

Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750



ISLAMIC HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. STUDIES AND TEXTS

BY

TIJANA KRSTIĆ AND DERIN TERZIOĞLU

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This volume has its origins in a workshop entitled “(Re)Thinking Ottoman Sunnitization, ca. 1450–1750,” held at Central European University in Budapest on August 25–26, 2017. However, this was only the beginning of a conversation that continued for three years, and the provisional conclusions of which are presented in this collection. In the process we have all learned a lot from each other and from colleagues involved in various ways, either as commentators at the original workshop, as anonymous reviewers, or as interested readers providing valuable feedback.

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Abbreviations

<i>EI</i> ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd ed., Leiden 1954–2004
<i>EI</i> ³	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 3rd ed., Leiden 2007–
<i>EIr</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> , London 1982–
<i>IA</i>	<i>İslâm Ansiklopedisi</i>
<i>TDVİA</i>	<i>Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi</i> , Istanbul 1988–2016
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>AO-H</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae)</i>
<i>Arabica</i>	<i>Arabica. Revue d'études arabes</i>
<i>BJMES</i>	<i>British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
<i>BO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>Der Islam</i>	<i>Der Islam. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients</i>
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JIS</i>	<i>Journal of Islamic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JOS</i>	<i>Journal of Ottoman Studies</i>
<i>JQS</i>	<i>Journal of Quranic Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JSAI</i>	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>MSR</i>	<i>Mamlūk Studies Review</i>
<i>MW</i>	<i>The Muslim World</i>
<i>Oriens</i>	<i>Oriens. Zeitschrift der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Orientforschung</i>
<i>REI</i>	<i>Revue des études islamiques</i>
<i>REMM</i>	<i>Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée</i>
<i>SIr</i>	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
<i>SI</i>	<i>Studia Islamica</i>
<i>WI</i>	<i>Die Welt des Islams</i>
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

Note on Transliteration

In this book, we follow the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* transliteration system for Arabic, and the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* transliteration system for Ottoman Turkish. Names and terms that are common to both languages have been transliterated according to either system, depending on the context.

Geographic designations are not transliterated. Names of well-known groups are not transliterated (such as Hanafi, Kızılbaş, Naqshbandi, Sunnis) or are rendered in simplified transliteration (such as Shiʿites, Muʿtazilites, ʿAlids). Terms that are commonly known are given in their English form (for instance, Sunni, kadi, mufti, sharia, madrasa) and the more technical terms among them are italicized (for instance, *masjid*, *waqf*, *tariqa*).

Historicizing the Study of Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750

Tijana Krstić

Recent studies in anthropology have increasingly come to understand Islam as a “set of interpretative resources and practices” accumulated over centuries through engaging with the key sources of Islam—the Quran, hadith, and prophetic custom (*sunna*). In this view, being a Muslim is a result of individual and collective efforts “to grapple with those resources and shape those practices in meaningful ways,” giving their practitioners a sense of being embedded in long chains of authenticated interpretation and transmission of a tradition.¹ Tradition is here not understood as a simple replication of the past; it is not passively received but rather actively constructed in a particular social and historical setting, simultaneously affirming a “synchronic bond between actors” in a given community and extending it into the past, into a “diachronic community” of Muslims.² The implication of this approach, which also informs the present volume, is that such efforts to engage with authenticating texts and acts as well as methods of interpretation of Islam transpired throughout history, resulting in numerous historically and contextually contingent understandings of what it means to be a Muslim. However, that is hardly reflected in mainstream historiography, which has long associated dynamism and evolution in Islamic traditions and their interpretation only with the so-called classical or formative period, from the first/seventh to the seventh/thirteenth century, while envisioning stagnation, decline, and derivativeness as the defining features of the centuries that followed. This has been particularly true for the geographies considered marginal to what is often viewed as the “core lands” of Islam (which for the late “formative” period typically means Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz).³

1 Bowen, *A new anthropology* 3.

2 Grieve and Weiss, *Illuminating the half-life of tradition* 3. See also Anjum, *Islam as a discursive tradition*.

3 For a discussion of how this notion of “core lands” has been influencing writing about Islamic history, see Bashir, *On Islamic time*.

Fortunately, recent publications suggest that this trend is beginning to change and that the “post-formative” Islamic discourses from North Africa to India and beyond are slowly coming into a sharper focus.⁴ In seeking to capture what might be special about studying post-formative Muslim communities, Shahab Ahmed suggested that they drew on the synthesis of discursive and institutional elements built up during the first six centuries of Islam, finding themselves “equipped and disposed to strike out in new constructions, trajectories, tenors, and expressions of what it means to be Muslim.”⁵ The present volume epitomizes this growing scholarly interest in historicizing Islamic discourses and practices of the post-formative era by exploring their embeddedness in the changing political and intellectual landscape of post-Mongol Eurasia, which was informed by the demise of the late medieval Timurid polities and the Mamluk sultanate, and the building of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires. The essays focus on how Muslims within a particular polity that emerged at this time—the Ottoman Empire—engaged not only with the textual sources of Islam but also with what Ahmed terms the “Con-Text of Revelation,” namely the body of meaning that previous generations of Muslims produced in their hermeneutical engagement with the Revelation as to what it means to be a Muslim in general and, within the framework of this study, a Sunni Muslim in particular.⁶

As scholars of Islam have noted, the terms *sunna* and “Sunni” themselves have a complicated history, although their evolution and connotations are rarely explored beyond the fifth/eleventh century. Today, *sunna* is understood to mean “generally approved standard or practice introduced by the Prophet as well as the pious Muslims of olden days.”⁷ However, the term itself is of

4 See especially Bauer, *Die Kultur* and Ahmed, *What is Islam?* Important contributions to understanding the new intellectual trends of the period include Pourjavady, *Philosophy*; Moin, *The millennial sovereign*; Hagen, *The order of knowledge*; Burak, *The second formation*; El-Rouayheb, *Islamic intellectual history*; Binbaş, *Intellectual networks*; Atçıl, *Scholars and sultans*; Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined*; Markiewicz, *The crisis of kingship*, to name just a few recent studies particularly relevant to the present collection.

5 Ahmed, *What is Islam?* 81.

6 Ahmed, *What is Islam?* 356–357. This body of meaning is not purely textual but includes a whole array of emotions, practices, actions, aesthetic choices, etc. that are meaningful to their actors in terms of Islam. Ahmed understands “Con-Text” as “the full encyclopaedia of epistemologies, interpretations, identities, persons and places, structures of authority, textualities and intertextualities, motifs, symbols, values, meaningful questions and meaningful answers, agreements and disagreements, emotions and affinities and affects, aesthetics, modes of saying, doing and being, and other truth-claims and components of existential exploration and meaning-making in terms of Islam that Muslims acting as Muslims have produced.”

7 Juynboll, *Sunna*.

pre-Islamic origin, and as Ignaz Goldziher observed, it seems to have originally referred to a general “standard of correctitude” that was subsequently restricted to the conduct of the Prophet and his Companions as exemplar and norm.⁸ Nevertheless, during the first two and a half centuries of Islam the term *sunna* retained a certain vagueness, especially when used in different constructions such as *aṣḥāb sunna*, *ahl al-sunna*, or *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā‘a* (People of the Sunna and the community), from which the term “Sunni” is derived.⁹ As Marshall Hodgson noted, before the third/ninth century various groups and factions used the term “Sunni” to define their own understanding of belief and practice as exemplary and laudable and to dismiss opponents in the context of political and theological discussions: “Some used it for those devoted purely to the use of hadith reports (*sunnah*), without speculative discussion (*kalām*). It was used later, among those who were willing to accept *kalām* discussion at all, for the Ash‘arī or Māturīdī schools of *kalām* as against the Mu‘tazilī; it was used by Shari‘ah-minded zealots to distinguish Shari‘ah-minded people from the Ṣūfī mystics; and generally as the equivalent of English ‘orthodox.’”¹⁰ This early history of the term reminds us that rather than being perceived, as it is today, primarily in contrast to Shi‘ism, belonging to the *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā‘a* was juxtaposed to belonging to *ahl al-bida‘*—those who introduce innovative dogmatic ideas.¹¹ The stance championed by the Party of ‘Alī (Shi‘ites) that it was ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib rather than Abū Bakr who was the rightful heir of the Prophet, was part of the spectrum of beliefs and practices that were identified as blameworthy innovation, and that contributed to the process of calibration of what *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā‘a* stood for in the early centuries of Islam.¹² The early phases of this process have been better studied, and scholars have pointed to the *Miḥna*, the so-called Inquisition instigated by the caliph al-Ma‘mūn (198–218/813–833), as the pivotal event in the formation of the *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā‘a* and “crystallization of Sunnism as we know it.”¹³ Some have argued that “from the 4th/10th century onwards the term *sunna* did not acquire new connotations or nuances,”¹⁴ while others see a “full blown” or fully real-

8 Goldziher, *Muslim studies* ii, 25–26. In contrast, Juynboll notes that in the “Djāhiliyya” *sunna* denoted any type of conduct, good or bad.

9 The question was examined in detail by scholars interested in the evolution and mutual relationship between the concepts of *sunna* and hadith. See, for instance, Melchert, *The piety*; Nawas, *The appellation ṣāhib sunna*.

10 Hodgson, *The venture of Islam* i, 278.

11 On the *ahl al-bida‘* in contrast to *ahl al-sunna*, see Juynboll, *Sunna*.

12 On the evolution of the Sunni creed, see Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*.

13 Nawas, *The appellation ṣāhib sunna* 22.

14 Juynboll, *Sunna*.

ized Sunnism emerge only in the fifth/eleventh century.¹⁵ The present volume builds on these studies, which emphasize that “Sunnism” itself has a history, and explores what that history was beyond the “classical period” and beyond the “core lands.”

The mid-ninth/fifteenth century witnessed a profound reconfiguration of the Islamic world, propelling new geographical areas into a position of prominence and restructuring scholarly and trade networks, with Istanbul and various Anatolian and Balkan cities emerging as the new key nodes in the communication between and among the centers of Islamic learning, both to the southwest and to the east.¹⁶ Recent studies on these developments highlight the fact that the notion of the “core lands” is not a useful category in spatial terms; however, the claim that “the core” of Islam resided in particular geographies and scholarly genealogies associated with them certainly played an important discursive role in the encounter among the “Arab,” “Rumi,” and “Ajam” ulama during the era in question, especially as they embarked on the legitimation of different competing imperial agendas.¹⁷ The present collection looks into how various Ottoman Muslims, stemming largely from the lands of Rum (Anatolia and the Balkans), understood and engaged with the notions of the Sunni tradition, to which they were exposed through various chains of transmission, to define what it meant to be a Sunni Muslim and what constituted correct belief and practice. The essays also explore how these notions of “orthodoxy” and “orthopraxy” were informed by the Ottoman experiences of empire building between the late ninth/fifteenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries.

Students of Islam largely agree that the notion of “orthodoxy,” emerging from the study of Christianity, is inadequate for analysis of the dynamics between “belief” and “unbelief” in Islam. They do so on the grounds that, unlike in Christianity, in Islam there is no clergy or ecumenical councils who would be authorized to define “correct” belief; Islamic law is fundamentally pluralistic and envisions different ways of doing things correctly, and there are multiple “hermeneutical paths,” as Ahmed put it, for reaching the Truth. At the same time, however, most scholars recognize that, for want of a better term, the

15 Barkey, *The formation of Islam*; Reinhart, On Sunni sectarianism.

16 The most compelling visualization of the reconfigurations of the Islamic scholarly networks between 1100 and 1800, including the visible shift in the late fifteenth century, can be found in Romanov, Algorithmic analysis (for the maps see S241–243). For the intellectual networks developing in this changing political landscape, see especially Binbaş, *Intellectual networks* and Markiewicz, *The crisis of kingship*.

17 For recent studies that explore this competitive engagement see Kuru, The literature of Rum; Pfeifer, Encounter after the conquest; Burak, *The second formation* 65–126; Meshal, *Sharia* 69–102.

notion of “orthodoxy” can be productively used if it is not viewed as a fixed body of opinions or a particular strand of Islam but rather as a discursive process whereby different social actors are vying to impose as authoritative their own understanding of which beliefs should be viewed as “correct” and which do not meet that criterion—a process contingent on the configurations of power in a given social and historical context.¹⁸ The present volume builds on this understanding of orthodoxy and the related notion of “orthopraxy” (conceptualized here as a discursive process seeking to limit what constitutes “correct” practice), exploring their manifestations in the Ottoman context as well as the social and institutional developments that informed them. At the same time, the essays do not shy away from suggesting that the more concerted efforts to limit the multiplicity of the possible paths to Truth and circumscribe, if not eliminate, the “culture of ambiguity” that characterized medieval Islam, began in the early modern era with the Ottomans making decisive institutional strides in this direction, rather than being an outcome of Islam’s encounter with post-Enlightenment Europe, as suggested by recent studies.¹⁹ The volume, thus, approaches the notion of “orthodoxy” from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective, as a dynamic arising from a particular historical context, but also as an evolving mindset increasingly (although not universally) domesticated in the post-formative Islamic discourse as a consequence of building territorial, bureaucratic empires in the post-Mongol era. While it focuses on the Ottoman experience, the goal of the volume is not to argue for an Ottoman *Sonderweg* but rather to create the basis for a conversation about the comparable and possibly connected and entangled developments—or lack thereof—in other early modern Islamic (and other) empires.

The attempts to better understand the nature of Islamic discourses in the Ottoman Empire intensified over the last three decades as the field of Ottoman Studies began to shift from an overwhelming focus on socioeconomic history to include more concerted inquiries into cultural and intellectual developments. Up to that point, historians of the Ottoman Empire left the study of various communal and individual expressions of belief and practices of Islam largely to scholars from divinity schools and Islamic Studies departments, overlooking the embeddedness of these phenomena in the larger Ottoman social and institutional history. However, by the late 1990s questions began to emerge about how and why the Ottoman Empire evolved from what historiography had

18 Asad, The idea; Knysh, ‘Orthodoxy’ and ‘heresy’; Calder, The limits; El Shamsy, The social construction; Ahmed, *What is Islam?* 273–274.

19 See Bauer, *Die Kultur* 192–223; also Ahmed, *What is Islam?*

characterized as a “syncretic” eighth/fourteenth-century polity, where ambiguity between Sunnism and Shi‘ism (and even Islam and Christianity) prevailed, into an Islamic state concerned with defining and enforcing a “Sunni orthodoxy” by the early tenth/sixteenth century. Scholars focusing on the role of Sufis and Sufism in Ottoman society in particular took the lead in historicizing the debates concerning the nature and boundaries of Ottoman Sunnism and how they changed from the ninth/fifteenth to the eleventh/seventeenth centuries.²⁰ Another important research focus—related in many ways to the changing attitudes toward Sufism—was Ottoman scholars’ redefinition of the notion of heresy (*zandaqa*) as a legal term and its employment in the heresy trials that became common in the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century and recurred throughout the next 200 plus years.²¹

Traditional scholarship maintained that the Ottomans’ closer alignment with “Sunni orthodoxy” was the result of the Ottoman conquest of the Arab Muslim territories of Syria and Egypt from the Mamluks in 922–923/1516–1517. In this view, the Ottomans’ move away from a “metadox”²² to an “orthodox” mindset in the early tenth/sixteenth century was understood as the outcome of the “core lands” exerting their influence on the “periphery” and exporting what was imagined as a “mature” and “stable” Sunni Islam.²³ While some recent

20 Pioneering studies include Karamustafa, *God's unruly friends*; Clayer, *Mystiques*; Ocak's many articles and his monograph *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*, and Terzioğlu's Sufi and dissident in the Ottoman Empire. Important insights into the nature of early Ottoman Islam and the role of dervishes were also put forward in Kafadar's *Between two worlds*, which, in turn, inspired numerous further studies on dervishes' role in Ottoman society and politics. Among these see especially Le Gall, *A culture of sufism* and Curry, *The transformation*.

21 A pioneering work on this topic was Üstün, *Heresy and legitimacy*, followed by Ocak's *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*. Much still remains to be elucidated not only about the actual number of heresy trials that transpired in the early modern era but also about the legal and theological thinking that informed them. See especially Özen, *İslâm hukukuna göre*; Erünsal, xv–xvi. asır Osmanlı zındaka; Erünsal, Molla Lütü; Al-Tikriti, *Kalâm* in the service; Menekşe, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklık*, etc. Nenad Filipović is also currently working on a major study on this subject, started as a collaboration with late Shahab Ahmed, tentatively entitled *Neither heaven nor hell fire*.

22 Cemal Kafadar defined metadoxy as “a state of being beyond doxies, a combination of being doxy-naive and not being doxy-minded, as well as the absence of a state that was interested in rigorously defining and strictly enforcing an orthodoxy.” See his *Between two worlds* 76.

23 Representative of this view is Andrew Hess's wording: “Absorption of enormous territories peopled by Orthodox Muslims then joined success in the Holy War to place Ottoman society, still fluid in structure, more than ever under the stabilizing influence of an unchallenged and revived Islamic culture. In this area the transfer of the ‘Ulema from Cairo to

studies suggest that scholars and scholarship from the Mamluk lands indeed played an important role in the development of Ottoman Sunnism—albeit in a different way than imagined by traditional historiography—this line of research awaits further exploration.²⁴ Instead, in recent years scholars have focused more on the rise of the Safavid Empire as a catalyst for the processes that led to the Sunni-Shi'i polarization in the post-Mongol Turco-Iranian world and the fashioning of a Sunni orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire. A number of studies suggested that it was this threat to Ottoman legitimacy and aspirations to the leadership of the Muslim community that prompted the leading jurists of the Ottoman Empire to begin to more clearly delineate the beliefs of the “People of the Sunna and the Community” in contrast to those of the Kızılbaş, *Rāfiḍī* (Tr. *Rāfiḍī*) and/or Shi'i followers of the Safavid shah.²⁵ At the same time, research in the field of Safavid history has indicated that Ottoman attempts to define and police the boundaries of Sunni belief were mirrored by the Safavid efforts to construct a Twelver Shi'i orthodoxy over the course of the tenth/sixteenth century, not incidentally by employing Shi'i jurists from the Ottoman territory of Jabal Amil in Mt. Lebanon who were well versed in both the four Sunni schools of law and the Shi'i legal tradition.²⁶ Taken together, these strands of research point to the heretofore insufficiently explored ways in which Rumi Muslims' interaction and competitive encounters with their coreligionists to the southwest and east affected both the nature of Ottoman Sunnism and the nature of religious politics in neighboring Muslim polities.

More recently, these questions were taken up in the context of the debate on “confessionalization” and “Sunnitization.” Some scholars—a number of them contributors to this volume—have embraced these concepts to describe what they perceive as a growing concern within the Muslim communities in the “lands of Rum” with defining and enforcing the boundaries of correct belief and

Istanbul after the conquest of Egypt symbolized the final religious and social shaping of an Ottoman state whose population was now solidly Muslim.” See Hess, *The Ottoman conquest* 70.

24 See Pfeifer, *Encounter after the conquest*; Al-Tikriti, *Ibn-i Kemal's confessionalism*; Kaplan, *An anti-Ibn 'Arabi*; as well as articles by Pfeifer, Al-Tikriti, and Terzioğlu in this volume.

25 See, for instance, Savaş, *xvi. asırda*; Al-Tikriti, *Kalām in the service*; Dressler, *Inventing orthodoxy*, etc. Earlier seminal studies by Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik* and Üstün, *Heresy and legitimacy*, have also been “rediscovered” and integrated into the conversation. As these studies point out, there was considerable semantic overlap in the way the terms Kızılbaş, *Rāfiḍī* and Shi'i were used by early modern Ottoman authors, depending on the genre of the sources and agendas of the authors. On this issue see Atçıl, *The Safavid threat and Baltacıoğlu-Brammer*, *One word, many implications*.

26 Abisaab, *Converting Persia*; Stewart, *Polemics and patronage*.

practice, as well as the social impact of this phenomenon, beginning sometime in the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century and continuing over the following centuries.²⁷ In the late 1970s, when it was first articulated by H. Schilling and W. Reinhard, the concept of “confessionalization” was meant to resolve the impasse in German historiography between, on the one hand, confessionally inflected church history that focused exclusively on dogma, and a social/economic/Marxist approach, which excised religion from the study of history of the German state and society, on the other. Schilling and Reinhard, building on Ernst W. Zeeden’s concept of “confession-building,” argued that the building of the Catholic, Lutheran, and later Calvinist confessions not only had important conceptual parallels but also a similar social impact that reverberated far beyond the church, making an indelible mark on anything from gender relations, to art, culture, and early modern state formation. They termed this phenomenon “confessionalization” and postulated that the building of confessional communities entailed social disciplining that could be harnessed for political purposes, particularly for the goal of building a territorial state.²⁸

By engaging with the notion of confessionalization and the massive scholarship it generated in the context of European historiography over the last few decades, Ottomanists working in this vein drew attention to the fact that sectarian polarization within both early modern Christendom and Islamdom transpired at the same time and had similar social consequences, raising the question—which we explore in detail elsewhere—of whether this was a coincidence and whether these processes were informed by some shared underlying dynamic.²⁹ More pertinent to this volume, however, by engaging with the

27 Krstić, *Illuminated by the light of Islam*; Krstić, *Contested conversions*; Terzioğlu, *Sufis in the age of state-building*; Terzioğlu, *Where catechism meets ‘ilm-i hâl*; Ivanyi, *Virtue, piety and the law*; Burak, *Faith, law and empire*; etc.

28 Reinhard, *Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung?*; Reinhard, *Reformation, Counter-Reformation*; Schilling, *Confessional Europe*.

29 This question is at the heart of the ERC Consolidator project entitled “The Fashioning of a Sunni Orthodoxy and the Entangled Histories of Confession-Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries” (OTTOCONFESSIO, Project ID: 648498) of which the present volume is one of the outcomes. Placing the question of the Ottoman turn to the notions of correct belief and practice and the initiatives for reform and renewal of Islam into a broader Eurasian framework, this line of investigation opens up the possibilities for exploring the entanglements and connections in the sphere of the politics of piety across the geographical and confessional boundaries of the early modern world. It is mindful of the fact that in the Ottoman Empire Muslims coexisted with numerous Christian and Jewish communities that were profoundly affected by the confessional debates in early modern Europe through missionary efforts and various forms of human mobility, and raises the question of whether and how various communal understandings of “ortho-

notion of confessionalization they also highlighted its potential for generating new inquiries into the heretofore neglected relationship between Islamic discourses and Ottoman society and politics. Rather than uncritically importing or “applying” a much criticized³⁰ European paradigm to the study of Islamic history, they proposed to use it as a heuristic device that would inspire new questions to both well-known Ottoman sources and those traditionally explored only by experts in Islamic law and theology, such as various creeds, theological treatises and polemics, compendia of law, prayer and sermon collections, heresiographies, etc.—a goal that is central to this volume. As a result, recent research began to shed new light on the distinctly Ottoman experience of a broader trend that entailed a growing concern with “orthodoxy” and “orthopraxy” across early modern Eurasia.³¹

In a seminal article Derin Terzioğlu termed this Ottoman turn toward orthodoxy and orthopraxy “Sunnitization,” which she defined as “the adoption by the Ottoman religious and political authorities of a series of policies to modify the behavior (and to a lesser extent the beliefs) of all their Muslim subjects in line with the precepts of Sunni Islam, as they were understood at the time.”³² Over the last few years, this line of scholarship generated a considerable debate among students of early modern Islam, who began to look more closely at the nature of the phenomena in question and critically assess the terminology used to describe them.³³ Scholars also began to examine more closely how the developments in the Ottoman context related to the late medieval post-Mongol dynamics. It is important to briefly review their most pertinent findings before discussing how the present volume expands this debate.

For instance, recent studies emphasize the role of Sufism and law as the two most significant intellectual resources that informed the narratives of sovereignty following the Mongol destruction of the caliphate in 656/1258, as well as the Sunni-Shi‘i polarization that emerged in the Turco-Iranian world by

doxy” and strategies of enforcing it were intertwined. On the project-related research exploring cross-confessional entanglements in the Ottoman Empire, see the forthcoming volume *Entangled confessionalizations? Dialogic perspectives on the politics of piety and community building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th centuries*, Krstić and Terzioğlu (eds.).

30 For a summary of criticisms accumulated over decades against the original confessionalization paradigm as formulated by Schilling and Reinhard, see Lotz-Heumann, *The concept of “confessionalization.”*

31 Green, *Islam in the early modern world*; Parker, *Reformation in global perspective*.

32 Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize*.

33 In addition to the studies cited previously and the present volume, another new edited collection directly engages with the issues outlined so far: see Erginbaş (ed.), *Ottoman Sunnism*.

the early 900s/1500s. Scholars have recently pointed to the prevalence of the eschatological notions of the Mahdi (the guided one) and *mujaddid* (renewer) as well as mystical concepts such as *qutb* (the pole or axis mundi) and *al-insān al-kāmil* (the perfect human being) in the self-fashioning of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal rulers in the early 900s/1500s, foregrounding the role of the Sufi discourse in the new, alternative conceptualizations of universal authority.³⁴ As Hüseyin Yılmaz has demonstrated, Sufis imagined a cosmic government where the ultimate authority rested in the most perfect human being (a mystical axis mundi/*qutb*) who possesses the spiritual authority (*walāya*) but is at the same time the caliph on earth. They reimagined the caliphate within a mystical framework and disassociated it from its historicist justifications and juristic basis, enabling various Sufis as well as other individuals—including Ottoman sultans—to potentially claim universal, caliphal authority. But Sufis were not the only ones claiming *walāya*. The same type of authority was associated with the Shi'i imams, who as descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib claimed to embody both spiritual and temporal rulership. This made 'Alid genealogy a coveted trait among political contenders and the veneration of the *ahl al-bayt* (the household of the Prophet) a widespread feature of piety across the late medieval Turco-Iranian world, in some cases blurring while in others accentuating the boundaries between Sunni and Shi'i Islam (both of which were different at this point in time from the modern phenomena we understand by these terms today).³⁵

In the early tenth/sixteenth century, the Ottoman sultan Selīm (d. 926/1520) and his son Süleymān (d. 974/1566), who sought to “pour themselves into the mold”³⁶ of a messianic ruler and claim authority in this landscape dominated by the notions of mystical sovereignty, found themselves at a distinct disadvantage vis-à-vis the Safavid Shah Ismā'īl (d. 930/1524), who was not only the spiritual leader (*shaykh*) of the Safavid Sufi order but was also believed by his followers to be the reincarnation of Imam 'Alī. When in 907/1501, upon the conquest of Tabriz, Shah Ismā'īl proclaimed the conversion of heretofore Sunni Iran to Twelver Shi'ism—a process that would take a century to unfold—the stage was set for the onset of confessional polarization. As Hüseyin Yılmaz and

34 Fleischer, Lawgiver as messiah; Moin, *The millennial sovereign*; Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined*; Melvin-Koushki, Early modern Islamic empire.

35 McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia* 268–269; Yıldırım, Sunni orthodox vs. Shi'ite heterodox?; Peacock, *Islam, literature*. On 'Alid descent as a tool of confessional boundary-making, see Pfeiffer, Confessional ambiguity.

36 See Moin, *The millennial sovereign* 54.

Matthew Melvin-Koushki have noted, it was the competition over *walāya*, or spiritual authority and sovereignty, that led to the exaggeration of the confessional difference in the Turco-Iranian context.³⁷ In other words, “sectarian consciousness was not the cause of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict but its consequence,” and it was only with considerable effort in the coming two centuries—including by Sufis themselves—that the population living in these two empires was educated about the differences between Sunnism and Shi’ism, both of which were also being redefined in the process.³⁸ Interestingly, Yılmaz’s and Elke Eberhardt’s research suggests that the primary resource the Ottomans used to educate themselves about the differences between the teachings of the Sunnis and Kızılbaş/*Rāfiʿīs*/Shi’ites, at least in the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century, were the works of the Sunni scholars fleeing the Safavid lands rather than the works of scholars from the Mamluk lands. However, it is likely that further research would reveal new aspects to this issue, given that in the Mamluk context anti-Shi’i sentiment was already quite pronounced since the late seventh/thirteenth century—as illustrated by various campaigns against the Shi’i population in Mt. Lebanon as well as a number of heresy trials—although it never reached the level of a concerted anti-Shi’i policy.³⁹

In these parallel and dialogic early modern processes of “Sunnitization” and “Shi’itization,” which were met with acceptance, rejection, and reappropriation, ‘Alid loyalty and the veneration of the *ahl al-bayt* became a contested terrain that is increasingly drawing scholars’ attention and has been analyzed under the rubric of “confessional ambiguity.”⁴⁰ This research suggests that an “age of confessional polarization” did not simply replace the “age of confessional ambiguity,” but rather that the discourses of confessional polarization and resistance to it coexisted, much like in the Ilkhanid period, but in a changed institutional and political environment that gave this dialectic a different social expression.⁴¹ Furthermore, there are indications that the process of differentiation and building of confessional communities did not affect only

37 Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined* 257; Melvin-Koushki, Early modern Islamic empire 369.

38 Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined* 257; on the process of defining the Kızılbaş as *Rāfiʿīs* and/or Shi’a, 256–266.

39 See, for instance, Winter, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad; Wiederhold, Blasphemy; Levanoni, *Takfīr* in Egypt. On the domestication of Mamluk learning in the lands of Rum, see Yıldız, From Cairo to Ayasuluk; Kaplan, An anti-Ibn ‘Arabi; and Pfeiffer’s, Al-Tikriti’s, and Terzioğlu’s articles in this volume.

40 See, for instance, Erginbaş, Problematizing Ottoman Sunnism; Erginbaş, Reappraising Ottoman religiosity; his article in this volume, and Terzioğlu, Confessional ambiguity.

41 On the coexistence of these discourses in the Ilkhanid period, see Pfeiffer, Confessional ambiguity.

Sunnis and Shi'ites but also the Kızılbaş/Alevi communities who straddled the two empires. As recent studies suggest, the Kızılbaş/Alevi communities in the Ottoman Empire experienced during the tenth/sixteenth century the formation of their own "path" (*yol*, in Turkish), which entailed changes in their social organization, the emergence of a spiritual hierarchy, as well as a set of rituals and beliefs. Given that most of these communities inhabited rural areas and shared a predominantly oral culture, the contours of this "path," and the extent to which its social, ritual, and doctrinal bases were systematized, is a matter of new and ongoing inquiries, which have also been informed by the debates on Sunnization and confessionalization in the Ottoman context.⁴²

In addition to Sufism, recent research has drawn attention to Islamic law as a crucial resource for the new concepts of sovereignty and religious politics in the post-Mongol period. Guy Burak has argued that under the influence of Chinggis Khan's image as a divine legislator, post-Timurid rulers sought a new relationship with Islamic law, whereby different dynasties adopted a particular school of Sunni law as their official state school, not as an act of patronage but with the ambition of regulating the school's structures, authorities, and doctrines.⁴³ In a separate monograph Burak elaborated on this development in the context of the Ottoman adoption of the Hanafi school of law as their state *madhhab*, and the institutional changes that this development both reflected and enabled.⁴⁴ These changes, which have been the focus of several important recent studies, entailed: the emergence of an imperial learned hierarchy topped by the state-appointed jurisconsult; the formation of an imperial educational system; the emergence of an imperial jurisprudential canon; and the systematic reconstruction of the Hanafi genealogy.⁴⁵ Although the integration of the ulama into the fabric of the state and the rulers' aspirations to determine how law is implemented is increasing observable already in Ayyubid- and Zangid-period Syria and Egypt, and only gets stronger in the Mamluk era, as epitomized in the appointment and function of the four chief judges, unlike judges, jurists were not generally appointed by the ruler and were traditionally independent of the

42 On this point, see Yıldırım, Literary foundations; and Karakaya Stump, *The Kizilbash-Alevi*s, especially 256–319.

43 Burak, The second formation.

44 Ibid.

45 Although Imber's study *Ebu's-su'ud* was published more than two decades ago, it found a more concerted response only in the recent surge of studies on the imperial legal culture in Süleymān's time. See, for instance, Buzov, The lawgiver; Atçıl, *Scholars and sultans*; Burak, The second formation; Meshal, *Sharia*, etc. For an important study of the effects of the imperial legal reforms on a particular locality, see Peirce, *Morality tales*.

state in their interpretation of the law.⁴⁶ In the Ottoman Empire, however, the sultan could intervene into choices of particular opinions within the Hanafi legal tradition through appointment of the chief jurist (known in the Ottoman context as *şeyhül-islām*), although the power relationship between the sultans and chief jurists could also be reversed.⁴⁷ For this reason, some scholars have argued that it was in fact the ulama who primarily profited from this arrangement.⁴⁸ Be it as it may, we see for the first time the rise of an “institutionally identifiable group of jurists affiliated with the dynasty” whose rulings generally reflected the state-endorsed legal solutions, with fatwa serving as the key mechanism of regulation within the school and the medium through which novel legal solutions were introduced by Ottoman jurists.⁴⁹

The promotion of a particular Sunni school of law into a state school of law amounted to circumscribing the plurality of Islamic law in an unprecedented way, while the existence of a state-affiliated, learned imperial hierarchy created conditions conducive for a group of social actors to impose their opinion of what constitutes correct belief and practice of Islam (i.e., the conditions for the definition of “orthodoxy” and “orthopraxy”).⁵⁰ Like in the case of the influence of Sufism on Ottoman Sunni consciousness, the role of law in Ottoman society is better researched for the tenth/sixteenth century, with many questions still remaining open. One of those is certainly the extent to which the Ottomans were successful in—or even intent upon—imposing a Hanafi hegemony throughout its domains, especially in Syria and Egypt, as well as the extent and conditions under which they were open to embracing the solutions from other legal schools when it was deemed expedient.⁵¹

Besides the research on Sufism and law, another field within the umbrella of Ottoman studies that has generated significant insights for understanding the process of Sunnitization and the rise of a confessional consciousness in the Ottoman Empire has been architectural history. Gülru Necipoğlu’s magisterial study of Architect Sinān’s opus and imperial ideology of the Süleymānic era that informed it is particularly central in this respect. It inspired some of the earliest inquiries into the role of Sunnism in Ottoman imperial self-fashioning

46 See, for instance, Lev, Symbiotic relations; Rapoport, Legal diversity.

47 See Tezcan, *The second Ottoman Empire*.

48 See, in particular, Buzov, The lawgiver.

49 Burak, The second formation.

50 El Shamsy, The social construction 112–115; Ahmed, *What is Islam?* 270.

51 On the issue of Hanafi hegemony versus legal pluralism in Ottoman Egypt, see Ibrahim, Al-Sharani’s response; Atçıl, Memlûkler’den Osmanlılar’a; on the openness to the opinions of other schools, see especially recent studies on Ottoman jurists’ articulation of the concept of heresy (*zandaqa*) listed in footnote 21.

by connecting the form and aesthetics of the tenth/sixteenth-century imperial monuments to the contemporary social, institutional, and ideological developments, including the rivalry with the Safavids. For instance, Necipoğlu drew attention to the spree of building mosques and *masjids* throughout the empire that was initiated by Sultan Süleymân in order to highlight the centrality of the congregational prayers in general and Friday prayers in particular to the Ottoman Sunni imperial identity—in contrast to that of the Safavids. Necipoğlu raised the question of the society's support for and participation in this imperial vision of a Sunni community and highlighted the importance of particular spaces—such as mosques and neighborhoods—as sites where normative behavior was enforced and where architecture, imperial ideology, and Islamic law intersected in novel ways.⁵² Building on Necipoğlu's seminal work, Maximilian Hartmuth has drawn attention to the shift that begins sometime in the mid- to late fifteenth century, from Ottoman cities having a single Friday mosque built by the sultan to having multiple Friday mosques that could be built by the members of the imperial elite. In addition to inquiring into the changes this introduced to the organization of congregational prayers and patterns of patronage, he also highlighted the accompanying changes to the architecture of the mosques that privileged ritual space in a new way.⁵³ The question of how the changes in imperial ideology and politics of religion during the ninth/fifteenth century were reflected in space—specifically, in the transformation of the Ottoman “T-type” structures into mosques—is also examined in this volume by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu. Zeynep Yürekli's study, which situates the choice of particular members of the Ottoman military elite—Rumeli frontier lords—to patronize the shrines of the Bektashi Sufi order in Anatolia in the broader context of Ottoman imperial and religious politics in the late ninth/fifteenth century, has also led to important insights into how imperial authorities, increasingly aware of the revolutionary potential of the Sufi discourse, sought to Sunnitize less conformist Sufi orders and holy spaces associated with them.⁵⁴

Again, the questions of the Sunnitization of space and the spatial dimensions of Sunnitization—with distinctions between “public” and “private” areas—have begun to be considered to some extent only for the early to mid-tenth/sixteenth century, but less so (or not at all) for the later periods. Fur-

52 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*.

53 Hartmuth, A late fifteenth-century change.

54 Yürekli, *Architecture and hagiography*; for important insights into the Sunnitization of the Sufi orders and spaces associated with them, see Terzioğlu, Sufis in the age of state-building; also Antov, *The Ottoman “wild west.”*

thermore, the question of the extent to which these new intersections between imperial ideology, piety, and space that scholars have begun to explore, mostly in urban settings (which had mosques), affected vast populations living in the villages (which in the best-case scenario—but not necessarily—had a *masjid* that was often just a house designated for the purpose of communal prayer), remains open and poses one of the most complex methodological challenges for the researchers working in this field.⁵⁵

The present volume seeks to move away from the early tenth/sixteenth century that has until now dominated the research into Sunni-Shi'i polarization in the early modern era and the nature of Ottoman Sunnism by focusing on the vicissitudes of generating an Ottoman Sunni Hanafi consciousness and resistances to it in a longer perspective, looking both backward into the medieval period and forward into the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries.⁵⁶ This approach allows authors to connect the insights from the research on tenth/sixteenth-century developments with a cluster of existing studies focusing on the emergence, starting in the early decades of the eleventh/seventeenth century, of various “*sunna*-minded”⁵⁷ preachers, including the so-called Kadızadelis, who were fiercely critical of their fellow Sunni Muslims' practices and beliefs.⁵⁸ This phenomenon has heretofore been considered in isolation, as

55 This question was recently taken up by James Grehan in his *Twilight of the saints*, where he points out that a vast majority of the premodern population in the Ottoman Arab provinces lived in the villages and had no access to religious infrastructure, whether mosques or churches. Grehan argues that in the absence of such access, countryside populations (including the outskirts of the cities) largely adhered to an “agrarian religion,” which did not systematically embrace any set of dogma or laws, had a strong local coloring, was practical and eclectic, and often hostile to any notion of orthodoxy. See *Twilight of the saints* 19.

56 This volume grew out of a workshop entitled “Rethinking Ottoman Sunnization, ca. 1450–1700” that convened at the Central European University in Budapest, 25–27 August 2017, within the framework of the OTTOCONFESSION project. The editors would like to acknowledge the valuable contributions to the present discussion made by the participants of the conference who, for various reasons, did not end up contributing to this volume, especially Baki Tezcan, Sara Nur Yıldız, Devin Stewart, Aslıhan Gürbüz, Yavuz Aykan, Ferenc Csirkés, Ahmet Kaylı, Rossitsa Gradeva, and Ayfer Karakaya-Stump.

57 Derin Terzioğlu suggested the term “*sunna*-minded” in order to emphasize that a variety of social actors from across the religious and political spectrum—not just preachers identified as the followers of Kaḍizāde Mehmed (d. 1045/1635)—used the idiom of commitment to *sunna* and sharia in order to articulate criticism of and disappointment with the Ottoman social, political, and spiritual order in the seventeenth century. See her *Sunna-minded Sufi preachers*.

58 The seminal study on the subject that set the tone for subsequent research is Zilfi, *The Kadızadelis*. See also Çavuşoğlu, *The Kaḍizādeli movement*; and Baer, *Honored by the glory*

a departure from otherwise “tolerant” Ottoman ways, rather than as a manifestation of the ongoing reconsiderations of what it meant to be a Sunni Muslim in the Ottoman Empire, and a byproduct of the social and institutional changes that maintaining an empire, whose legitimacy was tied to the protection of the Sunni tradition, entailed. At the same time, many of the authors endeavor to trace how particular medieval Islamic genres, both textual and nontextual—ranging from prayer manuals, heresiographies, creeds, fatwa collections, biographical dictionaries, *fiqh* and *kalām* treatises, and historiography to *tekkes*, *‘imārets*, and mosques—developed and were reinterpreted in the Ottoman period, thus consistently putting Ottomans’ understandings of the Sunni tradition into a larger historical framework. In order to do this, the authors engage with the latest research on legal, theological, political, and architectural trends in the late medieval and early modern Islamic world.

The essays also represent a “second wave” of scholarship informed by the notions of “confessionalization” and “Sunnitization,” building on and learning from the criticisms aimed at the original paradigm in the European context as well as the shortcomings of the earlier research on the turn toward Sunni orthodoxy in the Ottoman context. In this respect, the volume particularly seeks to move away from the statist bias that informs much of the earlier scholarship on both confessionalization in Europe and Islam in the Ottoman Empire. Rather than reifying the “state” and overemphasizing its role in the process of defining and imposing an “orthodoxy,” the essays examine various agents of “Sunnitization” and emphasize the interplay among personal, local, communal, and imperial agendas.

In the first and most extensive part of the volume, the essays explore how various Ottoman authors across the social and political spectrum engaged with the classical and postclassical Sunni works on hadith, *fiqh*, and *kalām* and processed their meaning in dialogue with the individual agendas and broader Ottoman realities. Thus, Helen Pfeifer examines how ninth/fifteenth- and tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman Rumi scholars viewed and accessed the study of hadith, arguing that their encounter with Arab scholars in the aftermath of the conquest of Syria and Egypt in 922–923/1516–1517 brought significant changes in madrasa curricula, making hadith studies more central not only to scholarly training but to the overall project of building a Sunni consciousness among the general population. Focusing on the study of *kalām*, Nabil Al-Tikriti sets out to assess the nature of the Ottoman prince Korkud’s

of Islam. On the reexamination of the relationship of the Kadızadeli to various social groups, see Terzioğlu, Sufi and dissident; Sariyannis, The Kadızadeli movement; Tuşalp Atiyas, The “*Sunna*-minded” trend.

(d. 919/1513) contribution to the development of Ottoman Sunnism, examining his views on a variety of issues, from madrasa education to specific legal and theological positions. Delving deeply into the sources of several of orud's works and his interpretation of them, Al-Tikriti demonstrates how the rapprochement between Ash'ari and Maturidi theology, as well as the Hanafi and Shafi'i *fiqh* that characterized the late medieval intellectual landscape of Mamluk Syria, found echoes in orud's oeuvre, marking him as a transitional author who prefigures certain trajectories in Ottoman Sunnism but takes a completely different course on others. In her contribution, Derin Terziolu examines how Ottoman authors from the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries engaged with a specific *fiqh* work, *al-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya*, by a controversial late medieval intellectual, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), exploring how a Hanbali treatise on the nature of a ruler's law was adopted and adapted by Ottoman Hanafi authors and to what ends. Terziolu also tackles the much debated issue of Ibn Taymiyya's influence on the Kadızadelis and the supposed existence of an Ottoman Hanafi Taymiyyan "school."

Tijana Krstić and Guy Burak focus on the question of how a Sunni identity was supposed to be interiorized as part of a comprehensive moral reform that the project, which was embraced by a variety of social actors, entailed. Krstić examines the changing sensibilities of the Hanafi and Maturidi scholars on the question of what constituted sufficient knowledge for one to be considered a true believer (*mu'mīn*) by tracing views expressed in the medieval Hanafi, Maturidi, and Ash'ari creedal texts and comparing them to the Ottoman catechisms (*ilm-i hāls*) in Turkish for common believers from the period between the ninth/fifteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries. She argues that there was a shift to a greater emphasis on detailed knowledge of faith and its interiorization in the early modern Ottoman Hanafi Maturidi tradition, echoing wider theological trends of the age of confessional polarization. Burak's essay looks at the Ottoman commentaries on prayers, invocations, and supplications, including on Muammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūli's (d. 869/1465) *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa-shawāriq al-anwār*, from the tenth/sixteenth to the twelfth/eighteenth centuries to examine how the relationship between belief and understanding on the one hand and performative deeds and speech acts on the other was perceived. He observes a shift over time from emphasis on simply reciting an appropriate prayer in a given situation, even if one does not understand its meaning, to understanding the essence of specific prayers and seeking to comprehend their deeper meaning—a development that accounts for the proliferation of prayer commentaries in the late eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth century. Seeking to bridge the communal and individual aspects of building a Sunni Hanafi consciousness, Nir Shafir examines both

how individual Ottoman authors engaged with the medieval heresiographical tradition in producing their own texts in the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth century, and how the Ottoman audience of these texts engaged with the notion of confessional difference based on the marginal notes in surviving Ottoman manuscripts. His article eloquently demonstrates how heresiographical discourse and labels were consistently repurposed throughout medieval and early modern Islamic history to fit the debates of the day and the changing ideas and expressions of what it meant to be a Sunni.

Moving on from particular authors and their takes on the questions of tradition and orthodoxy, the second part of the volume looks more closely at the intersection of imperial, communal, and spatial dimensions of the “*sunna*-minded” turn. Grigor Boykov outlines the process by which the tekkes of the Abdals of Rum in Eastern Thrace were progressively converted to the more *sunna*-minded Halveti convents by the mid-tenth/sixteenth century through the partnership between particular Halveti Sufi shaykhs and their patron Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (grand vizier, 973–986/1565–1579). Çiğdem Kafescioğlu highlights the centrality of cooperation between the sultan and his *kul* elite in the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century in rearticulating the architectural language of the spaces that initially served both for various types of congregation and prayer (*‘imāret*) into spaces reserved exclusively for congregational prayer (mosque), which was in line with the new, imperial understanding of Sunni orthopraxy and community. Ünver Rüstem takes the story of the parallel evolution in Sunni imperial ideology and architecture all the way into the late twelfth/eighteenth century, focusing on imperial mosques as sites at which the sultan’s authority and leadership of the Sunni community was negotiated and constantly redefined through interaction among the members of the dynasty, Sufis, ulama, and the wider population of the Ottoman capital. The synergy as well as tension between a neighborhood imam and his congregation in the process of social disciplining and articulation of Sunni norms in the Ottoman context is brought into sharp relief in Evren Sünnetçioğlu’s essay, which examines how the issue of the five daily congregational prayers and who could lead them became central both to imperial ideology and to communal relations. In addition to putting emphasis on the cooperative and negotiated nature of Sunnitization, these papers also stress the importance of space and understanding the changing social relations and pious sensibilities *in* and *through* particular spatial contexts, be it a mosque, a *tekke*, a neighborhood, or a region such as Eastern Thrace.

Much of the early wave of scholarship on the fashioning of Sunni orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire emphasized the punitive character of the phenomenon by focusing on the Ottoman persecution of various nonconformist

Sufis, heretics (*zindīq*) and other deviants (*mulhīd*), Kızılbaş, and *Rāfīzīs*, typically by focusing on the *fatāwa* and legal treatises of the leading Ottoman jurists or the records of the important imperial affairs.⁵⁹ In contrast, the essays in the third part of the volume explore not only discursive moves toward achieving some sort of confessional purity and clarity, but also ways in which various social groups and individuals resisted the notion of an “orthodoxy” or sought to maintain space for confessional difference, ambiguity, or even unity under the umbrella of both the Ottoman state and Islam. Thus, Ayşe Baltacıoğlu-Brammer takes a closer look at the differentiation within the Kızılbaş community—which is too often imagined as homogenous and marginalized—to recognize the variety of ways in which Kızılbaş groups and individuals could negotiate their place, status, and privileges within the imperial system, often based on the economic and military importance they held in a particular locale, especially in borderland areas. A different take on the space for confessional ambiguity and difference within Ottoman Sunni ideology is taken by Vefa Erginbaş, who examines the place of the veneration of the House of the Prophet (what he terms “ahl al-baytism”) in early modern Ottoman Sunnism. He explores Ottoman historians’ views on Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiya, the second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, whose role in the killing of the Prophet’s grandson Ḥusayn at the battle of Karbala made him the object of cursing by Shi‘ites. Erginbaş shows that major Ottoman historians of the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries shared this resentment for Yazīd and cultivated great respect for the *ahl al-bayt*, examining the extent to which their views were affected by Ottoman-Safavid competition and Kadızadeli preaching. Selim Güngörürler, on the other hand, highlights the discourse of “deconfessionalization,” so to say, in the context of a particular genre—the diplomatic correspondence between the Ottomans and Safavids between 1048/1639 and the 1130s/1720s.⁶⁰ His essay is an interesting counterpart to the work on the emergence of sectarian consciousness in the tenth/sixteenth century, since it demonstrates that once the Ottoman claims to greater caliphal authority were accepted by the Safavids and the period of peace between the empires set in after the Treaty of Zuhab in 1048/1639, sectarian consciousness could be downplayed or even replaced by the discourse of brotherhood and unity under the banner of Islam—at least on the platform of diplomatic relations. Altogether, these essays drive home a crucial point, which is that different understandings

59 See, for instance Imber, *The persecution*; Üstün, *Heresy and legitimacy*; Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*, etc. For an important critique of this approach see Winter, *The Shi‘ites of Lebanon*.

60 For a related argument see Özervarlı, *Between tension and rapprochement*.

of Sunnism and perspectives on what it was to be a Sunni Muslim emerge from different Ottoman administrative and narrative genres, even when they were produced in the exact same period or by the people closely affiliated with the state.

Given that the essays reflect a relatively new field of inquiry that is still testing a variety of approaches and analytical terms that might best characterize processes at hand, there is no attempt to homogenize the analytical language throughout the volume. Thus, some authors have chosen to engage with the concept of “confessionalization” and use the notion of “confession” to index sectarian divisions within Islam; others have opted to discuss their findings under the rubric of “Sunnitization” and examine and historicize various labels associated with belonging to the Sunni community, such as “Hanafi” and “Shafi’i,” or “Maturidi” and “Ash’ari,” subjecting them to contextual and relational analysis. Importantly, a number of essays explore the meaning of the term *madhhab* (Tr. *mezheb*) in various discursive and generic contexts, drawing attention to the fact that this term had a much broader usage in Ottoman texts of the period than is usually recognized in the secondary literature: rather than only indicating a scholar belonging to a particular legal school (Hanafi, Shafi’i, Maliki, or Hanbali), it is also used by Ottoman authors to indicate adherence to a particular school of *kalām* (Maturidi, Ash’ari, etc.) as well as a particular sect (or denomination) of Islam (Sunni, Shi’i, Kızılbaş, etc.).

As an edited volume that aims to map new directions in the research on early modern Ottoman Sunnism, the present collection does not aspire to comprehensiveness and inevitably leaves unaddressed various questions, sources, and methodological approaches, and addresses some parts of the period under discussion in greater detail than others. Perhaps most notably, it is heavily skewed toward intellectual and cultural history, while fewer articles focus on the social or economic aspects of the problem and examine how particular communities’ socioeconomic niche and geographical provenance, or individuals’ class and gender, informed their experiences and reactions to the questions of Sunni orthodoxy and orthopraxy. It is by no means the editors’ intention to suggest that those perspectives or the sources they could be gleaned from, such as population registers, court records, various individual petitions to the sultan, or registers of important imperial affairs, are in any way less important. Rather, it is a reflection of the endeavor to introduce new, heretofore largely untapped, sources into the discussion and point to a considerable polyphony in the Ottoman discourses on Sunnism by consulting a variety of genres that could help us generate new questions to be posed to better-studied sources, allowing us to understand their value in a new light and engage in multisource research. For instance, understanding the changing attitudes toward religious instruc-

tion of the commoners articulated in the *‘ilm-i hāls* and the empire-wide initiatives to build mosques and *masjids* reflected in the imperial fermans together allow us to ask more informed questions about the fluctuation in the number of imams and *haṭībs* indicated in the tenth/sixteenth- and eleventh/seventeenth-century population registers for different regions (including villages) of the empire or prompt us to examine whether in the Ottoman *ṭabaqāt* literature preaching and preachers seem to be endowed with a different sort of social capital compared to the medieval examples of the same genre.

Ultimately, the goal of the volume is to open up new vistas onto how beliefs and ritual practices—as well as discourses about them—were integrated into the daily individual, family, and communal life as well as the life of the Ottoman Empire as a whole, allowing us to develop methodological tools for studying these issues on micro-, meso-, and macrolevels. Rather than postulating that the phenomenon of Sunnitization and various initiatives for imposing confessional (or hermeneutical) normativity were *the* defining feature of early modern Ottoman religious and social history, the volume historicizes the reasons why such initiatives arose in the first place and inquires after the actors who supported them and their discursive strategies, while also pointing to various ways in which these initiatives were subverted, tweaked, appropriated for personal ends, rejected, or completely ignored by Muslim groups and individuals. Some would perhaps be inclined to view this Ottoman dialectic between attempts to define and impose an orthodoxy and to resist and reject it as just another episode in a timeless dynamic present throughout Islamic history. Nevertheless, as this volume suggests, by exploring how various Ottoman authors interpreted the Sunni tradition by engaging with the views of previous generations of Muslims, early modern Ottoman context presents us with important new institutional, legal, theological, polemical, architectural, and other developments in conceptualizing what it meant to be a Muslim in general and a Sunni Muslim in particular. The essays, thus, highlight the importance of examining in detail various post-formative Islamic discourses in order to arrive at a more nuanced understanding of both Islamic and global early modern history.

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PART 1

*Rethinking Sunni Orthodoxy
in Dialogue with the Past
and the Present*



A New Hadith Culture? Arab Scholars and Ottoman Sunnitization in the Sixteenth Century

Helen Pfeifer

Ottoman Islam underwent a significant transformation over the course of the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries. Whereas in the early period of Ottoman rule many inhabitants of Anatolia and the Balkans had taken a latitudinarian view of the Islamic faith, sampling freely from elements perceived today as Shi'ite or even Christian, as the empire matured, various actors began to place a greater emphasis on what they took to be proper Sunni Islamic belief and practice. This meant, among other things: decrees mandating that the Muslim population not neglect their five daily prayers (as discussed by Evren Sünnetçioğlu in this volume); the construction of congregational mosques in every town and *masjids* in every village of the empire (as highlighted by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Evren Sünnetçioğlu in their contributions); and energized efforts to define and stamp out “heresy” and unbelief (explored by Nir Shafir and Tijana Krstić in their essays). An earlier generation of historians usually referred to such developments as the rise of “fanaticism”; more recently, this has been described as a process of “confessionalization” or “Sunnitization.”¹ Whatever you call it, the fact remains that there was a considerable shift in the self-understanding and practices of Muslims in one of the most powerful Islamic empires of the early modern period.

The difficulty has been explaining why this shift occurred. Tijana Krstić has suggested we view the increased emphasis on Islamic orthodoxy in the context of a larger, Eurasian “age of confessionalization,” contemporaneous to the confessional polarization between Catholics and Protestants in Europe and spurred on by the rise of the Shi'ite Safavids in Persia. She and others have seen the Ottoman confessionalization of the tenth/sixteenth century as a result of interimperial rivalry and the growth of the central state, giving way to a more bottom-up process of confession building in the eleventh/seventeenth.²

1 For “fanaticism,” see İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, ch. 18. For the terms confessionalization and sunnitization, see Krstić, *Contested conversions*; Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize, esp. 14; Burak, Faith, law and empire; Terzioğlu, Where *‘ilm-i hā*.

2 Krstić, *Contested conversions*, esp. 14. See also Dressler, Inventing orthodoxy; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 47–58.

This analysis is enormously compelling and has many benefits. Most of all, it has allowed historians to normalize a process previously associated with Ottoman decline or with what has often been assumed to be the inherent Islamic propensity for extremism. Yet the perspective also has one key drawback: as Europeanists have observed, the confessionalization model, at least in its original guise, tended to privilege the actions of the state, overstating its power and overlooking the activities of other groups.³ This article draws attention to one such group, namely scholars based in Arab lands. After 922–923/1516–1517, these became part of a newly incorporated subject population and enjoyed little formal role in Ottoman governance. Still, as this article shows, they contributed measurably to shifts in both the discourse and the practice of Ottoman Islam in the tenth/sixteenth century.

In 922–923/1516–1517, Ottoman armies put an end to the Mamluk Empire, incorporating the predominantly Arab provinces of Syria, Egypt, and the Arabian Peninsula. This conquest was a watershed moment in many ways: it gave the Ottomans control over the lucrative East-West trade; afforded them access to new agricultural lands and the taxes they produced; and made them the protectors of the holy sites in Mecca and Medina. But perhaps one of the most significant—and, until recently, understudied—aspects of this conquest was the exposure it afforded the Ottoman elite to some of the greatest centers of Islamic scholarship, especially Cairo and Damascus.⁴ Though Ottoman scholars had been interacting with these centers in the centuries leading up to 922–923/1516–1517, the conquest made exchanges with them far more frequent and far more intense. These exchanges not only left a lasting mark on Ottoman notions of governance, as described by Derin Terzioğlu in this volume, they also spurred another key aspect of Sunnitization, namely new forms of engagement with the *sunna*.

The Arabic word *sunna*, which means “conduct” or “way of life,” refers to the normative example of the Prophet Muḥammad. Historically, the main way the *sunna* has been preserved and passed on by Muslims is through accounts of Muḥammad’s words and deeds, called *ḥadīth* (pl. *aḥādīth*).⁵ Although these accounts could never vie with the status of the Quran—believed by Muslims

3 Laven, *Encountering the Counter-Reformation*, esp. 709–710.

4 For intellectual exchanges in the century after the conquest, see Lellouch, *Les Ottomans en Égypte*; Baş, *Tarih yazıcılığı*; Burak, *The second formation*; Kaplan, *Polemicist*; Özen, *Ottoman ‘ulamā’*.

5 This was, however, subject to debate, especially in early centuries when many felt that the *sunna* was better preserved in the ongoing practices of Muslim communities, especially in Medina. See Hallaq, *The origins*, esp. ch. 5.

to be the literal word of God—they were (and still are) of crucial importance to believers, since Muḥammad instructed his followers in part through his living example. This example was especially important since it clarified many issues on which the Quran itself was tight-lipped or even silent, ranging from prayer to the annual pilgrimage to taxation. As such, hadith accounts came to form one of the key sources of Islamic law and ritual practice. At the same time, their function was not only legal or doctrinal: over the course of the medieval period, transmitting these accounts from one generation to the next became a cornerstone not only of scholarly authority, but of Islamic devotional practice. It is no small measure of the stature of the *sunna* that it is from this word that the designation “Sunni” (*sunni*) in fact derives.

And yet, we know little about the *sunna* as it gained meaning in Ottoman lands. There is no full-length English study of Ottoman hadith scholarship, and much research on the topic has been in the form of scattered articles on individual authors or works.⁶ So little is known that it is uncertain whether Ottoman institutions of higher education called “hadith schools” (Tr. *dārü'l-ḥadīs*) were in fact devoted to the study of hadith at all.⁷ This lacuna seems especially regrettable when trying to study Sunnization, since social movements to bring Muslim societies into closer conformity with Islamic principles have so often been formulated through the lens of the *sunna*.⁸ Was there a comparable development in the Ottoman Empire during the “age of confessionalization”?

This article argues that there was. The evidence I have been able to compile—preliminary and patchy as it is—suggests that although Ottoman scholars had always relied on hadiths for questions of jurisprudence, well into the ninth/fifteenth century, they were less active than their contemporaries in Mamluk lands in studying them for their own sake or in transmitting them to accrue God’s blessings. Starting gingerly in the late ninth/fifteenth century and then accelerating in the tenth/sixteenth, Ottoman scholars began to develop a more expansive “hadith culture,” often under the guidance of their Arab colleagues.

This paper takes as evidence of this process one academic license (*ijāza*) issued by the Arab scholar Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 984/1577) to the Ottoman chief judge of Damascus Çivizāde Mehmed (d. 995/1587). The license, issued in

6 Most of the literature has been in Turkish. For an overview of works on Ottoman hadith studies, see İmamoglu, Cumhuriyet dönemi. The English-language literature that does exist has often focused on the twelfth/eighteenth century: Gran, *The Islamic roots*, chs. 2–3; Voll, Hadith scholars; Voll, ‘Abdallah ibn Salim al-Basri.

7 Ayaz, Osmanlı dârulhadisleri.

8 Subtelny and Khalidov, *The curriculum 212*; Berkey, Tradition, innovation.

Damascus in 978/1570, permitted the judge to transmit a number of hadiths and hadith collections. In doing so, it afforded him access not only to new sources of knowledge and scholarly authority but also to new forms of Islamic devotional practice.

1 Prophetic Traditions in Mamluk Lands

Accounts of the words and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad have been around for as long as the religion itself. However, as the Islamic community and its tradition of scholarship changed and matured, so did the role of hadiths, so that by the late medieval period, they were studied, transmitted, and discussed in new ways.

Initially collected by people who had surrounded the Prophet, hadiths often circulated orally in the first generations after his death. However, as the Islamic community grew and fractured, such accounts became vulnerable to forgery, as various groups tried to channel the Prophet's legacy in ways that would bolster their own theological or political positions. The result was not only an unmanageably large corpus of narrations—reported to have numbered over half a million by the middle of the third/ninth century—but one riddled with accounts that were of dubious authenticity.⁹ In an effort to stabilize the tradition and sort out the legitimate from the forged accounts, scholars increasingly began to compile collections focused on hadiths considered authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*).¹⁰ The two most important of these works were written by Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and his student Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875); these came to be referred to collectively as “the two authentic ones” (*al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*). Though it took time for these collections to gain full acceptance, by the fifth/eleventh century they were at the heart of a widely agreed upon Sunni hadith canon (Shi'ite scholars instead privileged a different set of prophetic traditions). Together with four other hadith collections widely accepted as authoritative, many Sunni scholars came to speak of “the six books.”¹¹

9 This was the number of narrations (not necessarily discrete hadiths, but sometimes different narrations of the same account) said to have been considered by Bukhārī while he compiled his collection. Brown, *Hadith* 32.

10 For the Shi'ite tradition, see Brown, *Hadith*, ch. 4.

11 The exact composition of these six books could vary (and some spoke of “the five books”), but the hard core of this canon was undisputed, consisting of Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, and Naṣā'ī. Brown, *Hadith* 38–40.

At the same time, the study of hadith was developing into a key discipline in its own right. There were a variety of genres through which scholars examined the *sunna*, including, among other things: overviews of the basic principles for analyzing hadith (*uṣūl al-ḥadīth*); works clarifying hadith terminology or difficult words or names (*muṣṭalah*, *sharḥ gharīb al-ḥadīth*); analyses of those who had transmitted hadith from one generation to the next (*rijāl*, *ṭabaqāt*); and what was seen as an ambitious hadith scholar's capstone project, usually pursued at the end of his life, a full commentary on one of the six canonical collections.¹²

One of the most important centers for hadith scholarship in the late medieval Islamic world was the Mamluk Empire. From the seventh/thirteenth century onward, Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz were the leading hubs of hadith scholarship globally, such that by the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, Damascus alone had 16 operational madrasas devoted to hadith study (*dār al-ḥadīth*).¹³ Students educated in Mamluk lands, regardless of their intellectual interests, could be expected to receive a thorough grounding in hadith studies. Ghazzī's father Raḍī al-Dīn (d. 939/1529) (one of his most important teachers) had studied a number of different works outlining the basic principles of hadith as a young man.¹⁴ 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Abbāsī (d. 963/1555), an Egyptian scholar and family friend, had completed a full reading of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* by his eleventh birthday.¹⁵ Although Ghazzī himself never became a prolific writer in the field, he, too, enjoyed a rigorous education in it, since one of his contemporaries mentioned that in Ghazzī's youth, "most of his work at that time was focused on jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and hadith."¹⁶ The generations before Ghazzī had been especially scintillating in this arena, led by the two Cairo lumina-

12 "Commentaries attained an important station in the late 1300s, when writing one on al-Bukhārī's or Muslim's *Saḥīḥ* became the principal means for scholars throughout the Sunni Muslim world to interact with the hadith tradition." Brown, *Hadīth* 53. See also Blecher, *Said the Prophet*, intro. Türcan sees the seventh/thirteenth century as the beginning of an age of hadith commentary. Türcan, *Osmanlı dönemi* 145.

13 Blecher, *Said the Prophet* 7, 49; Gökçe, *Hadis çalışmaları* 45.

14 This included the *Alfiyya* by Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī (d. 806/1404) as well as Ibn Ḥajar's *Nukhbat al-fikar* and the scholar's own commentary on it. Al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib* ii, 4.

15 'Aṣīḳ Çelebi, *Dhayl* 108; al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'* iv, 179. 'Abbāsī refers to him as Najm al-Dīn al-Ṣaḥrāwī, whom I take to be 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Ṣaḥrāwī al-Harasānī (al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'* iv, 209–210). It seems that Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī makes two people out of this one Harasānī, saying that 'Abbāsī studied with "Ibn al-Mu'ammār al-'Izz al-Ṣaḥrāwī and 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Harastānī [sic]." Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib* ii, 162.

16 Ibn Ayyūb, *al-Rawḍ al-'aṭir* 240a. One of Ghazzī's contemporaries does call him a *muḥaddith* (hadith scholar) but this designation is rather unusual. Al-Tamīmī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-saniyya* i, 382.

ies, Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449) and Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451).¹⁷ Although the later scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) preferred a more concise commentarial style compared to his predecessors, his output suggests that the interest in hadith had not lagged by the last decades of Mamluk rule: by the end of his life, Suyūṭī had written and compiled over 200 works on the subject.¹⁸

Alongside the scholarly study of hadiths, Mamluk-era scholars were also committed to transmitting them from one generation to the next. In the early generations of the tradition, oral transmission had seemed like the best way to ensure that the legacy of Muḥammad would not be corrupted. Into the fourth/tenth century, most scholars believed that it was necessary to hear each individual hadith account orally in order to be able to make use of that hadith in one's scholarly or judicial practice. Although this had always been tedious, with the broad acceptance of a written canon of "authentic" hadiths in the fifth/eleventh century, it gradually also became redundant. Increasingly, it came to suffice to ensure that your copy of Bukhārī or Muslim was correct.

And yet, as Garrett Davidson has shown, this did not mean that transmission ceased; rather, its meaning changed. On the one hand, hadith transmission came to act as a marker of status. By the fifth/eleventh century, emphasis was increasingly placed on being a link in a chain of transmission that was particularly short (*ʿālī*; literally, "elevated"), that is, having heard and been granted permission to transmit prophetic reports with the fewest possible intermediaries between oneself and Muḥammad. The same logic was applied to the six canonical hadith collections, so that scholars began to collect chains of authorities that connected them not to Muḥammad but to famous compilers like Bukhārī or Muslim.¹⁹ Since obtaining permission to transmit these narrations often required traveling to seek out those transmitters who could grant it, and since those scholars could grant or withhold those accounts at will, assembling short chains of transmission became a mark of considerable capital, actual and social.

17 "At the peak of intellectual activity in Mamluk Cairo in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, almost every hadith scholar of note wrote a commentary on *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, and in India from the 1600s onward writing a commentary on one of the *Sahīhayn* was *de rigueur* for accomplished Muslim scholars." Brown, *Hadith* 53.

18 Saleh, Al-Suyūṭī and his works. For the transformation of commentary since the time of Ibn Ḥajar, see Blecher, Usefulness without toil.

19 Works listing the chains of transmission for books were called *fihrist* or *thabat*. Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 254–273 and ch. 5.

On the other hand, the transmission of hadiths played an important role in devotional practice. Transmitting prophetic traditions was increasingly cast as a pious act, the special prerogative of the Muslim community and a way of securing blessings from God.²⁰ “The chain of transmission is a part of the religion” (*al-isnād min al-dīn*), an oft-quoted saying went; scholars warned that moving away from such a practice might cause the Muslim community to incur God’s wrath.²¹ Transmitting hadiths also became increasingly important as a means of establishing spiritual proximity to the Prophet Muḥammad, whose lifetime was seeming ever more remote with each passing generation; Ibn Ḥajar, the Cairene hadith specialist who had taught our Ghazzī’s teacher, was one of many to cite the adage that “proximity in chain of transmission is a proximity to God.”²²

In Mamluk lands, hadith transmission reached a fevered pitch. Into the eighth/fourteenth century, transmitters staged public audition sessions (*samāʿ*) where not only scholars but women, merchants, and craftsmen could follow along as entire books of hadith were read aloud, thus becoming authorized to transmit them.²³ Although this time-consuming practice subsequently fell into disuse, the *ijāza* jumped in to fill the breach: increasingly, authority to transmit hadith works could be granted without these drawn-out readings.²⁴ Transmitters began issuing hadith licenses not only to individuals they had never met but also to infants and even, according to some, to unborn children. These sorts of practices allowed Ghazzī, who was six and living in Damascus when Suyūṭī died, to transmit hadith on the great scholar’s authority.²⁵ Scholars like Ibn Ḥajar took to compiling entire catalogues of the names of individuals from whom they had been permitted to transmit hadith, with special subsections (or even free-standing works) devoted to those with the shortest chains or to those they had never personally met.²⁶ Although many of these practices were especially important to hadith specialists, transmitting hadith was desirable to all scholars, including those who, like Ghazzī, were not particularly active in the field, or even, in the words of Suyūṭī, to “common people, rabble, women, and old men.”²⁷

20 Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition*, ch. 1.

21 ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak quoted in Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 14.

22 Ibn Ḥajar quoted in Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 31; Brown, *Hadith* 46–49.

23 Hirschler, *Written word*, esp. ch. 2.

24 Hirschler, *Monument*, esp. 74–89; Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition*, chs. 2–3.

25 Al-Ghazzī, *Ijāza* 232b. For these practices, see Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 138–149.

26 Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 146, 149–150.

27 Suyūṭī cited in Blecher, *Usefulness without toil* 185. See also Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 153.

This general interest in and respect for prophetic hadith left a mark, not just on textual traditions but on the sociability that underpinned scholarly and elite practice. As Joel Blecher has shown, prophetic traditions were inseparable from a learned culture of performance and debate. In ninth/fifteenth-century Mamluk lands, Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was read aloud and commented on publicly in times of celebration or distress.²⁸ So, too, was hadith commentary an energetic and interactive activity: teachers often delivered their commentaries in live sessions, stopping for questions from students, and Mamluk sultans staged live debates over the interpretation of the tradition.²⁹ These debates demanded an incredibly high-level engagement with the prophetic tradition: scholars were often expected to recite hadiths with their appendant *isnāds* and to show familiarity with, and weigh in on, the variety of ways hadiths had been read in the commentarial tradition.³⁰ Some scholars even memorized entire hadith commentaries, the better to defend themselves when debating with other scholars.³¹ But hadiths were also part and parcel of a broader culture of polite conversation. Some scholars made herculean efforts to commit prophetic traditions to memory, with Suyūṭī claiming to have memorized 200,000 of them.³² Not only did this provide such scholars with an instantaneous, searchable hadith database useful in scholarly debates, it also made for virtuosic shows of memory during garden parties.³³ Ghazzī's father and many of his ninth/fifteenth-century contemporaries often set hadiths to a rhyme, the better to recite them in polite company.³⁴ Hadiths were so widespread that some scholars worried about story-tellers relaying hadiths to commoners in ways that were misleading or downright incorrect.³⁵

This emphasis on hadith permeated all corners of Mamluk scholarly culture, regardless of the school of law. Traditionally, the four legal schools had been divided into those more and less amenable to hadith study. Together with the Hanbalis, Shafi'i jurists counted themselves as part of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, or partisans of the hadith tradition. Indeed, most of the men mentioned thus far—the Ghazzīs, Ibn Ḥajar, Suyūṭī—were Shafi'is. Things were a bit different within the Hanafi (as well as Maliki) legal school, which had been heavily influenced by

28 Blecher, *Said the Prophet* 7.

29 *Ibid.*, esp. chs. 3–5.

30 *Ibid.*, ch. 5, esp. 87.

31 *Ibid.* 82.

32 Saleh, *Al-Suyūṭī* 75.

33 Blecher, *Ḥadīth* commentary, esp. 274–282.

34 Ghazzī recited this to a friend when they met. Al-Ghazzī, *Al-maṭāli' al-Badriyya* 187. This had been common practice earlier as well. Blecher, *Ḥadīth* commentary 276.

35 Berkey, *The tradition* 60–62.

the Mu'tazilite rationalist tradition and applied different standards in determining which hadiths were sound enough to be used in deriving law.³⁶ Given the vehement disagreement between the Hanafi school's founder Abū Ḥanīfa and the compiler Bukhārī, it should come as no surprise that Hanafis were slow to accept the collections otherwise considered canonical.³⁷ Throughout much of the late medieval period, Hanafis helped to transmit Bukhārī's and Muslim's works, but rarely subjected them to close study.³⁸

However, in the context of the widespread veneration for the hadith tradition, even Hanafi scholars from Mamluk lands began to engage avidly with it. Gradually, they began to subject it to more serious scholarship. In the seventh/thirteenth century, the first Hanafi digests of Bukhārī and Muslim began to appear, the most famous of which was the South Asian scholar Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī's (d. 650/1252) *Mashāriq al-anwār* (Dawning of the light).³⁹ By the eighth/fourteenth century, Hanafis in Cairo and Damascus had begun using Bukhārī and Muslim to validate the hadiths used in foundational Hanafi texts.⁴⁰ Jonathan Brown has argued that this occurred in large part in response to debates with members of other legal schools, for whom the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* acted as *the* sources for authoritative hadiths: how could Hanafis win debates with members of other legal schools if they could not prove that the hadiths on which their rulings relied were widely accepted as authentic?⁴¹ In response to such pressures, Hanafis began to devote more serious attention to the canonical collections, especially to Bukhārī and Muslim.⁴² By the ninth/fifteenth century, the Hanafi scholar 'Aynī could be the key rival to the Shafi'i Ibn Ḥajar in aiming to write the authoritative commentary on Bukhārī.⁴³

Hanafis living in Mamluk lands also joined in the general effort to gather chains of transmission that were particularly short or prestigious. Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), a Hanafi scholar from Damascus, recounted hearing "the threes"

36 Brown, *The canonization*; Brown, *Hadith*. As Joseph Schacht points out, the term *ahl al-ra'y*, or "the partisans of legal reasoning," was a term of deprecation used by the *ahl al-ḥadīth* against the Hanafis in particular (but also the Malikis), and never used by Hanafis themselves. Schacht, *Aṣḥāb al-ra'y*.

37 Brown, *The canonization* 237–238.

38 *Ibid.* 140–141.

39 *Ibid.* 226. The full title of Ṣaghānī's work, which combined the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of Bukhārī and Muslim, was *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawiyya 'alā Ṣiḥāḥ al-akḥbār al-muṣṭafaḥiyya*. Baal-baki, Ṣaghānī.

40 Brown, *The canonization* 226–227, 235–239.

41 *Ibid.* 209–240, esp. 235–236.

42 *Ibid.* 235–239.

43 Blecher, *Said the Prophet*, esp. chs. 3–4.

(*al-thulāthiyyāt*)—that is, all of the hadiths that Bukhārī had transmitted with only three links to the Prophet Muḥammad—from the four chief judges of Mamluk Egypt during their visit to Damascus in 922/1516.⁴⁴ Ibn Ṭulūn also compiled a work in the genre of “geographical 40 hadith” (*arbaʿūn buldāniyya*), which presented 40 hadiths he had received from 40 transmitters in 40 different places.⁴⁵ In addition, he wrote a small-, medium-, and large-sized catalogue (*fihrist*) of everything he had been given permission to transmit (*marwiyāt*).⁴⁶

To be sure, the Mamluk hadith tradition was itself in flux. Audition sessions, as we have seen, gradually petered out, as did the sessions for dictating hadith commentary that had garnered so much attention in the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century.⁴⁷ Still, other forms of engagement with the *sunna* gained in popularity, such as the more concise commentaries of Suyūṭī or the “40 hadith” collections (*arbaʿūn ḥadīth*) that had their heyday during the last century of Mamluk rule.⁴⁸ On the whole, for Shafiʿis, Hanbalis, and Hanafis educated in Syria and Egypt before the Ottoman conquest, prophetic hadiths remained an important field of scholarly interest, a prized sphere for seeking blessings and proximity to the Prophet, and a vibrant arena for social interaction.

2 Prophetic Traditions in Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Lands

Though the research is still preliminary, it seems that the enthusiasm of scholars in Syria and Egypt for hadith scholarship did not have a counterpart in late medieval Anatolia. Of course, Anatolian madrasa students had been studying the traditions of the Prophet for many generations for the purposes of Islamic jurisprudence. However, they appear to have been less interested than scholars from Mamluk domains in studying prophetic traditions in their own right or transmitting them for the sake of accruing blessings. This was likely due to the

44 Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 225–226. For another Hanafi scholar based in Mamluk lands who was considered a *muḥaddith* and was energetic in transmitting hadith, see ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns* 346–347.

45 Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 217. He also seems to have compiled another work in the forty hadith genre. Conermann, Ibn Ṭulūn 123.

46 Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 274; Conermann, Ibn Ṭulūn 125.

47 Blecher, *Usefulness without toil* 184–185.

48 For the former, see Blecher, *Usefulness without toil*; for the latter, see Karahan, *Kirk hadis* 70; Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* ch. 5, esp. 211. For the genre more broadly, see Lucas, *Forty traditions*; Karahan, *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan*.

fact that scholars hailing from Anatolia were, for the most part, of a Hanafi disposition, as were many of the Persian and Central Asian scholars from whom they took much of their intellectual inspiration. In the majority Hanafi context of late medieval Anatolia, scholars in the growing Ottoman polity did not come under the same pressure as scholars in Mamluk centers of learning did to study prophetic hadith as an independent scholarly discipline. Although this did begin to change in the ninth/fifteenth century, in the areas of scholarship, transmission, and conversation culture, Ottoman interest in hadith remained more muted and reliant on expertise from abroad.

The relative indifference of Ottoman scholars to in-depth hadith studies in the ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries is reflected in educational patterns. Some scholars have pointed to the estimable number of Ottoman hadith schools (*dārū'l-ḥadīṣ*) to suggest how vibrant an intellectual field it was.⁴⁹ Yet, as Kadir Ayaz has recently argued, the libraries of some of these institutions suggest that they may have been more like normal madrasas than places specializing in hadith.⁵⁰ According to the foundation document (*waqfiyya*) of the Edirne *dārū'l-ḥadīṣ*, which was built in 838/1435, the only books of hadith contained in the school's library were nine compilations (including Bukhārī, Muslim, and Ṣaḡhānī, among others) and three commentaries; there is no mention of any works laying out the principles of hadith (*uṣūl al-ḥadīth*) of the sort that Ghazzī and his father had studied in Damascus and Cairo.⁵¹ A similar tendency is suggested by the education of the influential Ottoman scholar Aḥmed Ṭāṣkōprüzāde (d. 968/1561) in the first two decades of the tenth/sixteenth century: to judge from his own autobiographical account, Ṭāṣkōprüzāde only started studying hadith seriously toward the end of his education, when he read parts of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḡīḥ* with the Tunisian-born scholar Muḥammad al-Maghūshī (d. 947/1540).⁵² Although Ṭāṣkōprüzāde did teach

49 The first *dārū'l-ḥadīṣ* madrasas were founded in Anatolia in the Seljuk period around the same time as they became widespread in Damascus and Cairo. The first Ottoman *dārū'l-ḥadīṣ* was founded in the reign of Murād I (763–791/1362–1389) in İznik. Yardım, *Darūlhadis* 529–530. For a general overview of hadith education in Ottoman lands, see Karacabey, *Hadis öğretimi*.

50 Ayaz, *Osmanlı dârulhadisleri*. Molla Gürānī founded a *dārū'l-ḥadīṣ* in Istanbul as well, and it would be interesting to see whether teaching there was more focused on hadith. Yardım, *Darūlhadis* 530.

51 Ayaz, *Osmanlı dârulhadisleri* 56–63. See also Ayaz, *Zâhid el-Kevserî* 65. However, as Ayaz himself notes, more research on early library collections still need to be done. For *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, see Dickinon, *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth*.

52 Ṭāṣkōprüzāde, *Al-Shaḡā'iq* 269–270 (where it is Ghūthi), 326–327; Mecdî, *Tercüme-i Ṣa-*

quite a bit of hadith at the madrasa appointments he received from the early 930s/mid-1520s onward, much of his focus (especially at the lower madrasas) was on works written for the jurist rather than for the hadith specialist, like Şaghānī's *Mashāriq al-anwār* and al-Ḥusayn al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) *Maşābīh al-sunna* (The lamps of the sunna).⁵³ Although Ṭaşköprüzāde did teach Bukhārī at the more advanced madrasas, he made no mention of having ever studied, or taught, any hadith commentaries or any *uşūl al-ḥadīth* works.⁵⁴ This evidence has led Ayaz to argue that hadith training in ninth/fifteenth-century Ottoman lands seems to have been a function of the study of jurisprudence.⁵⁵

The output of Ottoman scholars in the ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries indicates a similarly limited interest in hadith scholarship. Of the important works Ṭaşköprüzāde highlighted in his 965/1558 biographical dictionary of Ottoman scholars, a little over a quarter were in the field of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and another quarter treated theological matters (*kalām*, *'aqā'id*). Hadith studies instead constituted a meager two percent.⁵⁶ Similar patterns emerge from analyses of the scholarly output of professors teaching at the Edirne *dārü'l-ḥadīṣ* from its founding until the mid-tenth/sixteenth century, of which under five percent focused on hadith.⁵⁷

Early Ottoman scholars rarely drafted the sort of *uşūl al-ḥadīth* works on which students relied while training in the subject. Preliminary censuses of such works have thus far identified only two written by Ottoman authors before the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century, a work completed in 856/1452 by

kā'ik 524–525. Maghūshī (also Mollā Maghūsh) traveled to Constantinople, Aleppo, Tripoli, Damascus, and Cairo, where he died. Ayaz, *Osmanlı dārulhadisleri* 48; Blackburn, *Journey* 44n118.

