/1099), the vizier of Sultan Barqiyaruq b. Malik Shah (d. 498/1105), to serve as a qadi for at least two years (AH 490–92) at his court before being appointed as chief of the Nizamiyya.⁷⁹

All these elements suggest that either the story was taken from another source that I was not able to identify, or it was constructed by the author of the *Fustat al-‘adala* to incorporate some personal views in the narrative that he felt were lacking in the original *Siyar al-muluk*. For example, there seems to be a subtle but persistent emphasis on enhancing Shafi‘ism in the anecdote. It might be mere speculation but I wonder if the narration of the religious debate between Kiya al-Harrasi and the Central Asian scholar could be read as a confrontation or argumentation between two different schools of law (*madhhab*). While the Shafi‘i credentials of Kiya al-Harrasi are established both by his origin (Tabaristan) and education, it is suggestive that the scholar who arrives in Baghdad to debate, and is subsequently defeated by Kiya al-Harrasi (Kiyaharas), is mentioned as being from Samarqand, a place which, although it had scholars from different schools of law, was generally considered mainly as a Hanafi territory.

The *madhhab* to which the Central Asian scholar belonged is not mentioned in the *Fustat al-'adala*, but the emphasis laid on the place of origin of both contenders (Tabaristan and Samarqand) and, especially, the exposition on both Shafi'ism and Hanafism made in *bāb* 5 of the text may suggest that the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* could be trying to portray the superiority of Shafi'iism over Hanafism in this anecdote, represented by the Central Asian origin of Kiyaharas's dialectic rival.⁸⁰ As the work is written for a Turkmen and possibly Hanafi patron in Kastamonu, the belief in the intellectual superiority of Shafi'i scholars over Hanafi ones cannot be declared as an open statement. Therefore, the divine intervention of the voice that persuades the caliph to let Kiya al-Harrasi (Kiyaharas) go to Nizam al-Mulk's madrasa is used as a literary allegory of the divine preference for Shafi'ism, especially when it was well known that the Nizamiyya madrasa only accepted Shafi'i scholars and students.⁸¹ However, what is less open to speculation is that the story had a more prosaic intention in the narrative of the *Fustat al-'adala*. As a work conceived as proof of the author's knowledge on a subject and credentials for acquiring positions at the court, the anecdote can also be read as a subtle but clear message to his patron, Muzaffar al-Din Choban. The inclusion in the narrative of this story's text, either created by the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* or taken from a source other than the *Siyar al-muluk*, aims to highlight how knowledge of Islamic law and religion could catapult the career of a scholar (namely, Kiyaharas) from the position of *nadīm* at the court to the leading scholar at the central Nizamiyya madrasa.

There is a clear concern in the additions made in the *Fustat al-'adala* to the original *Siyar al-muluk* text to raise the religious profile of the text and show the religious knowledge of the author by incorporating instructive anecdotes with religious content. In this respect, the story of Kiyaharas is not the only one that can be found in the text. For example, in section XVI (XXVII of the *Siyar al-muluk*), the majority of the text is retained, although abbreviated. The section in the original work contains a long account of the life of Sabuktegin (d. 997), founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty that ruled over eastern Iran, Afghanistan and northern India from the late 10th until the mid-12th century.⁸² Although the story of the ascension of Sabuktegin as narrated in the *Siyar al-muluk* should be taken with caution, the interest of the story in the context of mirrors for princes lies more in the legal status of the person than in the account's veracity.⁸³ The main point of the story is to highlight the transition made by Sabuktegin from being a slave to becoming the founder of a new dynasty. Yet, towards the end of the chapter, Sabuktegin's son, Mahmud of Ghazna, is introduced to the reader as the ruler who would expand the empire created by his father. Based on the *Siyar al-muluk*'s reference to Mahmud's campaign to India, the *Fustat* makes the following statement:

And in India he [Mahmud] took Sūmāt⁸⁴ (Somnath) and brought [from there] the [pagan idol] (*manāt*) and smashed (*bandākht*) it at the entrance

(*āsitān*) of the congregational Mosque. He captured and killed many [pagan] kings of India and he seized (*basitad*) many places (*bisiyār wilāyat*) in India and converted them to Islam (*tā dār-i islām āvard*). And he [Mahmud of Ghazna] was the first king of Islam to be called ‘Sultan’.⁸⁵

Although the original *Siyar al-muluk* makes reference to the conquest of Somnath by Mahmud and the removal of the pagan idol from the temple, this reference is far less specific.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the *Fustat* is not only more emphatic in its description of Mahmud breaking the Hindu idol, but it adds a specific reference to the spread of Islam by the Sultan of Ghazna. The addition seems to be a clear statement added by the author of the *Fustat* trying to highlight the sultan’s role as an active agent of Islamisation. It seems to me that this particular phrase is a clear parallel made in the *Fustat* between what was done by Mahmud and what should be done in Anatolia at the time of the composition of the *Fustat*. As we will see in the next chapter, the *Fustat* has a clear concern with the spread of heresies in Anatolia and the anecdote about Mahmud of Ghazna offers a good opportunity to highlight the role of rulers in Islamising newly conquered territories. Hence, the added lines could be a clear message to the Chobanid patron of the work, who could see in the Islamisation of India a mirror of practices for the process of Islamisation taking place in western Anatolia in the late 13th century.

4.5 The making of a mirror for princes for Chobanid Kastamonu II: References to 13th-century Anatolia in the *Fustat al-‘adala*

Further evidence of the active intervention of the author in modelling the composition of the *Fustat al-‘adala* using the *Siyar al-muluk* can also be observed in the insertion of section XL of the *Siyar al-muluk* into section XVII of the *Fustat al-‘adala*, which interrupts the identical progression of sections between the two texts up to that point. This particular section accounts for a number of anecdotes in which different Muslim rulers made special acts of charity and were rewarded by God for their generosity to others, together with a unique anecdote in which a supposedly ancient ruler of Rum was particularly generous to scholars and religious leaders.⁸⁷ At the centre of the plot in this added story there is a young prince, who succeeded his father to the throne of an unnamed kingdom to become a king of Rum. We are not provided with a name for either father or son, but are told only that the deceased king ruled peacefully for 60 years. When the new king was crowned, he was still very young and power was monopolised by his father’s ministers. After a few years living in these circumstances, the young prince won the trust of his own servants (*ghulamān*), who eventually helped him to execute his father’s ministers and take control of the kingdom. As a consequence, the new king freed his loyal servants and made them amirs of the kingdom.⁸⁸ To close the story, the author states the pedagogical function of the anecdote. He advises the king to always ask advice from people who are knowledgeable

about the past, to find out about the lifestyles of ancient kings, and familiarise himself with edicts and regulations used in the past. But, above all, the author makes a clear self-referential recommendation in which he advises the king to be generous to artists (*arbāb-i hunār*) and take into account the background and rank of each person at court to determine the appropriate economic provision (*kafāf*) they deserve.⁸⁹

In addition, the author introduces a mention of the Prophet Muhammad, in whose times religious scholars (*huffāz*),⁹⁰ learned men (*sādāt*) and pious men (*parhizgār*) were highly valued and rewarded economically.⁹¹ Therefore, the author of the *Fustat* tries to complement, once again, the more secular view (looking at the actions of past kings, their edicts, etc.) with a religious counterpart that in this case is represented by taking an example from the time of the Prophet. In both settings, the importance of supporting, respecting and financing secular and religious learned men (like himself) is emphasised. This reference, it seems to me, places the *Fustat al-‘adala* among those mirrors for princes described by Khismatulin that belonged to a genre that served not only to provide financial remuneration to the author but also served as written proof of his credentials in affairs of state to occupy a position in the administration of the kingdom.⁹²

While sometimes the author of the *Fustat* makes additions, on other occasions the story is slightly modified from the original rendition of the *Siyar al-muluk* to emphasise a specific idea. An example of this type of textual intervention can be seen in section XX of the *Fustat al-‘adala*, where an anecdote is explained in the context of the court of the Seljuq sultan Alp Arslan (d. 1072). A case is presented to the sultan in which a courtier named ‘Abd al-Rahman Khal tries to steal the property of an old man by falsely accusing him of drinking at night and worshipping idols.⁹³ The false accusation is dismissed when the sultan cleverly uncovers ‘Abd al-Rahman’s lie and he is punished for lying. However, while in the *Siyar al-muluk* the story finishes with the confession of the accuser, in the *Fustat* the story is further developed to reinforce its pedagogical purpose. Hence, the former adds that after the liar has been uncovered, all the courtier’s property was expropriated and given to the scholar as sign of respect from the sultan. Unsurprisingly, in a pious act, the wise scholar refuses to take the property of his accuser. This so impresses the sultan that he orders that expensive robes and 1,000 dinars be sent to the scholar from the royal treasury, and invites him to court where he treats him with affection.⁹⁴ Hence, the anecdote, although present in the *Siyar al-muluk*, is modified to enhance the virtues of the religious scholar and the generosity of the sultan, which can once again be read as a self-reference from the author of the work trying to promote his patron’s generosity.

In section XVII, as mentioned above, the author of the *Fustat* feels that he needs to not only add a more specific reference to the need to reward scholars, but he also makes an effort to give a religious reaffirmation to the main message in the story. In this case, a short story about the Prophet Muhammad is also added at the end of the chapter:

One day a group of people were sitting with the Prophet (peace be upon him), they asked him: ‘O Messenger of God! Is it possible that a believer commit adultery (*zanā kardan*)?’ He said: ‘It might be possible!’ They asked: ‘Can [a believer] commit a robbery (*duzdī kardan*)?’ He said: ‘It might be possible!’ They asked: ‘Can [a believer] drink wine (*sharāb khūrdan*)?’ He said: ‘It happens’. Then they asked: ‘Does a believer tell lies (*drūgh gūftan*)?’ He answered: ‘No!’ The Prophet’s companions asked him about the reason behind his reply. He referred them to Allah’s words where He says: ‘Those who forge lies aren’t believers’. God the Glorious says: ‘A liar doesn’t believe in God and the Judgement Day’.⁹⁵

The constant glorification of religious scholars and the need for the king to support them financially might be evidence not only of a genuine belief in the need for kings to support learned men for the benefit of the kingdom but also of some personal interest on the part of the author. As different scholars have suggested, many of the authors of mirrors for princes, especially when they were scholars themselves, would incorporate stories about the importance of patronage of religious sciences, expecting to obtain economic benefit from the king who is the addressee of the work.⁹⁶ In the case of the *Fustat al-‘adala*, the evidence in other parts of the text suggests that the author might have been not only a religious scholar but perhaps a member of the *ulama*.⁹⁷ Consequently, the author is actively intervening in the text not only to add religious justification to the more secular approach of the original *Siyar al-muluk*, but also seeking, through some of these anecdotes, to promote himself in the court or obtain greater economic benefit from his patron.

If one of the main effects of the additions made to the core text of the *Siyar al-muluk* is to enhance its religious pedigree, other added parts in the text are not religiously oriented, but make reference to political events and personalities relevant to the history of 13th-century Anatolia. For example, section XIV in the *Fustat* follows sections XVIII of the *Siyar al-muluk*. As the former paraphrases the latter on the importance of having reliable advisors at the court, the author suddenly mentions that this good custom has been maintained in Rum during the reigns of ‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad I (r. 1220–37) and ‘Izz al-Din Kayka’us II (1246–57) and in the Abbasid caliphate until the execution of Caliph al-Musta‘sim by Hülegü in 1258.⁹⁸ In addition, the text suggests that these practices emerged (*padīd āmadan*) with the arrival of the Mongols.⁹⁹ However, the change in diplomatic practices brought by the Mongols is not described as a problem but rather as an improvement. The *Fustat* mentions that the Mongols had high regard for messengers (*rasūlān*) and since the Mongols’ arrival, messengers were able to be dispatched from all corners of the world (*az aṭrāf-i ‘ālam*). Further, it is noted that the hospitality (*nuzl*) for messengers improved under the Mongols, since there were always provisions in the kitchen of the *nuzl* such as halva made of walnuts and sweets, meat, bread, salt and garlic available for messengers, amirs, or court dignitaries who were travelling in the kingdom.¹⁰⁰

Apart from highlighting the improvement of infrastructure brought by the Mongols, it is interesting that the name of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237–46), who ruled between the above-mentioned Seljuqs of Rum, is not mentioned by name in the *Fustat*, despite the fact that he was the one who was in office at the time of the Battle of Köse Dağ that gave control of Anatolia to the Mongols.¹⁰¹ The Mongol invasion of Anatolia and the defeat of the Seljuq ruler are both omitted from the narrative.¹⁰² As it was composed in 1284–85, when Mas‘ud II, son of Kayka‘us II, began to rule over Anatolia with Mongol support, the omission of both the defeated grandfather of Mas‘ud and the Mongol invasion appears to be a way to avoid jeopardising the prestige of his patrons and to question the Seljuq loyalties to their Mongol overlords. A similar care in dealing with the Mongol invasion is shown in section XXI in the *Fustat al-‘adala*. In this case, there is a specific mention of Sultan Muhammad II Khwarazmshah (d. 1220).¹⁰³ In the section’s opening lines, the following sentences are introduced:

Beware that the basis (*asās*) of previous kings were founded on solid and robust foundations (*bunyādī durust va muḥkam*) of kingdoms. And the rules and regulations (*qawā‘id va qānūn*) of government were followed as established by old kings. Until the reign of Muhammad II Khwarazmshah, whose kingdom fell in despair over the world [of Islam] and a new race (*qawm-i dīgar*) was born and the customs (*āyīn*) and faith (*kash*) were changed and this [despair] was spread to the other parts of the world.¹⁰⁴

Hence, the *Fustat* holds the Sultan of Khwarazm responsible for the spread of the Mongols on the basis of his deviation from the customs and traditions of the Great Seljuqs. Levelling this accusation at Muhammad II is quite in keeping with the long enmity between the Seljuqs of Rum and the Khwarazmshah since the early 13th century, with both trying to portray themselves as continuations of the Seljuq Empire in the Islamic world. In this way, the author of the *Fustat* finds the perfect scapegoat in the Central Asian ruler to justify the Mongol invasion of the Middle East. He does not mention the defeat of the Seljuqs of Rum at Köse Dağ, and does not even blame the Mongols for their advance as other contemporary accounts do,¹⁰⁵ but the responsibility rests upon Muhammad II, who abandoned the rules and regulations (*qawā‘id va qānūn*) of the Great Seljuqs to bring new races and faiths into the Islamic world. Simultaneously, however, the author not only puts the blame for the spread of the Mongols on an old enemy of the Seljuqs of Rum but avoids undermining the Mongols’ legitimacy, who, after all, were the overlords of his patrons in Kastamonu.

Because we have no beginning or end of the text, we do not know if the author has warned the reader that the text is not a literal transcription of the *Siyar al-muluk*. But no specific efforts are made to highlight which chapters are taken from the original work and which were added from other sources. For that reason, it is apparent that the author did not present this work as a

transcription of the *Siyar al-muluk*, but instead tried to present it as a new composition with the goal of obtaining monetary reward and perhaps a position in the court. This sort of rewriting was not uncommon among in the medieval Islamic World. Educated readers would have recognised such borrowings and a specific reference to the original author might have been redundant. However, would such a text be easily recognised by a Turkmen ruler of Kastamonu? From the tailoring of the original work and the additions to the text, it seems that the author of the *Fustat* intended to go beyond being a mere copyist and aimed to introduce novel content to the text taken mostly from religious sources. It is also apparent that many additions to the text share an intention of adding to the original text a religious component. These additions generally refer to precepts in Islam, anecdotes of the Prophet Muhammad, praise for the ulama, or clear statements on the Islamisation of India. These newly incorporated elements make this work a hybrid between the ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ mirror for princes as categorised by Marlow. Also, these religiously oriented additions might be telling us something about the intention of the author to promote a religious orthodoxy among the Turkmen rulers of Kastamonu, while also trying to gain the favour of the rulers towards a religious class to which he possibly belonged. Although this is not evident at first glance, the *Fustat al-‘adala* is simply an updated version of the *Siyar al-muluk* for a local Anatolian patron. It could be defined as belonging to the genre of administrative literature based on a mirror for princes that contains a strong element of traditional Iranian kingship, but incorporating elements of a religious character that possibly helped to promote its author in the court as a *khātib* (preacher), *muhtasib* (supervisor of trade or accountant), qadi (judge), or a religious position, while proving his loyalty to his patron. All this without neglecting the important literary contribution of making the text more appealing to a dynasty on the frontier between Islam and Christianity.

Notes

- 1 See, for example, the *De Ordine Palatii* (On the Management of the Palace) by Hincmar of Reims (composed in 882), or the later *Speculum regum* (composed in c. 1183) by Godfrey of Viterbo in Europe; in Byzantium, see Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *De Administrando Imperio*. Edited and translated by Francis Dvornik and Romilly J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2012); Regula Forster and Nequín Yavari (eds), *Global Medieval: Mirrors for Princes Reconsidered* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).
- 2 Louise Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 128.
- 3 Deborah G. Tor, ‘The Islamisation of Iranian Kingly Ideals in the Persianate Fürstenspiegel’, *Iran* 49:1 (2011), pp. 115–22; Seyed Sadegh Haghghat, ‘Persian Mirrors for Princes: Pre-Islamic and Islamic Mirrors Compared’, in Regula Forster and Nequín Yavari (eds), *Global Medieval. Mirrors for Princes Reconsidered* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 83–93.

- 4 Clifford E. Bosworth, 'Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition (2006–).
- 5 Louise Marlow, 'Teaching Wisdom: A Persian Work of Advice for Atabeg Aḥmad of Luristan', in Mehrzad Boroujerdi (ed.), *Mirror for the Muslim Prince: Islam and the Theory of Statecraft* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013), pp. 122–59.
- 6 Ibn al-Muqaffā', *Kalila wa Dimna* (Beirut: Dar Maktabat al-Hay'a, 1966). For one of the English translations, see Ibn al-Muqaffā', *The Fables of Kalilah and Dimnah*. Edited and translated by Saleh Sa'adeh Jallad (London: Melisende, 2002).
- 7 Compiled in 1082 by Kayka'us b. Iskandar (d. late 11th century), the ruler of the Ziarid dynasty of Tabaristan and dedicated to his son Gilanshah. See J. T. P. de Bruijn, 'Kaykāvus B. Eskandar', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2330-4804_EIRO_COM_10466
- 8 Some editions and translations of these works are Kayka'us b. Iskandar, *Qabus'nama* (Nashr-i Khallaq ba hamkari-yi Intisharat-i Pul, 2012–13 [1391]); English translation in *The Nasihat-Nama known as Qabus-Nama of Kai Ka'us b. Iskandar b. Qabus b. Washmgir*. Translated by Reuben Levy (London: Luzac & Co., 1951); Ghazali, *Nasihāt al-muluk*. Edited by Jalal al-Din Huma'i (Tehran: Anjuman-i Asar-i Milli, 1972); English translation *Ghazzālī's book of Counsel (Naṣīḥāt al-mulūk)*. Translated by F. R. C. Bagley (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- 9 Bosworth, 'Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk'.
- 10 See some examples in Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Politics, Religion and the Occult in the Works of Kamal al-Din Ibn Talha, a Vizier, 'Alim and Author in Thirteenth-century Syria', in Carole Hillenbrand (ed.), *Syria in Crusader Times: Conflict and Co-Existence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 34–60.
- 11 Louise Marlow, 'The Way of Viziers and the Lamp of Commanders (*Minhāj al-wuzarā' wa-sirāj al-umarā'*) of Aḥmad al-Iṣfahbadhī and the Literary and Political Culture of Early Fourteenth-Century Iran', in Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow (eds), *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004), p. 173.
- 12 Andrew Peacock, 'Advice for the Sultans of Rum: The "Mirrors for Princes" of Early Thirteenth-Century Anatolia', in Bill Hickman and Gary Leiser (eds), *Turkish Language, Literature and History: Travelers' Tales, Sultans, and Scholars Since the Eighth Century* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 276–307.
- 13 Mustafa Çağrıç, 'Siraceddin el-Urmevi', *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 37, pp. 262–24; Louise Marlow, 'A Thirteenth-Century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean: Siraj Al-Din Urmavi, Jurist, Logician, Diplomat', *al-Masaq* 22 (2010), pp. 279–313; the work has also been edited, see Siraj al-Din Urmawi, *Lata'if al-hikma*. Edited by Ghulam-Husayn Yusufi (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1972).
- 14 For a partial edition of the work, see Qutb al-Din Shirazi, *Durrat al-Taj*. Edited by Mahdukhtbanu Huma'i (Tehran: Sharkat Intisharat-i 'Ilmii va Farhangi, 1991); Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, 'Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's (634/1236–710/1311) Durrat al-tāj and Its Sources (Studies on Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī I)' *Journal Asiatique* 292:1–2 (2004), pp. 311–30. I am grateful to Andrew Peacock for calling my attention to this point.
- 15 Harold Bowen and Clifford E. Bosworth, 'Nizām al-Mulk', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition (2006–); Neguin Yavari, 'Mirrors for Princes or a Hall of Mirrors? Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyar al-muluk* Reconsidered', *al-Masaq* 20:1 (2018), pp. 47–69; a more up-to-date biography of Nizām al-Mulk can be found in Neguin Yavari, *The*

- Future of Iran's Past: Nizam al-Mulk Remembered* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 61–104. Information is also provided in the article on Nizam al-Mulk's 'nemesis' 'Amid al-Mulk al-Khunduri by Carole Hillenbrand, 'The Life and Times of 'Amīd al-Mulk al-Khundūrī', in Andrew C. S. Peacock and Deborah G. Tor (eds), *Medieval Central Asia and the Persianate World: Iranian Tradition and Islamic Civilisation* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), pp. 161–73.
- 16 Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government: or, Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk*. Translated by Hubert Darke (London: Routledge, 1978), p. 1.
- 17 Carla L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055–1194* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).
- 18 Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, pp. 1–6.
- 19 Alexey A. Khismatulin, 'Two Mirrors for Princes Fabricated at the Seljuq Court: Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyar al-Mulūk* and al-Ghazālī's *Nasīhat al-mulūk*', in Edmund Herzig and Sarah Stewart (eds), *The Idea of Iran: The Age of the Seljuqs*, volume VI (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), pp. 94–130.
- 20 Safi, *The Politics*, pp. 67–74.
- 21 Ann K. S. Lambton, 'The Dilemma of Government in Islamic Persia: the Siyāsāt-nāma of Nizam al-Mulk', *Iran* 22 (1984), pp. 55–66; Andrew C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 189–215.
- 22 Clifford E. Bosworth, 'Administrative Literature', in M. Young, J. Latham and R. Serjeant (eds), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 155–67.
- 23 Julie Scott Meisami, 'Ravandi's *Rahat al-sudur*: History or Hybrid?', *Edebiyat* 5 (1992), pp. 181–215. Sara Nur Yıldız, 'A *naḏīm* for the Sultan: Rāvandī and the Rūm Seljuks', in Andrew 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), pp. 91–111; Alexey A Khismatulin, *Amir Mu'izzi Nishapuri. The Siyasat-nama/Siyar al-muluk: A Fabrication Ascribed to Nizam al-Mulk* (St Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, 2020) [in Russian provided with the Persian original].
- 24 Neguin Yavari, 'Siar Al-Muluk', *Encyclopædia Iranica* Online http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2330-4804_EIRO_COM_11743
- 25 Khismatulin, 'Two Mirrors for Princes Fabricated at the Seljuq Court', pp. 109–18.
- 26 Marta Simidchieva, 'Siyāsāt-nāme Revisited: The Question of Authenticity', in Bert G. Fragner et al. (eds), *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995), pp. 675–84; Alexey A. Khismatulin, 'Two Mirrors for Princes Fabricated at the Seljuq Court: Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyar al-mulūk* and al-Ghazālī's *Nasīhat al-mulūk*', in Edmund Herzig and Sarah Stewart (eds), *The Age of the Seljuqs: The Idea of Iran* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), pp. 94–130.
- 27 Alexey A. Khismatulin, 'Forge a Book in the Medieval Ages: Nezām al-Molk's *Siyar al-Muluk* (*Siyāsāt-Nāma*)', *Journal of Persianate Studies* 1 (2008), pp. 30–66; *idem*, 'The Art of Medieval Counterfeiting: the *Siyar al muluk* (the *Siyasat nama*) by Nizam al Mulk and the "Full" Version of the *Nasihat al muluk* by al Ghazali', *Manuscripta Orientalia* 14:1 (2008), pp. 3–31.
- 28 See, for example, a reference to the book in Ibn Bibi/Erzi, p. 228.
- 29 Neguin Yavari, 'Mirrors for Princes or a Hall of Mirrors? Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyar al-mulūk* Reconsidered', *Al-Masaq* 20:1 (2010), pp. 48–50; For a more general

- discussion on the influence of mirrors for princes in the development of political thought in the Islamic world, see Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, *Moralia: les notions morales dans la littérature persane du 3e/9e au 7e/13e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986).
- 30 Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government: or, Rules for Kings*.
- 31 Nizam al-Mulk, *Siasset Namèh. Traité de gouvernement. Composé pour le sultan Melik-châh par le vizir Nizam oul-Moulk*. Translated by Charles Schefer (Paris: E. Leroux, 1891).
- 32 Nizam al-Mulk, *Siyasatnama*. Edited by ‘Abbas Iqbal (Tehran: Asatir, 2000–01 [1380]). See the recent edition and translation in Russian by Alexey Khismatulin, *Amir Mu‘izzi Nishapuri. The Siyasat-namal/Siyar al-muluk (The Book of Government/The Vitae of Rulers): A Fabrication Ascribed to Nizam al-Mulk* (Moscow: Sadra, 2020). [in Russian and Persian]
- 33 Peacock, ‘Advice for the Sultans’, p. 298.
- 34 This means that the the sections including parts of the *Siyar al-Muluk* in the *Fustat al-adala* in MS. Supplement Turc 1120 – the only surviving manuscript of the text – are disorganised. The chapters corresponding to the beginning of the original text were bound at the end of the codex (ff. 73–118) and the continuation appears at the beginning of the manuscript (ff. 27–50). See correlation table in Appendix 2 for further clarification.
- 35 Turan, ‘Selçuk Türkiyesi’, p. 535.
- 36 These statistics have been kindly provided to me by Alexey Khismatulin in a personal communication.
- 37 See correlation table in Appendix 2.
- 38 Louise Marlow, ‘Teaching Wisdom: A Persian Work of Advice for Atabeg Ahmad of Luristan’, in Mehrzad Boroujerdi (ed.), *Mirror for the Muslim Prince: Islam and the Theory of Statecraft* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2013), p. 158.
- 39 De Nicola, ‘The *Fusṭāṭ*’, p. 54.
- 40 Marlow, ‘The Way of Viziers’, p. 188; Khismatulin, *Amir Mu‘izzi Nishapuri*.
- 41 The qasida is in BNF, Supplement Turc 1120, f. 69a-b. See Figure 3.1. See correlation table in Appendix 2.
- 42 The manuscripts (British Library Add 23.516, dated 1032/1623 the Staatbibliothek zu Berlin Ms. Orient. 80, 110, copied in 1058/1648) are both 17th-century copies apparently made from the same lost copy from the 12th century.
- 43 Alexey Khismatulin ‘The Art of Medieval Counterfeiting: The *Siyar al-Mulūk* (The *Siyāsat-nāma*) by Niẓām al-Mulk and the “Full” version of the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* by al-Ghazālī’, *Manuscripta Orientalia* 14:1 (2008), pp. 11 [pp. 1–31]; Khismatulin, *Amir Mu‘izzi Nishapuri*, pp. 156–57.
- 44 Alexey Khismatulin, ‘The *Fusṭāṭ al-‘adāla*’s Relation to the *Siyār al-mulūk*’, *Orientalistica* 4:1 (2021) [in Russian].
- 45 Alexey Khismatulin, ‘The *Fusṭāṭ al-‘adāla*’s Relation’.
- 46 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 118b.
- 47 Khismatulin, *Attribution of an Anonymous Qasida*, pp. 108–121. On the qasida, see also Chapter 3.
- 48 *Bayt* 20 in Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 69b.
- 49 Nizam al-Mulk, *Siyāset-nāme*. Edited and translated by Mehmet Altay Köymen (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999).
- 50 See correlation table in Appendix 2.
- 51 *Dar bāb nadīmān va ādāb-i ishān*.

- 52 Khismatulin divides the first 39 chapters of the *Siyar al-muluk* into four categories. These categories are organised in increasing order depending on the level of comments made by the compiler (Amir Mu'izzi) on the 'articles of the work agreement' (*fuṣūl muwāza'āt*) of Nizam al-Mulk. Following this organisation, 1) twelve articles retain their original form without any comments and additions; 2) nine articles are provided with individual comments by the narrator to each article; 3) 14 articles are provided with comments connecting each article to one another, and 4) four articles have both comments and permutations in their original order. Following this categorisation, we observe that all the chapters taken from the *Siyar al-muluk* and included in the *Fustat al-'adala* belong to the second, third, and fourth category. That means that the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* left out of his selection all those chapters included in the first category (without any additions and comments). As suggested by Alexey Khismatulin in a personal communication, we can assume that the initial (and now missing) part of the *Fustat al-'adala* most probably did not include chapters IX and XII from the original text, since they both fall into the first category suggested by Khismatulin. See the categorisation of chapters of the *Siyar al-muluk* in Khismatulin, *Amir Mu'izzi Nishapuri*, pp. 132–44, 152–55.
- 53 Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, pp. xiii–xiv.
- 54 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 93a.
- 55 See correlation table in Appendix 2.
- 56 Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, 'Liquid Frontiers: A Relational Analysis of Maritime Asia Minor as a Religious Contact Zone in the Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries', in A. C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 135–38.
- 57 Nicola Di Cosmo, 'Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts', in Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (eds), *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 391–424.
- 58 Annika Stello, 'La traite d'esclaves en Mer Noire au début du XV^e siècle', published online at <http://med-slavery.uni-trier.de/minev/MedSlavery/publications/Traite%20Esclaves%20Mer%20Noire.pdf> (Accessed June 2016); Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Sinop: A Frontier City in Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia' *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010), pp. 115–18, 103–24, 537; Virgil Ciociltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- 59 Klaus Belke, *Paphlagonien und Honōrias* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), pp. 228–29; Preiser-Kapeller, 'Liquid Frontiers', p. 139.
- 60 Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, pp. xiii–xiv.
- 61 See correlation table in Appendix 2.
- 62 Sura XLVI, verse 15.
- 63 www.valiasr-aj.com/fa/page.php?bank=question&id=2143
- 64 For example, references to the story can be found in works by the Andalusian scholar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 1071), who despite adhering to the Maliki school of law was close to Shafi'i jurisprudence. Also later Shafi'i scholars, especially in Egypt, such as Ibn Hajar Asqalani, *Alasabih*, vol. 2, p. 509, published in Egypt, and Abu al-Fadl 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakr b. Muhammad Jalal al-Din al-Khudayri al-Suyuti (d. 1505) among others.
- 65 On Shafi'i ideas in the *Fustat al-'adala*, see Chapter 5.

- 66 See Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, pp. 206–07.
- 67 Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate: A Political History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 62–64.
- 68 This is a claim that Abu Muslim was behind a Shia revolt in the area. See Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 94–96; 87, fn. 2.
- 69 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 81b.
- 70 Louise Marlow, 'Kings, Prophets and the 'Ulamā' in Mediaeval Islamic Advice Literature', *Studia Islamica* 81 (1995), pp. 106–07.
- 71 For these two concepts, see Chapter 5.
- 72 Bilal Orfali, 'Employment Opportunities in Literature in Tenth-Century Islamic Courts', in Sabine Schmidtke (ed.), *Studying the Near and Middle East at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1935–2018* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2018), pp. 243–50.
- 73 The region of Tabaristan was a famous centre of Shia followers. In this context, the clarification about the place where Kiyaharas al-Tabari had studied might be a way to clear any doubts about the Sunni orientation of the scholar. See Wilferd Madelung, 'Alids of Tabarestān, Daylamān and Gīlān', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, Fasc. 8, pp. 881–86. Perhaps the idea of the anecdote is also to highlight the Shafi'i orientation of Kiyaharas, since other famous scholars of this Islamic school also originally came from Tabaristan, such as Abu al-Tayyib al-Tabari (d. 1058). See Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: The Sunni 'ulama' of Eleventh Century Baghdad* (New York: SUNY Press, 2000), p. 53.
- 74 The topic of the debate is never mentioned in the text.
- 75 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 79b.
- 76 He is generally listed among the greatest in this discipline, together with scholars such as al-Shafi'i (d. AH 204), Abu Bakr b. Muhammad Razi (d. AH 370) and the famous Ibn 'Arabi (d. AH 543). A fatwa attributed to him was included by Ibn Khallikan (d. 1282) in this *Wafayat al-a'yan wa anba' abna' al-zaman*. Edited by Ihsan Abbas, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dar Sader, 1972), pp. 287–88. A short biography is also provided by Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary*. Translated by William MacGuckin, Baron of Slane, vol. 2 (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund, 1842–71), pp. 229–33. His tombstone was found in Yazd and is preserved to this day: see Elina Gertsman and B. Rosenwein, 'Inscribed Tombstone of Shaikh al-Husain ibn Abdallah ibn al-Hasan (d. 1110/ AH 504), Iran, Yazd', in *idem* (eds), *The Middle Ages in 50 Objects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 168–71.
- 77 'Ali b. Muhammad Kiya al-Harrasi, *Ahkam al-Qur'an*. Edited by Musa Muhammad 'Ali and 'Izzat 'Ali 'Atiyya, 3 vols (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Haditha, 1974). On the madrasa, see Editor, 'al-Nizāmiyya, al-Madrasa', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition (2006–); Nur Allah Kasa'i, *Madaris-i Nizamiyya va ta'sirat-i 'ilmi va ijtima'i-yi an* (Tehran: Mu'assasah-i Amir Kabir, 1374 (1995 or 1996); Ephrat, *A Learned Society*, pp. 53–54.
- 78 George Makdisi, 'Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24:1 (1961), pp. 39–41 [1–56].
- 79 Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 229; 'Abd al-Ghafir al-Farisi, *al-Mukhtasar min Kitab al-siyāq li-tarikh-i Nisabur*. Edited by Muhammad Kazim Mahmudi (Tehran: Miras-i Maktub, 2005), p. 316.
- 80 On the conflictive treatment of Shafi'ism and Hanafism in the *Fustat al-'adala*, see Chapter 5.