53 Şaghānī's work, in the words of Qasim Zaman, would have "done little to satisfy those who saw the study of *ḥadīth* as more than a crucial milestone on the path to juristic training, and who sought, rather, to anchor their scholarly endeavors, their piety and their authority in *ḥadīth* itself." Zaman, *Transmitters of authority* 585. Ṭaşköprüzāde's focus accords with that of the palace library under Bayezid II, which placed special emphasis on Bukhārī (28 copies), Baghawī (23 copies), Muslim (8 copies), and Şaghānī (7–8 copies), at the expense of other canonical works such as Tirmidhī's *al-Jāmi'*, of which there was not a single exemplar. Göktaş, *Hadith collection* 311, 314.

54 Ṭaşköprüzāde, *Al-Shaqā'iq* 328–329; Mecdī, *Tercüme-i Şakā'ik* 525–526.

55 Ayaz speculates that much hadith instruction would have taken place in the context of lessons in *uşūl al-fiqh*. Ayaz, *Osmanlı dārulhadisleri* 49. Al-'Ulaymī mentions one Karīm al-Dīn al-Qaramānī al-Rūmī who taught Baghawī and Şaghānī in Jerusalem. 'Ulaymī, *al-Uns* 332.

56 Ayaz, *Osmanlı dārulhadisleri* 41.

57 *Ibid.* 58.

Şihābe'd-dīn Sīvāsī (d. 860/1456) and a two-page treatise written by Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1534).⁵⁸ Nor did Taşköprüzāde mention a single such book as a key oeuvre of the hundreds of Ottoman scholars he profiled.⁵⁹ This seems to be reflective of a broader lack of interest in the subject, if the palace library of Bāyezīd II is any indication: it contained only a handful of *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* works—not one of which had been written by an Ottoman author—and was equally sparsely equipped with works of *rijāl*.⁶⁰

Although hadith commentaries were comparatively more common, these appeared toward the later ninth/fifteenth century and were rarely devoted to the sorts of technical questions that occupied specialists in the field. Before the conquest of 922–923/1516–1517, there were only a few commentaries written on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Ottoman lands; it is telling that the first person known to have done so, in 874/1469, was Molla Gürānī (d. 983/1488), who had studied hadith in Cairo under Ibn Ḥajar.⁶¹ The Ottoman-educated scholar Molla Luṭfī (d. 900/1495) followed suit with a commentary on a few sections of Bukhārī.⁶² The final known Bukhārī commentary written in the Ottoman lands before the conquest of 922–923/1516–1517 was again written by Kemālpaşazāde, though this did not circulate widely.⁶³ In the same period, a comparable number of commentaries were written on the digests of Şaghānī and Baghawī.⁶⁴ Though I have not had the chance to review these commentaries, the fact that many of them were written on compilations perceived as jurisprudential tools reinforces the belief that the Ottoman interest in hadith derived largely from a legal perspective; indeed, a recent study of one of Kemālpaşazāde's hadith commentaries found that the sources on which it relied most heavily were not other such commentaries but rather works of Hanafi jurisprudence (*fiqh*).⁶⁵ Reviewing the hadith commentaries in the palace collection in the time of Bāyezīd II, Recep Gürkan Göktaş concludes that, on the whole, Ottoman scholars pre-

58 For the first, see Yıldırım, *Hadis çalışmaları*. For the second, see Cihan, *Osmanlı devrinde Türk hadisçileri* 130; Özer, *Şeyhu'l-islam* 196.

59 Ayaz, *Osmanlı dâruhadisleri* 49.

60 Göktaş, *Hadith collection* 313–314.

61 Ayaz, *Molla Gürānī'nin el-Keşveru'l-Cârî*; al-Ḥaşkafî and Ibn Tūlūn, *Mut'at al-adhḥān* ii, 120; Taşköprüzāde, *Al-Shaqā'iq* 53. For an analysis of Gürānī's commentary, see Türcan, *Osmanlı dönemi* 153–160.

62 Gökay and Özen, *Molla Lütî* 257; Türcan, *Osmanlı dönemi* 149. Taşköprüzāde does not mention the work. Taşköprüzāde, *Al-Shaqā'iq* 170.

63 According to Kātib Çelebi, the work was not well known. Özer, *Şeyhu'l-islam* 194–197.

64 Türcan notes that commentaries on these works and on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* were most common, while commentaries on the other five canonical hadith works were rare. Türcan, *Osmanlı dönemi* 149–151.

65 Özer, *Şeyhu'l-islam* 199.

ferred shorter handbooks focused mainly on hadith content—the sort of thing common in Persianate lands—over the more exacting, specialist works of their neighbors to the south. “In general,” he observes, “Ottoman scholars of Anatolia and Rumelia seem to have had an aversion to technical aspects of hadith scholarship.”⁶⁶

In the arena of hadith transmission, it also seems that Ottoman scholars were less keen than their Mamluk-based counterparts. Ottoman scholars did grant and receive *ijāzas* for hadith long before the tenth/sixteenth century. However, most of these appear to have had less the character of licenses given specifically to transmit hadith (*ijāzāt al-riwāya*) than licenses to teach it (*ijāzāt al-tadrīs*).⁶⁷ Take, for example, an *ijāza* issued to the Ottoman scholar Mü’eyyedzāde ‘Abdu’r-raḥmān (d. 922/1516) in 888/1483 after he had spent several years in Shiraz studying with the Persian scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502). Although the *ijāza* stated at the outset that it would license Mü’eyyedzāde in both the rational sciences (*‘aqlī*), like philosophy, and the transmitted sciences (*naqlī*), of which hadith was a part, its emphasis was clearly on the former. In the discussion of rational sciences, the *ijāza* traced Dawānī’s intellectual genealogy scholar by scholar back several centuries to “the source,” namely, the philosopher and polymath Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).⁶⁸ In contrast, the *ijāza* traced the genealogy for Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* back only two generations, that is, to Dawānī’s teacher and his teacher’s teacher, information so limited as to be useless for a student wishing to link himself to Bukhārī through a concrete, and if possible short, series of intermediaries. It is not that Dawānī did not recognize short *isnāds*—he mentions that one of his teachers (from Egypt) possessed them—but he did not mention having them himself, nor did he pass them on to Mü’eyyedzāde.⁶⁹

Indeed, few of the Ottoman scholars Ṭaṣkōprüzāde mentioned in his biographical dictionary were described as having short chains of transmission, and the exception proves the rule: the Cairo-educated scholar and Ghazzī family friend ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Abbāsī (mentioned above), who had visited Istanbul briefly around the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century and settled there after the conquest.⁷⁰ Another early scholar who could boast elevated chains

66 Göktaş, Hadith collection 312–313.

67 On this distinction, see Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 109–111.

68 The text of the *ijāza* has been published in Pfeiffer, *Teaching the learned* 321–322. For the influence of Dawānī and the Persianate tradition more broadly on Ottoman scholarship, see Nabil Al-Tikriti’s contribution in this volume.

69 Ibid. 321. The teacher in question was the Cairo-trained scholar Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429).

70 Ṭaṣkōprüzāde, *Al-Shaqā’iq* 246.

of transmission was Sa'dī Çelebi (d. 945/1539), mufti (jurist) and chief judge of Constantinople, who recited on the authority of three men who had studied or worked in Arab lands.⁷¹

Finally, it seems that, in preconquest Ottoman lands, hadiths did not serve the same role in elite or public debate. Tâşköprüzâde, unlike his contemporary Arab biographers, offered few anecdotes on which Ottoman scholars discussed hadith, though he frequently mentioned other topics of scholarly debate.⁷² As late as the eleventh/seventeenth century, Evliyâ Çelebi noted that scholars from Arab lands placed a greater emphasis on prophetic traditions than those who were centrally trained, astounded that some of them had memorized 20,000 or 30,000 hadiths.⁷³

Given all of this, it comes at little surprise that through the early tenth/sixteenth century much of the interest in hadith scholarship came from scholars educated in Arab lands. Right up until the conquest, Ottoman scholars with a particular interest in prophetic traditions often went to the Mamluk lands for their studies, and scholars educated there often became leaders in the field back home.⁷⁴ We have already seen that the first Ottoman commentary on Bukhārī was written by the Cairo-trained scholar Gürānī, who was considered one of the foremost hadith experts in Anatolia.⁷⁵ That such expertise contin-

71 The three scholars were: the Egyptian-born scholar Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520); Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī, who was probably the Shirazi born scholar who served as judge in Baghdad and died in 921/1516; and a scholar likely from Egypt. It is not clear when Sa'dī came into contact with these men, and since two out of three of them are thought to have died between 1515–1520, it is clear that he received at least some of these before the Ottoman conquest. Sa'dī explained in the *ijāza* that he had been licensed to transmit the *thulāthiyyāt* of Bukhārī, that is, those hadiths that Bukhārī had transmitted with only three links to the Prophet. Atâi, *Hadaiku'l-hakaik* 140–141; Repp, *The müfti of Istanbul* 241 and 137. Sa'dī is also known to have been influenced intellectually by the Aleppine scholar Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), who had enjoyed extensive hadith training in Mamluk lands before settling in Istanbul around the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century. Has, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī 2–6; Kaplan, Polemicist, esp. ch. 3.

72 He did mention that Molla Luṭfī recited Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* every afternoon. Taşköprüzâde, *Al-Shaqā'iq* 171.

73 Ayaz, Osmanlı dârulhadisleri 63.

74 Türcan, Osmanlı dönemi 143–144. According to the Arab historian and hadith specialist Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), writing at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429), a Damascus-based scholar who came to the court of Bāyezīd I in the last years of the eighth/fourteenth century, was active in spreading the study of prophetic traditions in Anatolia (although Taşköprüzâde does not highlight this). Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'* ix, 256–257; Taşköprüzâde, *Al-Shaqā'iq* 25–29.

75 For Gürānī's influence, see Taşköprüzâde, *Al-Shaqā'iq* 53.

ued to be valued into the early tenth/sixteenth century is suggested by the experience of the aforementioned ‘Abbāsī when he visited Istanbul from his native Syria in 906/1501. During an audience with Bāyezīd II, ‘Abbāsī presented the sultan his newly finished commentary on Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁷⁶ The commentary focused on defining uncommon words (*gharīb al-ḥadīth*), that is, rare or obscure terms that appeared in the accounts Bukhārī had included.⁷⁷ The sultan, apparently pleased with this offering, invited ‘Abbāsī to accept an appointment to teach hadith at his newly built madrasa.⁷⁸ ‘Abbāsī declined and soon returned to the Mamluk lands, where he was hearing hadith from Suyūṭī in 908/1502–1503.⁷⁹

It thus seems safe to say that on the eve of the conquest, Ottoman scholars had narrower interests as far as hadith scholarship was concerned than their counterparts from Mamluk lands. Although attention to the field had begun to pick up in the later ninth/fifteenth century, often inspired by interactions with colleagues from Mamluk Syria and Egypt, Ottoman scholars were less committed on the whole to hadith scholarship, transmission, and conversation. This certainly does not mean that the Ottoman intellectual tradition was somehow defective or lacking. In fact, it appears that this was the norm in much of the Sunni Islamic world: in South Asia (also predominantly Hanafi) as well as in Persia and Central Asia, hadith studies also generated less excitement than the rational sciences and Islamic law.⁸⁰ Still, faced with scholars from Mamluk lands, Hanafi and Shafi‘i alike, who viewed hadith commentary

76 It is unclear when ‘Abbāsī arrived in Constantinople, but he was there when he finished the manuscript on 24 Sha‘bān 906/15 March 1501. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Abbāsī, *Fayḍ al-bārī ‘alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Atf Efendi 529, 315a. For more on ‘Abbāsī and *Fayḍ al-bārī*, see Heinrichs ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Abbāsī 12–21.

77 This was a popular genre of commentary in Mamluk lands, though it had earlier origins. Blecher, *Said the Prophet* 5; Bonebakker, *Gharīb*.

78 This stands in great contrast to the mistrust with which Mamluk-era Arab scholars treated Persian chains of authority. Blecher, *Said the Prophet* ch. 5.

79 ‘Aṣīk Çelebi, *Dhayl al-Shaqā’iq* 109. Suyūṭī’s hadith compendia became important sources for later Muslim scholars. Brown, *Hadīth* 59.

80 Blecher points out that both in terms of the output of the teachers and the studies of students, hadith scholarship in Khorasan was comparatively less well developed than in the contemporary Mamluk lands. The renowned Timurid scholar Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), venerated in Ottoman lands, was not known for original hadith scholarship, and when Ibn al-Jazarī was taken to Persia by Timūr, local scholars were eager to study with him. On the comparative strength of hadith scholarship in Arab lands vis-à-vis contemporary Persian lands, see Blecher, *In the shade* 64–67; Subtleny and Khalidov, *Curriculum* 219; Gökçe, *Hadis çalışmaları* 42. For South Asia, see Zaman, *Transmitters* 587–588.

as an academic capstone and hadith transmission as an act of religious devotion, Ottoman scholars took note.

3 Learning from the Conquered

If the seeds for the Ottoman engagement with the hadith tradition were sown in the late ninth/fifteenth century, they flowered in the tenth/sixteenth. After the conquest of 922–923/1516–1517, travel across the newly expanded empire increased, and scholars, both Arab and Turcophone, were some of the most mobile populations of all. With this, interactions between Ottoman- and Mamluk-educated scholars increased, making hadith more present in the lives of Ottoman scholars.

After 922–923/1516–1517, Istanbul-trained Turcophone scholars quickly established their supremacy within the expanded learned and judicial hierarchy. They continued to occupy the overwhelming majority of professorships in the imperial center, as well as key judgeships in the newly added provinces. Yet, as I have argued elsewhere, this should not blind us to other arenas of knowledge exchange, especially informal learned gatherings (*majālis al-‘ilm*).⁸¹ With the growing presence of scholars from former Mamluk domains in such gatherings, there were increasing conversations on the subject of the *sunna*, with the result that prophetic traditions became ever more visible in the Ottoman scholarly world.

Scholars based in Arab lands continued to venerate and discuss hadith after their incorporation into the Ottoman Empire. One of Ghazzī's students in Damascus held an annual feast in honor of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁸² Ghazzī, like his father before him, continued to pepper his speech with hadiths that he had set to a rhyme.⁸³ On his way to Istanbul in 936/1530, he stopped in Aleppo for a discussion with a local mufti. The mufti asked about the authenticity of a hadith about hope and fear. Ghazzī answered by citing several different scholarly opinions: although the Cairene scholar Muḥammad al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392) had considered it as a tradition that was widespread but without proper textual foundation, in fact ‘Abdallah b. Aḥmad (d. 290/903) had included it in his compendium *Zawā'id al-Zuhd* (Supplemental material on pious excellence) on the

81 Pfeifer, Encounter after the conquest.

82 Ibn Ayyūb, *al-Rawḍ* 45b.

83 Al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim* ii, 101; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Maṭāli'* 187 (mentioned above).

authority of the Iraqi ascetic Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 120s/738–748), as Suyūṭī had laid out in one of his books.⁸⁴

Ottoman scholars trained in Istanbul were often present during such discussions. In one conversation between an Ottoman chief judge and a local Arab scholar in Damascus around the mid-960s/late 1550s, the discussion turned to whether fasting suppressed hunger. The judge asked the local scholar, who was famous for his knowledge of hadith, whether there were any hadiths that touched upon the question, which the scholar duly cited.⁸⁵ In the early 980s/mid-1570s, the Ottoman mufti Meḥmed Muʿīdzāde (d. 983/1576) was present during one of Ghazzī's learned gatherings at which debate centered on a hadith about the permissibility of buying and selling concubines.⁸⁶ Increasingly, Ottoman scholars were confronted with colleagues who placed great importance on prophetic traditions.

To finally turn our attention to Çivizāde's *ijāza*, this, too, emerged out of the context of a scholarly gathering. Çivizāde, who was from a prominent learned family, had been appointed chief judge of Damascus at the beginning of 976/in the summer of 1568.⁸⁷ He had met with Ghazzī frequently during his time in office.⁸⁸ Now, toward the end of his tenure in Damascus and after a festive gathering celebrating the end of one of Ghazzī's courses (*majlis khatm*), Çivizāde lingered a bit to speak privately with Ghazzī.⁸⁹ He wanted to know: would Ghazzī be willing to grant him an *ijāza*? At first, Ghazzī thought his colleague was joking, since Çivizāde, nearly 40 years of age, was a seasoned scholar in his own right and himself issued such licenses to others. But, having ascertained the seriousness of the request, Ghazzī obliged.⁹⁰ The transfer of knowledge and authority that resulted was immense: a copy of the license held in the Kastamonu Public Library spans more than 18 pages.⁹¹ The vast majority of these pages listed the genealogies by which Ghazzī, and henceforth Çivizāde, could transmit hadith.

84 Al-Ghazzī, *Al-Maṭāliʿ* 67–68.

85 The judge in question was Ebū's-suʿūd Efendi's son. Ibn Ayyūb, *Das Kitāb* 44.

86 Al-Būrīnī, *Tarājīm*, ii, 95–96. For Muʿīdzāde, see al-Murādi, *ʿArf al-Bashām* 34–35; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib* 3:85.

87 There are conflicting dates as to his appointment. The local scholar Ibn Ayyūb says he arrived at the beginning of 976/late summer 1568. Ibn Ayyūb, *Dhayl Quḍāt Dimashq* 330.

88 Al-Ghazzī, *Ijāza* 232a.

89 The final session was held in one of the side rooms of the Umayyad Mosque on 6 Jumādā I 978/6 October 1570, shortly before Çivizāde left to take up his appointment as chief judge in Cairo. Al-Ghazzī, *Ijāza* 232b.

90 Ibid.

91 It ends abruptly on fol. 240b, but very likely the *ijāza* was nearing its end.

The license did permit Çivizāde to relate Ghazzī's larger corpus of writings, thus functioning in part as what was known as a license for nonspecified material (*ijāza muṭlaqa*). As Ghazzī stated at the beginning of the license, he permitted Çivizāde to "recite on my authority all of my writings, all that was licensed to me, and all my [hadith] narrations [*muṣannafātī wa mustajāzātī wa marwīyātī*]."92 Ghazzī listed his most important works in a number of different scholarly fields, as well as his most important teachers, including Suyūṭī and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī.⁹³ This followed the standard practice by which scholars had come to grant licenses permitting students to transmit increasingly large bodies of information.⁹⁴

However, the great bulk of the *ijāza* was devoted to hadith. Of special interest were the six canonical hadith collections. Much of the document—about five pages—laid out the chains of transmission by which Ghazzī had been licensed to transmit Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, Tirmidhī, Nasā'ī, and Ibn Māja (in that order).⁹⁵ In the case of Bukhārī, Ghazzī noted that he transmitted the author's work on the authority of a variety of different teachers, the most important of which went through Ibn Ḥajar (see figure 2.1).⁹⁶ But he also mentioned a second, particularly short, route by which he was connected to Bukhārī, namely through the stone mason and star transmitter Abū 'Abbās al-Ḥajjār (d. 730/1329).⁹⁷ This left a mere eight links between Ghazzī and Bukhārī (nine for Çivizāde), which meant in the case of some hadiths as few as eleven links between Ghazzī and the Prophet (twelve for Çivizāde). Ghazzī also licensed Çivizāde in two chains of transmission for Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection, one of which went through Ghazzī's father, and the other of which went through the chief judge Burhān al-Dīn Ibrahīm Ibn Abī Sharīf al-Maqdisī (d. 923/1517).⁹⁸ Çivizāde did not actually read all of these books with Ghazzī before receiving the *ijāza*; rather, as Ghazzī explained in his text, he simply asked Çivizāde to read the first few passages of each work (as was standard protocol in this period).⁹⁹

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid. 239a–240a.

94 Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 129–135.

95 Al-Ghazzī, *Ijāza* 232b–239a.

96 This was a famous *isnād*, and a similar one is given in an *ijāza* reproduced in Aḥmad, *al-Ījāzāt* 38–43. Blecher, *Said the Prophet* 85–86, 99.

97 Al-Ghazzī, *Ijāza* 234a. He stops recounting the *isnād* at al-Ḥajjār, presumably because it was so well known that it did not need specifying. See Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 163–166.

98 Al-Ghazzī, *Ijāza*, 234a.

99 This is to be distinguished from more rigorous forms of hadith education in which he read and discussed these hadith collections, as he did with other students (e.g., al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib* ii, 105).

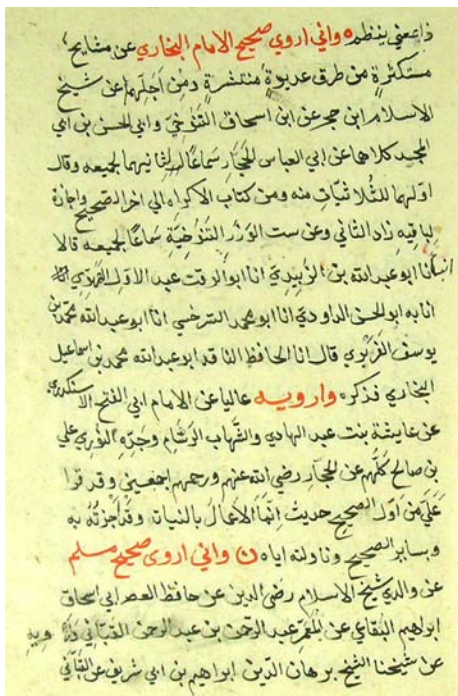


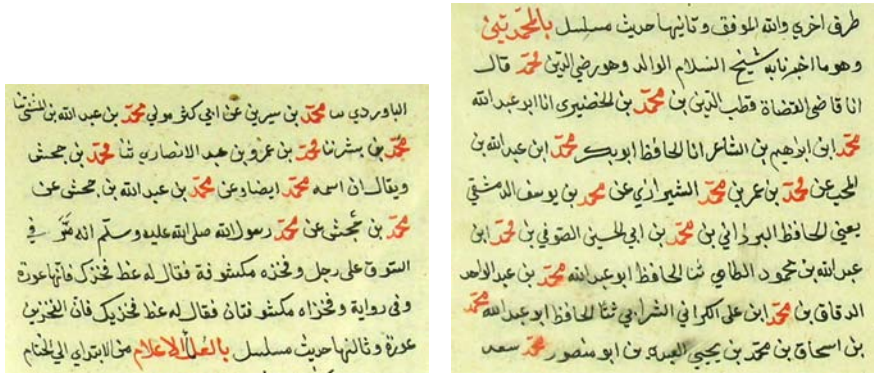
FIGURE 2.1
The list of authorities upon which Ghazzī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī
FROM AL-GHAZZĪ, *Ijāza*, 234A, REPRODUCED WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE KASTAMONU İL HALK KÜTÜPHANESİ

In addition to offering access to chains of transmission for major hadith collections, Ghazzī also isolated a few free-standing hadiths to transmit to Çivizāde. Some of these helped to incorporate Çivizāde into illustrious chains of scholarly authority. One of these was the “hadith of mercy,” which was, by tradition, the first hadith a teacher transmitted when he took on a new student (*al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-awwalīyya*). The account quoted Muḥammad as having said, “those who are merciful are shown mercy by God; show mercy to those on earth and He who is in the heavens will show mercy to you.”¹⁰⁰ Ghazzī had heard this hadith from all of his teachers but copied down the genealogy that he owed to the most esteemed of them, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, who had in turn heard it from Ibn Ḥajar.¹⁰¹ Similarly distinguished in its lineage was a second free-standing hadith Ghazzī transmitted to Çivizāde, this one transmitted from beginning to end by the most elevated scholars (*al-‘ulā’ al-a‘lām*).¹⁰² This again included Anṣārī and Ibn Ḥajar, as well as several chief judges of Cairo, a mufti,

100 For this tradition see Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 91–96 (translation from 93); Ayaz, *Zāhid el-Kevserī* 69.

101 Al-Ghazzī, *Ijāza* 232b–233b.

102 *Ibid.* 237b–238a.



FIGURES 2.2–2.3 The chain of authorities (*isnād*) and the hadith text (*matn*) for a hadith transmitted exclusively by men called Muḥammad, followed by a hadith transmitted by great scholars
 FROM AL-GHAZZĪ, IJĀZA, 238A–B, REPRODUCED WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE KASTAMONU İL HALK KÜTÜPHANESİ

and an imam of the *Haramayn*, among others. Becoming a transmitter of this no doubt coveted hadith narration meant that Çivizāde could claim to be part of that same pantheon of great scholars.

The other two free-standing hadiths Ghazzī transmitted to Çivizāde were valuable more for their devotional significance. The first was one of Şuyūṭī’s *‘ushāriyyāt*, or “tens,” namely hadiths Şuyūṭī transmitted with only ten links between himself and the Prophet.¹⁰³ Finally, there was the hadith account transmitted exclusively by people called Muḥammad—since both Ghazzī and Çivizāde were named such—leading back to the Prophet himself. This greater selectivity of the hadith chain and the connection of the transmitters to their namesake surely amplified the sense of connection both to previous generations of scholars and to the Prophet himself, as the repeated red lettering of the name “Muḥammad” in the Kastamonu text suggests (see figures 2.2 and 2.3). All in all, Ghazzī seems to have transmitted to Çivizāde some of his most coveted hadith chains, since they were the very ones highlighted by some of Ghazzī’s biographers.¹⁰⁴ Together, they amounted to a considerable transmission of knowledge, authority, and *baraka*.

103 Ibid. 236b. For Suyūṭī and the *‘ushāriyyāt*, see Davidson, *Carrying on the tradition* 234–235.
 104 Būrīnī mentioned some of Ghazzī’s prestigious *isnāds*, including those that were on the authority of Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Abī Sharīf al-Maqdisī (mentioned above) and his brother Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf, Qalqashandī, Mazzī, and Suyūṭī. Al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim* ii, 93–94.

Çivizāde was not alone among Turcophone scholars in seeking Ghazzī out for his hadiths. When Ghazzī traveled to the Ottoman center in 936–937/1530–1531, his host in Izmit heard hadiths from him. He also asked Ghazzī for an *ijāza* to transmit everything that Ghazzī had been licensed to transmit—not only for himself, but for his three sons as well.¹⁰⁵ Others, including many mature men at the height of their scholarly careers, heard hadiths from Ghazzī during their trips to Damascus. This included two other chief judges of the city, Kınalızāde ‘Alī (d. 979/1572)¹⁰⁶ and Meḥmed Bostānzāde (d. 1006/1598), as well as two of its Hanafī muftis Fevrī Efendi (d. 978/1571) and the aforementioned Mu‘īdzāde.¹⁰⁷ In at least one case, the transmission of hadith was also accompanied by more formal lessons: Kınalızāde also studied hadith as a discipline (*‘ilm al-ḥadīth*) with Ghazzī.¹⁰⁸

Nor was Ghazzī alone in attracting Ottoman scholars interested in collecting hadith accounts. The Tunisian scholar Maghūshī issued a license in matters of hadith to Tāşköprüzāde, as we have already seen. ‘Abbāsī was one of two Egyptian scholars known to have issued a hadith license to Çivizāde’s father, the well-known *şeyhū’l-islām* Çivizāde Muḥyī’-d-dīn (d. 954/1547).¹⁰⁹ This same ‘Abbāsī also transmitted hadith to the famous Ottoman poet and scholar ‘Āşık Çelebi (d. 979/1572), as another extant *ijāza* shows. The *ijāza* comprised the first hadith that had been transmitted to ‘Abbāsī (*al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-awwaliyya*), Bukhārī’s *Şaḥīḥ*, and everything else ‘Abbāsī had been licensed to transmit by his teachers.¹¹⁰ It seems then that what before the conquest had been a trickle became a veritable avalanche after it.

105 Al-Ghazzī, *al-Maṭāli‘* 270–271.

106 Ibn Ayyūb, *al-Rawḍ* 203b, 204b, 241a; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib* iii, 6, 187. Kınalızāde also received an *ijāza* for hadith, tafsir, Quran recitation, and *ma‘āni* and *bayān* from another Damascene scholar, Aḥmad b. al-Ṭibī. Ibn Ayyūb, *al-Rawḍ* 204b.

107 Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib* iii, 6. The printed edition states Fawzī Efendi, but this is likely instead Fevrī, who acted as mufti in Damascus and knew Ghazzī well. It also lists Ibn al-‘Abd, while mentioning that one manuscript refers to al-Mu‘īd, which I take to be more likely since Mu‘īdzāde is mentioned in another source as having attended one of Ghazzī’s classes (al-Bürinī, *Tarājim* ii, 95–96). Tāşköprüzāde also mentioned that Mu‘īdzāde spent some time in Damascus in the 980s/1572–1582. Tāşköprüzāde, *Al-Shaqā’iq* 483. Najm al-Dīn’s later biography of Bostanzāde does not mention explicitly that he studied with Ghazzī, though he does say that he learned from him (*ḥamala ‘anhu min fawā’idihī*). Al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-Samar* 102–106.

108 Ibn Ayyūb, *al-Rawḍ* 203b.

109 Gel, xvi. yüzyılın, 182.

110 ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Dhayl* 107–108. It has been speculated that it was this same ‘Abbāsī who introduced ‘Āşık Çelebi to the work of Ibn Taymiyya, as discussed in chapter four of this volume. Gel, xvi. yüzyılın 182.

There is little doubt as to the outstanding value of these *ijāzas* to their recipients. Some copied them wholesale into other published works, as ‘Āşık Çelebi did in the case of the license he received from ‘Abbāsī.¹¹¹ Others seem to have been copied and circulated as interesting documents in their own right, as Çivizāde’s *ijāza* from Ghazzī was. But what is perhaps most striking in this pattern was its clear directionality: all of the men seeking the *ijāzas* were Ottoman-educated scholars, while all of the men granting them were educated in the Mamluk lands. I have not to date found an extant *ijāza* documenting a case in which an Ottoman scholar transmitted hadith to a Mamluk-educated one in the first 60 years after the conquest.¹¹² Ghazzī’s *ijāza* for Çivizāde, and the wider intellectual context of which it is a part, thus suggest the extent to which centrally trained Ottoman scholars were interested in the scholarly legacies of the places they conquered.

4 Hadith Culture and Confession Building

Placed within a wider context, Ghazzī’s *ijāza* strongly suggests a growing “hadith culture” in the Ottoman Empire in the tenth/sixteenth century, one comprising but not limited to the scholarly sphere. There is some evidence of this in a 973/1565 imperial rescript (*furmān*) outlining a list of books that students at the highest level of Ottoman madrasas were required to study.¹¹³ The list included an impressive number of works of hadith, many of which stemmed from the golden era of hadith studies in Mamluk lands. This included the commentary on Bukhārī’s *Şaḥīḥ* written by Ibn Ḥajar, who had taught Ghazzī’s teacher Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, on whose authority Ghazzī transmitted a number of hadith collections to Çivizāde. It also included the commentary on Bukhārī written by Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī, Ibn Ḥajar’s Hanafi competitor in Cairo. To be sure, there were also several commentaries on Baghawī’s *Maşābīḥ al-sunna*, a compendium, which, as we saw, had played an important role

111 Ibid.

112 Ghazzī did ask Mü’eyyedzāde Ḥāccī Çelebi (d. 944/1537–1538), the brother of the aforementioned Mü’eyyedzāde ‘Abdu’r-raḥmān, for an *ijāza* for his son, though he did not specify for what. Al-Ghazzī, *al-Maṭāli’* 263. Likewise, in the ninth/fifteenth century, the Cairo-educated scholar Shams al-Dīn al-Fenārī granted Ibn Ḥajar an *ijāza* when the former returned to Cairo for a visit, though it is again unclear in what. Taşköprüzāde, *Al-Şaḥāḥ*’iḳ 17. The parallels with the South Asian case are striking. Blecher, *Said the Prophet*, part iii.

113 Ahmed and Filipović, The sultan’s syllabus.

in ninth/fifteenth-century Ottoman hadith studies.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, Şaghānī's *Mashāriq al-Anwār*—the basic primer on which Kemālpaşazāde had written a commentary at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century—disappeared from the list, making way instead for a Mamluk-era item, namely the commentary on another canonical hadith collection (the *Şaḥīḥ* of Muslim) written by Yaḥyā al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), a Shafi'i scholar from Damascus.¹¹⁵ At twelve items, in any case, hadith works made up a substantial part of the 39 titles on the list.¹¹⁶

Traces of a growing hadith culture appear elsewhere as well. The tenth/sixteenth century saw a veritable explosion of Ottoman “40 hadith” works (*arbaʿūn ḥadīth/ḳırk ḥadīs*), collections of narrations often assembled to accrue blessings or instruct people in the faith.¹¹⁷ But a greater concern with hadith also appears in less obvious arenas, including the emergent Ottoman tradition of biographical dictionaries of poets (*tezḳire-i şuʿarā*). Over the course of the tenth/sixteenth century, these dictionaries exhibited a growing concern with the question of whether poetry was permissible in an Islamic context. Sehī Bey (d. 955/1548), the first Ottoman poet to compose such a work (in 945/1538), was not terribly bothered by the issue, stating only that the Quran was sympathetic toward poets.¹¹⁸ While Laṭīfī (d. 990/1582), who wrote a first draft of his biographical dictionary in 953/1546, agreed with this basic premise, he did feel the need to shore up this claim with a handful of prophetic hadiths.¹¹⁹ Such rather perfunctory discussions turned into a full-blown scholarly defense by the time of ʿĀşık Çelebi, who, as we have seen, had been licensed by ʿAbbāsī to transmit Bukhārī's *Şaḥīḥ*. The introduction to his 975–976/1568–1569 dictionary devoted over 20 manuscript pages to the question of the permissibility of poetry, referring to Quranic verses, to be sure, but much more so to a battery of prophetic sayings, complete with the sources from which they were derived, the companions on whose authority they had first been transmitted, and, in a few cases, variant readings of the hadiths' meanings.¹²⁰

Although ʿĀşık Çelebi enlisted the *sunna* in the service of a more pleasure-loving cultural sensibility, it could of course be channeled toward more restrictive ends as well. The scholar and preacher Birgivī Meḥmed Efendi (d. 981/1573),

114 This included his *Maşābih* as well as four commentaries on it. Ibid. 200–201.

115 Ibid. 201.

116 Zaman notes that it would be difficult to find an Indian madrasa with the same commitment to hadith in this period. Zaman, *Transmitters* 603.

117 Karahan, *Türk edebiyatı* 471; Karahan, *Kırk hadis* 67, 153–196.

118 Sehī Bey, *Heşt bihişt* 75.

119 Laṭīfī, *Tezḳire-i Laṭīfī* 5–10.

120 ʿĀşık Çelebi, *Meşāʾirü's-şuʿarâ* i, 134–168.

one of the most passionate proponents of a stricter adherence to Islamic norms, was also more ardently interested in hadith than many of his Anatolian predecessors had been. He was one of the first Ottoman scholars to write a widely read work of *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, one that continued to be commented on into the fourteenth/twentieth century.¹²¹ He used the *sunna* as his main guide as he went about instructing his fellow Muslims about how to live a more pious life. Nearly half of his magnum opus, *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* (The Muḥammadan path), finished in 980/1572, was made up of hadith citations, culled not just from Bukhārī and Muslim but from many other canonical collections as well.¹²²

How the hadith tradition fared in subsequent centuries remains to be better understood. There is considerable evidence to suggest that devotion to the field stayed strong. In contrast to the modest hadith holdings in the libraries of earlier Ottoman madrasas, the collection founded by Köprülü Fāzıl Aḥmed Pasha in 1089/1678 contained a number of different hadith works.¹²³ Anatolian students in that same century seem to have enjoyed a much more rigorous training in the field, and many would go on to write works in the immensely popular 40 hadith genre.¹²⁴ Finally, scholars across the empire seem to have engaged in hadith transmission, enthusiastically pursuing what Stefan Reichmuth has called “*isnād* piety.”¹²⁵ And yet, there is some suggestion that such interest was more intermittent. An *ijāza* from the first half of the fourteenth/twentieth century has led Kadir Ayaz to argue that most of the chains of transmission circulating in central Ottoman lands in the later period had only entered the region in the later eleventh/seventeenth century (imported predominantly from the Arab provinces).¹²⁶ When the Indian-born scholar Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) began dictating hadith in Cairo in the later part of his life, mentioning their different narrations and lines of transmission from memory, he was widely perceived to be reviving earlier practices.¹²⁷ Was the interest of

121 This was *Risāla fī uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, although it is less a work on the principles of hadith than on its key terms (*muṣṭalah*). Ivanyi, *Virtue, piety and the law* 82–83; Cihan, *Osmanlı devrinde Türk hadisçileri* 130–131, 134–135.

122 Ivanyi, *Virtue, piety and the law* 82–92.

123 Ayaz, *Zâhid el-Kevserî* 66.

124 For education, see the experience of Kâtib Çelebî, whose teacher in the subject had himself trained with the Egyptian scholar Ibrahîm Laqānî (d. 1041/1631). Ayaz, *Osmanlı dârul-hadisleri* 49–50. For 40 hadith works, see Karahan, *Kırk hadis* esp. 292–294.

125 Reichmuth, *Murtaḍā az-Zabīdî*, 72; Ayaz, *Zâhid el-Kevserî*.

126 Ayaz, *Zâhid el-Kevserî*.

127 Reichmuth, *Murtaḍā az-Zabīdî*, 79–81; Rouayheb, *Islamic intellectual history*, 131–133; Davison, *Carrying on the tradition*, 96–107.

the generation of Çivizāde in hadith transmission just a flash in the pan, followed by a general diminution of the practice in both Arab and Turcophone lands? Until Ottoman hadith culture gets the attention it is due, it is difficult to know.

Either way, the *ijāza* Ghazzī issued to Çivizāde and the context of which it was a part does shed light on tenth/sixteenth-century histories of Ottoman Sunnitization. In the first instance, it seems, a growing hadith culture was less part of a top-down effort to Islamize society than a transformation within the Ottoman learned elite itself. Though the actors involved in this process were too privileged to qualify as constituting pressure “from below,” it is noteworthy that it was spurred on by many Arab colleagues beneath Ottoman officials in power and rank. The case of the *sunna* seems to support the idea that Sunnitization was, at least in part, an aspect of what Derin Terzioğlu has called a growth in “Islamic literacy,” that is, the ongoing process by which Ottoman scholars came to engage in different aspects of the Islamic scholarly tradition.¹²⁸ This process seems to have preceded the efforts of men like Birgivi to impose this on a wider population.

However, what was being transferred was not just a purely intellectual concern. As Brown and Davidson have persuasively argued, the veneration, scholarly study, and transmission of hadith must be seen as part of a devotional and spiritual practice, one offering a link to previous generations of devout Muslims and above all to Muḥammad himself. In this sense, it can be thought of as akin to the visitation of graves. In fact, after Çivizāde was transferred from Damascus to Cairo in 978/1571, he made a point to visit the tombs of the famous figures of the region. He visited not only that of one of the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad and the saintly woman Sayyida Nafisa, but also that of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, the late Mamluk-era scholar on whose authority he could now transmit hadith.¹²⁹ Thanks to Ghazzī, Çivizāde’s name would now permanently be connected to Anṣārī’s and to a long line of Muslims who had, link by link, painstakingly devoted themselves to preserving the legacy of the Prophet Muḥammad.

128 Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 309.

129 He also visited the grave of Muḥammad al-Maghūshī, with whom Taşköprüzāde had studied. Al-Ḥamawī, *Ḥādī al-Azʿān* 62.

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A Contrarian Voice: Şehzāde Korkud's (d. 919/1513) Writings on *Kalām* and the Early Articulation of Ottoman Sunnism

Nabil Al-Tikriti

What characterizes Ottoman Sunnism, and how did it come to be? The conventional view is that by roughly the middle of the sixteenth century the imperial elite came to adopt and promote a particular religious identity, which can be characterized by several overlapping, interrelated, and historically defined denominational (*madhhab*) affiliations, as well as a particular relationship with the political hierarchy. The favored denominations included Hanafi legal affiliation and Maturidi *kalām* orientation, accompanied by elite support for particular aspects of mystical thought and practice, a cooperative relationship between favored Sufi orders and the state, and advanced integration of the ulama into a state-supported madrasa system.¹ The scholarly literature on the evolution of these markers of belonging, as well as their meaning and content in an Ottoman context, has blossomed in recent years; however, much still remains to be clarified concerning the characteristics of this posited “Ottoman Sunnism” and how it came to be.

The coming together of these main factors into a coherent religious outlook evolved over approximately a century, from roughly the last quarter of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. Prior to that period, Anatolian societies displayed a plethora of religious, spiritual, and political identities, which cannot easily be characterized as either fully Ottoman or Sunni. As Rıza Yıldırım characterized it, the religious landscape of Anatolia prior to the coming together of Ottoman Sunnism can best be described as “clusters of faiths,” sharing both Sunni and Shi‘i elements.² The earliest element in the institutionalization of a comprehensive Sunni imperial identity was likely Sultan Mehmed II’s (d. 886/1481) construction of a fully hierarchical

1 Similarly, Necdet Tosun has argued that if one is to speak of a “Turkish Islam,” it would be defined as Maturidi in belief, Hanafi in *fiqh*, and following Sufi paths such as the Naqshbandi and Yesevi. Tosun, *Mâtürîdiyye ve tasavvuf ilişkisi* 54.

2 Yıldırım, *Sunni orthodox vs. Shi‘ite heterodox* 304.

madrasa system, accompanied by a unified curriculum.³ Following the establishment of the top madrasas, a synthesis between Ash‘ari and Maturidi theological approaches was embedded in the curriculum,⁴ along with a particularly Ottoman take on the Hanafi tradition.⁵ Covering theology, logic, philosophy, law, language, rhetoric, and other fields outside the physical sciences, this curriculum was heavily influenced by an earlier Timurid example of royal patronage for madrasa scholarship, which has been described as a “Sunni revival” and came to play a major role in articulating an Ottoman path of practicing Sunni Islam.⁶ Concurrently, after the turn of the sixteenth century, facing an explicitly Shi‘i Safavid challenge, which was itself evolving, this Ottoman interpretation of Sunnism hardened further in the midst of an “age of confession-alization,” which paralleled a similar (and far more extensively researched and commented upon) age in European societies.⁷

Before stabilizing as an institutionally consistent madrasa course of study, some of the curriculum’s foundational texts and pedagogical emphases remained hotly debated, with one of the realms most in dispute being that of *uṣūl al-dīn*, or “principles of religion.” The discipline within *uṣūl al-dīn* to receive the most attention has always been *‘ilm al-kalām*, or just *kalām*, commonly translated as “theology.”⁸ The Ottoman madrasa curriculum included a thorough study of *kalām*, perhaps because learning the classics of theological disputation provided students with a solid orientation and history of Muslim identity politics through the centuries up to that point. Likewise, by studying *kalām*, students could strengthen their grasp of *uṣūl al-dīn* in general, logic, and rhetorical methodology, and the factors inherent in successful theological positions. As Ottoman religious politics underwent a shift at the turn of the sixteenth century due to the Safavid challenge, that training proved quite useful, as *kalām* provided one of the key tools for state-supported scholars to redefine the boundaries of sanctioned belief.

3 Atçıl, *Scholars and sultans*.

4 Yazıcıoğlu, *Le kalām*; Özervarlı, *Theology in the Ottoman lands*.

5 Burak, *Second formation*; Peters, *What does it mean*.

6 Özervarlı, *Theology in the Ottoman lands*; Ahmed and Filipović, *The sultan’s syllabus*. On the Timurid madrasa curriculum, see Subtelny and Khalidov, *The curriculum*.

7 This terminology follows that of Krstić, *Illuminated by the light*.

8 As Jan Thiele has pointed out, none of these terms properly map onto Western understandings of “theology,” as *kalām* touches upon issues considered beyond theology’s purview, while some of what is considered theological discourse in Christendom falls outside of *kalām*. Due to the imprecise and constantly evolving nature of these terms, and their somewhat inconsistent use in the literature, this submission uses them interchangeably. Thiele, *Recent scholarship* 224.

One figure whose writings reflect this coming together of Ottoman Sunnism at a nascent stage is Şehzâde Korkud (d. 919/1513), who argued a series of positions on matters of religious belief, doctrinal certainty, favored groups, and the relationship between the state and ulama. Largely because he failed to win power in the 917–919/1511–1513 dynastic succession struggle, the prince's arguments left a limited mark, and several of his positions reflected a minority viewpoint. However, at the same time, his positions highlight several relevant intellectual influences at that time and place, point to factors contributing to the form Ottoman Sunnism came to take, and demonstrate the range of debate inherent in elite circles at the time.

1 Lineages of Ottoman *Kalām*

Kalām had evolved through several epochs by the time Ottoman scholars entered the arena. Early Islamic doctrinal debates were contested between a number of groups, some of the more influential consisting of: Mu'tazili supporters of full human agency, divine justice, and responsibility who accepted rational argumentation; Hanbali traditionalists who prioritized revealed knowledge (*naql*)—particularly prophetic hadith reports—over all other forms of proofs; and Murji'i partisans, who believed individuals would face God's judgment only in the afterlife.

In the course of these debates, which sometimes turned violent, supporters of such broad sets of positions sharpened their own stance in response to their opponents' critiques, borrowed arguments from each other, and ultimately reached a sort of consensus on certain points. Over time, as doctrinal debates continued to evolve, the original group coherence broke down, to be replaced by new groupings. Scholars, rarely obliged to follow consistent belief guidelines, frequently supported positions lifted from multiple groupings. As a result, the borders between primary belief orientations were frequently blurry, as well as constantly shifting. For example, while many Sunni scholars and theologians sympathized with various Mu'tazili views, the grouping eventually became largely identified with Twelver Shi'i philosophy, while the Murji'i strand later became identified with latitudinarian Sufism. Similarly, in the early centuries traditionalists persuasively portrayed both *falsafa* (philosophic rationalism) and *kalām* as doubt inducing and dangerous activities.⁹

⁹ Spannaus, *Theology in Central Asia*.

As A.I. Sabra argued, *falsafa* and *kalām* evolved in opposition to each other, with each seeing itself as the supreme science, independent of all others. Advocates for this Islamicate form of philosophic rationalism, the most notable of which included al-Kindī (d. 259/873), al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), Ibn Sīnā/Avicenna (d. 428/1038), and Ibn Rushd/Averroes (d. 595/1198), saw themselves as searching for truth for its own sake, as contemporary representatives of ancient sciences exemplified by demonstrative proofs, doctrinal neutrality, and genuinely rational methodology.¹⁰ In response to *falsafa* critiques of *kalām* as a pseudoscience offering little more than apologetics in defense of Islamic belief, and recognizing the power of such critiques, prominent *mutakallimūn* came to integrate philosophic method into their doctrinal arguments, while at the same time extending the reach of *kalām* discourse into fields well beyond what modern scholars might recognize as “theology.”¹¹

Several Ash‘ari scholars fleshed out *kalām*’s response to the *falsafa* critique in the fifth/eleventh to eighth/fourteenth centuries. Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) first supported al-Ash‘arī’s statements by pioneering a system of intellectual premises built on an atomistic theory of the world. In response to Aristotelian critiques of al-Bāqillānī’s atomistic premises set out by the *falāsifa* (philosophers), especially by Avicenna, Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) introduced reason (*‘aql*) to *kalām* discourse.¹² Following al-Juwaynī’s contribution, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) argued against the purely rationalist positions of the *falāsifa* as a whole, on the grounds that their methods were inadequate to prove several of their doctrine’s main points. For this reason, he argued that the *falāsifa* as a group failed to demonstrate their claim of philosophic rationalism’s all-encompassing demonstrative consistency. As an alternative, al-Ghazālī, and those who followed him, proposed co-opting philosophic methodology and rigor to defend *kalām* positions.¹³ Within this school of thought, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) perfected al-Ghazālī’s challenge to the philosophers by combining and applying the methodology of rationalism (*‘aql*) to confirm statements made by revealed knowledge (*naql*).

Once *falsafa* methodology and rhetoric had been thus co-opted into *kalām* discourse, most scholars followed their lead, aside from *falsafa* rationalists and traditionalists, who eventually grew somewhat marginalized within mainstream Islamicate intellectual circles. In addition to marginalizing unsympathetic philosophers and traditionalists, this “Avicennan turn” in response to Ibn

10 Ulrich et al., *Philosophy in the Islamic world*.

11 Sabra, *Science and philosophy* 1–15.

12 Ibid. 12–13.

13 Frank, *Al-Ghazālī’s use*.

Sīnā's critique also transformed *kalām* under the aegis of an all-encompassing disciplinary approach, which came to be known as *ḥikma* (wisdom).¹⁴ Over the subsequent centuries, *kalām* evolved into a rigorous philosophic school of its own, which might be more accurately classified as a "religious philosophy" or a "philosophical theology."¹⁵ By the ninth/fifteenth century, an admixture of rationalist philosophical methodology and rhetoric had been progressively incorporated into the discipline, such that the postclassical (*al-muta'akkhkirūn*) form of *kalām* came to prioritize logic, design, and strength of argumentation over *madhhab* affiliation.¹⁶

Living in an era defined by the dual threats of the Isma'ili *da'wa* and the doubt inducing *ḥaylasūf*, al-Ghazālī also strove to ensure legal effect for one's doctrinal thinking. As Frank Griffel has pointed out, al-Ghazālī denied the right of repentance (*istitāba*) to those found guilty of secret apostasy (*zindīqs*) due to their demonstrated internal beliefs, regardless of their external statements of faith. He also paved the way for state representatives to adjudicate the status of one's belief based on one's external actions, primarily by blurring the legal distinction between a Muslim guilty of internal unbelief (*kufṛ*) and a believer actively professing apostasy (*irtidād*).¹⁷ Over time, legists and other scholars elaborated on actions that signified such internal belief to the satisfaction of governing authorities. One of the earlier and more celebrated victims of this position was Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191), author of the controversial tract *Hayākil al-nūr* (Temples of light). Due to the *bāṭinī* (Neoplatonic, gnostic, esoteric) nature of his *ishrāqī* (illuminationist) writings, which went on to influence generations of philosophical Sufis, his views were considered enough of a provocation by the Ayyubid authorities of his day to justify execution.¹⁸

Coinciding with an era of great intellectual, philosophical, and political experimentation in the wake of the Mongol Irruption, in the decades and centuries after Suhrawardī's execution, several philosophically inclined scholars strove to rehabilitate Suhrawardī's *ishrāqī* thought and reconcile it with legal strictures on *bāṭinī* thought. This scholarly philosophical trend has often been referred to by modern scholars as the "Shirazi school"—which actually appears to be two related, but somewhat distinct, intellectual clusters. Characteristic

14 Endress, Reading Avicenna 371–422.

15 Sabra, Science and philosophy 22–24.

16 Özervarlı, Theology in the Ottoman lands 568.

17 Griffel, Toleration and exclusion 344–354; Al-Tikriti, *Kalām in the service* 131–149.

18 For an English commentary and rendering of *Hayākil al-nūr*, see Suhrawardī, *The shape of light*.

of the era, the boundaries of this “Shirazi school” were not particularly well defined, nor were its scholars’ doctrinal identities uniformly clear. One group was made up of predominantly Ash‘ari scholars who integrated Ibn ‘Arabī’s (d. 638/1240) metaphysics, Suhrawardī’s illuminationism, and Avicennan ideas with post-Ghāzālī *kalām*. Prominent scholars in this group included ‘Aḩud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355), Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), and al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 817/1413)—each of whom came to play a major role in the Ottoman *kalām* curriculum.¹⁹ A parallel Shirazi cluster was characterized by scholars who either ignored or were not remembered for engaging with *kalām* but were similarly engaged with the philosophical, metaphysical, and mystical debates of the first group. Characterized as more mystically inclined, and usually discussed together with the evolution of Twelver Shi‘i philosophy, such scholars included Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), and Ṣadr al-Dīn Dashtaqī (d. 903/1497).²⁰ Both groups commented on the legacies of Avicenna/Ibn Sīnā, Suhrawardī, and Ibn ‘Arabī. At least two scholars were solidly entrenched in both groups, providing the tie between the two as both scholarly commonalities and chronological bookends, with Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī’s (d. 672/1274) *Tajrīd* informing philosophical discussions from the inception and Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī’s (d. 908/1502) *Shawākil al-ḩūr* providing one of the last texts in common use in both Ottoman and Safavid circles.²¹

Dawānī, the last figure of mutual influence in these twinned Shirazi schools, mentored several students who went on to successful careers as policymakers and scholars in the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal Empires. Their common teacher may partially explain not only why his works were studied throughout these empires but why what has become categorized in modern scholarly literature as distinct Ottoman *kalām* and Twelver Shi‘i philosophy schools shared several common scholars who wrote prior to the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century.²² In the wake of the Safavid revolution, with new issues to confront in a radically changed political landscape, these related schools started to go their separate ways as distinct fields.²³

19 Corbin, *History of Islamic philosophy* 267–272; Spannaus, *Theology in Central Asia* 591–593.

20 Corbin, *History of Islamic philosophy* 205–218, 332–338; Nasr, *Islamic philosophy* 193–199; Nasr and Aminrazavi, *Anthology of philosophy* iv, 1–135; v, part I.

21 For a Twelver Shi‘i commentary on Dawānī’s *Shawākil al-ḩūr*, see Rizvi, *Mīr Ġiyāṭuddīn* 104–109.

22 Özervarlı, *Theology in the Ottoman lands*; Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *Twelver Shi‘i theology* 456–469.

23 Pourjavady, *Philosophy in early Safavid Iran*; Rizvi, *Mīr Ġiyāṭuddīn* 104–109; Endress, *Reading Avicenna* 416–422.

During the same epoch, as the Ash'ari *kalām* school adopted philosophical methodology and reigned supreme throughout most of the central Islamic lands, the rival Maturidi *kalām* school gradually spread from Transoxania into Iran and Anatolia along with Turkic nomadic populations making their way westward. In the course of this spread westward, Maturidi scholars sharpened their arguments against Ash'ari criticism while adopting certain Ash'ari positions, so much so that ultimately the two schools grew quite intertwined. By the eighth/fourteenth century, scholars such as Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), and al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 817/1413), among others, argued that both Ash'ari and Maturidi belief systems should be recognized as legitimately falling within the broader grouping of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a* (lit. "People of the Sunna and Community," i.e., Sunnis)—each threatened not so much by each other as by anthropomorphist trends (*mujassima*), which is how Hanbali and Karrami traditionalist arguments were often labeled.²⁴

The culmination of these intertwined intellectual trends meant that what became Ottoman *kalām* was heavily influenced by positions and debates articulated by the following group of middle-period scholars: Najm al-Dīn 'Umar al-Nasafī (d. 536/1142), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286), Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 749/1348), 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355), Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 817/1413), Khayālī Aḥmad Efendi (d. 874/1470), and Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. 908/1502).²⁵ With the exception of al-Nasafī, al-Taftāzānī, and Khayālī, these scholars were all Ash'ari affiliates.²⁶ In addition, while al-Nasafī is considered a staunch Maturidi advocate, most Ottoman madrasa students read his *Aqā'id* through al-Taftāzānī's and Khayālī's commentaries on it.²⁷ Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī played something of a mediating role between al-Nasafī's positions and those of his Ash'ari colleagues, has been said to have merged Ash'ari and Maturidi positions in his *Sharḥ al-Aqā'id*, and cannot be reliably assigned to either school.²⁸ Meanwhile, Khayālī Aḥmad Efendi, the only Ottoman scholar Mustafa Said Yazıcıoğlu found listed in a tenth/sixteenth-century manuscript describing the Ottoman *kalām* curriculum, appears to have spent much of his career adjudicating famous theological

24 Berger, *Interpretations* 693–701.

25 Yazıcıoğlu, *Le kalām* 54–70.

26 Gardet, 'Ilm al-kalām.

27 Yazıcıoğlu, *Le kalām* 55.

28 Würtz, *Islamische Theologie im 14. Jahrhundert*; Spannaus, *Theology in Central Asia* 591–592; Berger, *Interpretations* 697; Eichner, *Handbooks* 496; Özen, *Taftāzānī* 299–308.

debates between the aforementioned scholars, as he is credited with either commentaries or glosses on the treatises included in the Ottoman curriculum by al-Nasafi, al-Ījī, al-Taftāzānī, al-Jurjānī, and al-Dawānī.²⁹ In light of his own body of work, his position, and his lifespan, it seems likely that Khayālī may have played a major role in defining the first standardized Ottoman madrasa curriculum on *kalām*. A product of his era, Khayālī was later criticized by the Ottoman scholar ʿUthmān Kilisī al-ʿUryānī (d. 1167/1754) for insufficiently emphasizing the differences between Ashʿari and Maturidi positions—which may have simply reflected the reality that Ottoman articulations of Maturidi *kalām* had grown far more detailed and distinct from its Ashʿari cousin by the twelfth/eighteenth century.³⁰ On the whole, considering how prominent, even dominant, Ashʿari scholars were within the madrasa theology curriculum, just how Maturidi was Ottoman *kalām* in the late ninth/fifteenth century?

A generation later, in the wake of the Safavid challenge, it appears that self-identifying as following the Maturidi school came to carry greater importance within high Ottoman ulama circles. As if to signal this point, the powerful chief mufti (*ṣeyhül-islām*) Ibn Kemāl/ Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1534) devoted an entire treatise to clarifying doctrinal differences between the Maturidi and Ashʿari schools,³¹ which was one of a long line of Ottoman ulama treatises engaging with Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī’s doctrinal poem describing Ashʿari positions, *al-Nūniyya*.³² As the early Ottoman theologian Hızır Beg (d. 863/1459) completed an Arabic versed exposition of doctrinal belief entitled *Qaṣīdat al-nūniyya*, and his student, the aforementioned Khayālī Aḥmad Efendi, completed a Turkish commentary on that work, entitled *Sharḥ qaṣīdat al-nūniyya*, Kemālpaşazāde’s treatise was likely informed by all three of the aforementioned works and meant to definitively settle such debates within an Ottoman context.³³ It also appears likely that Kemālpaşazāde intended his contribution to better delineate divergences between Ashʿari and Maturidi belief systems in order to more effectively promote the latter as reflecting Ottoman imperial identity. The conversation between these four texts delineating doctrinal belief suggests that one of the legacies of Ottoman Sunnism was to rescue Maturidi distinctiveness from its earlier blurring with Ashʿari beliefs under what Mehmet Kalaycı has characterized as the “Rāzī framework” dominat-

29 Bebek, *Hayālī* 3–5.

30 Yazıcıoğlu, *Le kalām* 82.

31 Dalkıran, *İbn-i Kemal* 77–79, citing Kemālpaşazāde, *Risālat al-Ikhtilāf* 57–60; Kalaycı, *Eşarilik ve Maturidiliği* 127–129.

32 Berger, *Interpretations* 697; Badeen, *Sunnitische Theologie* 10–24.

33 Yazıcıoğlu, *Le kalām* 71–83; Bebek, *Hayālī* 3–5; Yazıcıoğlu, Hızır Bey 413–415.

ing ninth/fifteenth-century Ottoman letters.³⁴ A century after Kemālpaşazāde's contribution, the Indian Naqshbandi Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624) seemingly confirmed Maturidi success by arguing that even though both doctrines are properly Sunni, one comes to prefer Maturidi over Ash'ari positions after contemplating their arguments more deeply. Although he credited al-Ash'arī with introducing *ʿaql* proofs to discussions of belief, al-Sirhindī conceded that the difficulty of such contemplations had emboldened religion's enemies and driven them on the path to Salafism. However, in his own day, those interested in the light of God's prophecy followed the *ahl al-ḥaqq* (people of verity)—which he associated with the Maturidi doctrine.³⁵

Yet another middle-period trend that shaped Ottoman Sunnism was a drive for certainty in both religious belief and the legal consequences of such belief. Several fifth/eleventh- to eighth/fourteenth-century scholars, including Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī, and Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, who also came to play a prominent role in the Ottoman *kalām* curriculum, strove to have the study of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and its sources (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) be treated as science according to the standards of Aristotelian theory. Loosely related to al-Ghazālī's and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's integration of *falsafa* methodology into *kalām* discourse, these scholars treated the reconfigured *kalām* as an external corroboration of the four accepted sources of Islamic jurisprudence. Demonstrating just how far theological disputation had progressed, from a shunned source of doubt to a philosophically rigorous source of certainty, *kalām* proofs for the existence of God and accuracy of Quranic revelation, the first and primary source of *fiqh*, were taken to subsequently ensure the accuracy of the remaining three *fiqh* sources (hadith, consensus, and analogy). In effect, by striving for certainty in legal theory via demonstrative proofs as opposed to what they presented as the earlier reliance on *taqlīd* (imitation), such scholars tried to render legal practice more "scientific," and thus more persuasive. Treating *uṣūl al-fiqh* sources as scientific proofs from which legal assessments (*aḥkām*) can then be drawn, such scholars, particularly Ṣadr al-Sharī'a (d. 747/1346), laid the groundwork for later legists to claim religious certainty in their interpretations of beliefs and subsequent legal certainty in specified punishments for countering those beliefs.³⁶ By the late ninth/fifteenth century, Ottoman scholars further explored and extended the implications of this trend by arguing that jurists' opinions qualified as fulfilling the requirements

34 Kalaycı, Mâtürîdî-Hanefî aidiyetin 26–34.

35 Tosun, Mâtürîdîyye ve tasavvuf ilişkisi 52.

36 Atçıl, Greco-Islamic philosophy 33–54.

of legal certainty. Not surprisingly, the culmination of this trend rendered religious belief increasingly prominent and legally relevant, additionally threatening public figures who refused to conform, as well as communities whose actions were considered to display external signs of internal unbelief (*kuf̄r*).³⁷

As Ottoman Sunnism was just taking shape, *kalām* had evolved well beyond the founders' (*mutaqaddimūn*) emphasis on revealed knowledge of the earlier centuries, which tended to emphasize fairly straightforward interpretations of scriptural proofs, according to *madhhab* affiliation. Following al-Ghazālī's and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's reformulation of the discipline, and the contributions of several subsequent scholars, *kalām* had evolved into a complex, comprehensive, and philosophically informed discourse, which provided doctrinal certainty and external legal corroboration for the opinions of state-affiliated ulama. Of course, an alternative view advocated for keeping philosophical methodology and discourse out of *kalām* and concentrating purely on broader religious doctrine (*uṣūl al-dīn*) verified via *naql* revealed proofs. Supporters of this view included the Hanbali scholars Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), as well as the Mamluk scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (d. 911/1505).³⁸ While this alternative view might appear to represent a narrow-minded reliance on revelation, it might also be seen as resisting the ongoing expansion of theological discourse into matters and disputes that went well beyond the "original intent" of prophetic revelation.

Generally speaking, by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, both the Maturidi and Ash'ari schools had mutually recognized each other's legitimacy as Sunni positions, the Shirazi school(s) had successfully rehabilitated mystically inclined rational philosophy, scholars continued to search for certainty in religious belief, and some scholars articulated arguments rendering *kalām* legally relevant. The integration of philosophical discourse into theology, coupled with the search for certainty and the recharacterization of *ahl al-sunna* as accepting both Maturidi and Ash'ari positions while rejecting others, eventually led to the political use of *kalām* as a form of state legitimation, with deadly consequences for some. As first Mollā Luṭfī (d. 900/1494) and later Mollā Kābīz (d. 933/1527) were to discover, once state-backed scholar-bureaucrats had moved beyond certainty in religious belief to rendering such correct belief legally actionable, *kalām* became a dangerous discourse for those publicly insisting on views considered beyond the pale.³⁹

37 Al-Tikriti, *Kalām in the service* 131–149.

38 Atçıl, *Greco-Islamic philosophy* 51; Özervarlı, *Theology in the Ottoman lands* 583; Hoover, *Hanbali theology* 625–648.

39 Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar* 203–250; Erünsal, *Molla Lütfi* 37–54.

As the imperial madrasa infrastructure and curriculum reached its full articulation by the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century, a recognizable Ottoman *kalām* branch had emerged. While this branch is usually described as simply “Maturidi,” it might be more accurate to follow M. Sait Özerverli’s lead in characterizing this as a “new synthesis.”⁴⁰ This new synthesis emerged together with Ottoman Sunnism, maintained continuous scholarly dialogue with classic works of the Ash‘ari school while largely defending Maturidi positions, absorbed the methodology and rhetoric of what is usually described as the “Shirazi school” of *ḥikma*-driven philosophy into theological dialogue, and had grown both legally relevant and politically powerful—at least in those areas under Ottoman sovereignty.

2 An Engaged Participant

One emblematic participant in the small circle of imperial elites who engaged in a broad range of political and scholarly discourse, including *kalām* disputation and *uṣūl al-dīn* commentary, and thus helped define Ottoman Sunnism, was Şehzâde Korkud (d. 919/1513). In the popular literature on Ottoman history, he is more commonly recalled (when remembered at all) as a complaining, compromised, and weak prince who proved completely unable to compete against his courageous and decisive younger half-brother, Sultan Selim I (r. 918–926/1512–1520). In reality, Korkud’s political biography was far more complex than the image promoted by subsequent court historians, and his gradual erasure from the pantheon of Ottoman letters is itself worthy of study.⁴¹

In preparation for a long-anticipated struggle to succeed his father Bâyezîd II (r. 886–918/1481–1512), throughout the first decade of the tenth/sixteenth century Korkud strove to portray himself as a well-rounded candidate who was intellectually and ethically prepared to assume the role of an ideal Ottoman and Islamic ruler. He was not alone in such endeavors. As Christopher Markiewicz has demonstrated, Idrīs-i Bidlīsī (d. 926/1520), during the same decade, strove to portray first Şehzâde Aḥmed (d. 919/1513), then Şehzâde Şehinşâh (d. 917/1511), and finally Selim each as respective heirs apparent to the “viceregency of God” (*khilāfa-yi raḥmānī*).⁴² While each of these four surviving sons of

40 Özerverli, *Theology in the Ottoman lands* 568, 576.

41 For Korkud’s life and works, see Al-Tikriti, *Şehzade Korkud*. For summaries of Şehzade Korkud’s life, see Emecen, Korkut, *Şehzade 205–207*; Gökbilgin, Korkut 855–860; Gökbilgin, *Korkud* 269; and Uzunçarşılı, *11’inci Bayezid’in oğullarından* 539–601.

42 Markiewicz, *A Study of Idrīs Bidlīsī* 366–369. See also Sariyannis, *Princely virtues* 121–144.

Bāyezīd II could by 917/1511 count on various personal strengths and centers of support, only Korkud is credited with authoring treatises that laid out opinions on matters of faith, legitimacy, and correct governmental practice.

Turning the “publish or perish” mantra somewhat on its head, the largely forgotten Korkud proved more prolific, engaged, and successful in different realms of *belles-lettres* than any other Ottoman royal, ever. He has also resisted neat classification as either *amīr* (commander) or *‘ālim* (scholar), as his other accomplishments in the fields of poetry, musical composition, calligraphy, and other fine arts might be considered consistent with either category. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı treated Korkud as something of a weak prince who pursued a side interest in Arabic legal treatises—a view largely consistent with that promoted by Ottoman historians in the decades following Korkud’s death.⁴³ More recently, Ahmet Hamdi Furat considered Korkud a proper Shafi’i *faqīh* who happened to be an Ottoman royal, as opposed to a fully competitive prince who nearly succeeded Bāyezīd II.⁴⁴ Why did a prince in the midst of a highly politicized and dangerous succession intrigue also engage in seemingly obtuse questions of theological discourse? As Lutz Berger has suggested, “theological knowledge was part and parcel of the academic credentials of scholars and therefore their social standing.”⁴⁵ Perhaps Korkud hoped to persuade potential supporters that he was the most worthy candidate to succeed his father Bāyezīd by engaging directly in such matters as a participating *‘ālim*, as opposed to merely patronizing such scholarly works as an *amīr*.

While Korkud’s oeuvre is impressive for a royal figure normally obliged to follow the career track of a military sovereign, there remains a question of authorship. His extant correspondence, poetry, calligraphy, and musical compositions raise no particular red flags concerning authorship, no more than with any other historical figure living five centuries ago. However, his Arabic treatises are another matter. He is credited with as many as seven discursive treatises and a collection of legal opinions, four of which remain extant within Süleymaniye Library’s Aya Sofya collection. Three of these extant texts exhibit a high level of scholarly Arabic, free from obvious mistakes and in line with the conventions of the time.⁴⁶ One of those texts analyzed here, *Da‘wat al-naḥs al-tālīha*, survives in three manuscript copies. The draft version includes a prefatory statement attributing the text to Korkud while stating that an oth-

43 Uzunçarşılı, 11’inci Bayezid’in oğullarından 539–601.

44 Furat, Osmanlı hânedanında 193–212.

45 Berger, Interpretations 701.

46 However, Prof. Wadad Kadi once suggested that the Arabic of Korkud’s *Da‘wa* was not native.

erwise unknown scholar, ‘Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, dictated the text, on behalf of “the sultan of scholarship and scholar of his era,” Ḳorḳud.⁴⁷ The fourth extant text, *Wasīlat al-aḥbāb*, which the prince addressed directly to his father as an extended and private explanation of his sudden 915/1509 departure for Mamluk Egypt, is riddled with basic Arabic grammatical errors.⁴⁸ Comparison of all known copies of these texts attributed to Ḳorḳud suggests multiple possibilities in terms of authorship. Perhaps Ḳorḳud authored all texts attributed to him but had al-Anṣārī dictate (and edit) the draft version of *al-Da’wa* on his behalf. Alternatively, perhaps al-Anṣārī was the ghost writer of *al-Da’wa*, or perhaps it was a group effort by more than one scholar resident at Ḳorḳud’s court working under the prince’s direction. What is certain is that there is great discrepancy between the levels of Arabic competence displayed in *Da’wat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa* and in *Wasīlat al-aḥbāb* and that all of the works were claimed by, and credited to, Şehzāde Ḳorḳud.

Through these texts, Ḳorḳud presented his views forcefully, his argumentation reflecting the worldview, expertise, and literature of Ottoman ulama around the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century. While many of his views were emblematic of this stage in the formulation of Ottoman religious identity, they were not entirely consistent with what came to be adopted. Notably, Ḳorḳud preferred the Shafi’i *madhhab*, even while the Ottoman madrasa system of his own day had already established a definitive Hanafi preference. Similarly, he condemned Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240), whom Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1534) rehabilitated after Ḳorḳud’s death, following Sultan Selīm’s public visit to and restoration of Ibn ‘Arabī’s tomb during the 922/1516 Syria campaign.⁴⁹

Ḳorḳud’s intellectual journey is itself somewhat indicative of broader trends in ninth-to-tenth/fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century intellectual thought. Educated primarily by Anatolian-based scholars who were in turn heavily influenced

47 This copy is probably the same as that said by Uzunçarşılı (11’inci Bayezid’in oğullarından 596–597) to be owned by the book merchant Raif Yelkenci. Cornell Fleischer (From Ḳorḳud to Mustafa Āli 67–77), the first modern scholar to analyze this text in depth, used a microfilm of this copy, also said to have once been owned by the prominent Ottoman historian M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. I am indebted to Prof. Fleischer for providing me with a microfilm of this copy. Ḳorḳud, *Da’wat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa*, ms Gökbilgin, 423. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations from this text refer to the presentation copy, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Aya Sofya 1763.

48 For an extensive analysis of this text and Ḳorḳud’s Egypt visit, see Al-Tikriti, *The hajj* 125–146.

49 Dalkıran, *İbn-i Kemal* 182–184; Şeyh Mekki Efendi and Ahmed Neyli Efendi, *Yavuz Sultan Selim’in emriyle*. For Ḳorḳud’s view, see Şehzāde Ḳorḳud, *Da’wat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa* 233b–235b.

by Timurid and Aqqoyunlu scholarly circles, Korkud also maintained a strong Egypt connection toward the end of his career. He requested theological advice from the famous Cairene scholar Abū Yahyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520),⁵⁰ and relied on the aforementioned Egyptian shaykh with the same family name, ‘Abd al-Salām b. Muhammad al-Anṣārī, to both dictate the rough draft of his magnum opus and negotiate his 1510 return from exile in Cairo.⁵¹ To better understand Korkud’s personal journey and subsequent contribution to an emergent Ottoman Sunnism, let us now examine his educational formation, intellectual circles, his oeuvre as a whole, and some of the arguments contained in two of his most prominent treatises.

3 A Palace Education

Korkud’s educational formation combined a fairly typical Anatolian education, dominated by post-Timurid Iranian and Central Asian influences, and a somewhat less typical current characterized by Egyptian Ash’ari influences.⁵² His father Bāyezīd’s Amasya court retained teachers, calligraphers, artists, and scholars, several with strong connections to Iran or other eastern lands. These teachers included Mollā Şalāḥu’d-dīn (fl. 881/1476), Amasyalı Haṭīb Kāsım (d. ca. 926/1520), Mīrim Çelebi Maḥmūd (d. 930/1524), Mu’arrifzāde, and Amasyalı Shaykh Ḥamdullāh (d. ca. 926/1520).⁵³ Several of those known to have been resident at Bāyezīd’s Amasya court should have exerted influence on Korkud’s education. However, as little was recorded about Korkud’s childhood in Amasya per se, the only direct connection made between him and these teachers comes from a twelfth/eighteenth-century biographical notice stating that as a child he had studied with the Bukhara emigré and first significant Ottoman master calligrapher, Shaykh Ḥamdullāh of Amasya, who has been credited with designing a definitively Ottoman script.⁵⁴

50 His full name was Abū Yahyā Zakariyyā Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi‘ī. For biographies of al-Anṣārī, see Ingalls, *Recasting Qushayrī’s Risāla* 93–120; Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme* 517–518; Özel and Kallek, *Zekariyyā el-Ensārī* 212–215. I thank Matthew Ingalls for clarifying certain points of al-Anṣārī’s biography.

51 Al-Tikriti, *The hajj* 128.

52 For other preconquest Ottoman intellectual connections with Arab lands, see Pfeifer’s and Terzioğlu’s articles in this volume.

53 Mecdī, *Hadāiku-ş-şakâik* 197–198, 212–213, 338–339, 513; Kappert, *Die Osmanischen Prinzen* 45–67; Uzunçarşılı, *İlmîye teşkilâtı* 145.

54 Müstaḥkimzāde, *Tuhfe-i hattâtin* 368; Osborne, *Letters of light* 44–53; Sohrweide (Dichter und Gelehrte 275–276) counted Shaykh Ḥamdullāh as one of many eastern scholars who

There is evidence that one of Bāyezīd's oldest and closest companions during his posting in Amasya and throughout his life, Amasyalı Mü'eyyedzāde 'Abdu'r-raḥmān Çelebi (860–922/1456–1516),⁵⁵ played a mentoring role for Korkud. Mü'eyyedzāde was a talented scholar and litterateur who was forced to flee Anatolia in 883/1479 following an execution order from Sultan Mehmed, ostensibly for supplying his son Bāyezīd with opium.⁵⁶ After a brief stop in Aleppo, Mü'eyyedzāde studied in Shiraz under the prominent Ash'ari scholar and Shirazi school of philosophy paragon Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī while waiting for events to turn more propitious in Istanbul.⁵⁷ Soon after Bāyezīd rose to power, this young scholar and boon companion followed the new sultan to Istanbul. Although not exceptionally prolific on his own account, Mü'eyyedzāde was a star student of Dawānī, frequented the same circles as the foremost religious scholars of his own generation, and guided many of the empire's religious policies from the 880s/1480s right up to his execution in 922/1516, both as Bāyezīd's close companion and later as first Anadolu and then Rumeli *ḳādī'asker* (military judge). A powerful minister and scholarly practitioner, he boasted a personal library that was reportedly one of the largest ever seen in Istanbul, the inventory of which continues to provide a useful source for early modern Ottoman intellectual history.⁵⁸

Mü'eyyedzāde once responded to a personal request by sending Korkud a treatise addressing “complex issues of *kalām*,” accompanied by a versified Arabic introduction offering exaggerated praise of the prince. As no scholar named the treatise, it has not yet been identified and may no longer exist.⁵⁹ Although Korkud never referred to Mü'eyyedzāde directly, such personal ties, recalled in the *tezkiye* literature several decades after the fact, suggest that this powerful minister, scholar, and close friend of his father informed Korkud's views and

greatly influenced Ottoman letters in its formative ninth-tenth/fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.

55 Kemālpaşazāde (İbn Kemāl, *Tevārīḥ-i Âl-i Osmân* vi, 5–6) devoted a brief panegyric passage to Mü'eyyedzāde during his discussion of Bāyezīd's preaccession court, demonstrating his importance and proximity to Bāyezīd, at least when Kemālpaşazāde wrote the passage, ca. 917/1511.

56 For Bāyezīd's response to his father, apologizing for not carrying out the execution order and promising to refrain from future opium consumption, see TSA E6366/1. Uzunçarşılı, Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in ölümü, 474–475.

57 See Pfeiffer, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī's 284–331.

58 Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq* 290–294; Menzel, Mu'ayyad-zāde 272.

59 Mecdî, *Hadaiku-ş-şakaik* 310; Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq* 294; Hoca Sa'dü'd-dīn, *Tāc üt-tevārīḥ* ii, 556; Kātib Çelebi (*Kashf al-zunūn* iii, 433, #6302) referred to the work as simply “a treatise on *kalām*.”

scholarly positions. Similarly, Mü'eyyedzāde's active engagement in the field of *kalām* suggests an ongoing discussion within high imperial circles on matters of theological import and their role in society.

One teacher, whose court career is at least indicative of the type of intellectual influences that surrounded the young Korkud in Amasya and demonstrates how Bāyezīd II himself engaged with scholarly Arabic *kalām* treatises, was Mollā Şalāhu'd-dīn (fl. 881/1476).⁶⁰ Mollā Şalāhu'd-dīn reportedly instructed prince Bāyezīd in Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī's commentary on al-Nasafī's creed, *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* (Commentary on the tenets of faith), going so far as to write an explanatory gloss on the text in Arabic for Bāyezīd's benefit.⁶¹ While Korkud never cited any of Mollā Şalāhu'd-dīn's work, he also studied al-Taftāzānī's *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* at least as early as his teen years, as he was gifted a copy of it in 890/1485.⁶² Proof of his later familiarity with the eminent theologian came when Korkud cited *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* along with several other works by al-Taftāzānī over 30 times in his own *kalām* engaged treatise, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān*.⁶³

After Korkud was transferred around 884/1480 from his father's court in Amasya to his grandfather Mehmed II's court in Istanbul,⁶⁴ one of his teachers was Mollā Seyyid İbrāhīm (d. 918/1512). Like other influential figures in Korkud's youth, Seyyid İbrāhīm had connections to both Iran and Anatolia. A somewhat colorful character, boasting miraculous powers, İbrāhīm's father had been an Iranian notable who had previously emigrated to a village near Amasya.⁶⁵

While the source evidence is somewhat fragmentary for his earliest instruction, it does suggest that the young Korkud was exposed in Amasya and Istanbul to the Iranian and Central Asian influences that were current in his day. Via those teaching at the court, the prince should have been exposed to debates concerning *falsafa* methodology, the integration of philosophy with *kalām*, both Maturidi and Ash'ari beliefs, and even miraculous events connected to occult practice.

60 Kappert, *Die Osmanischen Prinzen* 46, citing Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tārīhi* iii, 232. Hüsameddin, writing in the early twentieth century, rarely cited his sources.

61 Kappert, *Die Osmanischen Prinzen* 46; Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq* 178–179; Mecdī, *Hadāiku-ş-şakāik* 197–198.

62 The 1481–1487 gift register (TSA D10017) records a 1485 delivery of a copy to Korkud.

63 Korkud, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* 2a–3a, 4a–b, 8a–9b, 14a–15a, 20a–26a, 27a, 32b, 58a, 60a–61a, 62b–65a, 82a, 89a–b, 90b–91b, 94/2a, 114b, 118b, 124a–b, 129a–b, 137a, 145b–146a, 158b, 160b, 172b–173a, 187a, 188a, 215a.

64 Gökbilgin, *Korkut* 856.

65 Sohrweide, *Dichter und Gelehrte* 276; Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq* 305–309; Mecdī, *Hadāiku-ş-şakāik* 319–323.

Ḳorḳud also appears to have maintained a Cairo connection, both politically and intellectually. The origins of this connection remain uncertain, but as an adult Ḳorḳud collaborated extensively with ‘Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī. Described only as an “al-Azhar Shaykh” in *Wasīlat al-aḥbāb*, this scholar played a key role in Ḳorḳud’s political writings and negotiations from at least 1508 onward.⁶⁶ ‘Abd al-Salām might have been related to the celebrated Cairene scholar and mystic Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), from whom Ḳorḳud sought a legal opinion concerning the legal status of concubines.⁶⁷ These relationships suggest a level of intellectual interaction between both Ottoman and Mamluk ulama and *umarā’*, and since Egypt was famously a stronghold of the Shafi‘i *madhhab*, it might also explain to some extent Ḳorḳud’s apparent Shafi‘i affiliation.