- 81 George Makdisi, 'Madrasa and University in the Middle Ages', *Studia Islamica* 32 (1970), p. 263.
- 82 On the Ghaznavids, see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1963); *idem*, 'The Early Ghaznavids', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 162–97.
- 83 Bosworth, 'The Early Ghaznavids', p. 165.
- 84 The modern city of Somnath is in the Indian state of Gujarat. It is the location of the famous Hindu temple dedicated to the god Shiva which has been destroyed and rebuilt many times in the disputes between Muslims and Hindu kings in the area. See Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* (Cambridge, University Press, 1931), pp. 117–18.
- 85 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 92b.
- 86 Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, p. 116; *idem*, *Siasset Namèh*, pp. 159–60; *idem*, *Siyasatnama*, p. 145.
- 87 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 93a–97a.
- 88 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 94a.
- 89 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 94a–b.
- 90 The original text has the word *ḥuffāz*, plural of *ḥāfiẓ*, the term often used to refer to those who know the Quran by heart.
- 91 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 94b.
- 92 Khisimatulin, *Amir Mu'izzi Nishapuri*.
- 93 The original version of the story can be found in Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government*, pp. 129–30; *idem*, *Siasset Namèh*, pp. 177–78; *idem*, *Siyasatnama*, pp. 165–67.
- 94 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 100a.
- 95 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 100b.
- 96 Marlow, 'Kings, Prophets and the 'Ulamā', pp. 115–16; Bilal Orfali, 'Employment Opportunities', pp. 243–50.
- 97 De Nicola, 'The *Fustāṭ*', p. 55.
- 98 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 82b
- 99 Turan, 'Selçuk Türkiyesi Din', pp. 550–51.
- 100 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 84a.
- 101 Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071–1330* (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1968), pp. 136–38.
- 102 Although no description of the Mongol sack of Baghdad is included, the text mentions only the decline of the Abbasids by echoing a widespread pro-Sunni story that blames the famous Shiite vizier Ibn al-'Alqami (d. 657/1259) for betraying the caliph by facilitating the Mongol capture of the city in 1258. See Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 26b–27a. See Bruno De Nicola, 'Ibn al-Alqamī, Mu'ayyad al-Dīn', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3, published online 2021. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30688
- 103 Ruler of Khwarazm from 1200 to 1220, his domains were conquered by Chinggis Khan during the Mongol campaigns in Central Asia of between 1218 and 1221. See John A. Boyle, 'The Dynastic and Political History of the Il-khāns', in John A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 304–22.
- 104 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 100b.

- 105 Najm al-Din Razi, *Mirsad al-'ibad*. Edited by Muhammad Amin (Iran: Shirkat-i Intisharat-i 'Ilmi va Farhangi, 1986), pp. 16–17; Najm al-Din Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return = (Merşād al-'ebād men al-mabdā' elā'l-ma'ād): a Sufi compendium*. Translated by Hamid Algar (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1982), pp. 42–43. Quoted by Peacock, 'Advice for the Sultans', p. 295.
- 106 A full transcription of the qasida and a translation into English similar to this one can be found in Khismatulin 'The Art of Medieval Counterfeiting', pp. 11–13.

5 Islam under the Chobanids

Between heresy and the ulama

The succession of Turkish invasions of Anatolia that began in the 11th century changed the political map of the peninsula forever. However, just as the Arab invasions did not wipe out Christianity from the Middle East in the 7th century, the Turks did not destroy Christianity in Anatolia.¹ Although Islam would have cultural supremacy or a higher status provided by the fact that it was the religion of the ruling dynasty, which could have encouraged some people to convert to it, for a long time both religions coexisted, alternating between periods of conflict and peace. The presence of Christians in the area has generated debate among scholars. While Vryonis would portray a more conflictive interaction between religions after the Battle of Manzikert, others, such as Hasluck, have advocated for a more peaceful coexistence based on shared sacred places.² However, modern approaches have also questioned this later view, suggesting a much more complex scenario in which conflict and coexistence depended on the context in which they took place.³

Nonetheless, there is agreement that by the second half of the 13th century, Islam had made its way deep into the peninsula because of its dominance among ruling elites and, although we do not have information about the numbers, Christians could have remained a numerical majority but mainly irrelevant in terms of political and cultural influence.⁴ Yet Islam in this borderland region was also far from homogeneous. Dichotomies between orthodoxy–heterodoxy, Sunni–Shia and a variation of mystical interpretations of Islam would mushroom across the peninsula from the 12th to the 16th century until the Ottoman Empire began a process of Sunni standardisation, which aimed to homogenise the Islamic diversity inherited from pre-Ottoman Anatolia.⁵

Since the beginning of the 20th century, scholars have suggested different explanations for the diversity of Islam in Anatolia. In Turkish academia, the dominating paradigm has been based mainly on the interpretations made by Mehmet Fütat Köprülü who, based on 19th-century European modernist ideas, proposed a view of pre-Ottoman Anatolian Islam as fundamentally divided between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ religion. In this binary interpretation, the former was represented by members of the ulama, whose religiosity would be based in the development of classical Islamic institutions such as mosques or madrasas,

and supported by a Persian urban high culture of the Anatolian hinterland. The latter, by contrast, would be those religious classes attached to the rural and ‘barbaric’ territories, represented by ghazis and Turkish riders of the western frontier in Seljuq times, or the Balkans in the early Ottoman period. This dichotomy was also applied to particular interpretations of Islam. Sufism, in Köprülü’s view, was divided between a conformist urban Sufi elite contrasted with an antinomian rural Sufism. A rigid division of Anatolian society between a ‘high Persian–standard Sufi–urban’ and a ‘vernacular Persian–mendicant Sufism–rural’ segment, as suggested by traditional Turkish scholars such as Köprülü or even, in a less schematic way, by I. Melinkof and A. Ocak more recently, is being revised nowadays and appears to be difficult to generalise.⁶ As we will see later in this chapter, the presence of mendicant dervishes has been documented as a well-established institution in urban settings, suggesting a less clear religious landscape for 13th-century Anatolia that cannot be simply explained as an urban–rural dichotomy.⁷

Although a strict binary approach to the topic does not fully stand the historical analysis, it creates a useful categorisation of some religiosities found in the region. The initially pagan Mongol overlordship of the Middle East in the second half of the 13th century and Anatolia’s position as a borderland between Islam and Christianity seems to have facilitated the development of a variety of Islamic religiosities that competed and coexisted in this period. A more mainstream Sufism developed hand in hand with other forms of Sufism that included groups of dervishes and followers generally known as ‘mendicant’ or ‘antinomian’ Sufis. These people did not form a homogeneous group, and as Karamustafa has shown, different groups had different practices and a variety of beliefs, and targeted different sections of Islamic society.⁸ However, they all shared certain characteristics in the 13th century, such as a fiercely ascetic attitude to religion, a glorification of poverty and a tendency to question social and religious hierarchies. In addition, these mendicant groups, referred to generally as Qalandars, Haydaris, Shams-i Tabrizis and Jamis, spoke mostly vernacular Persian in the 13th century. Often, this linguistic characteristic has been interpreted as a reaction to the high Persian used by urban elite culture in 13th-century Anatolia, presenting themselves as representing the beliefs, frustrations and discontents of at least a part of the subaltern section of medieval Anatolian society. This point is further emphasised by the fact that, from the mid-14th century onwards, we begin to observe a growth in the use of Turkish, led by groups such as the Abdals of Rum, who also reacted to Persian urban mainstream Sufism by adding the Turkish language as an identity element of these subalterns in the 14th and 15th centuries.⁹

The appearance of antinomian Sufis in the Middle East was widely noticed, as was their conflictive encounter with the secular and religious authorities.¹⁰ For example, the Arab official Ibn Fuwati, who served under the Ilkhanid court in Baghdad, mentions an anecdote in which the Mongol ruler of Iran, Hülegü (d. 1260), encountered a group of Qalandars while in the company of his advisor Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 1273), during a visit to the region of

Harran.¹¹ Fuwati mentions that, surprised by the appearance of these people, the Mongol ruler asked his advisor who they were, to which Tusi replied that they were an ‘excess of this world’, after which Hülegü ordered their execution.¹² The contrast between a mainstream and a subaltern Islam also becomes apparent in the territories of the Chobanid dynasty in the 13th century. The concern regarding mendicant dervishes is reflected in the description given of one of these groups (Qalandars) in the *Fustat al-‘adala*, where the author of the work makes an effort to highlight to the Turkmen ruler the growing danger that these groups pose for the stability of the realm and the faith of its subjects. In trying to uncover aspects of the religious life in western Anatolia under the Chobanid dynasty, this chapter looks at a number of religious aspects reflected in the *Fustat al-‘adala*, one of the most significant works produced under Chobanid patronage.¹³

The first part of this chapter explores a section of the *Fustat al-‘adala* dedicated to providing its patron (Muzaffar al-Din Choban) with a description of the practices and beliefs of a group of antinomian Sufis that had been expanding in Anatolia in the 13th century. This unique account might raise some questions regarding its authenticity and the information it contains. For that reason, the second part of the chapter looks in detail at the similarities and differences between the description of the origin of the Qalandar movement in the *Fustat al-‘adala* and the account contained in the ‘official’ hagiography of the Qalandars, *Manaqib-i Jamal al-Din Savi*, written in the 14th century by Khatib Farisi, a member of the Qalandar movement.¹⁴ The comparison offers the rare opportunity for historians of the period to obtain two descriptions of the same events from conflicting parts of society. Finally, the last part of the chapter explores the idea of orthodoxy offered by the *Fustat al-‘adala* to its patron. This section considers the attempt of the author to offer his Turkmen patron a complementary view between Hanafi and Shafi‘i interpretations of Islamic law as a tool to tackle and confront the spread of the Qalandar ‘heresy’ in Anatolia.

5.1 Antinomian Sufis in 13th-century Anatolia: The *Fustat al-‘adala*’s view on the Qalandars

The origin of the term ‘Qalandar’ is unclear, with theories ranging from suggesting a semantic origin in different Persian words to speculations on a possible Greek origin for the term.¹⁵ The first documented use of the word in Arabic script appears in a *rubā‘ī* of Baba Tahir ‘Uryani (d. 1029), but it became more widespread when used in the title of the *Qalandarnama*,¹⁶ a short treatise written by ‘Abd Allah-i Ansari (d. 481/1088–89).¹⁷ This short text is the earliest reference we have to a set of practices that would later become associated with the extreme ascetic conduct, advocacy for poverty, mendicancy, itinerancy, celibacy, self-mortification, and the various eremitic and cenobitic practices of the antinomian Sufis.¹⁸ This approach to religion spread quickly among religious scholars from the 12th century onwards, influencing Sufi shaykhs

generally considered mainstream such as Ghazali, who adopted this ascetic lifestyle for at least ten years after rejecting all his previous rational knowledge of Islam acquired in Islamic institutions.¹⁹ Similarly, influential Sufi masters that were present in Anatolia in the 13th century had close contact with antinomian Sufis. For example, Fakhr al-Din 'Iraqi (d. 1256) joined a group of antinomian Sufis with whom he travelled in northern India and Afghanistan before arriving in Anatolia.²⁰ The inclusion of Qalandari elements in 'Iraqi's works also had an impact in spreading some of the antinomian ideas among poets of later years such as Hafiz (d. 1390) or Shah Da'i Shirazi (d. 1465).²¹

Although the evidence is conflicting, traditional Turkish historiography also associates with these groups of antinomian Sufis Hacı Bektaş Veli (d. 1270–71), one of the saints most venerated by later Sufi movements such as Alevism and Bektashism, which became highly influential in the Ottoman Empire.²² Hacı Bektaş was yet another Khurasani migrant to Anatolia, who became associated with Baba Rasul (executed in Amasya in 1240), a Turkmen rebel who has been linked with proclamations of Mahdism and connected to Shiism for leading a revolt in the peninsula in the early 13th century.²³ However, in a recent study of the revolt, Peacock dismisses these allegations, suggesting that the uprising might have been connected more to 'the enduring appeal of a religiosity based on the power of prophecy and the *sunna* of the Prophet and the first Caliphs' than 'popular apocalypticism, Mahdism or Shiism'.²⁴ According to Aflaki, Baba Rasul was disobedient of the sharia and a critic of Jalal al-Din Rumi's moderate practices, which, despite controversies, suggests that he might have belonged to one of the competing Sufi orders and antinomian groups that worried the Mevlevi hagiographer.²⁵ Similarly, Shams-i Tabrizi (d. 1247), the spiritual guide of Jalal al-Din Rumi, had also been connected to some ascetic practices, subversive attitudes and antinomian behaviour.²⁶ However, a close examination of Shams-i Tabrizi's work and the edition in the mid-20th century of Sultan Valad's description of Shams has shown that Tabrizi was not merely a folkloric character but rather had a deep knowledge of Islamic law and sciences.²⁷

If some mainstream Sufis were close to antinomian Sufis during their lifetime, certain other famous contemporary Anatolian shaykhs firmly opposed them. The 13th century saw a slow but steady institutionalisation of Sufism that resulted in the emergence of *turuq* (Sufi orders) in the 14th century with a more moderate view on the ascetic practices of their followers.²⁸ For example, although not a founder of a tariqa himself, the influential Sufi Najm al-Din Razi (d. 1256) bluntly opposed the ascetic attitude of the Qalandars, condemning their attitudes and their contravention of the sharia.²⁹ Similarly, the *Fustat al-'adala* offers a clearly hostile portrait of the Qalandars by including them as a part of the people that are described as *zindīq* (pl. *zanādiqa*), generally translated as 'innovators' or 'free thinkers' and associated in the Islamic tradition with heretical movements from the early Islamic period.³⁰ The author of the *Fustat al-'adala*, however, does not use the term 'Qalandar' in any part of the text, but prefers to refer to the antinomian dervishes he is describing as

jawlaqīyān, a term referring to the weighty sack-like woollen cloth used by the Qalandars in the 13th century.³¹ The section on the Qalandars covers the initial four sections out of the six sections that form chapter (*bāb*) 5 (ff. 50a–69b) of the *Fustat al-‘adala*.³²

The first section (ff. 50–51a), titled ‘The atheists of our time and the similarity of their behaviour to those who had gone before’, is a general description of the *zanādiqa* (innovators) introducing some of their practices. The section is used by the author to directly criticise members of the religious establishment of his time (*rūzgār-i ‘ulamā’*) and the secular powers for not acting to prevent the spread of these heresies.³³ The second section (ff. 51a–51b), named ‘The conditions and affairs of *jawlaqīyān*’, is short and rather repetitive with regard to the previous section but highlights the heretical nature of the mendicant dervishes’ practices. Section three (ff. 51b–53b) is entirely dedicated to providing an account of the conversion of Jamal al-Din Savi (d. c. 1232–33), founder of the Qalandar movement, from mainstream Sufism to Qalandarism.³⁴ Finally, the fourth section (ff. 53b–55a), exclusively dedicated to the *jawlaqīyān*, offers the reader a distinctive, yet somehow superficial, explanation of the beliefs of this sect’s members.

This unique account of the Qalandars’ origins, beliefs and practices does not respond to any anthropological interest on the part of the author, but rather aims to denounce the morally decadent state in which he believes 13th-century Anatolia was submerged. In the words of the author himself:

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, he (the good Muslim) should regard them with contempt and loathing. And when he knows some of these stories from this book, he will easily understand their situation and comprehend their words. Some *zindiqs* 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.³⁵

As is clear from this passage, the *Fustat al-‘adala* makes an effort to represent these mendicant dervishes as deviants from the right path and treats them as an obscure part of society that is dangerously expanding and gaining adepts in the late 13th century. In doing so, however, it offers some unique insights into the author’s perception of the large-scale expansion of the Qalandars in the

Islamic world, as well as detailing some of the beliefs and practices of these dervishes.

At the end of section three of the chapter dedicated to the *jawlaqīyān*, there is a particular passage claiming that the number of Qalandars in the Islamic world by the 13th century could be counted in the thousands (*hizārān-i hizār*), extending their area of influence in regions such as East and West Turkestan (Bishbaliq),³⁶ Iraq, Transoxiana (Mavara' al-Nahr) and Khurasan, Azerbaijan, Egypt (Misr), Anatolia (Rum), the Levant and North Africa (Maghrib).³⁷ Rather than being seen as factual information, this statement should be regarded as a way of expressing an idea of moral decay across the Islamic world and a way to vividly exemplify the wide expansion of this heretic movement.³⁸ Yet, the exaggeration by the author of the work does not mean that he is making up the information he has collected on the dervishes. For example, the *Fustat* acknowledges the fact that the mendicant dervishes considered themselves to be Muslims, suggesting that the author relied on sources either close to the Qalandars or at least with a good knowledge of them when composing the *Fustat al-'adala*. Obviously, this self-identification made by the antinomian Sufis is quickly discarded by the author of the work, who invites his reader to consider them (the Qalandars) as clearly heretic in view of their ignorance of the Quran, their acceptance of innovation and because, with their acts and beliefs, they were 'turning Muslims against Muslims'.³⁹

Like the majority of texts produced in medieval times describing the whereabouts of these antinomian Sufis, the *Fustat al-'adala* offers an unbalanced amount of information between the rather schematic description of the Qalandars' beliefs and the longer – rather colourful – description of these dervishes' heretical practices. The interesting point in terms of the antinomian dervishes' understanding of religion is that the *Fustat* suggests these people formed a rather heterogeneous group. According to the text, some Qalandar dervishes worshipped the planets or the firmament (*falak-parastī*), others would direct their prayers to the sun (*āftāb*), or the moon (*māh*).⁴⁰ The idea of these dervishes worshipping celestial bodies might be suggesting a set of beliefs similar to those of shamanists, animists, or perhaps simply pre-Islamic Turco-Mongol traditions that were still shared in the 13th century across Eurasia.⁴¹ However, this is difficult to assert and another possibility is that the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* was trying to make a parallel to his Turkmen patrons in Kastamonu between the Qalandars' heretical nature and a set of pagan beliefs that perhaps were still present among the lightly Islamised Turkmen tribes living in Anatolia.⁴²

In addition to highlighting non-Islamic beliefs among the Qalandars, the author of the *Fustat* stresses some contradictory views on *kalām* (theology) among its members. According to the account, some dervishes were inclined to support the Islamic notion of *ta'īl*, which negates the possibility of assigning any type of attributes to God. Yet, simultaneously, other Qalandar followers were openly advocating *tashbīh* (anthropomorphism) in a clear philosophical contradiction between the members of the group. Other classical philosophical

controversies of Islamic thought such as the belief in the free will (*ikhtiyār*) of human beings on Earth or the predetermination (*qadar*) of human fate are mentioned in the *Fustat al-ʿadala* as being shared by different Qalandar members.⁴³ The general description of the Qalandars' evil nature closes the short description on beliefs:

They [the Qalandars] denied the robe of Islam and this *zanādiqa* people of these days, which bind themselves to the Muslim community, this libertarian people (*mubahiyān*), who claim poverty and behave like dervishes, have been found in this age and have exhibited heresy and innovation (*zanādiqa*). They have stirred Muslims from Islam. From the beginning they manifested themselves outside the law (sharia) ... They have appropriated [people's] livestock for [them] and many people are made homeless and miserable. They don't perform *Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil*.⁴⁴ They do not fear the punishment of kings and are free from the [control] of the sheriffs (*ihtisāb-i muhtasibān*). And if a forbidding conduct was established for Muslims, this work/law (*kār*) will not last long. If the government of kings was firmly in accordance to religious jealousy, then heresy and disarray would be short-lived. Debauchery (*ibāḥatī*) is not apparent in Islam except when led by honourless kings, consenting ulama and the silence of common and noble people. These inferior people [the Qalandars] do not have any type of science such as astronomy, natural, philosophy, logic, arithmetic and others that attract people by means of knowledge. These ignorant people have set a trap to deviate [Muslims from the right path], and [those who were] vagrant, voluptuary, crafty, sinful and immoral have joined them. They are affected by the vain words and absurd acts of their dervishes. Their first step is sin.⁴⁵

If on the one hand it might be possible that a variety of beliefs and philosophical ideas circulated among members of the Qalandar movement in this formative period of the 13th century, it is impossible to corroborate these claims with any contemporary source available. However, this portrayal of conflictive and contradictory Islamic beliefs among their followers might have served more of a narrative purpose by the author in representing this group as heretic and incoherent in the eyes of his patron, rather than being a precise description of the Qalandar set of beliefs in this period.

If the description of Qalandar beliefs is superficial, the *Fustat al-ʿadala* entertains itself further in describing some of the practices of these people. Ahmet Karamustafa has already suggested the inherent opposition between the sharia and the practices of these dervishes.⁴⁶ The same opposition is stressed in the narrative of the *Fustat*, where the author not only denounces the Qalandar practices but also complains that Muslims are being easily influenced by the behaviour of these 'innovators'. There are a number of common practices enumerated in the *Fustat* to emphasise the Qalandars' heretical nature. Firstly, it is mentioned that they skip daily prayers (*namāz*). The narrative in the *Fustat*

dedicates a relatively long part of the text to the contravention of this practice, adding that when the Qalandars do pray, they do so in barns or stables. When they actually come to the mosque to pray, they openly ignore the queue for entry and step in front of other Muslims, creating a disturbance outside the mosque. In fact, this rebellious act of not queuing is emphasised in the narrative several times and seems to be of special concern for the *Fustat al-'adala*'s author. Certainly, this was one of the most evident practices of the Qalandars, as it surely provoked public tension between the dervishes and other members of the Muslim community when attending the mosque. Further, it reflects the subversive behaviour of these dervishes, who publicly confronted the norms of the imams and the hegemonic religious classes by demonstrating in this way an important component of the ideological individualism characteristic of all mendicant dervishes.⁴⁷

The subversion of Islamic prohibitions and the profanation of sacred places is a recurrent *topos* in different accounts about the Qalandars. For example, it is mentioned that these dervishes used to break the fast during the month of Ramadan, drank wine (*khamr*) and used cannabis (*sabzak*) frequently.⁴⁸ The second section of this chapter (ff. 51a–51b) claims that the Qalandars even consumed these substances inside the mosque and allowed dogs to wander in the holy places during their gatherings.⁴⁹ Although perhaps exaggerated, unlike with the case of the suggested set of the Qalandars' beliefs mentioned above, it is interesting that the description of some Qalandar practices contained in the *Fustat al-'adala* can be corroborated with other sources. For example, references to the use of cannabis in the Islamic world during medieval times are not rare, as the substance was widely used by different Islamic communities across the centuries.⁵⁰ The use of intoxicating substances and their spread in the region is one of the major concerns of the author of the *Fustat*. There is a short but specific argument made against the use of cannabis among Muslims, claiming that the Prophet Muhammad himself prohibited it and illustrating this point by offering a detailed description of the effects of this substance on the human body (dried nasal mucus, depression, strange illusions, amnesia, uncontrollable laughter and anger, among other symptoms).⁵¹ The preoccupation of the *Fustat*'s author in trying to prove the haram nature of cannabis seems to have been a response to a debate in Anatolia about the issue of intoxicating substances, use of which appears to have become widespread along with the mendicant dervishes. In the case of Anatolia, there is a reference to the use of hashish in *al-Walad al-shafiq* written by Ahmad of Niğde (fl. 13th century).⁵² However, more famous is the reference found in the account of the travels of Ibn Battuta (d. 1368–69), who mentions having seen people consuming cannabis in Sinop, close to the Chobanid domains, during his travels in the 14th century.⁵³

References to the physical appearance of these dervishes is personified in the account of the conversion to Qalandarism of its founder Jamal al-Din Savi and his initial companions. We will look in more detail at this account later in this chapter, but it is interesting to highlight that the author of the

Fustat stresses the fact that they all shaved their hair, beard and eyebrows and began to wear the woollen cloth (*julaq*) characteristic of the antinomian dervishes.⁵⁴ The act of removing all facial hair certainly created a visual impact in medieval society. In fact, this is one characteristic of the mendicant dervishes that was repeatedly documented by visitors to Anatolia in medieval and early Ottoman times when they encountered any of these antinomian Sufis. For example, Ibn Battuta describes similar practices among these mendicant dervishes in the 14th century.⁵⁵ In addition, European visitors left records of their encounters with these dervishes, who attracted attention with their extravagant appearance and behaviour.⁵⁶ In the early 15th century, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (d. 1412), the Spanish ambassador to the court of Tamerlane, encountered dervishes chanting near the city of Erzurum while en route to the Timurid court in Central Asia.⁵⁷ Similarly, the Italian merchant Josaphat Barbaro (d. 1494), who visited the court of the Aq Quyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), left a short anecdote of his encounter with a man in the city of Mardin, who, apart from a goatskin, was naked and fully shaved in the custom of the Qalandars.⁵⁸

Overall, the *Fustat al-‘adala* appears to reflect a faithful description of the Qalandars when the information is compared with other sources. The tone of the section is one of denunciation, condemnation and even concern regarding the beliefs and subversive practices of the Qalandars and their growing influence among people in Anatolia. The unique information provided by this text on these antinomian dervishes also serves the purpose of highlighting their total disrespect for the sharia, making their heretical practices evident to the reader of the work. As mentioned before, the Qalandar opposition to the rule of law was an inherent part of the antinomian practices, but the description of these practices is also used by the author to criticise the inaction of the religious and secular elites of 13th-century Anatolia. The religious establishment is accused of corruption and having a desire only to perpetuate themselves in positions of power. Hence, instead of fighting these heresies, the ulama are portrayed as solely concerned with obtaining high positions and status (*bi manṣab wa jāh mashghūl*), which they obtain by using gold (*bih zar kharīdand*).⁵⁹ The religious classes and kings alike come in for criticism, because

... nowadays, [practising] commanding good and forbidding evil has completely disappeared [from society]. The kings neglect religious commands (*aḥkām-i dīn*) and stopped enquiring meticulously about people and their condition. It is worrying that the religious authorities and elders, who are supposed to guide us, are going in the wrong direction themselves. They have taken the path towards discord and hiding truth, [they] became ignorant, negligent of the faith and don't try hard for religion. If religious scholars and authorities had been there doing their duty in the correct way, like in previous times, religion would not be seen as now. It is happening that the *zindīqs* (heretics, infidels, unbelievers) publicly manifest themselves in the robe of infidelity and heresy. Neither the kings, elders and religious leaders

are concerned with this issue [anymore] and do not turn their attention (*iltifāt nimikardand*) to what is happening.⁶⁰

This pessimistic picture of a decadent religious and secular elite is mixed with specific instructions as to what the righteous king should do with regard to heresy. No specific reference is made to the rulers of Kastamonu, but a call for action for secular powers to get involved in protecting orthodoxy is introduced on different occasions throughout the text. For example, the author mentions that kings should not only know the sharia but also ‘it is a must for kings to kill the person who abandons religion, because leaving religion is a huge crime against Islam’.⁶¹ Nonetheless, the negative picture given of the state of Islam in Anatolia is eventually reversed at the end of the work. The author makes a turn in his narrative to say that he is hopeful now, because Sultan Mas‘ud b. Kayka‘us, ruler of the Seljuqs of Rum (d. 1308) has come to the region and has cleaned the earth of this ungodly (*bī dīn*) and hideous (*zasht*) innovative people (*zanādiqa*).⁶² This final accolade to Mas‘ud, recently appointed Seljuq sultan by the Mongol Ilkhan Arghun, together with a dedication to Muzaffar al-Din Choban in the poem at the end of the work, appear to be a last-minute change in tone to please the text’s patrons. However, it also serves to overwrite the clear concern shown by the author across the majority of the work about the spread of the Qalandars, the lack of religious and secular enforcement of sharia and the corrupt nature of the Anatolian ulama.

The pessimistic account of the *Fustat al-‘adala* is an early representation of a view on the antinomian Sufis from the perspective of a 13th-century, possibly Iranian, author with a certain degree of religious education.⁶³ However, the role in society and their integration into the religious landscape of medieval Anatolia of these mendicant Sufis would undergo significant changes from the 14th and especially from the 15th century onwards. Antinomian Sufi groups such as the Qalandars, Haydaris, Abdals of Rum, or Shams-i Tabrizis would eventually produce their own literary corpus, organise their own internal hierarchies and standardise their practices to the point where they stopped being an oddity in the eyes of the secular rulers and orthodox religious classes. By the 15th century, they had become more or less amalgamated into the consolidation of the Bektashis, who, although keeping some antinomian rituals and ceremonies, were considered as the more official Sufi order of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁴ An analysis of the centralising process of the antinomian Sufis that occurred in the early Ottoman Empire is beyond the scope of this book, but perhaps it was this process of integration of these groups that made the contents of the *Fustat al-‘adala* an appealing text to be copied in the 16th century.⁶⁵

5.2 On the origin of the Qalandars: Complementary views from the *Fustat al-‘adala* and the *Manaqib-i Jamal al-Din Savi*

As part of his account of the *jawlaqīyān* (Qalandars) dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din Choban, the author of the *Fustat al-‘adala* includes a section dedicated

to the life of Jamal al-Din Savi (d. c. 630/1232–33), allegedly founder of the Qalandar movement in Damascus.⁶⁶ Although the movement's initiator was alive during the 13th century, and other groups of antinomian Sufis were active then, it would not be until the 14th century that the Qalandars would produce their own literary works.⁶⁷ It was during this period that a member of the movement wrote a version of the Qalandar origin story, a moment that is generally seen as key in the process of forming a religious identity and self-identification for these antinomian Sufis. This origin story is a hagiography known as the *Manaqib-i Jamal al-Din Savi*, written by Khatib Farisi, an Iranian-born Qalandar originally from Shiraz.⁶⁸ Like the section on the *Fustat al-'adala*, this work is also devoted to a description, although in versified Persian, of the life of Jamal al-Din Savi. The work was composed in AH 748 (1347–48) with the clear intention of narrating the spiritual conversion of Jamal al-Din Savi from the classical Sufi path to Qalandarism, and to provide details on the Qalandars' fate after the death of their spiritual leader.⁶⁹

The first interesting aspect that emerges from a comparison between the account of the *Manaqib-i Jamal al-Din Savi* and the *Fustat al-'adala* has to do with the chronology of the two texts. Jamal al-Din Savi died in c. AH 630 (1232–33), over a century before the events narrated in Farisi's hagiography. The chronological distance between the composition of the text and the life of Savi might be surprising, but it is rather common in the production of medieval Islamic hagiographic literature. Authors generally lived two or three generations later than their protagonists, meaning that often they were not direct witnesses of the events they narrated but rather compilers of different anecdotes circulating both orally and in written form within the community of followers.⁷⁰ The aspect that is less common when comparing the texts in question here is that the account of the life of Savi contained in the *Fustat al-'adala* precedes by half a century the official hagiography of the Qalandars written by Farisi.⁷¹ In this context, the availability of these two texts offers an interesting opportunity to contrast two different versions of how the Qalandar movement might have originated. In addition, the accounts offer conflicting perspectives on the subject: one (the *Manaqib*) being the official version of the movement produced within Qalandar circles in the 14th century, and the other (the *Fustat*) written by an author openly hostile to the practices and beliefs of these antinomian Sufis during the 13th century.

Despite their ideological and chronological distance, it is remarkable that both accounts are strikingly similar in the correlation of facts and events. In narrating Savi's early life of Savi, both the *Fustat* and the *Manaqib* agree that after leaving his hometown of Sadeh in Iran, Savi lived in Baghdad for a while before moving to Damascus.⁷² Although in different circumstances, as we will see below, in both accounts Savi's early spiritual life is connected to Shaykh 'Uthman-i Rumi, who will play a fundamental role in both narratives (see below). After spending some time living among mainstream Sufis, both texts coincide in mentioning that Savi went to visit the grave of the companion of the Prophet Muhammad, Bilal Habashi (d. c. 16–17/638–21/642)⁷³ in the

vicinity of Damascus in order to meditate alone and away from other community members.⁷⁴ Both sources report that while in the cemetery he met an ascetic who would impress Savi so much that he would adopt the practices and beliefs that would become characteristic of the Qalandars. In both cases, this mysterious person inspires Savi to shave his head and eyebrows, adopt poverty and reject his previous life.

However, the similarities in the narration of the events that make up the backbone of the story have certain differences that reflect the opposing views in each text. For example, the more hostile *Fustat al-'adala* claims that in his meeting with the mysterious ascetic at the grave of Bilal Habashi, Jamal al-Din Savi shared cannabis and wine with his new companion, something omitted in the *Manaqib*.⁷⁵ Further, the name given to the ascetic is different in each account. While the *Fustat al-'adala* names him as Amrad Shirazi Garubad, the *Manaqib* identifies him as Jalal Dargzini. Neither name seems to appear in any other sources of the period.⁷⁶ These two slightly different versions of the initiation to ascetism by Savi are complemented with yet another version that differs even further from these two and that appears to have circulated during the formative period of the Qalandars. Ibn Battuta was able to record, while travelling in Anatolia and Damascus in the 14th century, yet another version. According to him, the reason why Savi decided to shave was to appear physically unattractive to a certain woman who had been trying to seduce him and managed to trick him into entering her house. When the woman saw him with his head, beard and moustache shaved, she gave him some peace and he managed to escape from her. Savi interprets, then, that the idea of removing his facial hair was given to him by God as a way to show renouncement of sinful acts, and for that reason, he decided to stick to the custom and adopt an ascetic lifestyle.⁷⁷

One particular character, Shaykh 'Uthman-i Rumi, emerges in these texts as playing an important role in the conversion of Savi to Qalandarism, albeit with variations in the narrative of each text. We know little about this shaykh, but he appears to have been well known and had a *khānaqā* in Damascus. He is mentioned in the hagiography containing the life of Awhad al-Din Kirmani (d. 1238), a controversial Iranian Sufi contemporary of Savi who lived most of his life in Anatolia.⁷⁸ From the references in these accounts, 'Uthman-i Rumi appears to have been a clear representative of a mainstream Sufi in the early 13th century. However, Farisi seems to have a different chronology of the events. Instead of placing the life of Jamal al-Din Savi in the 13th century as other accounts do, he establishes the life of Savi between AH 382 (992–93) and AH 403 (1070–71). This historical inaccuracy is not uncommon in a hagiographical work such as Farisi's, who was certainly more concerned with transmitting the deeds of the founder of the Qalandars than with providing an accurate chronology of events.⁷⁹ Consequently, some initial discrepancies between the narratives of the works emerge in the characters that interact with Savi and their relationship to him. Farisi tells us that, when Savi was a young Sufi master, 'Uthman-i Rumi was sent to him by Bayazid Bistami (d. AH 261/

874–75, or AH 234/848–49), described as a companion of Savi.⁸⁰ The chronology of the events in Farisi's account does not even match his own periodisation of the life of Savi. If Savi lived when Farisi tells us, Bistami would have been dead for over a century. Hence, it seems clear that the construction of the narrative in the *Manaqib* is more concerned with enhancing Savi's religious credentials during his early life by connecting him with Bistami than with a faithful reconstruction of the events. More confusion is added to this scrambled chronology when considering the sources used by Savi in his discussion. Karamustafa has pointed out that in his work, Farisi mentions Savi giving a sermon on the idea of "macrocosmos" and "microcosmos" in a totally predictable, conservative manner'.⁸¹ This suggests that Savi could be seen as a mainstream Sufi before becoming a Qalandar ascetic, since the sermon is based on the *Mirsad al-'ibad min al-mabda' ila al-ma'ad* of Najm al-Din Razi (d. 1256–57), a mainstream Sufi disciple of Najm al-Din Kubra (d. 1221) contemporary with Savi.⁸² By contrast, the *Fustat* does not give any specific dates on the lifespan of Savi but suggests that Savi was a disciple of 'Uthman-i Rumi during his stay in Damascus.⁸³ The idea that persists in both accounts is, though, that Savi began as a mainstream Sufi before he departed on his path to Qalandarism.

Although they agree on the main facts, the departure from the mainstream Sufi path and Savi's conversion to Qalandarism is presented in different ways in both texts. The *Fustat al-'adala* claims that after joining 'Uthman-i Rumi in Damascus and spending some time with his community in that city, one day, 'Uthman's followers

... were engaged in prayer (*'ibāda*), solitude (*khalwa*), endeavour/struggle (*mujāhda*) and being constantly remembering [of God] (*mudāwamat-i zikr*) that was the path and tradition of ancient shaykhs. Jamal [al-Din] couldn't handle being with this group because a desire for innovation (*zandiqa*) was present inside him [*farāghat dāshta zandiqa mi-kard*].⁸⁴

The more benevolent narrative in the *Manaqib* obviously does not mention an internal desire for heresy as the reason for Savi's conversion. Instead, Farisi relates that after leaving Iraq, Savi decided to travel to different locations with forty of his dervishes (including 'Uthman-i Rumi). During these travels, on one occasion they all visited the Bab al-Saghir cemetery in Damascus.⁸⁵ As in the *Fustat* version, it is in this cemetery where Savi finds the man (in this case, Jalal Dargzini) who by being totally naked, silent and motionless, impresses Savi deeply.⁸⁶ He prays that he can be shown the right path and immediately Savi's hair falls out, by which he interprets that God has accepted him on the right path and he becomes a Qalandar.

Thus, while in the *Manaqib* account 'Uthman-i Rumi is demoted to the role of a follower of Savi, the *Fustat* represents him as a great shaykh in charge of a community of *murīds* (disciples). In the final lines of the account of Savi's life, the *Fustat* mentions that 'Uthman-i Rumi was informed of the self-seclusion of Savi in the cemetery and how he had shaved his head and eyebrows.

Initially, ‘Uthman-i Rumi sent some of his disciples to persuade Savi to return to his congregation, but the new Qalandar convert declined. Concerned by this, ‘Uthman-i Rumi proclaimed that ‘we must go and save [bring] him (*bāz āvarīm*) from that deviation (*zalālat*)’. Hence, he went to visit Savi with a group of his followers and after seeing him with his new physical appearance, the shaykh sat next to him. According to the *Fustat*, ‘Uthman-i Rumi tried to persuade Savi of his wrongdoings by saying to him that ‘this appearance (*shakl*) that you found (*paydā kardī*) is the appearance of devils [*shiyārīdan*] and a source of sedition (*fitna*) and evil (*sharr*) ... Repent yourself! (*tawba kon!*)’. However, Savi did not abandon these practices and the shaykh’s conciliatory tone changes dramatically.

In the face of Savi’s refusal to abandon his ascetic practices, ‘Uthman-i Rumi

... took his sandal (*kafsh*) and hit [Savi] on the back of the neck hundreds of times, then said, ‘Oh damned! (*ay mal’ūn!*) You created sedition (*fitna*), evil (*sharr*), ugliness (*zishṭī*) and innovation (*bid’atī*) among people of the path (*ahl-i ṭarīq*). You started permissiveness/licentiousness (*ibāḥa*), unbelief (*kufīr*) and aberration (*zalāla*); you [followed] Mazdak and Qaramtian religion’.⁸⁷ The shaykh then banned his followers (*ṭarīq-i faqīr va darvīshān*) from him.⁸⁸

The two opposing representations of Shaykh ‘Uthman-i Rumi’s reaction to Savi’s conversion to Qalandarism mirror the tensions between different conceptions of Islam in 13th- and 14th-century Anatolia. On the one hand, the *Fustat al-‘adala*, being composed by an author closer to the religious establishment – albeit critical of it – portrays Savi’s religious transformation as a heretical deviation that should serve as an illustrative example of wrongdoings to the local Turkmen ruler of Kastamonu to whom the text is dedicated. Similarly, the mainstream Sufi shaykh ‘Uthman-i Rumi is praised and elevated as being both compassionate at first and firmly anti-heresy later on, when he severely punishes Savi both physically by hitting him with his sandal and morally by excluding him from his community of Sufis. On the other hand, Farisi portrays ‘Uthman-i Rumi as a simple follower, who recognises the greatness of Savi’s commitment to poverty and ascetism. It is surprising that despite the alleged recognition of the shaykh, Farisi excludes ‘Uthman-i Rumi from the group of Savi’s companions that will spread Qalandarism in Anatolia (see below). Perhaps we can read this omission as an implicit recognition by Farisi of the mainstream nature of ‘Uthman-i Rumi’s religious background, against which Savi rebels by abandoning the material life and embracing an ascetic life.⁸⁹ The contrast between the two sources’ approach to the anecdote can be seen as a reflection of two different parts of 13th- and 14th-century Anatolian society, where tensions between a religious establishment that appears to have accepted mainstream Sufism is being challenged by a new form of religiosity represented by the Qalandars and other mendicant dervishes.

The information provided by the *Fustat al-ʿadala* opens another element of comparison with Farisi's *Manaqib* with regard to the consequences of Savi's conversion. In their own way, both texts document the rapid growth of the Qalandars in the Middle East. While as we have seen above, the *Fustat* mentions how 'thousands of thousands (*hizārān-i hizār*)' of *jawlaqīyān* have spread in the Middle East and Central Asia, the *Manaqib* narrates how Savi himself had to leave Damascus for Damietta in Egypt to escape from the large number of followers who were congregating around him.⁹⁰ With Savi's departure to Egypt, a number of his early companions are mentioned by both accounts as being left in charge of the Qalandar dervishes. The *Fustat al-ʿadala* agrees with the work by Farisi that the direction of Savi's followers was left in the hands of Muhammad Balkhi, Muhammad Kurdi, Shams al-Kurd and Abu Bakr Niksari.⁹¹ The latter settled in Konya, spreading Savi's teachings in the capital of the Seljuqs of Rum and acquiring an important role in the religious life of the city in the 13th century.⁹² According to Aflaki's *Manaqib al-ʿarifin*, Niksari might have been close to Mevlevi groups in the city since he was one of only seven people in the city that received an ox as a present to commemorate the death of Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi in 1273.⁹³ This reference not only suggests a permanent settlement of Qalandars in Konya during the 1270s, but also casts some doubt on the exclusive circumscription of the Qalandars to rural areas suggested by traditional Turkish historiography of the Köprülü paradigm. Instead, it appears that by the time the *Fustat al-ʿadala* was written, these mendicant dervishes were not only widespread in Anatolia but also much more integrated across different sections of society than previously anticipated.⁹⁴

5.3 The ulama's reaction: A Hanafi–Shafi'i dialogue in the *Fustat al-ʿadala*

Although the appearance of mendicant dervishes created surprise and havoc among the religious establishment in Anatolia, they were only a noisy minority in a region where Islam was dominant in the 13th century. It is difficult to establish a clear-cut distinction between different Sufi groups when some antinomian Sufis such as Fakhr al-Din 'Iraqi (d. 1289) received support from powerful court officials, or some mainstream Sufis would carry out certain dubious orthodox Islamic rituals. However, it seems that mainstream Sufism was consolidating its structures around the personality of Sufi leaders such as Jalal al-Din Rumi and his descendants who, although having a mystical approach to Islam, were closer – unlike the antinomian Sufis – to the hegemonic powers than to challenging religious structures.⁹⁵ Although there was a Shia minority in Anatolia, Sunni Islam consolidated in the region with the successive arrival of Sunni Turks and Persianised populations from Central Asia after the Seljuq conquest.⁹⁶ Traditional approaches to the history of medieval Anatolia have generally connected the official affiliation of Turks in general, and the Seljuqs of Rum in particular, to the Hanafi school of law, as evidence of a predominance of this Islamic school in medieval Anatolia.⁹⁷

By extrapolation, it has been assumed that Turkmen local rulers such as the Chobanids also followed the practice and precepts of Hanafi Islam. In a work mostly based on the study of the Jandarid dynasty, Cevdet Yakupoğlu suggests in passing that the Chobanid rulers such as Husam al-Din Choban or his descendants were Hanafis.⁹⁸ He bases his argument on the fact that they supported the construction of Sunni mosques and madrasas and that the *Fustat al-ʿadala* – using only the section translated by Osman Turan – praises the Sunni-Hanafi Seljuq Sultan Masʿud II. However, looking at the whole text of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din Choban, a more complex picture emerges. Although a personal affiliation to Hanafism by the Chobanid rulers is hard to prove in the absence of any description of their religious practices, the full contents of the *Fustat al-ʿadala* challenge the perception of a homogeneous medieval Hanafi Anatolia. Instead, the Shafiʿi school of law appears to have also been widely represented in Anatolia in the 13th century.

Based on the view that Hanafism was the madhhab of the Turks and the attested migrations of Hanafi ʿulama from Central Asia, there is an assumption among modern scholars that the Seljuq domination of Anatolia was dominated by Hanafi law.⁹⁹ Ibn Battuta’s description of 14th-century Anatolia – where he mentions that ‘all of the people of this land belong to the school of Imam Abu Hanifa (God be pleased with him) and are firmly attached to the Sunna’ – has been widely quoted as an eyewitness report of this homogeneity.¹⁰⁰ No doubt, Hanafi fiqh (jurisprudence) was popular among Anatolian intellectuals in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, some of whom, like Hacı Paşa (d. c. 1425), even participated in a number of debates and intellectual arguments against Shafiʿi jurists while studying in Cairo.¹⁰¹ However, it seems that the idea of a majoritarian and well-defined Hanafi Anatolia in the 13th century is a rather *a posteriori* construction made from a religious reality corresponding to the early Ottoman period rather than Seljuq Asia Minor.¹⁰² Instead, some evidence suggests that in Seljuq- and Mongol-dominated Anatolia, the separation between Hanafi and Shafiʿi fiqh was less clearly defined. For example, Ibn Bibi never questions the adherence of the Seljuq rulers to Hanafi jurisprudence, yet he states that the sultan ʿAlaʿ al-Din Kayqubad I (r. 1220–37) performed his morning prayers according to the Shafiʿi tradition.¹⁰³ Further, even if Anatolia was Hanafi in its majority, scholars of either Iranian or Syrian origin migrated in large numbers to the region during the 13th century, bringing with them their own set of Shafiʿi practices popular in their homelands.¹⁰⁴ It has been suggested that among those migrant Shafiʿi scholars was Husam al-Din Khuʿi (d. not before 1309), the author of different works dedicated to the Chobanid rulers.¹⁰⁵

The *Fustat al-ʿadala* is another example of the complex coexistence between these two Islamic schools of law in 13th-century Anatolia.¹⁰⁶ The text dedicated to the Chobanid rulers of Kastamonu not only offers some unique insights into the origins, beliefs and practices of the Qalandar dervishes, but also dedicates a portion of its contents to the discussion of certain practices according to the interpretation of Hanafi and Shafiʿi fiqh. In the *Fustat*, section 5 of chapter 5,

both the Hanafi and Shafi'i legal traditions are quoted extensively to address different conflictive issues in the practice of Islam, becoming a manual of legal practices which appears to be addressed mainly at secular powers.¹⁰⁷ Since this section was not transcribed by Osman Turan in his article describing this work, this part of the *Fustat al-'adala* has received very little attention.¹⁰⁸ A closer look at this particular section can serve not only as an interesting testimony of the coexistence of both legal traditions in Anatolia but also of the acceptance of a number of Shafi'i practices by mainly Hanafi Turkmen local dynasties such as the Chobanids.

In this section of the *Fustat al-'adala*, the author does not fully abandon his concern with the heresies shown above but rather makes the narrative flow as a mirror for princes, mixing anecdotes with specific advice to the reader in a style attempting to resemble the adaptation of the *Siyar al-muluk* included in other parts of the text (see Chapter 4). Yet, the focus on Islamic law, advocacy for a more strict implementation by the ulama and the author's call to secular powers to enforce these precepts gives the section a different tone from the rest of the chapter.¹⁰⁹ Broadly defined, this section is an enumeration of a number of Islamic precepts as they should be followed by both Hanafi and Shafi'i legal traditions. The text is concerned again with the lack of enforcement by kings and the ulama to prevent people from living outside the law. The author includes anecdotes, quotations from the Quran and extracts from different hadiths in a pedagogical manner that illustrates the moral values of both Hanafi and Shafi'i concepts; he presents them as ideological tools that provide rulers with the necessary advice to behave as orthodox Muslims, while simultaneously offering a set of standard practices that could help the secular powers to identify and prevent the spread of heresy in their territories.

The text's pedagogical tone can be observed from the opening paragraph of the section which includes an explanation on the Islamic concept of *al-'amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahī 'an al-munkar* (commanding good and forbidding evil), highlighted as a principle given by God to all the prophets. In a direct address to the reader, the author explains that if the *'amr bi al-ma'rūf* (commanding good) is neglected, 'all religious laws (*hama'i shi'ar-i shar'*) become invalid/deteriorate (*bā'il shud*)'.¹¹⁰ Using a tone that implies that the author is addressing someone with very little knowledge of Islamic doctrine, he explains how there is punishment in the sharia for not following this principle, as there is for other more mundane sins such as drinking wine (*khamr*), robbery (*duzdī*), adultery (*zinā'*), or revenge (*qiṣās*).¹¹¹ Further, the text emphasises that to command good (*'amr bi al-ma'rūf*) is a duty (*ājab*) of every Muslim and he who does not obey will not be blessed by God. A Quranic verse is then quoted to exemplify this statement.¹¹² The final lines of the paragraph leave aside any doubts as to who is ultimately responsible to fulfil this duty:

That means that a group from you [the king] must have the job to invite people to God and command good and forbid evil. And it is for this reason that commanding good is a duty. Nevertheless, it is enough that [the] king

appoints a person for this job in city, town or country who is competent. If that person is worthy, there will be no uprising among the rest of the people in city, town or country. But if someone [is appointed who] neglects [commanding good], so it will [be] necessary for everybody from the people of God and from Muslims to enforce *'amr bi al-ma'rūf* and if they don't do it, all the people on earth will be named criminals and will be punished by God the Greatest.¹¹³

Following this call to the ruler to embrace 'commanding good and forbidding evil', the next paragraphs elaborate on the need to perform this duty by introducing a number of examples taken from the Islamic tradition. In this case, the *Fustat* brings together a common set of episodes narrated in the hadiths by which God punished members of a Jewish village by making them look like apes for going fishing and thus breaking the Sabbath.¹¹⁴ This episode is followed by a reference to the commitment to *'amr bi al-ma'rūf* of Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman (d. 656), one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. The *Fustat* quotes the exact lines in the Arabic original, which reads 'By the One in Whose Hand is my soul! Either you command good and forbid evil, or Allah will soon send upon you a punishment from Him, then you will call upon Him, but He will not respond to you'.¹¹⁵ These lines are attributed to Ibn al-Yaman in the *Jami' al-Tirmidhi*, one of the major six hadith collections compiled between AH 250 (864–65) and AH 270 (884) by Muhammad b. 'Isa al-Tirmidhi (d. 892).¹¹⁶ A similar narrative structure is used with quotations from other hadiths, such as the *Sunan Abi Dawud* of Abu Da'ud Sulayman b. al-Ash'ath al-Sijistani (d. 889),¹¹⁷ references to the sayings of Aisha, wife of the Prophet Muhammad, to illustrate different aspects of the doctrine of *'amr bi al-ma'rūf*.¹¹⁸ It is worth mentioning that after each Arabic citation, there is an explanation of the quote's meaning in Persian. This suggests, on the one hand, a pedagogical purpose in the composition of the *Fustat al-'adala* that aims to improve the religious literacy of its audience. On the other hand, it is another example, like the composition of dictionaries and vocabularies by Husam al-Din Khu'i, of the intended reader's lack of Arabic proficiency and the effort of these authors to make classical Arabic texts available to a mainly Persian-speaking audience.¹¹⁹

The text is far from homogeneous in the selection of quotes and anecdotes. In an interesting change of sources, the section begins to quote different sayings of Imam 'Ali, nephew of the Prophet, to re-introduce into the narrative aspects of heresy and disbelief. Yet, instead of simply narrating the deeds and beliefs of heretics, the text provides a guide to identify sin and to prevent oneself from committing it. 'Ali's commands are used to emphasise that a good Muslim might sin (*gunāh mikunād*), but there is also the chance of repentance (*tawba ... āz gunāh kardan*) when a sin is committed.¹²⁰ Depending on their attitude to repentance, the author tries to explain in an easy way how to make a clear distinction between believers and unbelievers. He mentions that sin defines Muslims to the point where they are cut 'by a blade' (*fīgh*)

into two groups. One group includes those who in the beginning were Muslims who ‘fight people until they [unbelievers] say there is no god but God’,¹²¹ and the other group includes those people that have set religion aside and need to be killed.¹²² This distinction is presented once again in terms of orthodoxy and heresy, with the advocacy for persecution and punishment of unbelievers circumscribed to the Muslim community. The division is made only between good and bad Muslims, but there is no mention of how Christians or Jews should be treated in this respect.

The kind of references used to enforce the points of the narrative shift half-way through the section, when the use of hadiths is abandoned and classical Islamic jurists are quoted instead. The concern to inform the reader about how to be a good Muslim is further exemplified in a new paragraph that lists 15 sins allegedly indicated by Abu Hanifa as those that good Muslims should avoid and punish:

- 1) If someone prays for miracles to the Prophet Muhammad, instead of God.
- 2) If someone fights someone else and claims they did not know that fighting was a sin.
- 3) If someone has sexual intercourse with a woman during her menstrual cycle.
- 4) If someone denies the existence of God as a judge.
- 5) If someone says he is an unbeliever.
- 6) If someone says to a person ‘be afraid of Allah’, and the second person denies this order, the latter is an unbeliever.
- 7) If a person wishes to have sodomy and adultery legally accepted.
- 8) If a person swears on the hairs of the body of the Messenger of Allah.
- 9) If a man and woman argue with each other, and in the meanwhile the man says: ‘I am now an unbeliever’.
- 10) If a person doesn’t accept the Prophet, or doesn’t behave as a loyal believer to the Prophet.
- 11) If a Jewish and Christian person asks about the definition of faith, and the person sends these two believers to a religious scholar [instead of responding himself].
- 12) If a Jewish or a Christian person accepts Islam as a faith, later, the parents of either of these two believers die, and he says: ‘I wish I have not accepted Islam as my faith’.
- 13) If a person decides to deceive a woman to make her divorce her husband; in this case both the woman and the wrongdoer are called disbelievers.
- 14) If a person lies.
- 15) If a person lies about his love towards the Messenger of Allah.¹²³

These sins are not explained in great detail but they all share the characteristic of being very specific sinful practices, many of which could quite easily occur in daily life and need to be avoided. Although some of these practices refer to

general sinful acts that could apply to all Muslims (sins number 2, 7, 14), others target situations more specifically connected to the lightly Islamised Chobanid territories; in particular, the two references on what to do with Christians and Jews willing to convert to Islam (sin number 11), or how to prevent converts of those faiths reverting to their former religion (sin number 12). Further, additional listed sins focus on regulating gender relations (sins number 3, 9 and 13) and the way in which the reader should behave vis-à-vis the invocation of the Prophet Muhammad and God in his daily life (sins number 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10 and 15). While suggesting what proper Muslims should do about Jewish and Christian converts appears to be useful advice for new Muslims living on the border with Byzantium, the references to gender and religious misconduct evidence some tension between the religious establishment (represented by the text's author) and daily life practices in 13th-century Kastamonu. The use of Abu Hanifa as a source of authority for these rules is also an attempt by this religious class to bring the Turkmen rulers of Kastamonu and their recently Islamised subjects closer to a way of life acceptable to the moral standards of the religious ulama.

The author's concern with explaining sins to his readers does not stop here. After these 15 specific acts, the narrative in the text addresses other equally dangerous activities that need to be avoided. As has been observed, in medieval Anatolian sources, the consumption of wine is not particularly associated with non-Muslims, but is rather a Muslim concern.¹²⁴ The prohibition of wine consumption in Islam is one of the main worries of the author. The text explains that Islam not only condemns the drinking of wine but also the person who squeezes the grape (*angūr mi-fishārd*), those who order others to squeeze grapes, the person who pours wine (*sāqī*), the person who sells wine (*firūshanda*), and so on.¹²⁵ On this occasion, the rationale for this restriction is not based on Abu Hanifa. Instead, the prohibition of wine consumption among Muslims is justified by quoting the words of Shafi'i, who according to the *Fustat al-'adala* dictates that drinking wine is *haram* in all circumstances for Muslims and if even a drop of wine falls in a well, then all the water in that well will be contaminated for Muslims.¹²⁶ Shafi'i commands are immediately corroborated by the inclusion of similar restrictions on wine consumption attributed to Abu al-Layth Samarqandi (d. 983), a prominent Hanafi jurist also popular among Shafi'is.¹²⁷ This parallel display of Hanafi-Shafi'i law is equally used to explain the punishment that should be applied to those found guilty of drinking wine, with Abu Hanifa stating 80 lashes in preference to the 40 lashes suggested by Shafi'i jurisprudence.¹²⁸

The concern of the author about the use of wine will be resumed a few folios later in the manuscript of the *Fustat al-'adala* (in section 6 of the work) by including a number of anecdotes of the Prophet's companions.¹²⁹ However, in section 5, the next sin occupying the author is adultery. As with the case of wine, the terms by which adultery becomes a sin are first explained, followed by a few quotes of the Prophet Muhammad and the Imam 'Ali on this matter, and finishing with the formula for punishing such a sin.¹³⁰ If Samarqandi is

mentioned to illustrate the Hanafi approach to wine drinking in the previous example, in the case of adultery the name dropped is that of Malik b. Anas (d. 795), the founder of the Maliki school of law and at the same time a disciple of Abu Hanifa, and teacher of Shafi'i.¹³¹ However, it is interesting that Malik b. Anas is brought into the narrative as a witness of an experience of adultery, but not as a religious scholar in the way his teacher and student are mentioned. Once the story is explained, then the definition and corresponding punishment for adultery are given according to both Abu Hanifa and Shafi'i, always in this order. A similar formula is used repeatedly in this section to address other sins such as a felony or a murder, but also on matters of family life such as the four conditions needed to constitute a valid marriage or regulations on rights of property.¹³²

Throughout this section, the verdicts of both Islamic schools are presented one after the other in such a way that they always show agreement. It is never mentioned that one should be used in preference to the other, or that the sentences provided by each school for a particular fault should be applied only to Muslims following one of these schools. In contrast to the debates and disputes that will emerge in the Ilkhanate in the early 14th century, in the *Fustat al-'adala* both Hanafi and Shafi'i jurisprudence are presented as complementary to one another, offering the executor of the penalties two apparently equal options to persecute sins in medieval Anatolia.¹³³ This is an interesting feature of the *Fustat al-'adala*, showing that either the interaction between jurists and qadis of both schools was common in western Anatolia, or that a given judge could use one of the two to dictate sentence for a crime.¹³⁴ The main goal of the text is not, however, to provide a manual of Islamic law but, I suspect, to alert recently designated Turkmen rulers and their subject populations on the need to prevent heretical behaviours, written by an author who may have belonged to the ulama establishment.¹³⁵ There is a clear effort on the author's part to reconcile both schools of law and present them as complementary legal tools that can be used together against the common enemy: the Qalandars. The text suggests that although the ruling dynasty of the Seljuqs of Rum and many Turkmen local rulers might have had a preference for Hanafism, this did not mean that Shafi'ism was not widely present among officials and Anatolian upper classes. The reason for the increase in popularity of Shafi'ism in medieval Anatolia is difficult to trace. However, it should not be surprising, considering that, in both Syria and Egypt, Shafi'ism was widely present during the 13th century.¹³⁶ Similarly, the flow of Iranian migrants into Anatolia, one of whom might be the author of the text, may also have increased the presence of Shafi'ism in medieval Anatolia. Although it is occasionally overstated, some scholars have suggested such a close similarity in practices between an increasingly dominant Shiism and Shafi'ism in medieval Iran would have made them 'indistinguishable'.¹³⁷ Therefore, in building a legal argument against heresy, the *Fustat al-'adala* is revealing not only a presence of Shafi'ism in a predominantly Hanafi Anatolian ruling class but trying to conciliate both schools in the eyes of the local rulers of Kastamonu.

The need felt by the author to provide an informative text on the righteous practices of Islam in the region is summarised in the final lines of this section:

Nowadays *Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil* has vanished. Kings are careless of religious doctrines. It is astonishing that the religious leaders who guide us are going on the wrong path ... Now, the work of religion has become bad and abject. Neither the kings, messengers, scientists nor religious leaders have taken regard of the mentioned stories.¹³⁸

In sum, this section of the *Fustat al-'adala* tries to offer a solution to the unstoppable spread of heresy described in previous sections of the work. The solution offered to the reader is presented in references to the Quran, exemplary anecdotes contained in hadiths and the need for strict implementation of Islamic law. In all of these topics, the author seems well versed and with access to a good number of religious and secular sources. Like other sections in this work, this part of the text serves as a testimony of the author's religious knowledge and capabilities. The inclusion of the *Siyar al-muluk* ascribed to an openly Shafi'i author such as Nizam al-Mulk in other parts of the work (see Chapter 4) and the equation of Shafi'i and Hanafi jurisprudence to the same level of authority might be suggesting a possible affiliation of the author of the *Fustat* to the Shafi'i school of law. However, there is no attempt to promote one school over the other but rather to reconcile these two schools by showing only points of agreement between them in punishing sinful acts. Further, the author is aware of the scant knowledge of normative Islam among his audience, making the selection of topics in this section hardly aleatory. First is the emphasis on the doctrine of *'amr bi al-ma'ruf* as a clear way of showing the path to be a good Muslim, then to explain what constitutes a sinful act and finally to offer a legal solution to judge and punish sinners. The text is presented as a good literary tool which aims to engage with an audience that, although Muslim in its majority by the second half of the 13th century, was possibly receiving by the commission of this work their first direct interaction with doctrinal Islam.

Notes

- 1 Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 15–17. A large Greek-Christian population was still present in early 13th-century Kastamonu. See Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330* (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1968), p. 155.
- 2 S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971); Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929).
- 3 See, for example, Tijana Krstić, 'The Ambiguous Politics of "Ambiguous Sanctuaries": F. Hasluck and Historiography of Syncretism and Conversion to Islam in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Rumeli', in David Shankland (ed.),

- Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878–1920*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2013), pp. 245–62.
- 4 Andrew C. S. Peacock, 'Islamisation in Medieval Anatolia', in *idem* (ed.), *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp. 134–55.
 - 5 Derin Terzioğlu, 'How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion', *Turcica* 44 (2012–13), p. 303; on the Sunnitisation of the Ottoman Empire, see Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 12–14.
 - 6 See Peacock et al. 'Introduction', in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 4–5; Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 118–217.
 - 7 Similar approach mentioned for the division between 'orthodox' and 'popular' religion. See Terzioğlu, 'How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization', pp. 302–3.
 - 8 Ahmet Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends* (Oxford: OneWorld, 2006), p. 3
 - 9 Ahmet Karamustafa, '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, 2013), pp. 330–31.
 - 10 Bruno De Nicola, 'The "Waste of this World" Antinomian Sufis and Mongol Rulers in Ilkhanid Iran', Forthcoming.
 - 11 Harran is an area in south-eastern Anatolia on the border between the modern republics of Syria and Turkey.
 - 12 Ibn Fuwati, *al-Hawadith al-jami'a wa al-tajarib al-nafi'a fi al-mi'at al-sabi'a* (Baghdad: Camel Press, 1932), pp. 342–43. See Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 53. On further contacts between the Mongols and the Qalandars, 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), pp. 383–84. Edward Granville Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Volume 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 251.
 - 13 On the *Fustat al-'adala*, see Chapter 3.
 - 14 See edition of the text in Khatib Farisi, *Manaqib-i Camal al-Din-i Sawi*. Edited by Tahsin Yazıcı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972).
 - 15 Tahsin Yazıcı, 'Qalandar', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.
 - 16 Edited in Sultan-Husayn Tabanda Gunabadi (ed.), *Rasa'il-i Hajji 'Abd Allah Ansari* (Tehran: Chapkhanih-i Armaghan, 1319 [1930]), pp. 87–95. A manuscript copy from the 15th century can still be seen at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, Molla Murad Collection, no. 1825, ff. 284–86. The copy is a *majmū'a* including only works by 'Abd Allah Ansari.
 - 17 On the life and works of 'Abd Allah Ansari, see A. G. Ravan Farhadi, '*Abdullāh Anṣārī of Herāt (1006–1089 C.E.): An Early Ṣūfī Master*' (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996).
 - 18 Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 3.
 - 19 Katherine Pratt Ewing, *Arguing Sainthood: Modernity, Psychoanalysis, and Islam* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 238.
 - 20 Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 56.