4 Following a Curriculum, Starting a Library

The young Ḳorḳud’s strong predilection for scholarship was also confirmed by gifts recorded as presented to him in a 890/1485 register, when he was roughly fifteen-sixteen years old, and soon after he had been assigned to his first provincial posting. While all the princes recorded in the gifts register, including Ḳorḳud, were gifted falcons, concubines, and slaves, only this scholarly *ṣehzāde* was also presented with texts covering a broad range of literary, philosophical, and legal issues.⁶⁸ Of these six texts, one was Nizāmī’s (d. ca. 605/1209) poetry quintet,⁶⁹ one was devoted to jurisprudence or governance,⁷⁰ and four were devoted to issues of philosophy and theology. Each of these texts demonstrate the intellectual milieu to which the young prince was exposed growing

66 Al-Tikriti, *The hajj* 128.

67 Ḳorḳud stated in his *Ḥall ishkal* (51b) that he had obtained a fatwa on this topic from “*Shaykh al-Islām al-Shaykh al-Qāḍi Zayn al-Dīn Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī—raḍi Allāh ‘anhu.*”

68 According to the gift register (TSA D10017, f. 2), on 13 Dhū al-Qa‘da 890/21 November 1485 the following texts were presented to Ḳorḳud’s *niṣāncı* for personal delivery to the prince: *K. Isfarā’inī*, *Sharḥ-i ‘aqa’id*, *K. Sharḥ-i maṭālī*, *K. Ḥāshiye-i maṭālī*, *Kitāb-i mukhtaṣar*, and *K. Khamsa-yı Nizāmī*.

69 TSA D10017. This was his celebrated poetry collection, the *Khamsa-yı Nizāmī* (Nizāmī’s quintet). Comparison of these poems against his own poetry and scholarship suggests that Ḳorḳud studied these five works intensively as part of his advanced education, and that his later literary outputs, which lay beyond the scope of this study, were informed by these master works. Chelkowski, *Nizāmī Gandjawī* 76–81.

70 TSA D10017.

up, although disentangling precisely how certain texts influenced him remains a challenge.

A text addressing either jurisprudence or governance was *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar* (The handbook), a generic title which could refer to several works providing the early modern equivalent of college law textbooks. In his own scholarship, ʔorʔud cited works with the same title by the Egyptian Hanafi jurist Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭahāwī (d. 321/933), the Baghdad Hanafi jurist al-Qudūrī (d. 428/1037), and the Shafiʿi-influenced Maliki jurist al-Shaykh al-Khalīl b. Ishāq (d. 775/1374). It is equally possible that the title referred to a text recently analyzed by Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Mukhtaṣar fī l-siyāsa wa-umūr al-saltāna* (Compendium of governance and the affairs of rulership). This anonymous Arabic text was completed early in Bāyezīd II's reign, urging him to follow the lead of his deceased father, Meḥmed II, in promoting a *devşirme* class of trained professionals at the expense of old Anatolian elites. Consistent with the Mamluk tradition of moralistic mirrors for princes, *Mukhtaṣar* advocated a more juridical and hierarchical view of correct governance than previous works found in the Ottoman milieu, which tended to be more abstract and lean toward hagiographical presentations of ruler perfection.⁷¹ Serving as an administrative manual based on older Islamicate examples, this work was capable of providing several of the governance critiques ʔorʔud later made in his *Daʿwat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa*.

The first of four texts likely addressing religious belief, listed as simply *K. Isfarāʿīnī* (The book of Isfarāʿīnī), could be one of several works by any of three scholars hailing from Isfarāyīn in Khorāsān. While available evidence does not allow full confirmation of which text the gift register referred to, the topics in which ʔorʔud most engaged suggest that he was likely given the text by “al-Ustādh” Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāʿīnī's (d. 418/1027) *al-ʿAqīda* (The creed). Covering a wide range of theological questions from an intellectual grandson of al-ʿAshʿarī, who broke with him on several points as a rationally minded and Muʿtazili-leaning Ashʿari theologian, *al-ʿAqīda* was one of the foundational texts of *kalām*, and clearly worthy of consultation and instruction in the late ninth/fifteenth century.⁷²

71 Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined* 37–39.

72 ʔorʔud twice cited “al-Shaykh” Abū Ḥamid al-Isfarāʿīnī (d. 406/1016), a jurist sometimes referred to as a “second Shāfiʿī” due to his *Taʿlīq*, a fifty-plus volume commentary on yet another *Mukhtaṣar* text, this time a well-known Shafiʿi legal manual by al-Muzanī (d. 264/878). Several times ʔorʔud also referenced arguments made by “al-Ustādh” Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāʿīnī in his *al-ʿAqīda* (The creed), *Ādāb al-jadal* (The art of dialectics), and other unspecified texts. Considering that the gifts document only mentioned a single volume, and that ʔorʔud cited Abū Ishāq far more than Abū Ḥamid, it is more likely that the text he was given was one of the two Abū Ishāq treatises. ʔorʔud, *Daʿwat al-naḥs al-*

Another text, listed with the generic title *Sharḥ-i 'aqā'id* (Commentary on the creeds), can be tentatively identified through ƘorƘud's own citations as Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī's *Sharḥ al-'aqā'id*, a *kalām* classic that greatly influenced Ottoman theological study.⁷³ Credited with combining and reconciling Ash'ari and Maturidi *kalām* disputation, al-Taftāzānī's commentary served as an exploration, critique, and philosophical elaboration of the rather brief *al-'Aqā'id* text by the Maturidi theologian Najm al-Dīn 'Umar al-Nasafī.⁷⁴ Finally, while ƘorƘud cited all of these scholars, the only *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* he ever quoted by name was al-Taftāzānī's celebrated commentary, which he referred to five times in two of his works.⁷⁵

The final two texts listed on the gift register consisted of a commentary and a gloss on that same commentary. Listed as *Sharḥ-i Maṭālī'* and *Hāshīye-i maṭālī'*, these texts were most likely the *Sharḥ al-Maṭālī'* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī (d. 766/1365) and *Hāshīyyat al-Maṭālī'* by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī. Consistent with the intellectual genealogies operative in the post-Mongol era, these texts were directly related to, and expanded on, a work originally produced by an earlier philosopher. The original work in the chain was *Maṭālī' al-anwār* (Ascensions of the illuminations) by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283), a meditation on logic and philosophy by a highly influential and well-traveled scholar.⁷⁶ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī produced a commentary on the logic section of al-Urmawī's work, entitled *Lawāmī' al-asrār fī sharḥ maṭālī' al-anwār* (Luminous mysteries in a commentary on the ascensions of the illuminations), which became known simply as *Sharḥ al-Maṭālī'*. This text and its

tāliha 47a, 214a, 218b; *Hall ishkāl al-afkār*, 33b, 53b–54a; *Hāfiẓ al-insān*, 2b, 29b, 40a, 41a, 65b; Madelung, al-Isfarāyīnī 107–108; Yavuz, Isferāyīnī, Ebū Ishāk 515–516; Heffening, al-Muzanī 822.

73 The text may also have been Khayālī Aḥmad Efendi's (d. 874/1470) commentary on the same al-Nasafī text, with the same title. Khayālī's text would have been more current, and was also to become an integral part of the Ottoman madrasa curriculum, but as it was not nearly as well known, if it were this text, it should have carried an additional qualifier in its title. At least two other scholars, the renowned theologian Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī and the relatively unknown Aḥmad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 731/1331/2) completed works that were also entitled *Sharḥ al-'aqā'id*. However, al-Jūrjānī's commentary on 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's *al-'Aqā'id* and al-Qūnawī's on al-Ṭaḥāwī's *al-'Aqā'id* were also not nearly as widespread as al-Taftāzānī's work. TSA D10017; Tritton, al-Djurdjānī 602–603; van Ess, al-Idjī 1022; Görgün, İcī, Adudüddin, 410–414; Gümüş, Cürçānī, Seyyid Şerif 134–136.

74 Würtz, *Islamische Theologie im 14 Jahrhundert*; Spannaus, *Theology in Central Asia* 587–588.

75 ƘorƘud, *Da'wat al-nafs* 239b; *Hāfiẓ al-insān* 2b, 114b, 118b, 160b; Madelung, al-Taftāzānī 88–89; Wensinck, al-Nasafī 968–969; Yavuz, Nesefī, Ebū'l-Muīn 568–570.

76 Marlow, Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī 279–313.

author were sufficiently renowned that al-Jurjānī traveled from his Astarabad home to Herat to study the text in person with the elderly al-Rāzī. Later, while in Cairo instructing students on al-Rāzī's *Sharḥ*, al-Jurjānī produced his own gloss on that commentary, which he entitled *Ḥāshīyyat 'alā sharḥ Maṭāli' al-anwār* (A gloss on the commentary of the ascensions of the illuminations).⁷⁷ While Korkud chose not to cite any of these aforementioned texts by name in his own surviving works, he listed al-Urmawī as one of the favored scholars in his suggested "third doctrine," quoted other works by al-Jurjānī several times, and criticized madrasa students of his day for reading only al-Jurjānī's *Ḥāshīyya* and one other theology work—suggesting that al-Jurjānī's text played a prominent role in Ottoman scholarly discourse by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century.⁷⁸

5 Engaging with *Kalām*

Turning from the prince's intellectual formation to his own scholarly output, Korkud contributed two lengthy texts, which extensively explored issues of *kalām* disputation, *uṣūl al-dīn*, and their applicability to social issues of his day. Through these texts, he exemplified the range of mainstream thought within the Ottoman elite and left his mark on the evolution of Ottoman Sunnism.

In his voluminous 913/1508 *Da'wat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa ilā l-a'māl al-ṣāliḥa, bi-l-ayāt al-zāhira wa-l-bayyināt al-bāhira* (An errant soul's summons to virtuous works, through manifest signs and splendid proofs),⁷⁹ Korkud articulated specific critiques of imperial administrative practice, as well as general views of correct ethical living. Meditating first on the inevitability of death and the finality of the hereafter, he devoted this most ambitious of his treatises to renouncing his candidacy to the throne while addressing various aspects of what he considered disregard for *shar'ī* ethical considerations within Ottoman domains.⁸⁰ His primary thesis was that no individual could both serve as an

77 An Ottoman scholar named 'Abdü'l-kerīm Efendi, who flourished during the reign of Murād II (r. 824–855/1421–1451), produced another work entitled *Ḥāshīyyat al-maṭāli'*. Since the reception of this scholar's gloss was modest at best, it appears likely that Korkud's gifted work was al-Jurjānī's text. Pourjavady, *Philosophy in early Safavid Iran* 2; Gümüş, *Seyyid Şerif Cürcānī* 86–88, 115–116, 148–149; Gümüş, *Cürcānī* 134–136; Tāhir, *Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri*, i 352.

78 Korkud, *Da'wat al-naḥs* 221a.

79 Title as provided in frontispiece. This translation of the title follows Fleischer.

80 Korkud consistently used the term *shar'*, not *sharī'a*, which supports Wilfred Cantwell Smith's argument that the term *sharī'a* came into common use only in later centuries. Smith, *The concept of shari'a* 581–602.

effective *amīr* (prince) in his corrupt times (or any time) and still hope to attain a pleasant afterlife. By criticizing what he saw as critical problems in Ottoman governance, Korkud's *al-Da'wa* implicitly provided his ideal vision for a well-functioning society. While *Da'wat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa* can in no way be classified as a *kalām* text, it provided strong arguments on the madrasa curriculum of the time, as well as *kalām*'s role in protecting society from dangerous or subversive trends and movements.

At roughly the same time that Korkud was working on *al-Da'wa*, he (and his team of scholars) was also working on *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān 'an lāfiẓ al-īmān wa Allāh al-hādī ilā širāṭ al-jinān* (The individual's protector from faith's rejector, as God is the guide to the heavenly paths).⁸¹ This text was never completed, with the sole surviving copy bringing together 96 folios of a presentation draft, 16 folios repeating, in draft form, the end of the presentation draft, and a further 113 folios of draft copy, which ends in mid-thought. Since the text was referred to in *al-Da'wa*, Korkud had clearly begun working on *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* by 913/1508 and failed to complete it before his death in 919/1513.

With its strident arguments justifying secular enforcement and legal expansion of *shar'*-sanctioned punishments (*aḥkām*) for apostasy, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* provided a comprehensive *kalām* justification for the legally sanctioned *takfīr* of certain groups or individuals found guilty of exhibiting external signs of internal absence of faith. While not solely devoted to *kalām* debates, most of this text addressed *kalām* discourse and methodology, using the discipline as a basis to advocate for a more engaged state policy vis-à-vis religious belief. Together, these two texts demonstrate the rhetorical power of *kalām* discourse to promote policy positions justified as strengthening *dīn ü devlet* (religion and state).

Throughout *Da'wat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa*, Korkud presented arguments by which, taken together, he intended to define the ideal characteristics of the empire's religious identity. He opened *al-Da'wa* by first reflecting at length on the meaning of the afterlife, "purchasing this world with the other one," and the concept of the "bankrupt one" (*muflis*). To do so, he opened with several Quranic verses and prophetic hadiths about Judgment Day, which themselves constituted something of an argument, an abstract outline for the entire text, and a demonstration of the persuasive power of revealed knowledge.⁸² Advocating

81 MS Aya Sofya 2289. Here referred to as *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān*. I thank Urs Göskin for his incisive comments concerning this text.

82 Korkud, *Da'wat al-naḥs* 1a–4a, citing Q 3:185, 21:35, 29:57, 55:26, 28:88, 101:6–11, 99:7–8, 79:35–41, 89:27–30, 51:56, 83:4–5, 102:8, 35:5–6.

on behalf of the poor and oppressed, in this introductory section he signaled a facility for *naql* argumentation by employing a string of revealed proofs in his appeal for ethical rule. In addition, he pointedly used the term *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a* when countering Mu'tazila arguments concerning the fate of the *muflis*, thus demonstrating something of a "Sunni consciousness" in his rhetorical selection.

Framing his resignation from ruling candidacy as an ethical imperative, Korkud next explained how one could never simultaneously enforce the dictates of both *shar'* (religious ethics) and the *'urf* (imperial legal convention) of his time as a sovereign ruler.⁸³ Nodding toward his political agenda, he implicitly promised to elevate the status of those he considered *shar'*-minded ulama, while equally promising to purge those corrupted ulama guilty of currying favor at court—presumably referring to those scholar-bureaucrats most responsible for establishing the nascent madrasa curriculum that would come to define Ottoman Sunnism.

Following the lead of the multiple Ash'ari influences during his education, and consistent with the near merger of Maturidi and Ash'ari views in the course of the ninth/fifteenth century, in *Da'wat al-nafs al-ṭāliha* Korkud quoted over 20 pages from Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) *Mu'īd al-ni'am* to describe how he defined and delineated an ideal religious identity. In one section, al-Subkī summarized how the legal *madhhab* factions grew hostile to each other, until eventually the *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a* grew persuaded by al-Ash'arī's path, as laid out in the various *'aqā'id* texts. After that, the Sunni groups came to include the enlightened ones among both the Hanafi and Shafi'i, all of the Maliki followers, and the best of the Hanbali. Concurrently, some of the Hanafi and Shafi'i adherents followed the Mu'tazila, while some of the Hanbali turned toward the *mujassima* (anthropomorphists), neither of which should be considered Sunni. Tracing Mu'tazili mistakes back to their origin during the reign of caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 197–218/813–833), al-Subkī rejected those who condemned others for making false statements without care and reflection, based on simplistic and preliminary external proofs. To demonstrate his point, he related an anecdote whereby al-Ma'mūn made a series of outrageous statements, which turned out to be truthful following clarification.⁸⁴

The quoted al-Subkī passage then urged the Sunni ulama to unite and continuously oppose those whom he characterized as factionalists, defined as those who attack Islam, oppose the two shaykhs Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and cast

83 Korkud, *Da'wat al-nafs* 4a–29a.

84 Ibid. 215b–216b, 251a–252a.

down ‘Ā’isha. As he saw it, fighting against those who defame the Quran is a duty, so much so that each and every believer must engage with them. In addition, they should actively engage in proselytizing among Jews and Christians, instead of passively accepting their conversion.⁸⁵

Çorçud was broadly sympathetic to the postclassical (*muta’akhirün*) forms of theological disputation, which had successfully integrated *falsafa* methodology following Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s contribution. However, like many others of the era, he was exceedingly vigilant against the threat of *falāsifa*’s (philosophers) conclusions coming to dominate *kalām* discourse and, thus, undermining what he saw as correct *uṣūl al-dīn* doctrines. Accordingly, Çorçud provided another extended quote of al-Subkī that condemned the *falāsifa*, those who had mixed *kalām* from the theologians with *kalām* from the *falāsifa*, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s branch of *kalām* argumentation, and the Mu’tazili theologian al-Zamakhsharī’s (d. 538/1144) *al-Kashshāf*—which Çorçud claimed that many ‘Ajām (i.e., Iranians) read.⁸⁶ Having specified all the areas within and between *falsafa* and *kalām* discourses that were to be condemned, Çorçud cited al-Subkī’s validation of al-Ghazālī’s and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s earlier use of *falsafa* methodology to counter their conclusions and defend *ahl al-sunna* doctrinal integrity. In this same passage, al-Subkī spoke out directly against those philosophically inclined scholars in his own day who referred to themselves as the “wise ones” (*ḥukamā’*). Following al-Subkī’s lead, Çorçud argued forcefully that the only ones who should engage with the *falāsifa*, effectively heretics who undermine religious belief from within the community, are those who are fully trained in the branches of *fiqh*, cannot be misled by heretical (*malāhida*) beliefs, and refuse to mix *kalām* with *falsafa* in a way that privileges *falāsifa* doctrinal conclusions.⁸⁷

In *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* Çorçud similarly condemned the introduction of epistemological doubt due to the mixture of *falsafa* and *kalām* (at *kalām*’s expense), labeling *ḥikma* (wisdom) the most indecent discipline afflicting Ottoman and ‘Ajāmī ulama. He specifically rejected teaching *al-Hidāya* (The guidance) and some of the leading commentaries on it, as these texts made students peripatetic and led to the removal of their beliefs, as well as their incarceration in the prison of error. This statement likely referred to the philosophical work *Hidāyat al-ḥikma* (Wisdom’s guide) by Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 660/1262), or the commentary on that work by the contemporary logician Mīr Ḥusayn

85 Çorçud, *Da’wat al-naḥs* 216b–217a.

86 For more on al-Zamakhsharī, see Versteegh, al-Zamakhsharī 432–434.

87 Çorçud, *Da’wat al-naḥs* 217a–219a.

al-Maybudī (d. 909/1504), a student of Dawānī whom Shah Ismāʿīl (d. 930/1524) had executed.⁸⁸ As ḲorḲud explained in a lengthy section commenting on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's views on perception, only revealed knowledge (*naql*), not rational speculation (*ʿaql*), can lead to certainty among the masses concerning the nature of the divine. Since pure rationalism ultimately depends on perception, which is inherently flawed and subjective, one must judiciously combine the two sources of knowledge, as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī had done.⁸⁹ Taken together, in these two texts ḲorḲud appears to have been speaking out against what modern scholars have characterized as the "Shirazi school," or perhaps just the branch that was in the process of becoming the Twelver Shi'i offshoot of that school, when he was working on the texts between 914/1508 and 919/1513. He seems to have found their emphasis on *ḥikma* (wisdom) as a ruling principle, which was a highly popular motif at that time, to rely far too much on *ʿaql* at the expense of *naql*.

Toward the end of *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān*, after a passage analyzing the impediments to certainty one might face relying exclusively on either reason or tradition, ḲorḲud asserted the existence of, and his advocacy for, a "third doctrine" (*madhhab*), which accepted *kalām* as the methodology for reaching legal certainty in judging *kufr* and in clarifying the importance of ritual acts such as prayer, almsgiving, and pilgrimage. Those scholars and their works, which he listed as belonging to his ideal "third *madhhab*," included:

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), in *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl, al-Arbaʿīn*, and *al-Maḥṣūl*;
 Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), in *Abkār al-afkār*;
 Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 682/1283), in *al-Taḥṣīl*;
 ʿAḏud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355), in *al-Mawāqif*;
 Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), in *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*;
 Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), in *Sharḥ al-maqāṣid*; and
 Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392), in *Sharḥ jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*.⁹⁰

ḲorḲud argued that these scholars all agreed on the idea that individuals' utterances convey certainty concerning the legal repercussions of scripture—and obedience thereof. As ḲorḲud saw it, this favored group provided the correct medial position between extremist advocates for *ʿaql* and *naql*, respec-

88 ḲorḲud, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* 48a–b; Pourjavady, *Philosophy in early Safavid Iran* 35–37; [Al-Abharī and al-Maybudī], *Commentary upon guidance*.

89 ḲorḲud, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* 70b–82a.

90 ḲorḲud, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* 186b–188b.

tively, between those whom he believed undermine *dīn* from within by mixing *kalām* with *falsafa* on one hand and the Hanbali *mujassima* literalists on the other.

While all the scholars ƘorƘud listed—all Ash'ari affiliates—were known in Ottoman madrasa circles, they were not all taught equally widely. ƘorƘud's favored al-Subkī text *Jam' al-jawāmi'*, and al-Zarkashī's commentary on it, never found a prominent place in the Ottoman madrasa curriculum, perhaps because Mamluk Ash'ari works became dispensable after Kemālpaşazāde and others more clearly delineated differences between Maturidi and Ash'ari thought. The inclusion of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī's *al-Taḥṣīl* is something of an odd choice, as al-Urmawī's *Maṭālī' al-anwār* was condemned by al-Jurjānī for marginalizing *kalām* as a secondary science interested only in God's essence.⁹¹ As his *al-Taḥṣīl* was an abridgment of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Maḥṣūl*, covering the principles of jurisprudence, perhaps ƘorƘud felt the text supported his drive to achieve legal certainty in judging *kufīr*.⁹² Similarly, Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī was highly critical of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, although perhaps solely due to professional jealousy.⁹³ A fascinating list, this chain of supposedly like-minded scholars excluded al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who was particularly known for his arguments paving the way for rendering scripturally based opinions legally relevant.⁹⁴ It also excluded other notable figures who were studied widely in Ottoman *madrasas* and considered important contributors to the movement of *taḥqīq* (verification),⁹⁵ such as al-Ghazālī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085), and al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 817/1413).⁹⁶ While his list did not correspond entirely with what became the Ottoman madrasa canon in *kalām*, it might be seen as an early roster of *muḥaqqiqūn* scholars,⁹⁷ who led a movement of textual verification that coincided with what Gerhard Endress has characterized as an Islamicate form of scholasticism.⁹⁸

91 Sabra, *Science and philosophy* 21.

92 Marlow, *Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī* 282; Endress, *Reading Avicenna* 304.

93 Endress, *Reading Avicenna* 408–410.

94 Griffel, *Tolerance and exclusion* 339–354.

95 For the broader significance of this trend, see Melvin-Koushki, *Tahqiq vs. taqlid* 193–249. For its subsequent development, see El-Rouayheb, *Opening the gate* 263–281; and *Islamic intellectual history*.

96 For a brief summary of al-Ghazālī's, al-Juwaynī's, and al-Jurjānī's contributions and roles in the early *taḥqīq* trend, see Cürçânî, *Şerhu'l-Mevâkif* 13–23. ƘorƘud cited each of these scholars numerous times in *Ḥāfiẓ al-insân*.

97 Ömer Türker's introduction to his Turkish translation of Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawâqif* lists four (al-Rāzī, al-Āmidī, al-Ījī, al-Taftāzānī) of ƘorƘud's seven as key scholars in the *taḥqīq* trend. Cürçânî, *Şerhu'l-Mevâkif* 13–23.

98 Endress, *Reading Avicenna in the madrasa* 392, 400.

6 Legally Relevant *Kalām*

Ḳorḳud's main text engaging with *kalām* disputation and its role in society, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān*, followed a long line of Shafi'i legal and Ash'ari theological literature discussing the meaning of true faith and its absence.⁹⁹ In al-Shāfi'i's (d. 204/820) own time, Muslims guilty of internal absence of faith (*kufr*) were effectively protected by the fact that internal belief was considered a private matter between any individual and his/her God. This de facto protection of religious privacy started to devolve following al-Ghazālī, who argued quite effectively that the phenomenon of *zindīqs*, or secret apostates, necessitated the withdrawal of the right of repentance (*tawba*) from apostates, as such individuals following secret professions of faith and practicing concealment of inner belief (*taqiyya*) should not be extended the right to be offered repentance (*istitāba*). As a result, the definition of apostasy shifted from an individual's public statement breaking away from Islam to the proven existence of an individual's inner conviction consistent with unbelief.¹⁰⁰

Within Ottoman circles, the most significant legal progression following al-Ghazālī's seminal contribution proved to be the elaboration of acts considered external signs of belief or unbelief. By the early tenth/sixteenth century, the legitimacy of considering such acts as reliable signs was fairly widely accepted, at least among Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats. In addition, it appears that the acts constituting such external signs had multiplied as well. According to Ḳorḳud's count, in his own time such acts included: wearing certain clothing reserved for non-Muslim communities under Islamic rule, treating the Quran or other sacred texts with disrespect, bowing down to idols or to the sun, sacrificing animals in someone's name, claiming false prophethood, and practicing sorcery, among others.¹⁰¹

Arguments advanced by certain Ottoman religious scholars pushed this legal progression further still, allowing imperial officials to claim *shar'ī* justification for punishment of individual apostates as legal justification for state-sanctioned violence against entire communities. Ḳorḳud's 913/1508 *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* argued for broadening apostate statutes to apply to whole populations and may have played a role in the state's growing politicization of doctrinal

99 This section summarizes a more extensive analysis I previously completed on this same text. See Al-Tikriti, *Kalām* in the service 131–149.

100 For further discussion of this earlier evolution of Shafi'i-Ash'ari apostasy literature, see Griffel, *Tolerance and exclusion* 339–354.

101 Ḳorḳud, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* 191a–215b.

affiliation.¹⁰² Guy Burak has argued that state-affiliated Ottoman ulama by the late ninth/fifteenth century had effectively invented the punishment of “renewal of faith” (*tecdīd-i imān*) as a tactic of “temporary excommunication” in order to discipline doctrinal conformity, punish the expression of beliefs they defined as heretical, and assert their societal power. By utilizing this punishment, expressed solely through fatwa rulings and never articulated as part of Hanafi substantive law, such ulama were able to selectively enforce such conformity without having to attempt to execute every individual offending Muslim under their power.¹⁰³ Although he never advocated for any “renewal of faith” punishment per se, via *Hāfiẓ al-insān* Korkud contributed to the scholarly dialogue claiming sufficient doctrinal certainty to justify such *takfīr* protocols, which in turn would have justified application of the *tecdīd-i imān* punishments.

Hāfiẓ al-insān's benediction affirmed the solitary nature of God and Muḥammad's unique status, explaining that Korkud had come across a preponderance of expressions of unbelief among the ignorant, even among those claiming to be seekers of knowledge. To remedy that societal ill, he had decided to clarify the definition of faith and unbelief according to the principles of Islamic jurisprudence and religion, *uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-dīn*, informed by the other major branches of learning.¹⁰⁴ This opening explanation effectively laid out Korkud's disciplinary preferences and agenda, as he intended to demonstrate the doctrinal certainty provided by *kalām* discourse, assert the legal repercussions springing from that certainty, and thus argue the case for mass application of apostasy protocols against populations displaying external signs of apostasy, in turn justifying violent state reactions to protect religion.

Following the introductory statement, the three remaining sections provided something of a literature review of *takfīr* debates throughout Islamic history up to that point. The first two sections contrasted definitions of faith (*imān*)¹⁰⁵ and its opposite, *kufr*.¹⁰⁶ The third section catalogued and described external acts that point to internal *kufr* and, thus, merit verdicts of and punishments for apostasy.¹⁰⁷ By reviewing such *takfīr* debates through the centuries,

102 Internal references within the text to Korkud's *Da'wat al-naḥs* and vice-versa confirm this earliest possible date of authorship. *Da'wat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa* is cited three times in *Hāfiẓ al-insān* 65a, 72a, 196b. Meanwhile, *Hāfiẓ al-insān* is cited twice in *Da'wat al-naḥs* 159b, 236a.

103 Burak, Faith, law, and empire 1–23.

104 Korkud, *Hāfiẓ al-insān* 1a–b.

105 Ibid. 1a–88b.

106 Ibid. 88b–161b.

107 Ibid. 161b–end.

Çorçud was effectively summarizing a politically relevant subset of *kalām* discourse to show why state adjudication of heresy was consistent with longstanding religious belief.

In the course of this text, Çorçud traced the evolution of faith and unbelief from an inner belief, which only affected one's relationship to God, as it was understood in the third/ninth century, to a legally relevant external expression of religious belief, as it came to be understood in his own day. The way he presented this evolution suggested that the state, acting on behalf of the legists (*fuqahā'*) in order to protect the status of religion within society, had the right to enforce social conformity and punish those who refuse to conform. In addition, he argued that such external expressions of belief, which are the signs of social conformity addressed here, remain legally material even when compelled. In addition, such expressions (i.e., stating the *shahāda*, attending Friday prayers) must be displayed to legists regularly, and must be genuine. Possession of *ma'rifa* (gnosis) cannot provide an excuse for exempting oneself from such ritual practice.

In the second section on unbelief, Çorçud started by defining *kufır* as lack of belief in Muhammad's prophecy, expressed via a number of external acts long recognized as signifying *kufır*, including scorning the Quran or dressing in clothing meant to signify one's *dhimmi* status. Citing Ash'ari scholar and Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī's student, al-Şafī al-Hindī (d. 715/1315), that denial of faith can be exhibited circumstantially, and al-Taftāzānī's argument that jurists must ensure legal consequences for apostasy when such denial is demonstrated, Çorçud explicitly rejected the older conclusion that an intentional statement of denial is required to confirm *kufır*.¹⁰⁸ In addition, he asserted the legitimacy of applying *qānūn* (sultanic law) to certain issues within the scope of *shar'*, such as enforcing the correct interpretation of certain theological matters, since state officials acted as sovereign representatives of the *ahl al-ḥaqq* (the true community of believers). Although these points seemingly contradicted arguments Çorçud made in *Da'wat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa* concerning ideal ulama primacy and independence vis-à-vis the state, he might have believed that as long as ulama directed such efforts, their status would not be compromised.¹⁰⁹

In the final section, Çorçud affirmed the right of local religious officials to define apostasy locally, thus effectively asserting the right of the Ottoman state through its ulama to define apostasy for its subjects. In addition, he asserted that once the intended meanings of sacred texts are set, such implicit mean-

108 Ibid. 89a–b; on al-Şafī al-Hindī, see Marlow, Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī 309.

109 Çorçud, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* 88b–90a.

ings can be used as a basis for customary law (*urf*) rulings. Theologians must assist practitioners of *urf* to accurately classify such acts and thus protect society from a threat which *sharʿ* alone cannot address.¹¹⁰ To close the text, ̇oṙud presented acts that merited *kuf̄r* judgments. The first act was abandoning communal prayer. The second was mishandling the Quran, as well as related texts of the religious sciences and respected sciences, which support the canonical disciplines—but not *falsafa* and logic texts, or texts that intermix *kalām* and *falsafa* and undermine society's *kalām*, and that can therefore be abused with no legal punishment. Other acts included making false claims of prophecy and using sorcery to gain followers. ̇oṙud's final act meriting judgment of *kuf̄r* was for those donning the *qalansuwat al-kuffār* (nonbelievers' headgear), who are automatically to be treated as apostates.¹¹¹ This was a clear reference to the Kızılbaş rebel turban, which was spreading throughout Anatolia at the time of his writing. ̇oṙud's generation appears to have been the first to argue that this specific act of public dress constituted apostasy,¹¹² thus demonstrating the mutability of external signs of internal *kuf̄r* over time, as well as the consequences of linking imperial interests with accusations of apostasy. In 913/1508, the same year that ̇oṙud completed a draft of *Hāfiẓ al-insān*, thousands of Safavid supporters referred to as "*kızıl taçlu*" (red crowned) were resettled by Ottoman authorities from Hamid and Teke provinces in Western Anatolia to the recently conquered Modon and Koron provinces in the Peloponnese peninsula. At the time, ̇oṙud was the governing prince of both Hamid and Teke, suggesting a willingness on his part to implement policies justified by his arguments in *Hāfiẓ al-insān*.¹¹³

In *Hāfiẓ al-insān*, ̇oṙud justified, according to the twin norms of *uṣūl al-dīn* (religious dogma) and *uṣūl al-fiqh* (sources of Islamic jurisprudence), the right of imperial authorities to apply apostasy verdicts under the prerogatives of *urf*. As such, his contribution can be characterized as one step in a long process reflecting a progressive extension of state hegemony over matters of individual conscience—and toward the modern mass application of *takfīr* as a justification for sectarian violence. This argument coincided in content and conclusions—if not in direct methodology—with those of Kemālpaşazāde and Sarı Gürz Hāmza Efendi (fl. 920/1514).¹¹⁴ *Hāfiẓ al-insān* also shows ulama

110 Ibid. 163b–191a.

111 Ibid. 195a–b.

112 Earlier theologians had mentioned "girding the sash" as an external sign of *kuf̄r*, thus laying the foundation for clothing-based apostasy rulings.

113 Kayapınar, Anadolu'dan Korona 6–11.

114 Al-Tikriti, *Kalām* in the service 146–149.

views being granted pride of place by a sympathetic, knowledgeable, and semi-sovereign prince, as well as the promotion by this same prince of an expansion of *sharʿ* definitions of apostasy to fit imperial interests. On the whole, in this text ʔorʔud's arguments demonstrate the hegemonic extension of imperial control over *sharʿ* practice in order to harness the legitimating power of *sharʿ* norms to state interests—an extension of state power quite emblematic of the “age of confessionalization,” whether in Europe or the Islamic East.

7 Political Repercussions, Societal Observations

While issues of *kalām* disputation might not appear to carry strong political repercussions, these debates did not take place in a vacuum, and the prince's arguments appear to have fit a political agenda. ʔorʔud tried to appeal primarily to the Ottoman ulama, who would presumably have agreed with his theological arguments and appreciated his deference to their primacy in matters concerning imperial religious identity. In his view, the interests of religion, defined according to the priorities of those he defined as the *ahl al-sunna*, trumped the interests of state, and the *raison d'etre* of the Ottoman state was to support religion. Due to what he perceived as the failure of state and society by the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century, ʔorʔud advocated a return to *sharʿ* principles and a move away from a capricious *ʿurf al-salāṭīn* (dynastic law). In addition to his positions regarding religious identity, in *al-Daʿwa* ʔorʔud complained a great deal about state practices that he considered improper according to *sharʿ* precepts, including illicit expropriation of wealth via taxation, corruption and abuse by the *umarāʾ* military class, excessive bowing down before the ruler, and extra-*sharʿ* punishments (*al-siyāsa*), particularly in the case of royal fratricide.¹¹⁵

ʔorʔud was scathing in his criticism of what he identified as widespread intellectual laziness and corrupt practices in his own era and society. He condemned sectarian *madhhab* followers who attempted to force agreement from others or reflexively followed the positions of their own school, providing only the justification that such traditions come from their forefathers (*taqlīd*). As he saw it, individuals must instead search for truth, objectively—another nod to the emerging *taḥqīq* (verification) movement, which Tijana Krstić discusses in this volume in the context of subsequent centuries and from the perspective

115 For a discussion of Ottoman elite attitudes toward the concept of *al-siyāsa*, see Derin Terzioğlu's article in this volume.

of the sources known as *‘ilm-i hāls*, intended for the religious edification of the commoners.¹¹⁶ Korkud complained on several levels about the *madrassa* graduates of his own day, arguing that they were lazy, corrupt, and compromised. He stated that they read only small portions of two classics of Hanafi *fiqh*, Şadr al-Sharī‘a’s hadith collection and Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī’s (d. 593/1197) *al-Hidāya*, in order to justify taking illicit funds. Implicitly criticizing the madrasa curriculum first established by the patronage of his grandfather, Mehmed II, Korkud stated that the students of his day, in order to learn Quranic commentary (*tafsīr*), only read the two glosses by al-Jurjānī and al-Taftāzānī on al-Zamakhsharī’s (d. 538/1144) *Kashshāf* and what had been commented on them, rather than reading the original work. Finally, in a complaint many university lecturers today might sympathize with, Korkud stated that not only were students reading too narrow a slice of the relevant *tafsīr* literature via these two scholars, they were only reading a few pages.¹¹⁷

In order to accomplish his reform agenda, Korkud wished to elevate an independent class of ulama, excepting those who had been transformed into corrupt scholar-bureaucrats, worldly Sufis who were a danger to religion, and judges susceptible to bribes. As he saw it, judges should never rule according to dynastic *‘urf* code in cases that should be adjudicated according to *shar‘ī* norms, and ulama who frequent palace gates were inherently compromised. His recommendations, if enacted, would have inherently come at the expense of both the military class and certain outsider groups, particularly rural and nomadic Kızılbaş supporters whom Korkud and other pillars of state were just beginning to characterize as heretics.¹¹⁸ In a sense, his hope was to turn back the clock on the role of the ulama in society, to an idealized past era when he thought they were a privileged group, with an indispensable role to lead society and independent of the political hierarchy. While others might emphasize the importance of the military in jihad, both previously and in his own time, Korkud was convinced that the educational and exhortatory role of the ulama was far more important in jihad than the military role, as only scholars can protect the very essence of religious belief.¹¹⁹

As with his views on the mixture of *falsafa* with *kalām* and the role of ulama in society, Korkud railed against several types, or stereotypes, of Sufis. For his discussion on Sufism’s role in society, Korkud supplemented al-Subkī’s conclusions with quotes from such prominent Sufi figures as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān

116 Korkud, *Da‘wat al-nafs* 201a–202a.

117 Korkud, *Da‘wat al-nafs* 221a.

118 Karakaya-Stump, *Kizilbash-Alevis in Ottoman Anatolia* 256–319.

119 Korkud, *Da‘wat al-nafs* 114b–115b, 150b–156b.

al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), and Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 631/1234). Still, for this section he relied primarily on the Ash‘ari Sufi scholar ‘Afif al-Dīn al-Yāfi‘ī’s (d. 768/1367) mystical commentary, *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikayāt al-ṣāliḥīn*.¹²⁰ Ḳorḳud was not against Sufism per se, as he had supported local orders when serving as the governor of Manisa in the 1490s. However, he advocated a restrictive approach to the role of institutionalized mysticism in society, going so far as to accuse his own ruling elite of favoring fake Sufis over real ulama. In this vein, he cited al-Subkī’s exclusion of “Turks,” who had rejected and mocked the *fuqahā* (legists), from being considered Sufis, which might be taken as an indirect reference to rebellious Safavid followers of his own day. Similarly, he followed al-Yāfi‘ī in rejecting magicians, fortune tellers, charlatans, and fake astrologers as Sufis. As Ḳorḳud saw it, any individual conjuring up extraordinary acts or miracles in order to persuade people to do what is forbidden must not be followed.¹²¹

Weighing in on prominent examples from the past, he agreed with certain previous scholars who had judged controversial Sufis. For example, according to Ḳorḳud, al-Hallāj (d. 310/922), Ibn al-Fārīḍ (d. 632/1235), and Ibn ‘Arabī were each guilty of various forms of *kufṛ*, while ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī (d. 525/1131), who was crucified along with other Isma‘ilis, joined the Bāṭiniyya and was thus guilty of subverting religion from within. The primary justification for judging any of these figures for committing *kufṛ* was their lack of adherence to *shar‘ī* protocols concerning acceptable belief. Likewise, Ḳorḳud spoke out against those guilty in his own day of identifying with what modern scholars sometimes characterize as “latitudinarian Sufism.”¹²² For example, as Khidr was a saint, not a prophet, he could not be used to excuse *shar‘ī* transgressions, as some had claimed. Following al-Ghazālī, Ḳorḳud argued that Sufis claiming exemption from *shar‘ī* rules and following material pursuits in proximity to the sultan must be condemned for *kufṛ*. Likewise, following al-Qurṭubī (d. 657/1259), all Bāṭiniyya *Zanādiqa*, believing that *shar‘ī* rules do not apply to them due to their pure souls and greater intellect, must be condemned for *kufṛ*. Following Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī, one must distinguish between Melami groups, who hide their worship and are honorable, and Qalandari groups, who openly try to destroy tradition. Again following al-Suhrawardī, self-proclaimed muftis who claim to be Melami are actually *ahl al-ibāḥa* who permit anything, claiming that special truths render them exempt

120 For more on these scholars, see Böwering, al-Sulamī 81–813; Halm, al-Qushayrī 526–527; Hartmann, al-Suhrawardī 778–782; and Geoffrey, al-Yāfi‘ī 236.

121 Ḳorḳud, *Da‘wat al-naḥs* 223a–248b.

122 Fleischer, From Ḳorḳud to Mustafā Āli 72.

from *sharʿī* precepts. Such individuals are not Sufis and are a source of all types of *zandaqa*, *ilhād* (heresy), and *ibʿād* (estrangement). Likewise, those who believe in the transmigration of souls must be condemned, as with the two most famous examples of “ecstatic Sufism,” when al-Ḥallāj stated “*Anā al-ḥaqq*” and Bāyezīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. ca. 260/874) stated “*Ṣubḥānī*.” Citing al-Qushayrī and al-Sulamī, Ḳorḳud pointed out that the same Bāyezīd al-Biṣṭāmī had also cautioned against following one promising miracles (*karāmāt*) until one knows where he stands in relation to the *sharʿī* limits. Here Ḳorḳud may have been indirectly referring to his own contemporary Shah Ismāʿīl, who was widely reported to be capable of bringing about miracles. To provide a positive example, he stated that all three of these Sufi commentators agreed that Junayd (d. 297/910), the epitome of “sober Sufism,” was both a genuine Sufi and a sound Shafiʿi.¹²³

In *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān*, Ḳorḳud characterized contemporary opponents to his use of scriptural revelation as the basis for secular legal pronouncements as the “Murjiʿa,” who rejected the earthly legal intent of scripture and called for a sufficiently narrow reading of Quranic verses and hadith accounts as to obviate material legal conclusions.¹²⁴ Another set of opponents were the “Bāṭiniyya,” who claimed that the secret meanings within sacred texts are known only to a guide with special knowledge. He considered those he characterized as the Bāṭiniyya more dangerous than the Murjiʿa, and stated that anyone holding such views is ipso facto a *murtadd* (apostate).¹²⁵

8 A Mixed Legacy

Ḳorḳud’s contributions left a mixed legacy within the early articulation of an imperial religious identity that one can refer to as “Ottoman Sunnism.” As such, he engaged with *kalām* debates, critiqued the field, and commented on it and related disciplines’ role in society, particularly in the education of Ottoman youth. While *Daʿwat al-naḥs al-ṭāliḥa* and *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* are not, strictly speaking, *kalām* works, through these texts Şehzāde Ḳorḳud engaged directly with *kalām*, and commented on the role *kalām* and related disciplines were already coming to play in the development of Ottoman Sunni identity.

123 Ḳorḳud, *Daʿwat al-naḥs* 223a–248b.

124 Ḳorḳud, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* 130b–158b. For more on the Murjiʿa doctrine, see Madelung, *Murjīʿa* 605–607.

125 Ḳorḳud, *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān* 157b–161b.

Çorçud's support for Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's medial position between extreme supporters of *'aql* and *naql* alone remained popular for years to come, even though Ottoman *kalām* eventually inched ever closer to a primarily *'aql* dominant perspective. Likewise, state officials agreed broadly with justifications put forth in *Hāfiẓ al-insān* for defining, judging, and punishing apostasy, with immediate political effect. His support for state involvement in crafting religious identity also carried the day, as court-affiliated ulama rolled out heresy accusations against the emergent Kızılbaş challenge—none of which is surprising in the broader context of a nascent “age of confessionalization.”

However, Çorçud's promotion of a specific “third *madhhab*,” opposition to mixing *falsafa* with *kalām* at the latter's expense, condemnation of Ibn 'Arabī, and preference for Shafi'i *fiqh* and Ash'ari *kalām*, ultimately met with tepid reactions within the Ottoman elite. Within a generation of Çorçud's death, some of his favored scholars faded from view while his proposed “third *madhhab*” was forgotten as an intellectual construct. Likewise, Ibn 'Arabī was practically enshrined as an imperial saint, the state preference for Hanafi *fiqh* grew ever more institutionalized, and madrasa graduates progressively articulated a recognizably Ottoman brand of Maturidi *kalām* heavily infused with *falsafa* methodology and views. Just as his ruling candidacy was marginalized and largely forgotten, several of Şehzāde Çorçud's views on religious practice came to represent an Ottoman path not taken—as well as a proof of the spectrum of views inherent within Ottoman Sunnism.

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Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa al-Shar‘iyya*, and the Early Modern Ottomans

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The Hanbali scholar Taqī l-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) would not be among the first names to come to mind when one thinks of the pre-Ottoman Muslim scholars whose oeuvres were influential in the making of Ottoman Sunnism. There are many reasons for this. The Hanbali legal school (*madhhab*) to which Ibn Taymiyya belonged was not only the smallest of the four “Sunni” legal schools but also arguably the furthest removed from the Hanafi legal school, to which the vast majority of the Muslims of the lands of Rum (Anatolia and the Balkans) belonged and which the Ottoman administration promoted as the “default *madhhab*” throughout its provinces.¹ Besides, Ibn Taymiyya was, both in his own time and in later periods, a sharply divisive figure, who had provoked controversy even among his fellow Hanbalis for deviating from the *madhhab* consensus on such issues as divorce oaths.² Outside Hanbali circles, he was also widely condemned for his anthropomorphic interpretation of God’s attributes and for his attacks against the visitations of the tombs of prophets and saints. To many Rumi Muslims, whose understanding of Islam was strongly colored by Sufism, Ibn Taymiyya’s rejection of a wide variety of Sufi beliefs and practices and his anathematization of the Andalusian mystic Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240) as “Shaykh Akfar” (the most blasphemous master) would have seemed deeply objectionable as well.³

1 For a view of the Hanafi legal school as the “default” or “semidefault” legal school in Ottoman Egypt, see Ibrahim, *Pragmatism*, esp. 139, 149–161; for a discussion of the same as the “state *madhhab*” in the Ottoman lands, see Burak, *The second formation* and Peters, What does it mean.

2 Bori, Ibn Taymiyya *wa-jamā‘atuhu* esp. 23–36; al-Matroudi, *The Hanbali school*; Melchert, The relation of Ibn Taymiyya 146–161.

3 For a study that has argued for the marginality of Ibn Taymiyya among non-Hanbali scholars of the Ottoman period on the grounds summarized above, see el-Rouayheb, From Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī; for a study that has qualified this picture with new evidence for Ottoman scholarly awareness of Ibn Taymiyya, see Bori, Ibn Taymiyya (14th to 17th century) 112–120.

Notwithstanding these differences between the kind of Sunni Islam that Ibn Taymiyya upheld and the kind of Sunni Islam to which the vast majority of the Ottoman learned elites adhered, however, Ibn Taymiyya was not entirely unappreciated in the Ottoman lands. In fact, since the 1980s, scholars such as Ahmet Yaşar Ocak and, more recently, Yahya Michot and Mustapha Sheikh have argued that there was even an Ottoman “school of Ibn Taymiyya,” whose adherents included the famous tenth/sixteenth century Hanafi jurist Birgili/Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (d. 981/1573) and his eleventh/seventeenth-century followers, known in the secondary literature and in some Ottoman sources as the Kadızadelis. Some of these scholars have further placed the Kadızadelis in a specific genealogy of “Islamic revivalism,” or “Salafi Islam,” extending from Ibn Taymiyya to the Wahhabis.⁴ However, other scholars have (in my opinion, rightly) objected to this genealogy on grounds that both Birgivi and the Kadızadelis were firmly rooted in the Hanafi-Maturidi tradition and that the evidence for their use of Taymiyyan ideas is both questionable and limited.⁵

This paper argues that the most concrete evidence we have at hand of Taymiyyan influences among the Ottoman men of letters in the early modern era points to a rather different, much more imperial, context for the reception of Taymiyyan ideas. The work of Ibn Taymiyya that most resonated with the Ottoman learned elites from the mid-tenth/sixteenth century onward was a juristic treatise on governance titled *al-Siyāsa al-shar‘iyya fī iṣlāḥ al-rā‘ī wa-l-ra‘iyya* (*Shar‘i* governance for the betterment of the ruler and the ruled). Significantly, the Ottoman men of letters who took an interest in this text did not necessarily represent the “more stringent” or “more traditionalist” among their peers. Rather, what attracted them to this treatise was its authorization of a strong state for a stable society founded on *shar‘i* principles, for this was also how they saw, or at least wished to see, their state. Just as importantly, the notion of *siyāsa shar‘iyya* (governance based on the principles of Islamic law) offered a useful conceptual framework to reconcile the Ottoman dynastic law known as *ḵānūn* with the universalizing norms of the sharia. Of course,

4 Ocak, xvii. Yüzyılda 208–225; Şimşek, Les controverses; Öztürk, Islamic orthodoxy; Çavuşoğlu, The Qādizādeli, esp. 39–47, 93–100; Lekesiz, xvi. Yüzyıl; Michot, Introduction 1–4, 18–19, 37–39; Sheikh, Taymiyyan influences 1–20; Sheikh, *Ottoman puritanism*, 93; Sheikh, Taymiyyan *taşawwuf*; Evstatiev, The Qādizādeli movement and the spread 3–34; Evstatiev, The Qādizādeli movement and the revival 213–243; Currie, Kadızadeli 1–25. Note that Michot and Sheikh reject the “Salafi” label as anachronistic and inappropriate for both Ibn Taymiyya and the Kadızadelis.

5 Radtke, Birgiwīs *Ṭarīqa Muḥammadīyya*, 159–174; el-Rouayheb, From Ibn Hajar al-Haytamī 303–304; Marti, *Birgivi* 65–68; Ivanyi, Virtue, esp. 76–82.

Ibn Taymiyya had developed his thoughts on *siyāsa sharʿiyya* in the significantly different legal and administrative context of the Mamluk sultanate, and in transplanting his teachings to their own context, the Ottoman writers had to rethink aspects of those teachings in view of their own legal and administrative practices.

In this paper, I examine the Ottoman Rumi scholars' engagement with Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* in the context of the transformation of Ottoman imperial ideology under the impact of both multifaceted changes in the political arena and growing Sunni confessionalism. While Ottoman Sunnism had multiple sources of inspiration, this paper assesses in particular the impact of a certain corpus of juristic literature that came out of the Mamluk lands on some of the later Ottoman scholarly discussions and trends (a concern shared with the contributions by Helen Pfeifer, Nabil Al-Tikriti, and Guy Burak in this volume). With this aim in mind, the next two sections shall introduce Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* and the broader corpus of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* texts as they took shape in the Mamluk context and discuss how and why this text, along with some other texts in this corpus, attracted the attention of Rumi scholars first around the mid-tenth/sixteenth century. Then, in the third and fourth sections, I shall examine how two rather different Rumi scholars, the mufti and *mudarris* Dede Cöngī (d. 975/1567) and the belle-lettrist and kadi ʿĀşık Çelebi (d. 979/1572) engaged with the ideas expressed in this corpus. These more textually grounded sections of the paper shall highlight not just what the Ottoman scholars took from the earlier scholarly discussions but also what they brought to them that was new (an emphasis shared with the papers by Tijana Krstić, Nir Shafir, and Evren Sünnetçiöglü in this volume). At the same time, this discussion will bring out the complexity and contradictions in the Ottoman reflections on their own religiopolitical order and emphasize the interplay of religious ideology and political expediency in this regard. This theme is continued in the fifth and last section, which examines the afterlives of the works of Cöngī and ʿĀşık Çelebi during the eleventh/seventeenth century, when the aforementioned Kadızadeli preachers became ascendant in the Ottoman capital. We shall see that notwithstanding the intensification of intra-Sunni debates and the occasional use of Ibn Taymiyya's name by Sufis to cast aspersions on their critics, both Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* and its Ottoman offshoots appealed to the Kadızadeli and non-Kadızadeli alike and found a more enthusiastic audience than before, during the eleventh/seventeenth century. I will argue that this was due less to a "Salafi" (or proto-Salafi) turn among the Hanafi scholars of Rum and more to the fact that the notion of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* answered well the practical and ideological needs of the Ottoman ruling elites in a time of social and political transformation.

1 Ibn Taymiyya and the Development of the Idea of *Siyāsa Shar‘iyya* under the Mamluk Sultanate

Just as the Ottomans were one of the most successful states to be formed by a Muslim dynasty in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion, Ibn Taymiyya was one of the most novel Muslim thinkers to reflect upon and respond to the realities of the post-Mongol era. He was born in 661/1263 to a scholarly family in Harran, a town that had to surrender to Mongol rule a few years previously. When Ibn Taymiyya was six years old, his family relocated to Damascus, where they would spend the rest of their lives under the rule of the newly formed sultanate of the Mamluks. Even though the Mamluks successfully checked the Mongol advance, the early decades of their rule were also marked by political instability and infighting, and a sense of crisis among the civilian elites. It was in this environment that Ibn Taymiyya developed a close, if also fraught, relationship with the Mamluk authorities. On the one hand, he ran to their aide by preaching jihad against the sultanate’s Mongol, Christian, and Shi‘ite enemies, and by providing the Mamluk rulers with religious and political counsel. On the other hand, he also angered the Mamluk officials by entering into heated polemics with fellow scholars and was periodically imprisoned.⁶

It was mainly Ibn Taymiyya’s theological and juridical views that landed him in trouble with the Mamluk authorities. By contrast, no such controversy surrounded his political tract, *al-Siyāsa al-shar‘iyya fī islāh al-rā‘ī wa-l-ra‘iyya*, written between 711/1311 and 714/1315.⁷ This treatise is widely accepted to be a milestone in the history of Islamic political thought even though the nature of its significance has been construed differently by different scholars. In 1939, Henri Laoust famously argued that with this treatise Ibn Taymiyya had replaced the classical juristic discourse, centered on the institution of the caliphate, with another, centered on the implementation of the sharia.⁸ Recently, Mona Hassan has successfully challenged this view by showing that Ibn Taymiyya continued to refer to the caliphate as both an ideal form of government and a historical institution in various writings.⁹ Ovamir Anjum, on the other hand, has maintained that Ibn Taymiyya did indeed break with classical juristic thought but by rejecting the formalism and quietism of the classical jurists and by advocating a return to the unified religiopolitical authority and political activism of

6 Laoust, Ibn Taymiyya 951–955.

7 Ibid. 952.

8 Laoust, *Essai* 278–315.

9 Hassan, Modern interpretations 338–366; Hassan, *Longing* 111–115.

the Muslim polity in its earliest years.¹⁰ Whereas Anjum and Caterina Bori have read Ibn Taymiyya as reconceptualizing “Islamic politics” as a more inclusive realm that was of relevance to rulers and ruled alike, Abdessamed Belhaj has seen him instead as a social conservative whose fear of instability and disorder led him to support an expanded role for the state.¹¹

Arguably, there are insights to be gained from all these approaches to Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*. Even if the Hanbali scholar did not proclaim the caliphate to be moribund in his time, he still de-emphasizes it in this particular treatise, using such terms as “caliph” and “imam” exceedingly rarely and omitting altogether any references to the juristic debates about the conditions for accession to the office of the caliph. The sole criterion that Ibn Taymiyya articulates for legitimate rulership is that rulers service the Muslim community by upholding the sharia and protecting public order. He defines “the exercise of authority for the benefit of the people” (*wilāyata amr al-nās*) as “one of the greatest religious duties,” and he identifies princes and jurists as the two primary groups of people entrusted with this responsibility.¹² Ibn Taymiyya’s authoritarian and collectivist tendencies are especially evident in his conceptualization of *siyāsa* and its relationship to the sharia. A term with a range of meanings, *siyāsa* connoted before the modern era: 1) statecraft and the management of the subject people (*raʿiyya*); 2) “the discretionary authority of the ruler and his officials, one which they exercise outside the framework of the Shari’a”; and by extension, 3) punishment, particularly punishment that exceeds the *ḥadd* punishments prescribed by Islamic law.¹³ While some jurists had viewed *siyāsa* in the second and third senses with a great deal of misgiving and even opposition, Ibn Taymiyya saw a meaningful role for the legal authority of the ruler as long as it did not violate the precepts of the sharia but rather helped to reinforce them and to maintain and protect public order. Because he regarded the exercise of authority and coercion to be indispensable for fulfilling the Quranic injunction to “command the right and forbid the wrong” (*amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-nahy ʿan al-munkar*), he particularly supported measures that enhanced the coercive power of the state and protected the collective interests

10 Anjum, *Politics*.

11 Ibid.; Belhaj, *Law and order* 401, 409, 420–421; Bori, *One or two versions* 6–7.

12 Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa* 163; for the English translation, see *Ibn Taymiyya on public* 187. Henceforth, references will be given to both versions, separated by a slash. Note that there is also a longer version of this epistle, which remains in manuscript form, but it was far less widely circulated and was not the one to be translated into Turkish, so it will not be referenced here. For a discussion of the differences between the two versions, see Bori, *One or two versions*.

13 Bosworth, Netton and Vogel, *Siyāsa* 693–696; see also Belhaj, *Law and order* 401–402.

of the Muslim community.¹⁴ It was for similar reasons that he condoned the use of judicial torture and circumstantial evidence in the conviction of suspected criminals, something that had been opposed by the majority of earlier jurists.¹⁵

It must be pointed out that the notion of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* was not solely the brainchild of Ibn Taymiyya. Several other Shafiʿi, Maliki, and Hanbali jurists had also discussed the concept of *siyāsa* from the viewpoint of “*sharʿi* normativity” before him, but the corpus truly developed in the late seventh/thirteenth and early eighth/fourteenth centuries, when scholars such as Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285) as well as Ibn Taymiyya and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) gave it its distinctive form.¹⁶ Significantly, all these jurists lived in the Mamluk sultanate, where there was a high degree of “symbiosis” between the ulama and military officials, and where norms of *fiqh* and practical considerations of governance were closely conjoined in the actual practice of law.¹⁷ A novel feature of the Mamluk legal system was that they appointed to each major town four chief judges (*qādī l-quḍāt*), one from each of the four Sunni legal schools; this was a set up that allowed the legal mechanism to be both predictable and flexible and enabled the political authorities to obtain the results that they considered to be the most conducive to social order. It was also in the Mamluk period that the *mazālim* or *siyāsa* courts proliferated and expanded their jurisdiction to encompass such matters as marriage, even though the most radical developments in this regard would come in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth and, especially, the ninth/fifteenth centuries.¹⁸ Even if the early eighth/fourteenth-century proponents of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* could not have anticipated these later developments (much less condoned them), they can be said to have unwittingly opened the way for them by translating into political discourse what must have been a wider societal demand for law and order.

However, not all Mamluk-era jurists were as positive about the expansion of administrative justice; nor were they all convinced of its compatibility with *sharʿi* norms. In the ninth/fifteenth century, scholars critical of the excesses

14 For a discussion of Ibn Taymiyya's views on *amr bi-l-ma'rūf* and its connection to his political thought, see Cook, *Commanding right* 151–157.

15 Johansen, Signs as evidence 168–193.

16 On the earlier history of the corpus, see Massud, The doctrine of *siyāsa*; Belhaj, Law and order 402–403. Even though *siyāsa sharʿiyya* as a juridical concept was given full force by Ibn Taymiyya, Belhaj points out that the concept was already being used by Muḥyi l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī a century earlier.

17 Lev, Symbiotic relations; Stilt, *Islamic law*.

18 Rapoport, Royal justice 71–102; Rapoport, Legal diversity 210–228; see also Nielsen, *Secular justice*.

of the Mamluk *siyāsa* tradition sought to discredit it by associating it with the *yasa* of Chinggis Khan. Some, like Maqrizī (d. 845/1442) and Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1470), even proposed that the word *siyāsa* comes from the Persian word *se*, meaning “three,” and the Mongol word *yasa*, because Chinggis Khan had divided his realms between his three sons, turning his *yasa*, in effect, into “*se yāsa*,” or three *yasas* prevalent in three different realms.¹⁹ Tellingly, however, even these more critical commentators found it difficult to reject the *siyāsa* tradition completely and often distinguished between “just” and “unjust” *siyāsa*, following a formulation first articulated by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and repeated in many other works afterwards.²⁰

2 Transplanting the Notion of *Siyāsa Sharʿiyya* to the Ottoman Context

Siyāsa had also been a part of the Ottoman legal and administrative vocabulary from at least the ninth/fifteenth century onward. However, as Guy Burak has noted, the “Ottoman *siyāset*” did not have the same meaning as the “Mamluk *siyāsa*,” since the Ottomans had been, well into the tenth/sixteenth century, much more in tune with the juristic and administrative traditions of the “post-Mongol” East (Iran and Central Asia) than with those of Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks. In the Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes*, or lawbooks, the term “*siyāsa*” was used in the narrower sense of administrative punishment and drew its power not just from the reigning sultan, as in the Mamluk context, but also from the cumulative legal tradition of the Ottoman dynasty, as in the case of the Chinggisid *yasa*.²¹

The “Ottoman *siyāset*” did, nevertheless, have a broader meaning, that of “governance,” when it was used in the Ottoman ethics (*ahlāk*) literature, which was modeled on the Persian “ethico-philosophical” literature.²² This broader definition of *siyāset* also informed the famous discursus of Ṭursun Beg (d. after 896/1491) on law and governance in the preamble to his history of Meḫmed II (r. 848–850/1444–1446, 855–886/1451–1481). There, citing the authority of “philosophical works” (*ḳütüb-i hikemîyye*), the madrasa-trained bureaucrat distinguishes between two types of *siyāset*, both of which can potentially lead to

19 Rapoport, *Royal justice* 95–96. For a debunking of the claim of Chinggisid influence over Mamluk *siyāsa*, see Ayalon, *The great yāsa* 107–156.

20 Rapoport, *Royal justice* 95–96.

21 Burak, *Between the ḳānūn* esp. 20–23.

22 Sariyannis, *A history* 433–434.

an ordered state of affairs in human society: “that which the philosophers (*ehl-i hikmet*) call divine governance (*siyâset-i İllâhî*), and which the people of sharia call sharia,” and that which is issued by rulers using their reason, like the laws of Chinggis Khan, “which is called royal governance and law (*siyâset-i sultânî ve yasağ-ı padişâhî*) and according to our custom (*örf*), customary law (*örf*).”²³ It is noteworthy that Tursun Beg considered both the sharia and ruler’s law, including the laws of Chinggis Khan, to be legitimate, even as he emphasized the superiority of the first over the second. Interestingly, Tursun does not mention the Ottoman *kānūn* in this passage, even though some of his readers would probably have also thought of it in the same connection, judging by the fact that *kānūn* and *yasa* (or *yasağ*) were sometimes used interchangeably in the Ottoman sources of the period.²⁴

Yet the fact that the Ottoman legal tradition had more in common with that in other post-Mongol polities to their east does not mean that Rumi scholars were completely unaware of the Mamluk legal and administrative traditions or of the Mamluk *siyāsa* literature before the tenth/sixteenth century. An important conduit of ideas in this regard would have been the students and scholars who traveled between the two realms already during the ninth/fifteenth century.²⁵ One of the early scholars who might have been instrumental in bringing to the lands of Rum knowledge of the juristic literature of Mamluk Syria was ‘Alā l-dīn ‘Alī Ṭarābulusī (d. after 849/1445), who was a kadi of Jerusalem and one of the earliest Hanafi scholars to draw on the concept of *siyāsa shar‘iyya* in his manual for kadis entitled *Mu‘īn al-ḥukkām*. Ṭarābulusī traveled to the then-Ottoman capital Edirne and presented some works to Murād II (r. 824–848/1421–1444, 848–855/1446–1451), but not, it seems, *Mu‘īn al-ḥukkām*. The text, which would be much cited by later Ottoman writers, is notable by its absence from the Ottoman palace library inventory of 908–909/1502–1504.²⁶ Another scholar whose works dealt with issues of *siyāsa* and traversed the Mamluk and Ottoman realms was Muḥyī l-Din Ḳāfiyeci (d. 879/1474). Interestingly, Ḳāfiyeci was Rumi in origin. Born in Bergama in western Anatolia, he had acquired his education during his travels in Anatolia, Iran, and Syria before

23 Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth* 10–12.

24 For examples of the interchangeable use of *kānūn* and *yasa* in the Rumi/Ottoman context, see Burak, *The second formation* 595–597.

25 For preliminary findings on scholarly mobility in the Ottoman realms, see Ökten, *Scholarly mobility*; Burak, *The second formation*, ch. 4; Karamustafa, *Saraydan* 55–56; Taşkömür, *Books* 395–396. On the roles played by scholars in Mamluk-Ottoman diplomatic relations, see Muslu, *The Ottomans* esp. 25–28.

26 Taşkömür, *Books* 397; on Ṭarābulusī’s life and career, see Karaman, *Trablusî*. *Mu‘īn al-ḥukkām* will be discussed further below as one of the primary sources of Cöngī’s epistle.

settling in Cairo, where he gained renown as a versatile scholar and authored, among other works, two epistles, entitled *Sayf al-mulūk* (The sword of rulers) and *Sayf al-quḍāt* (The sword of kadis). Even though Kāfiyeci never returned to the lands of Rum, he maintained a connection with the Ottoman court, or at least with the grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 878/1474), and dedicated to him several of his works, including *Sayf al-mulūk*.²⁷

Despite these early points of contact, nevertheless, it was not until the tenth/sixteenth century that the Hanafi scholars who were based in Rum began to take a greater interest in the Mamluk *siyāsa* literature in general and in Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* in particular. This interest developed in the wake of three major developments. First, the rise of the Safavids in 906/1501 as a rival Shiʿitizing dynasty and the flaring up of a full-fledged ideological and military conflict between the Ottomans and the Safavids a decade later infused Ottoman religious and political culture with an unprecedented degree of Sunni confessionalism. It also impressed upon the imperial elites the need to eradicate or at least limit the "heterodox" forms of Islam in the Ottoman lands and to address and correct the divergences between the established Ottoman practices and the universalizing norms of the sharia.²⁸ In their effort to formulate a stronger response to the "heresies" of their time, the overwhelmingly Hanafi-Maturidi scholars of Rum also began to look beyond their own legal and theological traditions and to selectively utilize the arguments of some Shafīʿi, Maliki, and, to a lesser extent, Hanbali jurists alongside those of the Hanafi authorities.²⁹

27 For a study of the life and scholarly contributions of Kāfiyeci and the Arabic edition and Turkish translation of his two aforementioned works, see el-Kāfiyeci, *Seyfū'l-mülūk*; for a discussion of these works, see also Köksal, *Fıkıh ve siyaset* 159–168. *Sayf al-mulūk* must have entered the Ottoman palace library after 908–909/1502–1504, since the text does not appear in the inventory made by the librarian Hayre'd-din Hızır 'Aṭūfī then. On Kāfiyeci's relation to Maḥmūd Pasha and the works he devoted to the latter, which were also transferred to the palace library, see Taşkömür, *Books* 398. In the mid-tenth/sixteenth century, Kāfiyeci's ties with the Ottoman world were deemed sufficient for Taşköprüzâde to include him in his biographical dictionary of the scholars of Rum; see Taşköprüzâde, *eş-Şakâ'ik* 118–122.

28 On the impact of the rise of the Safavids on Ottoman imperial ideology and on Ottoman religious and political culture more generally, see Sohrweide, *Der Sieg*; Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik*; Üstün, *Heresy*; Fleischer, *The Lawgiver*; Dressler, *Inventing*; Al-Tikriti, *Kalam*; Krstić, *Illuminated*; Krstić, *Contested conversions*; Krstić, *From shahāda*; Krstić, *State and religion*; Terzioğlu, *Where 'ilm-i hāl meets*; Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize*; Burak, *Faith*; Şahin, *Empire* 205–213; Çıpa, *The making*; Atçıl, *The Safavid threat*.

29 It seems that the Ottoman *şeyhü'l-islām*s Kemālpaşazâde and Ebū's-su'ūd drew especially on Maliki and Shafīʿi works and only secondarily on Hanbali ones in this context. On the

A second development that was perhaps even more consequential for the beginning of the Ottoman engagement with the *siyāsa al-shar‘iyya* corpus was the incorporation of Egypt and Syria into the Ottoman realms following the Ottoman victories against the Mamluks in 922–923/1516–1517. In the aftermath of the conquest, prominent Rumi scholars were appointed as kadīs, *mudarrisēs*, and surveyors to such cities as Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, where they fraternized, competed, and sometimes clashed with local scholars of different *madhhab* affiliations. This experience also exposed the Rumi scholars to the debates among the Syrian and Egyptian scholars about the Ottoman *kānūn*, or as the latter scholars often preferred to call it, by way of association with the Chinggisid *yasa*, “the Ottoman *yasağ*.”³⁰ Evidence of Rumi familiarity with the anti-*yasa/yasağ* discourse of some Egyptian and Syrian scholars crops up in a variety of texts from this period. For instance, the eminent scholar Kemālpaşazāde, also known as Ibn Kemāl (d. 940/1534), who, as military justice (*kādīasker*) of Anatolia, had accompanied the Ottoman sultan Selīm I during his Egyptian campaign and taken part in Egypt’s first land survey, recycled the Mamluk-era pseudoetymology that derived the word *siyāsa* from the “three *yasas*” of Chinggis Khan’s three sons.³¹ Since Kemālpaşazāde mentioned this etymology in a treatise on the “Arabicization of foreign words” rather than in a juristic treatise, it is not clear what greater significance, if any, he assigned to this supposed etymological connection between the *yasa* and *siyāsa*, but some other Rumi scholars who had spent time in the former Mamluk lands differentiated much more sharply between divinely originated and human-made laws and came out clearly against the *yasa*. Such was, for instance, the case with Kınalızāde ‘Alī Efendi (d. 979/1572), who condemned the Chinggisid *yasa* unequivocally in his *Ahlāk-ı ‘Alā’ī*, which he wrote circa 972/1564–1565 while serving as kadi of Dam-

verifiable instances of borrowing, see Üstün, Heresy 240–268; Al-Tikriti, Kalam; for inconclusive evidence about the use of a work by Ibn Taymiyya by the Ottoman scholar and letrist ‘Abdu’r-raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 858/1454), see Gril, Éso-térisme 192.

- 30 On the scholarly exchanges between Rumi and Egyptian and Syrian scholars during the tenth/sixteenth century, see Winter, *Society and religion* 185–188; Meshal, Antagonistic sharī‘as; Burak, Faith, law and empire; Burak, *The second formation* esp. chs. 2–4; Pfeifer, Encounter; see also Pfeifer’s essay in this volume. On the anti-*yasa/yasağ* discourse of the Syrian and Egyptian scholars in this period, see Burak, Between the *kānūn* 15–20; for a more nuanced (albeit still critical) assessment of the Ottoman legal system by the Egyptian scholar Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Nujaym (d. 970/1563), see Ayoub, *Law, empire, and the sultan* 31–63.
- 31 Interestingly, a later copyist found it appropriate to excerpt this passage right before a copy of Cöngī’s *Risāla fī l-siyāsa al-shar‘iyya*. The excerpt is titled, “*Siyāsa* from the *Risāla al-Ta‘rīb* by Ibn Kemālpaşa,” in MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (hereafter SK), MS Esad Efendi 924, 166a.

ascus. Baki Tezcan has argued that Kınalızāde's strong condemnation of the *yasa* also bespoke his ambivalence about the Ottoman *kānūn*, which, however, is not explicitly mentioned in this text.³² Another contemporary Rumi writer who had taken part in the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and who had also spent some time in that province and, subsequently, was more explicit in his criticism of, if not *kānūn*, then of those who invested binding power in it. In his book of advice, written sometime between 962/1555 and 974/1566, and addressed to the grand vizier, the anonymous author of the *Kitābu Meşāliḥü'l-Müslimîn* repeatedly emphasizes that *kānūns* are made by administrators to meet the needs of their time; they are not "from the time of the Prophet, hence it cannot be a sin (*günāh*) to change them." Clearly, however, the same writer was not oblivious to the reputation of the Ottoman laws; hence, he urged the grand vizier not only to issue new laws (*yasak*, *yasag*) but also to do his utmost to enforce them "so that people will not say that the Ottoman *yasag* lasts until the forenoon" (*Osmanlunun yasağı hod kuşluğa deęindir dimeyeler*).³³

Third and last, the growing anxiety among the scholars of Rum about the compatibility of the Ottoman *kānūn* with the sharia during the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century prompted efforts on the part of the leading Ottoman jurists to try to address and reduce these points of tension. Some high-ranking jurists, like Çivizāde Muḥyī'd-dīn Meḥmed (d. 954/1547), tried to accomplish this by undertaking a sustained critique of those Ottoman institutions and practices that they deemed problematic, such as cash *waqfs*, but met stiff resistance on the part of the Ottoman imperial establishment in this regard.³⁴ Far more successful, in comparison, were the efforts of Kemālpaşazāde and Ebū's-su'ūd (d. 982/1574), who tried to harmonize the *kānūn* with the sharia by working out a comprehensive legal framework for what had been until then ad hoc administrative and fiscal arrangements and by rearticulating the principles of the Ottoman land regime in the language of Islamic jurisprudence.³⁵

32 Tezcan, Ethics 118–120.

33 For the anonymous author's references to his participation in the Egyptian campaign, see Yücel (ed.), *Osmanlı devlet*, 125; for the other references to Egypt or "the Arab lands" (*Arabistan*), see Ibid., 94–95, 110, 123, 124; for the polemics against *kānūn*-minded conservatism, see Ibid., 93–94, 111, 118, 120–121; for references to (Ottoman) *yasag*, see Ibid., 98, 101–104, 109, 114. Note that Yücel misdates the text to ca. 1046–1050/1637–40; for the correct dating, see Tezcan, The "Kānūnnāme of Mehmed II" 658–659. The grand vizier addressed in the treatise must have been Rüstem Pasha (d. 968/1561), Semiz 'Ali Pasha (d. 972/1565), or Soğullu Meḥmed Pasha (d. 987/1579).

34 Gel, xvi. Yüzyılın; Mandaville, Usurious piety.

35 İnalçık, Islamization; Akgündüz (ed.), *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri* iv, 29–121; Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud* esp. chs. 2 and 5; Buzov, The Lawgiver; on the relationship of *kānūn* and sharia more

As we shall see below, all three of these trends were relevant to the growth of an Ottoman corpus of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* literature in the tenth/sixteenth century and informed the views expressed in this corpus. Still, of the first two texts to be written by Ottoman scholars on the topic, Cöngī's *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* (also known as *Siyāsetnāme*) was perhaps a more direct response to the challenges presented to the Ottoman officialdom by Syrian and Egyptian scholars, while ʿAşık Çelebi's *Miʿrācü'l-eyāle ve minhācü'l-ʿadāle* was concerned more exclusively with the debates among the Ottoman Rumi elites. In line with their particular concerns, both also highlighted different strands of the earlier *siyāsa sharʿiyya* corpus.

3 Dede Cöngī and His *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-Sharʿiyya*

The career of Kemālū'd-dīn İbrāhīm b. Bahşī b. İbrāhīm, known variously as Dede Efendi, Dede Halife, Kara Dede, or Dede Cöngī (on account of his popular commentary on a work on Arabic grammar written in *cönk* form) is a striking illustration of the high social mobility in the lands of Rum during the heyday of Ottoman expansion. Born to a modest family in Sonusa near Amasya in Anatolia, Cöngī had worked as a tanner before belatedly acquiring a madrasa education. Despite his modest background and late start, he subsequently had a rather successful career, serving as *mudarris* and mufti in different parts of the empire, including Bursa, Tire, Merzifon, Diyarbakır, Aleppo, İznik, and Kefe (Caffa).³⁶ Since in both Diyarbakır and Aleppo Cöngī taught in a madrasa founded by Deli Hüsrev Pasha (d. 951/1544), it is reasonable to think that this vizier of Bosnian *devşirme* origin had been among his patrons.³⁷ Another patron might have been Sultan Süleymān's eldest son,

generally, see also Barkan, *xv ve xviüncü asırlarda*; Barkan, *Kanun-nāme*; Heyd, *Studies*; Repp, R., *Qānūn* and *sharīʿa*; Peirce, *Morality tales*; Ergene, *Qanun* and *sharia*; Peters, *Crime and punishment*.

36 On Cöngī's biography, see Akgündüz, Dede Cöngī; Ali b. Bâlî, *El-İkdü'l-manzûm* 232–235; Atâyi, *Hadâik* i, 503–505.

37 Admittedly, Hüsrev Pasha had died a year before Dede Cöngī was appointed *mudarris* in the Hüsrev Paşa madrasa in Aleppo, but it is possible that the pasha's family remembered and honored the ties of clientage that had been formed between the two men after his death. While Hüsrev Pasha had served in numerous positions throughout his eventful career, it is noteworthy that his tenure as governor-general of Rumeli and then vizier (943–951/1537–1544) overlapped in time with the tenure of Ebū's-su'ūd as military justice (*kādīr'asker*) of Rumeli (944–952/1537–1545). On the pasha's life, see Özcan, Hüsrev Paşa, Deli.

Prince Muṣṭafā (d. 960/1553), to whom Cöngī dedicated another treatise on fiscal matters. In other words, Cöngī was not just any provincial *mudarris* and mufti, but one with significant connections to the Ottoman military administrative elite. Cöngī's commitment to the Ottoman religiopolitical order comes across clearly in the treatise he dedicated to Prince Muṣṭafā, whom he addresses as "Sultan Prince Muṣṭafā" and as "the inheritor of the office of caliph,"³⁸ but it is more obliquely demonstrated in his *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* for reasons that will be discussed below.

Unfortunately, we do not know at what point in his career Dede Cöngī penned his *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*; the text provides no autobiographical information, and the earliest extant manuscript dates from 1054/1644–1645, that is to say, almost 80 years after the author's death.³⁹ It is tempt-

38 Dede Cöngī, *Risāla fī Amwālī bayti-l-māl* 1b–2a; for a modern Turkish translation in slightly abbreviated form and the facsimile respectively, see Akgündüz (ed.), *Osmanlı kanun-nâmeleri* iv, 217–218, 236–237. This treatise will not be discussed here, as there is no reference in it to either *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* or to any other work that draws on the latter text.

39 Dede Cöngī, *Siyāsetnâme/Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* SK, MS Esad Efendi 3610/6, 156b–164b (copied in 1054/1644–1645). Because the author does not mention his name within the text, the attribution to Cöngī has been based on the attribution of the vast majority of the later copyists and readers as well as the first translator of the work into Turkish. A minority of Ottoman readers and copyists, however, ascribed the work to other scholars. While most of these other attributions can be discarded as unfounded, one deserves further investigation. This is the attribution to the Egyptian Hanafi jurist Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Nujaym (d. 970/1563). Ibn Nujaym is identified as the author of *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* in three manuscripts preserved in Süleymaniye library (MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1097/1, 14a; MS Hüsrev Paşa 758/3, 29a and MS, Reşid Ef 1027/13, 128a), while in two others in the same library (MS Carullah 2120/2 and MS Laleli 961/4), he is identified as the author in the online library catalogue, but not in the manuscripts themselves. None of these manuscript copies are dated. Apparently, the text is attributed to Ibn Nujaym also in an undated manuscript preserved in Al-kutubkhāna al-Khidwiyya al-Miṣriyya, MS Fiqh Ḥanafī 1160; for a description, see Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* 18–19. What makes Ibn Nujaym an intriguing possibility is the fact that he was a contemporary of Cöngī and had a more nuanced view of the Ottoman imperial order than some other Egyptian scholars of the period. According to Samy A. Ayoub, Ibn Nujaym accepted Ottoman rule to be legitimate, but criticized "the corruption and abuse of power within it." He also engaged with the concept of *siyāsa* in his *Bahr al-rāʾiq* (The clear sea), albeit in a different manner from the *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*. Whereas the treatment of *siyāsa* in *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* bears a strong imprint of the thought of the Mamluk-era Hanafi jurist ʿArabūlusi and, to a lesser extent, of the Hanbali jurist Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Ibn Nujaym took his definition of *siyāsa* from Maqrizī. Ibn Nujaym also vehemently rejected the roles played by kadīs in the application of *siyāsa* in direct contrast to the author of the *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*. On Ibn Nujaym's views on *siyāsa* and the Ottoman imperial authority, see Ayoub, *Law, empire, and the sultan* 54–64; for Cöngī's views, see below.

ing to think, nevertheless, that Cöngī composed his text sometime during or after his stay in Aleppo (952–957/1545–1550), where he must have had many more opportunities to familiarize himself with the Mamluk-era *siyāsa* literature. Besides, from an article by T.J. Fitzgerald we learn that while he was serving as *mudarris* and mufti in Aleppo, Cöngī became involved in a major dispute that had the local scholars up in arms about the legitimacy of the fiscal practices that the Ottomans had been trying to establish there. In a fatwa he issued on the dispute, Cöngī had firmly defended the legitimacy of the Ottoman practice, and the imperial administration had responded to the complaints in accordance with this fatwa.⁴⁰ Even though there is no direct connection between this controversy, which was about fiscal matters, and Cöngī's *Risāla fi l-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya*, which is about criminal law, the wider resentment about the Ottoman *ḳānūn* that the controversy revealed may well have provided an important motivation behind Cöngī's decision to pen this treatise.