- 21 Cyrus Ali Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love, and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn 'Arabi and 'Iraqi* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), pp. 114–15.
- 22 There is debate about how close the association of Hacı Bektaş was with other Sufis such as Ahmed Yesevi, Qutb al-Din Haydar (*fl.* 12th century) or even Baba Rasul Ilyas himself. Some recent scholarship suggests he was rather independent in his path, yet he was certainly influenced by all of these figures. See 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), pp. 101–02. Andrew C. S. Peacock has pointed out that we have no contemporary evidence for Hacı Bektaş and the only early references to him are Aflaki's account mentioned here and Elvan Çelebi, who despite his enmity to Bektaş, at least provides evidence of his historical existence. See Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 23.
- 23 Ahmet Karamustafa, 'Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia', in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism: Classical Persian Sufism: From its Origins to Rūmī* (Oxford: OneWorld, 1999), pp. 179–83; Yaşar Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle*. (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Societe turque d'histoire, 1989); Yaşar Ocak, *Babâiler isyanı: alevî tarihsel altyapısı yahut Anadolu'da Islâm-Türk heterodoksisinin teşekkülü* (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1996).
- 24 Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, p. 247; for the full analysis, see *ibid.*, pp. 240–48.
- 25 Aflaki, *Manağib al-'arifin*, ed. T. Yazıcı, 2 vols (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1959–61) pp. 381–82 / *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manağeb al-'Arefin*. Translated by J. O'Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 263–64.
- 26 This approach was mostly followed by scholars of the early 20th century such as E. G. Browne, based mainly on the account of Nur al-Din Jami (d. 1492) or the words of Jalal al-Din Rumi himself describing Shams as a 'wandering dervish'; see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Promise of Sufism, Islam's Mystical Tradition* (New York: HarperOne, 2008), p. 204. See an explanation on the possible antinomian origin of Shams-i Tabrizi by Franklin D. Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West* (OneWorld, 2007), pp 134–35.
- 27 Lewis, *Rumi*, p. 135.
- 28 For a brief discussion on the development of mainstream Sufism, see Erik Ohlander, *Sufism in an Age of Transition: 'Umar al-Suhrawardī and the Rise of the Islamic Mystical Brotherhoods* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 3–6.
- 29 Pratt Ewing, *Arguing Sainthood*, p. 236; Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen*, p. 263.
- 30 Francois de Blois, 'Zindīq', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Vol. 11, 592.
- 31 Both the terms, Qalandar and *jawlaqīyān*, appear to have been used as synonyms in medieval texts. See Muhammad Riza Kadkani, *Qalandariyya dar tarikh* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Sukhan, 2007), pp. 320–23.
- 32 See correlation table in Appendix 2.
- 33 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 50.
- 34 For an in-depth analysis of this section, see below, section titled 'On the origin of the Qalandars'.
- 35 See Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 64b.
- 36 Bishbaliq (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 Urganch,

- 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 Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), p. 442, and map on p. 366.
- 37 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 54a–b.
- 38 De Nicola, ‘The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-‘adāla*: a Unique Manuscript on the Religious Landscape of Medieval Anatolia’, in A. C. S. Peacock and S. N. Yıldız (eds), *Literature and Intellectual Life in Islamic Anatolia in the 14th-15th Centuries: Historical, Social and Political Perspectives* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), p. 63.
- 39 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 54a–b.
- 40 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 53b–54a.
- 41 For an explanation on the cosmology of the sky and the earth in pre-Islamic Turco-Mongol religion, see Jean-Paul Roux, *La religion des Turcs et des Mongols* (Paris: Payot, 1984), pp. 99–154.
- 42 Perhaps, as suggested by Andrew Peacock in a personal communication, this might be reminiscent of the moon cult of Harran which survived into the 13th century. See Tamara M. Green, *The City of the Moon God: Religious Traditions of Harran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).
- 43 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 53b–54a.
- 44 See below, section titled ‘The ulama’s reaction’.
- 45 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 54b.
- 46 Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, p. 18.
- 47 See Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, pp. 31–32; Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), p. 65.
- 48 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 50b.
- 49 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 51a–51b.
- 50 See a short overview in Gabriel G. Nahas, ‘Hashish in Islam 9th to 18th Century’, *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 58:9 (1982), pp. 814–31; also the pioneering work by Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish Versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); more recently, Benedek Péri, ‘“It Is The Weed Of Lovers”’: The Use Of Cannabis Among Turkic Peoples Up To The 15th Century’, *Acta Orientalia* 69:2 (2016), pp. 139–55; Benedek Péri, ‘Cannabis (*esrār*): A Unique Semantic Field in Classical Ottoman Lyric Poetry’, *Turcica* 48 (2017), pp. 9–36.
- 51 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 54b–55a.
- 52 Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 4518, section transcribed by Osman Turan in Turan, ‘Selçuk Türkiyesi’, 539, fn. 17. Ahmad of Niğde, *Niğdeli Kadı Ahmed’in el-Veledü’ş-şefik ve’l-hâfidü’l-halîk’i*. Edited and translated by Ali Ertuğrul, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015). On *al-Walad al-shafiq*, see Ehsan Yarshater and Charles Melville (eds), *Persian Historiography: History of Persian Literature*, Vol. X (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), p. 175; Andrew C. S. Peacock, ‘Niğde’s ‘al-Walad al-shafiq’ and the Seljuk Past’, *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004), pp. 95–107.
- 53 Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, II, p. 467; also Aflaki seems to imply that it was used by some Mevlevi followers, who in turn were given an argument against its use by Shams-i Tabrizi. See Ahmad Shams al-Din Aflaki, *Manaqib al-‘arifin*. Edited by Tahsin Yazıcı, vol. II (Ankara: Chapkhanah-i Anjuman-i Tarikh-i Turk, 1959–61), pp. 632–33; English translation of Aflaki, *The Feats of the Knowers of God: Manāqeb al-‘arēfin*. Translated by John O’Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 436.
- 54 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 51b

- 55 For example, in the city of Damietta in Egypt or in Iran, see Ibn Battuta, *The Travels*, I, 37; III, 583.
- 56 On the appearance and public displays of some of these dervishes, see Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 17–23.
- 57 Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*. Translated by Guy Le Strange (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 75.
- 58 Giosofat Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels in Tana and Persia, Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th Centuries*. Translated by William Thomas (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1873), pp. 48–49.
- 59 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 50b.
- 60 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 64a.
- 61 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 56a.
- 62 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 68a.
- 63 De Nicola, 'The *Fusṭāṭ*', pp. 54–55.
- 64 Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, pp. 121–29; Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, pp. 83–84.
- 65 De Nicola, 'The *Fusṭāṭ*', pp. 49–51. An architectural representation of the change in status of the Qalandars in the 15th century can still be seen today in modern Istanbul. The Christian church known as St Mary Diaconissa was given by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror to Qalandar dervishes to be used as a *zāwiya* after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The Qalandars abandoned the building and the *zāwiya* was consecrated as a mosque in the 18th century, but since the 15th century the building has been known as the 'Kalenderhane' (House of the Qalandars). See Cecil L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, 'Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: First Preliminary Report', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), pp. 267–71; Marinos Sariyannis, 'The Kadizadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a "Mercantile Ethic"?' in Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Ottoman Empire* (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), pp. 263–89.
- 66 This is section 3 in chapter 4 of the *Fustat al-'adala*. Jamal al-Din Savi was born in Sadeh, a town 150 km south-west of Tehran.
- 67 See, for example, the Persian mystical poem *Qalandarnama* composed by Abu Bakr Qalandar Rumi (fl. 14th century) during the 14th century (between 1320 and 1340) in the Crimean Peninsula. The only surviving manuscript of the text is Ms. 11668, copied in AH 761 (1360 CE) and currently held at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent. A facsimile of this manuscript was published in Russia in 2015; see Ilnur M. Mirgaleev (ed.), *Qalandar-name*. Facsimile (Kazan: Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani AN RT., 2015). There is also a Russian translation, Abu Bakr Qalandar Rumi, *Qalandar-name: izbrannoe*. Translated by Ismagil Gibadullin (Kazan: Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani AN RT., 2017). I am grateful to Alexey Khismatulin for calling my attention to these references. See also a short description of the original manuscript in Milyausha Shamsimukhametova, 'The *Qalandarnāma* by Abu Bakr Qalandar Rūmī', *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 143 (2018), p. 143.
- 68 Khatib Farisi, *Qalandarnama*. Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul), Lala Ismail Collection, no. 187 (copied 16th century); also *idem*, *Qalandarnama*, Manisa Public Library, no. 2718 (copied AH 949 [1541]). There is a Persian edition of the text: Khatib Farisi, *Manaqib-i Camal al-Din-i Sawi*. Edited by Tahsin Yazıcı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972).

- 69 Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 40.
- 70 For a general discussion on hagiographies, see Jürgen Paul, 'Hagiographische Texte als historische Quelle', *Saeculum* 41:1 (1990), pp. 17–43; *idem*, 'Hagiographic Literature', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 11 (2002), pp. 536–39 <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/hagiographic-literature>; John Renard, 'Islamic Hagiographies: Sources and Contents', in *idem* (ed.), *Tales of God's Friends: Islamic Hagiography in Translation* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 1–11.
- 71 The *Fustat al-'adala* was composed in 1284–85, see Chapter 3.
- 72 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 51b; Aflaki, *Manaqib al-'arifin*, p. 4.
- 73 Also known as Bilal b. Rabah, according to the Islamic tradition, he was a slave of the Prophet Muhammad and praised for being among the first individuals to adopt Islam. He died in Damascus and was buried in the proximity of the city; see W. 'Arafat, 'Bilāl b. Rabāh', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition (Brill Online, 2014); Sadeq Sajjadi and Alexander Khaleeli, 'Bilāl al-Ḥabashī', in *Encyclopaedia Islamica* Online http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-9831_isla_SIM_000000130
- 74 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 51b. / Aflaki, *Manaqib al-'arifin*, p. 30.
- 75 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 51b. Further evidence of this practice of consuming alcohol and cannabis is provided in the text by inserting an eyewitness account by a certain Shaykh Saleh Mufkhar al-Taifa Taj al-Din, who narrates how the Sufi master saw a group of Qalandars drinking wine and consuming cannabis inside a mosque in the area of Shahirzur (near the area of present-day Kirkuk).
- 76 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 51b, and Khatib-i Farisi, *Manaqib*, pp. 30–34 (esp. 32).
- 77 Ibn Battuta, *The Travels*, I, 37–39.
- 78 Anonymous, *Manaqib-i Awḥad al-Dīn Ḥamid ibn-i Abi al-Fakhr-i Kirmani*. Edited by Badi' al-Zaman Furuzanfar (Tehran: Surush, 1347/1969), p. 62; Bruno De Nicola, 'The Ladies of Rūm: A Hagiographic View of Women in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Anatolia', *Journal of Sufi Studies* 3:2 (2014), p. 142. On Kirmani, see also Lloyd Ridgeon, 'The Controversy of Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī and Handsome, Moon-Faced Youths: A Case Study of Shāhid-Bāzī in Medieval Sufism', *Journal of Sufi Studies* 1 (2012), pp. 3–30.
- 79 Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 40, fn. 2.
- 80 Farisi, *Manaqib*, pp. 10–11.
- 81 Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 40.
- 82 Farisi, *Manaqib*, pp. 18–25. An almost contemporary copy of Razi's text, dated Rabi' I AH 685 (1286) has survived at the Austrian National Library in Vienna. See Najm al-Din Razi, *Mirsad al-'ibad min al-mabda' ila al-ma'ad*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), Neuer Fond collection, no. 333.
- 83 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 51b.
- 84 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 51b.
- 85 On the role of cemeteries in the ideology of the Qalandars, see Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 41, fn. 5.
- 86 The *Manaqib* mentions that Savi finds Dargzini in the mausoleum of Zaynab, who Karamustafa identifies with the daughter of the fourth Shia imam Zayn al-'Abidin. However, I believe that the text might be referring to Zaynab bint Hussain, the granddaughter of the Prophet Muhammad, whose tomb can still be found in Damascus today: Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 40.
- 87 Mazdakism was a reformed branch of Zoroastrianism; see Ehsan Yarshater, 'Mazdakism', in John A. Boyle (ed.), *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3

- (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 991–1024; Otakar Klima, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mazdakismus* (Prague: Academia, 1977). On its persecution under the Sasanians, see Michelangelo Guidi and Michael G. Morony, ‘Mazdak’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Vol. 6, pp. 949–52. The Qarmatians were a branch of Shia Islam close to Ismailism that flourished mostly in the 9th century. See W. Ivanow, ‘Ismailis and Qarmatians’, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16 (1940), pp. 43–85. For a section on the history of these two religious movements as described in the *Fustat al-‘adala*, see Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 27b–48b; De Nicola, ‘The *Fuṣṭāt*’, pp. 56–57.
- 88 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, fol. 53a–53b.
- 89 See Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, pp. 90–96.
- 90 Farisi, *Manaqib*, pp. 79–80; Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, p. 42; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, p. 67.
- 91 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 52b. Farisi also adds the names of Jalal-i Darghazini and Abu Bakr Isfahani as early companions of Savi; see *Manaqib*, pp. 30–34 and 41–42. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda*, 32.
- 92 Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, pp. 61–62; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda*, 63.
- 93 Aflaki, *Manaqib al-‘arifin*, pp. 596–97; Aflaki, *The Feats*, pp. 408–9.
- 94 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 45–46.
- 95 Andrew Peacock, ‘Sufis and the Seljuk Court in Mongol Anatolia: Politics and Patronage in the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Sulṭān Walad’, in Andrew Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 206–26.
- 96 Claude Cahen, ‘Le Problème du Shi’isme dans l’Asie Mineure turque préottomane’, in Toufic Fahd (ed.), *Le Shi’isme imamate. Colloque de Strasbourg (6–9 May 1968)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970), pp. 115–39; Riza Yildirim, ‘Sunni Orthodox vs Shi’ite Heterodox?: A Reappraisal of Islamic Piety in Medieval Anatolia’, in Andrew Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Farnham: Ashgate: 2015), pp. 287–307.
- 97 Wilferd Madelung, ‘The Westward Migration of Hanafi Scholars from Central Asia in the 11th to 13th Centuries’, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 43:2 (2002), p. 54; *idem*, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, NY: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1988), p. 37; Philipp Bruckmayr, ‘The Spread and Persistence of Mâturîdî Kalâm and Underlying Dynamics’, *Iran and the Caucasus* 13 (2009), pp. 62–63.
- 98 Cevdet Yakupoğlu, ‘Candaroğulları Beyliğinde ve Muasır Olan Türk-İslâm Devletlerinde Hanefîlik’ *IV. Uluslararası Şeyh Şa’bân-ı Velî Sempozyumu- Hanefîlik Maturîdîlik*, 5–7 Mayıs 2017, pp. 499–500.
- 99 Madelung, ‘The Westward Migration of Hanafi Scholars’, pp. 41–55.
- 100 Ibn Battuta, *The Travels*, II, 416.
- 101 Sara Nur Yıldız, ‘From Cairo to Ayasuluk: Hacı Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Fourteenth Century’, *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25:3 (2014), p. 264. On Hanafi and Shafi’i influence in the Mamluk Sultanate, see Baki Tezcan, ‘Hanafism and the Turks in al-Ṭarasūsī’s Gift for the Turks (1352)’, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 15 (2011), pp. 67–86.
- 102 On this, see Derin Terzioğlu, ‘How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion’, *Turcica* 44 (2012–13), pp. 301–38.

- 103 Ibn Bibi, *al-Avamir al-'ala'iyya fi al-umur al-'ala'iyya*, pp. 227–28; 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), p. 178; Sara Nur Yıldız, 'A *Nadīm* for the Sultan: Rāwandī and the Anatolian Seljuks', in Andrew Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), p. 101.
- 104 An individual case of this migration is the Shafi'i scholar Siraj al-Din Urmavi (594–682/1198–128), who migrated from Iran to become a judge (qadi) of Konya. See Louise Marlow, 'A Thirteenth-Century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean: Sirāj al-Dīn Urmavī, Jurist, Logician, Diplomat', *Al-Masaq* 22:3 (2010), pp. 279–313. On the migration of scholars into Anatolia in a later period, see Abdurrahman Atcil, 'Mobility of Scholars and Formation of a Self-Sustaining Scholarly System in the Lands of Rūm during the Fifteenth Century', in Andrew Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century Anatolia* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), pp. 315–32.
- 105 This is based on the idea that the city of Khuy was mainly populated by Shafi'i during the 13th and 14th centuries. See Husam al-Din Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 10–11.
- 106 A complex relationship between Shafi'ism and Hanafism would also develop in the Ilkhanid court during the early 14th century, when religious debates were held and at least one Mongol ruler (Öljeitü) is credited for adopting Shafi'i practices before converting to Shia Islam: Abu al-Qasim 'Abd Allah al-Qashani, *Tarikh-i Uljaytu*. Edited by Mahin Hambali (Tehran: Shirkat Intisharat-i 'Ilmi va Farhangi, 2005), p. 96. For more religious disputes in the court of Öljeitü, see Jonathan Brack, 'Mediating Sacred Kingship: Conversion and Sovereignty in Mongol Iran', PhD Dissertation (University of Michigan 2016), pp. 264–68.
- 107 Section 5 covers ff. 55a–64b.
- 108 Only a preliminary study in De Nicola, 'The *Fustāf*', pp. 64–65.
- 109 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 55a.
- 110 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 55a.
- 111 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 55a.
- 112 The Quranic verse reads 'And let there be [arising] from you a nation inviting to [all that is] good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful' [S III:104].
- 113 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 55a–b.
- 114 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 55b. This story is inspired by Quranic verses that make specific mention of the punishment of people by transforming them into apes for breaking the Sabbath (Surah II:65) and for not following 'commanding good and forbidding evil' (VII:165–66).
- 115 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 55b. *Jami' al-Tirmidhi* 2169 (Book 33, Hadith 12).
- 116 See Gautier H. A. Juynboll, 'al-Tirmidhī', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.
- 117 The reference in the *Fustat* corresponds to *Sunan Abi Dawud* 1140 (Book 2, Hadith 751), a sentence attributed to Abu Sa'id al-Khudri (the youngest companion of the Prophet).
- 118 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 55b–56a.
- 119 On the dictionaries and vocabularies composed for the Chobanid leaders, see Chapter 3.

- 120 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 56a.
- 121 The quotation in Arabic intertwined in the Persian text reads: 'اقاتل الناس حتى يقولوا لا اله الا الله'.
- 122 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 56a–b.
- 123 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 56a–b.
- 124 Nicolas Trépanier, *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia: A New Social History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), p. 115.
- 125 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 57a.
- 126 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 57a–b.
- 127 Josef van Ess, 'Abu'l-Layt Samarqandi', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I:3, pp. 332–33 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-9831_isla_COM_0099
- 128 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 57a. Disciples (*aṣḥāb*) of these two scholars are mentioned in general terms to expand further the prohibition of using wine in cooking or baking bread.
- 129 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 61a–b
- 130 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 57b.
- 131 Joseph Schacht, 'Mālik b. Anas', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, online version.
- 132 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 57b–60a.
- 133 On religious debates in the Ilkhanate, see Jonathan Brack, 'A Mongol Mahdi in Medieval Anatolia: Rebellion, Reform, and Divine Right in the Post-Mongol Islamic World', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139:3 (2019), p. 616.
- 134 Qadis were closely connected to the secular rulers in medieval Anatolia. Seljuq rulers would appoint qadis to the newly conquered cities during their expansion in the peninsula; see Osman Turan 'Les souverains seldjoukides et leur sujets non-musulmans', *Studia Islamica* 1 (1953), pp. 85–86. This practice was also carried out by Husam al-Din Chobanid when he conquered Sudak in Crimea; see Chapter 2.
- 135 Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 216.
- 136 Chaumont, Éric, 'al-Shāfi'iyya', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition; Sherman A. Jackson, 'The Primacy of Domestic Politics: Ibn Bint al-A'azz and the Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in Mamlûk Egypt', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115:1 (1995), p. 53; for the Shafi'i control of medieval Damascus, see Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), p. 19.
- 137 This is the view of some Iranian nationalist historians such as 'Abd al-Husayn Ayati (d. 1959); see the analysis in Farzin Vejdani, *Making History in Iran: Education, Nationalism, and Print Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014), p. 139.
- 138 Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 64a–b.

6 Socio-political aspects of north-western Anatolia in the 13th century

In previous chapters, the analysis of the available textual legacy of Chobanid Kastamonu was centred mostly on the role of rulers as patrons and how these texts reflected the intentions of some of their subjects in promoting religious and cultural values to their rulers. We have reconstructed the political history of the region of Kastamonu in the 13th century (Chapter 2) and investigated aspects of patronage and religion in the chapters that followed. However, the cultural life of the elite that produced this textual legacy and promoted these values remains largely unknown because it is often not included in the main narrative sources of the period. While these narratives speak occasionally of the military and political roles of the Chobanid rulers, they are silent about those men who established, adapted and managed the administration of the Chobanid territories. These men formed a cultural elite that played a fundamental role in the consolidation of specific cultural, religious and social values that governed 13th-century Anatolia.

We have mentioned already in this book how this elite played a role in promoting a Sunni Islam with elements common to Hanafi and Shafi'i legal traditions, how they tried to influence their Turkmen rulers in supporting a religious establishment against antinomian Sufis and how they tried to disseminate classical Persian texts and tradition among their Turkic rulers. This social class, which we call the 'Persianised elite', only for their preference for writing in the Persian language, was far from homogeneous and included learned individuals of mainly Persian origin who had migrated from Central Asia, Iran and historical Azerbaijan continuously since the 12th century.¹ The study of this social group is elusive in medieval Anatolian sources. However, there is a relatively abundant number of texts, within the rich textual legacy of the Chobanid period, which have so far attracted only limited attention from researchers. These texts include both diplomatic and personal letters that, together with some contemporary language vocabularies, form a corpus that can shed some light on the articulation of this elite and the consolidation of an administrative apparatus in 13th-century Kastamonu.

The letters are part of a literary genre generally known as *inshā'* which, in medieval times, referred to 'any administrative and diplomatic material produced by scribes (*kātibs*) in a chancellery (*divān*) ... [including] formal correspondence among sovereigns, princes, viziers, judges, and courtiers as well as mundane appointments, royal decrees, and diplomas of investiture'.² However, as Jürgen Paul has noted, these collections were also composed with a literary purpose or to be used as templates for the instruction of officials in the administration.³ Consequently, these texts mix fictional, ideal and real facts, which makes the use of this literature a difficult task for those aiming to find in these texts an alternative to the lack of administrative documents that exist for certain periods of pre-modern Islamic history. However, while these sources can often be unreliable in their description of events or imprecise in their chronology or identification of historical characters, they often offer a window into the ideals of administration of the court in which they were composed and some insight into the concerns of a social stratum positioned between the rulers and their subjects.⁴

The surviving letters from 13th-century Kastamonu that we have been able to collect can be divided into two categories. On the one hand, there are the different collections of letters written by Husam al-Din Khu'i, an official munshi (secretary) at the Chobanid court writing templates for both official and private correspondence. On the other hand, there is a collection of 24 letters written apparently by Sa'd al-Din al-Haqq, a physician who lived in north-western Anatolia in the 13th century. Unlike the previous ones, these missives can only be found in manuscript form and present a much more chaotic but also complementary depiction of the socio-cultural environment in which some Anatolian upper classes lived in the 13th century. Both collections offer a unique literary corpus for this period that this chapter will analyse in order to investigate aspects of the socio-political transformation that was occurring in 13th-century Kastamonu.

6.1 *Inshā'* (chancellery) literature: The evolution of a literary genre

The tradition of letter-writing in the Islamic world began to develop in the early years of Islamic expansion in the seventh century.⁵ The Umayyad Empire (r. 660–750) relied on previous Byzantine and Sasanian traditions of *epistolographía* or official letter-writing that served in the administration of empire. The institutionalisation of letter-writing was quickly incorporated into the caliphal administration when the Caliph Mu'awiyya I (r. 661–80) established the 'office of correspondence' (*divān al-rasā'il*), provided with different officials 'responsible for drafting letters and presenting them for comments and approval'.⁶ In the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods, letter-writing went beyond the sphere of the caliphal administration to become a literary genre among men of letters such as 'Abd al-Hamid al-Katib (d. c. 750) or the famous Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 757).⁷ By the 10th century, catalogues and treatises on epistolography had become available in Arabic, marking the

beginning of a literary style known as *inshā*’ that would eventually emerge as a popular literary genre in the medieval and early modern Islamic world.⁸ Based on this existing Arabic corpus, the more common use of the Persian language in literature and administration from the establishment of the Great Seljuqs as a dominant political force in the 11th century favoured the emergence of *inshā*’ literature in Persian.⁹

From this period onwards, *inshā*’ literature played an important role in the instruction of bureaucrats who were part of the Great Seljuqs’ administration.¹⁰ The genre expanded across both Iran and Central Asia in the 12th century, taking on more ornate prose as the production of letter compilations (*munasha’āt*) increased. Some works produced in this period had a more idealistic character, in which letters are used as a means to demonstrate literary skills and artistic accomplishments. For example, the *Destur-i dabiri*, written by Muhammad b. Abd al-Khaliq Mayhani (fl. 12th century) includes letters that, in their complexity, appear to be examples of elaborate idealistic missives with little resemblance to those that actually circulated in the court of the time.¹¹ The *Destur-i dabiri* might not be a work of factual historical value, but the author’s emphasis in providing embellished letter samples suggests a more pedagogical and literary purpose for these.¹² However, other 12th-century works would have a different intended use, with a clearer aim of reproducing official letters and edicts that could serve as models for the administration of the realm. The compilation of documents titled ‘*Atabat al-kataba*’ by Muntajab al-Din Badi’ ‘Ali b. Ahmad Juwayni,¹³ who was the head of the state chancery under Sultan Sanjar (r. 1118–57), has received the attention of scholars as an important source on the Seljuq administration.¹⁴ This work is divided into two parts: those documents officially issued by the sultan (part 1) and a compendium of personal correspondence (part 2).¹⁵ As noted by Jürgen Paul, scholars have often prioritised the first over the second part, which has often been dismissed as a useful source for the period because of its ‘private character’.¹⁶ This division between ‘official’ and ‘private’ letters found continuity among authors of 13th-century Anatolia, who would often divide their works between these two types of letters. For example, the author Husam al-Din Khu’i provides in his works produced in Kastamonu examples of letter-writing commonly used both at court and in daily life.¹⁷

The empire of the Khwarazmshah (c. 1077–1231) in Central Asia was also a centre of *inshā*’ production at the turn of the 13th century.¹⁸ Different volumes of official letters were compiled in various *munasha’āt* volumes that circulated in the court. Among these works, the *Kitab al-tavassul ila al-tarassul* of Baha’ al-Din Baghdadi (fl. 12th century) and two works, one in Arabic and one in Persian, by Rashid al-Din Vatvat (d. 1182) have come down to us.¹⁹ The latter became especially influential for future production of epistolary literature that, from the late 12th century onwards, made its way out to the western parts of the Islamic world.²⁰ For example, before the arrival of the Mongols in Iran, the anonymous *al-Mukhtarāt min al-rasa’il* became a useful compilation of letters and documents concerning the regions of Isfahan and western Iran,

offering insights into different aspects of local administration in the area that are not often found in narrative sources.²¹ Similarly, other compendia of letters from the 12th century were written in western areas of the Persianate world. A *munasha'āt* written by the famous poet Afzal al-Din Khaqani Shirvani (d. bt. 1186–99) contains 60 letters composed during the life of the author in Greater Azerbaijan.²² The letters were written in an ornate prose, including abundant original metaphors and elaborate description.²³ Unlike other contemporary works considered to belong to the *inshā'* genre, Shirvani's work is less concerned with aspects of administration or imperial decrees. Instead, it focuses on using poetic elements to construct an elaborate prose in letters dealing with the description of natural phenomena such as the dawn, the daybreak, or the shining of the sun, to display the author's mastery of his writing style.²⁴ The coexistence between an administrative style and a poetic or personal one is a characteristic of this literary genre that was exported to 13th-century Anatolia.²⁵

Perhaps stimulated by the migration of many Central Asian and Iranian literati who brought copies of *munasha'āt* with them, Anatolia also became a centre for the composition of *inshā'* literature during the 13th century.²⁶ Badr al-Din al-Rumi (fl. 13th century) composed the *al-Tawassul ila al-tarassul*, a collection of epistolary documents addressed to different sultans of Rum, Anatolian amirs and local personalities of Malatya, Konya, or Kayseri.²⁷ The Central Asian and Iranian influence in Anatolian *inshā'* of the period is clear in his work. Not only are its contents conceived as an imitation of the above-mentioned work by Baghdadi of the same title, but the only surviving copy in manuscript form of the work is bound together with a copy of the work by the Central Asian author.²⁸ This unique manuscript was copied in Antalya in 1286 by a certain Ibn al-Falaki al-Muharrar Munfiki and contains both works bound one after the other. The fact that no other copies of the text have survived suggests that Badr al-Din's work was not widely distributed in the peninsula; however, his *munasha'āt* is a good testimony of how influential were the men and works that migrated from Iran and Central Asia to Anatolia and how they shaped literary tastes in the peninsula. In fact, the famous Central Asian migrant Sufi Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273) was also part of this tradition and wrote several letters that have been compiled in the work known as the *Maktubat*.²⁹

As a Sufi leader, Jalal al-Din Rumi is often portrayed in doctrinal or hagiographical sources as a leader living a solitary life removed from the world, especially after the disappearance of his companion Shams-i Tabrizi.³⁰ However, the letters reveal aspects of Rumi's life that cannot be found either in other of his works (discourses, sermons, or poetry) or among sources produced by his followers. The *Maktubat* portrays a Rumi concerned for the well-being of members of his family and community, a leader using his political influence at the Seljuq court to help his relatives in matters of economic and communal affairs. By writing recommendations and introductory letters, he facilitated the interaction between his closer followers and potential patrons (amirs, sultans and members of the court) that provided financial aid for members of his community and occasional protection from rival Sufi groups in Anatolia.³¹

The *Rawdat al-kuttab wa-hadiqat al-albab*³² is a selection of letters compiled in AH 677 (1278) by Abu Bakr b. al-Zaki (d. not after 1294–95).³³ Unlike Badr al-Din's work, this 13th-century *munasha* 'āt produced in Anatolia circulated more widely in the territory. Information about the author's life is scarce and we only know about him from the preface of his work and the letters included in the compendium. We know that he was born or associated with the city of Konya as he is referred to often as *al-Qunawi*, and he explains that he studied under a certain Badr al-Din Yahya (*fl.* 13th century), an officer and translator at the court of 'Izz al-Din Kayka'us II (r. 1246–57).³⁴ In his work, Ibn al-Zaki often uses the title 'al-Mutabbib' to refer to himself; an ambiguous title referring to someone who claims to be a physician. However, some scholars have suggested that the use of this epithet might have more to do with the political connections of Ibn al-Zaki and not to his skills in medicine.³⁵ In particular, it may allude to a connection with the famous physician Akmal al-Din Nakhjivani, a prestigious figure who is mentioned in one of Ibn al-Zaki's letters and who also appears in some of the letters composed in Kastamonu at the time.³⁶ His letters show that Ibn al-Zaki occupied a relatively prominent position in the Seljuq court and was considered a member of the influential Anatolian Persianised elite of the 13th century. The work includes a variety of letters, some written by the author's teacher Badr al-Din Yahya and others are exchanges between Ibn al-Zaki and different personalities of Seljuq Anatolia.³⁷ According to the preface, the letters were compiled at the request of his friends (*dustān*) who, as in the case of the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* written by the Kastamonu author Husam al-Din Khu'i, requested the author to provide examples of different ways of congratulating personalities.³⁸ The work has survived in four manuscripts, three of which belong to different libraries in Turkey and one in the British Library in London.³⁹ The multiplicity of surviving copies and the temporal continuity in the reproduction of the text during the 15th and 16th centuries mark a more massive reception of this work in relation to the previous Anatolian work by Badr al-Din al-Rumi (*fl.* 13th century).

Letter-writing became popular during the Ilkhanid and post-Ilkhanid period of Iranian history.⁴⁰ An early example of *inshā'* literature in Ilkhanid Iran has been recently analysed by Andrew Peacock, who investigated the so far neglected poems and letters left by Nizam al-Din al-Isfahani (*fl.* 1230–70) and his connections to the influential Juwayni family.⁴¹ Further, a number of letters attributed to the Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah (d. 1317) have attracted scholars' attention and generated vivid debates about their authenticity.⁴² Due to the status of the alleged author as a high-ranking official in the Mongol administration of Iran, it is not surprising that the contents of the letters is circumscribed to edicts of the Ilkhans and administrative subjects.⁴³ Although the inconsistencies found in these letters suggest that they might have been compiled or even reproduced in the Timurid period, they highlight once again this genre's literary and pedagogic value, since they were cited as examples of administrative writing from the 15th century onwards. The letters

were published in Lahore by Muhammad Shafi as *Mukatabat-i Rashidi* and remain a controversial source for the history of the period.⁴⁴

Less controversial in its authenticity – albeit less studied by scholars in the field – are the letters produced by Shams al-Din Juwayni, the Sahib Divan of Mongol Iran.⁴⁵ He served under Ilkhan Abaqa and Tegüder Ahmed, but was executed by Arghun in October 1284. He played a relevant role in the political scene of Mongol Anatolia not only as a political player, but also as an active patron of culture and architecture.⁴⁶ A number of letters attributed to Shams al-Din Juwayni, but also including missives by other authors, have survived in manuscript form and were briefly analysed by Jürgen Paul some time ago.⁴⁷ The main manuscript, but not the only one, containing letters is Farsça 552, an undated manuscript held at the library of the University of Istanbul.⁴⁸ Like those letters attributed to Rashid al-Din, this collection contains diplomatic letters or appointments of officials from the Mongol period, but with a special interest in the style of the prose and the composition of the letters. It has been suggested that the reason behind this collection might have been an attempt to form a family archive of the Juwaynis, that represents the high status acquired not only by Shams al-Din but also by his brother ‘Ata Malik.⁴⁹

The collapse of the Ilkhanate in 1335 did not stop the production of *inshā’* literature in Iran. For example, the *Dastur al-katib fī ta’yin al-maratib*, a work designed to guide court secretaries in composing diplomatic letters and chancellery documents, was composed by Muhammad b. Hindushah Nakhjivani (fl. 1328–53) during the reign of Sultan Shaykh Uways (r. 1356–74) of the post-Mongol Jalayir dynasty (1335–1432).⁵⁰ This work shares this objective with some of the other *inshā’* compendia described in this section and with some of the works composed in Kastamonu only a century before Nakhjivani. In fact, *munasha’āt* of chancellery letters would emerge with renewed strength during the 15th century in Iran during the Timurid and Akkuyunlu empires.⁵¹ In Anatolia, *inshā’* remained popular in the 15th century, but with the particularity that some of these manuals began to be composed in the Turkish language, such as the *Teressül* of Ahmed Dai (active 1387–1421).⁵² Finally, the consolidation of dynasties such as the Ottomans in Anatolia and the emergence of the Moghul Empire in India would give a new vitality to this literary genre in the Islamic world from the second half of the 15th century onwards.⁵³

6.2 An administration for the Turkmen: Husam al-Din Khu’i and his manuals for letter-writing

Manuals of letter-writing form the majority of works from among the textual corpus that has survived from the Chobanid reign in Kastamonu. As mentioned in Chapter 3, of the six works that we know were composed by Husam al-Din Khu’i, four are devoted to exploring different aspects of *inshā’* literature and are dedicated to rulers of Kastamonu. The patronage of local rulers certainly incentivised and conditioned the production of literature in the area but it does not explain the reasons why the authors of these books decided to compose these

specific works. It is often assumed that it was the rulers' literary taste that heavily determined the literary genre produced in a certain time and region. Certainly, in the case of letter-writing, the elaborate style of the prose and the refined language in some of these works might have influenced some rulers' preference for this genre. However, literary 'taste' cannot be the only reason explaining the production of these texts. For example, when the works of Husam al-Din Khu'i are examined as a corpus, there also seems to be a strong element of pragmatic – even didactic – purpose in his writings. This section will explore how the life's work of this author living in 13th-century Kastamonu reflects not only the life of a skilful writer in search of patronage through the literary aesthetic of his work, but also how these works had a pragmatic function that reveals aspects of the political and social transformations occurring in this region.

The appearance of *inshā'* literature in Kastamonu did not take place in isolation but as part of a literary context that, although incipient in the 13th century, saw the composition of works of this genre appearing in different regions of the Anatolian Peninsula. The works of Badr al-Din al-Rumi and Ibn al-Zaki, mentioned above, are clear examples of this literary context and offer some useful points of comparison in terms of the distribution, purpose and impact of these texts among different courts in Anatolia. Based on the number of manuscript copies of each of these texts that survived, there is a clear disparity in the distribution and popularity of Husam al-Din Khu'i. For example, the *Nuzhat al-kuttab* has survived in at least 17 copies in different manuscripts distributed in collections in both Iran and Turkey. This includes a copy from the early 14th century, when the author might still have been alive, and one exemplar from the 15th century. The work also circulated widely in 17th-century Iran and continued to be copied during the 20th century.⁵⁴ However, other works by Khu'i did not have such a widespread reception. The *Ghunyat al-talib* and the *Rusum al-rasa'il* have only come to us in a single copy as part of the early 14th-century collection of Persian works copied in north-western Anatolia.⁵⁵ It is difficult to give definitive answers on the reasons behind this uneven distribution of his works, but perhaps the fact that the *Nuzhat al-kuttab* was not only the first work composed by the author but also the most elaborate in terms of style contributed to its popularity.

The *Nuzhat al-kuttab* is conceived as a collection of letters that does not follow the same structure as those explained in the previous section of this chapter. Instead of providing full letters as examples of letter-writing, Husam al-Din Khu'i tells us in the preface that he is attempting to provide scribes with a variety of stylish quotations in Persian and Arabic that can be used by officers in the court when composing letters.⁵⁶ The work is therefore divided into four parts: part 1 – a selection of 100 views (*aghrāz*) of the Holy Quran on different subjects followed by a Persian translation; part 2 – a selection of 100 quotations from hadiths; part 3 – 100 pieces of eloquent advice from the caliphs on different issues, and part 4 – 100 extracts of Arabic poems with their Persian translations, on various subjects.⁵⁷ The work closes with a long qasida poem in praise of Husam al-Din Khu'i's patron Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek

and praying for the stability of his kingdom.⁵⁸ A more in-depth identification of the Arabic poetry and a more comprehensive analysis of the ideas conveyed by Khu'i in his selection of poems is still awaited. However, some scholars have already ventured to highlight some similarities between the work of this author in Kastamonu and the contemporary poet Sa'di and his famous *Gulistan*.⁵⁹ The last chapter and the qasida are especially relevant in terms of the *Nuzhat al-kuttab*'s literary quality, and certainly an aspect that might have contributed to the popularity of the text. Nonetheless, a more prosaic aspect of the work might have also played a fundamental role in maintaining the demand for this book and motivating copyists to reproduce this text up to the 20th century.

In comparison with other works produced for the Chobanid rulers, Khu'i's works suggest that the local rulers of Kastamonu might have had a special interest in the production of *inshā'* literature. Unlike other authors patronised by the Chobanid rulers, such as the author of the *Fustat al-'adala*, when looking at the work of Husam al-Din Khu'i, a more overreaching purpose emerges that goes beyond the personal economic reward. As seen in different sections of this book, the reasons behind the dedication of a particular work to the Chobanid rulers are varied. On occasion, the author's prestige or the book's topic certainly played a role in the interest of the ruler in paying for the composition, as in the case of the *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari* of Qutb al-Din Shirazi (d. 1311). In other instances, as in the case of the *Fustat al-'adala*, it seems that the authors presented works to the ruler with a double motivation. On the one hand, the text contains a clear ideological or religious message, but simultaneously served as evidence for the knowledge of the author, who might aspire to enter into the service of the ruler.⁶⁰

In the case of Khu'i, the expectation of obtaining personal benefits in his career cannot be ruled out, but the prefaces of his works offer some extra information about his motivations. Two of the seven works attributed to Khu'i that have survived were dedicated to a ruler of Kastamonu. One is the above-mentioned *Nuzhat al-kuttab* and the other the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il wa fara'id al-faza'il*, composed in 1285 and dedicated to Amir Mahmud, son of Muzaffar al-Din Choban. The latter enjoyed much less popularity than the former, with only three copies surviving in Turkish and Iranian collections.⁶¹ However, the author reveals to us that both texts were composed not for the ruler's amusement, but to satisfy the need for didactic material for the court. While the first work was conceived as an outline of quotations for court scribes, the latter was done at the request of 'friends' – possibly co-workers at the court – who needed templates of diplomatic letters for court secretaries.⁶² It is the specific design of these works as administrative manuals which sets the writings of Husam al-Din Khu'i apart from other compositions in this genre.

6.2.1 *Teaching the art of letter-writing: The Qawa'id al-rasa'il as a manual for scribes*

The rulers' interest in certain stylistic and laudatory aspects of Khu'i's work might be observed in the fact that from among the works of this author, only

those texts with the most elaborate prose and complex composition were financially patronised by Chobanid rulers. On the one hand, Quranic and poetic quotations included in the *Nuzhat al-kuttab* might have been appealing for their stylistic and religious value for rulers who used patronage to portray an image of a local court in transition from a military frontier amirate into a more complex Islamic dynasty. On the other hand, the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* not only includes template letters that might be used as guides for scribes, but simultaneously praises the military and religious deeds of the Chobanid dynasty of Kastamonu. An example is the letter included in chapter 4 of the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* and entitled *Fatihnama* (Victory Letter).⁶³ The letter is a celebratory account of the conquest of the castles of Gideros by Muzaffar al-Din Yavlak Arslan from the Byzantines in Rajab AH 683 (October 1284).⁶⁴ Containing specific references to how the castles were conquered and to jihad as one motivation behind the campaign, the letter offers some interesting insights into the role played by local Turkmen rulers such as the Chobanids in the expansion of Islam against the Byzantines in the later 13th century.⁶⁵ The inclusion of this letter serves to enhance the patron's pedigree and perhaps copies of the missive circulated within the Chobanid territory to celebrate the conquest.

In addition to these laudatory representations of his patron, one chapter of the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* is particularly useful to show that the work of Husam al-Din Khu'i was not conceived only as literature for the ruler's amusement but had an important practical component in affairs of state. For example, the documents accompanying the *Fatihnama* deal with different aspects of the administration of the court that could be a useful tool in the administration of the realm. This chapter includes ten short documents that serve as templates with information on different posts in the administration, explaining the duties of the posts and why they are needed for the better functioning of the government. The first document is an exposition on the leader of the army (*taqrir-i zi 'amat lishkar*), which functions as a template for the appointment of a military general.⁶⁶ Similar to the jihadi tone used in the previous letter, the document mentions that the realm cannot flourish (*bārvar*) without the help of the men of battle (*bī i 'anat-i mardān-i kārzār*), who bring victory to the supporters of Islam (*anṣār-i Islām*) and destroy the armies of the enemies of religion (*aḥzāb-i a'dā'-yi dīn*).⁶⁷ If this document makes a case for the importance of expanding Islam and the territories of the realm, the document that immediately follows is more concerned with its protection, as it is a template for the appointment of the office of the *kutvālī* or guardian of a castle.⁶⁸ Unlike with the *Fatihnama*, no specific references to individuals or places are given. Instead, both documents share the characteristic of being prepared for customisation by a secretary or officer once the appointment is made. To that end, a full list of possible honorific titles given to the appointee and the name of places where the commander will be appointed (in the first document) or the castle (in the second) is left undefined and appears in the text with the term *fulān*.⁶⁹

The works of Khu'ī offer an insight into aspects of the government of Chobanid Kastamonu that reflect an attempt to articulate a complex administrative system that serves the needs of a territory undergoing political, economic and religious transformation. The remaining templates in this fourth chapter of the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* deal with appointments that can be categorised as urban administration not generally associated with Turkmen rulers in 13th-century Anatolia. These appointments are divided into two groups: one considered to be of higher rank and including – in addition to the already mentioned leader of the army and guardian of the castle – the deputy of a city (*niyābat-i shahr*), the office of the governor (*iyālat*) and the appointment of administrator/chatelain (*kadkhudāyī*) and nobles (*ashrāf*).⁷⁰ In the second group appear the office of teaching or instruction (*tadrīs*), the office of physicians (*tabībī*), the office of preachers (*khaṭābat*), office of the restorer of shrines (*i'āda*)⁷¹ and the office of the succession (*tavālat*) in charge of endowments.⁷² Khu'ī gives a short description of each post and a brief enumeration of the characteristics held by the person appointed, and includes different formulas that highlight a growing need for administrators of urban settlements.

For example, those officials in the higher ranks such as the office of the *niyābat-i shahr* should make the city flourish (*vilayāt-i ma'mūr*), or that of the *iyālat*, who must protect both Muslims (*muslamān*) and non-Muslims (*ẓimmī*) in the city while setting straight corrupt (*ta'dīb muḥsidān*) and sinful (*ashrār*) people.⁷³ In the case of the lower ranks, the person appointed to the office of the *tadrīs* should use his knowledge of independent judgement (*ijtihād*) in the instruction of students (*ṭalibah-i 'ulūm*), while the head physician (*tabībī*), should cure (*maṣrūf dāshṭan*)⁷⁴ the sick (*marzā*) by prescribing drug recipes (*nuskha-yi ādwiya*) based on the knowledge he obtains from books written by great men (*kitb-i ākābar*) and his wise predecessors (*ḥukamay-yi salaf*).⁷⁵ The remaining three offices should, respectively, take care of the word of religion by delivering sermons, protect buildings of worship (mosques), and safeguard endowments left by people to religious institutions.⁷⁶ The text highlights that the duty of the *khaṭābat* is especially important since preaching (*khaṭābat*) and taking the lead in religious matters (*imāmat*) is among the chief deeds (*mu'azzamāt-i umūr*) and great affairs (*jalīl-i ashghāl*) of the Hanafi people (*milat-i ḥanafī*).⁷⁷

According to Colin P. Mitchell, *inshā'* literature can be defined as a 'hybrid vehicle of creative expression' that allowed the author to express his literary talents in the composition of state correspondence and personal missives while still remaining 'a vehicle of instruction for court secretaries and administrators'.⁷⁸ This definition fits perfectly with the works of Husam al-Din Khu'ī, who in addition to a concern for stylistic features and elaborate prose, had a clear didactic and practical purpose in his composition. If the fourth part of the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* includes letters of appointments already written down as templates, the first three parts of this work offer more practical information for the composition of different letters useful at court. This suggests that Khu'ī's work was conceived with his having in mind different

levels of instruction among the officials that could use this material. For example, part one (*qism aval*) includes a guide on rules for letter-writing and explanations on how letters should be arranged (*tartīb*).⁷⁹ For that purpose, the work includes a list of different titles (*alqāb*) of potential addressees and the corresponding salutation (*du'ā*) required to be used depending on the rank of the letter's recipient. Further, a description of the wishes (*ishtiyyāq*) behind the writing of the letter and a final request for a meeting (*mulāqqāt*) concludes the explanation on how letters should be arranged. The list of titles (Table 6.1) from which the scribe can clearly identify the rank of the person to whom he is writing is organised in two categories (*ṣinf*). Each of these categories is further divided into different strata (*tabaqāt*) that comprise a hierarchical organisation of addressees depending on socio-political rank.⁸⁰

The stratification of society in these ranks is not a reflection of 13th-century Anatolia but the projection of an ideal model.⁸¹ This organisation of court ranks and epithets relies on a traditional Seljuq structure of government that was widespread in Anatolia not only in the 13th century but that remained popular later in the Ottoman court.⁸² Khu'i uses these categories to introduce formulas and salutations useful for scribes at the court in Kastamonu, but these epithets should not be taken as a clear-cut reflection of the Chobanid administration's organisation.⁸³ Instead, the work is a guide for teaching the art of letter-writing to scribes in Kastamonu. The first category includes those ranks with military, administrative and economic responsibilities, divided into two strata with different areas of influence. The higher stratum includes imperial ranks such as the sultan, his wife, or maliks, while the lower stratum includes those ranks with similar responsibilities but subordinated to the higher stratum and circumscribed to smaller territories or areas of the kingdom. The second category is reserved for lower ranks, with a higher stratum composed by religious authorities and a final stratum including professionals and those of 'the class of scholars, wise men, astronomers, poets, men of letters and their disciples'.⁸⁴ The inclusion of family members in this category is also interesting because it confirms, as we will see in a later section of this chapter, that letter-writing was not circumscribed to members of the court but was a widespread activity among members of the 13th-century Anatolian elites. However, the fact that Khu'i presented this organisation of the administration to the amir of Kastamonu offers an interesting insight into the influence that the classical Seljuq administration structure had in medieval Anatolia.

The first part of this work concludes with a detailed explanation on aspects more connected to the scholarly discipline of diplomatics (the analysis of historical documents), or to the conventions that need to be followed in the composition of letters. Examples include the location of titles (*al-minwānāt*), prayers (*al-da'wāt*), or sections of the Quran (*al-maqāṭi'*) as well as explaining different aspects of the recording of dates (*tārīkh*) in letters.⁸⁵ The second part of the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* continues with the author's intention to provide resources for official scribes. He mentions that in part two he includes different

Table 6.1 Stratification of titles according to the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il*

1. Category (<i>şinf</i>)	1. Stratum (<i>tabaqāt</i>)	1. Sultans (<i>salāḫīn</i>). 2. Kings (<i>mulūk</i>). 3. Empress (<i>mukhaddarāt</i>). ¹⁵² 4. Viziers (<i>vuzarā'</i>). 5. Atabeqs (<i>ātābik</i>). 6. Sultan's deputy (<i>nā'ib-i ḥazrat-i sulṭān</i>). 7. <i>Mustawfī</i> . ¹⁵³ 8. General of the army (<i>lashkarkish mimālīk</i>). 9. Boon companions (<i>nudamā'</i>). 10. Treasurer (<i>khāzin</i>). 11. 'Pillars of the real' (<i>arkān bi-usarihim</i> , i.e. senior officials) 12. The <i>mushrif</i> . ¹⁵⁴ 13. The <i>nāzīr</i> . ¹⁵⁵ 14. Army commander (<i>āmīr 'arizān</i>). 15. Imperial secretary (<i>tughrāyī</i>). 16. <i>Mutawallī</i> . ¹⁵⁶ 17. <i>Amīr-i dād</i> . 18. <i>Amīr-i sipāh</i> . ¹⁵⁷ 19. Guardian of a castle (<i>kutvālī</i>). 20. <i>Amīr-i 'alam</i> . ¹⁵⁸ 21. <i>'Arizī</i> .
	2. Stratum (<i>tabaqāt</i>)	1. Deputy (of a local governor) (<i>nāyib</i>). ¹⁵⁹ 2. Prince or provincial governor (<i>vālī</i>). 3. <i>Mushrif</i> . ¹⁶⁰ 4. <i>Nāzīr</i> . 5. Collector of taxes (<i>qābīz</i>). 6. <i>Ikdishān</i> . ¹⁶¹ 7. Supervisor of markets and trade (<i>muḥtasib</i>). 8. Merchants (<i>tijār</i>).
2. Category (<i>şinf</i>)	1. Stratum (<i>tabaqāt</i>)	1. Judges (<i>quḫāt</i>). 2. Teachers (<i>arbāb-i tadrīs</i>). 3. Great shaykhs (<i>mashāyikh-i kibār</i>). 4. Descendants of the Prophet (<i>sādāt</i>). 5. Preachers (<i>kuḫṭāb</i>). 6. Advisors (<i>muḫakkir</i>). 7. Religious personalities (<i>zuhhād</i>). 8. Deputies of judges (<i>nauwāb-i qazā</i>). 9. Low rank <i>mutawallī</i> . 10. <i>Hāfiẓ</i> . ¹⁶²
	2. Stratum (<i>tabaqāt</i>)	1. Physicians (<i>iṭibbā'</i>). 2. Astronomers or astrologers (<i>munajjimān</i>). 3. Poets (<i>shu 'arā'</i>). 4. Learned men (<i>ādabā</i>). 5. Scribes and secretaries (<i>kātib va munshiyān</i>). 6. Relatives from the father's side (<i>aqārib-i pidar</i>). 7. Son (<i>farzand</i>). 8. Brother (<i>badūdar</i>). 9. Son (<i>valada</i>). ¹⁶³ 10. Sister (<i>khuāhar</i>). 11. Daughter (<i>dukhtar</i>). 12. Servants (<i>khuddām</i>).

pieces of art (*maşnū'*), such as proverbs (*aṃşāl*), couplets (*ābiyāt*) of poems and short letters (*riqā'*), so that the writer (*kātib*) will know (*ma'lūm kunad*) and use them for the writing of eloquent (*balāghat*) letters.⁸⁶ *Khu'i* includes couplets by poets such as Abu Najm Ahmad b. Qaws Manuchihi Damghani (d. 1041),⁸⁷ Jamal al-Din b. al-'Aziz,⁸⁸ or Jamal al-Din Isma'il,⁸⁹ mixed with couplets that can be used to refer poetically to the seasons of the year or short texts that

offer examples of uses of metaphors (*isti'ārat*), word relations (*tanāsub*) and comparisons (*tashbīhāt*).

The third part also has a strong component of pedagogy and includes samples of letters that can be used in the composition of *inshā'*. However, in this case, Khu'i mentions that he designed this section to help scribes who need to be 'in dialogue with friends' (*dar muqāvazāt-i ikhvān*).⁹⁰ He includes ten letters with their corresponding replies on different topics, as they should be written between friends. The topics include aspects of daily life such as congratulation, inauguration, desire to see the other, intercession, condemnation, asking for favour, gratitude and appreciation, complaint, visit, or condolences. However, despite being ideal letters between friends, the language used in these letters is by no means colloquial. Instead, Khu'i uses an elaborate prose that intertwines with couplets of poetry to illustrate the points made in the letter. In fact, as is common in *inshā'* literature, the display of stylistic literary style is more important in the letters than the actual transmission of a message.

6.2.2 Theory into practice: Building a chancellery in medieval Kastamonu

Apart from a few isolated records noting the establishment of *zāwiya* by *akhīs* in the early 14th century mentioned in Chapter 1, there are, to my knowledge, no administrative documents surviving from the period of Chobanid rule in Kastamonu. This opens a debate over whether the manuals of letter-writing of Husam al-Din Khu'i were ever put into use during the 13th century. Surely, in the case of the *Fatihnama* letter describing the conquest of the Castle of Gideros, the missive was used to praise the victory of the Chobanid ruler and might have served as a diplomatic document to circulate in the court, or even to be sent to other courts in Anatolia. However, the fact that Khu'i's works contains all these instructions on how to write letters does not prove that all this knowledge ever passed from theory into practice, in the sense that large numbers of diplomatic letters were produced in Chobanid Kastamonu. Nonetheless, even if the distribution of these letters was limited, the composition of this body of material acquires historical relevance not only for the works' contents, but also for the context in which they were created in 13th-century Kastamonu.

Unfortunately, manuscript Fatih 5406, dated 1309 CE and possibly copied in the Kastamonu region, is the only written document that has survived to the present which can be traced back to Chobanid Anatolia. Like many other medieval Islamic manuscripts, this codex not only includes a main text at the centre of the page, but many folios include annotations on the margins that can occasionally be revealing about how the codex was used during its lifetime.⁹¹ The majority of manuscripts produced in medieval Anatolia use marginalia in three main ways. Firstly, they can include another work, often related in terms of subject, or a commentary on the main text or another work by the same author. Consequently, in this case, the margins have an economic value, where this part of the codex is used as a support in times when paper was an

expensive commodity. Secondly, marginalia might be used as a place to introduce corrections to the main text made by the copyist of the manuscript or a later owner of the book. Finally, this space has been used to include an interpretation (generally by a later reader) on aspects mentioned in the main text, offering proof that the text has been used and reflecting valuable information about the continuity and change of ideas in the period. However, in the case of Ms. Fatih 5406, many of the annotations are of a different kind. Instead of commenting on the main text, they offer alternative versions of paragraphs or sentences that are mentioned in the main text. These annotations are different from corrections done by copyists and suggest that the person writing in the margins was adding alternative ways of saying the same thing, or practising alternative formulas for writing letters. These annotations, however, are not in the same hand as the main text and, according to a note at the end of the manuscript, appear to have been written some 50 years after the text was published.⁹² This suggests, in accordance with the pedagogic purpose of *inshā'* literature, that the use made of this manuscript – and the texts included in it – exceeded the simple transmission of the main text and served as a source of inspiration and training to people 50 years after the main text had been copied. Similarly, this manuscript is a testimony of the continuity in chancellery practices in medieval Kastamonu, since a text composed at the peak of Chobanid cultural activity in the 1280s, copied during the transition period in the first decade of the 14th century, was still being used during the early decades of the Jandarid dynasty.

In attesting to what extent Khu'i's texts were meant to be used in the administration and not remain only as a theoretical exercise, a more holistic approach to the complete work of Khu'i might be revealing. Apart from the pedagogic and literary role played by *inshā'* literature in medieval Anatolia in training munshis and officials, the literary corpus left by Husam al-Din Khu'i offers hints of the development of an incipient administration of Chobanid Kastamonu. Each of Khu'i's works offers examples, terminologies, templates and instructions that serve different purposes for officials and students of the court. Yet, when looking at them as a group, it is clear that there is a supplemental element in each text, suggesting that they were meant to be used as complements to one another. For example, both the *Rusum al-rasa'il* and the *Ghunyat al-talib* are abridged versions of the more elaborate *Qawa'id al-rasa'il*. However, these shorter texts not only rely upon the more elaborated one, but also complement the information by introducing aspects such as alternative appointments (*taqrīr*) of government that seem to be more appropriate to the local administration of provincial areas such as 13th-century Kastamonu.⁹³ For example, the *Rusum al-rasa'il* contains specific models for distributing fiefs (*zi'āmat*) among leaders and one specifically for members of the chancellery (*inshā'*), with a particular emphasis on the economic provision that these posts require.⁹⁴ These abridged works were not composed for rulers, as were the more elaborate *Nuzhat al-kuttab* or the *Qawa'id al-rasa'il*. Instead, these shorter works were dedicated to the author's friends (possibly colleagues in the administration) and his son Nasr Allah, whom he might have been trying to promote

within the Chobanid court (see Chapter 3). This suggests a demand for a more pragmatic and less complex manual for letter-writing, which relies more on local appointments and economic aspects of the posts, rather than a more elaborate and sophisticated work reserved for the ruler's library. Further, as Osman Turan has suggested, the models of letter-writing included in Khu'i's abridged works of *inshā'* might have been created anew by the author. There is a possibility that the appointments were copied by Khu'i from original documents, omitting the names of the appointees and the amount of their salaries, to be reused as models for new appointments.⁹⁵ If so, this implies that administrative documents were already in circulation and were accessible in 13th-century Kastamonu at least before AH 690 (1291), when the earliest of the two abridged versions (the *Rusum al-rasa'il*) was composed.

In addition to manuals of letter-writing for different audiences, Khu'i wrote one (possibly two) vocabularies that deserve to be mentioned within the corpus because of the role they played in supporting scribes and members of the administration in writing decrees, appointments and diplomatic letters. These two works have a clearer practical purpose, which supports the idea that the manuals of *inshā'* were not composed only for their literary value. However, the two vocabularies are different to one another in terms of composition, structure and certainty about the authorship. One of these works, the *Nasib al-fityan*, was conceived as a manual for teaching the Arabic language modelled on a similar vocabulary, the *Nisab al-sibyan* of Abu Nasr Farahi (fl. 13th century), in Arabic with interlineal Persian translation aimed at the instruction of children.⁹⁶ The rendition of Khu'i, instead, consists of 550 quatrains in Persian divided into 50 sections with titles in Arabic referring to the names of God, the Prophet and Imams, and other untitled poems.⁹⁷ Khu'i is clearly mentioned in all sources as the author of this work, but he only wrote the Persian part of the text, while the Arabic section was taken directly from Farahi's work. In other words, he only composed this book as a tool to teach Arabic to the reader and used the Persian terminology he considered appropriate for the readers in late 13th-century Kastamonu.⁹⁸ The other vocabulary presents more challenges in terms of authorship. As we saw in Chapter 3, there is disagreement among scholars in attributing this work either to Husam al-Din Khu'i or to Husam al-Din Qunawi (fl. 1400). Nonetheless, the work's significance is worth considering until further research is carried out and a definitive answer be given to the question of authorship. The *Tuhfa-yi Husam* is a Persian-Turkish vocabulary that, in a similar way to the *Nasib al-fityan*, is also presented as a poem but in each verse the Persian word is followed by its Turkish correlation or vice versa as in the way of modern dictionaries. For example:⁹⁹

Sitārah Ūlūz¹⁰⁰ (star) va Khūrshīd **Gunish**¹⁰¹ (the sun)¹⁰²
 Tabar **bāltā**,¹⁰³ **qālīj**¹⁰⁴ shamshīr (axe) va tīr **ukh**¹⁰⁵ (arrow)¹⁰⁶

As in these examples, words are not randomly grouped but they rather keep a thematic coherence that allows for an easier association of words. This

arrangement favours the educational aim of these poems, which in general have a lower stylistic quality than a poetic *divan* or other literary compositions. However, some authors have suggested that in the case of this work, the primary aim of presenting a correlation between, for example, Persian and Turkish words has been achieved without neglecting stylistic elements in the composition of the poems.¹⁰⁷ Beyond the higher or lower stylistic value of these vocabularies vis-à-vis other works of their kind, neither of these two works by Khu'i was designed for literary amusement. Instead, they were useful linguistic tools for a group of scribes in need of language proficiency in a developing administration, where Persian appears to have been the common denominator between the popular Turkish and the elevated Arabic.

Overall, Khu'i's corpus served multiple purposes. The majority of his works were part of the *inshā'* genre that was widely patronised by rulers as a literary genre across Anatolia and Iran for centuries. In addition, some of his works were written in an elaborated prose to be appealing to the patronage of rulers who were invested in financing the production of Persian writings. These included laudatory letters portraying his patron as a victorious military commander in the face of infidel Christians, or featuring selected quotations from the Quran and classical poetry. But simultaneously, his works also fulfilled the more prosaic purpose of providing manuals of chancellery that were useful tools in the establishment of a courtly administration for the Chobanids of Kastamonu. This incipient court appears to have been diverse in terms of the preparation and skills of officials working for the Turkmen rulers of Kastamonu. On the one hand, some officials were able to benefit from ready-made templates where the word *fulān* could be replaced with the needed name or place, or lists of honorific titles, or examples of post salaries that were provided to facilitate the job of the scribes. Parts of Khu'i's work suggests that some munshis were better prepared in the art of administration than others. The composition of abridged versions of his more elaborate works to be distributed among his colleagues suggests the possibility of a practical use of Khu'i's work in the administration of the territory. Making use of these manuals, scribes might have been able to compose letters on their own by using these texts as a guide. They could have used the corpus to search for the meaning of certain titles or salutation formulas, guides on post remuneration, or the translation of specific terms using the vocabulary(ies) he composed.

Although none of these administrative documents from the Chobanid period have survived to this day, manuscript evidence suggests that Khu'i's works were used effectively in the region and played a fundamental role in training officials during the 14th century. In their complexity, the works of Husam al-Din Khu'i offer a window into how the chancery of the Chobanids might have worked and highlight that there was a need for material that could help in the instruction of new officials. They also show that there was a commitment to the training of scribes, secretaries and chancery scribes. His works have a thematic coherence where protocols of chancellery writing, decrees of appointments or aspects of financial administration were combined

with elaborate poetry, quotations from the Quran and multilingual vocabularies upon which to build an administrative apparatus for a region that, in the 13th century, was a remote borderland in the far western corner of the Islamic world.

6.3 Personal letters: A unique view on the socio-cultural history of 13th-century northern Anatolia

In Chobanid Kastamonu, letter-writing was a literary genre that transcended court and government circles to be used among wider groups in the society of medieval Anatolia. While munshis and court officials like Khu'i or Zaki were composing manuals for letter-writing, there is evidence that letters were not only the way in which some individuals communicated with one another but were also used as a resource to express professional, religious and literary curiosities in medieval Anatolia. The compilation of personal letters (*munasha'āt*) is well documented in the early Ottoman period and continued to be widely popular in Turkey into the 17th century.¹⁰⁸ Although the availability of these sources is comparatively limited for 13th-century Anatolia, one surviving example of these compendia has survived in manuscript form.¹⁰⁹ This work includes 24 letters mostly in Persian but with a widespread use of Arabic, and dealing with different topics mixing prose and poetry. The work was first mentioned by Osman Turan, who included a broad description of the text in his larger study on letter-writing in Seljuq Anatolia.¹¹⁰ After this initial description, the work remained largely neglected until recently.¹¹¹ The only copy of the work can be found in the already mentioned Ms. Fatih 5406, bound together with copies of Khu'i's works. Textual and codicological evidence suggests that this work was composed in northern Anatolia during the Chobanid period, making this compendium a unique source for our understanding of life under Chobanid rule. This *munasha'āt*, containing material primarily of a literary and personal nature, gives us insights into the intellectual and political climate of the times while providing evidence about the social networks and habits of individuals – perspectives notably lacking in most bureaucratic and narrative sources.

We do not know the name of the compiler of the letters; nor is the identity of the copyist revealed in the colophon of the manuscript, which mentions only that the manuscript was copied in the year AH 709 (1309–10).¹¹² However, it is plausible that both the scribe and the compiler are the same person, who may have decided to include a copy of these more personal letters at the end of the manuscript to accompany the text of Khu'i and a copy of the *Nasihāt al-muluk* that opens the collection of works included in the codex. The production of the manuscript itself is an interesting aspect to take into account. This compendium of personal letters is bound together with three works on *inshā'* written by the above-mentioned Husam al-Din Khu'i.¹¹³ Therefore, the production of the manuscript shows a thematic consistency when binding together four works containing letters by two local authors of northern

Anatolia to accompany a copy of the famous *Nasihāt al-muluk*, a mirror for princes composed almost 200 years before the production of the manuscript. However, as we saw in Chapter 4, mirrors for princes seem to have been highly popular not only in Anatolia but also in Kastamonu. Consequently, from the point of view of content, this manuscript presents a coherent selection of the type of literature that was popular in the Chobanid realm.

The specific inclusion of the *munasha'āt* in the codex, however, might have served a dual purpose. On the one hand, it might have offered to the developing administration of the Chobanids further letter-templates that, with a more personal tone, complement in terms of structure and vocabulary those examples included in Khu'ī's works. On the other hand, although this is in the realm of speculation, personal agency on the part of the compiler/scribe cannot be ruled out. The compiler might have decided to include these writings to enhance the reputation of the author of the letters, whose name is given in the work as Sa'd al-Din al-Haqq. After his name, the anonymous compiler mentions that the author is a medical doctor by profession but also as a master (*mawlana*), teacher and someone knowledgeable of the world (*ustazna 'allām al-'alam*).¹¹⁴ The use of these titles suggests that the author and the compiler of the letters might have had a close relationship, where the latter might have been a disciple or a follower of the former.¹¹⁵ Hence, this master-disciple relationship might also explain the inclusion of these letters as the final work in this manuscript. Although the copy of the text dates from the early 14th century, the descriptions offered in the letters and the identification of some of the characters included in the text suggest that the letters might have been composed around the middle of the 13th century, some fifty years before the manuscript was copied.¹¹⁶

The letters also offer some additional information about the character of the author and allow us to partially reconstruct aspects of his life. According to his own account in one of the first letters in the compendium, Sa'd al-Din was appointed to work as a physician in Zalifre (modern Safranbolu), a town around a hundred kilometres south-west of Kastamonu.¹¹⁷ Zalifre was a small town in the political orbit of Kastamonu and, for most of the 13th century, a border zone in permanent dispute between Byzantium and the Chobanids.¹¹⁸ Since the establishment of Turkmen groups in the area in the 11th century, the majority of the population might have lived in rural areas – whether they were Turkmen groups or Christian farmers – and the town of Zalifre might not have been more than a small fortress. In this context, Sa'd al-Din refers to this area as a desolate place (*mawtin-i nuzūl*), where he cannot find friends or companions (*jalis*) or a professional guild (*asnāf*) with whom to mingle. This rather unenthusiastic depiction of the location of his new job suggests that he was not only from a different region but that he was more accustomed to an urban lifestyle.¹¹⁹

In addition to a coherent thematic arrangement of works to explain the reasons why these more intimate letters might have been included in manuscript Fatih 5406, there seems to be a personal connection between the author

of these letters and Husam al-Din Khu'i, the author of three other works included in this manuscript. There has been some speculation recently over the possibility that some letters included in this *munasha'āt* might have been directed to Husam al-Din Khu'i himself.¹²⁰ This assumption rests on the fact that some letters included in this compendium are addressed to a person named as Husam al-Din.¹²¹ The general reference to the name is not a clear indication of this person's identity, but one of the letters written in response to this Husam al-Din describes him as *al-shā'ir* (the poet). Most importantly though, the letter also refers to the addressee as *Malik al-shu'arā'* (King of Poets), a flamboyant title clearly intended to elevate the status and perhaps flatter the recipient of the missive.¹²² Javad Bashari claims that the same title is used to refer to Husam al-Din Khu'i in a couplet ('*arūz*) he saw in two manuscripts containing poetry compilations dated from the mid-14th and mid-15th centuries.¹²³ If Bashari is correct, it would not be very surprising that Husam al-Din Khu'i was the addressee of letters included in this *munasha'āt*. After all, these letters were written in northern Anatolia by Sa'd al-Din, a person who was sent to Kastamonu, travelled in the Chobanid territories and might have been in touch with Husam al-Din Khu'i, who was an established member of the Chobanid court apparatus and had been a prolific author since the beginning of the 1280s.