Since Cöngī wrote his text in Arabic, and made little or no attempt to correlate the terms of Islamic juristic discourse with Ottoman administrative terminology, it seems safe to conclude that he was writing primarily for a scholarly audience, comprised of both Rumi and Arab scholars. If Cöngī intended with his text to reach out to the Syrian and Egyptian scholars in particular, his decision to frame the discussion around *siyāsa shar'īyya* makes a great deal of sense: *Siyāsa shar'īyya*, after all, was a juristic concept that was well known to these scholars; it was also a concept well suited to the *madhhab* plurality that still prevailed in their circles; in fact, the proponents of the concept had downplayed *madhhab* differences in promoting *siyāsa* justice, and especially valued the ability of the political authorities to rise above the confines of the *madhhab* system.⁴¹

At the same time, however, it could also be said that Cöngī did not do enough to reach out to the non-Hanafi Muslims. The vast majority of the sources he cites in his treatise (a total of 42 works) are by medieval Hanafi-Maturidi writers, many of them from Transoxania.⁴² As for those of his non-Hanafi sources that he identifies by name, there are no more than three. These are *Aḥkām al-sultāniyya* by Māwardī (d. 450/1058), who was a Shafi'i, *al-Dhakhīra* by Qarāfi, who was a Maliki, and an unidentified work (probably *al-Turuq al-ḥukmiyya*) by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, who was, like his teacher Ibn Taymiyya, a Hanbali. It could of course be symbolic that Cöngī chose a text each from the remain-

40 Fitzgerald, *Murder in Aleppo* 185, 188, 195–197.

41 Yılmaz, *Caliphate* 85.

42 For the complete list of the sources cited by Dede Cöngī, see Köksal, *Fıkıh ve siyaset* 197–200.

ing Sunni *madhhabs*, but his reasons for choosing them might also have been simply the fact that they all dealt with the concept of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*.

Strangely, however, Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, generally assumed to have been among the sources of Cöngī, is actually nowhere referenced.⁴³ Perhaps Cöngī found it more prudent to bypass this text because of the controversial nature of its author among the Arab and Rumi scholars he wished to reach. But it is also possible that Cöngī had simply not read Ibn Taymiyya's work, which was not as widely known in the lands of Rum at the time.⁴⁴ In either case, there is no denying the presence of Taymiyyan ideas in Cöngī's epistle, but these ideas were transmitted via other Mamluk-era writers who had read and utilized Ibn Taymiyya rather than through Ibn Taymiyya's own works directly. An important connection in this regard was Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, but even more important than him, as far as Dede Cöngī was concerned, was the aforementioned Hanafī jurist, Ṭarābulusī. Indeed, almost the entire introductory section of Cöngī's *Risāla*, in which he defines *siyāsa*, distinguishes between "just" and "unjust" *siyāsa*, and introduces the concept of *al-siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, was taken from the introduction to the third section of Ṭarābulusī's *Muʿīn al-ḥukkām*.⁴⁵

Differently from Ibn Taymiyya, and in keeping with the Hanafī tradition, in this treatise Dede Cöngī uses *siyāsa* mainly in the narrower sense of administrative punishment. As the opening quotations from Bābartī (d. 786/1384) and Ṭarābulusī make clear, administrative punishments were understood to be harsher than the punishments prescribed by the sharia, as they were introduced with the aim of stamping out "corruption" (*fasād*).⁴⁶ Citing Ṭarābulusī, Cöngī points out that the topic of *siyāsa* is complicated and that Muslims fall into three groups in their position on the topic. One group rejects *siyāsa* categorically because they mistakenly believe it to be against the sharia, while

43 Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman* 199; Köksal, *Fıkıh ve siyaset* 225; Sariyannis, *A history* 105. Differently from the other scholars, Köksal acknowledges that Ibn Taymiyya is not mentioned by name, but still assumes that Dede Cöngī utilized his text particularly in the early sections of the treatise.

44 To give an idea, no copy of Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* is mentioned in the 908–909/1502–1504 inventory of the Ottoman palace library; for the facsimile and transliteration of the inventory, see Necipoğlu et al. (eds.), *Treasures* ii. Moreover, a preliminary codicological investigation of eleven of the twelve manuscript copies of Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* in Istanbul libraries suggest that none of these texts had come into the possession of Rumi readers before the mid-tenth/sixteenth century. See footnotes 125–128.

45 Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* 74–76; cf. Ṭarābulusī, *Muʿīn al-ḥukkām* 138a–b.

46 Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* 73.

another group applies it too liberally and transgresses the punishments prescribed by God (*ḥudūd*), perpetrating “injustice” (*ẓulm*) and “blameworthy innovations” (*bidaʿ*). Only a third group embraces the golden mean by combining *siyāsa* and sharia and practicing *siyāsa sharʿiyya*, defined as the kind of *siyāsa* that serves “*sharʿi* ends” (*al-maqāṣid al-sharʿi*) and safeguards public order.⁴⁷

Cöngī next sets out to establish the legitimacy of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* on the grounds of evidence from the Quran and hadiths (*nuṣuṣ al-sharʿiyya*) as well as with reference to the legislative deliberations of the four “rightly guided caliphs.” Here, Cöngī furnishes textual proofs for the permissibility of specific *siyāsa* punishments. He also provides several more general explanations for why it had been necessary for later rulers to stipulate harsher punishments than what the sharia prescribed. He stresses in particular the mutability of *sharʿi* judgments in connection with the idea of the “corruption of the times” (*fasād al-zamān*), alluding to the pessimistic view of human history that had also informed Ibn Taymiyya’s views on *siyāsa*. Accordingly, the further away Muslims are from the time of the Prophet, the more corrupt they become, thus necessitating the adoption of harsher measures to preserve public order.⁴⁸ A second general principle that Cöngī evokes is *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala*, or social benefit, that he says had guided the first four caliphs when they introduced practices that the sharia neither permits nor prohibits, such as writing down the Quran.⁴⁹ As Hüseyin Yılmaz has pointed out, this concept was particularly important in the Maliki school of law, but its close cognate in the Hanafi legal school, *maṣlaḥa*, had also been of central importance to the efforts of Ottoman jurists like Ebū’s-suʿūd to legitimate controversial practices such as cash *waqfs*.⁵⁰

While modern scholars are in consensus that Dede Cöngī was writing all this to legitimate Ottoman *kānūns*, they have struggled to explain why he chose nonetheless not to reference either the Ottomans or their *kānūns*. The word *qānūn* and its plural *qawānin* are used several times in the text, but always in the sense of “principle” or “standard” (as in the principle of sharia or *qānūn al-sharʿ*), which was the prevalent meaning of the word in the Mamluk con-

47 Ibid. 74–76.

48 Ibid. 83. On the views of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on *fasād*, see Belhaj, Law and order 409–412; for near contemporary Hanafi jurists’ use of the same concept to accommodate legal change, see Reinhart, When women went to mosques 119–122; Terzioğlu, *Bidʿat*, custom; for Shafiʿi examples, see Katz, The “corruption of the times.”

49 Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* 84, 86.

50 Yılmaz, *Caliphate* 86; Khadduri, *Maṣlaḥa* 738–740; Mandaville, Usurious piety.

text.⁵¹ Uriel Heyd has attributed the absence of pointed references to the Ottoman context in the treatise to Cöngī's authorial modesty and reluctance to go beyond the role of compiler.⁵² Perhaps, however, Cöngī wanted to write about administrative justice in the abstract language of jurisprudence, precisely because he thought this was a more effective way of winning over those of his readers who remained skeptical about the legitimacy of the *yasa/ḵānūn* tradition. In any case, many of the specific examples of *siyāsa* justice that Cöngī discusses and condones in this text—for instance, execution by strangling, the use of torture to extract confessions, the consideration of the criminal record or of the social reputation of the accused as well as the admission of circumstantial evidence in determining guilt, “the acceptance of the killing of a few to avert harm to the many” (a principle referenced in “the *ḵānūnnāme* of Meḥmed 11” to justify royal fratricide), the execution of “perpetrators of discord (*fasād*) on earth,” and the punishment of “sodomy” as a capital crime—had their place in one fashion or another in the Ottoman *ḵānūn* tradition as it had evolved until the time of Süleymān 1 (r. 926–974/1520–1566). In the Ottoman context, the criminalization of “sodomy” was a new development, initiated in the reign of Süleymān, which might explain why Cöngī mentions it multiple times in his treatise.⁵³ Even in those instances in which the specific *siyāsa* punishment discussed was not part of the Ottoman penal code, its inclusion in the text could have contemporary relevance. For instance, considering that Cöngī was writing in a time of ongoing conflict with the Safavids, as well as of sporadic persecution of Anatolian “Kızılbaş,” it must not be coincidental that the very first example of *siyāsa* punishment that he gives from the beginning of Islamic history is the burning of a group of heretics (*zanādiqa*) by the fourth caliph ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib (d. 40/661) on grounds that they believed him to be divine.⁵⁴ It must also be significant that Dede Cöngī does not go into the details of what kinds

51 Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* 75, 84, 86. On the use of “*qānūn*” in the sense of “principle,” or “standard,” see Burak, Between the *ḵānūn* 7–8 and Ferguson, *The proper order* 72–74.

52 Heyd, *Studies* 202.

53 Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* 77 (death by strangling), 78, 81–82 (punishment of “sodomites”), 90–92 (admission of circumstantial evidence), 92–94 (use of torture to force a culprit to admit crime), 103–104 (killing a few in order to avert harm to the many). For the relevant practices in the Ottoman *ḵānūnnāmes*, see Heyd, *Studies* 30, 64, 77–80, 102–103, 116–118; Akgündüz (ed.), *Osmanlı kanunnāmeleri* i, 328; iv, 296–298, 302, 369–370; for a comparison of the punishments prescribed for “sodomites” by jurists of different *madh-habs* as well as by *ḵānūn*, see el-Rouayheb, *Before homosexuality* 118–128.

54 Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* 77–78. On this anti-*ghulāt* report, see Anthony, *The caliph and the heretic* 161–194.

of *siyāsa* punishments he considered “unjust” or “un-*sharʿī*,” as this could have brought up controversial aspects of the Ottoman penal code—for instance, the substitution of some of the corporal punishments with fines—as examples of “unjust” or “un-*sharʿī*” punishments.⁵⁵

After having legitimated law making by the political authorities, Cöngī turns in the next section of his treatise to the question of whether it is legitimate for kadis to practice *siyāsa*, namely, to apply the laws and regulations introduced by rulers. This, too, was a critical question, since in the Ottoman legal system kadis were responsible for applying *kānūn* as well as sharia and since notwithstanding the alternative venues of justice distribution, such as the Imperial Court and courts of governors-general, where kadis (or *kāḍīʿaskers*) also presided, the Ottoman rulers actively promoted the kadi courts as the principal venue of justice distribution throughout their realms.⁵⁶ In this context, it should not be surprising that Cöngī answers the question of whether kadis can practice *siyāsa* with an overwhelming yes, albeit a yes uttered by citing others. First, he cites a passage from Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya to the effect that the sharia has not determined limits for how *siyāsa* is to be practiced; because rulers will introduce laws and regulations in response to the specific conditions of the time, when those conditions change, so can the rules. Hence, in some periods and places kadis may be delegated the functions of military governors, while in other periods and places they may not. Next, Cöngī gives us the contrary view upheld by Māwardī and Qarāfī that kadis should not meddle in *siyāsa*, and he lists nine reasons why these two jurists considered military governors to be equipped with greater powers than kadis to practice *siyāsa* and deliver effective justice. In the end, Cöngī gives his own view, based on the authority of “the principal Hanafi sources,” that kadis have also been granted most of these powers.⁵⁷ Once again, Cöngī was tacitly approving of the ways in which the Ottomans administered justice.

To recapitulate, Cöngī’s *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* was an attempt on the part of a devoted member of the Ottoman learned establishment and a Rumi Hanafi scholar to intervene in the debates that were ongoing among both Syrian and Egyptian, and to a lesser extent Rumi, scholars about the legitimacy of

55 For a different interpretation, see Midilli, Dede Cöngi’nin 241, 244–255.

56 For a nuanced discussion of the Ottoman justice distribution and promotion of kadi courts as its principal venue in the tenth/sixteenth century, see Peirce, *Morality tales* 86–125, 311–348. On the place of kadi courts versus other venues of justice distribution in the early modern Ottoman Empire, which reflect a different, twelfth/eighteenth-century perspective, see Ergene, *Local court*, ch. 9, Aykan, *Rendre la justice* 52–86, Tuğ, *Politics of honor* 185–244 and Baldwin, *Islamic law*, chs. 2, 3, and 5.

57 Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* 105–120.

the Ottoman *kānūn*. I have argued above that it was probably in an effort to win over his colleagues opposed to the “Ottoman *yasağ*” that Cöngī defended the Ottoman *kānūn* through the juristic framework of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* and avoided making direct references to specific Ottoman institutions. Possibly, it was also his desire to “play safe” and avoid unneeded controversy that led him to bypass Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* while making his arguments. Interestingly, a second Ottoman Rumi writer to take an interest in the *siyāsa sharʿiyya* literature slightly later in the same century would opt for a very different strategy, translating Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* into Turkish and adding extensive (and critical) commentary about the contemporary Ottoman context.

4 ‘Āşık Çelebi and His *Miʿrācü’l-Eyāle ve Minhācü’l-ʿAdāle*

Es-Seyyid Pīr Meḥmed b. Seyyid ʿAlī, better known as ʿĀşık Çelebi, represents a rather different social and intellectual profile from his older colleague, Cöngī. To begin with, ʿĀşık was a Rumelian, born in Prizren (in present-day Kosovo) to a distinguished ulema and *seyyid* family with distant Baghdadi roots, and received his education from the leading scholars of Istanbul. Partly because he made his career in a time of increasing congestion in the Ottoman learned establishment and partly because of his own circumstances, however, ʿĀşık had a rather undistinguished career, having to work for many years as a court clerk, a trustee for pious endowments, and a secretary to the *şeyhü’l-islām* before eventually settling for an equally frustrating career as a small-town kadi. As ʿĀşık makes clear in the *Miʿrācü’l-eyāle*, he took greater pride in his accomplishments as a belle-lettrist, “a poet and a prose-stylist,” than as a kadi.⁵⁸ In keeping with his penname ʿĀşık (meaning, literally, lover), his literary oeuvres included a *Dīvān*, a *şehrengīz* (“city thriller”), devoted to the beautiful young men of Bursa, and several biographical dictionaries, the most famous of which is his *Meşāʾirü’ş-şuʿarā*, a lively tribute to the empire’s poetic scene as well as to its urban culture of predominantly male lovers and beloveds. He also translated into Turkish a number of religious, political, and literary works from Arabic and Persian.⁵⁹

58 ʿĀşık Çelebi, *Miʿrācü’l-eyāle* 55–56.

59 In addition to Ibn Taymiyya’s *siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, ʿĀşık Çelebi translated into Turkish the Arabic version of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazalī’s (d. 505/1111) *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīhat al-mulūk* and Muḥyīd-dīn Ḥaṭībzāde’s (d. 940/1534) *Rawḍ al-akḥyār*, which was an abridged compilation of those chapters of Zamakhsharī’s (d. 538/1144) *Rabīʿ l-abrār* that deal with rulership. Probably ʿĀşık chose to translate these works because of their popularity with Ottoman readers.

There is no indication that ‘Āşık ever read Cöngī’s epistle, so it is impossible to say whether it was that work that first piqued his interest in the *siyāsa al-shar‘iyya* literature. Unlike Cöngī, ‘Āşık had not spent time in the former Mamluk lands, but he had studied with at least one traditionalist scholar from Egypt, and it has been speculated that he might have gained familiarity with the works of Ibn Taymiyya through him.⁶⁰ In the preface to his translation, ‘Āşık describes *al-Siyāsa al-shar‘iyya* as a “book that is small in volume but great in benefit,” and he explains that he decided to translate it to fulfill the Quranic injunction to “command the right and forbid the wrong” and to petition for a more desirable post for himself. ‘Āşık was writing in 977/1569–1570, one year after he had been dismissed from his office as kadi of Karatova (Kratovo, today in the Republic of North Macedonia), and he was clearly very disillusioned with his career in the Ottoman judiciary. He expresses hope that if Selīm II (r. 974–982/1566–1574) is pleased with his translation, he may free him from all administrative duties to devote his time entirely to the composition of literary works, but ‘Āşık was also willing to be examined with the prospect of employment at either the land registry or in the department for the inspection of tax farms.⁶¹ Perhaps because he was not sure of a favorable reception by Selīm II, ‘Āşık also addresses the grand vizier Soğollu Meḥmed Pasha in the conclusion to his translation.⁶² Soğollu, to whom ‘Āşık had also devoted other works, was the most powerful Ottoman statesman at the time, as well as an active patron of literature and the arts, and a pious Muslim, whose brand of Sunni religiosity combined a high respect for the sharia with devotion to sharia-abiding Sufism. Soğollu and his royal wife İsmihān Sultan (d. 993/1585) were ardent admirers and patrons of the Rumelian Halveti master, Muşliḥu’d-dīn Nüre’d-dinzāde (d. 981/1574), who was (as discussed in Grigor Boykov’s paper in this volume) a vocal advocate of the state-sponsored version of Sunni Islam.⁶³ Around the years ‘Āşık translated *al-Siyāsa al-shar‘iyya*, Soğollu had also invited to Istanbul Birgivi Meḥmed Efendi, whose works would later inspire the Kadızadelis, to solicit his words of advice

60 His teacher, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Abbāsī (d. 963/1556), of the ‘Abbasid family, was a hadith scholar who had come to Istanbul from Cairo following the Ottoman conquest. He was, by lineage, a Hanbali, but had switched over to the Shafi‘i school at a later point in his life. On this scholar, see Öznurhan, Abbāsî, Abdürrrahîm 5–6 and Pfeifer’s essay in this volume; for the argument that ‘Abbāsî may have been the conduit by which both Çivizāde and ‘Āşık discovered Ibn Taymiyya, see Gel, xvi. Yüzyılın 182.

61 ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Mîrâcü’l-eyāle* 56–57; for the date of composition, see *ibid.* 203–204.

62 *Ibid.* 232. For another work ‘Āşık presented to Soğollu, see ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Dhayl*. For another eulogistic mention of the grand vizier, see ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Meşâ’irü’ş-şu‘arâ* iii, 1179.

63 On Soğollu and İsmihān’s patronage of Nüre’d-dinzāde, see Necipoğlu, *The age* 345–368 and Yürekli, A building 159–185.

about “how to eliminate injustices” (*defʿ-i mezālim*) in the Ottoman realms.⁶⁴ Given Soḳollu’s interest in a range of sharia-minded interlocutors, it is not surprising that ʿĀşık Çelebi thought the grand vizier might also be interested in his translation of Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*.

The text that ʿĀşık presented to Selīm and Soḳollu for approval, however, was more than a simple translation. In the early modern Ottoman world of letters, translators played a role more akin to that of an author, replacing the original preface, and often also the original title of the work, with one of their own, and depending on their target audience, their own intentions, and the conventions of the genre, they could translate the source text in markedly different ways.⁶⁵ ʿĀşık claims that he translated Ibn Taymiyya’s epistle “word for word” (*bi-ʿibâretihi*) and without embellishing it with verses or rhymed prose.⁶⁶ In fact, his was not a literal translation but rather a transadaptation, which enriched the content with additional material. The sections added by ʿĀşık, including his introduction and conclusion, as well as the excursuses on kadis and kadiship, the land regime, fiscal practices, and the art of warfare, are almost as long as the original text, and significantly alter the overall impression of the work.

The introduction is revealing of both similarities and differences between the author and the “translator” in religious and political outlook. Even though ʿĀşık was, in his personal life and cultural sensibility, quite different from the stringent Hanbali scholar, he agreed with Ibn Taymiyya that the proper functioning of society required religion and law, the upholding of which in turn required a strong state. To drive home this point, Ibn Taymiyya had begun his treatise with the famous “authority verse,” “O you who believe, obey God and the Messenger, if you believe in God, and those in authority among you” (Q 4: 58–59), and ʿĀşık also incorporates this section into his own introduction. For both men, figures of authority comprised both the military ruling elites and scholars, even though in the introduction to his transadaptation ʿĀşık puts the stress more squarely on rulers as the deputies of the prophets in the post-prophetic age.⁶⁷

Differently from Ibn Taymiyya, ʿĀşık tailored his discourse to a distinctly royal audience and devoted a good chunk of his introduction to the eulogy of the Ottoman rulers. After praising God, the Prophet, the four “rightly guided”

64 Atâî, *Hadâik* i, 633.

65 Hagen, *Translations* 95–134.

66 ʿĀşık Çelebi, *Miʿrâcüʿl-eyâle* 57.

67 Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa* 18–19, 161/*Ibn Taimiyya* 12–13, 183; cf. ʿĀşık Çelebi, *Miʿrâcüʿl-eyâle* 40–41, 183.

caliphs, and the Companions, he provides a brief account of human history from Creation until the time of the Ottomans with the aim to highlight the unique place of the latter within world and Islamic history. Therein the various Muslim dynasties are listed without any distinction being made between those that claimed the universal caliphate, such as the Umayyads and the ‘Abbasids, and those that were mere regional emirates or sultanates, like the Ghaznavids, Buyids, or Seljuks. The Buyids, who were Shi‘ites, are listed among the Muslim rulers who occupied themselves with matters of “justice and sharia,” whereas “Chinggis from among the infidels (*kefereden*) and Timur from among the oppressors (*zalemeden*)” are mentioned separately as rulers who were sent by God to punish the wrongdoers, but on account of whom many innocents also suffered.⁶⁸ The Ottomans are introduced as having inherited “the office of the caliphate and the protection of the seal of prophecy” (*emr-i hilâfet ve hıfz-ı hatm-i nübüvvet*).⁶⁹ ‘Âşık was evoking here a Sufi-inflected definition of the caliphate and casting the Ottoman rulers as “caliphs of God,” who, like the first four caliphs, took their authority directly from God and who united in their person spiritual and temporal power.⁷⁰ In clear contrast to Ibn Taymiyya, albeit in good company among his Ottoman contemporaries, ‘Âşık even attributes quasi-mystical qualities to the Ottoman rulers. The recently deceased Süleymân I is eulogized as a ruler who had “won with his sword not just the sultanate of this world but also the sultanate of the other world and in whose sainthood (*vilâyet*) and ability to perform marvels (*kerâmet*) the people have great faith.”⁷¹ Esoteric themes also predominate in ‘Âşık’s eulogy for Selîm II. Possibly in order to assuage popular misgivings about Selîm, who had acceded to the throne after his father had controversially ordered the execution of two of his brothers, ‘Âşık writes for several folios about the esoteric properties of the name “Selîm” and (wrongly) prophesies that the latter would remain on the throne for 40 years.⁷²

The emphasis on the Ottoman dynastic pedigree in ‘Âşık’s text also stands in contrast with the inconsequential place of the dynastic principle in Ibn Taymiyya’s original epistle as well as in Mamluk political culture at large.⁷³ Actually, genealogy was not one of the strong points of the Ottomans in their

68 ‘Âşık Çelebi, *Mîrâcü’l-eyâle* 41.

69 Ibid. 42.

70 On the importance of Sufi themes in tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman political thought and culture, see Yılmaz, *Caliphate*.

71 ‘Âşık Çelebi, *Mîrâcü’l-eyâle* 46.

72 Ibid. 46–55.

73 On the limited role of dynasticism under the Mamluks, see Ayalon, Mamlük military aristocracy 205–210; Holt, The position; Levanoni, The Mamluk conception; Richards, Mamluk amirs 36–37; Yosef, Mamluks and their relatives.

claims to preeminence in the Islamic world, either. Notwithstanding, ʿĀşık asserts categorically, if vaguely, that the Ottomans come from a line of prophets and do not have any fire-worshippers among their ancestors, whereas all the other “sultans of the past” were either Chinggisids or Circassians (a reference to the Mamluks), and even the best of them were at the end of the day descendants of Chosroes (Nûşînrevan), who was a follower of Zoroaster and a fire-worshiper.⁷⁴ The underlying message was that the Ottomans are and have always been better, purer Muslims than other dynasties. Even though the Safavids are not directly referenced, given their rule over Iran, and given Iran’s history as the original homeland of Zoroastrianism, ʿĀşık’s division of royal houses into those that descended from the monotheistic prophets and those that descended from the followers of Zoroaster and fire-worshippers must have been colored, to a large degree, by the ongoing Ottoman-Safavid rivalry.

Otherwise, however, ʿĀşık does not stress the Ottoman claim to be champions of Sunni Islam in his eulogy, or at least not as much as did some other contemporaries.⁷⁵ In fact, he downplays the importance of religious motivations when extolling the Ottoman military victories in general. This is interesting, because the long-standing Ottoman claim to be *gāzīs*, waging war in the name of Islam, would have fit well into a Taymiyyan framework, in which jihad is one of the primary duties of a Muslim ruler.⁷⁶ Instead, ʿĀşık builds his narrative around the Ottoman quest for world dominion. This ideal arguably had its heyday somewhat earlier, in the first three to four decades of the tenth/sixteenth century, when the Ottomans were expanding rapidly, and is thought to have died a slow death thereafter.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, when ʿĀşık was writing, the Ottomans were still actively trying to extend their influence over distant territories by using the instruments of diplomacy and trade, and Soğollu was

74 ʿĀşık Çelebi, *Mîrâci’l-eyâle* 42. For broader perspectives on Ottoman royal genealogies in the tenth/sixteenth century, see Flemming, Political genealogies.

75 For a slightly later Ottoman text that mentions the Ottoman sultans’ devotion to Sunni Islam and the Hanafi *madhhab* as the first of the 20 qualities that made them superior to other dynasties, see Ta’likizâde, *Ta’likî-zâde’s Şehnâme* 116.

76 *Gazâ* does, nevertheless, surface as a theme in the treatise of advice ʿĀşık appended to the very end of his supplements. This treatise, presented as a text that was written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great, is a Turkish translation of an Arabic text with some references to contemporary Ottoman practices. For the references to *gazâ*, see ʿĀşık Çelebi, *Mîrâci’l-eyâle* 211, 213; for the complete treatise, see 211–231; for the original Arabic text and another Turkish translation made in the reign of Mehmed III (1003–1012/1595–1603), see İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı askerlik literatürü* ii, 686–687.

77 On the Ottoman aspirations for world conquest during the early part of the long reign of Süleymân, see Fleischer, *The Lawgiver*; Necipoğlu, *Süleyman the Magnificent*; Turan, *The sultan’s favorite*; Şahin, *Empire*, ch. 6.

contemplating such ambitious projects as building a canal between the Don and Volga Rivers and over the Suez to connect with the Muslim communities that lived in the steppes north of the Black Sea and in the Indian Ocean.⁷⁸ ‘Āşık stresses the continuing Ottoman claims to world dominion by hyperbolically writing of the Ottoman arrows reaching as far east as Eastern Turkistan (*Mâçîn*) and the Indus valley (*Sind*) and as far west as Rome. It is only at the end of a long list of victories and conquests that he signals the Ottoman championship of Islam with a reference to the (fancied) destruction of the “great church” in Rome.⁷⁹

‘Āşık’s eulogy of the Ottomans comes closer to the Taymiyyan line when he praises the Ottomans for their devotion to justice and the sharia. Even here, however, there is an important difference between the two writers. Whereas Ibn Taymiyya categorically rejects the possibility of justice outside the bounds of the sharia, ‘Āşık does not. Rather, he uses Sufi metaphors, as he eulogizes the Ottoman rulers for being the “meeting place of the two seas” (*mecma’ü’l-bahreyn*) and for uniting the “two lights” of justice and sharia. He also praises them for having issued “well-respected *kânuns* like the *resm-i Osmâni*.”⁸⁰ All this indicates that, like the Arab jurists of the tenth/sixteenth century, ‘Āşık saw the Ottoman *kânûn* as representing a form of justice beyond the sharia, but he differed from them in that he saw this in a positive light.

As we read the later sections of the text, however, it becomes apparent that ‘Āşık did not actually consider the Ottoman administrative and legal system of his time either as just or as *shar‘î* as he makes them out to be in his introduction. This critical streak becomes apparent already in ‘Āşık’s translation of the first chapter of Ibn Taymiyya regarding the appointment of the right people to public offices. After a fairly conventional discussion of what Hanafi jurists have said about the permissibility of serving as kadi,⁸¹ ‘Āşık provides a sharply critical account of the Ottoman judiciary of his time. According to him, some of the kadis of his time lacked the requisite “knowledge and understanding” to perform their duties properly, while some others were learned, but did not act in accordance with their learning, disregarded what their “reason and religion” dictated in return for monetary gain, and justified their unlawful decisions by saying that this is what “the grandees” (*ekâbir*) demand. Though a kadi himself, ‘Āşık mocks the false pretensions of corrupt kadis to piety with almost anti-clerical overtones. He describes how kadis give themselves airs with their long

78 Casale, *The Ottoman age*, ch. 5.

79 ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Mi‘râci’l-eyâle* 44.

80 Ibid. 42.

81 Ibid. 69–79.

gowns and unkempt beards in supposed imitation of the Prophet (who, ʿĀṣiḳ assures us, looked nothing like them) and how they use this aura of respectability to have their way with male and female beloveds. In keeping with his *ḥelebi* sensibility, ʿĀṣiḳ ends this discussion on a humorous note with a couplet about how he would like the same treatment but is always passed over because he has a sparse beard.⁸²

Perhaps because he was hoping to be given a job in the fiscal bureaucracy and wanted to prove his competency, ʿĀṣiḳ makes the most extensive interpolations on the subject of the public treasury (*beytü'l-mâl*). These interpolations, which are mostly in the “supplements” (*ilhâkât*), can be seen as serving two different, and to some degree even contradictory, purposes. On the one hand, a principal concern of ʿĀṣiḳ seems to have been to demonstrate the *sharʿî* basis of the Ottoman system of land tenure and taxation, and he does so by reproducing the fatwas issued on the topic by Ebū's-su'ūd. As the latter's one-time student and secretary, ʿĀṣiḳ is profuse in his words of praise for Ebū's-su'ūd and hails the latter as “the imam of our time, the chief mufti of the ulama and the general public (*âmmeh*), the seal of the *müctehids* and remnant of the righteous *selef*.”⁸³ On the other hand, ʿĀṣiḳ also includes in his text three documents that he takes to be from the earliest days of Islam and that inform the critique he provides of the actual working of the Ottoman fiscal system further down in the text.⁸⁴ In addition, ʿĀṣiḳ draws on his professional experience as a midranking

82 Ibid. 84–88.

83 Ibid. 198–201.

84 Ibid. 192–198. The documents in question are 1) an “*ahidnâme*” sent by the Prophet Muḥammad to the generality of Christians, 2) an “*ahidnâme*” sent by the Christians of Damascus and Aleppo to ʿUmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 23/644), and 3) a letter sent by the Prophet Muḥammad to Bahraan of Yemen. The first of these documents is actually identical to the charter that had been preserved by the monks of St. Catherine in Mt. Sinai and which would be used by them multiple times to defend their foundations against state encroachment. Since in the charter in question Muḥammad promises to Christians that Muslims would not interfere with the appointments of church officials, destroy or confiscate church properties, or use them to build mosques, this document relates directly to ʿĀṣiḳ's critique of the Ottoman confiscation of Christian endowments, discussed below. For differing perspectives on the “charter” and its authenticity, see Moritz, *Beiträge*; Atiya, *The Arabic manuscripts*; Morrow, *The covenants*. For other contemporary Ottoman documents that cite the “charter,” see Acun, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda* and Feridün Bey, *Münşe'âtü's-selâtin*, SK, MS Ragıp Paşa 1521, 20b–21a. The second document included by ʿĀṣiḳ is a version of the so-called “pact of ʿUmar.” On the complex history of this document and its multiple versions, see Cohen, *What was the Pact of ʿUmar? As for the third document, ʿĀṣiḳ says he took it from Abū Yūsuf's* (d. 182/798) *Kitāb al-kharāj*, a text that would become progressively more important for the way the Ottomans understood their land regime in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

kadi in the Balkans both to explain the particularities of the complex system of land tenure in that region and to critique a wide variety of “abuses” he witnessed during his tenure in Rumeli.⁸⁵ While some of these “abuses” must have been the result of officials taking advantage of a monetizing economy to enrich themselves at the expense of the *re‘āyā*, as ‘Āşık suggests, others were clearly connected to the central administration’s attempt to alleviate fiscal tensions in a time of rising expenses. A recurring theme in ‘Āşık’s criticisms is the overtaxation of the subject population. In this, the *şeyhü’l-islām* Ebū’s-su‘ūd himself was complicit, having ruled all arable lands in the Ottoman Empire to be “royal demesne” (*arāziyü’l-memleke*) and having legitimated on that basis the imposition of “tithing rates higher than the customary 10%.”⁸⁶ Evidently, however, ‘Āşık did not find it in himself to challenge these rulings and instead puts the blame squarely on the tax collectors for abusing their privileges. By dispossessing the *re‘āyā* of their *baştinas* and by overtaxing the Christian peasants until they are forced to flee, avaricious officials are both violating *shar‘ī* norms and causing damage to the public treasury, he argues.⁸⁷

Another practice that ‘Āşık blames on greedy officials is the sale of properties belonging to Christian ecclesiastical foundations (*kilise evkāfi*). Even though ‘Āşık accuses the superintendents (*nâzir*) who sold such *waqfs* of proceeding without proper authorization, actually, the practices that he criticized were also the result of state action.⁸⁸ In 1568, shortly before ‘Āşık penned his transadaptation, the Ottoman government, citing a number of fatwas by Ebū’s-su‘ūd, had declared all Christian *waqfs* to be null and void. Subsequently, however, after some hard negotiation with the monastic authorities, and again with Ebū’s-su‘ūd’s help, the government had softened its position. Christian *waqfs* would once again be allowed to function, but under the legal fiction that they were benefiting Christian communities rather than Christian places of worship (which the *şeyhü’l-islām* had earlier ruled to be impermissible). Following this revised formula, churches and monasteries would also be permitted to “buy back” their properties, albeit at considerable cost to these foundations.⁸⁹ Around the time ‘Āşık was writing (977/1569–1570), the imperial authorities had already revised their stance, but in various parts of the empire the complex

85 ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Mi‘râcü’l-eyâle* 201–211.

86 Imber, *Ebū’s-su‘ūd* 124–125; Greene, *The Edinburgh* 68.

87 ‘Āşık Çelebi, *Mi‘râcü’l-eyâle* 202–204.

88 *Ibid.* 206.

89 On the “crisis of the monasteries,” see Fotić, *The official*; Alexander, *The Lord giveth*; Kermeli, *Ebū’s-su‘ūd’s*; Kermeli, *Central administration*; Kolovos, *Christian vakıfs*. For the fatwas issued on this issue, see Ebū’s-su‘ūd, *Şeyhülislām* 163–164, 168–169.

processes of confiscation and resale were still dragging on.⁹⁰ It was probably this fluctuating state of affairs that enabled ʿĀṣīq to present the sale of Christian *waqfs* as an “abuse” by individual officials rather than as concerted state action. Even though ʿĀṣīq would not necessarily have known of this, Ibn Taymiyya had also played a role similar to Ebū’s-suʿūd in the confiscation of Christian monastic foundations in the Mamluk sultanate two and a half centuries earlier.⁹¹ Hence, there is a delicious irony in the fact that ʿĀṣīq presents his criticism of the sale of church *waqfs* in a translation of a work of Ibn Taymiyya’s as well as after praising Ebū’s-suʿūd. ʿĀṣīq’s remarks on the sale of church *waqfs* are, nevertheless, important as a rare piece of evidence of the critique of this affair by a Muslim.

In comparison to the matter of the public treasury, ʿĀṣīq did not have much to add to Ibn Taymiyya’s discussion of penal law. He does, however, make a few omissions in the original text, presumably out of consideration for the sensibility of his high-placed readers. One of the omitted passages concerns the question of whether the murder of a sovereign ruler should be considered a crime against “the rights of God,” that is to say, a public crime whose punishment is incumbent on the political authorities. Even though ʿĀṣīq was writing half a century before the first instance of regicide in the Ottoman lands, he must have found the topic too distasteful to include in a text submitted to the Ottoman sultan.⁹² A second omitted paragraph deals with the question, “If one Muslim ruler enters the territory of another, and kills that land’s people, is it incumbent on that country’s people to resist or should they submit?” As the question exposed the power grab behind conflicts between rival Muslim sovereigns, even the otherwise outspoken Ibn Taymiyya had found it prudent not to venture an answer and simply noted that Hanbali jurists have differed on the matter. The Hanbali reference would, of course, have been irrelevant to ʿĀṣīq’s overwhelmingly Hanafi audience, but more consequential was the possibility of legitimate resistance to an invading Muslim power that the question raised. Since the Ottomans had repeatedly been in the position of the invading power in their recent history, the question was not one they would have wished to entertain, hence the omission by ʿĀṣīq.⁹³

90 Kermeli, Central administration.

91 Sariyannis, *A history* 104–105; on Ibn Taymiyya’s fatwa on church *waqfs*, see Welle, The status.

92 This omission was first pointed out by Köksal, *Fıkıh ve siyaset* 171; for the original text, see Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa* 90/*Ibn Taimiyya* 98.

93 This omission was first pointed out by Köksal, *Fıkıh ve siyaset* 171; Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa* 93/*Ibn Taimiyya* 102.

A third omission of ‘Āşîk’s is seemingly minor but nevertheless illustrative of the difference of outlook between him and Ibn Taymiyya. Ibn Taymiyya begins the section on the punishment of wine-drinking with a hadith, which has the Prophet say that if someone is caught drinking wine once, twice, or three times, he should be flogged, but if he is caught drinking a fourth time, then he should be killed. In his commentary on the hadith, Ibn Taymiyya says that most scholars consider the Prophet’s reference to the execution of the habitual wine-drinker to be “abrogated” (*mansûkh*), some other scholars consider the punishment to be still valid, and yet others hold it to be a discretionary punishment to be decided upon by the ruler (*ta’zîr*). ‘Āşîk translates the passage as is, except he omits the opinion of those scholars who held the punishment of execution to be still valid. Presumably he considered this opinion to be too extreme.⁹⁴ Otherwise, however, ‘Āşîk translates Ibn Taymiyya’s harsh prescriptions for the punishment of wine-drinkers, adulterers, and “sodomites” without any mitigating commentary, despite the fact that he himself was an aficionado of wine parties and beautiful youths and makes no secret of it in his literary writings and, to some degree, even in this transadaptation.⁹⁵ His reticence in this regard is of course not surprising, since it was a far more serious crime to question *shar‘î* regulations than to break them. What is perhaps more interesting is that ‘Āşîk also translates faithfully Ibn Taymiyya’s strongly worded condemnation of the conversion of *ḥadd* punishments into monetary fines, even though this was a common practice in the Ottoman lands. In fact, where Ibn Taymiyya likens the people who collect fines for *ḥadd* offenses to whores, pimps, and fortunetellers, the Ottoman writer not only translates these insults as they are but also volunteers both the Turkish and Arabic words for “pimp.”⁹⁶ It would seem that ‘Āşîk translated these sections approvingly, because they meshed well with his own dislike of the pecuniary concerns of the Ottoman officials of his time.

There is finally one passage in which ‘Āşîk indicates, in a fascinating aside, that the Hanbali scholar was not always harsher than the Ottoman learned establishment on questions of penal law. The passage in question concerns the punishment of the perpetrators of religious innovation (*bid‘a*). In the original passage, Ibn Taymiyya first cites the opinions of Shāfi‘î, Aḥmad, and Mālik, that “the initiator of innovations which are contrary to (the precepts in) the Book and the Sunna be put to death”; he then adds that “Mālik and some other jurists

94 This omission was first pointed out by Furat, Selefiliğin 221; compare Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa* 109–110/*Ibn Taimiyya* 120 and ‘Āşîk Çelebi, *Mi‘râcü’l-eyâle* 145–146.

95 ‘Āşîk Çelebi, *Mi‘râcü’l-eyâle* 144–149.

96 Ibid. 125–126; cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa* 76–80/*Ibn Taimiyya* 79–82.

allowed that the Qadariyya be put to death, for fear that mischief might spread in the land and not because they are apostates." After translating this passage, ʿĀşīk comments, "It is the same with the Kharijites and *Revâfız* (a derogatory term for Shiʿites); [their persecution] is not on account of their apostasy (*riddetlerinden*) but because they might perpetrate mischief, but it is understood from the fatwa issued by the current mufti of the believers, the imam of the Muslims, the chief mufti, the prop of the religion of the Prophet ... the remainder of the *müctehids* ... Ebū's-suʿūd, which rules it permissible to enslave the Kızılbaş women, that the latter are murdered on account of their apostasy."⁹⁷ With this interjection, ʿĀşīk not only confirms that in the tenth/sixteenth century some members of the Ottoman learned establishment considered the Kızılbaş to constitute a different category of "heretics" than Shiʿites,⁹⁸ but also that the official Ottoman position on the Kızılbaş was even harsher than that taken by Ibn Taymiyya on other "misbelievers." The latter point is striking, because the Hanafi school, to which the Ottomans belonged, had previously been the most lenient of the Sunni legal schools when it came to the persecution of heretics and misbelievers. As such, ʿĀşīk's commentary reveals how much the Hanafi position on the matter had hardened by his time, due in part to the polarizing effect of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict and in part to the fact that in the Ottoman lands Hanafism had become a veritable "state *madhhab*."⁹⁹ Even though ʿĀşīk himself was not particularly confessionally minded,¹⁰⁰ as a member of the Ottoman learned establishment he could hardly avoid the obligatory anti-Kızılbaş rhetoric of his time. In fact, the reference to Ebū's-suʿūd's fatwa is not the only instance in which ʿĀşīk bows down to anti-Kızılbaş rhetoric in this text. In his "supplements," he also includes a letter purported to have been written by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, in which the latter praises the second "rightly guided" caliph, ʿUmar, to critique the "Kızılbaş," who accept ʿAlī to be their imam but who reject ʿUmar as caliph.¹⁰¹

97 ʿĀşīk Çelebi, *Miʿrâcül-eyâle* 150–151; cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa* 119/*Ibn Taimiyya* 130–131. For a foray into the genealogy of the notion of "perpetrators of mischief in the land" (*sāʾi bi-l-fasād fi l-ʿarż*), see Aykan, A legal concept.

98 Ebū's-suʿūd actually states this explicitly in one of his fatwas; see Ebū's-suʿūd, *Şeyhülislâm* 174–175. Other jurists in other contexts, however, made the Shiʿite-Kızılbaş distinction differently, as did the political authorities; see Winter, *The Shiites* 12–20; cf. Imber, *The persecution* 245.

99 Burak, *The second formation*.

100 Cases in point would be his views on the Buyids, discussed above, and his views on anti-nomian dervish poets, discussed in Anetshofer, *Meşâʾirüʿ-Şuʿarâ*.

101 ʿĀşīk Çelebi, *Miʿrâcül-eyâle* 208.

Clearly, Āşık's *Mi'rācū'l-eyāle* was less a programmatic endorsement of Ibn Taymiyya's vision of *siyāsa al-shar'īyya* than a somewhat idiosyncratic engagement with it in the early modern Ottoman context. Ultimately, Āşık's "constitutional" views (his endorsement of a realm of justice beyond the sharia, and his more mystical conception of royal authority) were more "Ottoman" than "Taymiyyan"; it was more in his critique of specific Ottoman practices that Āşık turned "Taymiyyan." Both of these strains of Āşık's thought had something to do with the shifting social, political, and cultural currents in the late tenth/sixteenth century. For Āşık was, on the one hand, a vivacious chronicler of an "age of beloveds," in which the elites of an expanding Ottoman Empire embraced the ideals of world conquest, charismatic authority, and spiritualized love, and could transition seemingly effortlessly between the prescriptive language of religious law and the ambiguous idiom of Neoplatonic Sufism.¹⁰² On the other hand, this age was already slowly withering when Āşık was writing, and in the new age of "crisis and transformation," of diminishing opportunities and rising competition, and we might add, of deepening rifts in approaches to religion and piety, the Ottoman elites would also feel the need for a new approach to law and governance.

5 Afterlives of the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman *Siyāsa Shar'īyya* Texts during the Seventeenth Century

A full discussion of the Ottoman engagement with the *siyāsa shar'īyya* corpus after the tenth/sixteenth century exceeds the scope of this paper. In what follows below, I will instead wrap up the previous discussion by considering the afterlives of Āşık's *Mi'rācū'l-eyāle* and Cöngi's *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya* in the core lands of the Ottoman Empire during the eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries. This discussion is necessary, because certain changes in the social and political dynamics ended up making the *siyāsa shar'īyya* literature more relevant to the Ottomans in this period. But there is also another reason for extending the discussion into the eleventh/seventeenth century, and this is the need to speak to a line of scholarship that has persistently argued for the emergence of a distinctive "school of Ibn Taymiyya" in the Ottoman lands during this period. According to this scholarship, the primary carriers of Taymiyyan ideas in the Ottoman lands were the Kadızadeli, who were a group of Sunni revivalist preachers, and their followers, who were

¹⁰² Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The age of beloveds* 307, 351–352.

active in and around Istanbul from the early 1040s/1630s until at least the 1100s/1690s, and who wanted to restore to Ottoman Islam the purity of Islam of the age of the Prophet and his Companions.¹⁰³ As we shall see, nevertheless, the literature actually overestimates both the importance of Taymiyyan ideas for the Kadızadelis and the importance of the Kadızadelis for the spread of Taymiyyan ideas in the core Ottoman lands during the eleventh/seventeenth century. Far more important agents in this regard were people higher up in the imperial administration, who found in the *siyāsa sharʿiyya* literature possibly some inspiration for, and definitely justification of, the changes they began to introduce into the Ottoman state tradition during the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century.

The dynamics, nevertheless, were somewhat different in the early decades of the eleventh/seventeenth century, when crisis seemed the order of the day, and when literate men of different walks of life, from military administrators to kadis and from members of the scribal service to preachers, were competing with one another to advise the rulers about how to get out of this crisis. It was also in this context that the preacher and namesake of the Kadızadeli movement, Kāḏizāde Meḥmed (d. 1045/1635), hit upon ʿAṣīq’s transadaptation of Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* and, after lightly reworking its introduction, submitted it as his own work to Murād IV (r. 1032–1049/1623–40).¹⁰⁴

The son of a kadi, and the grandson of a *devşirme*, Kāḏizāde Meḥmed had received his early education from a student of the famous tenth/sixteenth-century scholar Birgivi Meḥmed Efendi in Balıkesir but then continued his studies with various other scholars in Istanbul and Cairo. Kāḏizāde first took up preaching during his brief stint as a disciple of the Halveti Shaykh ʿÖmer of the Tercüman lodge and persisted in that vocation, also after switching his *tariqa* affiliation from the Halveti to the Naqshbandi order.¹⁰⁵ His position as

103 See footnote 4. For broader perspectives on the Kadızadelis, see Zilfi, *The Kadızadeli* 262–265; Zilfi, *Politics of piety* 146–159; Baer, *Honored*; Sariyannis, *The Kadızadeli movement*; Terzioğlu, *Sunna-minded*; Tuşalp Atıyas, *Sunna-minded trends*; Tezcan, *The portrait*; Şafir, *Moral revolutions*.

104 For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the two texts, see Terzioğlu, *Bir tercüme* 264–268. For the correction of the identity of Kāḏizāde Meḥmed who claimed the work (and several other works of political advice), see Tezcan, *The portrait* 215–229.

105 *Ibid.* 197–215, 241–244; for Kāḏizāde Meḥmed’s Naqshbandi affiliation, see also his poem recorded in SK, MS *Yazma Bağışlar* 5563, 47a. Until Tezcan’s article, the biography of Kāḏizāde Meḥmed was based largely on the information provided by Katib Çelebi, *The balance* 132–136.

preacher and “advice giver” also allowed Kāḏizāde to cultivate contacts in the Ottoman court. In one of his treatises of advice, the preacher claims that he first wrote a treatise of advice for the grand vizier Kuyucu Murād Paşa (d. 1020/1611) and Aḥmed I (r. 1012–1026/1603–17) and was gratified to see his text received by both with great favor.¹⁰⁶ Later, Kāḏizāde also courted ‘Osmān II (r. 1027–1031/1618–22) and submitted to him a tract on horses and horsemanship.¹⁰⁷ Still, none of these engagements can compare to the persistence with which Kāḏizāde courted Murād IV, dedicating to him a versified prayer of good wishes (*du‘ānāme*) on the occasion of his accession to the throne, a versified creed, an anti-Safavid/Kızılbaş tract, and at least five texts of political advice.¹⁰⁸ One of these five tracts of political advice was *Tācūr-resā’il ve minhācūl-vesā’il*, an expanded translation of Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Siyāsa al-shar‘iyya*.

Kāḏizāde Meḥmed’s *Tācūr-resā’il* is of particular importance to the debate about the influence of Ibn Taymiyya over the Kadızadelis, as it is the one and only “Kadızedeli” text that we know so far that explicitly references Ibn Taymiyya. The problem is, however, that as mentioned above, this was not actually Kāḏizāde’s own translation but ‘Aşık’s. It could be argued that Kāḏizāde must have held Ibn Taymiyya in high esteem to want to assume ownership of a translation of the latter’s text, but it should also be remembered that the text Kāḏizāde appropriated was at least one-third ‘Aşık’s and incorporated various features that were at odds with the original Taymiyyan vision. There is no indication that Kāḏizāde wanted to strip the text of these later additions; in fact, he left all the “supplements” and digressions of ‘Aşık intact, and he contented himself with merely changing parts of the introduction to cover up the fact that he was claiming another person’s work. Interestingly, in the process, he ended up omitting not only ‘Aşık’s but also Ibn Taymiyya’s name, and instead presented himself (“Shaykh Meḥmed b. Muştafā known as Kāḏizāde”) as the author of the text.¹⁰⁹ Patient readers could still find out that the text was in part a translation

106 Kāḏizāde Meḥmed, *Nuṣḥūl-ḥükkām sebebū’n-nizām* 2b–3a.

107 Tezcan, *The second Ottoman Empire* 118–119.

108 Kāḏizāde Meḥmed, *Du‘ānāme* 114b–118b (written on the occasion of Murād’s accession to the throne in 1032/1623); *Naẓm fi ‘ilmīl-‘aḳā’id* 4b–67a (composed in 1037/1627–1628); *Naşīhatnāme* 119a–136a; *Pādişāh-ı ‘ālempenāh ḥāzretlerine neşāyih-i keşīre* 140a–145a; *Naşru’l-aşḥāb ve kahru’s-sebbāb* 1a–48b; *Nuṣḥūl-ḥükkām sebebū’n-nizām* 2b–70a (composed in 1040/1630–1631); *Mesmū’atūl-neḳāyih mecmū’atū’n-neşāyih* (composed in 1041/1631–1632); *Tācūr-resā’il ve minhācūl-vesā’il*. For a critical edition of the *Du‘ānāme*, see Deniz, Kadızade; for a critical edition of *Naẓm fi ‘ilmīl-‘aḳā’id*, see Karaca, Kadızāde and Büyükköçeci, Kadızāde; for a modern Turkish publication of another version of the *kaşīde*, see Ürekli, Dördüncü Murad.

109 Kāḏizāde Meḥmed, *Tācūr-resā’il* 12a.

of Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* when they got to the part in which ʿĀşīk announces the end of his translation of the said work and the beginning of the "supplements."¹¹⁰

Moreover, with a single exception, discussed below, the changes that Kāḏizāde introduced to his version of the text were not any more indicative of a hardcore Taymiyyan than ʿĀşīk's transadaptation. For instance, while Kāḏizāde replaced ʿĀşīk's eulogy of Süleymān and Selīm II with a eulogy of Murād IV, the new eulogy also played on number mysticism and the esoteric properties of the sultan's name, just like ʿĀşīk's.¹¹¹ More remarkable still, Kāḏizāde inserted into the text a "letter of invitation" to Islam by an Islamized Alexander the Great. Evidently, Kāḏizāde was not a stranger to the eclectic universalism that had characterized the outlook of earlier generations of Ottoman imperial elites.¹¹² Lest we think that these are anomalies limited to this text, it is worth pointing out that the other works Kāḏizāde submitted to Murād IV also exhibit a similar diversity of sources of inspiration, from Quranic verses to Sufi poetry to excerpts from a Turkish rendition of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb Sırr al-asrār*.¹¹³ It is only in the texts that he authored for ordinary Muslims that Kāḏizāde restricted himself to verses from the Quran and excerpts from jurisprudential texts.¹¹⁴ It would seem that the socially bifurcated cultural codes of early modern Ottoman polite society also held for this early eleventh/seventeenth-century preacher: he spoke to the elites in one discursive register and to the commoners in another.

In short, Kāḏizāde Meḥmed was not quite the uncompromisingly "puritanical," "antisyncretistic," and "anti-elitist" Muslim reformist that modern scholars have imagined him to be; nor was he any more Taymiyyan in his disposition than, say, ʿĀşīk had been. This having been said, he did insert into his revised

110 Ibid. 121a.

111 Ibid. 11a–b.

112 Ibid. 8a–b. Even though the Ottoman fascination with Alexander the Great has been said to be more a phenomenon of the ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries, there are also other eleventh/seventeenth-century Ottoman texts featuring Alexander as an ideal ruler. For explorations of the Ottoman Alexander corpus, listed in the order of their chronological focus, see Kastritsis, *The Alexander romance*; Beaudoen, *Mirrors*; Krstić, *Of translation 134–136*; Şen, *The dream; on the Ottoman versions of the book of advice supposed to have been written by Aristotle for Alexander*, see Yılmaz, *Caliphate* 63–64.

113 For excerpts from the pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb Sırr al-asrār*, see Kāḏizāde Meḥmed, *Mesmūʿatü'l-neḳāyih* 8b–12b.

114 See, for instance, Kāḏizāde Meḥmed, *Risāle-i Kāḏizāde Meḥmed* 94b–103a; *Risāle-i Īmān ve İslām* 103b–107b; *Risāle-i Şalāt* 44b–47a. For an analysis of Kāḏizāde Meḥmed's religious writings aimed at a wider audience, see Tezcan, *A canon of disenchantment*.

version of the transadaptation one passage that would be of interest to scholars looking for Taymiyyan influences in the Kadızadeli milieu. The passage in question discusses the different types of idolatry (*şirk*) and is taken from Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maşā'id al-shaytān* (Rescuing the distressed from the snares of the devil). Interestingly, Kāḏizāde does not reveal his source but simply says that he took the text from works of *kelām*. He does, however, cite the same passage on idolatry in another work of political advice, where he gives the correct title of the source but misattributes it to another Hanbali scholar, Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201).¹¹⁵

The reference to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Ighāthat al-lahfān* is noteworthy, because this Hanbali writer was the most important student of Ibn Taymiyya and because modern scholars who have been convinced of the Kadızadeli's Taymiyyan convictions have rested their case in recent years mainly on the fact that the Ottoman writers who were or who fit the profile of Kadızadeli cited Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and especially his *Ighāthat al-lahfān*.¹¹⁶ One of these scholars, Sheikh, has further argued that the Kadızadeli were far more immersed in the writings of Ibn Taymiyya than they let on, but that because of the controversy surrounding the latter's name, they preferred to give reference to his less controversial student, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, instead.¹¹⁷ This view, however, is rather speculative and is open to critique on several grounds. First, while Sheikh has identified in the works of two key thinkers who inspired the Kadızadeli movement, Birgivi and Aḥmed Rūmī el-Akḫişārī (d. ca. 1041/1632), two passages that seem to be taken from Ibn Taymiyya's *Iqtidā l-şirāt al-mustaqīm* (The necessity of the straight path),¹¹⁸ this would hardly suffice to identify these otherwise solidly Hanafi-Maturidi scholars as crypto-Taymiyyans.¹¹⁹ Secondly, the supposition that Ibn Taymiyya was considered too controversial a name to be explicitly mentioned in the Rumi context also needs to be qualified: it is true that some works and ideas of Ibn

115 Kāḏizāde Meḥmed, *Tāci'r-resā'il* 10a–11a; *Mesmū'atü'l-nekāyih* 110a–111b; Kāḏizāde Meḥmed also praises the same work in a letter he wrote to the *şeyhü'l-islām* Hocazāde Meḥmed, see Tezcan, *The portrait* 207, 214.

116 Michot, *Introduction*; Sheikh, *Ottoman puritanism*; Sheikh, *Taymiyyan influences*; Sheikh, *Taymiyyan taşawwuf*.

117 Sheikh, *Taymiyyan influences* 17–19; *Ottoman puritanism* 128–131.

118 Sheikh, *Taymiyyan influences* 12–17; *Ottoman puritanism* 118–128.

119 For the relevant scholarship, see footnote 6. Other than the passages identified by Sheikh, the arguments that Birgivi was a crypto-Taymiyyan have been based largely on the misattribution to him of works that were authored by Akḫişārī; for the correction of these misattributions and a discussion of their implications, see Kaylı, *A critical study* 52–81, 119–125, 137–139, 141–142.

Taymiyya, such as his rejection of tomb visitations, were considered by some (perhaps many) Ottoman scholars to be deeply objectionable, but some other works and ideas were not, as evidenced by the translation(s) of his *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* into Turkish.¹²⁰ It could be argued that the Kadızadelis felt more vulnerable than other more “mainstream” Ottoman scholars when citing Ibn Taymiyya, because they, too, targeted such popular practices as tomb visitations as *bidʿats*, but it has to be said that even in the highly polarized environment of eleventh/seventeenth-century Istanbul, where their critics referred to the Kadızadelis regularly as “fanatics” (*mutaʿaṣṣibīn*), “hypocrites” (*mūrāṭī*), and “deniers” (*mūnkirīn*), no one associated them with Ibn Taymiyya, except perhaps indirectly in the context of the debates on tomb visitations and the congregational performance of supererogatory prayers.¹²¹ Thirdly, Sheikh’s claim that the Kadızadelis may have cited Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya as a safer choice than his teacher is based on the assumption that the writings of the two men were otherwise equally well known to eleventh/seventeenth-century Ottoman scholars. This was not actually the case, however, since as Caterina Bori has recently shown, even an unusually well-read bibliophile like Kātib Çelebi (d. 1067/1657) was far more familiar with the contents of the works of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya than with those of Ibn Taymiyya.¹²²

In short, even if the Kadızadelis were more familiar with Ibn Taymiyya than they let on, the evidence at hand does not support the view that they represented on the whole a “school of Ibn Taymiyya” or even a distinctively “Taymiyyan” subcurrent of Hanafi-Maturidi Islam in the lands of Rum. Neither is it possible to say that they played an especially significant role in spreading

120 It seems that Sheikh is not aware of the existence of either the *Mīrāciʿl-eyāle* or *Tāciʿr-resāʿil*, or for that matter, the *Risāla fi l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, for he lists the “theology of liberation” that he finds in Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* among the factors that would have made the Hanbali scholar an anathema among the Ottomans; see Sheikh, *Ottoman puritanism* 129–130.

121 For references to Ibn Taymiyya in the context of the eleventh/seventeenth-century Ottoman debate on tomb visitations, see ‘Abdū’l-mecīd Sivāsī, *Dürer-i ‘akā’id* 81a–82a; Katib Çelebi, *The balance* 93. Of these commentators, Sivāsī (d. 1049/1639) was a learned Halveti shaykh, an ardent supporter of Ottoman Sunnism, and, in the last decade of his life, a vocal adversary of Kaḏızāde Mehmed, while Kātib Çelebi stood equidistant to both the Kadızadelis and their critics. Notwithstanding their differences, both of these writers agreed that Ibn Taymiyya had been an indisputably errant figure and had erred also in taking a radical stance against tomb visitations. Both also discounted his views by noting how he had been branded an unbeliever “by the generality of the ulema of Egypt” and died in jail. It was in a very similar manner that the Celveti Sufi master İsmāʿil Hakkī Bursevī (d. 1137/1725) brought up the name of Ibn Taymiyya to delegitimize the attack against the Regāʿib and Berāt prayers in his own time. On this, see Cengiz, İsmail Hakkı Bursevî 135.

122 Bori, Ibn Taymiyya (14th to 17th century) 115–117; see also 112–115 for observations about knowledge of Ibn Taymiyya in other parts of the Ottoman Empire in this period.

the knowledge of Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya* in the eleventh/seventeenth century. Today we know of only three manuscript copies of Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed's *Tāci'r-resā'il* anywhere, as opposed to ten manuscript copies of 'Āṣiḳ's *Mi'rāci'l-eyāle* in Turkey alone.¹²³ It was also only the latter version that was mentioned in Kātib Ḥelebi's bibliographical compendium *Kashf al-zunūn*.¹²⁴ It is telling, too, that *Tāci'r-resā'il* was not copied together with other, more popular, works that were written by Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed for the benefit of Muslims in general. It seems that both versions of the translation ultimately catered to high-ranking members of the imperial administration than to either a more exclusively scholarly or a more popular readership.

Much the same observations can be made about the circulation of the Arabic originals of Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya* in Istanbul in this period. Currently, Istanbul's manuscript libraries contain twelve manuscript copies of the original Arabic epistle, roughly equal to the total number of copies of both versions of the Turkish transadaptations in the same collections. Judging by the codicological evidence, most, if not all, of these copies of the Arabic original had come into the possession of Istanbuli readers either in the late eleventh/seventeenth or in the early twelfth/eighteenth centuries. In fact, there may even have been something of a competition among the top-ranking Ottoman grandees to obtain precious copies of this work in this period. The *ṣeyhü'l-islām* Feyzullāh Efendi (d. 1115/1703), who was a former student and son-in-law of the "third-generation Kadızadeli leader" and preacher Vānī Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1096/1685), as well as one of the most well-read, most politically active (and most controversial) scholars of his time, evidently cared enough about the work to obtain an early and precious copy, one that had been copied in 850/1446–1447 to be presented to a high-placed Mamluk official.¹²⁵ The grand

123 Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed, *Tāci'r-resā'il*, SK, MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1926; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (hereafter TSMK), MS Hazine 371/1, 1a–48a; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Diez A quart 46. This last copy bears a reader's note dated 1047/1637–1638 (ia), indicating that the work must have been copied before that date. The other copies are undated. Cf. 'Āṣiḳ, *Mi'rāci'l-eyāle* TSMK, MS Revan 1610 (copied in 1005/1596–1597); SK, MS Reisülküt-tab 1006 (copied in 1008/1600); Nuruosmaniye MS 2315 (copied in 1009/1600); SK, MS Esad Efendi 1901 (copied in 1011/1602); SK, MS Esad Efendi 1803/1, 1b–94b (copied in 1054/1644); TSMK, MS Hazine 1768/1, 1b–117a (copied in 1088/1677–1678); Milli Kütüphane, MS A. 8112; SK, MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1556; SK, MS Ḥelebi Abdullah Efendi 51/2, 38b–217b; Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi, MS Türkçe Yazmalar 466/1.

124 Kātib Ḥelebi, *Keşf el-zünun* ii, 1011.

125 For the copy, see Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya*, Millet Kütüphanesi, MS Feyzullah 1290 (copied by 'Ali b. Süleymān in 850/1446–1447); the text is also listed in Feyzullāh's endowment deed; *Feyzullah Efendi Vakfiyesi*, Millet Kütüphanesi, MS Feyzullah 2189, 223a; on Feyzullāh, see Meservey, *Feyzullah*; Abou-el-haj, *The 1703 rebellion*; Nizri, *Ottoman high politics*, esp. ch. 1.

vizier Şehîd ʿAlî Paşa (d. 1128/1716), who was also a known bibliophile, but who had nothing to do with the Kadızadelis and was in fact a Sufi sympathizer and even reputed to be a Bayrami-Melami *kuṭb*, also owned three copies of the work, one of which had been copied very early, in 780/1378–1379.¹²⁶ It is evident that the interest in the tract (and its earliest copies) continued at the highest levels of the imperial hierarchy also in the twelfth/eighteenth century. We find two other Mamluk-era copies of the work in the library of Aḥmed III (r. 1115–1143/1703–30), dated 766/1363 and 797/1395, and four copies of the work in the library established by Maḥmūd I (r. 1143–1168/1730–54); two of the copies in Maḥmūd’s library also dated from the Mamluk era, from 744/1343 and 893/1488 specifically.¹²⁷ The head of the scribal bureaucracy, Reʿīsül-küttâb Muştafâ Efendi (d. 1162/1749), too, owned a copy, which bears the endowment date of 1154/1741–1742.¹²⁸

Considering that all these individuals were known bibliophiles and founders of *waqf* libraries, it is reasonable to think that their demand for precious copies of *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* was fueled in part by their bibliophilia.¹²⁹ But it cannot have been just the antiquarian appeal of the Mamluk-era *Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* copies that recommended the text to the Ottoman readers. The latter must also have been interested in the subject matter, *siyāsa sharʿiyya*. What suggests this is the even greater popularity of Dede Cöngî’s *Risāla fî l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* starting slightly earlier. In fact, this decidedly more recent epistle dwarfs Ibn Taymiyya’s famous work in terms of its popularity with eleventh/seventeenth- and twelfth/eighteenth-century readers in the Ottoman capital. My prelimi-

126 Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, SK, MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1553/1, 1–76 (copied in 780/1378–1379); SK, MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1544 (copied by Muşliḥu’l-din Ebū’l-hayr Aḥmed in Istanbul in ZT1-ḥicce 1109/1698); SK MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1543 (previously owned by a certain Hüseyin in 1011/1602–1603). On the first of these manuscripts, see Bori, One or two versions; on Şehîd ʿAlî Pasha, see Özcan, Şehid Ali Paşa; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik* 165–166.

127 For manuscripts of Ibn Taymiyya’s *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* in the collection of Aḥmed III, see TSMK, MS Ahmet III 118 (copied in 797/1395) and TSMK, MS Ahmet III 117 (copied in 766/1363), and Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Araçça yazmalar* ii, #4660, #4661. For manuscripts of the same work in the collection of Maḥmūd I, see SK, MS Ayasofya 2886/1 (copied in 893/1488); SK, MS Ayasofya 2887 (copied in 999/1591); SK, MS Ayasofya 2888; 2889 (copied in 744/1343).

128 Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, SK, MS Reisülküttap 528. This seems to be a twelfth/eighteenth-century manuscript. Other manuscript copies of the work preserved in Istanbul libraries are SK, MS Yahya Tevfik 270, which is undated but has an owner’s note dated 1186/1772–1773 and Bayezid, MS 1987, which was inaccessible at the time of research for this paper.

129 Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda kütüphaneler*; Sezer, The architecture of bibliophilia.

nary research in the database of the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul in the summer of 2019 has revealed over 60 manuscript copies of Cöngî's text, as compared to 12 manuscript copies of Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya*.¹³⁰ Of course, Cöngî's text did not just circulate in Istanbul but also in other intellectual and administrative centers in the Ottoman lands, including the Arab provinces, but my point is that the text had a particular relevance for the Turcophone Rumi ruling cadres.¹³¹ This is also indicated by the fact that the *Risāla fî l-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya* was translated into Turkish no less than three times between the late eleventh/seventeenth and early thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. The earliest of these was a rather faithful translation made by Sebzî Seyyid Mehmed Efendi (d. 1091/1680) sometime in the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century and represented in Süleymaniye's database with some ten manuscript copies, the earliest of which dates from 1121/1709.¹³²

What is interesting is that Dede Cöngî's text received all this attention after having hardly received any during the first 80 to 100 years of its existence. The earliest known extant manuscript copy of the work is dated 1054/1644–1645, followed by two other copies, dated 1067/1657 and 1069/1658.¹³³ These were the years when Cöngî's famous progeny, Minḳārîzāde Yahyâ (d. 1088/1678), was climbing up the ranks of the Ottoman learned hierarchy to become eventually one of the longest serving *şeyhül-islâm*s of the eleventh/seventeenth century. This raises the possibility that the text was brought to the attention of the wider public by either Minḳārîzāde or someone else who knew of the family connection between the two men. This possibility is also supported by the fact

130 For a partial list, see Bibliography.

131 For some copies of the text preserved in libraries in such cities as Cairo and Riyad, see Dede Efendi, *al-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya* 5–20.

132 For the Latinized transcription of Sebzî Efendi's translation, see Açıık, Dede Cöngî'nin; for manuscript copies, see MS SK, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1914; MS Millet K, A.E. Şeriyye 398 (copied in 1199/1784–1785); MS SK, Hüsrev Paşa 639/4, 195–244; MS Milli Ktp, A 9124; MS Nuruosmaniye, 203/2; MS Beyazıt Devlet K, Bayezıt 4790; MS Beyazıt Devlet K, Bayezıt 4890 (copied in 1150/1737–1738); MS SK, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1914; MS Nuruosmaniye 4982/1, 1b–35b (copied in 1121/1709); MS Nuruosmaniye 4892/3, 71–105. For the translations made by İsmâ'îl Müfid Efendi (d. 1217/1802) and by the *şeyhül-islâm* Meşrebzāde 'Arif Efendi (d. 1275/1858), see Akgündüz (ed.), *Osmanlı kanunnameleri* iv, 122–212; Erten, *Tercüme-i Siyasetnâme*'nin tahlili and Erel, Dede Cöngî's.

133 Dede Cöngî, *Siyasetnâme/Risāla fî l-Siyāsa al-shar'īyya*, SK, MS Şehid Ali Paşa 2725/55, 254–262 (copied in Zî'l-ka'de 1054/December 1644–January 1645); SK, MS Ragıp Paşa 639/3, 130b–142a (copied in 1067/1656–1657); Diyarbakır İl Halk Kütüphanesi, MS 104/2, 24b–37a (copied in 1069/1658); SK, MS Esad Efendi 924/4, 166b–187a (copied in 1083/1672–1673).

that the text's first Turkish translator, Sebzī, introduces Cöngī as "the ancestor of Minḳārīzāde" (*cedd-i Minḳārīzāde*) in the preface to his translation of the text.¹³⁴

Whatever the role of Minḳārīzāde was behind the rise of Cöngī's *Risāla fī l-siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* from obscurity to fame, there was certainly a broader context to the interest that high-level Ottomans took in the *siyāsa sharʿiyya* literature, and more broadly, juristic works on rulership, in this period. From the appointment of Köprülü Mehmed as grand vizier (1066/1656) to the Ottoman defeat at Vienna (1094/1683), a succession of viziers from the Köprülü household worked hard to restore the control of the imperial government over the myriad restless power groups, both in the capital and in the provinces, and while doing so, they leaned heavily on religiously inspired measures of social disciplining.¹³⁵ It was also in this period that they introduced to the recently conquered island of Crete (1081/1670) and the resubdued Basra (1080/1669) a system of land tenure and taxation that was decidedly more "Islamic" than earlier Ottoman practices and that allowed for private ownership of land as well as heavier rates of taxation.¹³⁶ Significantly, Ottoman experimentations with "*sharʿi* governance"

134 Until now, the main source of the claim about the family relationship between the two men was the preface to the first Turkish translation of Cöngī's *Risāla fī l-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*; for the reference, see Açıık, Dede Cöngī'nin 8. A recent discovery by Özgün Deniz Yoldaşlar, who is currently writing his PhD thesis on Minḳārīzāde, has thrown up new evidence in strong support of this conclusion. The evidence in question is a note made by Minḳārīzāde Yahyā in his copy of Dede Cöngī's supercommentary on Taftāzānī's commentary on 'Izz al-dīn al-Zanjānī's *al-'Izzī fī l-taṣrīf*, and reads: "This is the supercommentary of the maternal ancestor of this poor slave on the commentary on Zanjānī by Sa'dū'l-mille ve'd-dīn and I am the sinner, Yahyā, son of 'Ömer (May He forgive both)." See Dede Cöngī, *Hāshīyya 'alā sharḥ al-'Izzī fī l-taṣrīf*, SK, MS Murad Molla 1734, 1a. I thank Yoldaşlar for allowing me to share this important finding.

135 Among the measures of "social disciplining" deployed in this period were the bans on wine taverns, coffeehouses, and alehouses, and even on the trade in coffee and tobacco; the prohibition of the Sufi *devrān* and the Mevlevi *semā'*, and the banishment of Sufi shaykhs who did not abide by this prohibition. The Köprülü's also revived the early eleventh/seventeenth-century project of reclaiming Eminönü for the Muslims and pushing the Jews and Christians residing there to the outer skirts of the city. For differing perspectives on these policies, see Baer, *Honored*; Thys-Şenocak, The Yeni Valide complex; Yıldız, 1660. For an aborted attempt to reform the religious beliefs and practices of Ottoman Muslims circa 1113/1702, see Abou-el-Haj, *Formation* 51–52, 91–97.

136 For differing perspectives on the land tenure and taxation system implemented in Crete, see Veinstein, On the *çiftlik* debate; Veinstein, Le législateur ottoman; Veinstein, Les règlements fiscaux; Greene, An Islamic experiment; Greene, *A shared world* 25–29; Kermeli, Caught in between faith and cash; Kolovos, Beyond "classical" Ottoman defterology; on the system implemented in Basra, see Khoury, Administrative practice.

continued also in the late eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries. The Ottoman poll-tax reforms and the short-lived attempt to abolish price ceilings (*narh*), both of which were instituted by the grand vizier Köprülüzâde Muşafâ in 1102/1691, and the abolition of some taxes and fines as *bid'ats* in the *ḳānūnnāme* of Midilli (Mytileni) in 1121/1709 can be mentioned as some pertinent examples.¹³⁷ As Ekin Tuşalp Atiyas has pointed out, the Ottoman officials did not name specific texts but rather evoked the authority of either “the sharia” or “the books of Islamic jurisprudence” when they wanted to explain why they were breaking ways with some of the old Ottoman state traditions.¹³⁸

A new disinclination to use the word *ḳānūn* on the part of the Ottoman imperial administration at the turn of the eleventh/seventeenth century went hand in hand with this development. This trend culminated in the famous decree of Muşafâ II in 1108/1696 that all Ottoman imperial orders from that point on reference only “the noble sharia” and not “couple the [terms] noble sharia and *ḳānūn*.”¹³⁹ Of course, not all Ottoman men of letters and statesmen shared this aversion to the use of the word *ḳānūn*, as indicated by the continued references to *ḳānūn* in Ottoman political and historical literature throughout the eleventh/seventeenth century.¹⁴⁰ Nor was the decree of 1108/1696 the end of the legislative functions of the Ottoman sultans. Quite to the contrary, in the twelfth/eighteenth century, the Ottoman rulers continued to make laws just as—if not more vigorously—and Muslim jurists referenced royal edicts even to a greater degree than before in their juridical rulings.¹⁴¹ However, now, the Ottoman rulers justified their lawmaking with reference to *shar'ī* norms first and foremost, and only secondarily with reference to their cumulative dynastic

137 On the 1102/1691 reforms, see Sariyannis, Notes on the Ottoman poll-tax reforms; Tuşalp Atiyas, The Sunna-minded trend 272–276. On Köprülüzâde Muşafâ's justification of the reforms on *shar'ī* grounds, see Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i vekayiât* 387–389. On the *ḳānūnnāme* of Mytileni (Midilli), see the studies cited in footnote 136.

138 Tuşalp Atiyas, The sunna-minded trend, esp. 238–239, 265–272.

139 Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman*, 154–155.

140 Abou-El-Haj, Power and social order; Tezcan, *The second Ottoman Empire* esp. 49–58; Darling, *A history of social justice*, 146–148; Ferguson, *The proper order*, ch. 6; Sariyannis, *A history*, chs. 4–8.

141 On the continued relevance of *ḳānūn* during the twelfth/eighteenth century, see Tuğ, *Politics of honor* 55–67; on the progressive incorporation of royal edicts into the fatwa texts of Ottoman ulama, see Ayoub, The sultān says. On the role of state authorities in law enforcement and social and moral regulation in the twelfth/eighteenth century, see also Ergene, *Local court*; Semerdjian, “Off the straight path”; Zarinebaf, *Crime and punishment*; Zilfi, *Women and slavery*; Aykan, *Rendre le justice*; Baldwin, *Islamic law*; Başaran, *Selim III*.

traditions. It was precisely this shift, I would argue, that also explains the main attraction of Cöngī's modest treatise on *siyāsa sharʿiyya* to the later Ottomans. Cöngī had legitimated the Ottoman *ḵānūn* under the rubric of the Mamluk *siyāsa* and without so much as a reference to the Ottoman dynasty, styling it as the kind of *siyāsa* that serves "*sharʿi* ends" and safeguards public order. Even if Cöngī's original concern had been to intervene in a debate centered in the empire's newly annexed provinces of Egypt and Syria during the tenth/sixteenth century, his solution to that debate turned out to be just as relevant to the needs of the empire's overwhelmingly Rumi ruling elites in the following century. It seems that this particular definition of *ḵānūn*, as ruler's law in service of the divine law, which could be adjusted to the changing needs of the time, rather than as accretive dynastic custom, had won the day.

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You Must Know Your Faith in Detail: Redefinition of the Role of Knowledge and Boundaries of Belief in Ottoman Catechisms (‘ilm-i ḥāls)

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Although still far from providing a comprehensive picture, recent research on Islamic theology in post-fourteenth-century Central Asia as well as the Ottoman and Safavid realms has challenged the long-established view that in the “postclassical” era, and especially in these regions, the works on *kalām* became repetitive and derivative at best, or that the discipline experienced a complete demise, at worst.¹ This view has long obfuscated new directions and tendencies in later *kalām*, often articulated in neglected glosses, commentaries, and supercommentaries on the works of older masters, which offer plentiful evidence of what Khaled El-Rouayheb has identified as new “textual-philological methodologies” through which scholars engaged with past works and arguments, not with the purpose of blindly imitating (*taqlīd*) but elaborating and/or independently verifying them (*taḥqīq*).² Reflecting on recent efflorescence in research on early modern Islamic intellectual history, Matthew Melvin-Khoushki observed that unlike their European contemporaries who famously insisted on going back to and emulating the ancients, Ottoman scholars were perfectly content to textually inherit ancient learning through the “well-burnished prism” of their immediate Timurid, Turkmen, and Mamluk scholarly predecessors. Nevertheless, both Islamic and European scholars engaged in translating, commenting on, refining, critiquing, rejecting, subverting, and editing their intellectual patrimony—practices that Melvin-Khoushki groups under the broad rubric of *taḥqīq*, or verification through independent reasoning—which, he suggests, constituted “a new epistemic style that is distinctively early modern.”³

1 For a critical overview of this stance as well as decline narratives that converged on the Ottoman period, see El-Rouayheb, *Islamic intellectual history* 173–174, 102. Other critical studies include Spannaus, *Theology in Central Asia*; Özervarlı, *Theology in the Ottoman lands*; essays in Demir et al. (eds.), *Osmanlı’da ilm-i kelâm*; Badeen, *Sunnitische Theologie*; Yazıcıoğlu, *Le kalâm*, etc.

2 El-Rouayheb, *Islamic intellectual history* 97–128. On commentaries and supercommentaries, see *ibid.* 33; Ahmed, *Post-classical*; Saleh, *The gloss as intellectual history*.

3 Melvin-Khoushki, *Taḥqīq vs. taqlīd* 214 and 216.

The concept of *taḥqīq*—although in a different sense—was also central to the theological debates that reached back to the early days of the Muslim community, on faith (*īmān*) and the necessary knowledge of Islam that qualifies one for being considered a believer (*mu'mīn*), as well as the degree of the obligation to “know.”⁴ In this context, particularly contentious was the question of whether faith could essentially be reducible to knowledge and whether the kind of knowledge that would allow one to verify the truthfulness of one's faith must be based on reasoning (*naẓar*) and inference (*istidlāl*). The eponymous founders of the two Sunni theological schools, Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935–936), along with their Mu'tazilite opponents, leaned toward the affirmative answer and questioned the validity of faith based on the authority of others (*taqlīd*) that lacked any understanding of the underlying proofs for the articles of faith. This view, however, threatened the status as a believer of the majority of common Muslims and came to be known as *al-qawl bi-kufr al-'amma* (i.e., the thesis that condemns the common people as unbelievers), generating much debate among the theologians. The contentiousness of the question made sure that the issue of imitative faith (*al-īmān bi-l-taqlīd*), as well as the accompanying problem of how much knowledge and what kind of knowledge was required in order for one to be considered a believer, came to be a staple topic in creeds (*ʿaqā'id*) and manuals on principles of Islam (*uṣūl al-dīn*) since the fourth/tenth century.

Building on recent studies on postclassical *kalām* as well as the research on rearticulations of Sunni orthodoxy in the early modern Ottoman Empire, the present paper seeks to address the issue of *taḥqīq* both in a general sense, as an Islamic mode of engagement with the intellectual patrimony, and in a specific sense relevant to the theological discussions of the relationship between faith and knowledge in creedal texts, with emphasis on the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries. To that end, the paper will explore how Ottoman Rumi authors (i.e. from the Balkans and Anatolia) who wrote catechetical works (Tr. *'ilm-i ḥāl*) for common Muslims in Turkish engaged with the earlier theological works to discuss the question of imitative faith (Tr. *īmān-i taqlīdī*) as well as the corollary problem of whether it is sufficient to assent (*taṣ-dīq*) to faith in general terms or in detail, and consequently, whether one's faith should be of summary (Tr. *īmān-i icmālī*) or detailed kind (Tr. *īmān-i tafṣīlī*). In order to shed light on the evolution of the debate, the first part of the paper will examine the Maturidi, Ash'ari, and to a lesser extent Mu'tazili theologians'

4 For a background on these debates, see Izutsu, *The concept*, esp. 57–129; Frank, *Knowledge and taqlīd*.

views that informed later Ottoman authors, whose approaches to the issue will constitute the mainstay of the subsequent discussion. In the final part, the paper will turn to the question of why *kalām* continued to be socially relevant in a polity such as the Ottoman Empire, contextualizing this question with reference to the discussions on “Sunnitization” and confessional polarization in the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries.