Further, additional evidence as to the identification of this Husam al-Din can be found in some other letters included in this *munasha'āt*. Like the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* mentioned in Chapter 4, Sa'd al-Din uses these letters as a 'calling card' or the modern equivalent of a curriculum vitae to present to influential and powerful Anatolian personalities – the amirs, sultans and members of the court. He constantly tries to prove his literary and poetic skills to Husam al-Din by sending him poems in Persian and Arabic, revealing that although Persian was Sa'd al-Din's main literary language, he nonetheless had a good command of Arabic and a knowledge of the Quran, hadiths and classical Persian literature.¹²⁴ For example, in one of the letters addressed to Husam al-Din, Sa'd al-Din includes a personal commentary on the *Marzbannama*, a work composed only a few decades before by Sa'd al-Din Varavini (*fl.* 1210–25), who dedicated this work to Abu al-Qasim Harun, the vizier of the Eldiguzid Atabek Uzbek b. Muhammad (r. 1210–25) of Azerbaijan.¹²⁵ In other letters, he makes an effort to demonstrate his acquaintance with the stories of mythical Persian kings such as Jamshid and makes references to the poem 'Khusraw and Shirin' and the *Shahnama* of Firdawsī, demonstrating a deep knowledge of these masterpieces of Persian literature.¹²⁶ He also includes references to unidentified pieces of literature or uses the letters to share his own compositions in both prose and verse.¹²⁷ Therefore, since Husam al-Din Khu'i was the munshi of the Chobanid court, a well-known poet and writer and an influential member of the court administration, it is highly probable that this group of letters were addressed to him. Nevertheless, perhaps the definitive proof to certify the connection between the two men is the fact that Sa'd al-Din also wrote a letter to a certain Nasr Allah, who is mentioned as the son of

the Husam al-Din he addresses in the other letters.¹²⁸ As we saw in Chapter 3, Husam al-Din Khu'i dedicated his *Ghunyat al-talib wa munyat al-katib* to his son, named Nasr Allah.¹²⁹ These are too many coincidences not to conclude that we agree with Bashari that the Husam al-Din of the letters is Husam al-Din Khu'i and that there was a close interaction between him and Sa'd al-Din al-Haqq.

His uneasiness with the rural environment of north-western Anatolia, his command of Persian and Arabic, his knowledge of Islamic and Persian classical literature and his capacity to compose his own literary works suggest that Sa'd al-Din might have been a medical doctor by profession, but he also belonged to a distinctive social class widespread in medieval Anatolia. This was a class of urban Persianised men, migrants from Iran and Central Asia that included others such as Husam al-Din Khu'i or the author of the *Fustat al-'adala* mentioned in Chapter 5. But his contact with some of his peers did not prevent him from feeling somehow lonely in the rural environment of medieval Kastamonu. The solitude and isolation felt by Sa'd al-Din is among the reasons that encouraged him to travel in northern Anatolia on a journey that included visits to cities such as Kastamonu, Sinop, Niksar, Samsun and Bafra, which can be reconstructed based on the accounts included in the letters.¹³⁰ His letters offer uneven descriptions of the places he visited. For example, he dedicates a few quatrains to the city of Sinop:

What can I say about Sinop?	[It] is a green and nice territory
The city is between two seas,	its soil is of amber and [its] air has a fragrant smell of musk.
It's full of gardens next to one another	and there are many palaces.
Its people are ingenious and amiable	they are gracious and hospitable. ¹³¹

He adds that the city is such a wonderful place to visit because it is possible to find girls of different origins such as Rus, Alani, Rumi and Qipchaq, who are dressed in such elegant clothes that they look as if they were from Khalaj¹³² or Kashmir.¹³³ However, the letters mention almost nothing about the other cities he visited on his travels, as it seems producing a description of Anatolian geography was not Sa'd al-Din's main concern.

His motivations for embarking on such a journey in northern Anatolia were of a different kind. On the one hand, the letters reveal an anxiety for professional recognition and favourable economic remuneration for his services. This includes his skills as a medical doctor, which, as mentioned above, was the reason why he was sent to the region of Kastamonu in the first place. However, other letters in the compendium narrate how during his trips, Sa'd al-Din received an assignment from the amir of Samsun,¹³⁴ to go into Christian territories, referred to as the *dār al-kufr* (land ruled by infidels), in the nearby region of Canik to practise medicine.¹³⁵ Like other Persianised members of medieval Anatolian society, Sa'd al-Din was employable not only for his knowledge of medicine but for his literacy, multilingualism and knowledge of religious

sciences.¹³⁶ For example, the compendium includes a number of letters sent by Sa‘d al-Din to a certain Imad al-Din, whom Osman Turan identifies as Imad al-Din Zanjani (d. 1281–82), suggesting a close relationship between the two men.¹³⁷ In one of these letters, Sa‘d al-Din mentions that Imad al-Din offered him the position of *fuqahā’* (expert in jurisprudence) in the office of the Head of Religious Endowments (*Daftar-i dīvān-i awqāf*), presumably at the Seljuq court.¹³⁸ Although he would politely turn the offer down, this is evidence of how either the court of the sultanate or an incipient administration such as that of the Chobanids was in need of literate men who, having professional training in a discipline such as medicine, could still be a valuable asset in various administrative posts. Certainly, Sa‘d al-Din was not an isolated case, with many Persian-speaking migrants being documented as moving into Anatolia in search of patronage and better working conditions (see Chapter 1). Hence, in this context, we can see further evidence of the practical use that the manuals of *inshā’* literature composed by Husam al-Din Khu‘i could have had in facilitating the incorporation of men such as Sa‘d al-Din into the developing local administration of Chobanid Kastamonu.

Although it might be part of a literary topos, reading these letters suggests that there was also a more personal motivation behind the author’s travels. On different occasions, Sa‘d al-Din expresses, generally in a poetic way, a need to be reunited with his friends (*dustān*) and master (*khudavand-i mushfiq*).¹³⁹ In different missives, the author makes constant use of terms such as *firāq* (separation) and *wiṣāl* (reunite) to express the constant feeling of estrangement and desire to rejoin his beloved companions (*dustdar*).¹⁴⁰ This terminology is very similar to that found in other surviving Sufi texts produced in 13th-century Anatolia and documented among followers of Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273).¹⁴¹ For example, Sultan Valad (d. 1312), the son of Jalal al-Din Rumi, uses the term *firāq* (separation) in a similar way as Sa‘d al-Din, to describe the feeling of separation endured by his father when he was not in the company of his companion Shams-i Tabrizi (d. c. 1240).¹⁴² The vocabulary of love used in these letters is shorn of erotic connotations in this period and became common in communications between Sufis and spread into broader circles. There is no compelling evidence in the letters to state that Sa‘d al-Din was a member of the Mevlevi order, or that he personally followed the teachings of Jalal al-Din Rumi. However, Sa‘d al-Din lived at the same time as the Sufi master and we have evidence that they knew people in common who attended Sufi gatherings in Konya with Rumi.¹⁴³ Hence, it seems fair to suggest that Sa‘d al-Din shared, at least partially, the same intellectual-Sufi circles of 13th-century Anatolia that included Jalal al-Din Rumi and his early followers.

A look at the individuals mentioned in the letters reveals that the author belonged to a network of professional, literate and religious individuals in contact with one another. For example, well-known physicians that we know lived in medieval Anatolia are mentioned in some of the letters. At the beginning of the compendium, a number of letters are addressed to a certain Sharaf al-Din, who is referred to as a friend and master.¹⁴⁴ This person has been identified,

with a relative degree of certainty, as Sharaf al-Din Ya'qub, a medical doctor in the service of Rukn al-Din Kiliç Arslan and Ilkhan Abaqa (d. 1282) during the mid-13th century.¹⁴⁵ In these letters, the author reports to Sharaf al-Din, informing him that he has arrived safely at his destination in Kastamonu to take up his post as a doctor. This suggests that Sa'd al-Din, the author of the letters, might have been not only a disciple of Sharaf al-Din, but also someone whose job was assigned by the head physician of the Seljuq court. This is an interesting aspect because it reveals a closer interaction between the Seljuq court in Konya and border areas such as Kastamonu in the middle of the 13th century that is generally not mentioned in the main sources of the period. Further, in another letter, whose recipient is not mentioned by name but is addressed to a sultan (possibly Rukn al-Din) and asks for permission to join his court while travelling with the intention of meeting a certain 'Akmal al-Mulla va al-Din'.¹⁴⁶ It seems clear that this person was Akmal al-Din Tabib Nakhjivani (*fl.* 13th century), who, as mentioned above, was a court physician in close contact with Abu Bakr b. al-Zaki (d. not after 1294–95), the author of the *Rawzat al-kuttab va hadiqat al-albab*.¹⁴⁷

Although there are indications in the letters that Sa'd al-Din was a migrant from Iran or Azerbaijan, we do not have enough elements to clearly categorise as belonging to a particular 'ethnic' or 'cultural' category using Iranian, Turkish, Persian, or any other anachronistic terminology. As seen in Chapter 1, ethnic and cultural divisions were fluid in medieval Anatolia. However, the letters reflect a close interaction between a professional doctor, with a strong knowledge of Persian and Arabic literature, and a range of local rulers in the peninsula. During his travels, Sa'd al-Din is dispatched by the amir of Samsun to practise medicine in Christian lands and was close to the inner circle of court physicians in the Seljuq court. However, these are not the only interactions with local rulers that emerge from reading these letters. For example, on one occasion, Sa'd al-Din mentions to a friend that he plans to continue in the service (*khidma*) of Amir Sharaf al-Din Mahmud.¹⁴⁸ Another letter mentions that he received a job offer from Amir Majd al-Din of Erzincan, who invited Sa'd al-Din to come to that city to enter into his service, but the physician eventually had to respectfully decline the invitation.¹⁴⁹ Further, in another missive, Sa'd al-Din might be appealing to Ali Bey b. Mehmet (r. 1262–77), the father of the founder of the Inanjid principality in south-western Anatolia.¹⁵⁰ In this case, the letter explains Sa'd al-Din's frustration at not receiving a response to an offer of his services from the ruler.¹⁵¹ It is interesting, however, that the letters not only contain references to prestigious job offers and appointments, but show the occasional struggles that these individuals might have endured in searching for a position in medieval Anatolia. In my view, this might offer an idea about the intended reader of these letters. Some of the common topics in the letters, such as accounts of close interaction with local rulers and important personalities, narration of constant struggles to secure a job and constant references to the feeling of being uprooted and not being able to reunite with a spiritual community would be appealing for members of this Persianised social class living in Anatolia. Incidentally, they would also be the

same people using Husam al-Din Khu'i's works on letter-writing that accompany Sa'd al-Din's letters in manuscript Fatih 5406.

The letters are a rare testimony of an individual who had a close interaction with the Seljuq Sultan, local Turkmen amirs and influential members of the court. They reveal that behind letter-writing in medieval Anatolia, there was a social class of literate Persianised men whose professional capabilities were required across the territory and used their literary skills to obtain different posts both in the Seljuq court and at emerging administration of local dynasties in peripheral regions. Men such as Sa'd al-Din, Husam al-Din Khu'i, Qutb al-Din Shirazi, or the anonymous author of the *Fustat al-'adala* belonged to this class of culturally Persian migrants that saw in Anatolia a land of professional but also spiritual opportunity. These men were not only professionals that knew the arts of writing but, as shown by the letters of Sa'd al-Din, were closely connected to Sufi circles and engaged in literary and artistic activities. The letters produced by some of these individuals became popular in 13th-century Anatolia and served as templates for training munshis and officials, were used as means for communication, and also used to express different artistic and spiritual curiosities. Together, these *inshā'* and personal compendia provide a unique insight into socio-cultural dynamics of the period that often are absent from era's main narratives.

Notes

- 1 These individuals could have been ethnically Turks, Kurds, Tajik, Persian, Mongols, or any other Inner Asian ethnicity, but they shared a tendency to use Persian as a literary language in the 13th century. See Chapter 1.
- 2 Colin P. Mitchell, 'Persian Rhetoric in the Safavid Context: A 16th Century Nurbakhshiyā Treatise on Inshā', in Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway (eds), *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 2012) p. 198.
- 3 Jürgen Paul, 'Enšā'', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. 7:5, pp. 455–57.
- 4 David Durand-Guédy, 'Diplomatic Practice in Saljuq Iran: A Preliminary Study Based on Nine Letters Regarding Saladin's Campaign in Mesopotamia', *Oriente Moderno* 87:2 (2008), pp. 271–72.
- 5 Adrian Gully, *Culture of Letter-Writing in Pre-Modern Islamic Society* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).
- 6 Fath-Allah Mojtaba'i, 'Correspondence ii. In Islamic Persia', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 3, pp. 290–93. The institution continued into the Seljuq period of Iranian history; see Ann K. S. Lambton, 'Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire', in John A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 257.
- 7 Both of these authors were important translators of pre-Islamic Persian culture during these early centuries of Islam. See Wadad al-Qadi, 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Third Edition, online version; Said Amir Arjomand, 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the 'Abbasid Revolution', *Iranian Studies* 27:1/4 (1994), pp. 9–36.

- 8 For more on administrative letters written in Arabic, see Clifford E. Bosworth, 'Administrative Literature', in Alfred F. L. Beeston and M. J. L. Young (eds), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Religion, Learning and Science in the Abbasid Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 155–67.
- 9 Paul, 'Enšā'.
- 10 Andrew C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 17, 208–09.
- 11 Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Khaliq Mayhani, *Destur-i Debiri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1962).
- 12 Jürgen Paul, 'Inshā' Collections as a Source on Iranian History', *Proceedings of the Second Conference of Iranian Studies: Held in Bamberg, 30th September to 4th October 1991, by the Societas Iranologica Europaea* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995), p. 536.
- 13 Muntajab al-Din Badi' 'Ali. b. Ahmad Juwayni, *Kitab-i 'Atabat al-kataba: majmu'ah-i marasilat-i divan-i Sultan Sanjar*. Edited by Muhammad Qazvini and 'Abbas Iqbal (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sihami, 1950).
- 14 Ann K. S. Lambton, 'The Administration of Sanjar's Empire as Illustrated in the "Tabat al-kataba"', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20:1–3 (1957), pp. 367–88; David Durand-Guédy, 'The Türkmen-Saljuq Relationship in Twelfth-Century Iran: New Elements Based on a Contrastive Analysis of three inshā' Documents', in J. Büssow, D. Durand-Guédy and J. Paul (eds), *Nomads in the Political Field, special issue of Eurasian Studies* 9:1–2 (2011), pp. 11–66.
- 15 Paul, 'Inshā' Collections', p. 536.
- 16 Paul, 'Inshā' Collections', p. 536. An exception to this is the analysis of the letters in the *Mukhtarāt min al-risā'il*, a work containing diplomatic correspondence from the late 12th century exchanged by local rulers of southern Iran. See Durand-Guédy, 'Diplomatic Practice in Saljuq Iran', pp. 271–96.
- 17 See the case of Khu'i below.
- 18 Horst, Heribert, 'Arabische Briefe der Hōrazmsāhs an den Kalifenhof aus der Feder des Rašid ad-Din Watwāt', *Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 116 (1966), pp. 24–43.
- 19 Baha' al-Din Baghdadi, *al-Tawassul ila al-tarassul*. Edited by Ahmad Bahmanyar (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sihami, 1936); Rashid al-Din Vatvat, *Namah'ha-yi Rashid al-Din Vatvat*. Edited by Qasim Tuyserkani (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tihran, 1959) (Persian); *idem*, *Majmu'at al-rasa'il*. Edited by Muhammad Fahmi (Cairo: Maktabat al-Adab, 1939) (Arabic).
- 20 János Harmatta, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. 4:1 (Paris: Unesco, 1992), p. 179.
- 21 Jürgen Paul, 'Local Lords or Rural Notables? Some Remarks on the *ra'īs* in Twelfth Century Eastern Iran', in Andrew C. S. Peacock and Deborah Tor (eds), *Medieval Central Asia and the Persianate World: Iranian Tradition and Islamic Civilisation* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), p. 185. For an edition of this work, see Iraj Afshar (ed.), *al-Mukhtarāt min al-rasa'il* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Asar-i Milli, 1976).
- 22 Anna Livia Beelaert, 'Kāqānī Šervānī', in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XV, Fasc. 5, pp. 521–29.
- 23 Afzal al-Din Shirvani Khaqani, *Majmu'ah-i namah'ha-yi Afzal al-Din Badil ibn 'Ali Najjar Khaqani Shirvani*. Edited by Ziya' al-Din Sajjadi (Tehran: Chapkhani-yi Danish Saray 'Ali, 1967); Ahmed Ateş, 'Recueil de lettres de Xāqānī-i Širwānī (*Munṣa'āt-e Xāqānī*)', in *Trudi* 25 (1963), pp. 356–62.

- 24 Jan Rypka, 'Poets and Prose Writers', in John A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 565–66.
- 25 The oldest copy of Khaqani's letters is an undated manuscript copied not later than the 13th century in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (Lala Ismail, no. 600).
- 26 See the recently discovered *mumasha'āt* containing two hundred letters sent by or to officials of the Sultanate of Rum during the 13th century: David Durand-Guédy, 'Manba'ī-yi muhim dar bāra-yi Saljūqiyān-i Rūm wa dabīr-khāna-yi fārsī-yi ān-hā: Nuskha-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Mar'ashī, shumāra 11136', *Miras-i Shahab* 26 (2020–21), pp. 63–84. The English version of this article entitled 'A New Source on the Saljuqs of Rum and their Persian Chancery: Manuscript 11136 of the Mar'ashī Library (Qum)' is forthcoming. I am grateful to David Durand-Guédy for sending me a version of his article before it was published.
- 27 A description of the addressees of the letters can be found in Cevdet Yakupoğlu and Namiq Musali, *Selçuklu inşâ sanatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2018), p. 19.
- 28 See Bibliothèque National de France, Supplement Persan 1353. Description in Blochet, Edgar, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1905–34), no. 1051.
- 29 Jalal al-Din Rumi, *Maktubat Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi*. Edited by Tawfiq Subhani (Markaz Nashr Danishgahi, 1992).
- 30 This view is often conveyed by Jalal al-Din's son Sultan Valad. See Franklin D. Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West* (Oxford: OneWorld, 2007), pp. 294–95.
- 31 Andrew Peacock, 'Sufis and the Seljuk Court in Mongol Anatolia: Politics and Patronage in the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Sulṭān Walad', in Andrew Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (eds), *Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 206–26.
- 32 Abu Bakr b. al-Zaki, *Rawdat al-kuttab wa-hadiqat al-albab*. Edited and translated by Ali Sevim (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972 [Reprint 2011]); Abu Bakr b. al-Zaki, *Rawzat al-kuttab va hadiqa al-albab*. Edited by Sayyid Yunisi, Mir Vadud (Tabriz: Intisharat-i Mu'assasah-i Tarikh va Farhangi Iran, 1970).
- 33 There is disagreement about the date of death of the author; some suggest 1291 and others place it in 1294–95. See Ahmad Ashraf and Ali Banuazizi, 'Class System iv. Classes In Medieval Islamic Persia', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online www.iranicaonline.org/articles/class-system-iv; Ali Sevim, 'Anadolu Selçuklularına Ait Bir Eser: Ravzatü'l -Küttab ve Hadikatü'l -Elbab', *Tarih Vesikaları* 1:3 (1961), pp. 388–418; al-Zaki, *Rawdat al-kuttab*, p. 7; Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari hakkında Resmi Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1958), pp. 147–50.
- 34 Al-Zaki, *Rawdat al-kuttab*, p. 3.
- 35 See edition of the letter in al-Zaki, *Rawdat al-kuttab*, pp. 111–19.
- 36 See below, section titled 'Personal letters: A unique view on the socio-cultural history of 13th-century northern Anatolia'.
- 37 A list of the main historical characters mentioned in the letters is provided by Sevim in his edition. See al-Zaki, *Rawdat al-kuttab*, pp. 4–5.
- 38 See preface in Sevim edition, al-Zaki, *Rawdat al-kuttab*, pp. 5–6 [Persian text]; for similarities with Khu'i, see Chapter 2.
- 39 Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4015 (15th century); İstanbul Üniversitesi, Farsça Yazmalar 585 (15th century); British Library, Persian manuscripts, or. 13215 (16th century); Ankara Milli Kütüphanesi, no. 664 (possibly 20th century).

- 40 An overview of the period can be seen in Ryoko Watabe, 'Persian *Inshā*' Manuals in the Mongol Period', *Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 46:2 (2003), pp. 197–224 [in Japanese].
- 41 Andrew Peacock, 'Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, "Chief Qadi of China and the East": An Ilkhanid Man of Letters at the Court of the Juwaynīs', in Timothy May (ed.), *New Approaches to Ilkhanid History* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 13–38.
- 42 Alexander H. Morton, 'The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn: Ilkhanid Fact or Timurid Fiction?', in Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 155–99; Abolala Soudavar, 'In Defense of Rašid-od-Din and his Letters', *Studia Iranica* 32.1 (2003), pp. 77–120.
- 43 A short commentary on some of these letters can be found in Reuben Levy, 'The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-Allāh', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 78 (1946), pp. 74–78.
- 44 Rashid al-Din Fazl Allah, *Mukatabat-i Rashidi*. Edited by Muhammad Shafi (Lahore: Nashriyat-i Kulliyah-i Panjab, 1947). The most up-to-date study on the life and work of Rashid al-Din Fazl Allah is Stefan Kamola, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jami' al-Tawarikh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019).
- 45 Esther Ravalde, 'Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, Vizier and Patron: Mediation between Ruler and Ruled in the Ilkhanate', in Bruno De Nicola and Charles Melville (eds), *The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 53–78.
- 46 Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 46.
- 47 Jürgen Paul, 'Some Mongol *Inshā*'-collections: The Juvayni Letters', in Charles Melville (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*, part 2 (Wiesbaden: Verlag, 1999), pp. 277–85.
- 48 Paul, 'Some Mongol *Inshā*', p. 278.
- 49 Paul, 'Some Mongol *Inshā*', pp. 281–82; a more complete list of Mongol *inshā*' works available in manuscript form has been collected by Ryoko Watabe, in Watabe, 'Persian *Inshā*' Manuals'.
- 50 Muhammad b. Hindushah Nakhjivani, *Dastur al-katib fi ta'yin al-maratib*. Edited by Abd al-Karim 'Alizada, 2 vols (Moscow, 1964). On the Jalayirs, see Patrick Wing, *Jalayirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Middle East* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).
- 51 Colin Paul Mitchell, 'To Preserve and Protect: Husayn Va'iz-i Kashifi and Perso-Islamic Chancellery Culture', *Iranian Studies* 36:4 (2003), pp. 487–88; Alexandra Dunietz, *The Cosmic Perils of Qadi Husayn Maybudī in Fifteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 9–10.
- 52 Halil İbrahim Haksever, 'Ahmed-i Dâînin Teressül'ü', *Turkish Studies* 1:6 (2011), pp. 1265–73.
- 53 András J. Riedlmayer, 'Ottoman Copybooks of Correspondence and Miscellanies as a Source for Political and Cultural History', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61:1–2 (2008), pp. 201–14; Linda T. Darling, 'Ottoman Turkish: Written Language and Scribal Practice', in Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway (eds), *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 176–79. For the Moghul Empire, see Momin Mohiuddin, *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography under the Mughal: From Bābur to Shāh Jahān 1526–1658: A Study on Inshā', Dār Al-inshā'*

- and *Munshīs Based on Original Documents* (Calcutta: Iran Society, 1971); Mansura Haidar (ed.), *Mukātabāt-i-‘Allāmī (Inshā’i Abu’l Fazl): Letters of the Emperor Akbar in English Translation* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1998); Jürgen Paul, ‘Anonyme arabische und persische inšā’ Handschriften aus den Sammlungen der Süleymaniye-Bibliothek (Istanbul)’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 144 (1994), pp. 301–29; Ishtiyāq Ahmad Zilli, ‘Development of Inshā Literature to the End of Akbar’s Reign’, in Muzaffar Alam, Françoise Nalini Delvoye and Marc Gaborieau (eds), *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture: Indian and French Studies* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2000), pp. 309–49; a new project on the subject is being carried out by Stephan Popp at the ÖAW in Vienna, see www.oeaw.ac.at/en/iran/research/research-archive/insha-a-literary-history-of-persian-epistolary-prose-in-early-modern-south-asia/.
- 54 For a list of the different manuscripts containing copies of the *Nuzhat al-kuttab*, see Yakupoğlu and Musali, *Selçuklu inşâ sanatı*, pp. 47–52.
- 55 The *Ghunyat al-talib* can be found in Ms. Fatih 5406 (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul); the *Rusum al-rasa’il* in Ms. Nurbanu Sultan 122 (Hacı Selim Ağa Library, Üsküdar).
- 56 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, p. 159.
- 57 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, p. 30.
- 58 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 217–19.
- 59 This comparison is briefly sketched by Sograh Abbaszadah in Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 31–34.
- 60 See, for example, Ms. Supplement Turc 1120, f. 118b.
- 61 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 59–71; Ms. Esad Efendi 3369, ff. 32–96; Malek National Library, Ms. 1196, 53b–111b (see ff. 106b–107a in Figure 2.3). More details in Appendix 4: Table of selected surviving manuscript witnesses of works dedicated to the Chobanids of Kastamonu.
- 62 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, p. 225. Similar motivations can be found in other works of Khu’i, see Bruno De Nicola, ‘Urban Agency in the Borderlands’, *Medieval Worlds* 14 (2021), pp. 155–78.
- 63 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 282–85.
- 64 For an analysis of the letter, see Andrew Peacock, ‘Cide and its Region from Seljuk to Ottoman Times’, in Bleda S. Düring and Claudia Glatz (eds), *Kinetic Landscapes. The Cide Archaeological Project: Surveying the Turkish Western Black Sea Region* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), pp. 375–91; Cevdet Yakupoğlu and Namiq Musali, ‘Çobanoğulları Uç Bebeyliği Dönemine ait Gideros Fetihnâmesi (683 / 1284): Çeviri ve Değerlendirme’, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 63 (2018), pp. 77–133.
- 65 Peacock, ‘Cide and its Region’, pp. 378–79.
- 66 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 285–86.
- 67 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 285–86.
- 68 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 286–87.
- 69 This term is generally used to refer to any unknown or undefined person.
- 70 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 287–89.
- 71 The explanation of the title suggest that this person was in charge of supervising religious institutions such as madrasas and mosques; see Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 291–92.
- 72 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 289–92.
- 73 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, p. 288.
- 74 Literally to ‘turn sick into sane’.
- 75 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, p. 290.
- 76 Khu’i, *Majmu’a*, pp. 291–92.

- 77 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 291
- 78 Mitchell, 'To Preserve and Protect', p. 487.
- 79 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 228–32.
- 80 Similar stratifications of these titles are included in the abbreviated versions of this work also written by Khu'i, such as the *Rusum al-rasa'il wa nujum al-faza'il* and the *Ghunyat al-talib wa munyat al-katib*. See Chapter 3 for a comparison between these texts. Also, De Nicola, 'Urban Agency', pp. 167–74.
- 81 For an analysis of this stratification, see also Mario Grignaschi, 'L'administration des Seljuqiyan-i Rum d'Après les Rosum-al-Rasail de Hasan-i Khoi', *Farhang-i Irān Zamān* 28 (1368), pp. 338–51.
- 82 See Yakupoğlu and Musali, *Selçuklu inşâ sanatı*, pp. 169–75; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 84–86.
- 83 A more plausible example of the applicability of this model might be found in the *Rusum al-rasa'il* and the *Ghunyat al-talib*, see De Nicola, 'Urban Agency', pp. 167–74.
- 84 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 239.
- 85 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 244–48.
- 86 *Ibid.*, p. 248.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 254; on Manuchihrî and his work, the 19th-century work of Biberstein remains the best study. See Jerome W. Clinton, 'The Divan of Manuchihrî Dāmghānî: A Critical Study', PhD dissertation, University of Michigan (1972); Albin de Kazimirski Biberstein, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du 11eme siècle de notre ère (du 5l'eme de l'hégire)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1887).
- 88 I was unable to identify this poet.
- 89 This might refer to Jamal al-Din Muhammad Isfahani (d. c. 1192–93), the father of the famous Kamal a-Din Isma'il Isfahani (d. 1237). See Davis Durand-Guédy, 'Jamāl-Al-Din Moḥammad Eṣfahānî', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online. www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jamal-al-din-mohammad-esfahani
- 90 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, p. 262.
- 91 For an example on how *marginalia* can reveal relevant aspects of the history of specific manuscripts see the recent publication by Boris Liebrecht, 'The History and Provenance of the Unique Dustūr al-munaḡḡimīn Manuscript, BnF Arabe 5968', *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 11 (2020), pp. 28–42.
- 92 A final note in the last folio is difficult to read but mentions the date 755 (1354) as a date when one of the people writing in the margins was doing his annotations in this codex.
- 93 For an analysis on the appointments, see Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında resmî vesikalar: metin, tercüme ve araştırmalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958), pp. 177–83.
- 94 Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 357–64. The posts also include provisions for shaykhs in charge of a *khānaqāh*, doctors, professors and teachers in madrasas. See Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 364–72. A full translation into Turkish of this work has been published in Yakupoğlu and Musali, *Selçuklu inşâ sanatı*, pp. 131–68.
- 95 Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları*, p. 176.
- 96 See Chapter 3; Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 19–25.
- 97 Full text available in *Majmu'a*, pp. 99–128.
- 98 Husam al-Din Khu'i, *Tuhfa-yi Husam: qadimi'tarin lughatnama-yi manzum-i Farsi bih Turki*. Edited by Husayn Muhammadzadah Sadiq and Parviz Zari' Shahmarasi (Tehran: Takdirakht, 1389 [2010]), p. 16.