1 The Relationship between Faith and Knowledge as Understood by Ash‘arites and Maturidites before the Ninth/Fifteenth Century

The discussions about the kind and degree of knowledge about *īmān* that one had to have both in order to be considered a Muslim and in order to qualify as a believer and be guaranteed salvation on the Day of Judgment were triggered by the specific historical circumstances that the growing Muslim community faced in the first two centuries, namely how to set the boundaries of membership in the *umma* in the face of the growing conversions to Islam. For the evolution of the Maturidi school of theology and the position of the Maturidi scholars on the issue, the decisive developments took place in second/eighth-century Transoxania, which was conquered by the Muslims in the beginning of the century and where conversions of the local populations were on the rise. The ensuing question of whether or not converts should be paying poll tax triggered a theological debate on what kind of knowledge one should have in order to be counted as a Muslim.⁵ This prompted the Murji‘a—a group that had come to define faith exclusively as a declaration by tongue and argued that deeds (such as performance of the rites of worship) had no impact on one’s faith—who dominated the political scene in Transoxania, to reach out to the scholars in Kufa, in Iraq, which was the traditional stronghold of the Murji‘a. Here they found support from one of the city’s most prestigious scholars at the time, Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), who himself was sympathetic to their views. This had a lasting impact on Eastern Iran, whose Muslim population overwhelmingly embraced Abū Ḥanīfa’s teachings by the early ninth century.⁶ Although Abū Ḥanīfa is today remembered as the founder of one of the four Sunni schools of law (*madhhab*), none of his writings on law (*fiqh*) actually survive, while the texts that can with some certainty be attributed to him or to the first generation of his students, became central to the development of Sunni *kalām*.

5 For background, see Madelung, The early Murji‘a, and Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 24–25.

6 See Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 27; also van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 176–184.

This, in turn, means that we can speak not only of a Hanafi legal but also theological school, which later developed into the Maturidi school of theology, but only well after Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī himself was active.⁷ The Hanafi and Maturidi theological views that became dominant in Khorasan and Transoxania in the third/ninth century continued to dominate in this region, at least until the eighth/fourteenth century.

How did Abū Ḥanīfa view the relationship between faith and knowledge? Or rather, what did early Hanafi and Maturidi scholars believe were his views on the matter? In the only text that modern scholars believe is authentically Abū Ḥanīfa's, which is a letter (*risāla*) written to ʿUthmān al-Battī, he insisted that faith excludes deeds, that it cannot increase or decrease, that all people and angels are equal in their *īmān*, and that sinners will be judged only in the afterlife.⁸ However, in another text attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa, *Kitāb al-ʿĀlim wa-l-mutaʿallim*, which was actually authored by one of his followers, he is cited as mentioning other topics that will become central to the teachings of the later Hanafis, such as the importance of knowledge (*ʿilm*, *maʿrifa*) which is equated to assenting (*taṣḍīq*) to the truth of the faith and achieving certainty (*yaqīn*) in belief.⁹ This emphasis on knowledge, as synonymous with *īmān*, raised the question as to its scope and nature. Abū Ḥanīfa suggested in his *Risāla* that Muḥammad asked people "to bear witness that there is no god but God alone who has no partner, and to acknowledge what he [Muḥammad] has brought from God." In the *Kitāb al-Fiqh al-absaṭ*, one of the most important early Hanafi sources authored by a student of Abū Ḥanīfa,¹⁰ the master is cited using the so-called Gabriel hadith to explain what it is that Muḥammad brought from God: a message on belief in the oneness of God, the prophethood of Muḥammad, the angels, the Holy Scriptures, the earlier prophets, the Last Judgment, and predestination. As his interpreters understood it, Abū Ḥanīfa demanded

7 On the Hanafi theological school, see Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 29; van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 219–229; Watt, *Islamic philosophy* 23. Although belonging to the Hanafi legal and theological school (the latter later becoming known as Maturidism) mostly went hand in hand, it is known that some later Muʿtazilites belonged to the Hanafi legal *madhhab*, for instance. This was especially true after 230/850 when Muʿtazilism became a purely theological doctrine, separate from politics and jurisprudence. See Watt, *Islamic philosophy* 106. On the reasons why Maturidites referred to themselves as *aṣḥab Abī Ḥanīfa* as late as the fifth/eleventh century, see Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 5–7.

8 Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 28–36.

9 Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 48–53; van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 231. This text was actually authored by Abū Muqātil al-Samarqandī (d. 208/823).

10 *Fiqh al-absaṭ* was authored by Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī (d. 199/814). See Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 53–58, 65.

knowledge of God and of the Prophet, as well as acknowledgment of what the Prophet brought from God in a summary manner (*jumlatan*), without a detailed explanation.¹¹ Furthermore, as is elaborated in a later commentary (probably from the late fourth/tenth-early fifth/eleventh century) on *Fiqh al-absaṭ*, Abū Ḥanīfa was said to have endorsed the faith of an imitator or person who accepts faith on authority of others (*muqallid*), because he viewed anyone who acknowledges Islam in a broad and general sense, even without knowing anything about the book, the creed, or religious duties, as a believer. However, he also acknowledged that a faith based on inference (*istidlāl*) and reasoning is a thousand times more superior and enlightened than the one based on imitation.¹²

This last issue, of whether or not imitative faith, or faith based on what one learns on the authority of others rather than through one's own reasoning, was valid or not became a polemical trope well established in *kalām* works by the mid-fourth/tenth century and directly addressed by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī, Abū Hasan al-Ash'arī, as well as the Mu'tazilites. The issue was clearly of utmost importance to al-Māturīdī, who begins his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* with a question of epistemology and quickly comes to the issue of belief based on authority (*taqlīd*), which he identifies as the cause of all error and reason for the existence of false beliefs.¹³ Building on Hanafi tradition that emphasized knowledge and the capacity of the ratio to know the truth, al-Māturīdī maintained that the intellect was capable of proving God's existence based on his creation. In light of this confidence in the powers of the intellect, it is not surprising that al-Māturīdī himself rejected the validity of imitative faith in no uncertain terms and postulated that only faith based on inquiry (*naẓar*) with one's own intellect (*'aql*) and consideration of proofs (*burhān*) was valid.¹⁴ For al-Māturīdī, reasoning (*istidlāl*) was thus a precondition for *īmān*.

11 Van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 232; Izutsu, *The concept* 118.

12 The commentary on *Fiqh al-absaṭ* was attributed to various authors, including al-Māturīdī himself and Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983), but it is not conclusively proven who authored it. Van Ess and Rudolph have convincingly argued that what Wensinck (in *The Muslim creed* 123) thought was the *Sharḥ Fiqh al-akbar* 1, was actually *Sharḥ Fiqh al-absaṭ*. See van Ess, *Theology and society* i, 237–241; Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 57. For a close analysis of this commentary and discussion of its authorship, see also Daiber, *The Islamic*. For the commentary on Abū Ḥanīfa's view on *taqlīd*, see *ibid.*, 68–75, 222–224. The metaphor of light (*nūr*), likely of Sufi origin, was characteristic of the Maturidi conception of *īmān* that served to offset the Murji'i insistence on equality of *īmān*—everyone's *īmān* was the same in essence and could not increase or decrease but it could be more or less enlightened. On this, see also Izutsu, *The concept* 121–122.

13 Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 231.

14 *Ibid.*, 231–232. Also see Rudolph, *Ratio und Überlieferung* 79.

This, in turn, forced later Hanafi-Maturidis to try to reconcile the tension between Abū Ḥanīfa's position on the subject, which was largely interpreted as an endorsement of the faith of a *muqallid* and reasoning in general terms as sufficient for being considered a *mu'min*, and al-Māturīdī's position that explicitly rejected imitative faith and favored thinking in terms of particulars as a precondition for having *īmān*. Like the commentator on *Fiqh al-absaṭ*, they did so by trying to emphasize Abū Ḥanīfa's praise for faith based on reasoning. Others, like the later Bukharan Maturidi scholar Nūr al-Dīn Ṣābūnī (d. 580/1184) in his *al-Bidāya fī uṣūl al-dīn*, reported that Abū Ḥanīfa viewed a person who refused to engage in reasoning in order to improve their understanding of faith as a rebel and a sinner.¹⁵ While Maturidi scholars generally agreed that the faith of the *muqallid* is valid, this attempt at reconciliation of Abū Ḥanīfa's and al-Māturīdī's positions may have given rise to some ambiguity in their definition of necessary knowledge. For instance, in the foundational text of Maturidi theology, Abū l-Yusr Muḥammad al-Pazdawī's (d. 493/1099–100) *Uṣūl al-dīn*, the author stated that *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a*¹⁶ maintained that summary faith (*al-īmān bi-l-jumla*) is necessary (*wājib*), while the detailed faith (*al-īmān bi-l-tafāṣīl*) is not required, except when one is confused about an issue and needs a clarification. It is sufficient to say "God is one and has no partner; Muḥammad is his servant and Prophet. Everything that he brought from God is true." He contrasts this to the views of the Mu'tazilites, who maintained that detailed faith was necessary, and the Ash'arites, who also reportedly held the same view. At the same time, however, when expounding the view of the *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a* in more detail, Pazdawī refers to the Gabriel hadith and implies that the Prophet's response to the angel's question "What is *īmān*?" (i.e., that *īmān* is belief in God, his angels, books, prophets, resurrection after death, and that all is owing to God) is the summary faith, which suggests that there was some equivocation in the Maturidi stance on what that minimum knowledge of faith was that qualified one as a believer: a simple profession of faith (*shahāda*) or the articles of faith enumerated in the Gabriel hadith.¹⁷

Al-Māturīdī's views did not greatly differ from al-Ash'arī's or the Mu'tazilites', who also maintained that reasoning was necessary for having *īmān*.¹⁸ Al-

15 es-Ṣābūnī, *Māturīdīyye akaidi* 181.

16 In this context, the *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a* are Hanafites (and Maturidites). On the process by which the Hanafites-Maturidites came to assume this label, see Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 61 n133.

17 I am using the Turkish translation of Pazdawī's *Uṣūl al-dī*. See Pezdevî, *Ehl-i sünnet akāidi* 233–235.

18 On convergences on this issue, see Rudolph, *Ratio und Überlieferung*; Frank, *Knowledge*

Ash'arī, himself a former Mu'tazilite, and his followers believed that to assent (*taṣdīq*) to what is reported (*akhbār*) by the community as truth requires some reflective distance from the proposal itself.¹⁹ As a later Ash'ari theologian, al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), reports, al-Ash'arī said that the person who believes the truth on authority of others (*taqlīdan*) was neither a *mushriq* (idolater, polytheist) nor a *kāfir* (unbeliever). When asked whether such a man was a believer (*mu'mīn*), al-Ash'arī replied that he would not call such a person a believer unconditionally, thus leaving the issue of his views on imitative faith open to interpretation.²⁰ As Richard Frank showed, most Ash'ari theologians up to the sixth/twelfth century emphasized that reasoning is obligatory for one's assent to be properly founded. However, there was no unanimity among them regarding the precise character of this knowledge.²¹

Despite these convergences between al-Māturīdī's and al-Ash'arī's views, in later medieval polemical works their followers often came to be identified with diametrically opposing positions vis-à-vis the question of *taqlīd* and the issue of *kufr al-āmma*, although there was also some debate regarding al-Ash'arī's positions. For instance, the commentary on *Fiqh al-absaṭ*, which was very popular with later Hanafī authors, including Ottoman ones, specifically (and misleadingly) stated that both Ash'arites and Mu'tazilites rejected *taqlīd* and viewed the common masses as infidels.²² Pazdawī, on the other hand, asserts that a *muqallid* is truly a believer, and juxtaposes it to the view of the Mu'tazilites, who believe the opposite. He then says that reports on al-Ash'arī's views varied (but then states that the correct report is that he also believed that a *muqallid* is a true believer).²³

Indeed, the later Ash'ari school did not present a homogenous position on the issue of *taqlīd*. Some, like the Maghrebi scholar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), maintained that reasoning is a condition for faith and that a person who remains at the stage of *taqlīd* is not only a sinner but also an infidel in the eyes of God.²⁴ Others tried to temper the radical nature of the thesis that an imitator is a sinner or an infidel or even dismiss it altogether. The Ash'ari theologians al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-

and *taqlīd* 40. On differences among Maturidi, Ash'ari, and Mu'tazili positions on this issue, see Izutsu, *The concept* 119–130.

19 Frank, Knowledge and *taqlīd* 40–41.

20 Izutsu, *The concept* 121.

21 Frank, Knowledge and *taqlīd* 47.

22 See Daiber, *The Islamic* 222. On the problem of ascribing the *kufr al-āmma* thesis to the Mu'tazilites and rejection of *taqlīd* to Ash'arites, see Izutsu, *The concept* 119–121.

23 Pezdevī, *Ehl-i sünnnet akāidi* 235.

24 El-Rouayheb, *Islamic intellectual history* 178, 174–175.

Rāzī (d. 606/1210) rejected the accusation that Ash'arites denied the validity of the faith of the imitator and argued that a *muqallid* was neither a sinner nor an infidel and that the knowledge of detailed proofs about faith—typically the purview of a *kalām* specialist—was incumbent on the community, but not on every individual Muslim.²⁵ In the second book of his *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* al-Ghazālī argued that in teaching the articles of faith, the goal is first to make a child or a novice memorize, then to understand, and finally to arrive at certainty in order to assent to what they have learned. Through his grace, God prepares a believer's heart without the necessity of arguments or proofs, and a believer accepts God's message upon instruction (*talqīn*) and authority (*taqlīd*). This carries the danger of straying from the truth, so in order to prevent doubts and deviations, these beliefs have to be strengthened by proofs. However, it is not necessary to learn *kalām* and disputation in order to do so; rather, one should strive to deepen one's understanding of faith through reading the Quran and hadith and performing one's religious duties. To expose a novice to *kalām* would be like hitting a healthy tree with an iron bar, unnecessarily exposing healthy and solid belief to doubt. He likens *kalām* to a potent drug—it needs to be given in doses and only when necessary.²⁶ According to al-Ghazālī, while the study of *kalām* was not a religious duty incumbent on either individual Muslims (*farḍ al-'ayn*) or the community (*farḍ al-kifāya*) in the early days of Islam, by his time it has become a duty incumbent on the community—as long as there are some scholars who possess such specialized knowledge needed to defend the faith and refute opponents, the conditions are satisfied. In his view, laid out in the first book of his *Ihyā'*, the learning that remains incumbent on each individual Muslim has to do with the foundations of belief, proper performance of worship, and awareness of prohibitions.

In contrast, we do not see such diversity in the views of Maturidi authors of later creeds that went on to gain great popularity in the Ottoman realms. The best known among them, Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī's (d. 537/1142) *Aqā'id* (or *al-Aqīda al-Nasafīyya*), which was also included in the Ottoman madrasa curriculum, does not mention either the issue of imitative faith nor the issue of knowledge that is a precondition for one to be considered a believer. Nasafī simply defines *īmān* as assent to what Muḥammad brought from Allah and the

25 Ibid. 180.

26 al-Ghazzālī, *The foundations* ii, Section 11, available at: <https://www.ghazali.org/works/gz-faith.htm> (accessed on 19 May 2019). Al-Ghazālī's attacks on philosophical *kalām* articulated in his various works induced scholars to believe that *kalām* was afterwards excised from Sunnism, giving rise to the so-called Ghazālī myth. This myth has been successfully challenged by scholars such as Frank Griffel, Khaled el-Rouayheb, and Heidrun Eichner.

verbal confession of it.²⁷ However, in his famous commentary on Nasafi's creed, Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), himself either an Ash'ari or a Maturidi strongly influenced by Ash'arism, states that assent (*taṣḍīq*) with the heart to Allah's message is sufficient to bring one into the category of *īmān*. He further states: "The degree of this kind of *īmān* (*al-īmān al-ijmālī*) is no lower than that of detailed *īmān* (*al-īmān al-tafṣīlī*)."²⁸ Another Maturidi creed that later achieved great popularity in the Ottoman lands was the didactic poem entitled *Bad' al-amālī* by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Ūshī (fl. c. 569/1173), which does not mention the issue of faith in general or in detail but states that "the faith of a person by imitating others is valid; there are clear-cut proofs favoring this opinion."²⁹ Similarly, the topic of summary versus detailed knowledge of faith is not explicitly brought up in the creed by the Maturidi scholar Abū l-Barakāt al-Nasafi (d. 710/1310) entitled *Umdat al-'aqīda li-ahl al-sunna*. On the subject of *taqlīd*, he states that, contrary to what the Mu'tazilites say, the faith of a *muqallid* is valid because it entails assent (*taṣḍīq*), even if he is a sinner for not engaging in reasoning.³⁰ This view is echoed also in *Kitāb al-'Aqīda al-rukniyya* by 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Samarqandī (d. 701/1301), another later Maturidi creed in which the author endorses the faith of the *muqallid* because it entails assent to God's message without any doubt or reservation. He understands the pronunciation of *shahāda* as assent to the divine message in general (*ijmālan*), while he refers to the Gabriel hadith to enumerate the articles of faith in detail.³¹

2 The Maturidi-Ash'ari Synthesis and the Question of *Īmān-i Taklīdī*, *Īmān-i Īcmālī*, and *Īmān-i Tafṣīlī* in Ottoman *Īlm-i ḥāls*

While the preceding paragraphs sought to map the general development and differences in Maturidi and Ash'ari views on the issues of *taqlīd* and knowledge

27 Watt, *Islamic creeds* 82.

28 al-Taftāzānī, *A commentary* 117. For a recent study of al-Taftāzānī's theology, see Würtz, *Islamische Theologie*.

29 Al-Ūshī, *Bad' al-amālī* 22.

30 See al-Nasafi, *Umdat al-'aqīda*. For the relevant passage in Turkish, see en-Nesefī, *Islām inancının* 61.

31 See Bake, Ubeydallah b. Muhammed 9–10 (with facsimile of the relevant manuscript folios on 71). Samarqandī's text, which is recorded in the Turkish libraries under various names (*al-Akaid*, *Risale fi'l-akaid*; *Şerhü'l kelime-i şehadet*, etc.) was published as es-Semerkindī, *el-'Akīdetü'r-rükniyye*.

necessary for one's faith to be considered sound, as the discussion chronologically approaches the Ottoman period, it is not only differences but also interactions and convergences between the two theological schools that have to be taken into account. Historical research on the development of both Ash'arism and Maturidism, especially in the so-called postclassical period, is only in its infancy, and the existing works often uncritically replicate the rhetoric of the sources themselves that strive to project an image of unity and homogeneity within a particular theological tradition rather than highlighting the diversity of opinions or interactions with other schools and traditions.³² The nature of these interactions in the Ottoman period is only slowly being unearthed, but new research suggests that Ottoman scholars were well disposed toward a Maturidi-Ash'ari synthesis³³—a development that is also highlighted in Nabil Al-Tikriti's paper in this volume. After a period of intense infighting between the two schools in Khorasan in the pre-Mongol era and intense rivalries in Syria that followed the influx of the eastern Hanafi-Maturidi scholars into the traditionally Ash'ari terrain in the early Seljuk era, a rapprochement set in by the seventh/thirteenth century as the Zangids, Ayyubids, and later Mamluks sought to present a united Sunni Islamic front against the crusaders and Mongols. At the same time, the Mongol and Timurid rulers were ecumenical in their support of talented scholars regardless of their background, which allowed scholars in Central Asia to move more freely between theological schools as well as sectarian affiliations. Emblematic of this milieu was the rise of the philosophically minded scholars like 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1356), who followed the Ash'ari tradition, as well as Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī and Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 813/1413), who did not restrict themselves to ideas of only one school.³⁴ These combined trends toward rapprochement between theological schools both to the east and to the southwest of the Ottoman domains directly influenced the formation of the Ottoman scholars, both through engagement with the texts and through personal study with the scholars involved in this rapprochement or their students. Ottoman literati were particularly drawn to al-Ghazālī's synthesis of theology, Sufism, Aristotelian logic, and law, and to the scholarship of the "post-Avicennian turn," especially works produced by scholars who integrated Sunni theology with different philosophical perspectives, including metaphysics, illuminationist philosophy, and Avicennian

32 On this point see Eichner, *Handbooks* 495–496; Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 1–20.

33 See Özervarlı, *Theology in the Ottoman lands* 568; Badeen, *Sunnitische Theologie*.

34 On the process of rapprochement between Ash'aris and Maturidis between the fifth/eleventh and eighth/fourteenth centuries, see Berger, *The interpretation* 694–695.

ideas.³⁵ The fact that this fusion between the philosophical and theological traditions of rational exegesis and the adoption of a language of philosophy and demonstration was particularly widespread among the Ash'ari-Shafi'i scholars of the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries meant that the latter's works were often cited by the Ottoman scholars coming in their wake.³⁶

However, it is not the *kalām* of the post-Avicennian turn and the new questions it engendered that are central to the discussion at hand, but rather how they interacted with and informed the older theological inquiries regarding faith and knowledge. In the Ottoman polity, which by the early tenth/sixteenth century experienced a growing rate of conversions to Islam, managed a large non-Muslim and very diverse Muslim population, and faced the challenge of a rival Islamic polity with a different sectarian affiliation—the progressively more Shi'ite Safavid Iran—the question of who was a believer and what constituted knowledge of faith that would guarantee one's salvation in both this and the other world gradually came into a sharper focus. From the mid-ninth/fifteenth century onward, the ulama (religious scholars), whose services were increasingly indispensable to the expanding empire seeking to both credibly govern and garner prestige in the Islamic world, were gradually getting more integrated into the Ottoman administration and were both expected and sought to have a greater say in the matters of what constituted correct faith and practice of Islam.³⁷ The degree to which the ulama became integrated into the Ottoman administration has been described by historians as unprecedented in Islamic history, creating a situation in which particular definitions of who was and what it meant to be a Sunni could be enforced with a new degree of authority (i.e., conditions for a formulation of “orthodoxy”).³⁸ The convergence of these developments in the late ninth/fifteenth-early tenth/ sixteenth centuries thus led to a greater sensitization across Ottoman society to the questions of correct faith and practice.

35 Özervarlı, *Theology in the Ottoman lands* 568; Spannaus, *Theology in Central Asia* 591. Ulrich Rudolph has studied an interesting example of how this trend extended even into jurisprudence, which can be found in the work of celebrated Ottoman jurist Molla Hüseyin (or Khusraw) (d. 855/1480 or 1481), who in his *Mür'at al-uşûl fi sharh Mirqât al-wuşûl* brings the Avicennan theory of intellect to bear on the reasoning behind defining a legal subject. See Rudolph, *Al-Ghazālī* 85–88.

36 For an excellent overview of the intellectual genealogies underpinning this process see Endress, *Reading Avicenna*.

37 On these developments, see Al-Tikriti, *Kalam in the service of the state*; Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize*; Atçıl, *Scholars and sultans*.

38 On the notion of orthodoxy in an Islamic context, see Ahmed, *What is Islam?* 270 and 297.

While the higher echelons of ulama sought to promulgate this agenda through, by now, well-studied legal opinions (*fatāwā*), Ottoman literati of various educational levels and provenance, both affiliated and not with the government, started producing didactic literature on the foundations of *īmān* and Islam that would be comprehensible to common people in their own language, which for the majority of Ottoman Muslims in Anatolia and the Balkans was Turkish. It is in the context of these catechetical texts, which came to be known as *‘ilm-i ḥāls*, that Ottoman authors weighed in on the questions of imitative as well as general versus detailed faith. Although Ottoman *‘ilm-i ḥāls* drew abundantly on various creeds and *uṣūl al-dīn* manuals, they constituted a new genre that often succinctly combined 1) the basic teachings on *īmān* extracted from creedal literature with 2) the basic rules on worship derived from *fiqh* and its regulations for ritual obligations (*‘ibādāt*) and 3) the basic information on prohibitions derived largely from collections of legal opinions (*fatāwā*), in particular on utterances and actions that could render one an unbeliever (*alfāz al-kufr*; Tr. *elfāz-i küfr*). In this respect, the overall concept of the Ottoman *‘ilm-i ḥāl* appears to fit squarely into the framework for knowledge incumbent upon each individual believer as envisioned by al-Ghazālī (see above). This framework can be described as dogmatic in the sense that it emphasized unitary truth underlying the articles of faith and certainty of knowledge (*‘ilm*) about them based on reasoning and incontrovertible textual proofs, while shunning speculation. In an important contrast to the medieval creeds, however, Ottoman *‘ilm-i ḥāls* included stipulations on worship and certain prohibitions derived from Hanafi law, thus reinforcing the notion that the boundaries of dogma are not only definite but circumscribable by law. As Norman Calder pointed out, while the books of law contained expressions of creed, medieval creeds did not contain references to law, which he, in turn, interpreted as the limits of the genre of creed to establish the boundaries of orthodoxy.³⁹ Discursively speaking, Ottoman *‘ilm-i ḥāls* were thus projecting different claims than creeds, more in line with the new understanding of “orthodoxy.”

The discussion of examples of blasphemous utterances and actions covering a wide range of issues was typically found in the sixth/twelfth-century and later legal manuals-cum-collections of juridical opinions—such as *Fatāwā l-Qāḍikhān* (late sixth/twelfth c.), *al-Fatāwā l-Tatārkhāniyya* (eighth/fourteenth c.), *al-Fatāwā l-Bazzāziyya* (ninth/fifteenth c.), etc.—produced by the eastern Hanafites who seem to have had a penchant for this issue, in contrast to their colleagues—both Hanafi and otherwise—in other parts of the Islamic world.⁴⁰

39 See Calder, *The limits* 225.

40 Intisar Rabb argues that among the four Sunni schools of law, only in Hanafism did

At least since the mid-eighth/fourteenth century, when the Khwarazmian Hanafi scholar Badr al-Rashīd (d. 767/1366) produced a treatise on *alfāz al-kufr*, there were also copies of stand-alone works dedicated to the topic.⁴¹ This eastern Hanafi penchant for the *alfāz al-kufr* tradition is important because it appears to have served as the basis for rethinking of the boundary between *īmān* and *kufr* in the Ottoman Hanafi school in the early 1400s. The most emblematic indicator of this rethinking, which emerges in the Ottoman context by the 1450s,⁴² was a legal innovation stipulating that one should renew one's faith (Tr. *tecdīd-i imān*) upon committing an act or uttering something deemed blasphemous by the (eastern) Hanafi jurists. This development is traceable through the *fatāwā* promulgated by the muftis from the lands of Rum (i.e., Anatolia and Rumeli) who were affiliated with the Ottoman government, but it is not evident in the *fatāwā* of the Hanafi jurists not affiliated with the government, especially from the Arab provinces, which underscores the existence of intra-Hanafi, interregional differences. In view of the scholars from Arab provinces of the empire, this stipulation amounted to *takfīr*—the act of declaring other Muslims infidels (*kāfir*)—which was considered contrary to the Sunni tradition and was singled out as such in a number of medieval Sunni creeds, including Hanafi ones.⁴³ In another unprecedented move, the Ottomans elevated the Hanafi school of law into a state *madhhab* by the tenth/sixteenth century; however, given these regional differences and both intra- and inter-*madhhab* tensions that this move caused, the question

defamation require enforcement of criminal sanction, and speech acts were perceived as having the potential to violate public values. Because Hanafi jurists regarded public values to be at stake in the commission of all crimes, including defamation, they likewise regarded enforcement as a state obligation, one that could not be left to the whims of an individual pardon. Defamation was defined as violation of one of God's rights because it compromised their sense of Islam's public values. Blasphemy was one type of defamatory crime. See Rabb, *Society and propriety* 447. However, it appears that a more limited category of blasphemy, specifically against the Prophet and the Companions, also emerged in the Shafi'i legal thought by the eighth/fourteenth century in Mamluk Syria and Egypt, most likely as a response to the Sunni-Shi'i tensions. Interestingly, it was Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 755/1355), the Shafi'i scholar who promoted an Ash'ari-Maturidi synthesis, that was the main voice of this new discourse on blasphemy, partially inspired by the Hanafi sources. See Wiederhold, *Blasphemy against the Prophet*.

- 41 See Ökten, *Why ordinary utterances*. I thank Ertuğrul Ökten for sharing his unpublished article with me.
- 42 The earliest reference to the practice that I could trace so far can be found in Yazıcızâde (Yazıcıoğlu) Mehmed's *Muhammediye*, which was written in 853/1449. See Yazıcıoğlu, *Muhammediye* ii, 459.
- 43 On this issue see Burak, *Faith, law and empire*. See also Meshal, *Sharia*, for the reaction of the Egyptian jurists to what they perceived as the Ottoman propensity toward *takfīr*.

arises as to the nature of this Hanafism.⁴⁴ Ottoman *‘ilm-i ḥāl* authors’ takes on the relationship between knowledge and faith shed an important light on this question.

The genre of *‘ilm-i ḥāl* crystalized only gradually from the early fifteenth century onward and reached its heyday in the seventeenth century.⁴⁵ The aforementioned penchant of the Ottoman scholars for al-Ghazālī and the scholarship of the post-Avicennian turn, as well as for seamlessly integrating Maturidi and Ash‘ari views on certain questions, is on full display in the first *‘ilm-i ḥāl* written by an Ottoman scholar, Ẓuṭbe‘d-dīn İznikī’s (d. 821/1418) *Muḳaddime* (Introduction). İznikī was a product of the early Ottoman scholarly environment in Anatolia. He was likely a Sufi but wrote on subjects that range from *tafsīr* and hadith to *fiqh*, *kalām*, and Sufism.⁴⁶ Like al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā’*, in the preface to his work İznikī introduces the division between the knowledge incumbent upon the individual and knowledge incumbent upon the community, stating that in the *Muḳaddime* he set out to provide in easily understandable Turkish the knowledge that every Muslim needs to have and without which his or her Islam cannot be complete. He states that one’s Islam cannot be complete without knowing and performing the five pillars of Islam, which serve as the organizing principle of the work—he devotes a chapter heading (*bāb*) to each, followed by a discussion of virtues to which one needs to aspire and vices one needs to avoid in order to be a true believer.⁴⁷ Importantly, he emphasizes the fact that some obligatory knowledge needs to be internalized while some needs to be externally performed. He points out that law books do not consider the internal aspects of obligatory knowledge because they are concerned with whether people externally conform to the requirements of the law. Thus, they are not interested in a person’s morality and what goes on in their heart, which is why some scholars undertook to teach believers how to achieve closeness to God. He gives the examples of al-Ghazālī, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 502/1108; an Ash‘ari and Shafī‘i scholar and “ethicist of the soul”),⁴⁸ the famous Sufi scholar al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), and Abū ‘Abdallah al-Ḥārith

44 On the elevation of the Hanafī *madhhab* into a state *madhhab*, see Burak, *The second formation*; on inter-*madhhab* tensions that this caused, especially in post-conquest Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo, see Meshal, *Sharia*; and Fitzgerald, *Murder in Aleppo*.

45 On this process, see Kelepetin Arpağuş, *Bir telif türü*; Aynacı, *Osmanlı kuruluş dönemi*; Krstić, *Contested* 29–35; Terzioğlu, *Where ‘ilm-i ḥāl*.

46 Öngören, *Kutbüddin İznikī*, *TDVİA*, xxvi, 485–486; Üstünova, introduction to *Kutbe‘d-dīn İznikī*, *Muḳaddime* 21–25; Kartal, *Kutbüddin*.

47 *Kutbe‘d-dīn İznikī*, *Muḳaddime* 139–141.

48 On al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī’s ethics of education and its impact on al-Ghazālī, see Mohamed, *The Ethics*, and Mohamed, *The virtue*.

al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), another eminent Sufi and rationalist theologian who advocated constant self-examination.⁴⁹ This aspiration to instruct believers on how to cultivate both the internal forum focused on *īmān* and the external forum focused on practice (*ʿamel*) became a template for the later Ottoman *ʿilm-i ḥāls* as well.

Devoting his first chapter to *īmān*, İznikī uses the Gabriel hadith to introduce the basic articles of faith. He states that *īmān* consists of six items—belief in oneness of God, his angels, his books, his prophets, the Day of Judgment, and predetermination—and emphasizes that it is necessary to know each of these six items in detail (*bu altı nesneyi birer tafşil idiüp bildürmek gerek*).⁵⁰ Having explained each article of faith in detail, İznikī anticipates hypothetical questions from his audience. Crucial for the discussion at hand, he includes the following issue: if it is compulsory to know these six things, what happens to those people who know nothing of God or his prophet, of *īmān* and Islam, before becoming Muslims? How can this be reconciled with the hadith that Muḥammad promised anyone who pronounces the *shahāda* that they would enter Paradise? İznikī responds that Muḥammad indeed proclaimed that the faith of those who pronounce the *shahāda* is sound because he wanted to facilitate people coming to faith. *Shahāda* epitomizes belief in those six things (*bu altı nesneyi mücmelen bilüp*): by saying it, one professes belief that God is one, that Muḥammad is his prophet, and that everything he brought from God is true. Here, İznikī is trying to reconcile his view that faith should be known in detail with the well-known hadith that assenting to faith in general through pronouncing the *shahāda* is sufficient for being considered a believer and entering Paradise.

He returns to the issue of general versus detailed knowledge in a later passage when discussing the oneness of God. He states that ulama are in disagreement whether or not one should know proofs of God's oneness in general or in detail. He acknowledges that the Prophet himself accepted the faith of those who were ignorant in details of faith and God's oneness, but then he invokes the report on Abū Ḥanīfa's saying that those who do not know proofs of God's oneness (*tevḥīd*) are rebels (*ʿāşī*). İznikī continues by saying that it may be that commoners (*ʿāmmī kişiler*) who become Muslims at first do not understand the proofs of *tevḥīd*, but they should strive to deepen their understanding by seeking explanation—those who have the capacity to understand but do not learn are rebels (*ʿāşī*) and sinners (*günāhkār*). He then cites al-Ghazālī to say

49 Kutbe'd-dîn İznikī, *Mukaddime* 142. I thank Professor Özervarlı for clarifying the misreading of al-Muḥāsibī's name in Üstünova's transliteration.

50 Ibid. 145.

that if someone becomes a Muslim, but God's oneness and greatness is not in his heart, he will have the benefit of such *īmān* only in this world. A confirmed believer is only the one with *īmān* in his heart.⁵¹ Besides al-Ghazālī, who is clearly İznikī's model, he cites also the Ash'ari scholars Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's *Kitāb al-Mawāqif fī 'ilm al-kalām*.⁵² Al-Ījī's *Mawāqif*, in particular, was a vociferous defense of rational theology (*kalām*), which al-Ījī describes as the most exalted discipline of learning from which all other learning derives. Al-Ījī also extols reasoning and knowledge of *kalām* as a means of climbing out of the pit of blind imitation to reach the peak of certainty in faith.⁵³ Even though İznikī is careful to maintain a balance between the various sources, theological views (he often cites and carefully considers what he presents as the Mu'tazili position, along with the Ash'ari and Maturidi ones), and "hermeneutic resources"⁵⁴ of Islam (*kalām*, *fiqh*, Sufism, etc.) on which he is drawing in his presentation and point to the disagreement among scholars on various issues, it is clear that he was sympathetic to the idea of demanding greater knowledge of faith and greater commitment in performance of religious duties from common believers. One can detect the influence of Ash'ari views on İznikī's conceptualization of the relationship between faith and practice. He states that in the view of the Sunnis (*ehl-i sünnet ve'l-cemā'at*), works do not determine whether or not one will enter Paradise or Hell; however, he then embarks on an elaborate discussion of why it is naïve to believe that one can do just anything, including fail to perform worship, and then repent and enter Paradise. For İznikī, practice is reflective of inner belief, in which respect he seems to be closer to the Ash'ari than to the Hanafi-Maturidi school, which more decisively compartmentalized *īmān* and *'amal* and argued against the latter affecting the former.⁵⁵

Although İznikī emphasizes the importance of fear of God, he is more interested in inducing his audience to embrace the necessary knowledge without

51 Ibid. 165.

52 On al-Rāzī, *ibid.* 147; on al-Ījī, 154.

53 See van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre* 44; also Cürçāni, *Şerhu'l-Mevâkıf* i, 146.

54 This is Shahab Ahmed's term. See his *What is Islam?*

55 Izutsu, *The concept* 143. According to al-Shahrastānī, al-Ash'arī understood the "doing" of religious duties as a kind of *taşdiq* in the sense that doing was an outward indication of one's mental assent. Works (*'amal*) do not enter into *īmān* as a pillar, and the absence of *'amal* does not turn a man immediately into a *kāfir*, but on the other hand, *'amal* is not extraneous to *īmān* in such a way that he who neglects *'amal* may be said to deserve no punishment and chastisement in the next world. *Ibid.* 161. Al-Ghazālī also maintained that practice affects inner conviction and helps the conviction take deeper root in the soul.

overemphasizing the danger of lapsing into *küfr*. The focus is on a positive definition of faith and what one can do to cultivate and grow it, as well as on which vices to avoid in order not to weaken it. However, İznîkî does not include an extensive section on *elfâz-i küfr*, which will become staple in later *‘ilm-i hâls*—he simply refers his readers to the collections of juridical opinions where they are discussed in detail.⁵⁶ He emphasizes that a believer who has committed a sin should quickly repent and cites the prophylactic prayer one should recite every day to protect oneself from *şirk* and *küfr*. But, he does not refer to the legal solution that seems to have been in development during the first half of the fifteenth century among the Ottoman legal scholars, namely that one should both repent and renew one’s faith (*tecdîd-i imân*) as a consequence of falling into *küfr*. He also states that no one among the “people of the qibla” (i.e., those praying in the direction of Mecca) should be labeled a *kâfir*, except when they deny some aspect of belief or a verse of the Quran, or when they say things that jurists consider blasphemous. In this respect, İznîkî’s work, written in the first half of the fifteenth century, before the onset of a more concerted politics of defining and enforcing a Sunni orthodoxy and orthopraxy, reflects a more relaxed, “spacious” concept of *imân* in which one is not in constant danger of transgressing the boundary with *küfr*, which is the sense we get from some later Ottoman *‘ilm-i hâls*.

İznîkî’s *Mukaddime* continued to be a popular catechism well into the tenth/sixteenth century, along with various other works in Turkish that were composed or translated for the growing Ottoman Muslim community. However, a new crop of *‘ilm-i hâls* began to be produced starting in the 1540s, in the heyday of Sultan Süleymân’s attempts to highlight the empire’s commitment to and defense of a Sunni orthodoxy, especially through legal discourse and elaborate architectural projects. Multiple state and nonstate agents engaged in the process of instilling a greater commitment to Sunnism in Ottoman Muslims while simultaneously trying to define its content and boundaries in this particular moment in time.⁵⁷ Three texts will be of particular interest to us here: *‘Imâdîl-İslâm* (The pillars of Islam) by ‘Abdu’r-raḥmân b. Yûsuf Aḳsarâyî, Lûtî Pasha’s *Tenbihül-âkılîn ve te’kîdül-gâfilîn* (Cautioning of the rational ones and renewal of request to the heedless ones), and Meḥmed b. Pîr ‘Alî Birgîvî’s *Vaşiyetnâme* (Testament).

Aḳsarâyî’s *‘Imâdîl-İslâm* became extremely popular soon after being written around 949/1543, to which numerous surviving tenth/sixteenth-century

56 Kutbe’d-dîn İznîkî, *Mukaddime* 154.

57 I have discussed this phenomenon in greater detail in Krstić, *State and religion*.

copies of the text testify.⁵⁸ We do not know anything about Aḳsarāyī himself, except that he based his work on an earlier text in Persian by an ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Fārisī, entitled *‘Umdāt al-islām*, but with extensive additions as well as omissions, and the final product being presented in simple Turkish. Like İznikī’s *Muḳaddime*, it is primarily focused on the five pillars of Islam, but in addition to devoting chapters to faith (*īmān*), prayer (*namāz*), fasting (*oruc*), alms giving (*zekāt*), and pilgrimage (*ḥac*), it has further chapters on death, torments of the grave, the afterlife, the rights (of parents, children, spouses, neighbors, etc.), and etiquette (*ādāb*). Aḳsarāyī opens the first book, devoted to faith, by saying that in the opinion of the legal experts, it is the detailed faith that is valid, which is why he sees it necessary to explain what this detailed faith is. He states that according to *Ta’wīlāt al-Kāshānī*, a mystical-philosophical work of *tafsīr* written c. 729/1329 by a Tabrizi scholar ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (d. c. 730/1330), a specialist in Ibn ‘Arabī’s metaphysics, faith can be of two kinds: imitative (*taḳlīdī*) and verified (*taḥḳīkī*).⁵⁹ Imitative faith can itself be of two kinds: false (*bāṭil*) and sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*). False *taḳlīd* is when someone says *shahāda*, thinking “here are some words that everyone is saying, but I know nothing else besides”—such a person cannot be considered a true believer (*mū’min*). Sound *taḳlīd* is when someone understands that those who are saying the *shahāda* will be saved from the poll tax (*harāc*) in this world and from the torments of the grave in the next one, and he says *shahāda* because he desires the same. However, Aḳsarāyī proceeds to elaborate, in the *Cāmi’ü’l-fetāvā* it is said that the imitator’s faith is accepted, but because he is rejecting the reasoning, he is considered a sinner (*‘āṣī*).⁶⁰

He proceeds to say that verified faith (*taḥḳīkī īmān*) can also be of two kinds: based on reasoning (*istidlālī*) and based on perception (*zevḳī*). Drawing on al-Ghazālī and Sharīf al-Jurjānī, he explains that the faith based on reasoning is when one looks upon the world and sees that it is built on a sound basis and contemplates everything that is created upon it to realize that it must not have come into existence on its own and that there must be an excellent master builder/creator of unparalleled power behind it. Such a person then begins to recognize the power of this creator in all its characteristics (*ṣıfatlar*) and that everything that exists is thanks to him. A person that comes to realize and

58 On this text, see Kelepetin Arpağuş, *Osmanlı ve geleneksel İslām* 65–109. See also her article on “İmādü’l-islām” in *TDVİA*, xxii, 172–173.

59 Aḳsarāyī, *‘İmādü’l-İslām* 10a.

60 *Cāmi’ü’l-fetāvā* is a Hanafi legal manual-cum-collection of juridical rulings compiled by Kırık Emre Mehmed b. Muştafā al-Ḥamīdī al-Ḳaramanī (d. 879/1475). For more details, see Hira, Bir katalog yanılması.

accept God's existence and oneness and subjects to it completely in his or her heart and soul can be said to have attained faith based on reasoning.⁶¹ As for *zevķi imān*, he says that it is not very productive to discuss it with common people (*avām*).⁶²

Upon introducing types of *imān*, Aḳsarāyī moves into explaining its conditions, using mostly fatwa collections as a source to emphasize that any Muslim man or woman who reaches puberty and is not familiar with the basics of faith cannot be considered a believer, and if, when asked to state the basics of faith, they respond with "I do not know," they are to be considered unbelievers (*kāfir*). He refers to the *Cāmi'ül-fetāvā* that counsels heads of the households how to teach their dependents about the basics of faith. "Do not ask the members of your household questions about God's oneness, because it is possible that they would respond with 'I do not know,' which would make them unbelievers. Rather teach them in this way: 'This is a stipulation of God's oneness, isn't it?' Then they can respond: 'Yes.' This is how you should teach them."⁶³

Before discussing the actual content of the articles of faith, Aḳsarāyī stops to make the final distinction, between faith in general (*mücmel imān*) and faith in detail (*mufaṣṣal imān*). The first one he explains as saying "I believe in God with all his attributes and names, and I accept all his commands." The second one, he says, has seven pillars, each of which needs to be enumerated: "I believe in Allah, His angels, books, prophets, the Day of Judgment, that everything—good or bad—is from Him, and that there will be resurrection." He writes that according to *Kaṣf al-asrār*, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bukhārī's (d. 730/1330) commentary on Pazdawī's *Uṣūl*, some legal experts (*fuḳahā*) believe that faith in general is valid. However, according to the theologians (*mutakallimūn*), it is the detailed faith that is valid, not the summary one. He refers to the Ash'ari theologian Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī's (d. 403/1013) *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* in which it is said that every person should know their faith in detail.⁶⁴ Consequently, Aḳsarāyī writes, he also saw it fit to explain the faith in those terms so that everyone would learn the basics and their faith would not be deficient. He then finally moves into the detailed discussion of the articles of faith, within which he also includes a section on the beliefs that distinguish Sunnis (*ehl-i sünnet ve'l-cemā'at*) from other sects, such as Kharijites and Shi'ites (*Rāfiḳī*).

The last part of the chapter on *imān* deals in great detail with the *elfāz-i küfr*. The examples cover a wide range of issues, from utterances—especially

61 Aḳsarāyī, *Imādül-İslām* 10b–11a.

62 Ibid. 11b.

63 Ibid. 13a.

64 Ibid. 14a.

jokes—about the practices and beliefs of Islam, the prophets, God, and the ulama, to utterances in social interactions between friends, spouses, etc. on various topics. For instance, if an infidel approaches someone and says, “Teach me Islam so that I can become a Muslim” and that someone responds, “Go to such and such scholar [so he can teach you],” the latter person is a *kāfir* because anyone who allows another person to remain in unbelief any longer than necessary is an unbeliever him/herself. Or, if someone says, “Don’t play chess, because scholars say that those who play chess are the enemies of Allah” and another responds, “If for this reason I am to become an enemy, so be it,” he becomes a *kāfir*. Or if someone says “*Bismillāh*” when about to take a sip of wine, that person is an unbeliever.⁶⁵ Based on the fatwa collections he used, Aḳsarāyī stipulates that anyone who has uttered blasphemous words should immediately reject them (*rūcū’ etmek*) and renew their faith (*tecdūd-i imān*).⁶⁶

In sum, although he is using a variety of sources authored by both Hanafi and Shafi’i, Maturidi and Ash’ari scholars, when it comes to the issue of *imān*, Aḳsarāyī’s *‘ilm-i ḥāl* emphasizes two particular ideas that are echoed in other Ottoman *‘ilm-i ḥāls* of the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries but are not featured in the medieval Hanafi-Maturidi creeds. One of those seems to be influenced by the Ash’ari theological tradition: in order to be valid in the afterlife, one’s faith should be detailed (although from the legal standpoint general faith is sufficient to render one a Muslim). Related to this is also Aḳsarāyī’s view that although an imitator’s faith is technically acceptable, the latter is a sinner because he rejects reasoning, with faith based on reasoning being extolled as ideal. The other major idea falls within the purview of the eastern Hanafi legal tradition and carefully circumscribes the boundaries of *imān* in a way that we do not see in the medieval creeds. It maintains that committing *kūfr* is a clear and present danger and that identifying those who commit it, rather than being an issue that Sunni Muslims should shun, is in fact something for which one has to be on a constant lookout within one’s own social circle.

The same two key ideas are channeled by another mid-tenth/sixteenth century author of a number of catechetical works in Turkish, one-time grand vizier of Sultan Süleymān, Lütḫi Pasha (d. 970/1563).⁶⁷ In his *Tenbihü’l-‘aḳlūn ve te’kīdū’l-gāfilīn*, Lütḫi Pasha comes out strongly in favor of the detailed faith, which he defines as the knowledge of the six articles, in addition to God’s

65 Ibid. 29a–33a.

66 Ibid. 33b.

67 For a detailed discussion of Lütḫi Pasha’s works and catechetical mission, see Krstić, A catechizing.

attributes, as the only way to enter Paradise. He considers *shahāda* as a legal precondition for being a Muslim but as insufficient for attaining salvation and becoming a true believer (*mu'mīn*). Like Aḩsarāyī, Lütfī Pasha finds support for this position in the Hanafi fatwa literature, especially *al-Fatāwā l-Tatārkhāniyya*, which insisted on the necessity of being able to describe the contents of one's faith when asked to do so, lest one becomes a *kāfir*.⁶⁸ Lütfī Pasha envisions potential situations for such questioning in a number of passages in his account, at one point referring to the Sura *al-Mumtaḩana* (The woman under questioning; Q 60: 10), suggesting that the new converts coming into the community should be questioned about their faith. Those whose faith is found deficient should receive further instruction, while those who explicitly say "I do not know" and thus fall into *kūfr* should be made to renew their faith as well as their marriage vow in the case that they were married. Seeking to define precisely the content of the necessary knowledge he envisioned for salvation, Lütfī Pasha penned a short catechism in question-and-answer format that set out to teach in around 40 questions and succinct answers the basics of faith and worship.⁶⁹

Although he was not madrasa educated, Lütfī Pasha read widely, especially in *fiqh* but also in *kalām*, although he explicitly condemns speculative *kalām* along the lines already outlined in al-Ghazālī's *Iḩyā'* as a potential source of unbelief and heresy (*zandaqa*).⁷⁰ A close reading of his works reveals a mind trying to grapple with the inconsistencies in the sources and reconcile the positions of the Hanafi-Maturidis, with whom he professed affiliation as a member of the Ottoman ruling elite, with the positions of the Ash'ari and Shafi'i scholars whose works he used extensively and clearly found inspirational. For instance, on the subject of *īmān-i icmālī* and *īmān-i tafṣilī*, he tries to reconcile the Hanafi position, which favors the former, with the Ash'ari position, whose favoring of a more detailed knowledge of faith he himself endorsed. He refers to *metn-i Pezdevī* (his *Uṣūl al-dīn*, one of the foundational Hanafi-Maturidi texts), saying that it states that *īmān* is based on two pillars: knowing the six articles of faith, on the one hand, and assenting to them in one's heart and professing them with the tongue, on the other.⁷¹ Only such a person will be saved from Hell. But then he refers to the Ash'ari scholar Ibn al-Aḩdal (d. 855/1451) who,

68 Lütfī Pasha, *Tenbīhü'l-'āḩlīn* 9b, 44b–45a.

69 On this work see Krstić, From *shahāda* to 'aqīda.

70 Lütfī Pasha, *Tenbīhü'l-'āḩlīn* 7a.

71 Pazdawī indeed implied that *īmān-i icmālī* is the belief in the six articles of faith enumerated in the Gabriel hadith, and stated that knowing this is sufficient, and that it is not necessary to know further details. See Pezdevī, *Ehl-i sūnnet akāidi* 234.

in his *Kitāb Kashf al-ghīṭā' ‘an ḥaqā'iq al-tawḥīd*, stated that when one knows one's faith in this many details and attributes, it is called *īmān-i icmāl-i mufaṣṣal*, or detailed general faith. Lütḫi Pasha proceeds to explain that in his own work he referred to such faith as *īmān-i tafṣilī* in order to distinguish it from what the *mutakallimūn* of olden times labeled as *īmān-i icmālī* (i.e., the *shahāda*).⁷²

Lütḫi Pasha's fidelity to, yet apparent intellectual discomfort with, some aspects of the Hanafi positions on matters of faith particularly comes through in his discussion of the faith of the imitator, where he repeatedly extols the importance of knowledge and reasoning for achieving certainty in faith and condemns blind imitation, only to default to the well-known Hanafi position that an imitator's faith is acceptable. In fact, his discussion remains more faithful to al-Māturīdī's own championing of reason, which led him to condemn *taqlīd*, and Lütḫi Pasha cites al-Māturīdī's sayings in a number of places, mostly based on reports of other scholars, like Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Rustughfanī (d. ca. 350/961), one of al-Māturīdī's students.⁷³ Even though he duly acknowledges and accepts Abū Ḥanīfa's inclusive position on *taqlīd*, by consistently juxtaposing *īmān-i taqlīdī* as potentially leading to Hell with *īmān-i tafṣilī*, which he sees as leading to Paradise, Lütḫi Pasha makes it clear that in his view the threshold for being considered a *mu'mīn* is considerably higher than for some of the earlier adherents of the Hanafi *madhhab*. At the same time, for all his championing of faith based on reasoning and knowledge, he is careful not to go to the other extreme and endorse the notion of *kufṛ al-‘amma*, like the slightly younger North African Ash'ari scholar al-Sanūsī. In fact, he explicitly rejects this idea as Mu'tazili and focuses on the importance of learning and instruction for common people.⁷⁴

In contrast to Aḫsarāyī's and Lütḫi Pasha's views, Birgivi (or Birgili) Meḫmed Efendi (d. 981/1573), the author of by far the most popular Ottoman catechism in Turkish, entitled *Vaṣīyetnāme* (970/1562–1563), stated briefly and without elaboration that *īmān-i icmālī* is sufficient (*kāfīdūr*) and that *īmān-i tafṣilī* is not necessary. He writes that if someone knows the necessary things and believes in them but cannot explain them in detail, their Islam is still valid (*ḥūkm olunur*). He also maintains that the imitator's faith is sound, without discussing any circumstances when it may not be so.⁷⁵ However, in his more elaborate catecheti-

72 Lütḫi Pasha, *Tenbihü'l-‘aḳlīn* 21a–b.

73 Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī* 140–144; Lütḫi Pasha, *Tenbihü'l-‘aḳlīn* 43b–44a.

74 Lütḫi Pasha, *Tenbihü'l-‘aḳlīn* 43b–45a, 15b–17a.

75 Birgili, *Vaṣīyet-name* 104. For a detailed discussion of Birgivi's catechetical outlook, see also Tezcan, *A canon of disenchantment*. I am grateful to Baki Tezcan for sharing a draft

cal work, *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, which he wrote in Arabic just before his death to address not only the basics of faith and practice but also a variety of other topics related to piety and moral living, Birgivi specifies that the faith of the imitator is true but that he is a sinner if he gives up reasoning.⁷⁶ Although Birgivi does not explicitly discuss the matter of summary versus detailed faith in this text, in the section “On Knowledge” he states that the knowledge about what a given situation (i.e., *‘ilm-i ḥāl*) demands from one in terms of the law is obligatory for every individual (*farḍ al-‘ayn*), while the knowledge of the sciences that allow one to reason about the underlying proofs of one’s faith, and thus go beyond *taqlīd*, is obligatory for the community (*farḍ al-kifāya*).⁷⁷ Birgivi clearly endorsed the idea that seeking knowledge was the duty of each Muslim, as a popular hadith stipulated, but he apparently did not find it necessary or justified to raise the bar for being considered a true believer too high, especially in a text like *Vaṣīyetnāme*, which was written for the common folk, who did not know Arabic and lacked formal learning. Although he expressed the opinion that those who are capable of knowing but fail to do so are worse than animals, he was less concerned with the ignorance of the simple folk—which could be corrected through teaching—than with the arrogance and hypocrisy of the learned, which in his view pointed to serious moral failures and lack of piety.⁷⁸

During his life, Birgivi attained prominence as a hadith teacher in a provincial hadith school in Birgi and authored numerous works in the tenor of moralist exhortation. Although he was well connected to the Ottoman establishment through his patrons, he did not belong to the highest ranks of the Ottoman ulama. But, his fame grew posthumously, and in recent years his catechetical works, especially his *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, have come under close scrutiny because he became an inspiration for various “puritan,” “*sunna*-minded”⁷⁹ preachers in the eleventh/seventeenth century, most notably for Kāḍī-

of this article, which is an expanded version of the paper he presented at the conference on “Re-thinking Ottoman Sunnization, c. 1450–c. 1750” in Budapest, August 2017.

76 Birgivi, *al-Ṭarīqah al-Muḥammadiyyah* 18. I thank Sona Grigoryan for translating the relevant parts of the text.

77 Ibid. 23–24. See also Ivanyi, *Virtue, piety and the law* 183–184. The notion that *‘ilm-i ḥāl* encapsulates compulsory knowledge also appears in the *Vaṣīyetnāme*: “*farz-i ‘ayn olan ‘ilimleri ki ‘ilm-i ḥāldur.*” See Birgili, *Vaṣīyyet-name* 118.

78 This is particularly obvious in his discussion of unbelief (*kufr*) in *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*. On this issue see also Ivanyi, *Virtue, piety and the law*.

79 This term was suggested by Derin Terzioğlu in order to capture the variety of backgrounds and pious sensibilities displayed by various contemporary preachers who advocated for a reform based on firm rootedness in the Prophetic custom (*sunna*) and divine law (*sharia*), many of whom were Sufis. See Terzioğlu, *Sunna-minded*. For the most recent discussion on this issue, see Tuşalp Atıyas, *The “Sunna-minded” trend*.

zāde Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1045/1635) whose followers became known as the Kadızadelis.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, on the subject of summary versus detailed faith he seems to have represented a more moderate Hanafi position compared to some of his contemporaries and later followers, including Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed. In fact, it may even be said, in light of the discussion above about the late medieval creeds, that Birgivi was more faithful to the traditional Hanafi-Maturidi stance on these issues than İznikī, Aḳsarāyī, Lütḫi Pasha, or later authors who are said to have been directly inspired by him.

Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed's own *'ilm-i ḥāl*, for instance, exudes a spirit that is less "minimalist" when it comes to the issue of the importance of knowledge to faith. Under his penname (*mahlaṣ*) "İlmī," Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed authored a popular versified catechism in 1037/1627–1628 in which he did not provide precise definitions of *īmān-i icmālī* or *īmān-i tafṣilī*, nor did he explicitly weigh in on whether the former or the latter is necessary.⁸¹ However, as a whole, the work is a vociferous endorsement of knowledge (*'ilm*), which he not only adopts as his *mahlaṣ* but which he repeatedly characterizes as the animating force of one's faith and piety.⁸² He states that the essence of faith is to be found in the Quran and that it should be assented to in detail.⁸³ He envisions a process of learning in which professing belief in God's word epitomized by the Quran and assenting to it in one's heart is a starting point in a quest for a deeper, detailed understanding of the meaning of God's word. He also explicitly encourages moving beyond imitation toward verification.⁸⁴ Above all, for Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed knowledge of faith is also essential for the cause that he presents as the reason for writing his *'ilm-i ḥāl*, namely for the defense of the

80 Most important recent studies on Birgivi are Kaylı, *A Critical Study* and Ivanyi, *Virtue, piety and the law*. El-Rouayheb and Ivanyi see Birgivi as a representative of what they label as a "intolerant" or "illiberal" streak in the Hanafi-Maturidi tradition that possibly stems from postclassical, Central Asian Hanafism and is best epitomized by various postclassical fatwa compilations. See El-Rouayheb, *From Ibn Ḥajar* 303–304; Ivanyi, *Virtue, piety and the law* 82, 92.

81 By comparing the verses from *Manzūme-i 'aḳā'id* and verses of Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed Efendi cited by Kātib Çelebi in his *Mizānū'l-haḳḳ*, Songül Karaca demonstrates that the author of this versified catechism with the penname "İlmī" is the same Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed Efendi. See Karaca, *Kadızāde Mehmed Efendi* 25–27. For further evidence, see Tezcan, *The portrait*.

82 Karaca, *Kadızāde Mehmed Efendi* 214. "*Gel imdi ilm-ile kul dīnün ihyâ/ Ki cehl-ile ne dīn kalur ne takvâ.*"

83 Ibid. 205.

84 "*Hudâyâ eylegîl fazlunla tevfîk/Geçür taklîdden kul ehl-i tahkîk.*" Interestingly, Karaca suggests that Ḳāḏizāde borrowed these verses from the famous Sufi Celveti master Maḥmūd Hüdâyi (d. 1038/1628), 79–80.

true faith (that of *ehl-i sünnet*) against the heretics (*ehl-i dalālet*), whose ignorant views—especially under the guise of Sufism—are said to have proliferated in the author’s time.⁸⁵

As a more explicit contrast to Birgivi stands Aḥmed Rūmī Aḫḫiṣārī or Aḥmed Rūmī Efendi (d. c. 1041/1632), whose *Risāle* was an *‘ilm-i ḥāl* directly modeled on Birgivi’s *Vaṣīyetnāme* and achieved great popularity, frequently being copied in miscellanies together with its model. Little is known of Aḫḫiṣārī’s life apart from the fact that he was originally a Christian from Cyprus who was enslaved and later converted to Islam.⁸⁶ Given the criticism of Ottoman authorities that he voiced in some of his works, he was apparently not courting dynastic patronage, and he seems to have spent most of his career in Akhisar in Anatolia, apparently without a formal position.⁸⁷ He authored a number of shorter treatises critical of what he perceived as harmful innovations in the spheres of belief, worship, and social life (especially tobacco and coffee).⁸⁸ He may have read and used the work of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), and he was familiar with the work of the latter’s student, Ibn al-Jawziyya (d. 750/1350), which has led scholars to band him together with Birgivi and the “Kadızedelis” as a representative of “Salafi Islam” who introduced Hanbali fundamentalism to Hanafism.⁸⁹ However, the picture is more complicated, as Aḫḫiṣārī’s reformist thought seems to have been informed by multiple influences. As Khaled el-Rouayheb has established, his treatise on *taqlīd* (*Risāla fi l-Taqlīd*) consisted almost entirely of quotations from the fifteenth-century Maliki Ash’ari scholar al-Sanūsī and argued for the necessity of ascertaining the rational proofs for the articles of faith—something that Hanbalis would not have agreed with.⁹⁰ Plus, facile equations with other scholars blur the particularities of each author’s intellectual outlook

85 “Zuhūr itdi nice bâtl mezâhib/Bulup hakkı ana sen olma zâhib.” Ibid. 240, 241–247.

86 See Michot, Introduction 1. See also Sheikh, *Ottoman puritanism* 41–45.

87 Tezcan, A canon of disenchantment.

88 For a list of his works, see Michot, Introduction 5–9.

89 Ibid. 2–3; Sheikh, *Ottoman puritanism*. For a reconsideration of that view, see Terzioğlu’s paper in this volume.

90 El-Rouayheb, *Islamic intellectual history* 191. As El-Rouayheb points out, this stance on *taqlīd* in matters of *īmān* was entirely opposed to the Hanbali stance on the issue. As for al-Sanūsī, his work is cited already by Ḥasan Kāfi Aḫḫiṣārī (Prušćak) (d. 1024/1615) in his *Rawḍat al-jannat fi uṣūl al-i’tiqādāt* (1014/1605), but it becomes more popular in the later eleventh/seventeenth century. Interestingly, in this work devoted to the nature of *īmān* and drawing on both Hanafi and Shafi’i, Maturidi, and Ash’ari creeds (including al-Sanūsī’s and al-Suyūtī’s), the author does not discuss the question of summary versus detailed faith, but he affirms the validity of the imitator’s faith (with the remark that the latter is a sinner for neglecting to comprehend his faith). See Prušćak, *Džennetske bašče* 16.

and particular context in which they wrote—even though he is known to have admired Birgivî, Aḥmed Rûmî Efendi was also ready to part with him on certain critical issues.

After he has discussed the positive and negative attributes of God in the beginning of his *Risāle*, Rûmî Efendi points out that knowing these attributes still does not suffice for one's faith to be sound. For that, it is necessary to know more about the articles of faith. It is not enough to simply say the *shahāda*, but one must also know of God's oneness and of the Prophet in greater detail; otherwise, one might learn wrongly and consider oneself a Muslim, but without learning about what makes *īmān* sound, one will reap none of its benefits. Indeed, one will be treated as a Muslim and spared from the poll tax, but in the afterlife a faith like this will earn one a place in Hell.⁹¹ Rûmî Efendi goes on to enumerate the six articles of faith, elaborating on each. Afterwards, he emphasizes that these articles should be learned in their entirety and memorized well (*tamām öğreniüp hâṭıralarında perkişdüreler*), rather than relying on what one has learned from one's parents and grandparents, which may be wrong and may not lead to salvation in the afterlife. He emphasizes the importance of the knowledgeable ones within the *ehl-i sünnet ve'l-cemā'at* teaching those who are ignorant to preserve them from *küfr*. Because, those who do not perform their worship and even commit some sins may still be allowed into Paradise after expiating their sins. But those ignorant ones who do not know God's attributes and what *īmān* and Islam are, or who learn it wrongly, will end up in Hell eternally, even if they performed their worship day and night.⁹²

It is no surprise, after this exposition on *īmān*, that Rûmî Efendi comes down on the opposite side of Birgivî on the issue of whether or not *īmān-i icmālî* is sufficient. He points out that whoever learns the articles of faith he elaborated on, believes in them in their heart, and professes them orally, has a detailed faith (*īmān-i taḫṣīlî*). If, on the other hand, someone does not know all this and simply says "I believe that everything that Muḥammad brought from God is true," this is *īmān-i icmālî*. In truth, he says, scholars have considered this sufficient, but—and here he makes the same nod as Aḫsarāyî and Lütḫî Pasha to the legal stipulations on *küfr*, but without referring to any concrete fatwas—those who do not know the details of Islam when being asked about it and respond with "I do not know," become unbelievers (*kāfir olur*). Therefore, there is no other solution than for one to learn what is necessary and keep refreshing it in order to be saved from eternal torments.⁹³ The theme of being questioned

91 Aḫḫiṣārî, *Risāle-i Rûmî Efendi* 87b–88b.

92 Ibid. 93b–94b.

93 Ibid. 95a.

about faith, which was mentioned in the context of Akşarâyî's and Lütîfi Pasha's works, also pervades Rûmî Efendi's *Risâle*. Besides using it to justify the detailed knowledge of faith, he also warns newly married men to question their wives about faith on their wedding night, before consummating the marriage, but in such a way that the wife is not likely to say "I do not know" because that would necessitate annulment of the marriage.⁹⁴ In the interest of brevity, Rûmî Aḥmed states that he would not include a detailed discussion of *elfâz-i küfr*, but he familiarizes his audience with the staple decision stipulated in the fatwa literature in the case of uttering blasphemous words (i.e., *tecdîd-i imân ve nikâh*, or renewal of faith and marriage vow).

The themes of having to know one's faith in detail from sound sources rather than unquestioningly accepting the word of one's parents or grandparents, being ready for being questioned about it, and guarding oneself from the utterances and actions that may lead to *küfr* is most forcefully brought home in an extraordinarily colorful catechetical work entitled *Mebḥaṣ-i imân*. It was written by Muşliḥü'd-dîn Muştafâ b. Ḥamza b. İbrahîm b. Veliyu'd-dîn, who went by the penname of Nuşḥî al-Nâşîḥî. He was a low-ranking member of the ulama and a Sufi, affiliated with the Naqshbandî brotherhood, who originally came from Bolu but who lived for many years in Cairo.⁹⁵ In her discussion of this work, Derin Terzioğlu has already highlighted the extent to which Nuşḥî viewed the knowledge of *'ilm-i ḥâl* as the antidote to all sorts of social problems and troublesome innovations he perceived in the Ottoman polity of his own time. However, there is merit in taking a closer look at Nuşḥî's views on the issues of general, detailed, and imitative faith, since his work ties together the themes and authors discussed in the paper so far in a manner that helps us better appreciate the evolution of a particular strand of Ottoman Sunni understanding of *imân*. Writing around 1633–1636, Nuşḥî already had a considerable corpus of catechetical literature in Turkish to consult for his synthesis of necessary knowledge about faith that he set out to present in his work. He informs his readers that he consulted 40 books, most of which he lists by title. Among the titles in Turkish, we find Birgivi's *Vaṣîyetnâme*, Aḥmed Rûmî's *Risâle*, Shaykh Bâlî el-Üveysî's *Hedîyetü'l-Muḥlişîn*,⁹⁶ Süleymân b. Halîl 'Unḳüdi's *Behcetü'l-ârifîn ve ravzatü's-sâlikîn*, and the Turkish translation of *Shir'at al-Islâm*, a popular work by Muḥammad b. Abû Bakr al-Bukhârî, known as Imâmzâda

94 Ibid. 99a.

95 Terzioğlu, Where *'ilm-i ḥâl*; on Nuşḥî al-Nâşîḥî's identity, see Tezcan, A portrait 228; Terzioğlu, *Bid'at*, custom.

96 This text is often incorrectly ascribed to Veysî (d. 1037/1628) in library catalogues and studies on Veysî.

(d. 573/1177). A longer list in Arabic includes the staples of Hanafi creedal literature, such as *Fiqh al-akbar* and *Waṣīyya*, attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa, and unspecified commentaries on both, Nasafi's *Aqā'id* as well as Taftāzānī's commentary on it and various supercommentaries on the latter, al-Ūshī's *Bad' al-amālī* (also known as *Yaqūl al-'Abd*) and three commentaries on it, as well as a text Nuṣḥī refers to as *Umdat*, which is most probably Abū l-Barakāt al-Nasafi's *Umdat al-'aqīda li-ahl al-sunna* mentioned earlier. Interestingly, Nuṣḥī also appears to have used Lütfī Pasha's compendious catechetical work in Arabic entitled *Zubdat al-masā'il*. Additionally, he also lists several works on *fiqh*, like Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī's (d. 786/1384–1385) *sharḥ* on *Hidāya*, and several works on *kalām*, such as *Hediyetü'l-mehdiyîn* (or *muhtedîn*) by Ahizāde Yūsuf Çelebi (d. c. 904/1499) and *Baḥr al-kalām* by Abū l-Mu'īn al-Nasafi (d. 508/1114).⁹⁷ Among the last ones, he also lists al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*, which is nevertheless an important model for the author, at least in his division (if not precise content) of knowledge into that which is compulsory on each believer (*farz-i 'ayn*) and that which is incumbent upon the community as a whole (*farz-i kifāye*).

In light of this list, which is heavily skewed toward classical Hanafi creedal and legal literature, more so than the source lists of other Ottoman authors discussed so far, it is interesting to examine how Nuṣḥī handles the issues of imitative, general, and detailed faith. He opens his discussion on *īmān* by saying that a true believer's faith can be of three kinds: *muḳalled* (imitated), *muhakḳak* (certain, verified), and *müstedel* (deduced, inferred). He proceeds to state that in "our *mezheb*" (Ar. *madhhab*)—that of *ehl-i sünnet ve'l-cemā'at* (i.e., the Sunnis)—imitative faith is considered sound.⁹⁸ However, because of rejecting reasoning, an imitator is a *fāsik* (impious, sinner; in breach of law). They call him imitator because he learned the faith wrongly from his parents or someone else, and his potential for being seduced by the devil is great. So, even though he admits that his own *madhhab* finds imitative faith acceptable, every time Nuṣḥī mentions imitators and their faith, he implies that such faith must be riddled with mistakes and misunderstandings, and thus wrong. This is a remarkable contrast with the discussion in pre-Ottoman Hanafi creedal literature, all of which makes sure to point out that the *muḳallid's* faith may lead to certainty in belief and that such a believer may have sound faith, while

97 Nuṣḥī, *Mebḥas-i imān* 61a–b. I thank Derin Terzioğlu for making her copy of the text available to me. It should be mentioned that various manuscripts of this work, including the one used here, attribute it to Kāḏizāde Meḥmed. However, by cross-referencing Nuṣḥī's works, Terzioğlu has demonstrated that this is not correct.

98 See below for a more detailed consideration of the usage of the term *madhhab* in Ottoman *ilm-i hāls*.

only some authors bother to mention that if an imitator neglects to seek further information about faith they are to be considered sinners. Nuṣḥī's position, however, is that such faith is by default wrong and sinful. He goes on to contrast it to the knowledge of those who learn their articles of faith from the books and the ulama, and who, if they have no doubts in their hearts, attain *īmān-i taḥkīkī* or verified faith. Finally, those who seek to understand the intricacies of every proof of God's existence have deduced faith, but he adds that such faith is only for the ulama and not of use for the common people for whom he is writing.⁹⁹

As for the common people, they must prioritize their *'ilm-i ḥāl*, which is knowledge about faith compulsory upon each believer. He states that the essence of faith (*aṣl-i īmān*) is comprised of six articles, while there are five pillars of Islam, both sets of which he discusses in detail. Further in the text, he includes a section that is almost verbatim from Aḥmed Rūmī's *Risāle* and emphasizes the fact that *īmān* consists of a number of things and that simply saying *shahāda* would not do. He reminds his audience that while *shahāda* (as *īmān-i icmālī*) may be sufficient to be considered a Muslim, if one does not know the details about *īmān* and Islam when asked, one becomes a *kāfir*, and Hell is waiting for them in the afterlife, so it is essential for one's salvation to have detailed faith.¹⁰⁰

The knowledge of these foundations of *īmān* and Islam, as he emphasizes, is not simply a vehicle for salvation and guarantee for entering Paradise; it also has a practical social application, of stemming what Nuṣḥī perceives as an inexorable decline of Ottoman society starting around 950/1543–1544 due to neglect of the obligatory, *farz-i 'ayn* knowledge and favoring of the *farz-i kifāye* learning. In particular, anyone with a solid knowledge of *'ilm-i ḥāl* would be able, after just a short conversation, to identify heretics who have proliferated within the Ottoman realm and infiltrated the army and the government, according to Nuṣḥī. Building on his passionate case for inculcation of the common believers in the basics of faith by the knowledgeable members of the community, neighborhood imams, and heads of households, Nuṣḥī goes as far as to suggest an annual examination of all Muslim boys above the age of seven in their knowledge of *'ilm-i ḥāl*, recommending expulsion from the neighborhood of those displaying ignorance or failure to learn.¹⁰¹

Like other authors of Ottoman *'ilm-i ḥāls*, Nuṣḥī pairs his insistence on the knowledge of the *'ilm-i ḥāl* with insistence on awareness of the boundaries

99 Nuṣḥī, *Mebḥas-i īmān* 62a–b. Also, later in the text, 108b–109a.

100 Ibid. 92a–95a.

101 Ibid. 74a–75b.

of *īmān* and necessity of guarding oneself from what is prohibited and corrupts one's faith. He argues that such awareness can be effectively attained by learning the examples of *elfāz* and *ef'āl-i küfr* (blasphemous acts), which Nuṣḥī catalogues in great detail at the end of his work, providing a list of the fatwa collections that he consulted in order to compile this section. Again displaying a remarkable awareness of the moment and place in which he is writing, Nuṣḥī anticipates Guy Burak's argument articulated in his study on the origins of the legal solution of *tecdid-i īmān* for cases of *küfr*, which highlights differences in the practices of Rumi and Arab Hanafis (see above). Along the same lines, Nuṣḥī explains that he gave a detailed list of sources for this section, lest someone who lives in other parts of Ottoman or Muslim realms and does not have access to these fatwa compilations might think he is inventing things. Because, he continues, these fatwa compilations cannot be found in some regions (*vilāyetler*), and people do not know of the words that induce *küfr*. Some assert that Abū Ḥanīfa had said that one should not accuse of *küfr* (i.e., engage in *takfir*) anyone who belongs to the people who pray toward Mecca (*ehl-i kible*). However, in the Hanafi *madhhab* a person who pronounces *elfāz-i küfr* or does *ef'āl-i küfr* can become a *kāfir*, but some who hear of this reject that this is a Hanafi tradition. For instance, it is reported that the ulama of Egypt have not been giving *fatāwā* on *küfr* for anyone who pronounces *elfāz-i küfr*, but this is either because they are afraid of people and try to flatter them, or they are ignorant of these things. There is no local transmission of this kind of *fatāwā*, and without tradition or precedent (*ḥaml*) a juridical opinion cannot be given.¹⁰²

The latter explanation is important because it highlights the diversity within the Hanafi *madhhab* across the Ottoman Empire. Even in the context of the lands of Rum, it would be wrong to suggest that by the eleventh/seventeenth century all Ottoman *'ilm-i ḥāl* writers made an 180 degree turn from the earlier Hanafi-Maturidi position; rather, a variety of positions coexisted, although with a marked tendency toward the stance that *īmān-i tafṣīlī* is necessary for salvation.¹⁰³ As we have seen, the debate on this issue was complicated by the

102 Ibid. 128a.

103 For instance, if we focus on the late eleventh/seventeenth century, Ebū'l-Bekā el-Kefevī (d. 1095/1684) in his popular *'ilm-i ḥāl* entitled *Tühfetü's-ṣahān*, which in its *'akā'id* section draws significantly and often verbatim on Birgivi's *Vaṣīyetnāme*, did not strive to close the apparent logical gap between the idea that summary faith is sufficient to be considered a true believer, as stated by Birgivi, and the provision, which Kefevī also refers to, that failure to answer the question "what is faith?" in detail makes one an unbeliever and requires a renewal of faith and marriage vow. See the transcription of the *'akā'id* section of Kefevī's work in Tank, Ebū'l-Bekā el-Kefevī 591–606, esp. 602. In contrast, an anonymous volumi-

fact that various authors appear to have understood differently what “summary” and “detailed” meant as qualifiers of faith. For instance, in his popular work on creed entitled *Dürerü'l-‘aḳā'id*, written some time before 1024/1615, the famous Halveti Sufi shaykh and preacher ‘Abdü’l-mecīd Sivāsī (d. 1049/1639) mounts a vocal defense of both summary/general faith and the faith of an imitator, stating that both are accepted by the consensus of the Sunni community and that an imitator, even though he may be a rebel for not understanding the proofs, is still a believer as long as he has no doubts in faith.¹⁰⁴ However, Sivāsī’s definitions are interesting: he underlines that *īmān-i icmālī* means having faith in general terms, such as saying that one believes in angels, and books, and prophets. *Īmān-i tafṣilī*, on the other hand, denotes detailed belief that can distinguish between the angels by name, like Cibrā’īl and Mihā’īl, and the prophets, like Mūsā and ‘Īsā, and the books, like *Tevrāt* and *İncil*. Sivāsī emphasizes that while professing faith in general is sufficient (*kāfi*), detailed faith is a necessary condition (*ṣarṭ*), because anyone who does not believe in or outright denies the singularity or multiplicity contained in a particular category of belief is a *kāfir*.¹⁰⁵ In light of the previous discussion, it appears that Sivāsī assumes a more detailed knowledge under the category of general faith than most Hanafi authors.

Sivāsī’s treatment of the topic raises the question of whether we may perhaps trace a dissenting streak in *‘ilm-i ḥāls* and related genres authored by prominent Sufis, a streak that pushes back against the narrowing definitions of belief and greater demands on the believer typically associated with the followers of Ḳāḏizāde Meḥmed Efendi—who famously clashed with Sivāsī in the late 1620s and 1630s—and various other eleventh/seventeenth-century *sunna*-minded commentators.¹⁰⁶ While a detailed consideration of this question requires a separate study, a limited inquiry into the contents of some popular eleventh/seventeenth-century Sufi works suggests that this was not the case. It appears that even those authors who did not explicitly embrace the necessity of having *īmān-i tafṣilī* found it important to signal its superiority over *īmān-i icmālī* in no uncertain terms. For instance, Münirī-i Belgrādī (d. 1045/1635), a well-known Rumeli Sufi who authored an *‘ilm-i ḥāl* entitled *Sübülül-Hüdā*, opens his work with a discussion of *īmān*, stating that faith can be general and

nous *‘ilm-i ḥāl* work written around 1099/1688 that draws on a variety of medieval and Ottoman-era creedal works, stipulates (without any reference to summary faith) that the detailed faith is obligatory (*vācibdür*). See Atar (ed.), *Makālāt* 61.

104 Sivāsī, *Dürerü'l-‘aḳā'id*, 17b–18a.

105 Ibid. 13a–b.

106 On the clash between the two Zilfi, The Kadizadelis; Çoban, Mihnet dönemi.

detailed. He defines the former as professing belief that everything Muḥammad brought from God is true and says that this is sufficient to make one a *mū'mīn* and worthy of Paradise. However, he points out that whoever has detailed faith will earn a place in Paradise that is superior to that of someone with general faith.¹⁰⁷ Another eleventh/seventeenth-century work on *īmān*, an anonymous *Risāle-i 'amāniye* [sic] that is also likely authored by a Sufi, states that upon the consensus of the ulama, *icmālī īmān* entails affirmation that God is one, that Muḥammad is his prophet, and that everything he brought from God is true. In principle, this knowledge is sufficient, but it is compulsory on each believer (*farz-i 'ayn*) to learn the details of faith, as God has ordered that religion must be based on comprehension (*tefaqkuh*) and prohibited ignorance.¹⁰⁸

An intriguing illustration of the eleventh/seventeenth-century Sufi authors' tendency to emphasize the importance of greater knowledge for sound faith comes from the famous Halveti shaykh Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (d. 1105/1694), who discusses this issue in his widely popular *Risāle-i Es'ile ve ecvibe*.¹⁰⁹ As Mıṣrī states, he wrote this work in order to dispel the doubts about Sufis caused by some of the things they say, which are misinterpreted by the common people and some ulama—an age-old problem that Sufis had to deal with but that now gained new visibility and mobilized society in a new way. From the 1630s onward, Sufis had borne the brunt of the Kadızadeli's rants against the blameworthy innovations in belief and practice, as well as accusations of shunning the sharia. Mıṣrī's goal was to show that Sufis belong to the people of God and to the Sunni *mezheb*, and more precisely, when it comes to Sufis from the lands of Rum (*Rūm vilāyeti*), to the *mezhebs* of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī and Abū Ḥanīfa. Mıṣrī's introduction, similar to contemporary '*ilm-i ḥāls*, highlights the broader usage of the term *mezheb* (Ar. *madhhab*, "that which is followed"; "the opinion one adopts")—which is typically used by modern scholars only to index belonging to one of the schools of Islamic law—to denote sectarian (or denominational) and theological affiliation as well. In the view of the Ottoman '*ilm-i ḥāl* authors, there was only one correct *mezheb* in terms of belief (*tīkād*), and that was the Sunni *mezheb*.¹¹⁰ At the same time, although they professed affiliation with the

107 Belgrādī, *Sübülül-hüdā* 11a–b.

108 *Risāle-i 'amāniye* 55a.

109 On Mıṣrī's career and contemporary religio-political dynamics, see Terzioğlu, Sufi and disident.

110 Thus, in the context of the Ottoman '*ilm-i ḥāl* literature, the *madhhab* of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a* is conceptually equal to the *al-firqa al-nājiyya* in the heresiographical literature, the latter typically being understood as the only sect of Islam (out of 73) that guarantees salvation. Both the term *madhhab* and the term *firqa* are here imbued with claims to being exclusive repositories of "truth," and both are oriented externally, towards other groups.