- 99 The Turkish word is highlighted in **bold** and the English translation for each pair of Persian-Turkish words is provided in brackets.
- 100 Modern Turkish ‘Oloz’.
- 101 Modern Turkish ‘Güneş’.
- 102 Quatrain 3, Khu’i, *Tuhfa-yi Husam*, p. 1.
- 103 Modern Turkish ‘Balta’.
- 104 Modern Turkish ‘kılıç’.
- 105 Modern Turkish ‘ok’.
- 106 Quatrain 5, Khu’i, *Tuhfa-yi Husam*, p. 1.
- 107 Khu’i, *Tuhfa-yi Husam*, pp. 19–20.
- 108 Cemal Kafada, ‘Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature’, *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), pp. 121–50; Victor L. Ménage, ‘An Ottoman Manual of Provincial Correspondence’, *WZKM*, LXVIII (1976), ss. 31–45.
- 109 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 99a–130b.
- 110 Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları*, pp. 159–71.
- 111 Bruno De Nicola, ‘Letters from Mongol Anatolia: Professional, Political and Intellectual Connections among Members of a Persianised Elite’, *Iran* 56:1 (2018), pp. 77–90.
- 112 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 130b.
- 113 On these works, see Chapter 3.
- 114 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 99b. In fact, the compiler elevates the professional position of Sa’d al-Din further by referring to him as a physician of kings (lit. ‘healer of kings and sultans’ – *mudāwā-yi al-mulūk wa al-salāfīn*).
- 115 De Nicola, ‘Letters from Mongol Anatolia’, p. 80.
- 116 For a discussion on the date of composition of the letters, see De Nicola, ‘Letters from Mongol Anatolia’, pp. 79–80.
- 117 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 101b.
- 118 Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları*, p. 157.
- 119 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 101b–102a.
- 120 Yakupoğlu and Musali, *Selçuklu İnşa Sanatı*, p. 73.
- 121 De Nicola, ‘Letters from Mongol Anatolia’, p. 84.
- 122 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 103a, 108a.
- 123 Bashari, ‘Kitāb va Kitāb-i Parvishī’, *Ayeneh-ye-Pazhoohesh* 21:124 (2010), p. 55. One of the works, which Bashari refers to as *Safīnah-yi Mahmudshah Naqīb*, is the *Majmu‘a-yi divanha-yi qadīm*, compiled by Mahmud Shah Naqīb and dated AH 827 (1424) and held at the Library of the University of Cambridge with the shelfmark V. 65. See Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental MSS Belonging to the late E. G. Browne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 255–56. The other manuscript, which was supposedly copied in AH 750 (1349) is in the Mar’ashi Najafi collection in Qom, but I was not able to see this copy at the time of the publication of this book.
- 124 De Nicola, ‘Letters from Mongol Anatolia’, pp. 84–85.
- 125 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 109b.; Crewe Williams, K., ‘Marzbān-nāma’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Online, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/marzbān-nāma
- 126 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 125a.
- 127 For example, a poem entitled ‘The Controversy of the Gardener and the Shepherd’ (*Munazarah-ye baghaban va shaban*) is mentioned in one of the letters but I was unable to find any other references to this work; see Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 112a. Sa’d

- al-Din's compositions are scattered across different letters but the most remarkable are perhaps the two satirical letters at the end of the text. See Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 126b–130b.
- 128 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 112a; De Nicola, 'Letters from Mongol Anatolia', p. 85.
- 129 See Chapter 3, also Özerin, 'Selçuklu sanatçısı', p. 229; Yazıcı, 'Hasan b. 'Abd-al-Mo'men'.
- 130 For a description of the journey, see Bruno De Nicola, 'The Trip of a Medieval Physician: a Rare Description of Mobility in Mongol Anatolia', in Claudia Rapp and Yannis Stouraitis (eds), *Microstructures and Mobility in Byzantium* (Vienna: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2023), pp. 183–201.
- 131 The full poem was published and translated into Turkish by Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari*, pp. 159–60; for a full English translation of the poem, see De Nicola, 'The Trip of a Medieval Physician'.
- 132 Khalaj refers often to ancient Turkish people but in classical Persian poetry, the term is also used in connection with historical Khatay (China) or eastern Turkestan (somewhere between Tibet and the autonomous region of Xinjian). In classical Persian poetry, people coming from this region are generally associated with elegance and beauty. See W. Barthold, 'Karluk', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, online version. For references to the city of Khallukh among classical Persian poets, such as Firdawsi or Sa'di, see the entry "خلج" in the Dehkhoda dictionary.
- 133 Here the poem might refer to the famous cashmere-wool made by these women, which implies elegance and sophistication among the women of Sinop.
- 134 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 119b. The text provides no name and refers to the ruler only as the *bayklarbikī* (beylerbey or 'bey of beys') of the region. On the title, see Chapter 2; Ménage, V.L., 'Beglerbegi', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, online version.
- 135 Given as *jāyint*. See F. Taeschner, 'Djānīk', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, online version.
- 136 For other contemporary intellectuals, see Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society*, pp. 44–45.
- 137 Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari*, p. 163; Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330* (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1968), p. 344; Karim al-Din Mahmud b. Muhammad Aqsara'i, *Musamarat al-akhbar va musayarat al-akhyar*. Edited by Osman Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1944), p. 140; for a discussion on the relationship between Sa'd al-Din and Imad al-Din, see De Nicola, 'Letters from Mongol Anatolia', p. 87.
- 138 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 120a.
- 139 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 118b–119a.
- 140 De Nicola, 'Letters from Mongol Anatolia', p. 87.
- 141 William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi* (SUNY Press, 1984), p. 232.
- 142 Lewis, *Rumi: Past and Present*, pp. 181–202, especially p. 173.
- 143 I am referring here to Akmal al-Din Nakhjivani (fl. 13th century). See Sipahsalar, *Risala-yi Sipahsalar*, pp. 70, 97–98; Aflaki, *Manaqib*, 1: p. 337 / *Feats of the Knowers of God*, pp. 233–34.
- 144 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 100a.
- 145 Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulari*, 157; De Nicola, 'Letters from Mongol Anatolia', p. 82.
- 146 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 125a–b.

- 147 Aflaki, *Manaqib*, 1: p. 337 / *Feats of the Knowers of God*, 233–34. Akmal al-Din Nakhjivani is the addressee in one of Jalal al-Din Rumi's letters in which the Sufi asks the doctor to intercede with the powerful Mongol governor Mu'in al-Din Parvana in favour of a friend. See Jalal al-Din Rumi, *Mirror of the Unseen: The Complete Discourses*. Translated by Louis Rogers (San Jose, CA: Writers Club Press, 2002), pp. 345–47.
- 148 The identification of this person is unclear; see De Nicola, 'Letters from Mongol Anatolia', p. 82.
- 149 Ms. Fatih 5406, f. 119b.
- 150 De Nicola, 'Letters from Mongol Anatolia', p. 83.
- 151 Ms. Fatih 5406, ff. 122a–123a.
- 152 The *Qawa'id al-rasa'il* uses the title *mukhaddarāt*, meaning 'a matron' or 'a virtuous lady' to refer to women of the court. However, both the *Rusum al-rasa'il* and the *Ghunyat al-talib* use the Turkic word *khātūn* in the instruction on how to address these women. See Khu'i, *Majmu'a*, pp. 302, 346.
- 153 The office in charge of the treasury; an auditor (of accounts).
- 154 An examiner, inspector, observer; an officer in a treasury who authenticates accounts and writings.
- 155 A type of inspector or imperial supervisor.
- 156 Generally referring to an administrator or procurator of a religious foundation.
- 157 Army commander.
- 158 The prefect of the standard, i.e., the governor of a small territory.
- 159 Unlike in no. 6 of category 1, here the word is spelled *nāyib*.
- 160 Here it seems to be an inspector of a lower rank than in category 1, possibly acting at a local level.
- 161 This appears to be a word loan from Turkish into Persian. As an adjective, it is often used as meaning 'of a mixed religious or ethnic origin or a hybrid'. However, here it appears to be the name of an administrative office that is also mentioned in other Persian sources of Anatolia. For example, Aflaki uses *ikdishah* (pl. of *ikdish*) in the following passage: 'Likewise, the noble among the disciples related that it was always Mowlana's practice that whatever, due to [the workings of] the invisible world, the commanders, kings, *akadesha* and wealthy disciples sent in the way of goods and worldly possessions, he would immediately send to Chalabi Hosam al-Din, and he had placed the reins of administration and management of affairs in his hands'. See Aflaki, *Manaqib*, II, p. 751 / Aflaki, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, p. 652. According to O'Kane, the person holding the office might be of mixed ethnic background (partly Turkish and partly something else) and hold important positions in the government or in the military. See Aflaki, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, p. 741.
- 162 Generally referring to one who has memorised the Quran, but may also refer to imams in general.
- 163 This is repeated as in number 7 but using the Arabic word. The addressing in this case is also exclusively in Arabic.

7 Epilogue

A ‘proto-beylik’ in 13th-century Kastamonu

The beylik period in the history of Anatolia is traditionally seen as starting during the last decades of the 13th century and lasting into the 15th century. This period has often been ill-defined as a time of political fragmentation characterised by the rise of Turkish as a literary language, the consolidation of Islam as the majoritarian religion and, especially for nationalistic Turkish historiography, as a period of consolidation of Turkic ethnical identity that would culminate with the rise of the Ottomans and their political unification of the Anatolian Peninsula.¹ This periodisation and enumeration of cultural transformations have been used to define a clear historical line that connected an alleged period of centralised Seljuq control of the peninsula in the first half of the 13th century, followed by the external occupation of the Mongols that brought division and fragmentation (beylik) before the Ottomans managed to reunify the peninsula under their control.² In other words, a lineal historical progression has been provided for pre-Ottoman Anatolia going from the 11th century to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 as a chain of events leading from the Battle of Manzikert to the restoration of Turkish political control under an Ottoman unification of the peninsula. However, this framework oversimplifies the rich and complex cultural history of medieval Anatolia.

Fortunately, more recently, this framework has been revisited, questioning not only this chronology but also the socio-political definitions attached to the beylik principalities.³ This book has been an attempt to contribute to this new approach to the history of medieval Anatolia that rejects simplistic narratives of cultural determinism. Instead, the study of the cultural history of north-western Anatolia under Chobanid rule acknowledges the cultural diversity and historical complexity that characterise this period. We have centred our attention on a peripheral Turkmen dynasty of north-western Kastamonu, showing that during the 13th century, this region pivoted through different periods of political autonomy, undergoing profound cultural shifts and religious transformations. Despite their obscure origins, the Chobanids already emerge in the sources as well positioned in the political landscape of the peninsula by the early 13th century. In what is considered the peak of Seljuq power in the peninsula, Husam al-Din Choban seems to have acquired significant

political capital by getting involved in a complex network of political alliances and rivalries that existed in the early 13th century. It was his political capability and military strength that was behind his success in the expansion of the Chobanid domination of Kastamonu and – although doing so in the name of the Seljuqs – he commanded the only maritime campaign ever undertaken by a Turkmen amir in this period.

The Chobanids' visibility diminishes from the main narrative sources after this foundational period. From the 1240s, like much of the peninsula, Kastamonu enters a new political era marked by the Mongol domination over the Seljuqs of Rum, the changing gravitational pole of this domination from the Golden Horde first and into Iran later, and the establishment of Mongol officials in the region that would complicate even further the power networks of north-western Anatolia. However, despite the uncertainty that covers this period, it appears that the Chobanids remained not only active military agents in the region but consolidated their presence in the territory. While written sources are silent about the whereabouts of the Chobanids from the expedition to Crimea until the early 1280s, surviving architecture from this period suggests that Turkmen populations experienced a slowly but steady process of moving into the territory and a settlement pattern that shifted gradually from rural areas into the city of Kastamonu. While this period is confusing in terms of the political alliances and loyalty networks of the Chobanid rulers, it also seems to be the period when these Turkmen consolidated a cultural and religious identity that would emerge in the literary production of the late 13th century. The surviving letters contained in manuscript form written by Sa'd al-Din al-Haqq (Chapter 6) document the presence in the 1260s or 1270s of individuals well connected to a larger network of Anatolian professionals, men of letters and incipient Sufi brotherhoods. The presence of these individuals, who were largely connected through family and education to the other regions of the Muslim world (especially Iran and Central Asia), evidences a closer integration of the Chobanids and Kastamonu into the larger cultural and religious milieu of the greater Islamic world in the middle decades of the 13th century.

These parallel processes of political, economic and cultural transformations would deepen under the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Choban (r. 1280–91), thanks to the political stability granted by a strategic alliance with the Seljuq sultan Mas'ud II and the Mongols of Iran, and Muzaffar al-Din's political will to develop an active policy of political, cultural and religious transformation of the region. This political stability generated two decades of unprecedented literary and architectural development in Kastamonu. On the one hand, the survival of a unique literary corpus that includes a variety of works connected to the Chobanid rulers evidences the investment that these Turkmen rulers made in attracting men of letters, religious leaders and capable administrators to their region. On the other hand, the financial support of local religious and secular institutions in local urban centres such as Kastamonu and Taşköprü helped to transform the landscape of north-western Anatolia and might have contributed to consolidate an ongoing process of Islamisation in the region

initiated over a hundred years earlier. The analysis of the texts produced for and during the reign of the Chobanids offers a variety of different insights into the cultural life of the period that challenge the linearity of the historical development in the formation of the beylik principalities. For example, surviving texts from this period suggest a clear preference towards Persian rather than Turkish as a literary language. The different works dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din are not only composed in this language but there seems to be an effort to establish Persian as the administrative, scientific and religious *lingua literata* of Chobanid Kastamonu.

The content of the surviving Chobanid literary corpus offers a different perspective on the cultural development in this region which is impossible to obtain by following the historical narratives of medieval Anatolia that form the basis of the historiography of the period. The comprehensive analysis of this corpus reflects how Muzaffar al-Din Choban and his successors were not satisfied any longer with exercising military control over the territory. Instead, they were interested in associating themselves with some of the era's most recognised scholars like Qutb al-Din Shirazi, and in financing the production of a Persian astronomical treatise that certainly elevated the prestige of the ruler by associating his name with that of the Persian scholar. In addition, other works reflect that the rulers of Kastamonu were integrated into the larger literary milieu of late 13th-century Anatolia. For example, advice literature, an important literary genre among the Seljuqs of Rum, also became part of the Chobanid literary interest. The first part of the anonymous *Fustat al-'adala* dedicated to Muzaffar al-Din Choban is an example of administrative literature based on a classic mirror for princes, such as the *Siyar al-muluk*, written by an author who does not simply transcribe the original work but, based on the original text, makes a conscious effort to adapt the text to his patron's taste while demonstrating his literary capabilities in the hope of gaining a position in the court administration. The author intervenes in the text to modify its contents, expands certain sections and accommodates the difficulty of the language to make the text more appropriate in the eyes of this Turkmen local ruler. The text is not limited to an edition of the original text, but incorporates one entire new chapter, modifies several anecdotes and stories and adds contextual information to make the text more appealing to his patron and enhance the potential employability of the author in the court.

The corpus also offers a unique insight onto the religious milieu of medieval Kastamonu and the complexities of a process of Islamisation that was under way during the reign of the Chobanids. The contents of the second part of the *Fustat al-'adala* evidence also a conflict between an undefined orthodoxy and a colourful heterodoxy that included antinomian Sufis, Turkmen tribesmen and recent converts trying to find a balance in the unsettled religious landscape of medieval Anatolia. The description of the *jawlaqīyān* (Qalandars), despite its critical and biased presentation, offers a unique insight into these antinomian dervishes, their practices, and attitudes toward them in 13th- and 14th-century Anatolia. The description is created by a member of the Anatolian upper

classes who tries to alert the incipient local rulers to the spread of, in his view, a subversive and dangerous heresy that originated in Iran but is permeating Anatolia. Yet, in doing so, the text gives voice to a subaltern social group of antinomian Sufis, leaves a unique description of the Qalandars' practices and beliefs, and offers a testimony of a rather pessimistic religious establishment that seems to have lost its grip on the faith of its followers.

The similarities with the official hagiography of the Qalandars, given that it precedes it by over fifty years, offers an exceptional opportunity for comparison and to reveal more about the origin of these mendicant dervishes at an early stage of their identity formation, with a still undefined theology, a confrontational attitude towards the sharia and fierce opposition to mainstream Sufism. The final section of the work is presented as a solution to this chaotic religious landscape. The author of the *Fustat al-'adala* (possibly a Shafi'i) offers a mutually complementary Hanafi-Shafi'i tradition to the ruler of Kastamonu (possibly influenced by Hanafi practices), who financed the work, perhaps as a useful guide on how to be a good Muslim and combat heresy in 13th-century Anatolia. On the one hand, this text helps to reinforce the idea that the *Fustat al-'adala* (possibly written by an 'alim) offers some further insights into the interest of the Chobanids in religious literature; on the other, the text evidences that it was possibly composed not only with the expectation of economic reward but with a clear proselytising aim targeting the newly Islamised Turkmen rulers of Kastamonu to whom the work is dedicated.

Finally, the bulk of the Chobanid literary legacy corresponds to the works of Husam al-Din Khu'i. The surviving texts of this author, all connected in one way or another to Chobanid Kastamonu, evidence a close connection between stylistic writing and pragmatic literature. In his manuals of letter-writing, it is possible to observe how a traditional literary genre such as *inshā'* attracted the patronage of Chobanid rulers not only for its elegant prose and sophisticated use of the language, but also because of the possibilities that these texts offered for the practical administration of the region. We have shown how some of these manuals were composed possibly with the goal of obtaining financial reward and professional promotion. However, these texts were also composed with the aim of becoming a useful guide for chancellery practices, secretarial offices and internal administration of state affairs in Chobanid Kastamonu. The emphasis on the description of a society based on the model of the Great Seljuq administration dating back to the 11th century denotes an attempt to find a suitable model or socio-political administration that could be applied to the Chobanids' court in 13th-century Kastamonu. In addition, the composition of vocabularies in this period and the evidence of the use of these manuals in surviving manuscripts offer further evidence of the pragmatic aim in the literary production of Husam al-Din Khu'i.

Overall, these works comprise a group of texts that complement each other in an attempt to provide the foundations to establish a local administration in Kastamonu. Unlike the commission of the scientific *Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari* composed by Qutb al-Din Shirazi, which had the evident goal of elevating

the prestige of the ruler, Khu'i's works seem to play a more pragmatic role in a larger political and social transformation occurring in Kastamonu during the final decades of the 13th century. They appeal to Kastamonu's local rulers not only for their stylistic mastery but also as part of personal project of state formation that should be understood in the context of a political project that includes political stability provided by alliances with local powers, the Islamisation of the landscape and the establishment of a local administration to rule the territory under the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Choban.

The revolt of Kastamonu (1291–93), the death of Muzaffar al-Din and the new approach of the Mongols towards Anatolia under Ghazan Khan might have conspired against the consolidation of this model. The death of Mahmud Choban, the last of his line, coincides in time with the disappearance of Mas'ud II, the last Seljuq sultan of Rum and ally of the Chobanids. The last Seljuq sultan seems to have vanished into thin air at some point around 1308 and neither Aqsara'i nor the Anonymous Historian of Konya records his death.⁴ The end of the Seljuqs of Rum, the later collapse of the Mongols of Iran and the slow but steady decline of Byzantium offer a different political, economic and cultural scenario for the region of Kastamonu and Anatolia in the 14th century. The Jandarids would replace the Chobanids in the region in what could be seen as a simple exchange of one Turkmen dynasty for another. But, although to a certain extent there is some continuity between Jandarid and Chobanid rule in Kastamonu, the political, economic and religious circumstances of Anatolia in the 14th century would be different.

For more than a hundred years, the Chobanids ruled the region of Kastamonu in north-western Anatolia. We have observed that documental and archaeological evidence indicates that during this period the Chobanids were part of the shift of political gravity in north-western Anatolia from being under the influence of Byzantium to the West to the Seljuqs and Mongols in the East. The Chobanid rulers and Persianised elite that migrated from the greater Islamic world contributed to the region's profound cultural transformation by consolidating a process of Islamisation in the area and making Kastamonu a modest, and yet unique, centre of cultural activity. As the political, economic and cultural elite in the region, these individuals left a rich literary legacy in the Persian language that emerges as a testimony of a multicultural and religiously diverse period in Kastamonu that has been left aside from the more traditional literary sources of the period. We hope this study has served to show that although the Chobanids might not have achieved the same political autonomy or territorial expansion of some of the classical beylik principalities in the 14th century, their rule over Kastamonu is a good reflection of a unique case study of the formative period of a Turkmen political entity during the 13th century. During this time, the Chobanids managed to build and maintain a political structure that reflects the articulation of regional powers within larger and confronting political structures such as the Ilkhanate, the Seljuqs of Rum, or even Byzantium. This was a period of deep cultural and religious transformation that saw these Turkmen people evolving from local warlords

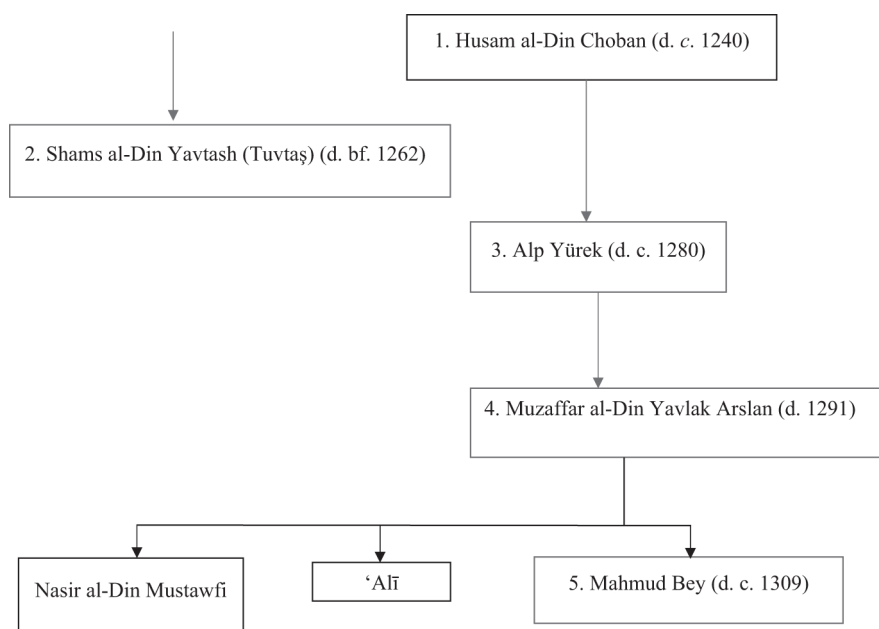
in the early 13th century to consolidate what could be considered as a proto-beylik on the border between Islam and Christianity.

Notes

- 1 Charles Melville, 'Anatolia Under the Mongols', in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 51.
- 2 Jürgen Paul, 'Mongol Aristocrats and Beyliks in Anatolia. A Study of Astarābādī's *Bazm va Razm*', *Eurasian Studies* 9 (2011), p. 106.
- 3 Examples of this new tendency in the study of the beylik principalities have been used across the book. See the contributions of scholars like Andrew Peacock, Dimitri Korobeinikov, Rustam Shukurov, Sara Nur Yıldız, Jürgen Paul, Patricia Blessing and others.
- 4 There is a brief mention of the death of Mas'ud in Ahmad of Niğde, *al-Walad al-shafiq*, Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul), Ms. Fatih 4518, ff. 151r–152r; Charles Melville, 'The Early Persian Historiography of Anatolia', 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, 2006), pp. 158–59; Andrew Peacock, 'Niğde's "al-Walad al-Shafiq" and the Seljuk Past', *Anatolian Studies*, 54 (2004), p. 97.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Genealogical table of Chobanid rulers.



Appendix 2 Table of correlation of chapters between the *Fustat al-'adala* and the *Siyar al-muluk* (*Siyasatnama*).

<i>Chapter number and title in the Fustat al-'adala (based on the order provided in Ms. Turc 1120)</i>	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. H. Darke)	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Schefer)	<i>Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Alexey Khismatulin)</i>
The first part of current binding of Ms. Turc 1120, corresponding to the second part of the original codex.			
Defective beginning. These folios should have belonged to the final part of Chapter (<i>bāb</i>) 2. Title is missing. (ff. 1a–1b).	Absent seems better	Absent seems better	Absent seems better
Chapter (Bāb) 3: در احوال پیغمبر ما، صلی الله علیه و سلم (On the affairs of our Prophet, peace be upon him). (ff. 1b–27b).	Absent	Absent	Absent
Chapter (Bāb) 4: در بیان قرامطه و اصحاب مزدک و خروج باطنیان و گبران و خرمَدینان و غیرهم (On the Qaramatians and the followers of Mazdak and the deviation of the Batinis, Khurramites and others). This chapter contains ten sections on different heretic revolts (<i>khuruji</i>). (ff. 27b–50a).			

(Continued)

Appendix 2 (Continued)

<i>Chapter number and title in the Fustat al-'adala (based on the order provided in Ms. Turc 1120)</i>	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. H. Darke)	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Schefer)	<i>Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Alexey Khismatul'in)</i>
Section [unnumbered]: در معنی مزدکیان و قرامطه و بیدینان (On the meaning of Mazdakis, Qaramatians and Batinis). (ff. 27b–29b)	Chap. XLIII: Exposing the facts about heretics who are enemies of the state and of Islam.	Chap. XLIV: On fait connaître la situation des hérétiques qui sont les ennemis de l'Etat et de l'islamisme.	Chap. XLIII: "اندر" باز نمودن احوال بدمذهبیان که دشمن ملک و اسلام اند"
'Revolt' 1: خروج مزدک (The revolt of Mazdak). (ff. 29b–39b).	Chap. XLIV: On the revolt of Mazdak and the doctrines of his sect; how Nushirvan the Just destroyed him and his followers	Chap. XLV: Apparition de Mazdek, ses doctrines religieuses; façon dont Nouchirevan le Jus'e le fit périr.	Chap. XLIV: "اندر" خروج مزدک و مذهب او و چگونه ک یشته شدن او بر دست نوشیروان عادل"
'Revolt' 2: خروج سنباد گبر بر مسلمانان (The revolt of Sinbad the <i>gabr</i> against the Muslims) (ff. 39b–40b)	Chap. XLV: On the emergence of Sinbad the Magician from Nishapur and his rising against the Muslims of Rayy.	Chap. XLVI: Révolte de Sinbad le Gaèbre contre les musulmans.	Chap. XLV: "اندر" خروج سنباد گبر و پدید آمدن خرمدینان"
'Revolt' 3: خروج باطنیان و قرمطیان در هر طرفی (The revolt of the Batin and Qaramatian on every side) (ff. 40b–42a).	Chap. XLVI: On the rising of the Qarmatis [Carmathians] and Batinis and their evil doctrines (may Allah curse them). [Including section on Kuhistan and Iraq.]	Chap. XLVII : Apparition des Qarmathes et des Bathiniens dans le Kouhistan de l'Iraq et dans le Khorassan.	Chap. XLVI, part 1: "اندر" بیرون آمدن قرمطیان و باطنیان در کوهستان و عراق خراسان"
'Revolt' 4: خروج باطنیان در خراسان و ماوراءالنهر (The revolt of the Batin in Khurasan and Transoxiana). (ff. 42a–44a)	Chap. XLVI: section 'On the emergence of the Batinis in Khurasan and Transoxiana'.	Chap. XLVII: Apparition des Bathiniens dans le Khorassan et dans le Ma-veraoan-nehr.	Chap. XLVI, part 2: "اندر بیرون آمدن باطنیان در خراسان و ماوراءالنهر"

<i>Chapter number and title in the Fustat al-'adala (based on the order provided in Ms. Turc 1120)</i>	Chapter number and title in the Siyasatnama (ed. H. Darke)	Chapter number and title in the Siyasatnama (ed. Schefer)	<i>Chapter number and title in the Siyasatnama (ed. Alexey Khismatulin)</i>
'Revolt' 5: خروج باطنیان در «شام و مغرب» (The revolt of the Batin in Syria and the West) (ff. 44a–44b).	Chap. XLVI: section 'On the emergence of the Batinis in the lands of Syria and the West'.	Chap. XLVII: Apparition des Bathiniens dans la Syrie et dans le Maghreb.	Chap. XLVI, part 3: "در بیرون بیرونآمدنباطنیان در زمین شام و مغرب"
'Revolt' 6: خروج باطنیان در هری و غور و غرجه. (The revolt of the Batin in Herat, Ghur and Georgia) (ff. 44b–45a).	Chap. XLVI: section 'On the appearance of Batinis in the district of Herat and Ghur, and their destruction'.	Chap. XLVII: Apparition des Qarmathes et des partisans de Maz-dek dans la province de Hérat et dans le Ghour.	Chap. XLVI, part 4: "در بیرون آمدنباطنیان در ناحیت هرات و غور"
'Revolt' 7–8: the text is defective in these sections. References to Abu Tahir al-Jannabi (fl. 10th c.) suggest a correlation with sections of the <i>Siyār al-mulūk</i> (ff. 45a–46a).	(partial) Chap. XLVI: Section 'On the revolt of Batinis in Bahrain and Lahsa'.	(partial) Chap. XLVII: 'Révolte de Bou Saïd Djennaby et de son fils, Bou Tahir, à Bahrein et à Lalusa'.	Chap. XLVI, part 5: "در بیرون آمدن محمد بن علی بر قعی علوی بر مذهب باطنی به خوزستان و بصره با لشکر زنگیان" Chap. XLVI, part 6: "در بیرون آمدن ابوسعید جنابی و پسرش ابوطاهر از بحرین و لحسا"
Revolt' 9: خروج خرمدینان (The revolt of the Khurramites) (ff. 46a–46b).	Chap. XLVII: Section 1, 'On the revolt of the Khurramadins in Isfahan'.	Chap. XLVII: 'Révolte des Khourremdinyâlpahan et dans i"Azerbaïdjan'.	Chap. XLVII, part 1: "اندر خروج خرمدینان به اصفهان و آذربایگان"
'Revolt' 10: خروج بابک (Bābak's revolt) (ff. 46b–50a).	Chap. XLVII: Section 2, 'On the revolt of Babak in Adharbaygan'.	Chap. XLVII: 'Révolte de Babek'.	Chap. XLVII, part 2: "در خروج بابک"
Chapter (Bāb) 5: در بیان زنداقه روزگار ما (On the heresies of our days) (ff. 50a–69a).	Absent	Absent	Absent

(Continued)

Appendix 2 (Continued)

<i>Chapter number and title in the Fustat al-'adala (based on the order provided in Ms. Turc 1120)</i>	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. H. Darke)	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Schefer)	<i>Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Alexey Khismatulin)</i>
Chapter 5, section- <i>fasl 1</i> : در بیان زنداقه: روزگار ما (the atheists of our time and the similarity of their behaviour to those who had gone before) (ff. 50–51a).	Absent	Absent	Absent
Chapter 5, section- <i>fasl 2</i> : در احوال: جولقیان و روش ایشان (the conditions and affairs of <i>jawlaqīyān</i>) (ff. 51a–51b).	Absent	Absent	Absent
Chapter 5, part 3: در وضع: جولقی و ابتدای حکایت آن (an explanation of <i>Jawlaqism</i> (i.e., Qalandars) and their appearance) (ff. 51b–53b).	Absent	Absent	Absent
Chapter 5, part 4: در: منمت جهل (chapter describing practices and beliefs of <i>Jawlaqism</i>) (ff. 53b–55a).	Absent	Absent	Absent
Chapter 5, part 5: در بیان امر: معرفة و نهی منکر (commanding good and forbidding evil in Islam) (ff. 55a–64b).	Absent	Absent	Absent

<i>Chapter number and title in the Fustat al-'adala (based on the order provided in Ms. Turc 1120)</i>	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. H. Darke)	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Schefer)	<i>Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Alexey Khismatulin)</i>
Chapter 5, part 6: در: خاتمت کتاب (the epilogue of the book) (ff. 64b–69a).	Absent	Absent	Absent
Manuscript colophon (f. 69a).	Absent	Absent	Absent
Qasida in praise of Muzaffar al-Din Chobanid. Missing final verses (ff. 69a–69b).	Not included	Ode en l'honneur du monarque fortuné Mohammed, fils de Melikchâh (pp. 308–311).	قصیده در مدح سلطان سعید غیاث الدین محمد ابن ملکشاه (pp. 623–26)

The second part of current binding of Ms. Turc 1120, corresponding to the first part of the original codex.

Missing initial folios: Here it should have been Chapter (*bāb*) 1 that possibly included author's name, Preface, earlier sections and the beginning of Section XII.

Section XII [?]: Title missing (73a–77b)	Chap. XIII: 'On sending spies and using them for the good of the country and the people'.	Chap. XIII: 'Des espions et des mesures propres à assurer le bien du gouvernement et du peuple'.	Chap. XIII: "اندر فرستادن جاسوسان و تدبیر ک ردن بر صلاح مملکت و رعیت"
Section XIII: "در: باب ندیمان و آداب (On king's boon-companions (ندیمان) and their manners) (ff. 77b–80b).	Chap. XVII: 'Concerning boon-companions and intimates of the king and the conduct of their affairs'.	Chap. XVII: 'Des courtisans et commensaux du souverain et de la conduite qu'ils doivent observer'.	Chap. XVII: "اندر: ندیمان و نزدیکان پادشاه و ترتیب ک ار ایشان"

(Continued)

Appendix 2 (Continued)

<i>Chapter number and title in the Fustat al-'adala (based on the order provided in Ms. Turc 1120)</i>	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. H. Darke)	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Schefer)	<i>Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Alexey Khismatulin)</i>
Section XIV: "در مشورت کردن پادشاهدر مهمات" (about Kings' consultations) (ff. 80b–83a).	Chap. XVIII: 'On having consultation with learned and experienced men'.	Chap. XVIII: 'Le souverain doit, dans les affaires, demander conseil aux gens instruits et aux sages'.	Chap. XVIII: "اندر مشاورت کردن پادشاه با دانایان و پیران در کارها"
Section XV: "در "احوال رسولان" (ff. 83a–86a).	Chap. XXI: 'Concerning ambassadors and their treatment'.	Chap. XXI: 'Des ambassadeurs et de la manière de se conduire à leur égard'.	Chap. XXI: "اندر معنی احوال رسولان و ترتیب که ار ایشان"
Section XVI: "در جهت بندگان مخلص در خدمت پادشاه و "رونق ایشان" (about sincere servants in the service of the king and their splendour) (ff. 86a–93a).	Chap. XXVII: 'On organising the work of slaves and not letting them crowd together while serving'.	Chap. XXVII: 'De l'organisation des esclaves du prince et des mesures à prendre pour ne pas les fatiguer quand ils sont de service'.	Chap. XXVII: "اندر زحمت ناکردن بندگان وقت خدمت و ترتیب که ار ایشان"
Section XVII: "در آنچه پادشاه بر خلق خدای ببخشد و کارهای از رسم و قانون افتاده است بجای (خود باز آرید (آورد) (about king showing mercy for the creatures of God and the acts of bringing back the law and customs to its place) (93a–97a).	Chap. XL: 'On showing mercy to the creatures of God and restoring all lapsed practices and customs to their proper order'.	Chap. XL: 'Les souverains doivent être pleins de bonté pour les créatures de Dieu: toutes les affaires devront être traitées et tous les ordres donnés conformément aux règles établies'.	Chap. XLI: "اندر بخشودن پادشاه بر خلق خدای، عزّ و جلّ، و هر کاری و رسمی را ب قاعدهخوبیشآوردن"
Section XVIII (f. 97a–98b): "در "خوان نهادن" (Setting the table).	Chap. XXXV: 'Concerning the arrangements for setting a good table'.	Chap. XXXV: 'Le souverain doit tenir une bonne table; mesures qu'il doit prendre à ce sujet'.	Chap. XXXV: "اندر خوان نهادن نیکو و ترتیب آن مر پادشاهان را"

<i>Chapter number and title in the Fustat al-'adala (based on the order provided in Ms. Turc 1120)</i>	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. H. Darke)	Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Schefer)	<i>Chapter number and title in the <i>Siyasatnama</i> (ed. Alexey Khismatulin)</i>
Section XIX: “در حق گزارى بندگان و خدم” on being fair with servants and slaves (f. 98b–99a).	Chapter XXXVI: On Acknowledging the merits of worthy servants and slaves.	Chap. XXXVI: ‘Il faut être juste à regard des serviteurs et des esclaves qui se sont montrés dignes d’éloges’.	Chap. "اندر حق گزاردن خدمتکاران و بندگان شایسته"
Section XX: “در آنکه در هیچ کاری شتاب نباید کرد” (on never being hasty in any matter) (f. 99a–100b).	Chapter XXXVIII: ‘On the inadvisability of hastiness in affairs on parts of kings’.	Chap. XXXVIII: ‘Sur la précipitation mise par les souverains dans les affaires de l’Etat’.	Chap. "اندر XXXVIII: شتاب ناکردن در کارها مر پادشاهان را"
Section XXI: “در معنی القاب و خطاب” (on the meaning of epithets and addressing [people]) (100b–106a).	Chap. XL, part 2: ‘On the subject of titles’.	Chap. XLI: ‘Des titres honorifiques’.	Chap. XL, "در معنی القاب، part 2:"
Section XXII: “در باب آنکه دو عمل به یک کس نشاید دادن” (on the incorrect act of assigning two jobs to a person) (f. 106a–118a).	Chapter XLI: ‘On giving two appointments to the same person ...’.	Chap. XLII: ‘Il ne faut pas donner deux places à une même personne ...’.	Chap. LXI: "اندر آن که دو عمل یک مرد را نافرمودن و بکاران را عمل فرمود ..."