Hanafi and Maturidi *mezheb*, respectively, and emphasized their primacy, in terms of legal practice and method of theological argumentation, they allowed for plurality and regarded these largely a matter of a Muslim's geographical provenance.¹¹¹ Altogether, however, in this era of polarization both within the Sunni community and between Sunnis and Shi'ites, *'ilm-i hāl* authors accorded considerable attention to an ever-more precise identification and classification of Ottoman Muslims, and Mıṣrī felt obliged to provide his brethren's "coordinates" on this map, rooting them firmly in the categories of Sunni, Hanafi and Maturidi, endorsed by the Ottoman religious establishment.

The opening question of the *risāle* is: what is the basis of Sufism? Mıṣrī responds that it is faith (*īmān*), which has six pillars—belief in God's existence and unity, his angels, prophets, books, the Day of Judgment, and that both good and bad is owing to God. The second question seeks to know the difference between the common people (*'avām*) and Sufis, to which he responds that the difference is that *'avām*'s faith in these six articles of faith is imitative (*taḥkīdī*) while the Sufis' is verified (*taḥkīkī*) and the ulama's is reasoned (*istidlālī*). He continues to explain that imitative faith is based on authority of others but without understanding the underlying proofs, which resembles finding a precious stone but not knowing its value. Verified faith, on the other hand, is one that seeks to arrive at the truth of every article of faith. He states that the road between the "village of imitation" (*taḥkīd köyü*) and "city of verification" (*taḥkīk şehri*) is the Sufi path (*'ilm-i ṭarīkat*), and that ultimately, the difference between the common people (*'avām* and *havāṣ*) and Sufis is in the degrees of wisdom/knowledge (*merātīb-i ma'rīfet*).¹¹²

Mıṣrī's explanation helps us understand the difference between the Sufi concept of verification of faith (associated with a journey on the mystical path toward the Truth) and the more *kalām*-informed notions featured in the texts

The precise meaning of these terms when translated into English is a matter of debate among Islamicists (both are frequently translated as "sect," while *madhhab* is also sometimes rendered as "denomination"), but it is safe to say that their precise connotations vary depending on historical context, genre, and perspective of the author. For a recent debate on the vocabulary of sectarianism in Islam, that nevertheless does not consider Ottoman context in detail, see Sedgwick, *Sects in the Islamic world*.

111 The point is most clearly driven home by Birgivī who in his *Vaṣīyetnāme* states that in terms of belief (*i'tikād*) "we" are the followers of the only true and correct *mezheb*, that of the *ehl-i sünnet ve'l cemā'at*, while in terms of practice (*'amel*), we are the followers of the *mezheb* of Abū Ḥanīfa, which is preferred, but others may be correct as well. The same point is elaborated in detail by Kāḏızāde Meḥmed Efendi in his versified *'ilm-i hāl*. See Karaca, Kadızāde Mehmed Efendi 226–229.

112 Mıṣrī, *Risāle-i Es'ile ve ecvibe*. I consulted two manuscripts of this popular work: İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı, Bel Yz K0267, 36a–43a and Bel Yz K0502, 64a–70a.

discussed above. Despite these differences, however, his work highlights the shared importance of knowledge and rejection of imitation in faith in the era when various Muslims' claims to have verifiable access to the divine message came under greater scrutiny. As suggested above, by Miṣrī's time the opinion of the Ottoman catechists and the larger moral community, at least in the lands of Rum, by and large moved toward a higher threshold for sound faith than what was envisioned by medieval Hanafi-Maturidis, putting more emphasis on detailed knowledge, importance of reasoning, dangers of imitation, and significance of verification. The fact that he wrote this short treatise for a popular audience in order to defend fellow Sufis from accusations of unbelief and that he formulated his defense in terms of imitation and verification, suggests that these were also the norms vis-à-vis which Sufis, as others, had to position themselves and to which they were supposed to conform, at least in the public eye, in the era of intensified debates on the nature and boundaries of Sunni Islam.

3 Conclusion: *Īmān* and *Kūfr* in the Age of Building a Sunni *Madhhab* Consciousness

In a recent article, Lutz Berger remarked that in contrast to classical theology, which was born in part as an answer to political and social issues that emerged in the early Islamic era, there was little that *kalām* could offer to address the social and political problems that the Mamluks and Ottomans were facing. In trying to explain why, despite this, Mamluks and Ottomans opted to largely preserve the paradigm of classical theology, Berger dismisses the idea that the study of *kalām* was deemed useful because it helped scholars debate non-Muslims or heresy within Islam and suggests that its function was largely sociological, since education in theology was part and parcel of the scholars' academic credentials and, by extension, their social status.¹¹³ While it is certainly true that *kalām* continued to be a staple of the Ottoman scholars' education, as this paper as well as other articles in this volume (especially Nabil Al-Tikriti's and Nir Shafir's) demonstrate, theology had a broader social significance that was directly connected to the realities of a confessionally polarized Islamic and wider early modern world that made a detailed knowledge of one's faith a new imperative in the face of proliferating—but false, it is implied—alternative paths to the salvation.

113 Berger, The interpretation 700–701.

At the same time, as Khaled El-Rouayheb has convincingly argued, we need to revise the view that while theology in the medieval—and early modern, I would add—Christian context served to deepen faith in the mysteries of the creed and fortify the believers' understanding of their faith, *kalām* was an apologetic and defensive discipline that merely served to defend the creed against heretics and infidels.¹¹⁴ Through his detailed study of al-Sanūsī's work, El-Rouayheb showed that al-Sanūsī understood *kalām* as a demonstrative not dialectical science, and viewed mastery of its essentials as a religious duty incumbent on each adult Muslim. While Ottoman Hanafi catechists did not go as far as al-Sanūsī to reject the simple, unreasoned faith of the commoner, most of them were sympathetic to the emphasis on the necessity of a more detailed knowledge and more thorough instruction in proofs of God's oneness and of each article of faith, making this aspect of classical *kalām* incumbent upon each believer.

In developing this position, Ottoman authors appear to have drawn both on a particular strand in the postclassical eastern Hanafism, which they have elevated to a state-endorsed orthopraxy, and on the synthesis of Maturidi and Ash'ari theological views that began already in the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries and may have induced Ottoman authors to be more open to the arguments that a detailed knowledge of faith is a prerequisite for salvation. However, we see that it is really in the mid-tenth/sixteenth and especially in the eleventh/seventeenth century when this perspective is more openly embraced and when the thought of Ash'ari theologians with an anti-*taqlīd* bent becomes a welcome intellectual resource to tackle the social issues of the day. It is in this period that the debate about the nature, content, and boundaries of Sunnism peaked, especially in the Ottoman lands of Rum, but also between Rumi and Arab literati of both shared and different legal *madhhab* allegiances.¹¹⁵

The notions of being questioned about one's faith and the consequences of not knowing the correct answers—namely, the possibility of plunging into unbelief—strongly inform those Ottoman catechisms that insist on a detailed knowledge of faith. In a recent essay examining what might be the essence of the phenomenon of “confessionalization” in a comparative early modern perspective, Cornel A. Zwierlein has suggested that confessionalization was at its root an epistemic process of constantly asking questions about how the belief and practice in real life compared to the theological norms and expectations,

114 El-Rouayheb, *Islamic intellectual history* 173.

115 On this see Shafir, *The road from Damascus*, esp. 87–164.

seeking to correct the deviations.¹¹⁶ It would appear that the Ottoman catechisms in question display the same impulse to correct and verify and envision the same role for theology as in a contemporary Christian context, not only as a tool for protecting the faith from external attacks but also as a means of deepening one's understanding of its precepts. While the intellectual resources and inspiration for the reconsideration of the boundaries of faith and the centrality of knowledge in these Ottoman catechisms came from within the Islamic tradition, they helped their authors tackle the challenges that seem to have been shared by theologians across confessional and geographic borders of the early modern world. Although not all Ottoman catechisms were equally insistent on possessing a detailed knowledge of one's faith, and there were many Muslims who resisted the idea that the boundaries of Sunni Islam can and should be narrowly defined, these texts demonstrate that we cannot anymore argue that Ottoman "Sunnitization" or the process of defining and enforcing a particular definition of Sunnism was a purely political project that was content with occasionally persecuting Shi'ites and forcing Ottoman Sunnis to pray more regularly without any novel theological basis or genuine intension to correct their faith.

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¹¹⁶ Zwierlein, "Konfessionalisierung."

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How to Read Heresy in the Ottoman World

Nir Shafir

The topic of heresy is still rarely discussed by historians of the early modern Middle East. There remains a lingering belief that the Ottoman Empire was a particularly tolerant corner of the Mediterranean, at a remove from the sectarian struggles that characterized early modern Europe, a place in which religion only intruded upon the secular sphere of politics proper during certain paroxysms of extremism.¹ However, the growing literature on the Sunnitization of the empire readily shows that this presumption no longer holds true.² As adherence to Sunnism was equated with political loyalty, heresy became a central concept in shaping the Ottoman body politic. Yet, constructing a concept of heresy for practical and theoretical usage in the Ottoman Empire was not a straightforward matter.³ The confessional identity of the empire's subjects had been of minor concern to Ottoman rulers before the ninth/fifteenth century; in the words of Cemal Kafadar, there reigned a “metadoxy,” a state of confessional ambiguity in which neither orthodoxy nor heterodoxy was ever fully articulated.⁴ While there were occasional prosecutions of heresy in the ninth/fifteenth century by the Ottoman government, only with the rebellions of the Kızılbaş followers of Shah Ismā‘īl in the early tenth/sixteenth century did this state of affairs come to be seriously challenged. In their rush to respond, Ottoman scholars aligned with the government rummaged through their conceptual toolkit to develop a working definition of heresy.⁵

1 The belief in Ottoman tolerance is often an implicit tenet of earlier scholarship, but it is explicitly stated in works like Barkey, *Islam and toleration*. There are comparatively more works on the upsurge of “extremism” in the eleventh/seventeenth century. See Zilfi, *The politics of piety*; Baer, *Honored by the glory of Islam*; Curry, *The transformation of Muslim mystical thought* 79.

2 See, for example, Krstić, *Contested conversions*; Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization*; Terzioğlu, *Where ‘ilm-i ḥāl meets catechism*.

3 Readers should note that a number of different concepts—*kufir*, *bid‘a*, *ilhād*, *zandaqa*, *ghulūww*, etc.—fall under the rubric of “heresy” today. Ottoman authors both distinguished between these concepts and used them synonymously on different occasions. For the sake of clarity, I have tried to point out the original usages throughout this piece.

4 On metadoxy, see Kafadar, *Between two worlds* 76. For an application of this concept to the question of ‘Alid loyalty before the tenth/sixteenth century, see Yıldırım, *Sunni orthodox vs Shi‘ite heterodox?*; Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined* 256–257.

5 Terzioğlu warns us not to take Kafadar’s concept of metadoxy to the extreme and points to

One particular theological (rather than juridical) tool they turned to was heresiography.⁶ At the heart of this medieval genre—often referred to as “religions and sects” (*al-milal wa-l-nihal*)—was the question of how to understand difference within Islam. Nearly all the texts started with the notion, recalled from a famous hadith, that the Jews were divided into 71 sects, the Christians into 72, and the Muslims into 73. The heresiographer’s task was to identify the 72 wayward sects destined to burn in hellfire in order to distinguish the one correct path of Islam.⁷

I begin this paper by demonstrating how, after a relative silence of centuries, scholars affiliated with the government in the tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire refurbished the conceptual tool of heresiography in response to the Kızılbaş and the first war with the Safavids. The article’s main focus, however, is on the genre’s popular florescence during a second wave of heresiographies that began in the eleventh/seventeenth century when four scholars writing independently of one another between 1024/1615 and 1050/1640 reworked medieval Arabic heresiographies into Turkish texts. Although these heresiographies were initially spurred by the Ottoman-Safavid wars at the time, they quickly transcended the original object of their critique—the Safavids—and began to be used to discuss heresy among the empire’s own Muslim population, as myriad readers, scribes, and students in the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries readily copied, read, and annotated these works. One was even transcribed into Judeo-Turkish and separately translated into Italian, making its way into France and the Dutch Republic by the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century.⁸ By the end of the eleventh/seventeenth century, heresiographies could function as larger statements about the division of the world along lines of confession, in which a true Sunni core was under direct and indirect assault by its enemies.

occasional moments of strong confessional boundary making prior to the tenth/sixteenth century. Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization 308–311. On the rise of a definition of heresy and apostasy in response to Safavid pressures, see Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik*; Üstün, Heresy and legitimacy; Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*; Al-Tikriti, Kalam in the service.

6 The juridical and theological bases of heresy are not always so easily distinguished on the ground, but for a good discussion of changes to the juridical notion of heresy and its application, see Burak, Faith, law and empire.

7 On the many usages and variations of this hadith, see Mottahedeh, Pluralism.

8 A heresiography was even integrated into the seventeenth-century English diplomat Paul Rycaut’s description of the Ottoman Empire. He recognizes that the heresiography deals only with earlier sects, and supplements the list with newer sects in the empire, many of which are Sufi orders. See Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* 300–350.

1 Methodological Interventions

If heresiography was a tool meant to reinvigorate the concept of heresy in the Ottoman Empire, then it was a tool with mysterious mechanisms. While one might expect these works to be field guides to new heretical acts or sects emerging in the Ottoman lands, this is not the case. Smoking tobacco or declaring oneself to belong to the “religion of Abraham,” to name two acts that elicited accusations of heresy in the eleventh/seventeenth century, never found their way into the descriptions of the 72 errant sects.⁹ Even the Kızılbaş, whose rebellion was largely responsible for rejuvenating the discourse of heresy, were missing from the list. The authors did not even directly associate tenth/sixteenth- or eleventh/seventeenth-century groups with medieval heresies. Instead they listed all the obscure groups from the medieval period, long gone by the time of the Ottomans, and used the historical heresies to occasionally draw indirect connections with the present. Medieval authors had written heresiographies to highlight the verity of their particular branch of theology at the expense of their competitors, but what function did such fixed texts serve centuries later?

A similar problem arises in the study of Islamic law when scholars try to conceptualize the connection between the abstracted, decontextualized, and atemporal world of doctrinal and jurisprudential works and the very specific and locally grounded world of court records. In an attempt to formulate Islamic law as a unified textual “formation,” Brinkley Messick has labeled these two worlds the “archive” and the “library,” respectively. The archive (i.e., the court records) contains texts with particular details such as names and places, whereas the library (i.e., legal opinions like fatwas) is purposefully anonymized and abstracted. The archive is contingent and local, while the library is cosmopolitan and universal.¹⁰ Heresiographies then might be considered part of the atemporal and universalized “library” due to their continued application of the basic divisions of heretical sects established centuries beforehand to Ottoman social reality. Yet, if the heresiographies comprise the library, what then might the archive be? How might we localize these texts to tell the story of Sunnitization in the early modern Ottoman Empire?

9 *Zikr* and tobacco smoking were considered *bid'a* or “innovations.” Ottoman scholars routinely distinguished between *bid'a* in articles of belief, *bid'a* in religious rituals and *bid'a* in social customs; it was *bid'a* in articles of faith that were held to be the most grievous and amounted to heresy, while *zikr* would belong in the second category, and smoking tobacco in the third.

10 Messick, *Sharī'a scripts* 20–26.

To understand the full impact of these heresiographies on Ottoman society, we have to turn to the material texts themselves.¹¹ Certainly, the traditional tools of philology can provide some of the answers. As I demonstrate in the first half of the article, a close and comparative reading of the heresiographies allows us to see how Ottoman authors emphasized particular sects as a means to affiliate, indirectly, their enemies' beliefs with medieval heresies and to highlight their own form of Sunnism as the most proper path. But this is only half the story. The placement of the heresiographies within miscellanies (Ar. *majmū'a* / Tr. *mecmū'a*), their ownership records, and copyist statements across hundreds of copies constitute an equally important source. While art historians and codicologists have engaged in close readings of individual manuscripts, there is now, thanks to the accessibility granted by mass digitization, the possibility to analyze hundreds of manuscripts and therefore develop new methods of interpretation. In this paper, the mass analysis of the manuscripts helps demonstrate how the Ottoman discourse of heresy, which initially targeted the Kızılbaş and Safavids on the edges of empire, shifted its focus to the empire's central cities by the eleventh/seventeenth century. This in turn helps resolve a key impasse in the historiography of confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire, in which the phenomenon is often explained by emphasizing either an external impetus of the Safavids/Kızılbaş or an internal system of disciplining Muslim religious practice.¹² The connection between these two poles is more often suggested than demonstrated, however. I argue that looking at the larger manuscript record, that is, the works copied alongside these heresiographies, reveals the conceptual traffic between the two poles.

My hope is that the secondary contribution of this essay is to develop and demonstrate a few techniques of a relatively new methodology based on the mass reading of manuscripts from the early modern Islamic world.¹³ Take, for

11 The "archival" life of heresy in general can occasionally be found in the register of official orders dispatched (i.e., *mühimme defterleri*) or even in its official legal opinions (fatwas), such as the one by Ebū's-su'ūd I touch upon later, as the government experimented with a vocabulary to define heresy. None of these, though, actively use the terminology of the heresiographies and so the question of the relationship of these texts to Ottoman social reality remains.

12 See for the example the introductory discussion in Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization; Atçıl, The Safavid threat. On the general application of the term confessionalization, a term from European historiography, to the Ottoman context, see Krstić, *Contested conversions*.

13 I developed some of my ideas on the impact of mass reading in Gratien, Polczyński and Shafir, Digital frontiers of Ottoman studies. There is a new movement to use manuscript

example, our notion of reception. It currently relies on the crude metric of “popularity,” in which a tally of extant manuscripts translates to the supposed reach of a text. But there is much more that can be done, and what follows is an experiment in interpreting the manuscript record. These material clues within manuscripts are the very “archive” of the heresiographies, evidence that allows us to situate them within the social life of the empire and change our interpretation of the texts themselves.

2 Medieval Visions

An Ottoman heresiography is built upon a rather spare skeleton. The author voices a desire to find the difference between Sunnism and deviant and wayward branches of Islam. The aforementioned hadith regarding the inevitable division of the Muslim community into 73 sects—a vestige of the many traumatic civil wars of the early Muslim community¹⁴—is invoked before the author delves into his particular list. These are divided into five or six main groupings, each of which is given a chapter. The main three are Mu‘tazilis, Shi‘is, and Kharijites, which are almost always followed by theological branches or divisions from the third/ninth or fourth/tenth centuries, such as the Jabriyya, Najjariyya, and Murji‘a. Upon this skeleton, authors can flesh out their text according to the amount of detail they devote to each sect—which is often simply an eponymous statement that “the ‘So-and-so-*yya*’ are the followers of ‘so-and-so’”—and the description and possible refutation of their heresy. Authors differentiate their text by the particular groups they place under each heading, which seem to differ in particular with the more marginal groups. This shared framework explains why these texts often were simply referred to by generic titles in *mecmū‘as*, bookstores, and libraries such as “Religions and sects” (*al-milal wa-l-niḥal*), “Explaining different sects” (*Bayān al-madhāhib al-mukhtalifa*), “Explaining deviant sects” (*Bayān al-firaq al-ḍālla*), or “Explaining the difference of religions” (*Bayān ikhtilāf al-milal*). Finally, in the Ottoman period, these heresiographies nearly always contained an initial or final chapter that established the proper Sunni creed.

The medieval heresiographies from which the Ottoman heresiographies drew were a byproduct of divisive debates over the nature of the Muslim community in its early centuries. Differences over issues like who belonged to the

marginalia as documentary sources. See Görke and Hirschler, *Manuscript notes*, and the special issue (9:2–3) of the *Journal of Islamic manuscripts* from 2018.

14 Van Ess, *Der Eine* i, 7–82.

community, who should lead it, and what religious powers they possessed gave rise to differing theological and political stances that eventually solidified into discrete groups, such as Kharijites and Shi'ites. At the same time, the florescence of rational theology (*kalām*) in the medieval period, especially following the introduction of the tools of Greek philosophy, introduced new intellectual questions. Groups like the Mu'tazilites held theological positions that ran counter to those of the hadith people, and thus opened another rift in the Muslim community.¹⁵ Furthermore, the students of rational theology would adopt their teachers' arguments and then try to develop their own, casting all those who disagreed with them as infidels. As a consequence, multiplying branches and subbranches of theology emerged, each of which regarded the others as heretical and wrote heresiographies to make their point.¹⁶ The divisive intellectual environment came to a close in the "Sunni revival" of the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries with the rise of the much more inclusive Ash'ari and Maturidi theological schools that set higher standards for denouncing and anathematizing intellectual rivals.¹⁷

If we look today at the remaining manuscript copies of these medieval heresiographies, we would find the most popular one to be *Religions and sects (al-milal wa-l-niḥal)* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153). Like all heresiographies, it starts with a rendition of an apocryphal hadith stating that "my community will divide itself into 73 divisions and only one will be saved." Unlike other heresiographers, though, Shahrastānī was remarkably latitudinarian in his descriptions of the history and stances of each theological school, refusing to dismiss and anathematize any one sect, and instead organized the divisions according to their views on central theological questions.¹⁸ Writing in the irenic era, his ecumenism extended even to descriptions of non-Muslim unbelief: Jewish and Christian sects, Indian religions, and various ancient Greek philosophical schools were described in detail, though perhaps with less interest than the Muslim sects.¹⁹ For this reason, the text has achieved some fame among Orientalists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a pioneering work of comparative religion by a medieval Muslim scholar, a doxography rather than a heresiography.²⁰ The heresiographical tra-

15 A basic version of this story along with its relation to the question of heresy can be found in van Ess, *The flowering*.

16 El-Shamsy, *The social construction* 105–106.

17 El-Shamsy 106. For information on the Sunni revival in general, see Berkey, *The formation of Islam* 189–202.

18 Knysh, "Orthodoxy" and "heresy" 50–51; Sourdel, *La classification des sectes*.

19 Lawrence, *Shahrastānī on the Indian religions*; Shahrastānī, *Livre des religions*.

20 Wasserstrom, *Islamicate history of religions?*

dition in Shahrastānī's hands was less a call for the persecution of the infidels and heretics of the sixth/twelfth century than a clear expression of the *modus vivendi* that marked the new Sunni consensus.

Yet, it would be a mistake to assume that Shahrastānī's work, or really any other heresiography, was commonly read in Anatolia before the tenth/sixteenth century. The *IslamAnatolia* database of 7,000 texts written in medieval Anatolia finds no easily identifiable heresiography, for example.²¹ When we look at the extant copies of Shahrastānī's text in Istanbul's libraries today, we find that the dated copies are nearly all from the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, following its release, and from the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century onward.²² We do not find, however, many copies made during the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries, the foundational moment for the development of an Ottoman concept of heresy.²³ As I will suggest below, the urge to collect and copy the heresiographies of Shahrastānī and other medieval authors was likely a response to the heresiography's popularity in the eleventh/seventeenth century. In other words, there was little demand on the part of Ottoman readers for these older heresiographies before this time.

21 *IslamAnatolia: The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100–1500*, available at: https://www.islam-anatolia.ac.uk/?page_id=333 (last accessed: 30 June 2018). Unfortunately, the database only contains *mecmū'as* that were copied in Anatolia, not books made in individual volumes. While there is one short work on the Qalandars written in the period, it does not follow the heresiography genre itself. De Nicola, *The Fuṣṭāṭ al-'adāla*.

22 Of the twenty or so copies of Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa-l-nihāl* in Arabic in the Süleymaniye Library (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; hereafter SK) and Millet Library today, about 16 are dateable. For the old copies, often collected in the twelfth/eighteenth century, see Millet Kütüphanesi, MS Feyzullah Efendi 1175 (copied in 589/1193); MS Feyzullah Efendi 1176 (copied in 629/1231–1232); SK, MS Laleli 2443 (written in 590/1193–1194); MS Fatih 3151 (copied in 593/1196–1197); MS Serez 1242 (copied in 595/1198–1199); MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1731 (written in 9 Jumadī I 596/26 Feb 1200); MS Turhan Valide Sultan 202 (copied in 613/1216–1217); MS Ayasofya 2369 (copied in 620/1223–1224); MS Laleli 2444 (written in 627/1229–1230); Harput MS 398 (copied in 729/1328–1329); MS Ayasofya 2370 (copied in 734/1333–1334). There do not seem to be any major commentaries or extensions of Shahrastānī's work with the exception of the obscure and short piece to be found in the Topkapı Palace library. See the first volume of *Ghayāt al-afkār wa nihāyet al-anzār*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS Ahmed 111 1868. The other medieval heresiographies, like Ibn Ḥazm's, seem to follow the same pattern but with far fewer copies.

23 Only one extant copy, SK, MS Fatih 3152 is from the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century (1 Muḥarram 907/17 July 1501), but the ownership statements suggest that it was originally owned by a man from Shirvan in Azerbaijan and made its way to Istanbul in the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century, where it was eventually owned by the primary imam of the Sultanahmet Mosque.

During the medieval period, the notion of the “72 sects” retained its significance, not as a list of specific heresies but as a generic marker of the stark line between belief and unbelief. We can see this in its frequent use as a trope in the poetry of medieval poets from Anatolia. The Anatolian poet-mystic Yūnus Emre (d. c. 720/1320), for example, states that a seeker on the path needs to subject himself and pay homage to the 72 sects (*yitmiş iki millet*) before transcending them to achieving divine unity.²⁴ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (d. 627/1273) likewise used the figure frequently.²⁵ Whereas in the Bektashi initiation ceremony, a guide would instruct seekers that they were slaves of the Twelve Imams, part of the saved group (*gürüh* or *fırka-i nāciye*), and separated from the 72 sects.²⁶

The learned in the Ottoman Empire certainly knew about heresiographies before the tenth/sixteenth century, but they likely read them as geographies, a means of describing and dividing the world. The catalog of the palace library of the Ottomans during the reign of Bāyezīd II (886–918/1481–1512) reveals valuable clues as to its reception in the years immediately prior to the Kızılbaş and Safavid challenge that would change the usage of the heresiographies. The catalog lists five copies of an unspecified heresiography, listed simply by its generic title as *al-milal wa-l-nihāl*, some of which were likely to be Shahrastānī’s text.²⁷ What is surprising, though, is not the texts’ presence in the library but their classification. They were grouped not under the heading of theology (*kalām*), as we might assume, or even law (*fiqh*), but under the capacious heading of history, which included not only chronicles but also stories of the Prophet, descriptions of wonders, and manuals on statesmanship, war etiquette, horsemanship, and falconry.²⁸ The cataloger lists the heresiographies after al-Birūnī’s (d. c. 440/1048) descriptions of India and before the section on horsemanship and wonders, and the entry has a statement describing the heresiographies specifically as histories (*min qabli tawārikh*). The library’s classification suggests that the heresiographies were read more as books of curiosities and marvels that revealed what madmen lived in the distant corners of the past than guides to

24 Yūnus Emre, *Yūnus Emre Dīvānu* ii, 51, 133, 148, 160, 187, 358, 371, 381, 387, 389.

25 Mottahedeh, Pluralism.

26 Birge, *The Bektashi order* 193; following the citation in van Ess, *Der Eine* i, 3.

27 For the catalog, see Academy of Sciences of Hungary, MS Török F. 59, 193. One undated manuscript of Shahrastānī’s *al-Milal wa-l-nihāl* bears the almond-shaped stamp of Bāyezīd II’s library in SK, MS Turhan Valide Sultan 201.

28 There were no other recognizable heresiographies in these sections. Al-Ghazālī’s *Tafriqa bayn al-zandaqa wa-l-īmān*, which discusses the nature of heresy, was found in the section on theology and an unknown *Alfāz al-kufr* was placed under law, but neither are heresiographies. Academy of Sciences of Hungary, MS Török F. 59, 63, 97.

contemporary theological heresies. When the Ottoman government revived the genre, though, they would turn it into a theological weapon.

3 Reviving Heresy in the Tenth/Sixteenth Century

At the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, the Ottoman establishment did not possess a particularly sectarian mindset, but, in just a few decades' time, government-affiliated scholars revived the concept of heresy and with it the genre of heresiography. The sudden rise of the Safavids—a minor Sufi family in Ardabil that managed to cobble together a diverse set of followers, including many nomadic Ottoman subjects, into a formidable political and military machine—spurred scholars like Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1534), Lütfi Pasha (d. 970/1563), and Ebū's-su'ūd (d. 982/1574) to utilize and even author heresiographies. Together, they represent a concerted effort to define the basis of Ottoman Sunnism through their legal rulings, catechisms, and heresiographies.²⁹

When these authors sought inspiration for their works, though, it seems they turned to a different tradition of heresiography, that of Eastern Hanafi authors from fourth/tenth- and fifth/eleventh-century Transoxiana, like Makhūl al-Nasafi (d. 317/930), rather than referring to the more well-known works of Shahrastānī and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) found in their libraries.³⁰ These Eastern Hanafi heresiographies, as Keith Lewinstein has argued, “look confused and superficial” compared to the more detailed Ash'ari and Mu'tazili exemplars of the genre because they cursorily dismiss other sects to define Hanafi Sunnism as the most correct path.³¹ Kemālpaşazāde and Lütfi Pasha's texts share some of the defining features of the Eastern Hanafi heresiographies, such as the inclusion of the *Kūziyya* and *Shimrākhīyya* groups and a tendency to label all theological branches with the suffix “*īyya*.”³² The most likely source text was an early sixth/twelfth-century book by a certain 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Irāqī al-Ḥanafī titled *al-Firaq al-muḥtariqa bayn ahl al-zaygh wa-l-zandaqa* (Separating sects among the deviants and heretics).³³ Ottoman

29 Krstić, From *shahāda* to *aqīda*; Krstić, State and religion; Üstün, Heresy and legitimacy.

30 The Ottomans, like the Seljuks before them, often turned to Eastern Hanafi authors for inspiration in building a new concept of Hanafi Sunnism. See, for example, Aykan, A legal concept in motion; Rudolph, *Al-Māturidī*.

31 Lewinstein, Eastern Ḥanafite heresiography; Tan, Hanefi-Māturidī firak geleneği.

32 Lewinstein, Eastern Ḥanafite heresiography 587, 590–591; Tan, Geç dönem Hanefi-Māturidī firak geleneği 184–186.

33 Many of these Eastern Hanafi texts exist only in single copies today, so it is difficult to track

authors perhaps drew from this Eastern Hanafī source because it more readily allowed them to declare their political enemies heretics: it championed a particularly Hanafī Sunnism while also dismantling the latitudinarian views of the Sunni consensus that had held sway in the past. After all, copies of Shahrastānī's texts in the palace library were listed under the rubric of history rather than theology, and a different type of text was needed to paint a bright portrait of Ottoman Sunnism against the darkness of past heresies.

Lütfi Pasha's heresiography uses his list of 72 sects to expand upon the ten qualities he thinks that Sunnis must possess.³⁴ The first quality is the requirement to pray five times a day in a congregation (about which see the paper by H. Evren Sünnetçioğlu in this volume), the third quality is to not raise a sword against the sultan, the fourth is to not express doubts about faith, and the seventh is to not debate or argue in religious places.³⁵ He then finds these qualities, or the lack thereof, in his description of the deviant sects. The *Mağrūriye* rejects the Friday prayer while the thirty-fifth sect, the *Abbāsiye*, raise their swords against the sultan.³⁶ These groups no longer existed according to the author: he ends every description with the words "they went astray and were destroyed (*azub helāk oldular*)."³⁷ Even groups like the Shi'ites and the *Revāfīz*, whom he would presumably deem to have existed, receive this enjoinder.³⁷ The past

their reception. Al-'Irāqī's text seems like good fit, though, because of Kemālpaşazāde's inclusion of a number of the same non-Muslim sects. Muzaffer Tan read the inclusion of these non-Muslim sects as a sign that Kemālpaşazāde used another heresiography as a source, but it seems that the sects were lifted directly from al-'Irāqī's work. Lewinstein, *Eastern Ḥanafite heresiography* 586–587; Tan, *Geç dönem Hanefi-Mâturidî fırak geleneği* 189–190; al-'Irāqī's text was published over five decades ago, but the editor of the text, Y. Kutluay, did not provide the accession number of his source. See Hanefi, *Sapıklarla din-sizlerin*. I found the original copy in SK, MS Süleymaniye 791. It was copied by a 'Alī b. Yāsīn b. Muḥammad al-'Arabulusī al-Ḥanafī, a scholar of seemingly Arab origins on 9 Shawwal 904/ 20 May 1499. The timing of this only surviving copy fits well with a renewed interest of the Ottoman establishment in heresiographies (i.e., right before the start of Shah Ismā'il's campaigns). Not much is known about the copyist, but his last name suggests that he came from greater Syria. There is a collection of fatwas from him in Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 1587.

34 Lütfi Pasha, *Risāle-i Fırak-i dālle*, SK, MS Ayasofya 2195. Parts of this text, such as the list of ten qualities, are found in his other works. The heresiography also appears under the title *Ḥayāt-i ebedī*. On his role in the Sunnitization process, see Krstić, A catechizing grand vizier.

35 Lütfi Pasha, *Risāle* 110a–b.

36 Ibid. 115b.

37 The only exception to this is the *Wāsiliyya*, the initial Mu'tazilis, from whom Ibn Ash'ar first emerges only to reject them and become a Sunni again. Also, Lütfi Pasha does not equate the Shi'ites and the *Revāfīz* as the other heresiographers do. Lütfi Pasha, *Risāle* 112b.

becomes a means for Lütfi Pasha to indirectly reference the Kızılbaş rebellion in his portrayal of Sunnism: true Sunnis do not rebel, spiritually or politically.

Kemālpaşazāde's short treatise, only a few folios long and probably written between 915–930/1510–1530, follows the same approach and begins simply as a list of heresies sans introduction. The first part covers heresies deemed completely outside Islam, like Jews, Brahmins (*barāhima*), philosophers, star worshippers (*najamiyya*), reincarnationists (*ahl al-tanāsukh*), the *Bāṭiniyya*, and the “worshippers of the cow’s head” (*‘abadat ru’ūs al-baqar*). The point of this initial section is to cast sects like the *Bāṭiniyya*, which were formally Muslim, outside the circle of Islam. One cannot accept the *jizya* (poll tax imposed on non-Muslims) from these heretics nor can one accept their ritually slaughtered meat or marry their women. Killing them is like killing an apostate, an act that elicits neither punishment nor blood payment. In other words, these heretics are not to be afforded even the traditional rights of protected non-Muslims. The second part focuses more on the errant sects within the fold of Islam, which he quickly sketches, often only with a name and a sentence.³⁸ The sentence or two of description comes across as an attempt to define the Sunnism in the negative. For example, the *Mushabbihah* allow for the killing of opposing Muslims, marrying sisters and daughters, and drinking wine.³⁹ Other descriptions, like that of the *Khaṭṭābiyya*, read as a thinly veiled attack on the Shi‘ites (*rawāfiḍ*) and the Kızılbaş: they believe that Ja‘far al-Şādiq, al-Khaṭṭāb, and even ‘Alī are gods.⁴⁰

Only at the end does Kemālpaşazāde provide more specific instructions by repeatedly stating that “the sultan must call on all [these heretics] to repent or kill them.” Yet, he leaves a chance for heretics to enter the fold again and for this reason, he asserts that, if they repent, they must *not* be barred from mosques and can be buried in Muslim cemeteries, save for the *Bāṭiniyya* and *Hulūliyya*, who are to be treated unequivocally as apostates, “whether they repent or are killed.”⁴¹ Who are these two sects beyond the pale? He gives no information about them whatsoever, other than calling on the sultan to force the *Hulūliyya* in particular to repent and the *Bāṭiniyya* being “the most evil of all of them and

38 Kemālpaşazāde's descriptions are so cursory that some readers filled in the margins with more information on each sect.

39 Kemālpaşazāde, *Risāla*, SK, MS Reşid Efendi 1031, 279b.

40 Ibid.

41 To prove the point, he quotes the jurist Mālik that *zanādiqa* and *Bāṭiniyya* should not be allowed to repent after being captured. Kemālpaşazāde, *Risāla* 280b. For an overview of jurists' opinions on when a heretic should not be offered a chance to repent see Griffel, *Apostasy*.

the most heretical.⁴² Their names, however, can give us a sense of what Kemālpaşazāde found so repugnant. *Ḥulūliyya* suggests a belief that God incarnates within particular leaders, an indirect reference to Shah Ismāʿīl's Kızılbaş followers, who considered him an infallible god. In anti-Safavid treatises, the connection was often explicitly stated: Ḥüseyn b. ʿAbdullāh el-Şīrvānī, a pro-Ottoman polemicist fleeing from the Safavids, argued that the Kızılbaş worshipped Safavid leaders as deities.⁴³ The second sect, the *Bāṭiniyya*, might refer to groups accused of denying the literal meaning of sacred texts, and thus their moral exhortations and ritual prescriptions, in favor of esoteric interpretations.⁴⁴ This was a common refrain about sects like the Ismaʿīlis centuries beforehand, but it gained new importance in the tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire, where many antinomian dervish groups had turned Kızılbaş.

The emphasis on these two accusations—attributing divinity to leaders and antinomian esotericism—is what ultimately distinguishes Ottoman heresiographies from their medieval predecessors. First voiced by Kemālpaşazāde, the claim is repeated in all the heresiographies and reflects a particularly Ottoman usage of the genre. To underline the fact these heresies were alive and well, he states that the rule of the *Bākiya* in Azerbaijan is *Bāṭiniyya* rule (whereas the cow-worshippers are in Herat). The location of these groups makes it clear that heresy is found outside the empire, among its enemies, rather than within its own population. Later, he states, “if there exists in the land a ruler from the *Ghālība* or the *Qadriyya* or the *Khawārij* or the *Juhmiyya* or the *Najjāriyya* or the *Mujassima*, then their rulings are invalid.”⁴⁵ This statement serves to define the empire as Sunni and run in partnership with legal scholars, a point he underlines after repeating some basic theological tenets of Sunnism, declaring that “whoever has this as his religion and belief, then he is a Sunni, and whoever is against anything from it, then he is a heretic [lit. innovator (*mubtadiʿ*)] and against the Sunnis and jurists.”⁴⁶

In the tenth/sixteenth century, the aforementioned notion of the 72 sects continued to function as a means of defining the line between heresy and belief, between rebellion and obedience. This is clearly seen in the rulings of the *şeyhü'l-islām* (chief jurist) Ebū's-su'ūd, who was Kemālpaşazāde's successor and student, regarding the treatment of the pro-Safavid Kızılbaş. The last of the

42 Kemālpaşazāde, *Risāla*, 278b, 279b.

43 Yılmaz, H. İran'dan Sünni kaçışı; Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined* 261. See also Şīrvānī's comments on the *mübāhiye*, mentioned later by another, later Şīrvānī.

44 Hodgson, *Bāṭiniyya*.

45 Kemālpaşazāde, *Risāla* 281a.

46 Ibid.

rulings responds to a question whether the war against the Kızılbaş is justified given that they claim to be Shi'ites and testify that "there is no god but God." The inquiry forced Ebū's-su'ūd to examine the nature of their heresy, and he states that they were neither Shi'ites nor even one of the 72 sects destined to burn in hell. The Kızılbaş "take a share of evil and corruption from each of [the 72 sects]. They have added together, according to their whims, whatever heresies and innovations they choose and invented a composite heresy and deviation."⁴⁷ He then goes on to list their heretical actions and beliefs, which include insulting the Quran and the sharia, burning holy books, treating scholars with contempt, worshiping their leaders as gods, and cursing 'Ā'isha, 'Umar, and, indirectly, the Prophet Muḥammad. Here, in Ebū's-su'ūd's ruling that turns a rebellion into a heresy, we find the closest attempt to match the heresiographies to the social realities of the Ottoman Empire. He recalls the heresiographies not to identify the particularities of Kızılbaş belief but to highlight their novelty, which exceeds even the heresies of old as represented by the notion of the 72 sects. The heresiographies serve not as a reference manual but as a generic bank of imagery, a backdrop against which an Ottoman Sunnism would be drawn.

In the works of Kemālpaşazāde and Lütfī Pasha, we find for the first time in centuries a revival of the heresiography tradition. Like their Eastern Hanafī precursors, these heresiographies are rather crude attempts to fashion tools and concepts to fight against the Kızılbaş and the Safavids, and their revival helped dismantle the irenic Sunni consensus that had held sway for so long. They mention no current heresies because their aim was to define an Ottoman Sunnism in the negative and project an image of the world in which a righteous Sunni empire was constantly threatened by unbelievers at its borders.

4 Heresiographies in the Eleventh/Seventeenth Century

Less than a century later, a new wave of heresiographical works would seize the attention of Ottoman readers and become the heresiographies predominantly found in manuscript libraries today. The initial Ottoman heresiographies were written by members of the highest echelons of the Ottoman government, generally in Arabic (albeit in a very simple kind), and read and used by a limited group of government officials. The eleventh/seventeenth-century heresiographies, on the other hand, were written by respected but middling scholars who, rather than forging a vision of heresy as state policy, sought jobs and political

47 Ebussu'ūd, *Ma'rūzāt* 98.

influence by tapping into an already strong current of popular and governmental interest in identifying and eradicating heresy. Sometimes they pushed the government to act even more radically than it had, as we will see in Şīrvānī's heresiography below. For this reason, the new generation of heresiographies were all in Turkish, appealing specifically to a popular Rumi (that is, Turkish-speaking) public that read them alongside a variety of other works. The process began with a war and three or four authors who translated and reworked the heresiographies between 1024–1050/1615–40.

The first to be written, and one of the most popular, was the rather blandly titled, *A treatise explaining the various sects* (*Risāle fi beyān mezāhib muhtelifē*).⁴⁸ It was penned circa 1024/1615 by the prolific scholar Muḥammad Emīn b. Şādre'd-dīn Mollazāde el-Şīrvānī (d. 1036/1627), a refugee fleeing the brutal Safavid persecution of Sunnis in the Caucasus who became a professor (*mudarris*) in a number of cities around the Ottoman Empire, including Aleppo, Istanbul, Mecca, and Bursa.⁴⁹ He likely met his particularly receptive patron, the grand vizier Meḥmed Pasha, in the first of these cities when he served as a *mudarris* there in 1024–1025/1615–6.⁵⁰ His Meḥmed Pasha was most likely (Dāmād) Öküz Meḥmed Pasha (r. 1023–1025/1614–6, 1028/1619),⁵¹ who served two terms as grand vizier under Aḥmed I and 'Osmān II and launched a renewed campaign against the Safavids from Aleppo in the spring of 1025/1616 after spending the previous year making preparations in the city.

We should not discount the impetus provided by the second and third set of Ottoman-Safavid Wars (1012–1027/1603–18 and 1032–1049/1623–39) for these heresiographies. Scholars have traditionally focused on the initial battles between Sultan Selīm I (918–926/1512–1520) and Shah Ismā'īl I (907–930/1501–

48 A critical edition of the treatise was published in el-Şīrvānī, *Tercümānū'l-ümem*. Fiğlalı, the editor, gave it the title *Tercümānū'l-Ümem* based on a title found in one of the manuscripts, though this does not seem to be a common title for it. Fiğlalı provides a Turkish translation in a subsequent article, İbn Sadru'd-Din eṣ-Şīrvānī; van Ess claims that this work has an Arabic original, found in SK, MS Laleli 2237, attributed to the author Meḥmed Nūrī Şīrvānī. However, a close examination of the work shows that it was copied in 1168/1750–1751, and it is most likely a singular Arabic translation of the piece from the twelfth/eighteenth century, *Der Eine* ii, 1179–1180.

49 Muḥammad Emīn b. Şādre'd-dīn Mollazāde el-Şīrvānī, *Risāle fi beyān mezāhib muhtelifē*, SK, MS Darülmünevi 258, 74b. The earliest copy (from 5 Dhi'l-Huja 1025/14 December 1616) I came across can be found in the Austrian National Library, MS NF 13 and 13a. The Judeo-Turkish copy apparently dates from 1615 in Aleppo. See, Leiden University Library, MS Or 1129(g).

50 Altıntaş, Şīrvānī, *Sadreddinzāde* 208–209.

51 On the question of his patron, see also Fiğlalı, İbn Sadru'd-Din eṣ-Şīrvānī 251–253.

1524) in the early tenth/sixteenth century as the main context of sectarian formation. Indeed, these battles did open a space for the heresiographies, as we have seen, but the waves of persecutions that followed the Safavid conquest of the Caucasus under Shah 'Abbās (996–1038/1588–1629) also catalyzed a more extreme form of confessional polarization.⁵² Waves of Sunni scholars from Shirvan and other parts of Azerbaijan arrived in Ottoman cities, often profusely thanking the Ottoman state in their treatises for sheltering them from what they describe as particularly barbarous attacks.⁵³

The animus against the Safavids is most clearly seen in the heated conclusion of Şīrvānī's heresiography. He calls on the sultan to "appoint to every city in the empire a scholar well-versed in theology (*'ilm-i kelām*) who knows proper and improper belief so as to protect the creed of Islam from deviant sects and heresies and the like and protect the domains of Islam against its internal enemies, just as the Muslim soldiers and walls preserve it from its external enemies."⁵⁴ After castigating the sultan for disparaging scholars' work and failing to send scholars to the major cities to educate the people, he ends with an interesting comment as to the purpose of heresiographies. He argues that an enemy leader might try to win through intellectual means rather than brute force.

Now, for example, the soldiers of Islam, may God grant them victory, have set out against the Kızılbaş. What were to happen if the Shah of Persia said, "The cause of our enmity is confessional difference (*muhālefet-i mezheb*). So let the confessions be examined and whatever side the Truth is on, let us all follow that and set aside this fight." Shi'a extremists (*gulāt-ı Revāfiż*) would spread their corrupting doubts regarding the faith and bring the beliefs of the commoners crashing to the ground. It is necessary to defeat the enemy by having an erudite scholar who knows all the

52 See, for example, Dressler, *Inventing orthodoxy*; Allouche, *Ottoman-Safavid conflict*; For an overview of the diplomatic developments on this front, see Küpeli, *Osmanlı-Safevi münasebetleri*.

53 Refugees have been important figures in driving anti-Safavid polemics in the empire. For earlier examples, see Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik* 53–60. Besides Muhammed Emīn el-Şīrvānī, see, for example, Sa'deddīn Şīrvānī and Feyzullah Efendi, whose family fled from Karabagh to Erzurum. For an example of treatises dedicated to the Ottomans by refugees, see the first few folios of Nūrallah b. Muḥammad Rafī'a b. 'Abdurrahim, *Risālat al-Shīrvānī ilā muftī zamānihi*, Egyptian National Library and Archives, MS Majāmi' Tal'at 476, 1a–27b.

54 Şīrvānī, *Risāle*, Ankara Üniversitesi, D.T.C.F. Kütüphanesi, İsmail Saib Sencer Koleksiyonu MS I/3175, 15a–17a (hereafter, Şīrvānī, *Risāle*); SK, MS Darülmünevi 258, 83a–84a, MS Çelebi Abdullah 195, 16a.

sects' ideas and practices and is aware of their sources and principles so that he can force the enemy to concede with irrefutable evidence.⁵⁵

Şirvânî expresses here both an understanding that the fight with the Safavids is at its heart a confessional battle and a deep fear of any prospect of an "examination of confessions," as any such initiative would be a ruse to infiltrate the empire. His fears were not necessarily misplaced. There actually was a tentative truce between the Ottomans and the Safavids between 1021–1024/1612–5, right when Şirvânî wrote his treatise. And Nadir Shah, upon making peace with the Ottomans in 1149/1736, did eventually propose to make Ja'fari Shi'ism the fifth school of Sunnism.⁵⁶ For this reason, Şirvânî argues that only a scholar trained in theology could confront these heathens in a debate and force them to concede (*ilzâm*) when faced with irrefutable evidence. Şirvânî's point, colored by the current war against the Safavids and his own forced migration, makes it clear that heresiography is meant to help distinguish errant belief among other Muslims and defeat them with proper proof. Moreover, he is increasingly worried about foreign heretics disguising themselves within Ottoman society itself and thus uses the heresiography to push the hesitant Ottoman government to act while conveniently providing a steady occupation for scholars like himself.

Despite Şirvânî locating his work in actual political exigencies, his heresiography, like the others, offers only scattered hints as to its practical application. Comprising about ten to twenty folios, it goes through the usual motions of listing the main sects with a cursory description of their theological beliefs. Like its predecessors, of which he might have had some knowledge, he uses familial resemblances to the historical sects to indirectly attack the enemies of the Ottomans, though with a greater focus perhaps on the Safavids themselves instead of the Kızılbaş rebellion. As mentioned before, Kemâlpaşazâde focused on the perfidies of the *Bâṭniye* and *Hulûliye*, and these groups appear in Şirvânî's heresiography as well. The *Hulûliye* believe that "a person, with practice and effort, can reach a stage in which he becomes one with the true Beloved and obliterates himself in God. God then incarnates in him. Most of the Persian wandering dervishes (*ışıklar*) are of this belief."⁵⁷ Once again, the emphasis lies on sects that consider their rulers divine.

55 Şirvânî, *Risâle*, 8b–9a; 17a; SK, MS Darülmecnevi 258, 84a, MS Çelebi Abdullah 195, 16a; el-Şirvânî, *Tercümânü'l-ümem* 335.

56 Tucker, Nadir Shah. See also the essay in this volume by Selim Güngörürler.

57 El-Şirvânî, *Tercümânü'l-ümem* 328.

Şirvānī groups the *Hulūliye* under the special heading of “heretical Sufism” (*melāhidetü’l-Şūfiye*), which also includes the *Mübāhiye*, *Zenādika*, *Qalenderiye*, *Mürā’iye*, *Müstahdamiye*, and *Müta’abidiye*. Although these groups are relatively unimportant in comparison to Şirvānī’s general attack on the Safavids, they are rare examples of novel heresiographical categories being introduced. These categories did not come from Ottoman social reality, but neither were they found in Islam’s first centuries. In elaborating this new category of heretical Sufism, Şirvānī likely drew on earlier sources. For example, the *Mübāhiye*—a group of the morally apathetic that appears in the end times according to al-Kāshifī (910/1504–1505)—was associated with the Kızılbaş in a work by another refugee from Shirvan in the previous century.⁵⁸ The antinomian Kalenders (Ar. *Qalandar*) were present in medieval Anatolia, but largely absent by the eleventh/seventeenth century.⁵⁹ They were examples of postmedieval concepts of heresy that had become sufficiently established to merit a place in the “library” of theology. At the same time, the heading of “heretical Sufism” provides Şirvānī the space to mention offhand that “in our time, most of the dervishes (*uşıklar*) by the name of Mevlevis, Gülşenis, or Bektashis are heretics.”⁶⁰ These Sufi orders, which did actively exist in the period, were not placed within Şirvānī’s formal list of heresies.

For another example of Şirvānī’s approach, we can look at his description of the *Bātıniye*, the sect that Kemālpaşazāde regarded as the most dangerous of all. Unlike Kemālpaşazāde, Şirvānī does not consider them particularly vile, but the association of the sect with the Safavids remained strong. Grouping the *Bātıniye* under the general rubric of *melāhide* (heretics), he says that they “follow no religion (*millet*) and deny the Creator and the day of Resurrection.”⁶¹ He then launches into a tale that makes clear his true target—the Safavid dynasty. Şirvānī tells the story of a heretic (*zındık*) servant named ‘Abdullāh el-Meymūn el-Ḳaddāḥ who sets out on a trip with Muḥammad, the grandson of the Shi’i Imam Ja‘fār al-Şādiq. As the two flee to Egypt, each with their pregnant concubines, Muḥammad dies and ‘Abdullāh decides to kill Muḥammad’s concubine in order to declare his own concubine’s son as the next Shi’i imam. The charade is believed and the descendants of Persian kings become the false Shi’i imam’s staunchest partisans, spreading false belief around the world and becoming quite successful in Iran. The lesson to be taken from Şirvānī’s anti-Safavid para-

58 *Caliphate redefined*, 261.

59 Karamustafa, *God’s unruly friends*; De Nicola, *The Fustāṭ al-‘adāla*.

60 Şirvānī, *Risāle* 8b–9a; 14b; sK, mS Darülmünevi 258, 82a; el-Şirvānī, *Tercümānū’l-ümem* 326.

61 El-Şirvānī, *Tercümānū’l-ümem* 315–316.

ble becomes clear at the end: the heretics drove the Muslim kingdoms into disarray. Most were defeated, even those that attempted in vain to make peace with the heretics. The Muslim world was only purified by the chance arrival of the infidel hordes of Chinggis Khan (d. 624/1227). It is a crude story with a clear message: never make peace with the Safavids.

Şirvānī's main avenue of attacking the Safavids, however, comes through in his description of a seemingly random and spurious sect known as the *Benāniye*, followers of Benān bin Sem'ān the Jew.⁶² Placing them under the heading of "Extremists" (*gulāt*), whom even the other Shi'ites consider as heretics,⁶³ he states that this group believes that God used to inhabit a human form but now only his face remained. In this form

God was incarnated in 'Alī and in the children of 'Alī, just as Gabriel came to the Prophet in the form of Diḥye-i Kelbī ... And still today the *Revāfiẓ* believe ... that God almighty manifests himself in the form of those heretics, the shahs. For this reason, they prostrate themselves before him as if he were a deity ... and even recognize him as God. There are no heretics worse than this group. They are worse than the Jews and Christians and all the other infidels and it is of utmost importance to eliminate them. No Muslim scholar has any doubts about their heresy. Their harm to the Islamic faith is greater than that of any other infidel.⁶⁴

The choice of the *Benāniye* as the "sect du jour" differs from that of the other heresiographies, but the main accusation against the Safavids is the same: they consider their kings to be gods. The Ottomans, on the other hand, rely upon the institutions of Islam, rather than on charismatic divine leadership, as Şirvānī suggests when he states that the *Benāniye* "outright refuse to accede to the sharia courts."⁶⁵

Şirvānī might have used the heresiography as a space to make snide attacks against Sufis and the like, but dervishes and Sufis also wrote heresiographies. The other two major heresiographies that emerged during this period were written between 1030–1050/1620–40 and offered a slight alternative to Şirvānī's

62 *Benāniye* is a corruption of *Bayāniyya*, which is a sect that appears in some of the medieval heresiographies. Hodgson, Bayān b. Sam'ān al-Tamīmī.

63 On the usage and meaning of *gulāt* (Ar. *ghulāt*, from *ghuluww*, exaggeration) see Babayan, *Mystics, monarchs, and messiahs*; Şirvānī, *Risāle* 8a; el-Şirvānī, *Tercümânü'l-ümem* 307.

64 Şirvānī, *Risāle* 8b–9a; el-Şirvānī, *Tercümânü'l-ümem* 308–309; These claims, too, are borrowed from other treatises, which specifically target the Kızılbaş. Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined*, 261.

65 Şirvānī, *Risāle* 9a; el-Şirvānī, *Tercümânü'l-ümem* 309.

screed. A man known only as Dervîş Aḥmed, and who was apparently a resident of the Sufi lodge at the Küçük Aya Sofya complex in Istanbul, wrote the *The Mirror of belief* (*Mir'atü'l-'akā'id*).⁶⁶ Before or during his tenure at this Sufi lodge, he was closely attached to the famous shaykh, Maḥmūd Hüdā'ī (d. 1038/1628), who owned and studied one of the few exemplars of the Eastern Hanafi heresiography tradition, *al-Firaq al-muftariqa*, the very same copy that seems to have been the inspiration for Kemālpaşazāde's heresiography in Arabic a century earlier.⁶⁷ This work was apparently also the basis for Dervîş Aḥmed's translation of the work into Turkish for a wider audience.

Dervîş Aḥmed starts his heresiography with the common and compelling point regarding the genre's benefit: the world is full of unbelief and the true Muslim must be prepared to deploy arguments and proof, not just simply recite the basic tenets of belief, if they are to defend the faith, as Tijana Krstić also emphasizes in her essay on contemporary catechisms in this volume.⁶⁸ His work is not radically different from Şirvānī's, but he does retain some of the categories from the older, medieval heresiographical works that Şirvānī had discarded, such as non-Islamic groups. These, though, are primarily schools of ancient philosophy like the Peripatetics, Elementarists (*aşhāb al-'anāşir*), or Manicheans. Nestled among this group are Jews and Christians, mentioned in passing with no detail. His purpose was not to understand or even refute the theological viewpoints of Muslims or non-Muslims but simply to conjure up a world of unbelief. For this reason, Dervîş Aḥmed devotes a very long final chapter to the proper creed and belief of Muslims in the form of questions and answers.⁶⁹

Dervîş Aḥmed's heresiography is unique in that it did not have only one intended patron. Instead, the author seems to have tried to dedicate the text to four different government officials: the *şeyhü'l-islām* Yahyā Efendi (sh.i. 1031–1032, 1034–1041, 1043–1053/1622–1623, 1625–1632, 1634–1644), two separate grand viziers, Bayram Pasha (g. 1045–1048/1637–8) and Meḥmed Pasha (likely Ṭayyār Meḥmed Pasha, g. 1048/1638), and even Sultan Murād IV (r. 1032–1049/1623–1640) himself.⁷⁰ The wide variety of government figures here might be

66 On this biographical tidbit, see the colophon of a copy written in 1638 of Dervîş Aḥmed, *Mir'atü'l-'akā'id*, SK, MS M Arif-M Murad 177, 71.

67 See the statements on the first folios of SK, MS Süleymaniye 791.

68 Dervîş Aḥmed, *Mir'atü'l-'akā'id*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS T5919, 2a.

69 Ibid. 23b–25b; İbrahim Hakki Konyalı Kütüphanesi MS 594, 59b–64a.

70 See Dervîş Aḥmed, *Mir'atü'l-'akā'id*. Those dedicated to *şeyhü'l-islām* Yahyā Efendi can be found in SK, MS Özel 276, MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1514, MS Serez 3879, MS Hüdai Efendi 879, MS İzmir 114; Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, MS 2144; İbrahim Hakki Konyalı

interpreted as a sign that Dervîş Aḥmed had some difficulty in finding a sponsor interested in his work, but it also shows how many high-level officials an enterprising author could appeal to for sponsorship of such material in the 1630s. This interest would continue as one copyist noted that he copied the treatise in the presence of Sultan Meḥmed IV (r. 1058–1099/1648–1687) and the chancellor Nişāncı Meḥmed Pasha.⁷¹ The interest in these works by the highest state officials makes sense given that the Ottomans had reignited their war with the Safavids once again, and many of these officials were directly involved in the reconquest of Baghdad from the Safavids in 1048/1638. Although Şīrvānī was the only writer who directly censured the Safavids, the heresiographies coincide neatly with the timeline of the Ottoman-Safavid wars.

Dervîş Aḥmed's work might have enjoyed the direct support of the highest echelons of the Ottoman state, but it was Nūḥ b. Muştafā's (d. 1070/1660) book that became the authoritative, if lightly read, heresiography in the empire. Nūḥ b. Muştafā was a prolific Rumi scholar and preacher who lived primarily in Cairo after serving briefly as mufti of Konya.⁷² A certain Yūsuf Efendi in Cairo pushed him, sometime in the 1040s/1630s, to translate the aforementioned sixth/twelfth-century heresiography of Shahrastānī into Turkish.⁷³ As mentioned earlier, Shahrastānī had written one of the most canonical versions of the genre, imbuing it with a certain latitudinarian approach, and Nūḥ b. Muştafā deeply edited it in his *Translation of religions and sects* (*Tercüme-i milel ü nihāl*).

In many ways, Nūḥ b. Muştafā's work returns to the genre's scholarly roots while continuing to dismantle the irenic air found in Shahrastānī's original. Despite its excision of key parts of Shahrastānī's text, it was the longest of the Ottoman heresiographies due to its inclusion of elaborate descriptions and refutations of the medieval theological heresies. In comparison, Dervîş

Kütüphanesi, MS 594; İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS T4000. To Sultan Murād IV: SK, MS Reşid Efendi 984, MS Yazma Başlıklar 74. To Bayram Pasha: SK, MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1723, MS Asır Efendi 183, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS T5919, MS T5923. To Meḥmed Pasha: SK, MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1723. With no dedication: SK, MS M Arif-M Murad 177.

71 SK, MS M Arif-M Murad 177, f. 71.

72 Little research has been done on Nūḥ b. Muştafā, a fascinating figure and major author of the eleventh/seventeenth century. For basic biographic information, see Yaşaroğlu, Nūḥ b. Mustafa xxxiii, 230–231.

73 14 Şa'bān 1049/10 December 1639 is the earliest copy date of a collated copy of Nūḥ b. Muştafā's work written by Ebu Bekr b. Halil al-Diyārbakrī al-Ḥanafī for Muştafā Kethüdā and copied from the author's copy. SK, MS Fatih 2913, 118b–119a.

Ahmed, Şirvânî, or Kemâlpaşazâde, who based their works on the Eastern Hanafî model, were satisfied with a cursory description of each sect and its respective heresy, paying little attention to historical accuracy. Nûh b. Muştafâ, on the other hand, provides details. For example, his translation of Shahrastânî's *Religions and sects* adds small bits to the original, such as longer discussions about some of the newer philosophical and theological points that the Mu'tazilites had originally raised, but he also inserts refutations of most of the sect's core ideas.⁷⁴ At the same time, he excises nearly all mention of the Iranian and Indian religions and the segments on Jews, Christians, and philosophers are heavily reduced.⁷⁵ In its place is a large section outlining the proper belief of the elect sect, *fırka-yı nâciye* (i.e., Sunnism). Nûh b. Muştafâ rewrites Shahrastânî's opus for a new era by focusing more on Muslim heresy and proper Sunnism than on the diversity of humanity's beliefs. At the same time, behind the radical edits, there remained a modicum of analytical distance in Nûh b. Muştafâ's approach in comparison to that of his contemporaries. For example, his entry on the *Benâniye* has none of Şirvânî's animus, and he takes out Shahrastânî's separate section on extremist Shi'is (*gulât*) and merges it into the last chapter of the Shi'ites on the *İsmâ'iliye*. Here he mentions the *Bâtîniye*, the sect that Kemâlpaşazâde so despised, yet his tone is measured. He includes some harsh words only in the last sentence, in which he castigates them for letting their esotericism lead them to reject the sharia and the other sciences due to their fear of reading.⁷⁶

5 Reading Heresy into the Ottoman World

The eleventh/seventeenth century saw the expansion of heresiographies as a wider group of authors began writing for a reading public that was now actively interested in the notion of heresy. But did these authors' crude insinuations against the Safavids, Kızılbaş, and other religious deviants hit their marks? What meanings might Ottoman readers have drawn from these texts on timeless heresies? This is a question that cannot be easily answered by only scrutinizing the ideas and intentions of the authors, and instead we have to turn to the reception of these texts through an analysis of the manuscript

74 Nûh b. Muştafâ, *Tercümetü'l-milal ve'n-nihal* 15–36.

75 For a general overview of the content of the text, see Özkılıç, *Sunnitization through translation* 61–85.

76 Nûh b. Muştafâ, *Tercümetü'l-milal ve'n-nihal* 43–47. He also has an interesting section on how the İsmâ'ilis convert others to their cause.

record. A brute count of remaining manuscripts provides us some hints as to their reception, but this can often be misleading, as discussed previously with Shahrastānī's text. Another problem is that readers rarely ever left personal comments or thoughts on their manuscripts, the kind that might help us associate a historical sect with a segment of Ottoman society.⁷⁷ In its place, we have to analyze scripts, collation marks, colophons, or the absence thereof for clues as to the texts' receptions among different groups in Ottoman society. Most importantly, we can read patterns of associations that copyists, binders, and readers made when they decided to group one heresiography with another text in miscellanies (*mecmū'as*) from the tenth/sixteenth to twelfth/eighteenth centuries. This method allows us to discover texts that might otherwise be overlooked—as was the case in my discovery of Dervīş Aḥmed's heresiography—and to take into consideration instances when heresiographies were not read as full and coherent texts, but as partial pieces such as introductions or rubrics.

This method demonstrates that the heresiographies came to be used as much, if not more so, to identify heresy within Ottoman society itself during the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries as they were to paint the foreign Safavid enemies as heretics. Well after the Ottoman wars against the Safavids came to a formal end in 1049/1639, the conception of heresy that the heresiographies fomented continued to spread. As mentioned in the introduction of this essay, the historiography on the confessionalization of the Ottoman Empire has tended to emphasize either the external threat of the Safavids or the internal motor of Sunnitization, but an analysis of the reception of these texts in the eleventh/seventeenth century allows us to understand where and how these two contexts intersected. In addition, this form of analysis shows us how Ottoman readers applied heresiographies to their daily lives and used them as a means of categorizing the world.

An analysis of reception is possible because the works were simply much more widely read and copied in the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries compared to the tenth/sixteenth. In fact, the tenth/sixteenth-century heresiographies appear to be even more marginal because they are never referenced, read, or grouped together with the much more popular heresiographies of the following century. Lūṭfī Pasha's tenth/sixteenth-century treatise only exists in one or possibly two copies from the late eleventh/seventeenth

77 The one exception I found is a very condensed Arabic version of Shahrastānī's text in a late twelfth/eighteenth-century (1194/1780) notebook in which the reader notes on the side of one of the heresies that "this is the state of our scholars today." SK, MS Reşid Efendi 985, 93–108.

and twelfth/eighteenth centuries. As for Kemālpaşazāde's treatise, a respectable eight copies remain of it, but they are all in large anthologies devoted to his work, often owned by muftis and judges, many of which were created in 967–988/1560–1580.⁷⁸ The readership of the heresiographies matches Kemālpaşazāde's intended audience of muftis and judges who, as his heresiography notes, might rule on validity of *jizya* payments and adjudicate disputes in the provinces. In dangerous lands full of errant beliefs, these men would cart along the compiled treatises of the master jurist as a reference work. In contrast, in Istanbul alone there are about 30 copies of Nūḥ b. Muştafā's translation and 20 copies each of Şirvānī's and Derviş Aḥmed's work, with more found in libraries across the world. But crude metrics reveal only part of the picture.

When we look at the manuscript miscellanies containing eleventh/seventeenth-century heresiographies, we notice first of all that the texts of Şirvānī, Derviş Aḥmed, and Nūḥ b. Muştafā were often copied and bound together, demonstrating an organic connection that Ottoman subjects forged between the texts.⁷⁹ More often, they were grouped with other treatises on relevant topics as will be discussed below. While this might be a matter of convenience or coincidence, we can read purpose into these choices by analyzing those miscellanies that were made by the same copyist or bound together topically. Not surprisingly, we find the heresiographical texts placed alongside refutations of Safavids and the Kızılbaş in the miscellanies.⁸⁰ The reciprocal connection between the Ottoman-Safavid wars and the heresiographies is seen most clearly in one copy of Şirvānī's heresiography copied in Baghdad in the year 1035/1626, during the time of governor Ḥāfız Aḥmed Pasha. The timing and location are significant: the Ottomans had just reconquered

78 See, for example, SK, MS Hamidiye 186, 147–148 copied around Safar 989/March 1581; MS Kılıç Ali Paşa 1028, 296–297 written between 985–986/1577–1578 written for a Molla Aḥmed b. Süleymān, owned by the mufti of Kayseri. MS Pertev Paşa 653, 161a–163b has no copy date but seems to be done by the same scribe as the previous two copies; MS Reisülküttab 1196, 37b–38b is in a *mecmū'a* copied around late 996/1587. MS Nuruosmaniye 4972, 104–106 was copied around 977/1570. I was not able to inspect the copies at Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Beyazıt 5999, 131a–133a and 8046, 101a–103a but both are in large *mecmū'as* devoted to Kemālpaşazāde.

79 E.g., SK, MS Ozel 276, MS Hüdai Efendi 879, MS Izmir 114; Nuruosmaniye Library MS 2144.

80 Anonymous, *Risāle fi hurūc-i Şāh İsmā'il ve tā'ife-i Kızılbaş*, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi MS 4976, 124–125 alongside Şirvānī, *Risāle*, MS 4976, 12–19, although separated in space, the two treatises were written by the same scribe. Miscellany containing Şirvānī's *Risāle* with comments on the Kızılbaş, SK, MS Tercüman 262. See Nūḥ b. Muştafā, *Tercüme-i milel ü nihāl*, SK, MS Ayasofya 2197, 1–153 grouped alongside Kāḍizāde 'İlmī Meḥmed b. Muştafā, *Naşrul-aşhāb fi kahri's-sebbāb (er-Risāle eş-şerife fi menākıbt's-şahābe)* MS Ayasofya 2197, 154a–181a, which is a treatise about defining religious deviations (*bid'at*).

Baghdad from the Safavids as part of the third Ottoman-Safavid war (1032–1049/1623–39). Şīrvānī's heresiography now provided a template for judging the fidelity of their newly reconquered subjects.⁸¹ Read and copied throughout the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, the heresiography tradition would revive whenever this particular fight reignited, such as the fourth Ottoman-Safavid war (1142–1148/1730–5).⁸² In fact, the continuing influence of the heresiographies might have undermined the efforts of government-affiliated Ottoman jurists to rehabilitate the Safavids as Muslims during peace time, as discussed by Selim Güngörürler in his contribution to this volume.

Yet, the miscellanies reveal not only that heresiographies were read in the context of foreign wars with the Kızılbaş and the Safavids but also alongside polemical treatises on the burning questions of the period. One miscellany from 1093/1682 containing Şīrvānī's heresiography was written by a certain Muḥammed b. Ḥasan b. Süleymān, who copied in the same volume and within the same month treatises by the firebrand Rūmī Aḥmed Aḫḫiṣārī on the abominable practice of performing *zīkr* and smoking tobacco.⁸³ A heresiography from 1068/1658, most likely copied in Egypt, was read alongside treatises on the legality of coffee.⁸⁴ Other groupings point to similar reading patterns: the heresiographies are found alongside works by the late tenth/sixteenth-century scholar Birgivī, more works on twirling during Sufi worship sessions (*deverān*), the tract of the aforementioned Rūmī Aḥmed, *şeyhü'l-islām* Minkārīzāde's treatise on whether or not Muslims may call themselves part of “the religion of Abraham” (*millet-i İbrāhīm*), and more.⁸⁵ Heresy now lurked behind every sip of coffee or innocuous statement.

81 See the colophon of miscellany containing Şīrvānī's treatise along with Sivāsī's *Dürerü'l-akā'id*, SK, MS Çelebi Abdullah 195.

82 See a new heresiography text, which is modeled from the discussions of Taftāzānī's *Sharḥ al-maqāsīd*: Muṣṭafā al-Islāmbūlī, *Risāla fi-l-farq al-Islāmiyya*, Egyptian National Library and Archives, MS Majāmī Timūr 345, 116–162.

83 Miscellany containing Şīrvānī's *Risāle* and Rūmī Aḥmed Aḫḫiṣārī's treatises on tobacco and *zīkr*, SK, MS Darülmesnevi 258, 70b–109b.

84 Khalīl b. Yūsuf al-Zubayrī al-Budhuwānī, *al-Risāla al-saniyya li-ma'rifat al-madhab al-sawīyya*, National Library of Israel, MS AP Ar. 499, 13a (unfortunately the rest of the treatise is cut off).

85 Miscellany containing Dervīş Aḥmed's work with *Kitāb-i Rūmī Aḥmed Efendi*, Birgivī's *Terceme-i inḳāzū'l-hālikīn*, and a commentary on *Fiqh akbar*, SK, MS Yazma Bağışlar 3842; miscellany containing Şīrvānī's *Risāle*, Birgivī's *Terceme-i inḳāzū'l-hālikīn* and *Millet-i İbrāhīm* treatises, MS Mihrişah Sultan 440; miscellany containing Şīrvānī's *Risāle*, Birgivī's various works, and *deverān* treatises, MS Harput 11.

One of the eleventh/seventeenth-century heresiographies, that of Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā, however, had a very different material life and readership than its contemporaries. His translation of Shahrastānī's *Religions and sects* was copied (and eventually printed) more than any other heresiography of the period. Its success might even have revived interest in the original Arabic text of Shahrastānī, with numerous twelfth/eighteenth-century libraries in Istanbul collecting reliable medieval copies of the text, which were then used to make new copies of the Arabic version.⁸⁶ Yet, the numerical popularity of Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā's translation is belied by the rather meager engagement of readers. It was a similar scenario with his other major work, a tertiary commentary of *al-Durar*, which elicited complaints from colleagues that it was far too long and too self-referential.⁸⁷ Whereas Şirvānī's and Derviş Aḥmed's texts were often grouped with a variety of other short, polemical treatises, copied in simple but legible hands in a relatively cheap manner by scholars who wished to read them, Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā's work tended to be placed in nicely produced and calligraphic, but starkly empty, manuscript editions. Marginalia on these works is largely nonexistent, nor are there many collation and correction marks—a sign that readers are actually interested in reading the content of a long work—or even the signatures of the copyists, which suggests it was copied by professional scribes creating display copies and sold by booksellers.⁸⁸ Unlike the copies of

86 An excellent example of the later collection of medieval heresiographies is a *mecmū'a* created in 1160/1747, which contains verified and collated copies of Shahrastānī and Ibn Ḥazm's heresiographies from 722/1322, with a small introduction to the genre's main medieval representatives from Ḥājjī Khalifa (Kātib Çelebi), *Kashf al-zunūn*. SK, MS Reisülküttab 555. Twelfth/eighteenth-century libraries often functioned as scriptoria, collecting reliable copies of old texts that would serve as the basis of new copies. For a list of medieval copies collected by these libraries, see footnote 22 above. Sezer, *Architecture of bibliophilia*. Examples of late eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth-century copies include SK, MS Mahmud Paşa 302 (copied in 1086/1675–1676, see notice on the first folio); MS Laleli 2445 (copied in 1099/1687–1688); MS Reisülküttab 157 (copied in 1135/1722–1723); MS Laleli 2165 (copied in 1160/1747). There are also summary versions of Shahrastānī's Arabic piece from the eighteenth century, like MS Reşid Efendi 985, 93–108 (from 1194/1780) and MS Düğümlü Baba 449, 166–173 (written in 1157/1745–1746).

87 The work is *Natā'ij al-naẓar fi ḥāshiyat al-Durar*, which exists in ten or so copies in Istanbul. See *Anonymous biography of Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā*, SK, MS Halet Efendi Ek 70, 107a. Interestingly, the biography does not mention his heresiography as a particularly important work of his.

88 For nice display copies, see SK, MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1289, MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1290; MS Halet Efendi 417, MS Hamdiye 720, MS Hekimoğlu 823 (this one was meant to have illumination, but it was never completed), MS Lala Ismail 257, MS Nuruosmaniye 2100, MS Laleli 2164; Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MSS T2286, T2272, T2098. There are obviously exceptions to this, such as the two copies with collation marks

Kemālpaşazāde's text, carried into the field by judges in large compendia, or Şirvānī's, which was read by pamphleteering polemicists, Nūḥ b. Muştafā's text was a reference work meant to be positioned ostentatiously on the shelf of an administrator or used as an academic reference work. Not surprisingly then, the owners and patrons that commissioned these copies tended to be pashas, fortress commanders, and janissary chiefs.⁸⁹

The connection between the heresiographies and these debates on Muslim piety was so close that there emerged in the mid- to late eleventh/seventeenth century a pseudoepigraphical heresiography attributed to the tenth/sixteenth-century pietist Birgivī Meḥmed.⁹⁰ Much like the other heresiographies, it contained a declaration of Sunni beliefs, and, in the miscellanies that it contains, are grouped other works that address basic Muslim legal obligations, like prayer, and other creeds.⁹¹ Pairing a heresiography with a creed outlining

in SK, MS Fatih 2913 and MS Esad Efendi 1149. For copies acquired by booksellers, see SK, MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1516 and MS İbrahim Efendi 503.

89 See SK, MS Fatih 2913 commissioned by a Muştafā Kethüdā in 14 Şaban 1049/10 Dec 1639; MS Fatih 2912 copied by Meḥmed b. Muştafā, the scribe of Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha in 15 Şaban 1134/31 May 1722; MS Hekimoğlu 823 owned by Hekimoğlu 'Alī Pasha b. Nūḥ in 1147/1734–1735; MS İbrahim Efendi 503, copied by Meḥmed b. Velī, the Janissary scribe in the fortress of Vidin in 17 Rabia I 1158/19 April 1745, who also seems to have copied the manuscript at MS Laleli 2165 in 1160/1747; MS Sütluçe Dergahi 65, which was copied from the copy of Seyyid Meḥmed Çorbacı, *müstaḥfiżān* of Cairo; Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi MS T2286, 138b–140a, in which the scribe Ismā'īl writes a *kaşide* upon finishing his copy in 1062/1651–1652 in praise of the patron Emīr Halil, a *mīr-livā*. Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, MS 80, copied by İbrahim for Aḥmed, *kethüda-i müstaḥfiżān* of Cairo in 27 Rabia I 11140/12 December 1727 and later owned by Hāşim Kethüdā b. el-Ḥāc Ebübekir Pasha.

90 Pseudo-Birgivī, *Tuḥfat al-mustarshidīn fī bayān firaq al-Muslimīn*. SK, MS Fatih 5344 (copied in 1188/1774–1775); MS Damad İbrahim 297, 377–384 (copied in Receb 1101/April–May 1690); MS Yazma Bağışlar 5778, 19–38 (not dated but most likely twelfth/eighteenth century); MS A. Tekelioğlu 824 ff. 93a–99 (copied in 29 Safer 1263/16 February 1847); Beyazıt Kütüphanesi, MS 1463, 81a–90a (n.d.); Atif Efendi Library MS Ek 1500, 149b–157a (copied 30 Muharrem 1199/13 December 1784); Tokyo University Daiber Collection, MS 32, 30a–35b (copied in 1260/1844–1845). As noted with the dates of these works, I agree with Ahmet Kaylı, who argues that this work is one of the many pieces falsely attributed to Birgivī in the eleventh/seventeenth century, given the dates of extant manuscripts; A critical study of Birgivī Meḥmed Efendi's works 134–135; van Ess claims that this heresiography was dedicated by Birgivī to (Kara) Aḥmed Pasha, who lead a campaign against Shah Tahmāsp in the mid-tenth/sixteenth century. Van Ess's proof, though, is a reference in Brockelmann's GAL (Berlin 2133/4) that he seems to have misread. It is actually the previous treatise mentioned by Brockelmann (Berlin 2132) that is a refutation of the Shi'ites and is dedicated by Birgivī to a certain Aḥmed Pasha. Van Ess, *Der Eine* ii, 1178–1179; Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic written tradition* ii, 518.

91 SK, MS Yazma Bağışlar 5778, which has the *Fiqh akbar*, a list of sins by Turkistānī 'Alaed-dīn, and variety of others. See also Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS 1463 and Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi MS Ek 1500.

basic beliefs of faith was a quite common practice, and we find heresiographies grouped alongside the famous creed of Nasafī or the new ones of shaykhs like ‘Abdū’l-mecīd Sivāsī (d. 1049/1639).⁹² Sometimes just the segment on the “elect sect” of Sunnism was copied out to function as a creed (*akā’id*).⁹³ The reason for these associations is simple. As the author of one anonymous heresiography (which was copied alongside a commentary on the *Fiqh akbar* in the late eleventh/seventeenth century) stated, it was a way of ferreting out “hypocrites, those who outwardly display Islam but conceal their heresy and infidelity deep within.”⁹⁴ Together these associations demonstrate not only how the heresiographies were used to frame fights over Muslim practice in the eleventh/seventeenth century but also how closely tied they were to the confessionalization of the empire.

Readers of heresiographies in these varied contexts might have been less interested in the details of the sects themselves than the image these texts conjured of an Islamic world besieged from within and without by heretics. This motivation helps explain those instances when a reader would copy only the introduction of one of the heresiographies, which repeated the famous hadith that Muslims were bound to divide into 72 wayward sects and reiterated the need to ferret out the hypocrites and dissimulators.⁹⁵ An equally common phenomenon was to reduce the heresiography to its base schema, a one-folio table of the 72 wayward sects that simply listed their names and two or three words of description.⁹⁶ Heresiographical “modules” were likewise incorporated in longer texts for similar purposes.⁹⁷ Take, for example, a long, anonymous text written during the time of Murād IV, and which was floridly dedicated to his grand vizier, Meḥmed, who had established the madrasa at which the author taught. The manuscript is currently missing its first few pages, which makes the author and title difficult to decipher, but it is essentially a large work in

92 For Nasafī, *Aqā’id*, see SK, MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1413, and for ‘Abdū’l-mecīd b. Muḥarrem el-Sivāsī, see *Dürerü’l-akā’id*, SK, MS Çelebi Abdullah 195, 30b–109b.

93 Al-Şirvānī, *Risāle fi Beyān mezāhib muhtelifē*, SK, MS Mihrişah Sultan 440, 27a–28b.

94 Anonymous, Untitled heresiography, SK, MS Hacı Ahmed Pasa 156, 193b.

95 Derviş Aḥmed, *Mürātū’l-akā’id*, SK, MS Yazma Bağışlar 3842, 57b–59b; National Library of Israel, MS Yah. Ar. 311, 60a.

96 See, for example, the late seventeenth-century *mecmū’a* of Muştafā b. ‘Abdū’l-ḥalīm from Antep, National Library of Israel, MS AP Ar. 482, 170a–171a; Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2817, 67b–68a, copied in 1102/1691 from the text of a certain shaykh Ekmele’-d-dīn. The copyist, Aḥmed Ismā’īl of the Haseki neighborhood of Istanbul, made the *mecmū’a* over the last decade of the seventeenth century (from 1103–1104/1691–3).