Appendix 4 Table of selected surviving manuscript of works dedicated to the Chobanids of Kastamonu.

No.	Work Title	Author	Library	Collection	Ms. Number	Date of copying	Dedicattee
1.	<i>Fustat al-'adala fi qawa'id al-sultana</i>	Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Khatib, fl. 13th c. [attributed]	Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Supplement Turc	1120	990 [1582]	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
2.	Tuhfa-yi Husam	Possible misattribution to Husam al-Din Khu'i. Possibly by Husam al-Din Qunawi. Possible misattribution to Husam al-Din Khu'i. Possibly by Husam al-Din Qunawi. Possible misattribution to Husam al-Din Khu'i. Possibly by Husam al-Din Qunawi.	Mosul Bursa İnebey National Library (Ankara)	Unknown Haraççioğlu Manuscripts Collection	LOST 1398 [ff. 45–82] FB163 [ff. 1b–11b]	Unknown Possibly 16th c. Possibly 16th c.	
3.	Nasib al-fityan	Husam al-Din Khu'i Husam al-Din Khu'i	Vahid Paşa Library (Kütahya) Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Manuscripts Collection Hasan Hüsnü Paşa	1416 1102	732 [1331–1332] late 16th c.	

(Continued)

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Work Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Collection</i>	<i>Ms. Number</i>	<i>Date of copying</i>	<i>Dedicatee</i>
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Reşid Efendi	978 [ff. 11–22]	16th or 17th. c	
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Lala İsmail	644	prob. 18th c	
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Şazeli Tekkesi	147 [ff. 192–203]	16th or 17th	
4.	Nuzhat al-kuttab wa tuhfat al-ahbab	Husam al-Din Khu'i	Bodleian Library (University of Oxford)	Laud	50	Dhu al-Hijja 999 [1591 CE]	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Hacı Selim Ağa Library (Üşkudar)	Manuscripts Collection	931	16th or 17th	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi	Ali Emiri Farsça	641	Undated	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Manisa Library	Manuscripts Collection	2777	Undated	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Ankara Milli Kütüphanesi	Tokat İl Halk Kütüphanesi	25	Undated	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Fatih	5406 [ff. 33–58]	709 [1309–1310]	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Şehid Ali Paşa	2739	15th century	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek

5.	Qawa'id al-rasa'il wa fara'id al-faza'il	Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Fatih	5406 [ff. 59–71]	709 [1309–1310]	Amir Maḥmūd ibn Muẓaffar al-Dīn (d. 1309)
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Esad Efendi	3369 [ff. 32–96]	896 [1490–1491]	Amir Mahmud ibn Muẓaffar al-Din (d. 1309)
		Husam al-Din Khu'i	Malek National Library	Main collection	1196 [106b–232b]	Possibly 15th or 16th century	Amir Mahmud ibn Muẓaffar al-Din (d. 1309)
4	Rusum al-rasa'il wa nujum al-faza'il	Husam al-Din Khu'i	Hacı Selim Ağa Library (Üşkudar)	Nurbanu Sultan	122	Rabi' II 879	
6	Ghunyat al-talib wa munyat al-katib	Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Fatih	5406	709 [1309–1310] [ff. 72–98]	Nasir al-Din ibn Husam al-Din Khu'i
7	Multamasat	Husam al-Din Khu'i	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Carullah	1685	17th or 18th century	

(Continued)

Appendix 4 (Continued)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Work Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Collection</i>	<i>Ms. Number</i>	<i>Date of copying</i>	<i>Dedicatee</i>
8.	Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari	Qutb al-Din Shirazi	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Fatih	5302	722(?) [1322] In Antalya	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Qutb al-Din Shirazi	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Ayasofya	2574	Safar 885 [1480] in Tabriz	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Qutb al-Din Shirazi	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Ayasofya	2575	Muharram 912 [1506]	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Qutb al-Din Shirazi	Topkapı Sarayı Library (Istanbul)	Ahmed III	3311	1423 CE	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Qutb al-Din Shirazi	Topkapı Sarayı Library (Istanbul)	Ahmed III	3310	No date	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Qutb al-Din Shirazi	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Nuruosmaniye	2773	No date	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Qutb al-Din Shirazi	National Library of the I. R. of Iran (Tehran)	Main Collection	13074	22 Jumada I 682 [23 August 1283]	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
		Qutb al-Din Shirazi	Majlis Library (Tehran)	Main Collection	6398	Possibly 14th century.	Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek
9.	munasha'at	Sa'd al-Din al-Haqq	Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul)	Fatih	5406 [ff. 99b–130a]	709 [1309–1310] [ff. 99–131]	

Note

1 Magi of the sect of Zoroaster, a priest of the worshippers of fire; a pagan.

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- , *Rusūm al-rasā'il wa nujūm al-fazā'il*
- , *Ghunyat al-ṭālib wa munyat al-kātib*
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Index

Note: Italic and bold pages refer to figures and tables respectively, and page numbers followed by “n” refer to notes.

- Abaqa, Ilkhan 21, 52, 55, 60, 87, 178, 194
Abbasid caliphate 20, 126, 133, 174
Abu Hanifa, Imam 158, 161–163
Abu Muslim 127, 140n68
Abu Sa’id, Ilkhan 6, 22, 63
advice literature *see* mirrors for princes
Aflaki, Shams al-Din 6, 99–100, 146, 157
Ahmad of Niğde 150
akhīs 102–103, 185
Akropolites, George 5, 50–51, 67n70, 67n73–74
Aksaray, Battle of 20, 50–52, 78
‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad I, Sultan of Rum 16–18, 23, 26–27, 43, 45, 158, 218
‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad III, Sultan of Rum 22, 218
Alevism 146
Alexiads 29
Alexius Comnenus, Byzantine emperor 29, 31, 40
‘Ali b. Abi Talib, caliphate 126
Allah, Rashid al-Din Fazl 177
Alp Arslan, Sultan of the Great Seljuqs 15, 23, 53, 117, 132
Amir Chupan, Mongol official 58
Amir Mahmud Bey b. Muzaffar al-Din Choban 60, 81, 89–90, 180
Amir Shah 49, 121
al-‘amr bi al-ma’rūf wa al-nahī ‘an al-munkar 159–160, 164
Anatolia 3, 14–33, 42–54, 131–135, 145–152, 205–206; beylik period 204; Christianity in 20, 93–94, 143–144; cultural revolution under the Seljuqs 14, 23–28; economic and social life 5–6; Islamisation of 2, 4, 6, 25, 28, 35n39, 131, 143, 204–206; Mamluk campaigns in 21, 54; medieval Kastamonu 6–7, 28–33; Mongols, under 18–23, 178, 208; political history 23–28; pre-Ottoman Anatolian Islam 143, 204; Seljuq domination of 15–18; Sufi ideas *see* Antinomian Sufis; Turkmen revolts 22; Turkmen tribes in 3, 41, 113n166, 148, 206
Ankara 14, 16, 43, 45–46, 84, 103, 219–220; battle of 16
Ansari, ‘Abd Allah-i 145, 165n17
Antinomian Sufis 27–28, 37n66, 75, 145–153; Abdals of Rum 144–152; Haydaris 152; non-Islamic beliefs in Qalandarism 148; Qalandar movement in Damascus 153; Qalandars (*jawlaqīyān*) 145–147, 150–152, 156–157, 163; Shams-i Tabrizis 152; *zanādiqa* (innovators) 147
Aqsara’i, Karim al-Din Mahmud b. Muhammad 11n8, 54, 58–60, 63, 208
architectural patronage in Chobanid Kastamonu 92–93; patronage of Islamic institutions 93–98; religious and secular mausoleums (*türbeler*) 98–103
Arghun, Ilkhan 21–22, 56, 58–60, 71n127, 80, 125, 152, 178
Arghun–Tegüder confrontation 69n110
Aşıklı Sultan 98–99
‘Atabat al-kataba 175
Atabey Gazi mosque 32, 94–96, 95
Atabey Gazi Türbesi 100, 101
Ayyubids 17, 20, 116
‘Ayyuqi, Zabih Allah Safa 80

- Azerbaijan 18–19, 23, 36n48, 80, 86, 148, 176, 191, 194
- Bafra 192
- Baghdad 19–20, 86, 127–129, 141n102, 144, 153
- Baghdadi, Baha' al-Din 175–176
- Bahr al-haqa'iq* 100
- Baiju, Mongol general 17–19, 20, 48, 51, 58, 123
- Balkhi, Muhammad 157
- Barbaro, Josaphat 151
- Barid al-sa'ada* 26
- Batu Khan, ruler of the Golden Horde 19
- Baybars, Mamluk Sultan 21, 52, 54
- Bayezid II, Ottoman Sultan 87, 109n103
- Bektaş, Hacı 146
- Bektashism 146
- beylerbey* 43, 48–49, 51, 54, 65n28, 202n134
- Bishbaliq 148, 166n36
- Bistami, Bayazid 154–155
- Black Sea 6, 8, 15, 17, 24, 29–31, 38n85, 39n89, 40, 46–48, 55, 102–103, 123
- Bloch, Edger 76, 78
- Bosworth, Clifford E. 1
- Byzantine empire (Byzantium) 5, 8–9, 28, 31, 50–51, 93, 99; *Alexiad* 29; Anatolia 29–30; armies 15–16, 41–42; Christian Byzantium 81, 98; Churches 100; civil war in 40; diplomacy 50; population 31; trade in the economy 6; Turkish relations 5
- Cahen, Claude 1, 7
- cannabis in Islam 150, 154
- Çelebi, 'Arif 99–100
- chancellery (*divān*) 10, 174
- Chinggis Khan, ruler of the Mongol empire 18–19, 46, 141n103
- Chobanid dynasty 1–6, 9, 11, 14, 16, 21–22, 25, 28, 40–42, 58, 73, 145, 206; apogee under Muzaffar al-Din Choban 54–60; economic expansion 102; genealogical table 210; historiography 6–9; Mahmud Bey and the end of 60–63; and the Mongol invasion 48–52; origin 42–48
- Chormaqan, Mongol commander 18–20, 34n13
- Clavijo, Ruy Gonzales de 151
- Comnena, Anna, Byzantine princess 29
- Comnenus, John, Byzantine emperor 29, 40
- Comnenus, Manuel, Byzantine emperor 15–16
- Constantinople 5, 17, 29–30, 40, 51, 54, 57, 59–60, 62, 63n5, 65n32, 168n65, 204
- Crimea 1, 4, 17, 21, 31–32, 46–49, 54–55, 66n39, 123, 168n67, 205
- Cumans 16, 18, 31, 48
- Danishmandids 15–16, 29, 35n34, 40
- Dastur al-katib fi ta'yin al-maratib* 178, 198n50
- Destur-i dabiri* 175
- Deveci Sultan Türbesi 114n175
- Diyarbakır 15, 19, 55
- Dorylaeum, Battle of 15
- Durrat al-Taj* 116
- Egypt 21, 31, 97, 139n64, 148, 157, 163
- epistolographia* 174
- Erzincan 17, 26–27, 36n46, 55, 108n92, 194
- Euclid (*Tarjuma-yi Tahrir-iusul-i Uqlidis*) 27
- Fann al-rasā'il wa tartīb mukhātabāt* 81
- Farahi, Abu Nasr 83, 107n67, 187
- Farghani, Muhammad b. Ahmad 27
- Farisi, Khatib 145, 153–157
- Fars 3, 22, 111n136
- Faryabi, Zahir al-Din 26
- Fatihnama* 8, 57, 181, 185
- Fustat al-'adala fi qawa'id al-sultana* 7, 68n91, 75–81, 91–92, 116–124, 127–131, 135, 145, 147, 149, 152–153, 155–156, 158, 160, 163–164, 211–217; added and omitted sections 124–127; chapters and structure 119–124; as mirror for princes 131–135; religious references in 127–131
- futuwwa* 30, 38n82, 102, 114n177
- Gangras (modern Çankırı) 45
- Geykhatu, Ilkhan 22, 56–60, 70n116, 70n122
- Ghazali, Abu Hamid Muhammad 89, 91, 110n118
- Ghazan, Ilkhan 22, 58, 87, 208
- Ghaznavid dynasty 117, 130, 141n82

- Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I, Sultan of Rum 16, 26, 43
- Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II, Sultan of Rum 17–20
- Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw III, Sultan of Rum 21, 53
- Ghiyath al-Din Mas'ud II, Sultan of Rum 4, 21–22, 43, 57–58, 78, 87
- Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad b. Malik Shah, Sultan of the Great Seljuqs 121
- Ghunyat al-talib wa munyat al-katib* 65n31, 83, 90, 179, 186, 192, 198n55, 200n80, 200n83, 203n152, **221**
- Golden Horde 2, 18–20, 31, 39n90, 48, 67n72, 124, 205
- Great Seljuqs 3, 14–15, 73; domination of Anatolia 15–18; Seljuq structure of government 183
- Gregoras, Nicephoros 5, 42, 58
- Grigor of Akanc 34n16
- Gulistan* 180
- Güyük, ruler of the Mongol empire 19
- Habashi, Bilal 153–154
- Hacı Bektaş Veli 146
- Hadayiq al-siyar* 26
- hadiths 76, 81, 115, 127–128, 159–161, 164, 179, 191
- Hafiz Shirazi, Shams al-Din 146
- Harput 15, 55
- Harran 19, 145, 165n11, 167n42
- Hülegü, Ilkhan 19–21, 51, 67n72, 86, 133, 144–145
- Husam al-Din Choban 3, 14, 17, 24, 30, 32, 42–48, 52, 54, 93, 95, 97, 121
- Ibn al-Muqaffa' 115, 174
- Ibn al-Yaman 160
- Ibn al-Zaki 177, 179
- Ibn al-'Alqami 141n102
- Ibn Battuta 6, 30, 72n160, 92, 96–97, 102–103, 150–151, 154, 158
- Ibn Bibi 3–4, 14, 34n17, 34n20, 43, 46–49, 54, 66n43
- Ibn Fuwati 144, 165n12
- Ibn-i Neccar, mosque 97
- Ibn Khaldun 118
- Ibn Khallikan 140n76
- Ibn Najjar 97
- Ibn Sa'id 5, 29, 39n89, 41
- Ibn Sina 26, 85, 108n85
- Ibn 'Arabi, Muhyi al-Din 25, 140n76
- Ihya' 'ulum al-din* 89
- Ikhtiyarat-i Muzaffari* 69n95, 86–87, 180, 207, 222
- Ilkhanate 2–4, 14, 20–22, 30, 49, 51, 55, 60, 87, 108n88, 163, 172n133, 178, 198n45, 208
- inshā'* 9, 81, 174–176
- Intikhab-i Sulaymaniyya* 89–90
- Iqbal, Abbas 118
- iqṭā'* 40, 49–51, 64
- 'Iraqi, Fakhr al-Din 146, 157
- Islamisation 32, 41, 81, 93, 131, 165n12; of Anatolia 2, 4, 6, 25, 28, 35n39, 131, 205–206; of Kastamonu 6, 32, 98
- Islam under Chobanids 143–145; Antinomian sufis, 13th-century Anatolia 145–153; in the *Fustat al-'adala* 157–164
- Isma'il, Jamal al-Din 184
- Izz al-Din Kayka'us I, Sultan of Rum 16–17, 26
- Izz al-Din Kayka'us II, Sultan of Rum 20–21, 49–51, 54–55, 59, 116–117; exile 20–21, 50–51
- 'Izz al-Din Kılıç Arslan II, Sultan of Rum 15–17, 24–25, 99, 218
- 'Izz al-Din Kılıç Arslan III, Sultan of Rum 16, 218
- Jalal-al-Din Kayfaridun 16, 218
- Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah 23–24, 27, 86, 175
- Jami' al-Tirmidhi* 160
- Jandar, Adil Bey 97
- Jandar, Shams al-Din Yaman 62, 100
- Jandarid (Candaroglu) dynasty 6, 22, 89–90, 92
- al-Jandi, Mu'ayyid al-Din 89, 109n112
- al-Jilani, 'Abd al-Qadir 99
- Juwayni, Muntajab al-Din Badi' 'Ali. b. Ahmad 175
- Juwayni, Shams al-Din 21, 26–27, 86–87, 108n88, 178
- Kalila wa Dimna* 115
- Kamil al-ta'bir* 25
- Kanz al-lata'if* 83
- Karamustafa, Ahmet 75, 149, 155
- Karantinos, Niketas 5
- Karatekin, Amir 40, 42
- Kasaba Köy Camii 112n143
- Kashf al-zunun* 76, 78
- Kastamonu 2, 4, 28–33, 49, 51, 91, 178–179; art of letter-writing, teaching

- 180–185; Atabey Gazi mosque 32; chancellery in medieval Kastamonu 185–189; crops in 29; economic and religious life 6, 30; geography 28; Husam al-Din Khu'i and manuals for letter-writing 178–189; *Inshā'* (chancellery) literature 174–180; *iqṭā'* of 49; Islamisation 6, 32, 98; literary genre, evolution 174–178; personal letters 189–195; proto-beylik in 13th-century 204–209; revolt of 8, 56–62, 208; socio-cultural history of 13th-century northern Anatolia 189–195; socio-political transformation 173–174; Turkicisation 33; Turkmen control in 42, 178–189; Turkmen revolts 51
- al-Katib, 'Abd al-Hamid 174
- Katip Çelebi 76, 83
- Kayseri 19, 48, 176
- Kerman region 3, 23
- Khalaj 192, 202n132
- Khaqani, Afzal al-Din Shirvani 176
- khātib* (preacher) 96, 135
- al-Khatib, Muhammad 76
- al-Khattab, 'Umar b. 126
- Khismatulin, Alexey A. 78, 117–118
- Khurasan 14, 31, 46, 55, 74, 97, 116–117, 127–128, 146, 148, 212
- Khu'i, Hasan b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Husam al-Din 10, 13n32, 33, 56–57, 60, 65n31, 68n89, 69n95, 70n119, 90–91, 105n33, 105n37, 123, 158, 160, 174–175, 177–193, 195, 207; works of 80–85
- al-Khu'i, 'Amal-i 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Muhammad al-Naqqash 105n34
- Khwarazm region 17–18, 23, 134, 141n103
- Kitab al-tavassul ila al-tarassul* 175
- Kitab mahtutat al-Mawsil* 84
- al-Kiya al-Harrasi 129–130
- Konya 3–4, 15–21, 24, 27–28, 42, 50–52, 56–60, 70, 70n122, 78, 80, 86, 90, 106n37, 157, 176–177, 193–194, 208
- Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat 1, 41, 76, 143–144, 157
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri 8
- Köse Dağ, Battle of 18–19, 52, 134
- Kuktay, Mongol general 59
- al-Kurd, Shams 157
- Kurdi, Muhammad 157
- Laskaris family 51
- al-Lata'if al-'ala'iyya* 26, 116
- letter-writing 174–178, 197n25; teaching 180–185
- literary legacy of Chobanid Kastamonu 73–75; Fustat al-'adala fi qawa'id al-sultana 75–80; Husam al-Din Khu'i, work of 80–85; other works 89–92; Qutb al-Din Shirazi 85–89
- Literature, in Turkish 74
- madrasas 93, 96, 98, 113n158, 171n103; in Konya 80; Nizamiyya 129–130; Persian urban high culture 143–144; Taşköprü 97; Turkmen dynasty 98
- al-Maghribi, Ibn Sa'id 29
- al-Maghribi, Muhammad 99
- Mahmud, Sultan of Ghazna 130–131
- Mahmud Bey mosque 98, 210
- Mahmud I, Sultan of the Ottoman empire 87
- Maktubat* 176
- Malatya 16, 26, 35, 35n34, 55–56, 86–87, 176
- malik* 16, 25, 183
- malik al-manşūr* 58
- malik al-umarā'* 43, 54
- Malik Shah, Sultan of the Great Seljuqs 23, 78, 117, 121, 124, 129
- Mamluk campaigns in Anatolia 21, 54
- Manaqib al-'arifin* 6, 12n22, 99, 157
- Manaqib-i Jamal al-Din Savi* 145, 153
- al-Mansur, caliph 58, 125–127
- Manzikert, Battle of 15, 25, 40
- Marlow, Louise 119, 127
- Marzbannama* 191
- Mashariq al-darari* 27
- Masour, Malik 58–59
- Mayhani, Muhammad b. Abd al-Khaliq 175
- Mesothynia 50
- Minuvi, Mujtaba 89
- mirrors for princes: Arabophone territories 115; Chobanid Kastamonu 127, 131; post-Mongol Anatolia 116; *Siyar al-muluk (Siyasatnama)* 117–124; *see also Fustat al-'adala fi qawa'id al-sultana*
- Mirsad al-'ibad min al-mabda' ila al-ma'ad* 26, 155
- Möngke, Khan of the Mongol empire 20
- Mongols: al-Din Choban, Muzaffar (r. 1280–91) 54–60; Anatolian politics 62;

- Anatolia under 18–23; Kastamonu's economic activity 30; north-western Anatolia 48–53; Seljuq Anatolia 15–18; Sultan of Khwarazm 134; *see also* Chobanid dynasty
- mosques 32, 66n38, 93, 112n142–143, 150; Akçasu Camii 94; Atabey Gazi 32, 94–96, 95; congregation 94; construction or restoration 92–93; distribution of 66n38
- Muhammad, Prophet 82, 132–135, 150, 153, 160, 162
- Muhammad al-Isfahani, Shams al-Din 19
- Muhammad Beg 21
- Muhammad b. Ghazi of Malatya 26
- Muhammad II, Sultan of the Khwarazmshah 46
- Mujir al-Din b. Mu'tazz 22
al-Mukhtarat min al-rasa'il 175
- al-Mulk, Nizam 10, 69n96, 76, 78, 92, 105n30, 111n125, 116–118, 121, 123, 129–130
- Multamasat* 85, **221**
- munasha'at* 176, 197n26, **222**
- Murad II, Sultan of the Ottoman empire 41
- al-Mushtahir, al-Hajj Nasir b. al-Murad 97
- Mustawfi, Hamdallah 6, 12n21, 30, 57, 184
- Mut'azz, Taj al-Din 27, 49
- al-Muwaffaq, Hibat Allah 117
- Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek 10, 23, 32, 48, 52, 54–61, 68n89, 68n93, 78, 80, 93, 96, 102, 120, 152, 180, **219–220, 222**
- Mu'awiyya I, caliphate 174
- Mu'in al-Din Muhammad Bey 49
- Mu'in al-Din Muhammad b. Sulayman, son of the *Parvāna* 62
- Mu'in al-Din Sulayman, *Parvāna* 21, 26–27, 49, 52
- Myriocephalum, Battle of 16
- Nafhat al-ruh wa tuhfat al-futuh* 89
- al-Nakhjavani, Najm al-Din 26
- al-Nakhjavani, Muhammad b. Hindushah 178
- al-Nakidi, Muhammad b. Hajji Ya'qub b. Musa 81
- namāz* 149
- Nasib al-fityan* 83, 85, 187, **219**
- Nasihāt al-muluk* 90–91, 110n118, 110n121, 111n125, 116, 188–190
- Nasir al-Din b. Muzaffar al-Din b. Alp Yürek 57, 59
- Nasr Allah b. Husam al-Din Khu'i 83, 99, 186, 191–192
- Nicaea, Empire of 5, 31, 43, 50, 65n32
- Nihayat al-idrak fi dirayat al-aftak* 86
- Niksar 26, 30, 91, 192
- Niksari, Abu Bakr 157
- Nisab al-sibyan* 83, 187
- niyābat-i shihr* 182
- Nizam al-Mulk, Seljuq vizier 76, 78, 116–118, 129
- Nizamiyya, madrasa 129–130
- Nuzhat al-kuttab wa tuhfat al-ahbab* 68n89, 80–82, 84, 106n46, 179–181, 186, 199n54, **220**
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar 75, 144
- Ögetei Khan, ruler of the Mongol empire 17–19, 34n13
- Öljeitü, Ilkhan 22, 171n106
- Osman Bey, founder of the Ottoman empire 41
- Ottoman Empire 1–2, 41, 84, 143, 146, 152
- Pachymeres, George 5, 7–8, 42, 55, 58, 60–61
- Palaeologus, Michael VIII 49–50
- Panchatantra* 115
- parhgzār* 132
- Partawnama* 26
- Paul, Jürgen 174–175
- Peacock, Andrew 8, 41, 47, 51, 57, 89, 119, 146, 177, 200
- Plato 115
- Plutarch 115
- political history, Chobanid Kastamonu: al-Din Choban, Husam 42–48; al-Din Choban, Muzaffar 53, 54–60; Bey, Mahmud and the end 60–63; Danishmandid domains 40; Islamisation process 42; north-western Anatolia and Mongol invasion 48–53
- Ptolomean principles 87
- Qabusnama (Nasihātname)* 116
- Qadis 27, 86–87, 96, 129, 135, 163
- qalandarism, origin of 152–157
- Qalandarnama* 145
- Qaramanids 22
- Qaraqorum 19

- Qawa'id al-rasa'il wa fara'id al-faza'il* 43, 57, 60, 62, 68n89, 81, 83, 91, 164, 177, 180–185, 203n152, **221**
- Qayi (Kayı) tribe 41
- Qazvini, Fakhr al-Din 22
- Qipchaq federations 18, 31, 46, 48, 192
- Qirshahri, Shihab al-Din 100
- qism-i chahārum* 57
- Qizil, Saif al-Din Amir 43
- al-Qummi, Majd al-Mulk 129
- al-Qunawi, Sadr al-Din 86
- al-Qunawi, Husam b. Hasan 84
- Quran 76, 81, 96, 99–100, 115, 126, 128–129, 141n90, 148, 159, 164, 171n112, 171n114, 179, 181, 183, 188–189, 191, 203n162
- Qurumshi 58
- Qutlughkhanids 3, 22, 111n136
- Rahat al-sudur* 26, 117
- Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah 68n87, 70n110, 177–178
- Ravandi, Muhammad b. 'Ali 26, 117
- Rawdat al-kuttab wa-hadiqat al-albab* 177
- Rawdat al-'uqul* 26
- Razi, Najm al-Din 26, 100, 146
- religious and secular mausoleums (türbeler) 98–103
- revolt of Kastamonu 8, 56–62, 208
- Romanus IV, Diogenes, Byzantine general 15
- Rukn al-Din b. Kayka'us II (*malik*), brother of Ghiyath al-Din Mas'ud II 4, 21, 54–55, 58–61
- Rukn al-Din Kiliç Arslan IV, Sultan of Rum 20, 48–50
- Rukn al-Din Sulayman II, Sultan of Rum 3, 16
- Rukn al-Din Sulayman Shah, Sultan of Rum 26
- Rukn al-Din Sulayman Shah II, Sultan of Rum 29, 42
- Rumi, Abu Bakr Qalandar 168n67
- Rumi, Jalal al-Din 6, 17–18, 27–28, 146, 157, 176
- Rus, empire 18
- Russia 18, 46, 48, 120, 123
- Rusum al-rasa'il wa nujum al-faza'il* 81–82, 91, 179, 186–187, 200n80, 200n83, 203n152, **221**
- sādāt* (*sayyids*) 81, 132
- Sahib 'Ata 52
- Salghurids 3, 22
- Saltuk, Sarı 42
- Saltukname* 42
- Saltuqid dynasty 3, 15, 36n46
- Samarqand 128–130, 162–163, 167n36
- al-Samarqandi, Ahmad b. 'Ali Ahmad 83
- Samsun 90–91, 192, 194
- Sanjar, Sultan of the Great Seljuqs 23, 175
- Savi, Jamal al-Din 147, 150, 152–157
- Sa'd al-Din Mas'ud al-Haqq 15, 78, 91, 174
- scribes (*kātibs*) 174
- Şeyh Ahi Şurve 30, 103
- Şeyh Ahmet, tomb of 99, 112n142
- Shafi, Muhammad 178
- Shafi'ism 163
- Shah Da'i Shirazi 146
- Shāhid- Bāzī 37n65
- Shahnama* 76
- Shams-i Tabrizi 146
- sharia 47, 146, 149, 151–152, 159, 207
- Shaykh 'Uthman-i Rumi 153–156
- Shia Islam 126, 143, 146, 163
- Shirazi, Qutb al-Din 27, 56, 85–89, 116, 136n14, 180, 206
- Shirvani, Afzal al-Din Khaqani 176
- al-Sijistani, Abu Da'ud Sulayman b. al-Ash'ath 160
- Sinop 6, 9, 13n37, 17, 28, 38n76, 40, 46, 48–49, 52, 55, 63, 67n64, 89–92, 97–100, 102, 110n117, 124, 150, 192, 202n133
- sipahdār* 54–55
- Sivas 17, 19, 26–27, 36n57, 48, 55–56, 68n84, 86–87, 108n92
- Siyar al-muluk* (*Siyasatnama*) 10, 69n96, 76, 78, 91–92, 104n17, 105n27, 105n29, 111n125, 115–135, 139n52, 164, 211–217
- slave trade 6, 31, 123–124
- Sudak 24, 46–47, 66n43–44, 172n134
- Sufism 6, 27–28, 89, 102, 144, 157; *see also* Antinomian Sufis
- Suhrawardi, Yahya b. Habash 25
- Sulayman, *parvāna* Mu'in al-Din 52
- Sulayman b. Qutlumush 15
- Sulayman Pasha 63, 89
- Süleymaniye Library 80–82, 167n52, 199, 219–222
- Sultanate of Rum (Seljuqs of Rum) 2–3, 9, 14–15, 17, 22, 24, 26, 42, 44, 48–49, 78, 92, 134, 152, 205; family tree 218
- Sunan Abi Dawud* 160

- sunna* 146, 158
 Sunni Islam 126, 128, 140, 143, 157–158, 173
Surat-i fatihnama 57
 Syria 16–17, 21, 24, 63, 97, 116, 136, 158, 163, 213
- al-Tabari, Shaykh ‘Ali b. al-Hasan
 Kiyaharas 129
 Tabaristan 128–130, 136n7, 140n73
 Tabrizi, Muhammad b. Mahmud b. Abd al-Rahman 86
 Taj al-Din Mu‘tazz b. Tahir 27, 52, 86–87
Tarikh-i al-i Saljuq 90
tashbih (anthropomorphism) 148
al-Tawassul ila al-tarassul 176
 Tegüder Ahmed, *Ilkhan* 21, 55–56, 178
 Temüjin *see* Chinggis Khan
 Terken Khatun 117
 Theodore II, Byzantine emperor 49–51
 al-Tirmidhi, Muhammad b. ‘Isa 160
 Tokat 16, 19, 26, 50–52
 Tor, Deborah 115
 Töregene Khatun 19
 Tughra‘i, Shams al-Din Baba 49–50
 Tughril III, Sultan of the Great Seljuqs 24
Tuhfat alshahiyya 86
al-Tuhfat al-shahiyya fi al-hay‘a 86
Tuhfa-yi Husami (Tuhfe-i Hüsamî) 84, 219
 Turan, Osman 7–8, 75–76, 78, 159
 Turco-Mongol dynasties 73, 93
- Turkicisation 33
 Turkmen dynasties 2, 11, 93, 98
 Turkmen tribes in Anatolia 3, 41, 113n166, 148, 206
 Tusi, Nasir al-Din 86, 118, 144
 al-Tustari, Muhammad 87
- al-‘Umari, Shihab al-Din 6, 30
 Umayyad Empire 174
 Urmawi, Siraj al-Din 116
 ‘Uryani Baba Tahir 145
 Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı 89
 Uzun Hasan 151
- Valad, Baha‘ al-Din 27
Varqah va Gulshah 80
 Vatvat, Rashid al-Din 175
- al-Walad al-shafiq* 150
 Wali, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Fattah-i 99
waqfnāma 80
- Yahya, Badr al-Din 177
 Yahya b. Sa‘id b. Ahmad 26
 Yavtash, Shams al-Din 48–49, 51
 Yazıcızade Ali 41, 62
 Yücel, Yaşar 7–8, 48
 Yusufi, Muhammad ‘Ali 75
- Zachariadou, Elizabeth 7–8
 al-Zaki, Abu Bakr b. 177, 194
 al-Zanjani, Ahmad b. Sa‘d al-‘Uthmani 26
zāwīyas 30, 97, 102–103



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