97 See, for example, the giant work of Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī from the early eleventh/seventeenth-century Damascus. al-Ghazzī, *Ḥusn al-tanabbuh* ix, 347–465. This is the rare case of finding a heresiography in Arabic sources from the period.

quite simple Turkish explaining the perfection of the Quran, the various types of unbelief (*kufr*), and general problems in dogma among the population. The first chapter, though, is a heresiography, and introduces the core question framing the book: “what is the reason for the divisions in Islam?”⁹⁸

This reading of the heresiographies as a means of imagining or organizing the world can help us understand the curious comments on the heresiography genre made by the eleventh/seventeenth-century bibliophile Kātib Çelebi (d. 1067/1657). In his massive bibliography *Kashf al-zunūn*, he states that while the genre of *milal wa-l-nihāl* is comprised of the medieval heresiographies of people such as Ibn Ḥazm and Shahrastānī, and translated lately by Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā, there exists a popular understanding of the genre as a means of dividing the world and categorizing human difference. Copying from the introduction (without attribution) of the aforementioned anonymous heresiography dedicated to Murād IV, he states that some classify humans according to their environment, with each of the seven climes imparting onto people different tongues and colors. Others divided the world according to the cardinal directions, or by the major civilizational groups (*umam*)—Arabs, Persians, Turks (*Rūm*), and Indians. Finally, some people, such as our heresiographers, split the world according to beliefs and sects (*al-ārā' wa-l-madhāhib*).⁹⁹

This broader notion of heresiography as a classificatory schema for human civilization had always been present. The medieval poet Yūnus Emre frequently interchanged the phrase “72 sects (*millet*)” with “72 tongues (*dil*),” in which the heretical Other became synonymous with the diversity of peoples in the world: “He created seventy-two types of tongues / And placed the Muslim above them all.”¹⁰⁰ Shahrastānī’s *Religions and sects* likewise continued to be used to understand the non-Muslim world. When the traveler Ibn Ma’sūm (d. 1120/1708) departed as a boy from Mecca to Hyderabad in 1066/1655–1656 to join his father, he used the relevant sections on animists and water-worshippers to briefly describe and contextualize the Hindu practices he encountered.¹⁰¹ This fits with the traditional role of heresiographies as a means of describing the world at large, just as we saw with the classification of Shahrastānī’s travelogues in the imperial library of Bāyezīd II. Thus, it is not surprising to find Ottoman scholars like Kemālpaşazāde and Şirvānī mention on occasion that a

98 Egyptian National Library, MS Tawhid Turki 48, 2a. The cataloger lists the author as Ya’kūb b. ‘Abdū’l-laṭīf, but it is unclear how s/he concluded this.

99 The original heresiography can be found in the Egyptian National Library, MS Tawhid Turki 48, 3b. Ḥājji Khalīfa (Kātib Çelebi), *Kashf al-zunūn* ii, 1821.

100 “Yaratdı yitmiş iki dürlü dili | arada üstün kodı müsülmânı.” Yunus Emre, *Yūnus Emre Dîvânı: tenkitli metin* ii, 401. See also 197, 218, 405.

101 Ibn Ma’sūm, *Rihlat Ibn Ma’sūm* 162.

certain medieval sect had followers in Georgia, Persia, Azerbaijan, or Egypt.¹⁰² Heresiographies written during the Ottoman period continued this tradition. Not only did they cast the world as an island of proper Sunnism surrounded by an ocean of heresy, but they also defined the world as divided first and foremost by confessional differences.

A sectarian worldview was not a foregone conclusion, however, but a phenomenon that emerged out of the particular dynamics of the Turkish-speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire. Something about these heresiographies simply did not move into Arabic. While Arabic readers could, of course, refer back to the medieval originals, there is a noticeable lack of adaptations and epitomes of heresiographies in Arabic.¹⁰³ And although Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā wrote his translation in Cairo, it was for a Turkish-speaking Rumi audience and it seemed to make few inroads with the local Arabic-speaking scholars. In fact, these texts seem to be much rarer outside of the core Turkish-speaking areas of the empire. When an Egyptian copyist in 1068/1658 needed to access a shortened and more modern version of the heresiographies, he had to avail himself of a version that was produced in the Gujarati Sultanate in the ninth/fifteenth century, rather than a locally available copy.¹⁰⁴ It is important to keep this in mind because the strongest resistance to the insistent drive to anathematize Muslims came from the scholars of the Arab cities.¹⁰⁵ While the imperial center continued to try to divide the world into heretics and believers, this was not a universally accepted aspiration for all Muslims in the empire.

102 For example, the *Karrāmiye* is found in Gürcistān (Georgia), Şīrvānī, *Risāle*, SK, MS Darülm-esnevi 258, 81a; Kemālpaşazāde, *Risāla*, MS Reşid Efendi 1031, 281a.

103 Van Ess, *Der Eine* ii, 1175–1182. Relying on Brockelmann, van Ess lists a number of heresiographies that were written in the Arab lands during the early modern period. It should be pointed out, however, that these seem to be nonexistent in the Turkish-speaking parts of the empire, never copied or read with the main current of heresiographies. This point reinforces the necessity of examining the manuscript copies themselves.

104 Khalīl b. Yūsuf al-Zubayrī al-Budhawānī, *al-Risāla al-saniyya li-ma'rifat al-madhab al-sawīyya*, National Library of Israel, MS AP Ar. 499, 12a. Although the copyist does not identify his location, you can tell it is Cairene by the Arab *naskh* script it employs and the fact that it is dedicated to the Bakrī Sayyids, a powerful Sufi ruling family in eleventh/seventeenth-century Cairo. As mentioned earlier, the early eleventh/seventeenth-century Damascene scholar, Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, included one in his encyclopedic work, but more as an act of comprehensiveness than a central and updated part of the text, I believe. Al-Ghazzī, *Ḥusn al-tanabbuh*.

105 See, for example, the work of Qāsim al-Khānī, the late eleventh/seventeenth-century Aleppan scholar who wrote a few treatises critiquing Şīrvānī's eagerness to declare all Muslims heretics. Egyptian National Library and Archives, MS Majāmi' Ta'lat 335, 1–21. It seems that Khānī is not responding to the heresiography but to another text of Şīrvānī or possibly his grandson, the *şeyhü'l-islām*, Meḥmed Şādık Şadre'd-dinzāde.

While Arab scholars were perhaps less receptive to Ottoman-style heresiographies, the texts, and a larger conception of a world divided into heresy and belief, found an audience beyond the borders of the empire. The most fascinating rendition of the Ottoman heresiographies comes from an unlikely source. They are two copies—one in Judeo-Turkish and the other in rough Italian—of Şirvānī's heresiography from the first decades of the eleventh/seventeenth century. A Judeo-Turkish copy of Şirvānī's heresiography, apparently the earliest copy extant, was copied, shortly after Şirvānī wrote his treatise, on a scribe's *defter*-formatted pages.¹⁰⁶ Although the Hebrew script used is quite difficult to read today, it seems to be relatively faithful to the text. It was eventually acquired by Levinus Warner (d. 1665), the Dutch consul resident in Istanbul, and made its way to Holland. Warner resided in Istanbul from 1055–1075/1645–65, so the text was not originally intended for his consumption. Before it reached Warner's hands, though, it likely found its way into the possession of Yahacob (Ya'acov/Jacob) Romano. On 10 July 1632, Romano presented his translation of Şirvānī's heresiography in a very rough and "vulgar Italian" to the king of France and his ambassador in Constantinople where it eventually made its way into the French royal library, copied into a book of reports.¹⁰⁷ The translation was actually one of three books he left for the French delegation upon leaving Istanbul for Jerusalem.¹⁰⁸ This sort of work was common for Romano, who, besides attempting to establish a trilingual press (Hebrew-Latin-Arabic) in Istanbul, was a frequent book supplier and correspondent with the elder and younger Johannes Buxtorf, the famous Swiss Hebraicists.¹⁰⁹

For the most part, Romano is faithful to Şirvānī's Turkish text, displaying only a few mistakes in his grasp of the original text while doing his best to render

106 The manuscript has some clear but oddly written Arabic (in Arabic script) on the back thanking God for placing them in the elect sect (*al-firqa al-nājiyya*). Şirvānī, *Risāle fi Beyān mezāhib muhtelife* (Judeo-Turkish version), Leiden University Library, MS Or 1129(g).

107 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscrits occidentaux, Français 16141, 348–388, especially 348. My sincere thanks to Tijana Krstić for bringing this translation to my attention. Şirvānī, *Risāle*, MS Français 16141, 348.

108 Those three books are "al-Tarjaman," which was an Arabic-Persian-Turkish lexicon written in 1629; Şirvānī's "compendium of various sects which are found among the Muslims (*turchi*)"; and, finally, its translation from Turkish into a crude Italian. It is suspected that the Judeo-Turkish text found in Leiden was the piece that Jacob Romano used for the translation. Steinschneider, *Zur arabischen Literatur* 841.

109 Van Ess mistakenly states that Romano was trying to print Şirvānī's heresiography. Van Ess, *Der Eine* ii, 1180. It is clear from the Hebrew, though, that Romano actually wanted to publish a trilingual edition of Maimonides *Guide to the perplexed*. For a list of books provided by Romano, see Kayserling, Richelieu, Buxtorf père et fils, Jacob Roman 93.

the Turkish into a crude Italian.¹¹⁰ For example, *kelām*, that is, theology, is rendered as “*Philosophia*” and *‘ulemā* become “*vicari*.” Yet hidden within Romano’s translation is a more surprising intervention. Toward the conclusion, the word “Catholics” starts to appear throughout the text. Romano has not changed the substance of the text though. Instead, he has gone through and substituted “*Catholici*” whenever the original work mentions (Sunni) Islam or Muslims. He provides no explanation for this, but he begins this substitution at the end of the treatise, that is, in the section where Şīrvānī starts to describe the “elect sect” of the “*Ehlisunnet et Gjemahet*,” (i.e., the Sunnis). After listing Şīrvānī’s six “sects” or legal schools of Sunnism (“*hanīfia, Maliquia, Xafihia, hanbalia, sofinia [sufyaniyye], sevria*”), Romano states that their beliefs are far from heresy and “the sum of these opinions of the Catholics is this,” whereupon he moves on to the description of the basic tenets of Sunni theology and continues to use the word Catholics to refer to Muslims.¹¹¹ Romano translates Sunnism into Catholicism lest his European readers believe that the “*ehlisunnet et gjemahet*” were just one more group of wayward heretics. Every Ottoman heresiographer had to use his authorial prerogative to translate the past into terms comprehensible to the reader of his day, and Romano is no different.

By making this remarkable association, our Jewish author is proposing a new, confessionalized vision of the world. Yet, Romano’s heresiography was not just another sectarian text decrying Islam’s heresies to a Christian audience. Nor is he describing a world in which Islam and Christianity were battling one another for supremacy of the Mediterranean and the world. Instead, he is suggesting that the Sunni Ottoman Empire and the Counter-Reformation Catholic kingdoms were actually united in their parallel struggles against heretics, whether that of the Shi’ites, Protestants, or others. It is an intriguing vision of a world united by confessionalization rather than divided by sectarianism.

Of course, a view of the world as divided according to confessions was just one possibility among many, but it found a ready currency among many in the Ottoman Empire. As I have traced out in this paper, the dynasty’s relative indifference to matters of confessional fidelity in the ninth/fifteenth

110 One place where Romano mistranslates the text is the section on the *Benāniye*, a sect, mentioned above, that believes that God is incarnate in the children of ‘Alī, just as the angel Gabriel had incarnated in Dihye-i Kelbī. Romano, unfamiliar with this companion, interprets *kalb* literally, stating that the angel Gabriel appeared in the form of a dog (*cane*). BNF MS Francais 16141, 366v. The French copyist was also careful to fix copyist mistakes and note where Romano had accidentally repeated himself (e.g. 375v, 380r).

111 “l’opinioni di questi sonno lontane dalle Inventioni et opinioni delli Infideli et la somma di queste opinione de i Catholici e questa,” BNF MS Francais 16141, 384v.

century was shattered by the threat of the Kızılbaş and the Safavids in the early tenth/sixteenth century. In reaction, government-affiliated scholars set out to (re)define heresy, and the medieval genre of the heresiography was dusted off and retrofitted for a new era of theological rivalry, no longer a guide to the bizarre beliefs of distant peoples but a means of anathematizing tangible enemies. However, they never added, or even mentioned, new heretical sects to the ancient lists. Instead, they subtly and crudely alluded to parallels between medieval groups and current opponents. These limited writings in the tenth/sixteenth century found renewed popularity among a wide range of authors and readers in the eleventh/seventeenth century following the second and third Ottoman-Safavid wars. Even after hostilities had ceased, there remained a widespread desire to identify and root out heresy within Ottoman society itself as readers began to read the heresiographies alongside tracts against smoking tobacco and other controversies. In this way, Ottoman subjects learned to read heresy both in the beliefs of the empire's enemies abroad but also at home, among their coreligionists in the same city and town. We can only see the historicity of this genre, however, if we learn to read the varied traces of evidence left behind on the material manuscripts themselves.

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Prayers, Commentaries, and the Edification of the Ottoman Supplicant

Guy Burak

In the growing scholarly corpus on Ottoman Islam remarkably little attention has been paid to prayers, invocations, and supplications.¹ But the scholarly interest stands in inverse relation to the amount of manuscripts containing prayers and supplications of various sorts. Even a cursory overview of library catalogs from Turkey, the Middle East, the Balkans, Europe, and North America reveals a sizable and diverse textual corpus that has remained, by and large, unexamined. Consider, for instance, the inventory of the library of Sultan Bāyezīd II (d. 908/1512). The list of prayer books, invocations, amulets, and talismanic shirts is one of the longest in the inventory (about 200 items) and includes titles in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.²

The lack of attention to this fairly extensive textual corpus may be attributed, at least in part, to the texts' formulaic and repetitive nature. However, as Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu have shown in their respective studies of Ottoman *'ilm-i hāls*,³ devotional literature—prayer books and invocations included—is theologically charged and the history of its production and circulation offers a unique glimpse into important aspects of Ottoman Islam. In this essay, then, I seek to illustrate the significance of the vast and diverse corpus of supplications, invocations, and prayers for gaining a better understanding of certain sensibilities that emerged mainly, but surely not exclusively, in the core lands of the empire from the tenth/sixteenth through the twelfth/eighteenth centuries.

Numerous terms were used to refer to different types of prayers, supplications, and invocations, although they were occasionally used somewhat incon-

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- 1 This is the case not only in Ottomanist historiography but in Islamic studies more generally. Katz, *Prayer* 29–43; Padwick, *Muslim devotions*; McGregor, On the literature. For the Ottoman period, there are some exceptions: Bain, The late Ottoman En'am-ı şerif; Gruber, A pious cure-all.
 - 2 Burak, The section on prayers 341–366. Likewise, Konrad Hirschler has observed that prayer books made up a great proportion of the collection of the seventh/thirteenth-century Ashrafīyya Library in Damascus. Hirschler, *The written word* 147–149.
 - 3 Terzioğlu, Where *'ilm-i hāl*; Krstić, From *shahāda* to *'aqīda*; and Krstić's contribution to this volume.

sistently: *ṣalāt* (pl. *ṣalāwāt*, Tr. *ṣalavāt*), *duʿā* (pl. *adʿīya*, Tr. *edʿīye*), *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), and *wird* (pl. *awrād*, Tr. *evrād*). Moreover, it is not fully clear at this point how exactly each of these compilations and genres was employed. It is possible that some texts were considered more petitionary, intended to persuade God to intervene on behalf of the supplicant on specific issues, while others were more supererogatory in nature. However, it is quite difficult to draw a clear line between different uses of the devotional and supplicatory texts as it is quite likely that there were cases in which the same text was used for different purposes.⁴

The Ottoman devotional corpus also included a significant number of commentaries (usually referred to as *sharḥ*, pl. *shurūḥ*) on prayers, invocations, and supplications. It is on these commentaries that I would like to concentrate in this chapter, with the intention of exploring the relationship between recitation, the understanding of the recited invocations/prayers, and piety. In particular, I would like to examine several compilations from the tenth/sixteenth through the twelfth/eighteenth centuries that seem to have enjoyed great popularity, from the popular manual on prayers by the famous tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman chief mufti Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi (d. 982/1574) to several twelfth/eighteenth-century commentaries on Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī's (d. 870/1465) *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa-shawāriq al-anwār* and 'Alī al-Qārī al-Harawī's (d. 1014/1606) *al-Ḥizb al-a'ẓam wa al-wird al-afkham*. These compilations were intended to assist the supplicant to perform her supplication properly.

The question of understanding the recited invocations and devotional texts centers on the question of the *ma'nā*. In a recent and insightful study of the theories of *ma'nā* in the fifth/eleventh century, Alexander Key has drawn attention to the centrality of this concept in a wide range of disciplines in the Arabic scholarly tradition, from lexicography to theology and logic. As opposed to the more common translation of the word as "meaning," Key has proposed to translate *ma'nā* as mental content that could be accessed and expressed, though not necessarily accurately, by language.⁵ In the following pages, I hope

4 As Richard McGregor has noticed for the Mamluk period, "although the terminology is inconsistent, with prayers referred to by more than one term, the genre as a whole is clearly identifiable as consisting of supererogatory petitionary prayer compositions," Notes on the literature 201. Furthermore, it is worth reiterating, the compiler of the aforementioned inventory of the library of Sultan Bāyezīd II recorded the invocations and prayers in the same section of the inventory with amulets, talismanic shirts, and works on lettrism, suggesting that these texts were used, at least in certain circles, as part of a set of occult practices.

5 Key, *Language between god* 38.

to demonstrate a range of perceptions of the relationship between understanding the recited text and valid/effective recitation that coexisted throughout the core lands of the empire (and probably beyond). Some of the Ottoman thinkers emphasized the importance of understanding the *ma'nā* of the recited text, while others seem to have assumed that the effective recitation does not require such understanding. It appears to me that the gap between language (*lafz*) and mental content (*ma'nā*), which was central in the writings of the fifth/eleventh-century (and later) thinkers, and the emphasis of certain Ottoman commentators on understanding the *ma'nā* raise intriguing questions with regard to the latter's understanding of the cognitive effect of the recited words on the reciters.

In this short chapter, I will concentrate on a the tenth/sixteenth-century manual by Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi on the one hand and the twelfth/eighteenth-century commentaries on the *Dalā'il* and the *Hizb* on the other and their respective perceptions of the relationship between understanding the devotional text and effective recitation. Such a comparison suggests that commentarial practices that had been fairly limited to Sufi circles became more prevalent among the broader segments of Ottoman society in the late eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries.

My interest in the circulation of the *Dalā'il* and its commentaries in the Ottoman lands has led me to devote special attention in what follows to intellectual and devotional developments in the first half of the twelfth/eighteenth century. This chapter, then, joins several recent studies that cast new light on early twelfth/eighteenth-century Ottoman Islam. Most notably, Marlene Kurz's study has drawn attention to several Sufi thinkers, like the marginal Sufi preacher Fażlızāde 'Alī (d. after 1153/1740), the focus of her study, as well as Muḥammad Saçaklızāde (d. 1145/1732–1733), whom we shall meet below, who believed that their period was suffering from religious confusion and disorder.⁶ In response to the disorder, these Sufi thinkers thought they should guide whoever is in need of guidance on the straight path (*irshād*) based on their understanding of what characterized such a path.⁷ As a result, Kurz has argued, these thinkers (and others) aspired to popularize certain Sufi doctrines and practices throughout broader segments of Ottoman society.⁸ Moreover, the study of Islamic thought and practices in the this period may illustrate the par-

6 Kurz, *Ways to heaven* 53–54. For an overview of major intellectual trends in the core lands of the empire in the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, see Artan, *Forms and forums*.

7 Kurz, *Ways to heaven* 133.

8 *Ibid.* 112.

ticularities of the Ottoman confession building project of the ninth/fifteenth through the eleventh/seventeenth centuries: despite clear continuities in terms of texts, genres, and practices, the Ottoman dynasty and its ruling elite appear to have played a different, perhaps somewhat less central, role by the early twelfth/eighteenth century than the one they had played in earlier centuries (on this issue, see also Ünver Rüstem's paper in this volume). However, as the commentaries I will discuss suggest, questions about spiritual wellbeing, devotion, and faith continued to concern many in the Ottoman domains. In other words, this essay seeks to draw attention to the involvement (or lack thereof) of different actors in different registers of Ottoman Islam and in different time periods: while the Ottoman dynasty and its learned hierarchy may have been interested in regulating certain practices and discourses in specific contexts, they may have been much less eager or able to do so with regard to other discourses and in other time periods (and possibly in other places throughout the empire).

Finally, this chapter also seeks to contribute to the study of devotional sensibilities in the Ottoman Empire in general and in the context of the historiography on confession building (or "confessionalization") in particular. Specifically, by studying the commentaries on prayers and invocations, my intention is to draw attention to the diversity of practices and ideas that fall under the fairly general term of "devotion." I hope that the examination of the different approaches to the understanding of recited texts will broaden the discussion on perceptions of the relationship between belief/understanding and performative deeds/speech acts that prevailed in the Ottoman lands and, perhaps, elsewhere.

1 A Note on Prayers and Commentaries

In recent years, several studies have been devoted to the function of different types of commentaries and commentarial practices, from Quranic exegesis (*tafsīr*) to glosses (*hāshīyya*), in the Islamic tradition of the so-called "post-classical" period.⁹ These studies have tried to correct an (Orientalist) view of commentaries as "no more than stale expositions of the works of revered masters of a bygone age" and to demonstrate the commentator's creativity and

9 See, for example, the special issue edited by Asad Q. Ahmed and Margaret Larkin on "The *Hāshīyya* and Islamic intellectual history," *Oriens* 41 (2013). See also van Lit, An Ottoman commentary.

innovation.¹⁰ However, the study of commentaries in the Islamic tradition has tended to privilege certain textual corpora—such as hadith, *fiqh*, theology, *tafsīr*, literature, and philosophy—while ignoring others. The focus on these fields of knowledge may be attributed, to some extent at least, to historiographical/scholarly hierarchies that consider certain Islamic sciences more respectable than others.

In this context, Richard McGregor's short yet groundbreaking study of Mamluk commentaries on the "revealed" or inspired prayer compositions of the great Sufi masters deserves special mention. These prayer compositions became fairly common after the sixth/twelfth century and were associated with saintly figures, usually senior members of their respective Sufi networks or even the eponymous founders of Sufi paths. The prayer cycles' tone is often petitionary and the content is often derived from the Quran (as the term *wird* indicates) and/or the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*). As McGregor explains, "the Qur'anic passages in these prayer texts vary in length and style, and they are also edited in order to preserve the voice and syntax of the prayer narrative ... Used this way, the Qur'anic text is both an integral component of the prayer text, and yet is altered to serve in its new context."¹¹

Within various Sufi networks, fairly complex systems of commentaries on the prayer/ invocation compositions emerged. Commentaries have been assigned different terms, including *tafsīr*, *ta'liqa*, *tahdhib*, *mukhtaṣar*, *ḥawāshī*, and *taṣḥīḥ*, but, as in the Ottoman period, the most commonly used term was *sharḥ*. In addition to clarifying the text of prayers and invocations to members of the network, the Mamluk commentaries sought to establish the saintly authority of the author. It is for this reason that many commentaries include hagiographical materials about the author and reports on miraculous events caused by the recitation of the prayer/invocation.¹²

My inquiry is inspired to a considerable extent by McGregor's examination of the Mamluk Sufi commentaries on prayers and invocations. My main interest, however, is not in the prayer compilation that circulated within Sufi networks but in commentaries on prayer compilations that were intended for a broader audience. While some of the texts examined below, like al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, are quite similar to the Sufi prayer compilations of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, other works, such as Ebū's-su'ūd's *Du'ānāme*, are different in structure and content. It is precisely because of the fairly broad

10 Ahmed and Larkin, The *hashiya* 213–214.

11 McGregor, Notes on the literature 205.

12 Ibid. 208. This practice continued in the Ottoman period. Most Ottoman commentaries on *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* include a biography of al-Jazūlī.

circulation of the texts examined here that I am especially concerned with the issues of edifying the reciter and establishing the proper relationship between the recitation and the correct understanding of the recited text.

2 Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi's *Du'ānāme*

At some point between 968/1561 and 972/1565, the renowned *şeyhül-islām* Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi penned a prayer manual for the empire's grand vizier, Semiz 'Alī Paşa (served as grand vizier from 968–972/1561–1565, d. 972/1565). In the following decades and centuries, the manual became quite popular, as the numerous extant copies suggest.¹³ Despite the work's honorable dedicatee, “the Asaf of the time,” the chief mufti emphasizes in his introduction to the manual that the prayer (*du'ā*) is intended to commemorate the Prophet and argues that the supplication is an individual obligation (*farz-ı 'ayn*) that both members of the elite and the commoners are required to perform.¹⁴ It is possible that the jurist and the grand vizier intended the work to circulate widely, and it is, perhaps, for this reason that Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi insisted on writing his manual in Turkish: “I have [selected a] limited [number] of traditions [transmitted] from the Prophet, and translated their commentary into Turkish, so that in moments of prayer and worship and in auspicious times and in important [instances] offering [a prayer] would be easy and its [the prayer's] aid would be imminent.”¹⁵ Indeed, Ebū's-su'ūd's list of supplicants is very comprehensive in terms of their social rank: a just imam (*imām-i 'ādil*), the learned (*ehl-i Kur'an olan kimesne*), the pious (or Sufi, *şālīh*), recent converts, fathers, sons, and the sick.¹⁶

After a fairly brief discussion of the definition of *du'ā*, Ebū's-su'ūd describes the preconditions for a successful supplication: the supplicant, for example, has

13 For an incomplete list of copies of the *Du'ānāme* see Kaleli, *Du'ā-nāme* 5–14. I am grateful to Evren Sünnetçioğlu for bringing this thesis to my attention. See also Demir, *Devlet-i Alıyye'nin* 51. In addition, I have consulted Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Laleli 1534, which does not appear in Kaleli's and Demir's lists.

14 “*Anı du'āda hayırla yād eylemek kâffe-i enām, ve cümle-i havâşş ü 'avāmm üzerine farz-ı 'ayn lâzımül-edā.*” Kaleli, *Du'ā-nāme* 112.

15 “*Resūlül-llāh şalla Allāhu 'aleyhi ve sellemden rivāyet eylediklerin iktisār idüip şerhleri Türkî dilince tercüme eyledim ki evkāt-i du'ā ve 'ibādātta ve ezman-i mesālīha ve mühimmātta me'üneti kalil ve ma'üneti 'ale't-te'cil ola.*” Ibid. 113. It is worth noting that this was not the only work 'Alī Semiz Paşa commissioned in Turkish: while serving as the Ottoman governor of Egypt (956–961/1549–1554), he was presented with a work on the Ottoman construction projects in Mecca in “clear Turkish.” See Burak, *Between Istanbul and Gujarat* 315.

16 Kaleli, *Du'ā-nāme* 120.

to repent, give alms (or perform a good deed), believe in the prayer he recites, praise God at the beginning of the prayer and say “Amen” at the end of the prayer, recite the prayer slowly, raise her hands during the prayers, and wipe her face at the end. He then moves on to list the auspicious times during which the prayer is more likely to be answered (*evkāt-i icābet*), such as the first night of the month of Rajab and night of the middle of Sha‘ban, and the following day; the *Laylat al-Qadr* (celebrated on the twenty-seventh day of Ramadan to commemorate the beginning of the revelation of the Quran to the Prophet) and the following day; and Thursday nights and Fridays during Ramadan. During the year, the time period between the khutba and the end of the ritual/canonical prayer on Friday and the last third of the night are also special times for supplication, as are the moments after the call for prayer, after the canonical prayer, and after the recitation of the Quran. Battles (*ḳitāl fī sebīllāh*) are also considered auspicious times. Finally, Ebū’s-su‘ūd provides his reader with a sign that God accepted her supplication (*‘alāmet-i ḳabūl*): If the supplicant’s pain is relieved, she may interpret the relief as a sign of her prayer’s acceptance.¹⁷

The body of the *Du‘ānāme* is divided into seven sections (*bāb*), each of which is devoted to a specific type of supplication. Some chapters are devoted to prayers that need to be recited in momentous events, such as military campaigns or specific dates (*Laylat al-Qadr* and *Yawm ‘Arafa/ ‘Arefe Günü*, the second day of the Hajj pilgrimage). Others are dedicated to prayers that constitute part of the daily routine of the believer, such as prayers before wearing her garment or eating her meal. Some traditions relate to specific recitations, while others deal with beneficial practices that follow in the Prophet’s footsteps. These practices, it should be noted, are also described as *du‘ās*. Following the Prophet’s example, for instance, and his wives ‘Ā’isha and Ḥafṣa, the earlier shaykhs (*meṣāyih-i müteḳaddimīn*) contended that one should start putting on a kaftan with the right sleeve.¹⁸

The basic unit of the *Du‘ānāme* are traditions (*rivāyet*) about or from the Prophet that contextualize the prayer. Consider, for instance, the first *rivāyet* from the *Du‘ānāme*’s first section:

[In Turkish:] Anas ibn Mālik—may God be pleased with him—related: “One day, while the Prophet, peace be upon him, was sitting in the mosque, a person came [to the mosque]. He prayed and recited this prayer:

17 “*Hıffet bulsa elbetde ol kimesnenin du‘ası ḳabūl olmuş olur.*” Ibid.

18 Ibid. 133.

اللهم أني أسئلك بان لك الحمد لا إله الا انت المنان يا خنان يا منان يا بديع السموات
والأرض يا ذا الجلال والاكرام يا حي يا قوم وصل الله على محمد وعلى ال محمد واقض
حاجتي برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين.

The Prophet—peace be upon him—announced: ‘This man recited God’s Greatest Name (*Haḳ Te’ālānün ism-i a’zamünü*). Whoever recites [the name] will receive from God whatever he wants.’¹⁹

This paragraph illustrates the jurist’s understanding of his *Du‘ānāme*. The commentary is an act of contextualization of prayers, supplications, and practices within and by a Prophetic tradition, rather than an act of translation and explication of the recited text. Given the *ṣeyhü’l-islām*’s emphasis on writing the manual in Turkish, presumably with the intention of making it more accessible to non-Arabic speakers, it is remarkable that the content of the supplication remains in Arabic. To put it somewhat differently, once the preconditions for a successful prayer are met, all the supplicant is required to do is to make sure that the prayer she recites matches her goal. She is clearly not expected to understand the words she utters.

Ebū’s-su‘ūd’s *Du‘ānāme* was not unique in its approach to recitation. Other known, as well as anonymous, authors shared the *ṣeyhü’l-islām*’s understanding of the act of recitation. The ninth/fifteenth-century scholar and chronicler Şükrullāh (d. 868/1463–1464), for example, in his fairly extensive collection of prayers and supplications (written in Persian), does not stress the importance of understanding the recited prayer. He does, however, include several chapters on the merits of prayer.²⁰

19 Ibid. 122.

20 Şükrullāh, *Jāmi‘ al-da‘wāt*. A similar approach can be found in the fairly popular manual by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429). Ibn al-Jazarī, *Uddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*. Ibn al-Jazarī was quite popular in the core lands of the empire. A copy of the work was included in Bāyezīd I’s library.

It is worth stressing that other tenth/sixteenth-century commentators held a different view from the one found in the chief mufti’s *Du‘ānāme*. One of Ebū’s-su‘ūd’s predecessors, the chief mufti Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1534), wrote a short commentary on *Du‘ā al-Qunūt*, a supplication in Arabic requesting guidance and protection. It is an interwoven commentary (*sharḥ mamzūj*) in Arabic, so the text of the prayer is embedded in the commentary. Although Kemālpaşazāde did not write an introduction to the commentary, the fact that he chose to write in Arabic suggests that it was intended to be more exclusive (at least in the core lands of the Ottoman Empire). Indeed, by commenting on *Du‘ā al-Qunūt*, Kemāl-

3 Ottoman Commentaries on Invocations and Prayers

Much like their Mamluk counterparts studied by Richard McGregor, Sufis in the core lands of the Ottoman Empire (and well beyond) compiled numerous commentaries on “revealed” or inspired prayers and invocations. In addition, earlier commentaries were still copied throughout the Ottoman period. These commentaries were often associated with a specific Sufi network, as the prayers were “revealed” or at least compiled by senior members of the network. While the prayer commentaries from the Ottoman period still await a more thorough study, some commentaries from the ninth/fifteenth through the twelfth/eighteenth centuries apparently sought to edify reciters who were not necessarily affiliated with a specific Sufi network. But regardless of who the intended audience was, the commentators on invocations and prayers believed that the recited text was not transparent.

The ninth/fifteenth-century jurist and Sufi shaykh Muḥyī’-d-dīn Muḥammed b. Ẓuṭbe’-d-dīn el-İznīkī (d. 885/1480), for example, in the introduction to his commentary on ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī’s (d. 786/1385) *al-Awrād al-fathīyya*,²¹ relates that he was asked to clarify and explain some of the complexities of the *Evrād*. He adds that he was hoping for an inspiration from the masters (*mashāyikh*) that would assist him in understanding the true or accurate mental content of the *evrād* (*wa-mā huwa al-ḥaqq fī taḥqīq ma‘ānī al-wird al-mustaṭāb*). Moreover, Ẓuṭbe’-d-dīnzāde explains that the mental content (*ma‘nā*) of the *evrād* are located in multiple places, so he had to examine (*muṭāla‘a*) them and select the most useful mental content for his fellow Sufis (*al-ṣūlahā’ wa-al-fuqarā’*).²² And in another commentary on *al-Awrād al-fathīyya*, one tenth/sixteenth-century (?) Dervīş Ca’fer stresses the importance of the commentary for revealing the veracity of the words

paşazāde became part of a long chain of scholars who commented on this supplication (One of the most distinguished members of this tradition is the famous Timurid poet and scholar Jāmī (d. 898/1492)). It appears that his and his colleagues’ interest in *Du‘ā al-Qunūt* stemmed, at least in part, from the controversy that accompanied this invocation from as early as the second/eighth century, if not earlier, as different schools of law differed over the text of the *du‘ā* and the manner in which the daily prayers should be recited. It therefore seems that the commentaries on *Du‘ā al-Qunūt* formed a separate genre. Katz, *Prayer* 32–33; Haider, *The origins*, ch. 4. Jāmī, *Sharḥ Du‘ā al-Qunūt* 4b–6b.

21 Al-Ḥamadānī was a Sufi master who led an itinerant life across different parts of the Islamic world, including Kashmir, the Hijaz, and Turkistan. *al-Awrād al-fathīyya* is his best-known compilation. On al-Hamadānī see Stern, ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī.

22 İznīkī, *Şerḥ-i Evrad-i Fethīyye* 5a.

(*dar vaqt-i tafsīr-i in kalimāt shavāhid va bayyināt-i zikr karda āyad*).²³ Furthermore, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Gūrī, in the introduction to his *Kanz al-‘ibād fī sharḥ al-awrād*, informs his reader that he consulted “the books of high repute and the reliable sayings on the mental content of the words and rules” (*min al-kutub al-mu‘tabara wa-l-aqāwīl al-mu‘tamada fī bayān ma‘ānī al-lughāt wa-l-aḥkām*).²⁴

The Sufi commentators’ emphasis on the mental content of the invocations (*ma‘nā*, pl. *ma‘ānī*) and its revelation is noteworthy. As opposed to Ebū’su‘ūd’s *Du‘ānāme*, the Sufi prayer commentaries expected the reciter to understand the text she recites, because, as Dervīş Ca’fer writes, interpretation is an integral part of recitation. Moreover, interpretation required reading expertise and familiarity with the Islamic hermeneutical disciplines, as the reference to the “books of high repute” and the allusion to *‘ilm al-ma‘ānī*, *bayān*, *tafsīr*, and *muṭāla‘a* indicate. As Kātib Çelebi (d. 1068/1657) explains in the entry he devotes in his bibliographic work to the “science of the famous *awrād* and the revealed supplications” (*‘ilm al-awrād al-mashhūra wa-al-ad‘iya al-ma‘thūra*), “this is the science of validating and fixing them [the *awrād* and the supplications] (*taşhīḥihimā wa-ḍabṭihimā*), validating their narration (*riwāya*), and demonstrating (*bayān*) their unique features, the number of their repetitions, the times of their recitation and the preconditions [of their recitations].” Moreover, he notes, the goal of this science is to guarantee that the supplications are beneficial (*li-yunāl bi-isti‘mālihimā ilā l-fawā‘id al-dīniyya wa-al-dunyawiyya*).²⁵

4 The Commentaries on ‘Alī al-Qārī’s *al-Ḥizb al-a‘zam* and Muḥammad al-Jazūlī’s *Dalā‘il al-khayrāt*

Over the course of the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth and the twelfth/eighteenth centuries, two compilations of supplications gained considerable popularity across the Ottoman domains, well beyond fairly limited Sufi circles: Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī’s *Dalā‘il al-khayrāt wa-shawāriq al-anwār*, a book of prayers on behalf of the Prophet Muḥammad, and ‘Alī ibn al-Sultān

23 Dervīş Ca’fer, *Şerḥ-i Evrād-i Fethiyye* 1b–2a. The manuscript was copied in Istanbul in 960/1552 or 53.

24 Gūrī, *Kanz al-‘ibād* 1b. The manuscript was copied in Istanbul in 984/1576 or 77.

25 Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-zunūn* i, 200. To the best of my knowledge, the category of *‘ilm al-awrād* is quite rare (if not unique to the *Kashf*). On the classification of prayers and invocations in other Ottoman classifications of the sciences see Burak, The section on prayers.

Muḥammad Qārī al-Harawī's *al-Ḥizb al-a'zam wa-l-wird al-afkhām*, in which he collected supplications from the prophetic traditions.²⁶

Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī was a ninth/fifteenth-century Maghribi Shadhili Sufi and scholar. He apparently composed the *Dalā'il* during his stay in Fez.²⁷ Most biographies agree that al-Jazūlī relied on collections of prayers found in the library of the city's Qarawiyyīn Mosque, but they disagree on when exactly the compilation of the *Dalā'il* took place. In his authoritative study of al-Jazūlī and his order, Vincent Cornell has suggested that al-Jazūlī wrote the *Dalā'il* at some point after his participation in the defense of the city of Tangier in 840/1437. According to several accounts, al-Jazūlī spent time in Medina, where he recited *aḥzāb* of the *Dalā'il* before the Prophet's tomb.²⁸ After at least seven years in the Islamic East, during which he apparently learned about Sufi traditions and genres that were not common in the Islamic Far West, al-Jazūlī returned to Fez, where in 857/1453 he penned the initial draft of the *Dalā'il*. At the same time, al-Jazūlī gradually recruited a circle of disciples. In Cornell's words, "the cornerstone of Jazulite praxis was the daily recitation of prayers on behalf of the Prophet Muhammad from *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* and the morning and noon recitation of al-Jazūlī's *Ḥizb al-falāḥ* (Litany of good fortune)."²⁹ Most of the invocations in the *Dalā'il* were taken from well-known hadith collections and devotional works, such as *Qūt al-qulūb* by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī.³⁰ I intend to devote a separate study to the arrival of *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* in the Ottoman lands, but for my purpose here, suffice it to say that by the early twelfth/eighteenth century the *Dalā'il* became extremely popular across the empire, as hundreds (if not thousands) of copies indicate.³¹

26 Occasionally, the *Dalā'il* and the *Ḥizb* were bound together in the same *mecmū'a*. See, for example, the *mecmū'a* at the New York Public Library (M&A, Arab. Ms. 13); and the edition published in Egypt in 1864 by al-Maṭba'a al-Kaṣṭaliyya.

27 On al-Jazūlī see Cornell, *Realm*. On *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* see Witkam, *Vroomheid*; Barakat et al., *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*.

28 Cornell, *Realm* 174.

29 Ibid. 184.

30 Ibid. 212.

31 By the nineteenth century, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* became one of the most popular books in the empire. As Şükrü Hanioglu has shown in his analysis of the inventories of deceased members of the ruling *askerî* class for the years 1164/1750–1751 and 1215/1800–1801, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* was owned by members of the imperial ruling elite. Hanioglu, *A brief history* 38–40. Similarly, Nelly Hanna argues that in Cairo "[p]rivate libraries in the eighteenth century indicate that it [*Dalā'il al-khayrāt*] was copied again and again, perhaps more than any other book in the eighteenth century, and was found in a large number of these libraries." Hanna, *In praise of books* 95.

Somewhat less popular than the *Dalā'il*, though repeatedly copied, was the compilation by 'Alī al-Qārī, one of the most eminent and prolific scholars of the second half of the tenth/sixteenth century. Among his teachers were the famous Shafi'i jurist Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1566–1567) and the Gujarati 'Alī ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Mutaqqī (d. 975/1567–1568). He was initiated into the Naqshbandi order by Zakariyyā ibn Aḥmad al-Bihārī. 'Alī al-Qārī was also associated with the Bakriyya, a Sufi tradition founded by the Bakrī family in Egypt. Throughout his career in Mecca, al-Qārī was involved in several polemics and debates with leading Shafi'is and the supporters of Ibn 'Arabī. Moreover, al-Qārī claimed that he was the renovator of Islam (*mujaddid*) of the Hijri eleventh century. Over the course of the eleventh/seventeenth through the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries, al-Qārī's eminence was widely recognized, at least by Hanafi scholars.³² Al-Qārī wrote on a wide range of topics, including hadith, prophetology, ethics, Quranic exegesis, *fiqh*, biography, and *taṣawwuf*. His *Ḥizb al-a'zam* is a collection of supplications he collected from hadith compilations.³³ His works, including the *Ḥizb*, have survived in numerous copies and circulated across the Ottoman Empire and the Indian subcontinent.

For the purpose of this essay, it is worth noting that, in the first half of the twelfth/eighteenth century, several commentaries were written on both the *Dalā'il* and the *Ḥizb*. The commentaries are interwoven (*sharḥ mamzūj*) in both texts.³⁴ An anonymous twelfth/eighteenth-century addition to Kātib Çelebi's *Kashf al-zunūn* mentions three commentaries on the *Ḥizb*, those of the Meccan Muḥammad ibn Salāma ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mālikī (d. ca. 1144/1731–1732), Ibrāhīm al-Sāqizī/Sākizī (completed in 1134/1721–1722), and Shaykh 'Uthmān al-'Uryānī al-Kilisī (completed in 1144/1731–1732).³⁵ In addition to the commentaries mentioned by the anonymous bibliographer,³⁶ Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-İzmīrī completed a commentary on the *Ḥizb* in Izmir in 1147/1735, and Muḥammad al-Nābulusī al-Azharī completed a fifth commentary in Istanbul in 1142/1730. They all wrote their commentaries in Arabic.

It appears that at least some of the commentators on the *Ḥizb* were aware of the fact that in the century that had elapsed since 'Alī al-Qārī had completed his work, no commentary had been written on it. Al-Azharī, for instance, claims

32 Franke, 'Alī al-Qārī.

33 For a comprehensive bibliography of 'Alī al-Qārī's work, see Shammā', *al-Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī*.

34 Some of these commentaries are quite detailed and lengthy, despite the commentators' praise of brevity (*ikhtisār*) (some commentaries are several hundred folios long). For a survey of the commentaries see Muşlū, *Dirāsāt 'ilmīyya ḥawl kitāb Dalā'il al-khayrāt*.

35 Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-zunūn* i, 660–661.

36 On the anonymous additions to the *Kashf al-zunūn*: Burak and Riedel, *Did Katip Çelebi*.

that he and his colleagues were not aware of a commentary on the *Ḥizb*.³⁷ Similarly, al-Mālikī decided to write his commentary in response to questions he had received from different parts of the Islamic lands, including Rum and Bilad al-Sham, concerning the traditions in the *Ḥizb*. Other commentators also sensed a need to interpret the *Ḥizb*: in the introduction to his commentary, after singing praises to the work, Sākızī explains that it occurred to him to write a comprehensive commentary (*sharḥ*) on the text so that those who seek the knowledge (*al-ṭālibīn al-rāghibīn*) would benefit from it.³⁸ “I wrote a commentary,” his colleague Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-İzmīrī writes, “to propagate its essence (*jawāhir*) and to demonstrate its inner sides (*ḍamāʿir*), to clarify its expressions, and to expose its signs.” Al-İzmīrī, too, claims to have written the commentary in an abbreviated style (*wujh al-ikhtiṣār*) for those who seek knowledge (*al-ṭālibīn, al-rāghibīn*).³⁹

One of the intriguing aspects of the introductions is that the intended readership of the commentaries was fairly broad. As we have seen, Sākızī intends the commentary to be consulted by “those who seek knowledge.” Al-İzmīrī, in addition to the seekers of knowledge, hopes that his commentary will be read by madrasa professors and teachers (*mudarris wa-muʿallim*), and al-ʿUryānī dedicated his commentary to the vizier.⁴⁰

The first half of the twelfth/eighteenth century also witnessed the appearance of the first Ottoman commentaries on *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*. In the case of the *Dalāʾil*, unlike that of the *Ḥizb*, an important and well-known commentary was written in the late eleventh/seventeenth century—Muḥammad al-Fāsī’s *Maṭālīʿ al-massarāt bi-jalāʾ Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*. Al-Fāsī was one of al-Jazūlī’s disciples, and his commentary, which is also a documented collation of numerous Maghribi manuscript copies of the *Dalāʾil*, including the most authoritative copy (known as *al-Nuskha al-Sahlīyya*), left its mark on the Ottoman *Dalāʾil* commentaries and was copied repeatedly in the Ottoman lands.⁴¹ The Ottoman commentaries, however, seem to have been a response to a different set of concerns and anxieties.

37 Azharī, *al-Kāshif li-adʿiya* 2a–b. The colleagues al-Azharī consulted were Khalīl ibn Muṣṭafā of Diyarbakr and ʿAlī al-ʿIryān.

38 Sākızī, *Fayḍ al-arḥam* 1b–2a.

39 İzmīrī, *Fath Allāh* 1b–2b.

40 İzmīrī, *Fath Allāh* 2a; ʿUryānī, *Sharḥ al-Ḥizb* 1b.

41 The anonymous twelfth/eighteenth-century bibliographer who added to the entry on the *Dalāʾil* in Kātīb Çelebi’s *Kashf al-zunūn* celebrates al-Fāsī’s commentary: “*Dalāʾil al-khayrāt wa-shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī al-mukhtār* ... by the shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Abī Bakr al-Jazūlī al-Samallānī al-sharīf al-Ḥasanī, who died in 854 [AH]. This book is one of the signs of God about the prayer upon the

As opposed to the commentaries on the *Ḥizb*, which were written to the best of my knowledge exclusively in Arabic, commentaries on the *Dalā'il* were written in both Ottoman Turkish and Arabic. The production of Turkish commentaries on the *Dalā'il* attests to the immense popularity of the work throughout the Turkish-speaking parts of the empire.⁴² As the early twelfth/eighteenth-century commentator ʔara Dāvud (d. 1170/1757?),⁴³ whose commentary on the *Dalā'il* was probably the most popular one, states, “the numerous merits of the *Dalā'il* are well known to both commoners and the elite.”⁴⁴ At the same time, it seems that ʔara Dāvud thought that the popularity of the *Dalā'il* required an accessible commentary. Even though he did not think that understanding the mental content of the recited text was a prerequisite: “According to the noble *madhhab* of the master of our *madhhab*, the Great Imam and the first magnanimous [scholar], Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān ibn Thābit al-Kūfi, [God's] mercy be upon him, it is not a precondition to know the mental content [of the words] while reciting *wirds*, *dhikrs* and supplications (*evrād ve ezkār ve ed'iyeler okundukta ma'nāsını bilmek şart olmayub*), but there is no doubt that there are rewards and great benefits in pronouncing [the words] correctly and without mistakes.”

Prophet. It is being repeatedly recited in the eastern and western [Islamic lands], including in the Lands of Rum. There is an elegant interwoven commentary on [the *Dalā'il*] by the shaykh Muḥammad al-Mahdī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Fāsī al-Qaṣawī, who died in 1052 [1642–1643], titled *Maṭāli' al-masarrāt bi-jalā' Dalā'il al-khayāt*. Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-zunin* i, 759. On al-Fāsī's commentary and its Ottoman readers, see Burak, Collating the signs of benevolent deeds. Moreover, in the first half of the twelfth/eighteenth century, one Muḥammed Emin el-Toḳātī penned an abridged adaptation/translation into Ottoman Turkish of al-Fāsī's commentary. Toḳātī, *Tercüme*. Moreover, a commentary by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Jazā'irī on al-Fāsī's commentary (which was wrongly attributed to Muhammad ibn Velī ibn Resūl el-Kirṣehrī el-İzmirī) was copied at least three times in the Ottoman lands in the first half of the twelfth/eighteenth century. In the introduction the commentator explains that he consulted Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Arabī al-Fāsī's *ḥāshiyā* on the *Dalā'il* and Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī's *sharḥ*, and thought the former was too lengthy and left many issues unclear, whereas the other “tended to spread” (*māla ilā al-baṣṭ*). He therefore decided to write a short commentary on these works. [Jazā'irī,] *Istijāb* 1b–2a. The other copies are Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Nuruosmaniye 968 and Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, ms Veliyüddin Efendi 665.

- 42 Commentators from the Arabic-speaking lands of the empire wrote the commentaries in Arabic. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī ibn Salīm ibn 'Umar al-Shibli al-Simillāwī (d. 1127/1715) completed in Egypt an Arabic commentary on the *Dalā'il*. Simillāwī, *Tafrīḥ*. Similarly, Rihāwī Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥalabī wrote his commentary, titled *Muntij al-barakāt 'alā Dalā'il al-khayrāt* (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Süleymaniye 254).
- 43 On Kara Dāvud, see Arpaguş, Kara Dāvud.
- 44 At least one member of the imperial ruling elite, the grand vizier Ḥekīmoḡlu 'Alī Pasha (d. 1171/1758) appears to have had keen interest in the *Dalā'il*, as he was the dedicatee of Rihāwī Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥalabī's commentary.

But, he assures his reader, “the reward is greater if [one] recites [the *Dalā'il*] while paying attention to the elegant mental content (*ma'nā-i latīfī mülāḥaẓe ile oĸunmasında ecr dahi ziyāde olub*), and its benefits will be more evident and clearer.” Therefore, he concludes, he decided to write an abbreviated (*vechü'l-ihtişār*) commentary in Turkish.⁴⁵

Another commentator, Meḥmed Şākir ibn Sun'ullāh el-Anĸaravī (d. 1172/1758 or 59?), informs his reader in the Arabic introduction to his Turkish commentary that he decided to write the commentary when he saw that many seekers of knowledge (*rāghibīn*) read the *Dalā'il* without knowing Arabic. He was concerned that for this reason they unwittingly changed the mental content of the text and erred without noticing. Furthermore, he warns his readers, that understanding the mental content of the recited text is crucial and that “it is forbidden to recite phrases of which he does not know the mental content.” He also encourages his reader to collate the manuscript he is consulting with the copy of his teacher. To remedy this grave situation, el-Anĸaravī undertook the writing of a “commentary in Turkish (*sharḥ Turkī*) to explain the structure [of the *Dalā'il*], to interpret its meaning, to elaborate on the entire [work], to illustrate its details, and to reveal its hidden secrets.”⁴⁶

To sum up, the interest of the twelfth/eighteenth-century commentators on the *Dalā'il* and the *Ḥizb* in making the text accessible, and their emphasis on understanding the mental content of the recited words is profoundly different from the approach of Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi and more in line with the approach prevalent in Sufi circles concerning their respective invocations and prayer cycles. What is more, as I have already pointed out, throughout the eleventh/seventeenth century, the *Ḥizb* and, in the second half of the same century, the *Dalā'il* did not draw the attention of commentators from the Ottoman lands, whereas the early decades of the twelfth/eighteenth century saw the publication of a significant number of commentaries on these works. Again, this is not to say that the approach to the prayer/invocation found in Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi's *Du'ānāme* was completely replaced by the commentaries' ideal of comprehending the recited text. The commentaries, however, seem to reflect the growing popularity of the ideal of recitation that, until the late eleventh/seventeenth century, prevailed in narrower circles. This qualitative and quantitative change requires explanation.

45 Kāra Dāvud, *Şerḥ-i Delā'il* 5. In the same vein, in 1130/1717–1718, İbrāhīm b. Şālih el-ĸıbrīsī relates that he wanted to write an abbreviated and useful commentary in Turkish, so that the reader will understand the mental content (*me'ānī*). ĸıbrīsī, *Vesā'ilü'l-ḥasenāt* 2a.

46 El-Anĸaravī, *Sharḥ al-Dalā'il* 6a.

5 “I Shall Turn Away from My Signs Those Who Are Unduly Arrogant upon the Earth.” (Q 7:146)

Relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to Ottoman piety in the late eleventh/seventeenth century, and even less in the first decades of the twelfth/eighteenth century. In her study of Ottoman prayer manuals, Christiane Gruber has linked the appearance of numerous Ottoman devotional texts to attempts of political and social reforms in the empire and to the “deployment of the rather malleable concept of renewal (*tajdid*).”⁴⁷ It is possible that new ideas about renewal and revival encouraged scholars to compile devotional texts and commentaries in an attempt to generate a new Muslim subject. Much more work, however, remains to be done to establish how exactly twelfth/eighteenth-century notions of renewal shaped the production of devotional texts and commentaries in this time period.

At the same time, it is possible that the appearance of the commentaries had very little to do with the notions of reform and revival. The fact that the commentators on the *Ḥizb* and the *Dalā'il* do not allude to the discourse of renewal may further question this connection. It appears that a more immediate reason for writing commentaries in the early twelfth/eighteenth century was the growing popularity of invocations and prayer cycles and, perhaps, the circulation of apocryphal invocations. Consider, for example, the following passage from *Tartīb al-'ulūm* (completed in 1128/1716) by the prominent scholar and Qadiri and Naqshbandi⁴⁸ Sufi Muḥammed Saçaklızāde:

This wretched poor [i.e., the author] says: We have witnessed several people who are considered accomplished [reciters, *yusammā bi-l-takmil*], [but] are unable to recite the Quran [adequately] to have a proper prayer that is legally valid. This contradicts piety (*taqwā*)/the most accepted legal opinion (*fatwā*).⁴⁹ This [recitation] undermines piety from its foundations. [This reciter] refrains from uncertainties while corrupting [his] prayer five times a day. He takes a portion of the Quran as his daily act of recitation [in his prayers, *yattakhidhū min al-Qur'ān wirdan*] while worshipping God through misdeeds. Meanwhile, he is ashamed to be seen

47 Gruber, A pious cure-all 120–123 (and the bibliography therein). On the circulation of Aḥmad Sirhindī's notion of *tajdid* in the Ottoman Empire in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth centuries, see Pagani, Il rinnovamento.

48 Kurz, *Ways to heaven* 53.

49 The editor of the text believes it should be *fatwā* and not *taqwā*, as it appears in most copies of *Tartīb al-'ulūm*.

sitting with a large turban with other ulama in front of an instructor from those who are [allowed] to recite [the Quran, *ahl al-adā'*, that is, a real scholar], claiming that this [the recitation] is the duty of the novices (*wazā'if al-mubtadīn*), because [he thinks] he has become one of the most senior professors (*al-mudarrisīn al-fuḍalā'*). “Woe to you, and woe! Then woe to you and woe!” (Q 75:34–35). He the Most High said: “I shall turn away from My signs those who are unduly arrogant upon the earth.” (Q 7:146).⁵⁰

The passage reflects Saçaklızāde's (and probably others') concern about the level of Arabic of many readers of the Quranic text, on which many supplications and prayers draw. The identity of the reciter who is the target of Saçaklızāde's accusations is unknown. It seems, however, that Saçaklızāde thought this was not a problem with a specific individual but a broader phenomenon. In any case, this accusation echoes the concerns expressed by at least some commentators who were worried that people do not recite their invocations properly and/or lack understanding of the texts they recite. In other words, it appears that the popularity of both the *Hizb* and the *Dalā'il* (and possibly other devotional works) beyond the narrow scholarly/Sufi circles drove scholars to invest considerable efforts to cultivate more responsible reciters. To this end, they resorted to (and popularized) the fairly well-established genre of the Sufi prayer commentary.

6 Conclusion

In this short essay I have tried to examine how different commentators perceived the relationship between understanding the prayers, devotional texts and invocations, and the recitation's efficacy. While it is clear that these commentaries/manuals offer a unique glimpse into the Ottoman religious landscape, it is still unclear how the devotional sensibilities these texts reveal relate to one another. Specifically, it is still not fully clear what perception was more prevalent in what circles. Moreover, as the academic study of Ottoman devotional literature is in its early stages, the conventions employed in different genres remain to be studied. At this point, I am inclined to believe that multiple perceptions coexisted throughout the Ottoman domains. It appears

⁵⁰ Sājaqlizādah (Saçaklızāde), *Tartīb al-'ulūm*. I am grateful to Walid Saleh for his assistance in translating this passage.

to me, however, that over the course of the eleventh/seventeenth and the twelfth/eighteenth century, the perception that recommended, or even demanded, understanding of the prayer's text became increasingly popular, at least among the learned. The concerns about proper understanding of the text and its mental content may be situated in a broader set of concerns about the nature of belief and intention, which are examined in Tijana Krstić's chapter in this volume, and the attempts of Ottoman jurists to determine the relationship between inner faith and its manifestations.⁵¹

Be it as it may, in the context of the historiography on confession building in the Ottoman lands, in which the Ottoman dynasty, its administrative elite, and learned hierarchy play a central role, the large textual corpus of prayers and invocations draws attention to other registers of Ottoman Islam. In certain instances, as was the case with Ebū's-su'ūd, a member of the administrative elite commissioned or was the dedicatee of the manual. But in many other cases, the Ottoman dynasty and individuals who were affiliated with it were significantly less dominant. In other words, paying attention to the enormous textual body of prayers and invocations, much like other textual corpora from the Ottoman lands, may enable scholars of the history of confession building in the Ottoman domains to examine it beyond the purview of the dynasty and its administrative elite.

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51 Burak, Faith, law and empire.

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PART 2

*Building a Pious Community: Spatial
Dimensions of Sunnitization*



Lives and Afterlives of an Urban Institution and Its Spaces: The Early Ottoman *‘Imāret* as Mosque

Çiğdem Kafescioğlu

Since the architect and restorer Sedat Çetintaş argued in 1955 that “the Green Mosque and its likes are not mosques”¹ the identity and functions of the buildings he was referring to, namely the “T-type” structures that are among the most distinctive products of early Ottoman architectural culture, have been matters of debate. These edifices, widely dispersed in late medieval northwestern Anatolia and the Balkans and patronized in the early centuries largely by sultans and military leaders of the frontier zones, had plural accommodative, social, and devotional uses. They were planned around a domed central hall, with flanking rooms and an *eyvān* (Ar. *īwān*) across the entrance beyond the domed hall. The *eyvān*, a vaulted or domed hall that opens to the central domed space and is elevated by a few steps, was in most, but not all cases allocated to prayer. Their foundation deeds (*waqfiyya*) identify them as *‘imāret* or *zāwiye* (Ar. *zāwiya*), and their users as “comers and goers” (an expansive range of people in the tempestuous worlds of medieval Anatolia and Balkans), traveling dervishes, and the needy; in royal foundations, ulama, shaykhs, sayyids (*sādāt*), Quran readers, and preachers are recounted among beneficiaries. Their *waqfiyyas* make clear that the offering and consumption of food, social and religious ritual, and shelter provided to dervishes and travelers intersected in these buildings constructed outside the established urban cores, initially of Bithynian and Thracian cities.² The oft-cited travel narrative of the North African scholar Ibn Battūta corroborates this and offers a vibrant view into the conviviality that formed the texture of life in Anatolian *zāwiyes*.³ As far as modern

1 Çetintas, *Yeşil Cami ve benzerleri*. The booklet is the publication of a lecture the author delivered in 1955 at the Faculty of Theology of Ankara University. The reference is to the Green Mosque in Bursa, Turkey.

2 Gökbilgin, Murad 1, 225–231; Ayverdi, Yıldırım Bayezid’in, 37–46; Zengin, İlk dönem Osmanlı, 114–117.

3 Ibn Battuta, *The travels*, 419ff. Ibn Battūta’s comments on Anatolian *zāwiyes* as communal spaces of urban confraternities (*ahī*) has raised the question of the relationship between *ahī* and Sufi lodges in medieval Anatolia, an issue that has not been resolved. Oya Pancaroğlu quotes Suhrawardī’s comments on Sufi lodges being founded by rulers and *futuwwat-khānas*

scholarship on these buildings is concerned, however, it has proven difficult (if not impossible) to eliminate, or even to de-emphasize the notion that they functioned primarily as mosques.⁴

The difficulty in establishing a historicized understanding of the Ottoman “T-type” buildings is in part due to the nature of the changes in the buildings’ architecture, uses, and institutional designations (and the degree to which these have, or have not, been addressed by architectural historians). Equally significant are the connections between architectural and institutional configurations to shifts in Ottoman religious politics. Starting in the 910s/1510s, and more visibly in the middle and later decades of the tenth/sixteenth century, the majority of Ottoman *‘imārets*, which powerfully announced their patrons’ benefaction through their offering of food, shelter, and ritual space, were turned into congregational mosques, the primary type of religious structure sponsored by Ottoman patrons, especially through what has been regarded their “classical age.” In other words, the larger part of Ottoman *‘imārets/zāvīyes*, and among them those well-known structures built by sultans as part of prestigious building complexes at the edges of such cities as Bursa and Edirne, have functioned as congregational mosques beyond about the first century and a half (in fewer cases the first two centuries) of their lives as public edifices. As much as Sedat Çetintaş was correct in his assertion, Yeşil Cami had been a mosque for about 400 years at the time he made his emphatic statement on the building’s former identity (figures 8.1, 8.2).⁵

The disjunction between historical and modern terminologies used to denote these edifices, too, captures and continues to reproduce the historio-

by masters; she also calls attention to *ahīs* mentioned in the *waqfiyya* of Bāyezīd I’s Bursa foundation; Pancaroğlu, Devotion, hospitality. İklil Selçuk discusses the issue from the point of view of economic activities and connections of the *ahī* communities and their mediation in linking urban and rural communities; Selçuk, Suggestions on the social meaning. See also the note on Evrenosoğlu İsa Bey’s Skopje *‘imāret* below. On urban confraternities in medieval Anatolia, see Goshgarian, Beyond the social and the spiritual. *Zāvīyes* have also been interpreted as having a role in early Ottoman colonization, Barkan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında*; Boykov, The T-shaped *zāvīye/imarets*. Colonization is not a concept I draw on in the present study.

- 4 Most general works on Ottoman architecture have prioritized the mosque function of the T-type buildings. For works that have prioritized the plural uses of the *‘imāret/zāvīye*, see Sedat Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında*; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında*; Kuban, *Osmanlı mimarisi* 81–247; Oğuz, Multi-functional buildings; Lowry, *The shaping* 65–106; Çağaptay, *Frontierscape*; Pancaroğlu, Devotion, hospitality.
- 5 Çetintaş identified the T-type structures as *zāvīyes* in his 1946 book *Türk mimari anıtları*; he argued in the 1958 lecture publication that the side rooms of these buildings had official functions, such as court rooms for kadīs.



FIGURE 8.1 Bursa, *zāviye/‘imāret* and complex of Meḥmed I, the “Green Mosque,” 822/1419
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graphic quandary. Inscriptions, foundation deeds, historical narratives, and archival documents identify them with terms that connote Sufi ritual, the offering of shelter, and the daily and ritual consumption of food. Often the same building is identified in different documents as *‘imāret*, *zāviye*, or *hānḳāh* (the latter two referring more specifically to spaces of ritual and accommodation of Sufi groups and *ahī* confraternities); *buḳ‘a* (a place, spot, or building) and *dāra hayren* (place of charity) are also terms one encounters in documents and inscriptions.⁶ These terms are encountered often in documents of representational nature for the edifices in question, and the choice of terms, *‘imāret* in most inscriptions and *zāviye* in the greater part of foundation deeds (and their interchangeable use with other terms), appears to be less than accidental. Hence, the foundation of Orhan (724–763/1324–1362) in Bursa is “*zāviye*, known among people as *‘imāret*” in its *waqf* document and *‘imāret* in its restoration inscription dated 820/1417, highlighting the larger public recognition of the buildings as *‘imāret*.⁷ In similar fashion, Murād I’s (763–791/1362–1389) *waqfiyya*

6 The buildings have most frequently been termed *zāviye*, alongside *buḳ‘a*, *hānḳāh*, or *‘imāret* in *waqf* documents, and *‘imāret* in most foundation inscriptions. A comprehensive list and discussion of terms denoting the buildings in various documents is found in Emir, Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında 270–272 and *passim*. See also Tüfekçioğlu, *Erken dönem Osmanlı*.

7 The original 761/1360 *waqf* document has not survived, but a copy dated 896/1491 is available; see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mi‘marisinin* i, 63–65.

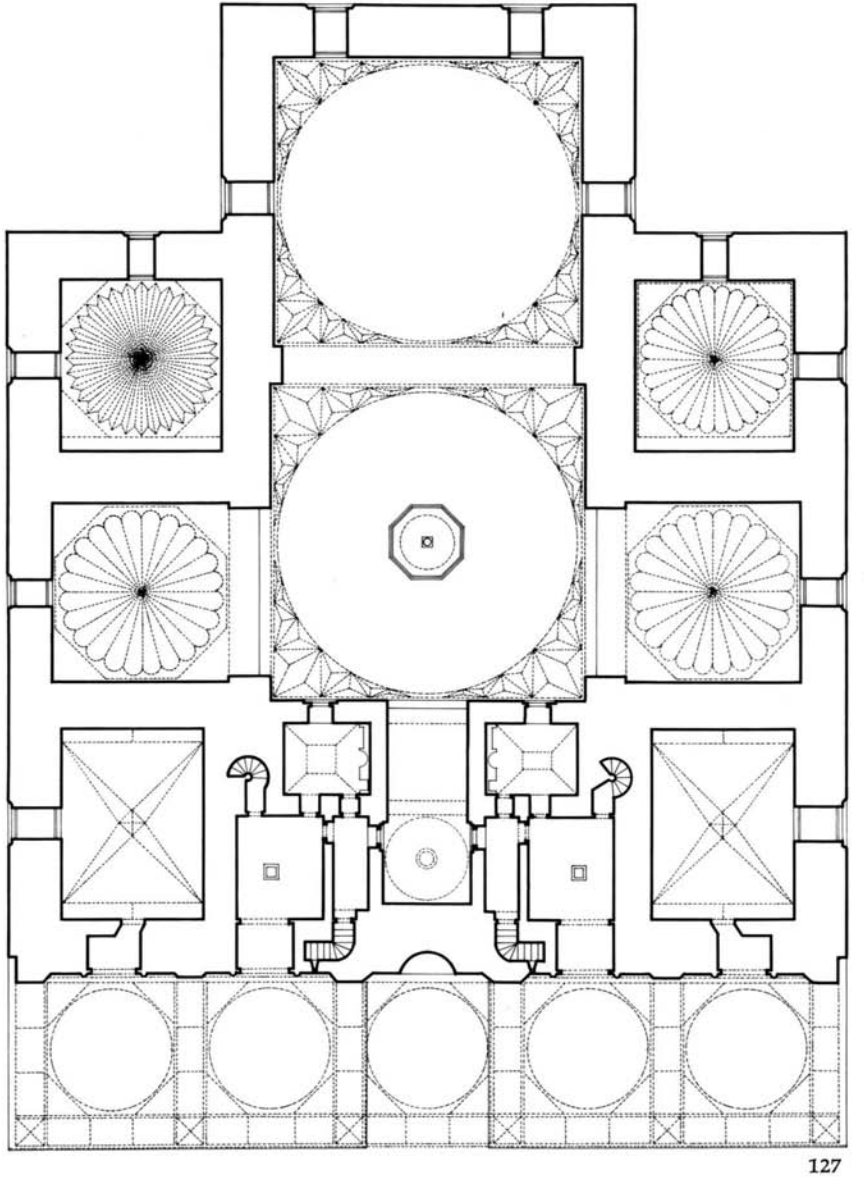


FIGURE 8.2A Bursa, *zāviye/ʿimāret* of Meḥmed I, 822/1419, plan
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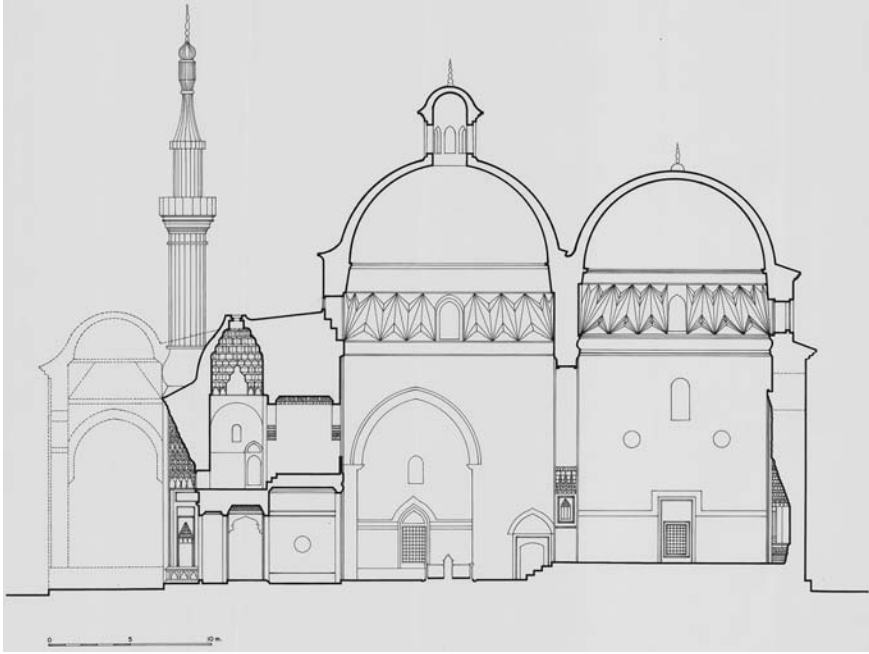


FIGURE 8.2B Bursa, *zāviye/ʿimāret* of Mehmed I, 822/1419, section
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for the building he founded in Bursa's Çekirge suburb identifies it as "the *zāviye* called Kaplıca *ʿimāret*;"⁸ Mehmed I's (816–824/1413–1421) Bursa foundation is called *buḡ'a* and *ʿimāret* in two inscriptions dating to 822/1419 and 827/1424 respectively, and *zāviye* in its *waqf* document of 822/1419.⁹

However divergent their interpretations of the uses, historical and geographical horizons, and formal configurations of the early Ottoman *ʿimāret*, many modern scholars have formulated, or preferred to use, terms that have underscored these buildings' function as prayer spaces: hence, Bursa-type mosque, *zaviye* and *zaviyeli cami* (mosque with a *zāwiya*), *tabhaneli cami* (mosque with hospice rooms), *eyvān* mosque, and *futuwwa* mosque.¹⁰ The term "convent-

8 BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver 162/5; Gökbilgin, Murad I 225.

9 Ayverdi, *Çelebi* 50.

10 The term Bursa-type mosque was suggested by Wilde in his *Brussa*. A pioneering study that called attention to the social uses of the buildings is Eyice (who noted that his work was inspired by that of Çetintaş), İlk Osmanlı Devrinin. Kuran, *The mosque* presented a formal categorization and analysis of the type. Recognizing the multifunctional character of the buildings, Kuran highlighted the *masjid* function of the qibla *eyvān*, hence proposed

masjid” offered by Gülru Necipoğlu for those buildings that have a *masjid eyvân*—that is, an *eyvân* that functioned as a designated place of prayer oriented toward Mecca—highlights their plural uses, while it attributes equal weight to the *masjid* and convent functions of the building.¹¹ Reviewing terminological choices, one may also consider that medieval Syrian and Cairene madrasas and *hānḳāhs*, and their Anatolian contemporaries, more often than not featured a prayer space with a mihrab, and have not been termed *masjid* or mosque in contemporary sources or in modern scholarship.¹²

This paper approaches the set of questions posed by this distinct product of late medieval architecture from the point of view of the time of change noted above: the period encompassing the later decades of the ninth/fifteenth into the later decades of the tenth/sixteenth century, which turned *‘imāret* and *zāviye* into mosque (whether these were extant buildings that underwent processes of conversion or newly built edifices that followed the distinguishing conventions of the T-type edifice). Within the same time frame, the *‘imāret* was produced and reproduced as a new kind of space and in part, a new notion: now it also denoted the soup kitchen built as an independent structure within a larger compound. I locate the beginnings of that shift in the mid-860s/1460s and 870s/1470s, that is, the decades of the first, and most intense phase of new construction in Istanbul by the Ottoman elite. During these years the vast building complex founded by Meḥmed II (r. 848–850/1444–1446, 855–886/1451–1481) in newly conquered Istanbul, followed by a set of viziers’ foundations within the walled city—to be discussed in detail below—radically altered the uses and meanings of the urban foundation as it had taken shape through the eighth/fourteenth century. While they were still conceived as tools of settlement and loci of symbolic representation, sultanic and elite endowments of the imperial age were products of a newly formulated religiopolitical configuration, which effected changes in terminology, in institutional practices, and in spatial and visual configurations. The agency of the new elite of slave origins

the term “*eyvân* mosque.” The term “*futuwwa*-mosque” was suggested by Doğan, Osmanlı Mimarisinde. For historiographic discussions, see Emir, Tipoloji; Çağaptay, Frontierscape 162–166; Yürekli, Architectural patronage 734–735. See also Ergin, Neumann and Singer, Introduction, in *Feeding people* 22–28.

11 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 48–50. I have used this designation in *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*. In Ottoman usage, *cāmi’* (Ar. *jāmi’*) designated a congregational mosque, while *masjid* denoted a small prayer space, whether free standing or attached to another building, with no allowances for a *haṭīb* (Friday preacher), and by extension, for the delivery of the Friday sermon.

12 As noted by Emir, Tipoloji 121.

empowered by Meḫmed II to replace a former elite and to counter the power of the frontier lords was central to this process.

1 History, Typology, and a Passage into Early Modernity

The immediate historical and methodological questions with regard to the topic of this paper are the spatial, institutional, and architectural dimensions of a passage: one may broadly define this as a transition from a set of medieval religious, institutional, and spatial practices to one in tune with the workings of an early modern polity and society. The product of an age of cultural dynamism and fluidity, a comparatively more diffuse and fluid set of signifying practices shaped the *‘imāret* building and its institutional setup.¹³ The layout of the T-type edifice, whether it was founded as and called a *zāviye*, an *‘imāret*, a *buḳ‘a*, or a *hānḳāh*, imposed no absolute boundaries between spaces of the sacred and the profane; likewise, their foundation documents, though with substantial differences across geography and patronage profiles, do not stipulate distinctions regarding ritual practices within. The moment of change in the histories of Ottoman *‘imāret* and mosque (with implications for the larger urban environment) can be firmly located in the final quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century. The histories of these institutions and the changes in their architecture are intricately linked to long-term religiopolitical processes that rendered the establishment of orthodox Sunni doctrine and practice a priority: dynamics that reached their powerful articulation during the reign of Süleymān (r. 926–974/1520–1566).¹⁴ As unwelcome as it might have been in the frontier environment that gave shape to the early Ottoman *‘imāret*, then, I will be bringing

13 On the early Ottoman political and cultural context, see Kafadar, *Between two worlds*; on politico-religious dynamics of the lands of Rum in the late medieval era, see Krstić, *Contested conversions* 26–74. On architectural culture of medieval Anatolia with particular attention to fluidity of forms and identities and to practices of devotion and conviviality, see Pancaroğlu, *Devotion, hospitality*. On medieval Anatolian madrasas and *hānḳahs*, the closest forerunners to the early Ottoman *‘imāret*, see Kuran, *Anadolu medreseleri*; Wolper, *Cities and saints*; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı* i; and Pancaroğlu, *Hospitality, devotion*. A comparable transposition between madrasa and *khanqah* in Mamluk Cairo has been explored in Behrens-Abouseif, *Change in function and form*.

14 For explorations into Ottoman Sunnitization and within a larger framework, confession-alization, see Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize*; Terzioğlu, *Where ‘ilm-i ḥāl meets*; Krstić, *Contested conversions*; Krstić, *Illuminated by the light*; Krstić, *From shahada to ‘aqīda*. See also Burak, *Faith, law, and empire*. On trends toward Sunnitization interconnected with tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman architectural culture, see Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, esp. 47–58.

into the picture the heavy hand of a centralizing state in the making, redefining political hierarchies and formulating religious orthodoxy, to alter, co-opt, and within the course of a century definitively marginalize a set of medieval spatial practices predicated on long-nurtured and well-understood multiplicities and ambiguities.

There is perhaps a correspondence between the early modern insistence on transforming urban *‘imārets* exclusively into mosques and the modern insistence on a distinct name and function to be attached to these buildings. Granted, sixteenth-century religious politics and twentieth-century disciplinary predilections belong to distant epistemic spheres, with the desire to establish a singular, state-sanctioned use (mosque) for edifices with multiple identities, on one hand, and the desire to nail down the specifics of their multifunctionality, on the other. However, they do partake of a mental world focused upon classifying and identifying difference, as Sanjay Subrahmanyam has observed,¹⁵ connecting an early modern state’s desire to dictate norms and regulate practices to the modern academy’s urge to categorize and define.

An exploration of the early Ottoman *‘imāret* from the perspective of its afterlives in early modern and modern times also brings forth questions regarding typology and temporality in the study of architecture. The expansive range of structures that architectural historians have treated as a type (regardless of what terminology they have opted for), and the deliberate changes these structures were subjected to, whether in the form of interventions to extant buildings or spatio-visual alterations in the established configuration when new buildings were designed, unveils the quandaries of working within a conceptual frame determined by typology. Differences in the formal and institutional configuration of *‘imārets* within the Rumi space need to be considered as well. Sharing a specific spatial and volumetric composition and interconnected through a particular patronage profile, early Ottoman *‘imārets* served a range of functions in various loci and communicated related but distinct meanings in frontier environments as opposed to in centers like Amasya and, into the later eighth/fourteenth century, Bursa. Hence the T-type includes structures like the Evrenos *‘imāret* in Komotini, centered on an *eyvān* that opens directly onto an exterior court with no portal or portico, Bāyezīd I’s Edirne *‘imāret*, with its atypical layout and unresolved questions regarding its construction history, and the Postinpüş Baba *zāviye* built by Murād I for this dervish in Yenişehir, with a single ceremonial hall flanked by rooms, none of the three buildings having qibla orientations. The differences between these buildings and others like the Bāyezīd

15 Subrahmanyam, *Connected histories* 761–762.

Pasha *‘imāret* in Amasya (one among a number of analogous structures), the celebrated royal *‘imārets* of Bursa with their prominent masjid *eyvāns*, or Rūm Mehmed Pasha’s Byzantinizing mosque and hospice in Üsküdar, Istanbul, highlights the problems of typology as a historian’s tool on the one hand, and the particular issues connected to this “type” on the other (figure 8.3).¹⁶ The terminological and historiographical problem arises, in part, from the use of the same frame of reference to understand the initial making and later refashioning and reinterpretations of the early Ottoman *‘imāret*, whose functions and symbolic associations rendered it worth reproducing and revisiting through changing cultural contexts between the earlier eighth/fourteenth and the earlier tenth/sixteenth centuries. Evidently, continued reference to the “type” also required radical modifications.¹⁷ Mapping out the histories of the foundation, uses, and reuses of *‘imārets* boldly highlights ruptures, continuities, and transformations in their identities as urban institutions, and in changing practices of signification that invested them (and alongside them, the mosque and the soup kitchen) with new meanings.

Foregrounding typology in the study of architectural history does pose the risk of presenting as stable what was in fact a set of processes of change, and this is a particularly pressing issue given the radical cultural and functional transformation that reshaped and redefined the meanings and uses of the early Ottoman *‘imāret*. At the same time, keeping questions of typology in view may be beneficial for this inquiry. The adherence to a “type,” that is, a particular formal structure and a set of principles and choices that give shape to it, offers subsequent users the potential of drawing on the past in specific ways, for the choice may serve as a mode of reifying and reaffirming memory. Patrons and designers may reshape and reinvest the type, while at the same time projecting architectural, and by extension, social stability and continuity through their adherence to it.¹⁸ Typology, for this inquiry, then, is not completely without significance: rather than the ahistorical schematization it offers, its interest lies

16 On the Evrenos *‘imāret*, see Kiel, *The oldest Ottoman monuments*; Lowry, *The shaping* 80–84; Çağaptay, *The road from Bithynia*, where she also discusses issues of typology. On Postinpüş Baba, and Bāyezīd I’s Edirne *‘imāret*, see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mi‘marisinin i*, 208–216, 484–494, Kuran, *Edirne’de Yıldırım camisi*; Kuban, *Osmanlı mimarisi* 85; on Rūm Mehmed Pasha, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 119–122. On the Bāyezīd Pasha *‘imāret* completed in 1419, see Kuran, *The mosque* 82–85. On shifts in patronage profiles and contexts of construction, see Oğuz, *Multi-functional buildings*.

17 Shifts in architectural meaning in connection to historical change have been addressed in a set of diverse contexts in Arnold and Ballantyne, *Architecture as experience* 1–10; and Ballantyne, *Misprisions of Stonehenge*.

18 Rossi, *Architecture of the city* 35–45; see also Koch, *Changing building typologies*.



FIGURE 8.3 Amasya, Bāyezīd Pasha zāviye/‘imāret, 817/1414

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in the light it may shed on the significance of the *‘imāret* as a type for the patrons, builders, and users of shifting historical, political, and religio-cultural contexts.

In this paper I opt for using the term *‘imāret* interchangeably with *zāviye*, while I grant that the first term in particular poses a set of problems. Inscriptions, *waqf* documents, and narrative sources suggest that up to the final resolution of the transformation that turned frontier polity into centralizing empire, the *‘imāret* in the Ottoman domains was specifically the accommodative structure laid out in a reverse-T configuration around a central domed hall, at a distance to the urban center and often outside of the inhabited area. It may or may not be the centerpiece of a set of service structures and other buildings, such as a madrasa, a bath, or the founder's tomb. As a medieval legacy of the larger Islamic world, *‘imāret* may also denote any building project of a sub-

stantial nature, most often public, at times also private. A further dimension of the terminological puzzle is that during the early modern era *‘imāret* came exclusively to denote two functions at once: the urban socioreligious building compound and the soup kitchen that may be among the buildings of such a compound.¹⁹ This semantic shift and the projection of the latter meaning backward onto the eighth/fourteenth and early ninth/fifteenth centuries has led to a degree of confusion in modern scholarship on early architectural ventures in the Ottoman domains. The *‘imārets* mentioned in *waqf* documents alongside substantial kitchen expenses have been taken as evidence for the presence of a separate building that was part of a building complex, imagined to resemble later soup kitchens in the Ottoman domains.²⁰ In a more recent body of work, many early *‘imāret* buildings have been considered exclusively as soup kitchens.²¹ Evidence for the material and spatial setup of the service sections of the early Ottoman complexes, however, is scant. That the *tābhāne* (hospice) rooms located to the two sides of the *‘imāret*'s main domed hall served also as places where food would be served can be conjectured. What remains of the kitchen, storage, and refectory spaces (and the fact that so little does remain of the original forms of such structures anywhere within the Ottoman domains, whether the buildings were sponsored by sultans or by frontier lords), on the other hand, strongly suggest that these were not regarded as representational buildings by their patrons and were rather built with less durable and less prestigious materials and workmanship. Among the few structures whose remnants survived into the twentieth century, the kitchen and (possibly) refectory structures of Murād II's (r.824–848/1421–1444; 850–855/1446–1451) Bursa complex may be noted: situated a few meters away from the *‘imāret*, rectangular spaces of rubble masonry and timber roofs as captured by Albert Gabriel in his *Brousse*, or the reconstructed kitchen and refectory of the Meḥmed I complex speak to the same attitude (figure 8.4). However important food and food related rituals were to the representational agendas of sultans and *gāzīs*, it was

19 Past the early decades of the tenth/sixteenth century, the foundation of a soup kitchen became a royal prerogative of sultans and dynastic women, with few built by viziers in provincial cities or on way stations. On changes in the meaning of *‘imāret* in the Ottoman context, see also Budak, *İmaret kavramı üzerinden*.

20 Hence the numerous notes in Ayverdi's surveys of early Ottoman architecture, and other studies often based on him, on the "absence" of the *‘imāret* from many foundations at the time he surveyed the buildings. In most of these cases, the main building denoted as *‘imāret* in the document continues its existence as a mosque, while the service buildings connected to kitchen functions have not withstood time.

21 Singer, *Imarets*. See also Ergin, Neumann and Singer, *Introduction*; and Singer, *Mapping imarets* 13–39, 43–55.



FIGURE 8.4 Bursa, kitchen and refectory of the Meḥmed I complex
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

the multifunctional *‘imāret/zāviye* building, and not the kitchen or a separate refectory, that architecturally symbolized their acts of beneficence and their sheltering of conviviality.²²

The study of the late ninth/fifteenth- and early tenth/sixteenth-century versions of the T-type building, too, presents a set of historiographic questions. Prompting lukewarm responses on the part of architectural historians, these buildings have been considered as late, sometimes unusual and not completely successful examples of an established typology.²³ Within the evolutionary narrative of Ottoman architecture, marching from the relative modesty of its beginnings toward its stylistically unified and spatially centralized monumentality, in other words toward its celebrated “classicism,” buildings such as Maḥmūd Pasha’s (d. 878/1474) *‘imāret*-and-mosque in Istanbul, alongside many

22 Gabriel, *Brousse* 129, figure 72. A number of kitchen (*maḥbah*) and refectory (*me’kel*) structures were rebuilt and expanded in later centuries, such as those of Orhan in 1145/1732 and Murād I in Bursa in 1045/1635, Ayverdi, *Osmanlı münarisinin* i, 66, 234; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı* ii, 27–29. The references to “the mosque’s lead covering and *‘imāret*’s roof tiles” in a 1082/1671 court document subsequent to the conversion of Bāyezid I’s T-plan building into a mosque is of note, indicating that *‘imāret* at that time denoted the separate kitchen and refectory building; Ayverdi, *İlk Osmanlı* i, 423.

23 See, for example, Ayverdi, *Fatih devri* 433–451, for his evaluation of the Maḥmūd Pasha mosque.



FIGURE 8.5 Istanbul, *'imāret* and mosque of Mahmūd Pasha, 878/1473–1474, exterior view.
Note the side entrance

PHOTOGRAPH FROM KAFESCIOĞLU, *CONSTANTINOPOLIS/ISTANBUL*

others within the imperial domains, have often been regarded as transitory structures that signified the gradual abandonment of an earlier order of partitioned interiors and constituted steps toward the prescribed goal of spatial centralization. The result has been that these buildings, hospice-and-mosque structures in and beyond Istanbul, and the politico-religious process that gave shape to them have attracted little attention (figures 8.5 and 8.6).²⁴

I must briefly discuss the well-known, but nevertheless most telling facet of the shift in politico-religious orientations that informed the reshaping and redescription of the *'imāret*: Mehmed 11's socioreligious complex, rising during the 860s/1460s on the hill that had previously supported the Church of the Holy Apostles and its dependencies (figure 8.7).²⁵ Here, rather than a royal complex

24 Emir, Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 109–130; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 52–55, 92–95.

25 On Mehmed 11's mosque and complex within its broader contexts, see Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 83–88; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 66–96.

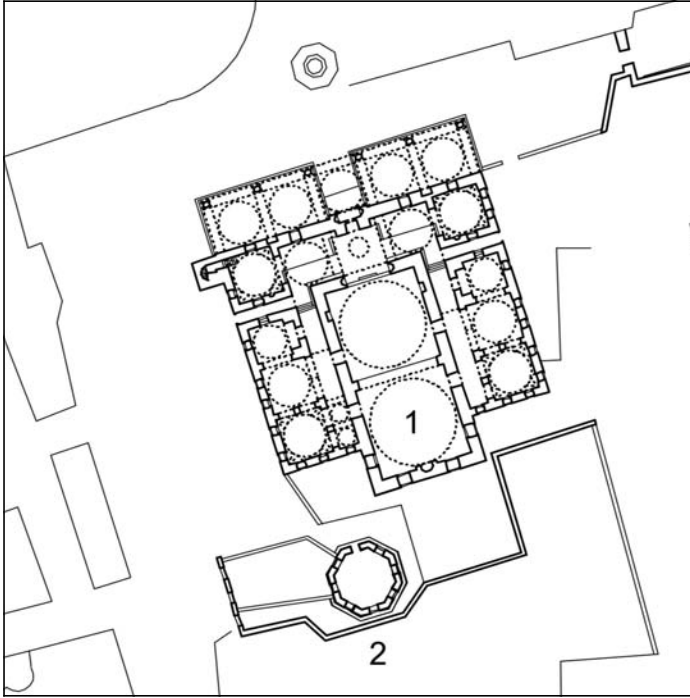


FIGURE 8.6 Istanbul, *'imāret* and mosque of Mahmūd Pasha, 878/1473–1474 (1. *'imāret* and mosque; 2. mausoleum)

PLAN FROM KAFESCIOĞLU, *CONSTANTINOPOLIS/ISTANBUL*

centered by a *zāviye* that featured a prayer space, Meḥmed II founded a congregational mosque with a novel design. The building was emphatically separated from any accommodative and service functions by the huge plaza surrounding it, measuring 200 meters to each side and referred to as *meydān* (square) or *ṣaḥn* (court) in contemporary sources. The *meydān* was aligned on two sides with the *ṣemāniye* madrasas, a college compound conceived and built in an expansive scale unseen in the medieval Islamic world, meant to educate the ulama of the imperial polity. Beyond that plaza and its surrounding wall was a new type of building: this is the very first royal *'imāret* of the early modern era, a compound designed as a unit within its own walled enclosure, including a courtyard structure that housed the soup kitchen and rooms for travelers, a caravanserai, and a refectory for madrasa students. The rich endowment, impressive architecture, prestigious building materials, and craftsmanship of Meḥmed II's *'imāret* marks a turning point in the dynasty's architectural ventures. While Meḥmed II and his architects made the Friday mosque the physical and institutional center of the royal compound, the visual and aesthetic dis-

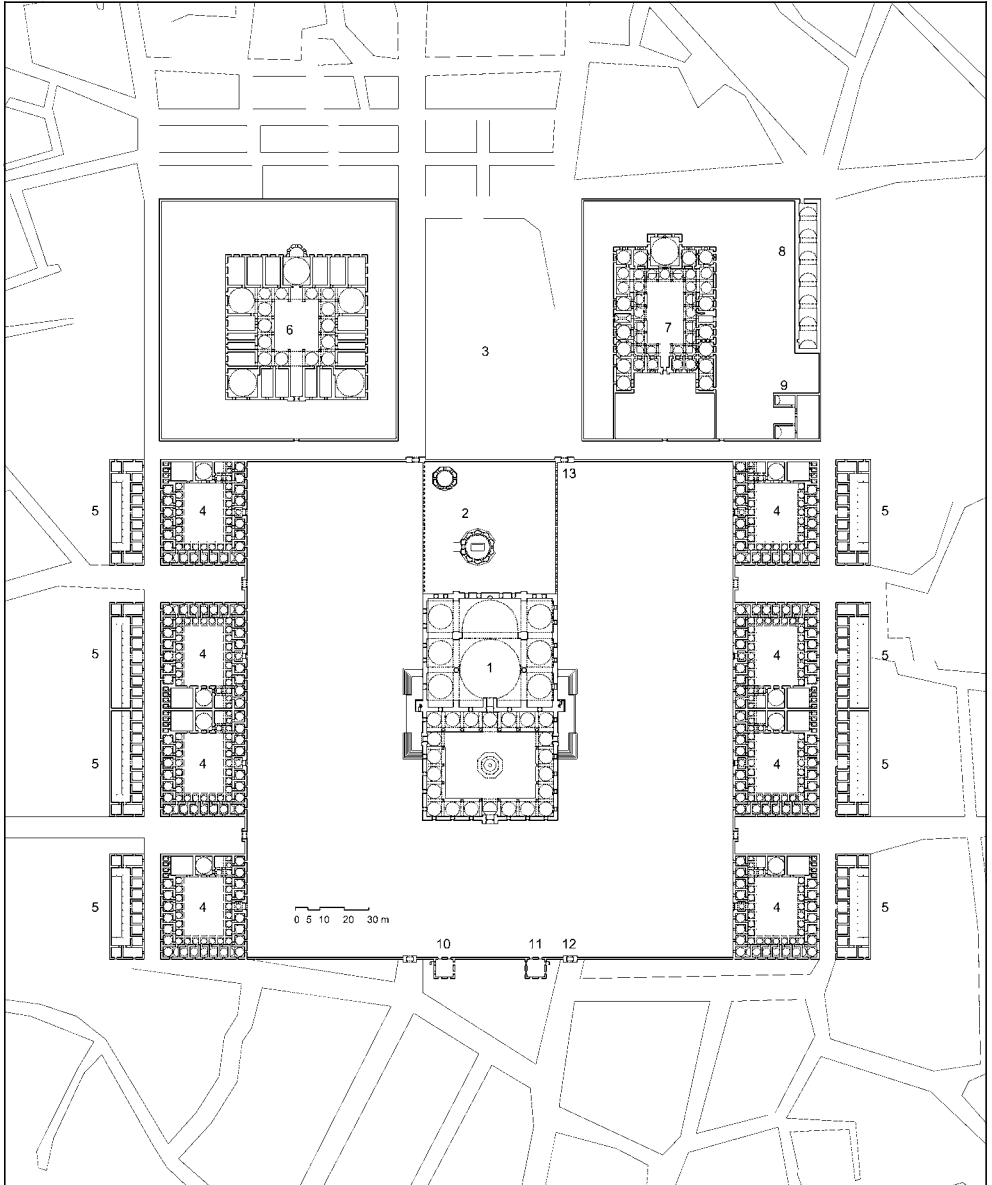


FIGURE 8.7 Istanbul, complex of Mehmed II, 867–875/1463–1470, plan (1. mosque; 2. mausolea; 3. garden; 4. madrasas; 5. preparatory madrasas; 6. hospital; 7. hospice and soup kitchen; 8. stables; 9. kitchen; 10. elementary school; 11. library; 12., 13. gates.)
 PLAN FROM KAFESCIOĞLU, *CONSTANTINOPOLIS/ISTANBUL*

tion of the hospice-soup kitchen powerfully highlighted the continued, and augmented, symbolic import of this space (figure 8.8).

The foundation deed of the complex supports the view that Meḫmed II's hospice and soup kitchen was in institutional terms, too, a first in Ottoman practice. Its expansive range of employees, separately recounted for the hospice (*'imāret*), the soup kitchen (*maṭbah al-'imāret*), and the stables, and its expansive kitchen expenses foresee the accommodation of a larger number of users (identified as students, dervishes—or the poor, *fukarā*—and travelers, according to the *waqfiyya*) compared to earlier royal or elite foundations.²⁶ Meḫmed II's soup kitchen and hospice compound created a new paradigm for royal *'imārets* of the following centuries, in Istanbul and beyond.²⁷ Sited at a distance, the Kalenderhane, meant for those for whom the royal *'imāret* did not seem to have space, is one of the two dervish lodges within the walled city that was part of Meḫmed II's foundation. The building's name implies that it was allocated to antinomian dervishes rather than Sufis attached to a certain path. The *waqfiyya*, with its remarkably detailed stipulations regarding the dervishes and their shaykh's religious observances, their *zīkr* performances, and *Mathnawī* and poetry readings calls attention to the range of foreseen activities, and to the role of *waqf* in enforcing a particular order in the endowed establishment.²⁸

That Meḫmed II succeeded in reordering the functions and meanings of the buildings of the royal complex may be evident in the narrative of the antinomian dervish Otman Baba's confrontations with figures of religious authority in Istanbul during the 870s/1470s. Otman Baba's *Velāyetnāme* portrays Meḫmed II's mosque as a locus of the religious establishment. The ulama confronting the dervish for what to them were scandalous acts hailed from that mosque, which clearly was not a place to be frequented by the *baba* who roamed the streets, squares, and marketplace of Istanbul, club in his hand and dervishes

26 Öz (ed.), *Zwei Stiftsurkunden*, Ergin, *Fatih imareti vakfiyesi*. Bidlisī describes the *'imāret* compound and the hierarchized configuration of the refectories serving the ulama, students, and the poor. He notes that the soup kitchen served nearly 2000 people daily. Bidlisī, *Heşt Behişt* 76–77.

27 Baha Tanman (Sinan'ın mimarisi, 336–337) recognizes the prototypical role of Meḫmed II's hospice-soup-kitchen-caravanserai compound for later Ottoman *'imārets*. See also Singer, *Imarets*. Singer has tended to focus on *'imāret* primarily as soup kitchen, and has been less attentive to the semantic and spatial shift that took place in the Ottoman notion of *'imāret* in the later ninth/fifteenth century.

28 Öz, *Zwei Stiftsurkunden*; Ergin, *Fatih imareti vakfiyesi*; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 99–103.



FIGURE 8.8 Istanbul, *tābhāne* and *ʿimāret* (hospice and soup kitchen) of the Mehmed II complex, the courtyard
PHOTOGRAPH FROM GÜNÜÇ, *TÜRK KÜLTÜR VE MEDENİYET TARİHİNDE FATİH KÜLLİYESİ*

in tow.²⁹ The confrontation between Sümbül Sinân (the shaykh of the Halveti lodge at the Koca Muştâfâ Pasha Mosque and founder of the Sümbülüye branch of the Halvetis, d. 936/1529) and Şarı Gürz Hamza Efendi (the kadi of Istanbul, d. 928/1522) on the permissibility of *devrân* (rhythmic bodily movements in a circle during Sufi ritual), which took place some decades later in Meḥmed 11's mosque and was related in the Halveti shaykh Hülvi's *Lemezât* (1621), too, powerfully highlights the mosque as a locus of orthodoxy as articulated by the Ottoman religious establishment.³⁰

Two overlapping processes underlay the shift in patronage and architectural representation: the royal patron's changing relationship to the *gâzî* and dervish milieu on one hand, and on the other, the processes of the Sunnitization of the Ottoman polity. Architecture and institutional patronage had their share in the long road to the final dissolution of the rapport between agents of the frontier and the all-powerful center;³¹ as they did in the dynamic, shifting, and long-term process of Ottoman Sunnitization.³²

The abundance of *masjid* construction in the cities of Rum in the later eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries may be brought into the picture, as an aspect of the latter process. Neighborhood *masjids* imposed a grid of Islamic urban markers in the developing cityscapes. Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul are the best documented cities in this regard, thanks to a number of more complete surveys and studies. The less well-known Ayasuluk (Hagia Theodosius, Selçuk in modern Turkey), the Aydinid center through the eighth/fourteenth century and an intellectual node housing scholars hailing from Mamluk lands through the patronage of 'Îsâ Bey,³³ presents another striking case of seemingly methodical *masjid* construction dispersed throughout the urban area.³⁴ A neighborhood *masjid* might be solely a marker of Muslim presence and pre-

29 Küçük Abdal, *Velâyetnâme* 111a–112a; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 43, 235n106. Hülvi, *Lemezât*, cited in Öngören, *Osmanlılar'da tasavvuf* 374–376.

30 Cited in Öngören, *Osmanlılar'da tasavvuf* 374–376.

31 Kafadar, *Between two worlds*; Çıpa, *The making of Selim*.

32 See footnote 14.

33 Yıldız, From Cairo to Ayasuluk. On Aydinid literary patronage at large, see Yıldız, Aydinid court literature.

34 On *masjid* construction in ninth/fifteenth- and early tenth/sixteenth-century Istanbul, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 178–196. Ayverdi's surveys of early Ottoman architecture best capture the picture in Bursa and Edirne; Ayverdi, *İlk Osmanlı*; and Ayverdi, *Çelebi ve 11. Sultan Murad Devri*. Although Ayasuluk *masjids* present problems in identification and dating, they comprise a significant group from the later eighth/fourteenth and early ninth/fifteenth centuries. See Uğur, *Selçuk (Ayasuluk) cami ve mescidleri*; on late medieval Ayasuluk, see Foss, *Ephesus*.

eminence (this, regardless of the religious identities of the area's residents³⁵). Its widespread sponsorship was a product of compliance with Hanafi jurisdiction and formulations of the mosque as a semiofficial node vis-à-vis political authority.

The visible attention to *maşjid* construction (by administrative, scholarly, or mercantile elites), which dispersed the spaces of daily prayer within the urban area, may also be considered in connection to a set of prescriptive texts underlining Muslims' obligation to perform the requisite prayers. Among them are Kutbe'd-dîn İznîkî's (d. 821/1418) *Muḳaddime*,³⁶ sections of Devletoğlu Yūsuf Balıkesrî's *Manzûm fıkḥ* (or *Vikāye tercümesi*, 828/1424),³⁷ and toward the end of the century, İsfendiyâroğlu İsmâ'îl Bey's *Hulvîyât-ı şâhî*.³⁸ Authored by the Çandaroğlu bey of Sinop (d. 884/1479), himself the builder of several mosques in his native Kastamonu-Sinop area and in Plovdiv, the city of his exiled governorship, the *Hulvîyât-ı şâhî* includes lengthy sections of minute detail on every conceivable aspect of prayer.³⁹ Commanding arithmetical precision in his knowledge of the rewards of canonical worship, İsmâ'îl Bey indicates that conducting the prayers at the *maşjid* would bring twice the *faʿl* than conducting them at home.⁴⁰ İznîkî's long sections on the daily prayers include a recommendation on not leaving one's neighborhood *maşjid* to go and pray at another *maḥalle* only because the imam of the farther *maşjid* seems to be more pious, suggesting that the socio-spatial integrity and stability of the urban neighborhood, and the religious authority's desire to control intra-urban mobility to achieve such stability, were concerns already in the early 800s/1400s.⁴¹ All three texts betray the authors' access to and compliance with Hanafi law in reference to legal denominations of the city (*mışr*), the role of *maşjids* and mosques vis-à-vis the definition of *mışr*, and the legality of congregational prayer. Thus, they closely

35 *Maşjid* construction, and denomination of neighborhoods through *maşjids*, also in areas where large non-Muslim communities were resident in Istanbul, presents a good case for this. See Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*; and Leal, *The Balat district*.

36 Kutbe'd-dîn İznîkî, *Muḳaddime*; and Krstić, *Contested conversions* 26–50.

37 Aktan, *Devletoğlu Yusuf'un Vikāye tercümesi*; and Yıldız, *A Hanafi law manual*.

38 İsfendiyâroğlu İsmâ'îl Bey, *Hulvîyât-ı şâhî*.

39 On İsfendiyâroğlu's patronage of mosques, see Boykov, *Anatolian emir in Rumelia*. A copy of the *Hulvîyât-ı şâhî* was endowed by the chief architect Sinân to the *maşjid* he founded in Istanbul, underlining the connection between earlier modes of Sunnitization and later tenth/sixteenth-century dynamics; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 150.

40 İsfendiyâroğlu, *Hulvîyât-ı şâhî* 286r.

41 Kutbe'd-dîn İznîkî, *Muḳaddime* 205. The note is reflected in, and possibly adapted by, Ebû's-su'ūd Efendi in a fatwa on the impermissibility of praying in another neighborhood's Friday mosque, Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 57.

overlap with the notions and definitions of urban settlement Baber Johansen has traced in earlier medieval Hanafi legal texts.⁴²

That there was an interconnection between the writings of such scholars as İznikî and İsfendiyâroğlu (himself a scholar and ruler) and the political authority's will to impose practices of normative religious observance is suggested by the creation, toward the end of Mehmed II's reign, of the figure of an official *namâzçı*, a person who was given authority to fine regular absentees from the five daily prayers and from the Friday congregational prayer.⁴³ We see the *namâzçı* at work in one of the early court records of Üsküdar, dated 927/1521: here, the names of 28 individuals, one of them a janissary, are listed as those denizens of Üsküdar neighborhoods not attending daily prayers.⁴⁴ A *namâz sorucu* (prayer inquirer) is present also in a Nasreddin Hodja story included in the Pertev Naili Boratav compilation, which provides a different perspective on the matter. This was the Hodja's answer to the question whether he performed his prayers: "Neither did I desire it, nor was it my lot."⁴⁵

2 Friday Congregation in the *İmâret*: Agency of the New Elite

Built within the walled city, and at spots that would soon develop into densely settled areas (unlike earlier *imârets* located at urban fringes), the *imâret*-mosques founded by viziers in Istanbul were designed and instituted with attention to daily prayers. The early signs of the institutional and architectural change that turned the *imâret* into a mosque are fairly obscure, but nevertheless traceable. Murâd II's Edirne *imâret* may present the first such building; while changes were introduced more systematically in later ninth/fifteenth-century Istanbul.⁴⁶ The early history of the foundation of Grand Vizier Mağ-

42 Kutbe'd-dîn İznikî, *Mukaddime* 214–215; İsfendiyâroğlu, *Hulviyât-ı şâhî* 242r–v; Aktan, Devletoğlu Yusuf'un, 213–216; Johansen, The all-embracing town 144–145, 148–152.

43 Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize 313–314; see also Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 48, for a 953/1546 reference to the tyranny of the *namâzçı* figure, which rendered the practice unfavorable. See also the article by H. Evren Sünnetçioğlu in this volume.

44 Yılmaz (ed.), *İstanbul kadı sicilleri, Üsküdar* i, 434: "Bu taşîl mahallelerde olan bî-namâzi beyân eder ki zîkr olunur." There are a number of such registers in the court register archives; this is the earliest I have encountered.

45 "Ne heves etdüm, ve ne ol da bana nasib oldı," Boratav, *Nasreddin Hoca* 184, no. 338; also in Duman, *Nasreddin Hoca* 325, who gives the source as *Ĥikâyet-i Hoca Nasreddin*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS S.T. 1395, dated 1207/1792, 45r.

46 Ayverdi, *Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri* 405–415. My thanks to Gülru Necipoğlu for drawing my attention to the features of the Edirne Muradiye that depart from *zâviye/imâret* design. For evidence regarding interventions to the building, see footnote 58.

mūd Pasha, “absolute deputy” of Meḥmed II, a primary agent of Ottoman expansion, imperialization, and courtly and urban patronage for two decades before his summary execution in 878/1474, records the shift taking place.⁴⁷ Contemporary accounts of Maḥmūd Pasha’s foundation dating to the 860s/1460s and 870s/1470s identify the building as *‘imāret* and *hānḳāh*; authors highlight the founder’s generosity, the feasts that were offered there, and the presence of travelers who were recipients of the vizier’s generosity. Mu‘ālī’s lengthy praise of Maḥmūd’s charity, generosity, and pious foundations in his *Hünkār-nāme* (ca. 880/1475) links the foundation of the *hānḳāh* to the feasts offered by its patron.⁴⁸ The foundation inscription identifies the building as a house of charity (*dāra hayren*).⁴⁹ Enverī, who dedicated his *Düstūr-nāme* to the grand vizier in 869/1465 makes no mention of a mosque in Istanbul among Maḥmūd Pasha’s foundations. Rather, he praises the *‘imāret* (and within the same passages, also *hānḳāh*), and like Mu‘ālī some years later, the feasts offered to scholars and men of religion.⁵⁰ The ambiguity as to the early history of the building, and its multiple identifications is extended also to the visual record. Two city views from the early 1480s feature the building: the Vavassore view depicts it without a minaret and labels it *moscha*; in the view in a Buondelmonti manuscript the building is depicted with a minaret and is labeled *imarāt*.⁵¹ Extant inscriptions of Maḥmūd Pasha’s *‘imāret* and its contemporaries (unlike that of Meḥmed’s New Mosque) do not refer to them as mosques: Maḥmūd Pasha’s and Hāṣ Murād

47 On Maḥmūd Pasha, and his urban and cultural patronage at large, see Stavrides, *The sultan of viziers*. The T-type structure constructed as part of the commemorative complex at the discovered grave of Ayyūb al-Ansārī in extramural Istanbul, also in 1459, was also likely an *‘imāret* at the time of its foundation. For the Maḥmūd Pasha *‘imāret* and mosque, see Ayverdi, *Fatih devri* iii, 433–451; Kuran, *The mosque*; Emir, Erken Osmanlı 190–191; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 109–119. In *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* I argued that the building was founded as a mosque. Having reviewed the evidence, I propose a revision of that argument here.

48 Mu‘ālī, *Hünkār-nāme* 8b–10b; for a transcription of the text, see Balata, *Hünkār-nāma*.

49 By contrast, Meḥmed II’s mosque is denoted as *cāmi’* in its foundation inscription. In Maḥmūd Pasha’s foundation, the inscriptions on the side entrances to the hospice rooms, and the hadith and Quranic quotation both evoking a *masjid*, must have been put in place alongside the restoration inscription, documenting the Oṣmān III restoration. For the texts, see <http://www.ottomaninscriptions.com/information.aspx?ref=list&bid=426&hid=2687> [accessed 26 July 2020].

50 Enverī, *Düstūr-nāme* 71–72.

51 For the maps, issues of their dating, and the identification of sites they represent, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 143–161. It is not quite certain exactly which site is labeled by Vavassore, but its location certainly points to Maḥmūd’s building. It has no minaret. It should be noted, though, that the only minarets depicted in this image are those of Meḥmed II’s mosque.

Pasha's (d. 882/1477) inscriptions carry the phrase *dāra hayren*, Rüm Meḥmed's (also depicted with a minaret by the maker of the Buondelmonti view), *dār al-rafi'*.⁵²

Architectural evidence suggests that the Maḥmūd Pasha *'imāret* may have gone through an intervention that remade it into a mosque. Based on his careful architectural survey of the building, Sedat Emir has argued that the minaret of the Maḥmūd Pasha *'imāret* was a later addition and not part of the original building; the current restoration work that has revealed structural details of this section of the building has corroborated this view.⁵³ That it was not a much later addition is suggested by its presence in the Istanbul view in the Buondelmonti manuscript mentioned above. Completed in 912/1507, Idrīs-i Bidlīsī's *Hasht Behesht* leaves no doubt that Maḥmūd's foundation functioned as a congregational mosque at that time. Not only does he refer to the mosque alongside the *hānkāh*, *ribāṭ*, and madrasa (and writes on the expansive charities, generosity, and hospitality of Maḥmūd and his patronage of poets and scholars), but he also gives an account of the expenses of the foundation, which included the allowances for a *haṭīb*, or deliverer of the Friday sermon.⁵⁴

In view of the absence of any references to the congregational mosque by Maḥmūd Pasha's contemporaries, the addition of the minaret at an uncertain date (a theme that will come up again in the following section of this paper), and in view of documents and narratives from the following decades that refer to it as *cāmi'-i ṣerīf*, I suggest that the building, founded as an *'imāret*, may have

52 Üsküdar court records up to the mid-940s/1540s have numerous references to the Rüm Meḥmed Pasha *'imāret*. By 953/1546, and in later dealings of the sharia court with the same foundation, the reference is always to the Meḥmed Pasha Mosque.

53 Emir demonstrated that within the northwestern corner room, 30 to 35 centimeters had been scraped off from the western corner of the wall separating the portico from the interior, from the ground level up, the scraped part ending in a console at the point it reaches the top of the minaret door on the western wall. He argued that this was done in order to allow for the opening of an entrance to the minaret, and he took this as evidence that the minaret was a later addition; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı* 216–217, photographs 582, 583. As the building has been closed for restoration, I have not been able to conduct an on-site examination. Baha Tanman, the adviser for the current restoration project (disrupted due to the Covid-19 pandemic) has corroborated that the structural details of the minaret's connection to the main building suggests a later intervention; personal communication, 22 April 2020.

54 A wage of 25 *ağçe*s for the *haṭīb* and 15 for the imam are recorded by Bidlīsī, who also notes that the daily expenses of the Maḥmūd Pasha *'imāret* was close to 1,000 *ağçe*s, *Heşt Behişt* 91. The original *waqfiyya* of the Maḥmūd Pasha foundation has not surfaced. The *waqfiyya* summary recorded in 1546 has the date as 878/1474, the year the vizier was executed. The summary records a 15 *ağçe* wage for the *haṭīb*; Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul vakıfları* 42–45.

been converted into a congregational mosque with additions to and alterations of its *waqf*. Two possible dates for this intervention would be the completion of Mehmed II's mosque in 1470 and Maḥmūd Pasha's execution in 878/1474, after which his expansive endowment was confiscated into the royal treasury.⁵⁵ If, on the other hand, the main building of Maḥmūd Pasha's foundation was from the start instituted as a congregational mosque-and-hospice, housing the Friday prayer and sermon as well as accommodative functions, the narrative sources discussed earlier suggest that this novel arrangement was lost on the grand vizier's contemporaries.

The spatial configuration of buildings founded by Maḥmūd Pasha and his contemporaries in the upper echelons of Ottoman rule in Istanbul and beyond present a search for a middle ground that would bespeak the emphasis on congregational prayer and, at the same time, highlight the builders' charity through offerings of hospitality.⁵⁶ The hospice rooms of Maḥmūd's and other viziers' buildings in Istanbul were clearly used for purposes of accommodation and socializing, as their fireplaces (or traces thereof) and their storage niches indicate. Rather than isolating the provision of accommodation and food to areas beyond courtyards and walls as in the royal complex, the architects intervened in the spatial configuration and circulation patterns within the established conventions of *zāviye/ʿimāret* design. Hence, the Maḥmūd Pasha mosque, with its corridor separating the hospice rooms from its main prayer space, a design that may have been inspired by late Byzantine church building in Constantinople.⁵⁷ The central domed hall of the building, in earlier *ʿimārets* a central space giving way to the prayer *eyvān* and to guest rooms, was now part of a larger prayer space along the entrance axis.⁵⁸ Unlike earlier T-type

55 The Maḥmūd Pasha *waqf* was to be partly restored during the reign of Bāyezīd II. The changes in the Maḥmūd Pasha foundation following his execution, and during the reign of Bāyezīd II, are discussed in Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 117–118, 247m85, and 248n186; and in greater detail in Kafescioğlu, *The Ottoman capital*, 180–182.

56 For discussions of the architectural and spatial shift in late ninth/fifteenth-century T-plan buildings, see Kuran, *Early Ottoman*; on hospice functions of T-plan convent-mosques, see Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 94–95; Kafescioğlu, *The Ottoman capital* 165–169, 194–196; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis* 110–114, 131–132. Sussan Babaie's discussion of notions of conviviality as articulated by the ruling body in the Safavid context may offer perspectives on the uses of royal and elite *ʿimārets* and mosque-and-hospice buildings in the early Ottoman cultural milieu, see Babaie, *Isfahan* 1–30.

57 The layout with a corridor separating the main prayer hall from hospice rooms, and its possible connection to late Byzantine church construction in Constantinople, is discussed in greater detail in Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 112–114.

58 The Edirne *ʿimāret* of Murād II, with a *waqfiyya* dated 830/1426–1427, appears at first sight to be an earlier example of such a configuration, as the prayer *eyvān* here has the

buildings where the central hall was covered with a more prominent dome with an oculus, here the two successive domes covering the prayer hall were of equal size and height. Separate side entrances to the hospice rooms, a new feature of T-type buildings of these decades, ensured that the users of the hospice rooms (*âyende u revende*) did not intervene with the prayer space, which would be entered through the arcaded portico and the principal portal. Such side entrances would be opened in many earlier *‘imâret* buildings as they were converted into mosques, a topic the final section of this paper will turn to.

The particular spatial and volumetric composition that shaped the exterior configuration of the urban *‘imâret*, a hallmark of the T-plan building as a “type,” must have had a role in its continued use. This easily recognizable composition rendered the building with its multiple functions and accommodative spaces immediately recognizable.⁵⁹ The visual configuration of the early *‘imârets*, easily identifiable signposts of sultans’ and emirs’ hospitality, and centerpieces of expansive foundations that connected the cities to the hinterland where founders were patrons of entrenched networks of property and production, lived on in the *‘imâret-and-mosque* of the later ninth/fifteenth century.⁶⁰

same elevation as the central hall. However, Aptullah Kuran has noted that excavations revealed the original floor of the central hall, which was at a lower level than the *eyvâns*. The accounting book of its foundation, from 1488 and 1489, has expenses for a *haṭīb*, pointing to its use as a congregational mosque at that time. The Edirne historian ‘Abdu’rahmân Hibri notes that it was founded as a Mevlevi lodge, and was later converted into a mosque; this is corroborated by Evliyâ Çelebi, who attributes the conversion to the founder, Murâd II. Evliyâ’s mention of Murâd II replacing the wooden floor of the ceremonial hall with marble during the conversion, too, may explain the unusual contiguous space under the mihrab dome and the central dome. *Evliyâ Çelebi seyahatnâmesi* iii, 228. As noted separately by Kuran and Emir, the side rooms were most likely converted into *eyvâns* later, by opening arches into the partition walls between the central space and the rooms. Kuran observed the narrowness of the arches giving way to the side spaces; Emir observed that the original doors opening to the side rooms remain but have been converted into closets. It may be fruitful to consider the possibility of two different interventions to the building. For a survey of the building and relevant documents, see Ayverdi, *Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad* 405–415. For arguments regarding interventions to its fabric during its conversion into a mosque and observations regarding the hospice rooms, see Kuran, *The mosque* 124–125, 132; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı* 212–213, photographs 561–564.

59 The *‘imârets* of Murâd I, Bâyezîd I and Meḥmed I in Bursa diverge from the predominant volumetric composition and side facade arrangement of majority of T-type buildings: their original layouts feature three *eyvâns*, with two at the sides, between the hospice rooms. The hospice rooms are not pronounced in the exterior volumetric configuration, rather they are rendered part of the prismatic mass of the main building. However, the domical arrangement and protruding mihrab *eyvân* are recognizable exterior features of the type. See also footnote 100.

60 Kayhan, 16. ve 17. yüzyıllarda; York, *Imarets, Islamization*.



FIGURE 8.9 Afyon Karahisar, *'imāret* and mosque of Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, 879/1474, exterior view from south

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None of the original *waqfiyyas* of the elite foundations in Istanbul have surfaced. The Afyon foundation of Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, whose *waqfiyya* copy carries the date 879/1475, and indicates the completion date of the same year, captures the architectural and institutional shift that I hope to highlight in this paper with more clarity (figures 8.9 and 8.10).⁶¹ Completed within the same years as two other viziers' foundations in Istanbul and Üsküdar (those of the pashas Hāş Murād and Rüm Meḥmed), the Afyon building presents an elaborate response to the new use as congregational mosque that the long-established type was now put to. As in the Istanbul buildings of Maḥmūd Pasha and Hāş Murād Pasha, the two successive domed units beyond the entrance constituted the prayer space and were not differentiated by their height or by the elevation of the mihrab *eyvān*. Its side *eyvāns*, centering the lateral facades and providing entry into the hospice rooms, freed the main space of the mosque from circulation between its main entrance and the hospice rooms. Solving a use and circulation problem presented by the use of the T-plan for a congregational mosque, this new layout at the same time imparted a monumental aspect to the hospice sections. The rooms centered by arched

61 Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, 2088.

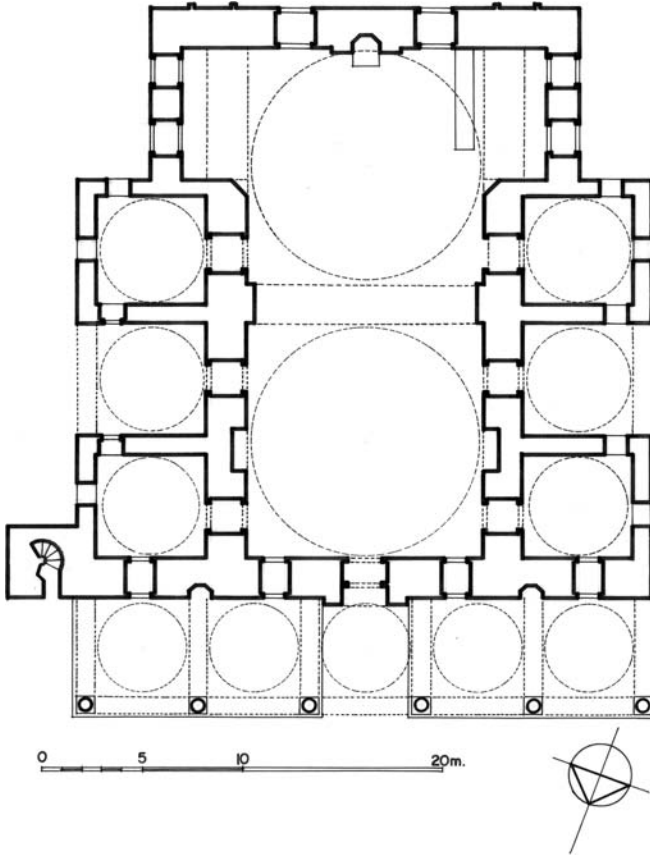


FIGURE 8.10 Afyon Karahisar, *‘imāret* and mosque of Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, 879/1474, plan
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eyvāns claim an equal status for the hospice with respect to the porticoed main entrance of the building. The Afyon building’s side facades in fact bear a semblance to the layout and entrance façade of the *‘imāret* of Gāzī Evrenos in Komotini, which features a monumental *eyvān* (with no prayer space opening onto it) and two side rooms; a resemblance that may not be accidental.⁶² One could read this as a duality in the Afyon building’s visual language—the side *eyvāns* flanked by hospice rooms associated with a former architectural lan-

62 On the architecture of Evrenos *‘imāret* in Komotini (completed before 785/1383), see Kiel, *The oldest Ottoman monuments; Çağaptay, The road from Bithynia*.

guage of *gāzī* patronage and prestige, and the arcaded portico of the entrance façade, featuring an aesthetic articulated in royal buildings of Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul, bespeaking a connection to the political center.

Gedik Aḥmed Pasha's endowment for a congregational mosque-and-*'imāret* is repeatedly referred to as *cāmi'-i şerif* (or, *mescid-i cāmi'*) *ve 'imāret* in the 879/1475 *waqfiyya*. The building and the *waqfiyya* present a short-lived duality in the appointments of an *'imāret's* leading personnel: a shaykh for the *'imāret-i cāmi'* is appointed, while the well supplied and staffed soup kitchen (*'imāret* in the document), has its own shaykh; both men were expected to be modest, noncovetous, and abstinent. The mosque-hospice, with a *haṭīb* and a shaykh, the latter a subordinate to the former, captures the transformation of the institution well. The document stipulates a ten *dirhem* wage for a *haṭīb* (who should be a scholar knowledgeable in Arabic and in control of his speech), an imam with the same wage and knowledgeable in conducting daily prayers, and two muezzins. Allowances for 15 Quran readers and ten *tehlilhān* (chanting the profession of God's unity), who would read for the founder's soul following each of the five daily prayers, suggest an intense atmosphere of devotional reading and chanting in the mosque.⁶³ The building's local name, "*'imāret camii'*," too, in place at least since Evliyā passed through Karahisar, points to the same configuration of expanded use, as congregational mosque, as hospice, possibly also as dining hall of the soup kitchen. Gedik Aḥmed's foundation deed suggests that the earliest documents of *'imāret*-mosques founded in Istanbul in the 870s/1470s, preserved in the *waqf* survey of 953/1546, may reflect the allotments of the time of their composition. If Maḥmūd Pasha's *'imāret* had in fact been converted into a congregational mosque subsequent to its construction, this may have taken place during these years. This was also when the viziers Hāş Murād and Rūm Meḥmed created their foundations, in Aksaray within the walled city of Istanbul and in Üsküdar across the Bosphorus.

The viziers' constructions endowed intramural Istanbul with multiple Friday mosques. This was not a novelty either in the larger Islamic world or in the Ottoman domains.⁶⁴ As far as Ottoman practice was concerned, the sponsorship of multiple Friday mosques in a town had been more of a representational affair (rather than one of implementing and hosting multiple congregational communities within a town), as implied by Edirne's Eski and Üç Şerefeli

63 Oil and mats for the mosque were provided for, as were allowances for a leather worker employed in the mosque and the *'imāret*, a doorkeeper, two sweepers for the *'imāret* and the stables, four bakers and their assistants, four cooks and their helpers, a dishwasher, a wheat grinder, a repairer of buildings, and four revenue collectors.

64 Johansen, *The all-embracing town*; Grabar, *The architecture of the Middle Eastern city*.

mosques, both at the city center and the latter built a stone's throw from the former. As much as the new mosque construction in Istanbul during the early decades under Ottoman rule answered the need to remake the city's image through Muslim monuments, they also present something of a blueprint of the Hanafi classification and hierarchy of mosques. Friday mosques and neighborhood *masjids* created the physical nodes for multiple congregations and a quasi-parochial organization, foreseen and imposed (if sometimes only as far as state authority and bureaucracy were concerned) on the urban area.⁶⁵ Hanafi law and Ottoman practice continued to hold that the construction of a Friday mosque was to be ordained by sultanic authority; in earlier Ottoman practice this was a sultan's prerogative.⁶⁶ Mosque-hospices founded by the new elite in Istanbul, Gedik Aḥmed's Afyon foundation, alongside Maḥmūd Pasha's Sofia mosque, a multidomed hall modeled after Bursa's Ulu Cami and Edirne's Eski Cami, expanded what was until then the royal prerogative of founding Friday mosques to subroyal builders.⁶⁷

The change in the architecture and the institutional framework of the *'imāret* was brought on by agents of the newly consolidated center, as revealed by a look at *'imārets* other patrons built in other places. The 'Īsā Bey *'imāret* in Skopje, contemporaneous with the Afyon building, and two mosque-hospices built by viziers in Istanbul is a case in point. The founder was a descendant of Paşa Yiğit and therefore a member of a well-entrenched, powerful, and wealthy frontier dynasty, himself a frontier lord and an agent of Meḥmed 11's military exploits in the Balkans. He was also the founder of infrastructure and charities that directed income from his expansive possessions into projects in Skopje, Sarajevo (where his palace gave its name to the city), and elsewhere in Bosnia. 'Īsā Bey's Skopje building, which is identified as a *hānḳāh* in its 874/1469 *waqfiyya* and as *'imāret* in its inscription dated 880/1475–1476,⁶⁸ presents a conventional interpretation of the T-type building: it features a central hall followed by a prayer *eyvān* on the entrance axis, both domed, and hospice rooms to the

65 Johansen, The all-embracing. That this matrix was imposed on Istanbul has been discussed in Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 180–184.

66 'Īsā Bey's Sarajevo Friday mosque was built in 862/1458 and was dedicated to Meḥmed 11: Kemūrāzāde Seyfeddīn, *Sarāybosnada ebniyye-i hayriyyenin*, 3; Pelidija and Emecen, 'Īsā Bey. On the construction of Friday mosques through sultanic consent, see Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 47–48.

67 See also Hartmuth, A late ninth/fifteenth-century change, which locates the establishment of plural congregational mosques in Balkan cities, and by subroyal patrons, in the reign of Bāyezīd 11.

68 The *waqfiyya* is dated 874AH and indicates the foundation date as 871AH; Ayverdi, *Fatih devri* iv, 868.

sides.⁶⁹ The foundation deed entrusts the operation of the hospice to an *ahī* (unlike the majority of foundation deeds that have been preserved, which have allowances for a shaykh) implying a direct connection to the artisanal community of the city and patronage extended to its members.⁷⁰

Where the institutional patronage by frontier lords and the old elite of the Ottoman domains is concerned, ʿĪsā Bey's Skopje foundation is not exceptional. *ʿImārets* founded during the reign of Mehmed II by patrons of different background and standing, who were not part of the new slave (*ḵūl*) elite, all follow earlier spatial and institutional configurations: they are foundations whose primary aim was providing food and shelter to a range of users.⁷¹ While the greatest expenses within their endowments are directed toward the distribution of food, their endowment deeds also highlight their functions as places for daily prayers, and allowances were set aside for prayers and Quran readings for the soul of the founder. The functions of the *ʿimāret* as registered in İshāk Pasha's Inegöl building, founded in his town of origin in 873/1468, captures this well: the *ʿimāret* with its rooms, courtyard (*muḥavvata*), kitchen, storage places, stables and other dependencies was intended as a residence and a place for dervishes (*fukarā* and *mesākin*), a halting place and a refuge for those who came and went, and for Muslims whether they were traveling or resident. The introductory passages of the *waqfiyya*, on the other hand, contain the hadith "Whoever builds a *masjid* for God, God will build for him a house like it in paradise."⁷² This emphasis on the *masjid* in an *ʿimāret's waqfiyya* may be novel: it is not present, for example, in the introduction sections of Murād I's and Bāyezīd I's endowment deeds of their Bursa foundations, dated 787/1385 and 802/1399–1400 respectively.⁷³ It has been noted that a third of the *ʿimārets* built up to the early decades of the ninth/fifteenth century did not originally feature a mihrab,⁷⁴ also an indication that the function of the elevated

69 On this building in the context of İshāk Bey's and ʿĪsā Bey's architectural patronage in Skopje, see Hartmuth, *Building the Ottoman city*.

70 ʿĪsā Beg's Sarajevo foundation of 866/1462, too, is for a *zāviye* directed to the use of students, Sufis, *gāzīs* and *seyyids*, alongside a public bath and a bridge over the river Miljacka; Ayverdi, *Fatih devri* iv, 847.

71 Such as those of Ḥamza Bey in Bursa, Hızır Pasha in Amasya, Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha in Edirne (858/1454), Sinān b. Elvān in Geyve, Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri* iii, 27–30, 89–98, 209–210, 275–277.

72 Tamer, *İshak Pasa Vakıfları*, *waqfiyya* facsimile.

73 For the endowment deed of Murād I see, Gökbilgin, *Murad I*. This is the facsimile of the 802/1400 *waqfiyya*, which is a copy of an earlier foundation deed dated 787/1385. For the foundation deed of Bāyezīd I, see Ayverdi, *Yıldırım Bayezid'in Bursa vakfiyesi*.

74 Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında* 231–232.

eyvân on the entrance axis as a *masjid*, in those buildings that did have a qibla orientation, came to be accentuated through the course of the ninth/fifteenth century.

3 Spatial Rearrangements and a Broader Range of Builders

Some two decades after founding the Inegöl building, in 896/1490–1491, İshâk Pasha founded another *‘imâret* in Salonica. It was similar in most details of its allocations, with the exception that this *‘imâret* had allowances for a Friday preacher, and hence, like Gedik Ahmed’s Afyon building, was to function also as Friday mosque.⁷⁵ A few years earlier (in 891/1486) the city of Amasya had become home to an *‘imâret* founded and constructed as a hospice and Friday mosque. The foundation of Meḥmed Pasha, member of the powerful Amasya family of Yörgüç Pasha, features a single dome flanked by hospice rooms in an arrangement akin to the reverse-T. However, it attaches sets of two hospice rooms aligned with the entrance to the two sides of a single domed mosque, whereby the rooms could be accessed from the mosque as well as via the entrance arcade of the building.⁷⁶ Founded in the princely capital that had been a site where the Halvetiye was established in the lands of Rum, Meḥmed Pasha’s lodge was founded specifically for Halveti dervishes.⁷⁷

İshâk Pasha’s Salonica foundation, and that of Meḥmed Pasha in Amasya, take us into the 890s/1480s, when a new configuration of the *‘imâret* space was set in stone first in Istanbul. The Grand Vizier Dâvud Pasha’s foundation (890/1485) is a single domed mosque with hospice rooms to the sides, with separate entrances that are reminiscent of the side portal arrangements of Gedik Ahmed’s Afyon *‘imâret*-mosque. With rooms now attached to a unitary prayer space, it bespeaks the continued importance of the ideals of hospitality.

In the aftermath of the partial reconciliation with agents of the earlier order, following Meḥmed II’s demise (which involved the restoration of some of the endowments and freehold property appropriated by Meḥmed II, the welcoming to the capital city of Sunni-oriented Sufi groups, among them Halvetis

75 The building continued to be denoted as *‘imâret*, unlike most others from this period. Evliyâ described it as Alaca ‘Imâret Câmî’, Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme* viii, 66.

76 Like Gedik Ahmed Pasha’s foundation in Afyon, this is one of the few *‘imârets* of the period where an original minbar is preserved, bearing witness to the institutional status of the building as Friday mosque and lodge. Yüksel, *II. Bayezid* 39–43.

77 On Amasya lodges and the Halvetiye, see Karataş, *The city as historical actor*.

of Amasya and Naqshbandis in particular), Bāyezīd II (r. 886–918/1481–1512) and his architects revisited the middle ground formulated by the designers of late ninth/fifteenth-century *‘imāret*-and-mosque buildings. These included Gedik Aḥmed and, later, Dāvud Pasha foundations that had sought to combine Friday mosque and *‘imāret* under the same roof, and to keep them separate from each other. Three royal buildings founded by Bāyezīd II and Süleymān I between the 1480s and 1520s, which departed from Meḥmed II’s innovation in mosque design, call attention to the dialogue and reciprocity between non-royal and royal foundations. Hence, the layout of prayer hall and guest rooms with separate entrances attached to it that gave shape to Bāyezīd II’s mosques in Edirne (889–893/1484–1487) and Istanbul (906–911/1501–1505) and, later, to the commemorative mosque built by Süleymān for Selīm I (929/1522). To the single-domed mosques of Bāyezīd in Edirne and Selīm in Istanbul, and to the Hagia Sophia-inspired design of Bāyezīd’s mosque in Istanbul were added hospice sections that were laid out in a novel, palatial design. They feature four-*eyvān* cross-axial arrangements with central, lanterned domes that transpose the central halls of early *‘imārets* into this separate hospice space attached to the mosque, giving way to four rooms at the corners. The layouts of these hospice sections carry reminiscences of the royal *‘imārets* of Bursa with their cross-axial arrangements and multiple *eyvāns*, suggesting that they carry deliberate references to these earlier structures.⁷⁸ Visiting these buildings in the later tenth/sixteenth century, the geographer and traveler ‘Āşık Meḥmed described the Bāyezīd hospice as a *dārü’z-ziyāfe* (banquet hall) composed of connected rooms. He separately mentioned the kitchen (*maṭbah-ı ta‘ām*) and refectory (*me’kel-i ta‘ām*) for the poor and the needy from among Muslim men and women. He thereby suggested a difference of status between those guests who ate and were offered hospitality at the mosque’s *dārü’z-ziyāfe*⁷⁹ and those offered food and lodging in the soup kitchen, hospice, and caravanserai complex beyond the outer enclosure of the mosque. Describing Selīm I’s mosque, ‘Āşık Meḥmed recounted the same units again: a *dārü’z-ziyāfe* that adjoined the mosque for travelers (*misāfirin*) and a kitchen and refectory for the poor and the poor among the madrasa’s students (figure 8.11).

78 See footnotes 59 and 100.

79 ‘Āşık Meḥmed twice mentions the *dārü’z-ziyāfe* for travelers (*misāfirin*) and indicates that the refectory (*me’kel*) was for the poor students and for the poor and the needy Muslims: *fukarā-yı talebe-yi ‘ulūm; fukarā ve zu‘afā-yi muslimūn ve muslimāt*; Aşık Mehmed, *Menāzirü’l-avālim* 1089–1090.

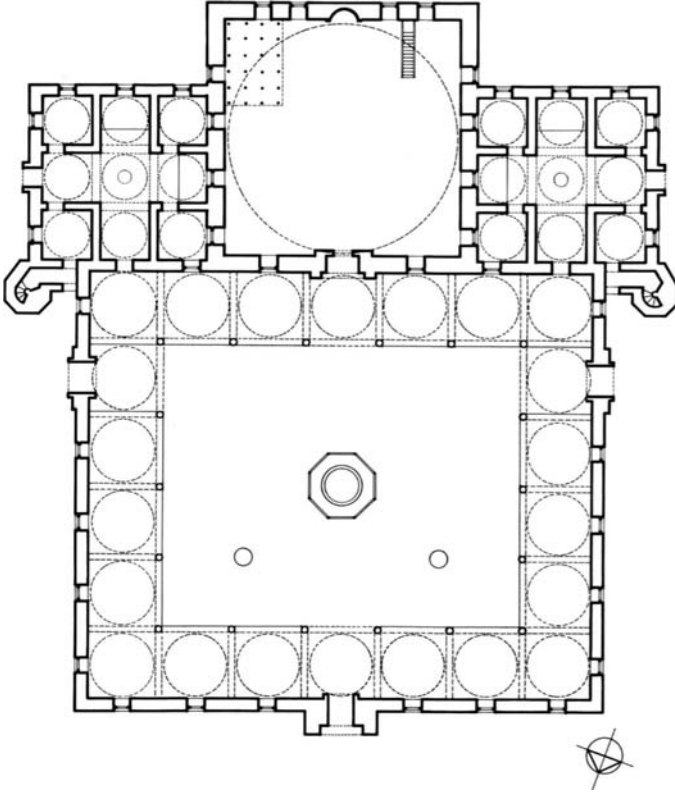


FIGURE 8.11A Edirne, mosque and *'imāret* of Bāyezīd II, 893/1487–1488;
plan

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During these decades, when former codes of hospitality and former connections between spaces of religious observance and spaces of accommodation were being redefined, the patronage profile of the structures that housed dervishes and “those who came and went” also shifted. Bāyezīd II and Süleymān were patrons of several Sufi lodges in Istanbul and other cities of the realm, often in particularly prescribed manners: Bāyezīd established a lodge for the Naqshbandi shaykh Aḥmed Buhārī in Istanbul.⁸⁰ Members of his former household in Amasya and his imperial council and court in Istanbul, Koca Muştafā Pasha (d. 918/1512) and Kapu Ağası Hüseyn Ağa (fl. c. 894/1489), were founders of Halveti lodges centered around Friday mosques in Istanbul, the

80 Yüksel, *II. Bayezid 247–248*, Le Gall, *A culture of Sufism* 35–62.



FIGURE 8.11B Edirne, mosque and *‘imāret* of Bāyezīd II, 893/1487–1488; view of the hospice section flanking the mosque
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

former established for prominent figures of the order who had hailed from Amasya.⁸¹ While earlier *waqf* documents made explicit references to dervishes' accommodations in urban *‘imārets* and *zāviyes*, those comers and goers associated with the more nebulous networks and practices of what Ahmet Karamustafa has termed dervish piety fell outside the patronage net of Ottoman elite patrons of the later ninth/fifteenth century.⁸²

The shift in *gāzī* constructions during these same decades also underlines the changing semiotics of patronage. Unlike Gāzī Mihāl, who founded an *‘imāret* at the edge of Edirne in 825/1421–1422, later Mihāloğlus such as ‘Alī and Aḥmed Beys turned to sponsor saints' shrines deep in the forested countryside of the Eastern Balkans. Among these shrines, built in the Mihāloğlus' immediate area of influence, are the complex of Otman Baba in southern Bulgaria and that of Demir Baba in the Deliorman, each centered around the mausoleum of

81 On the political context, see Karataş, *The city as historical actor*, 103–118; Curry, *The transformation*, 273–276; on the foundations, Yürekli, *Between public and private*; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 220–225.

82 Karamustafa, *Origins of Anatolian*, 84 ff.; and Karamustafa, *Antinomian Sufis*; Terzioğlu, *Sufis in the age of*.

an *abdāl* of Rum. Mihaloğlu expanded their benefaction of dervish piety into Anatolia, and sponsored constructions in the shrine complexes of Seyyid Gāzī and Hāccī Bektaş, exactly at the time when the Ottoman center had begun pronounced efforts to control and to co-opt dervish groups, connected to various cults of saints and discontented both with the emerging Ottoman configuration of power and its religious politics, into the fold of Bektashism in the making.⁸³ Members of another notable frontier dynasty, the sons of Evrenos Gāzī, seem to have followed trends of the imperial center more closely. They founded a Friday mosque in Iannitsa in 1498, the dynasty's stronghold, and extended an invitation to and hosted the Naqshbandi shaykh and scholar 'Abdullāh-ı İlähī here and at nearby Naoussa.⁸⁴

4 "Question: If an Imam Declares *Devrān* in the Mosque Lawful"

The early years of Süleymān's rule brought Kemālpāşazāde Şemsüddīn Aḥmed (also known as Ibn Kemāl), a prolific scholar and prominent member of the religious hierarchy, to the post of chief mufti, a position he held from 932/1526 until his passing in 940/1534.⁸⁵ Within the corpus of works Kemālpāşazāde published through a long scholarly career are also treatises that delineate his views on religious identities and practices that fell outside the fold of Sunni Islam and of the Hanafi creed, including those on Sufi notions and practices that he found nonconforming to the sharia.⁸⁶ Changes in Kemālpāşazāde's relationship to Sufi orders and their masters in Istanbul have been noted, his earlier hostility evolving into intimate connections to figures like Sünbül Sinān and İbrahīm Gülşeni.⁸⁷ His corpus of fatwas, which grant considerable space to Sufism and Sufi ritual, nevertheless document a set of austere views on the topic. Of particular importance to this paper are those involving ritual space and the identities of the Sufis.⁸⁸

83 Yürekli, *Architecture and hagiography*; Kiprovska, The Mihaloğlu family; Tanman, Demir Baba; Antov, *The Ottoman "wild west"* 71–93.

84 Umur, *Reconstructing Yenice-i Vardar* 112–125.

85 On Kemālpāşazāde, see Turan et al., *Kemālpāşazade*. On his career and role as chief mufti, see also Repp, *The mufti of Istanbul*; Atçıl, *The Safavid threat* 301–304; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*.

86 References in İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları* 67, fn 227.

87 Öngören, *Osmanlılar'da tasavvuf* 344–348.

88 Öngören, *Osmanlılar'da tasavvuf* 369–380; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları* 67–75. In at least one collection of his fatwas, opinions regarding Sufi ritual have been collected under a separate heading; Kemālpāşazāde, *Fetāvā-yı İbn Kemāl* 78b: "Süfilerin zikr ve devrānına müte'allik sorular."

Among the body of Kemālpaşazāde's opinions that address questions of Sufi *zīkr*, *semā*⁸⁹, and *devrān* are numerous fatwas that take issue with prayer leaders who condoned practices of *zīkr*. Fatwas state that such an imam would not be considered legitimate and that prayers performed with his leadership would be null.⁸⁹ That Sufi ritual in mosques was a weighty issue is suggested by one fatwa that mentions Zeyd climbing the pulpit in a mosque to preach on the erstwhile and continued lawfulness of dance (*rağş*). Kemālpaşazāde's opinion: the Muslims who are present should take the impostor down the pulpit and out of the mosque.⁹⁰ Plural practices in the *maşjid* (and possibly, the *maşjid* section of an *imāret*) were no more admissible: Sufis loudly performing *zīkr* while Quran reading and interpretation continued in the *maşjid* were to be warned and stopped.⁹¹ In all, Kemālpaşazāde's fatwas make clear that Sufi ritual in mosques and *maşjids* was now deemed unacceptable and that mosque imams were expected to conform to the new demarcation of their roles.⁹² One must also consider that the chief mufti issued these fatwas in an Istanbul that housed Halveti mosque-lodges that used the monumental domed naves of converted Byzantine churches as ritual and congregation spaces, among them the *Çoca Muştafâ Paşa* (S. Andrei in Kriesei) and *Küçük Ayasofya* (ss. Sergius and Bacchus).

The Sufi's body and voice were objects of stern supervision and control in Kemālpaşazāde's reordering of devotional practice. His fatwas often equate moving in a circle (*devrān*) and dance (*rağş*) and provide a number of dictionary-like definitions for *rağş*: "*zīkr* through moving in a circle (*devrān*), bending one's head and waist, moving one's hands and feet." *Rağş* during Sufi ritual appears to be perceived as a problem specifically in urban contexts; Kemālpaşazāde repeatedly asked for those who insisted on practicing *zīkr* in the form of dance to be subjected to fierce punishment, deemed unbelievers (*kāfir*), and deported from the city.⁹³ A Sufi was expected, he ruled, to perform *zīkr* as if he was in the presence of sultans, sitting in dignified quietude and with perfect manners.⁹⁴ The mufti took issue with giving alms to those who claimed *devrān* to be lawful, suggesting that the objects of this particular fatwa (and perhaps

89 Kemālpaşazāde, *Fetāvā-yı İbn Kemāl* 79b; Kemālpaşazāde, *Mecmū'atü'l-fetāvā* 6a.

90 Kemālpaşazāde, *Fetāvā-yı İbn Kemāl* 79a.

91 Kemālpaşazāde, *Mecmū'atü'l-fetāvā* 7a.

92 The fatwas resonate in Ebū's-su'ūd's fatwas discussed by Necipoğlu with some differences, one striking divergence being Ebū's-su'ūd's inclination to stipulate the execution as heretics of those Sufis practicing unacceptable forms of *zīkr*.

93 Kemālpaşazāde, *Fetāvā-yı İbn Kemāl* 79b, 80a; Kemālpaşazāde, *Mecmū'atü'l-fetāvā* 6a.

94 Kemālpaşazāde, *Mecmū'atü'l-fetāvā* 6a. Turan, quoting from 'Atā'i, notes that Kemālpaşazāde also had a fatwa that condoned *devrān*; Turan, Kemālpaşazade.

some of the others) were mendicant dervishes rather than Sufis connected to an established order and therefore beneficiaries of a network of endowments. Numerous temporal phrases and comparisons in the fatwas betray a consciousness of the past and present of religious praxis. One fatwa possibly referred to 'Alī Cemālī Efendi (d. 932/1525–1526) who occupied the post of chief mufti prior to him, and who, with intimate personal and familial ties to the Halvetiye, was expressly more permissive in his writings and opinions regarding the bodily dimension of Sufi ritual. Kemālpaşazāde ruled that his current opinions regarding *devrān* in mosques would override those of the former mufti.⁹⁵ At issue was a passage, where devotional practices and their sites were concerned, from an earlier to a novel corporeal and spatial regime.⁹⁶

Süleymān the Lawgiver and Sinān his chief architect took permanent care of the matter (at least as far as the physical spaces of worship were concerned) and in the following decades buried multifunctional buildings that sheltered plural ritual and devotional practices in early Ottoman memory. With the exception of the Aleppo mosque of Hüsrev Pasha (953/1546–1547), none of the 100 plus mosques for which Sinān claimed authorship feature attached hospice rooms.⁹⁷ Süleymān's Istanbul complex was in significant ways modeled after that built by Meḥmed II in the 860s/1460s and duplicated the firm separation of its mosque from its accommodative spaces. This arrangement was to be followed by all dynastic and elite mosque builders of the Ottoman realm through the early modern era. During these decades Ebū's-su'ūd Efendi (d. 982/1574), Kemālpaşazāde's former student and his successor in the post of chief mufti, issued numerous fatwas prohibiting Sufi ritual in mosque spaces and in the *masjids* of *zāviyes*. Enforcing stricter confessional segregation in devotional spaces was also an issue: one decree from the center banned non-Muslims from using hospice rooms attached to a mosque.⁹⁸ During these decades also, orders from Istanbul decreed the remodeling of Bursa's royal *zāviyes* so that

95 *Fetāvā-yı Kemālpaşazāde* 6a. On 'Alī Cemālī Efendi, see Küçükdağ, *II Bayezid* 51–81; Görkaş, Zenbilli Ali Efendi'nin. 'Alī Cemālī Efendi, *Mecmū'a-i fetāvā*.

96 Regulating the use of space in mosques did not concern Sufi practices only: one manuscript of the *Hulviyāt-ı şāhī* includes a fatwa stating that commoners should not form circles in Friday mosques to recite battle epics and stories; İsfendiyāroğlu, *Hulviyāt-ı şāhī*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS T 5849, 275v, cited in Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 52–53.

97 On Hüsrev Pasha's Aleppo foundation, see Kafescioğlu, In the image of *Rüm* 71, 83–86; Watenpugh, *The image of an Ottoman city* 60–77; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 472–475. On departures from earlier mosque and hospice construction during Süleymān's reign, see *ibid.*, 52–57. Ünver Rüstem's chapter in the present volume explores post tenth/sixteenth century reformulations in the architecture and symbolism of the sultanic mosque.

98 On Ebū's-su'ūd's fatwas regarding Sufi ritual in mosques, and on a court edict banning

those coming and going (*āyende u revende*) would not disturb the space now allocated only to normative religious practice. Çelebi Meḫmed's royal *zāviye* in Bursa was now and hereafter the Green Mosque.

The textual and architectural evidence on the conversion of *imārets* into congregational mosques reveals a century-long sequence of institutional and architectural interventions, which changed these buildings in ways that have continued to shape our modern perceptions of them. Conversion of an *imāret* into a mosque was effected at the institutional level by the appointment of a *haṭīb*, a reader of the Friday sermon, which remained a prerogative of the imperial center. The installation of a minbar would follow the appointment of a *haṭīb*. Other spatial interventions were often more complex and have unfortunately attracted relatively little attention, which continues to hinder a full understanding of the original layouts and uses of many of the *imārets*, and aspects of their afterlives as mosques. Aptullah Kuran's, and later, Sedat Emir's careful on-site examinations have revealed that many buildings underwent a radical restructuring of their interior spaces, in numerous cases involving the taking down of partition walls separating the *imāret's* main domed hall from the hospice rooms.⁹⁹ These works have revealed that many *imārets*, including iconic examples of the "type," such as those of Orhan and Murād II in Bursa, underwent interventions that incorporated side rooms into the main space by turning them into *eyvāns*, and giving the buildings their present three-*eyvān* schemes that are frequently reproduced in scholarship (figures 8.12, 8.13, and 8.14).¹⁰⁰ The function of the main domed hall, too, was altered in the process

non-Muslims using hospice rooms of a convent-mosque in the town of Çorlu and directing them to a distant caravanserai, see Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 52–53.

99 Kuran, *The mosque* 124–125, 132–133; Emir, Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında* ii, 18–50; Emir, Reconstructing an early Ottoman building; Emir, Bursa Ali Paşa zaviyesi; Emir, Edirne Mihal Bey zaviyesi.

100 Kuran observed that seven out of the ten structures he classified as "cross-axial *eyvān* mosques" (those buildings that incorporated side *eyvāns* in addition to the prayer *eyvān*), present structural evidence for this type of intervention; Kuran, *ibid.* (These are the Orhan Mosque in Bursa, Mezd Bey in Edirne, Muradiye in Edirne and in Bursa, İshak Pasha in İnegöl, and Ḥamza Bey in Bursa); Kuran, *The mosque* 132–136. This leaves four sultanlic *imārets* of the later eighth/fourteenth century and the turn of the ninth/fifteenth, built by Murād I, Bāyezid I, and Meḫmed I in Bursa and in Edirne, as a special group of royal patronage incorporating a three-*eyvān* scheme. Instances whereby the interior was "expanded" through tearing down walls separating the main hall from side rooms are discussed in detail in Emir, who provides additional structural details that betray interventions to the building fabrics, Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında 147–156. Gabriel in 1958, and Eyice in 1964, too, observed, based on their respective surveys of the Murād II *imāret*, that the curtain walls separating hospice rooms from the main hall had been taken down during a later intervention; Gabriel, *Brousse* 108; Eyice, İlk Osmanlı devrinin 38.



FIGURE 8.12A Bursa, *zāviye/‘imāret* of Murād II (830/1426) converted into a congregational mosque in the later tenth/sixteenth century: interior toward the prayer *eyvān*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

of conversion, becoming part of the prayer space as was the case of newly built mosque-hospices sponsored by the new *kūl* elite, rather than a central hall that was the circulation node within the building whether one headed to the prayer hall or to one of the *tābhāne* rooms furnished with fireplace and cupboards.

As was the case in newly built mosque-hospices, circulation directed to the rooms was an issue. In *‘imārets* converted into mosques, new side entrances that connected the hospice rooms directly to the building’s exterior, some enlarged from extant windows, were a novel feature that assured that dervishes and travelers no longer trespassed the mosque space to reach their private quarters. A court record of 958/1552 on the conversion of the Yeşil *‘imāret* captures with remarkable precision the nature of the intervention that was envisioned, recording a petition by the *waqf* superintendent for arrangements in the mosque space and its gates of entry. The central pool and fountain in Çelebi Mehmed’s (now) exalted mosque needed to be carried outside of the building, as used water overflowed to the area around it and created a state of pollution, which prevented the worshippers from praying here (i.e., in what was once the *zāviye*’s lantern-domed central hall). Since the mosque is in a densely inhabited area, the petition reads, the Friday congregation is large. If the said pool is trans-



FIGURE 8.12B Bursa, *zāviye/‘imāret* of Murād II (830/1426) converted into a congregational mosque in the later tenth/sixteenth century: interior toward the hospice room transformed into an *eyvān*
 PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

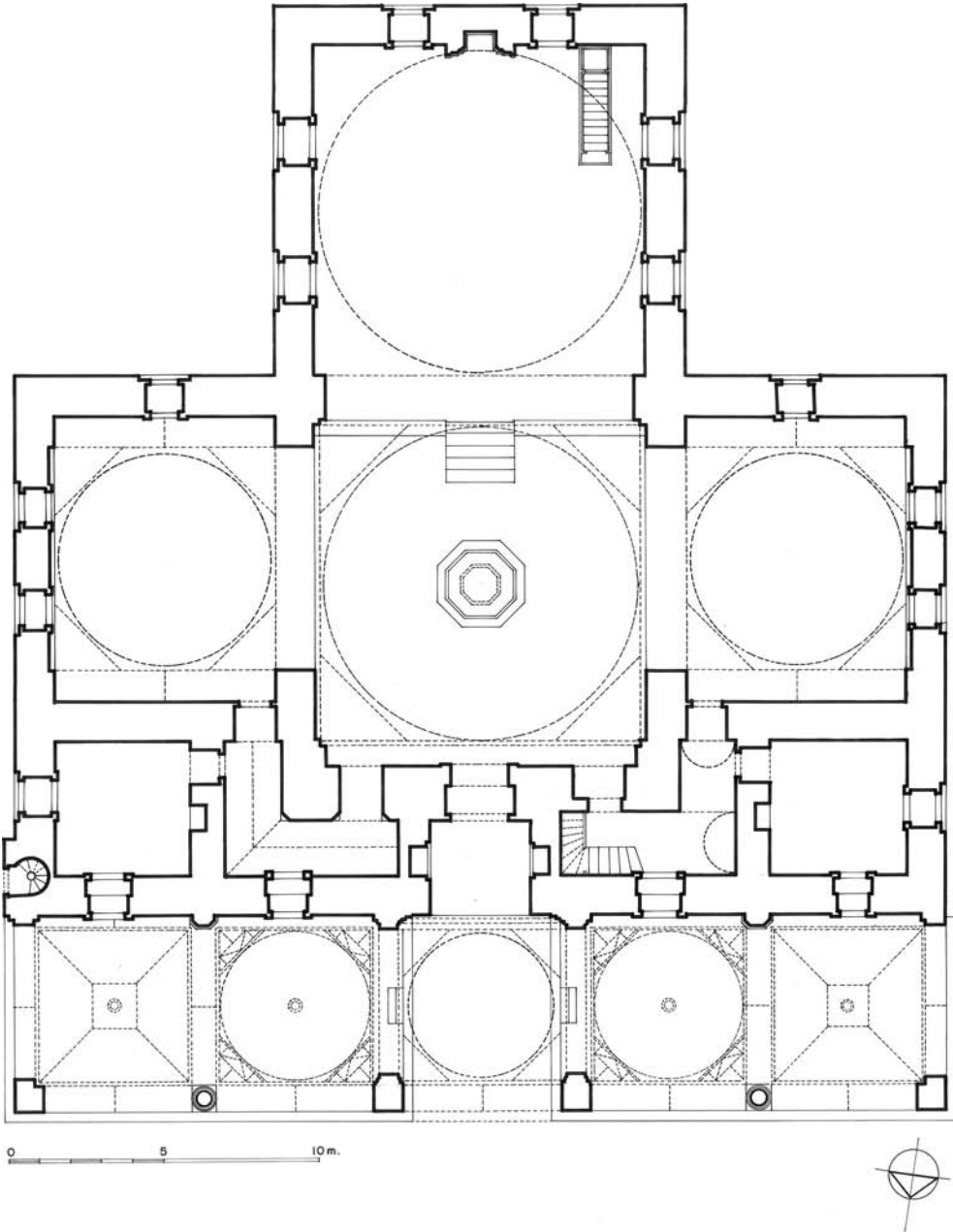


FIGURE 8.13 Bursa, *zāviye/‘imāret* of Murād II (830/1426) converted into a congregational mosque in the later tenth/sixteenth century, plan
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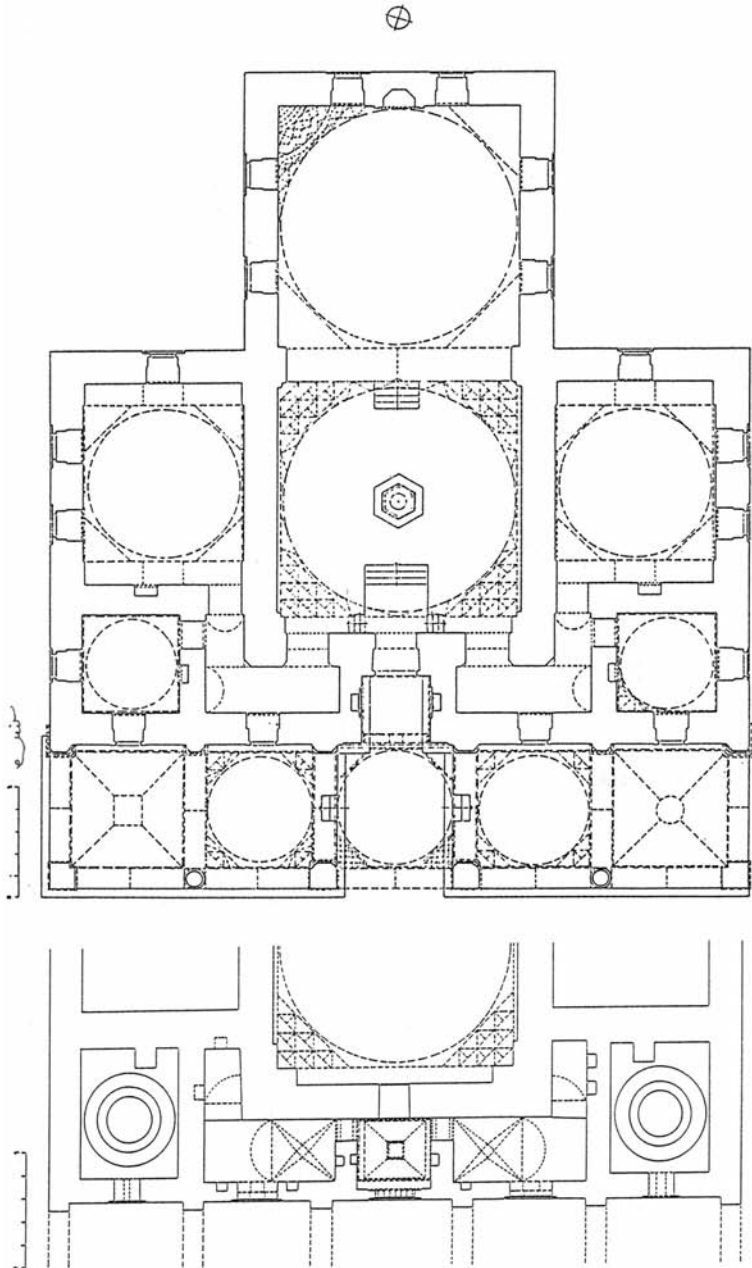


FIGURE 8.14 Bursa, Muradiye *zawiye/imaret* reconstitution by Sedat Emir showing the original layout of the interior
 FROM SEDAT EMIR, ERKEN OSMANLI BY PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

ported to the outside courtyard of the mosque, which was newly constructed in the style of [the courtyards of] other sultanic mosques, and if new gates to the hospice rooms are opened directly to the exterior of the building, the interior of the exalted mosque will not be a passageway for those who come and go; moreover, the space will be clean and therefore appropriate for Muslims to pray in.¹⁰¹ The proposed changes were not fully implemented, and Yeşil Cami did not undergo the interventions that many converted *‘imārets* were subjected to: the fountain under its main dome remains in place; and if, as Ayverdi suggested, one of the windows was enlarged to be used as a lateral entrance, the alteration was later reversed to restore the integrity of the building’s skillfully designed and ornamented side facades.

The pronounced attention to distinctly delineating the spatial boundaries of requisite prayer, in line with the newly formulated requirements of orthopraxy, paralleled the need for new congregational spaces for the Muslims in growing urban populations.¹⁰² A record of 984/1576 documents the demands for the enlargement (*tevsīr*) of the prayer hall of “Sultan Orhan’s exalted mosque in Bursa,” as the congregation was not fitting in the prayer space, a hindrance particularly on cold winter days.¹⁰³ The petition for the enlargement of the mosque space is in line with Kuran’s and Emir’s analyses of the building: separately, they have observed that the current side *eyvāns* were originally hospice rooms that were incorporated into the main space at a later date, through the destruction of the partition walls separating the domed main hall from the

101 Bursa court records, A58/63, 5a, cited in Ayverdi, *Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad* 50; and transcribed in Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında* 230–231. The record notes that 10,000 *akçes* were allotted for the projected interventions. Ayverdi suggests that the window of the northeastern room was enlarged to function as a door and later restored to its original.

102 Emir has suggested that population growth was the primary reason behind conversions of *‘imārets* into mosques; Necipoğlu underlines issues of Sunnitization, alongside rising urban populations, in connection to the boom in Friday mosque construction and conversions of extant structures; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında* 289–291 and *passim*; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 52–57.

103 BOA, Mühimme defteri 28, 165, published in Dağhoğlu, *16. asırda Bursa*; and Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında* ii, 22. The building underwent an earlier restoration, as indicated by its inscription (820/1417). Ayverdi has discussed this intervention due to the damage the building suffered during the Karamanid invasion of Bursa in 816/1413. According to Ayverdi, architectural evidence suggests that the 820/1417 restoration did not result in a significant alteration in the building’s layout; Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinin* 80–82. Kuran argues that the building originally featured vaulted spaces as in Orhan’s İznik foundation and was covered with a domed superstructure during the 820/1417 renovation. He also suggests that the partition walls of the hospice rooms may have been torn down at that date. While the dating is not correct, Kuran’s observation agrees with the intervention mentioned in the Mühimme document dated 984/1576; Kuran, *The mosque* 98–100, 132–133.

side rooms. (fig. 8.15)¹⁰⁴ That these documents recording interventions to two of Bursa's royal *'imārets* already refer to the buildings as *cāmi'ī-şerīf* (exalted mosque) suggests that at the time the architectural changes were implemented, the appointment of a Friday sermon reader, and the building's change of status from *'imāret* into mosque had already taken place. A minaret was added to Murād II's *'imāret*-turned-mosque in 1002/1594. This was at least four, or possibly more, years after the building's conversion into a congregational mosque, which also involved the transformation of two of its hospice rooms to side *eyvāns* opening onto the central hall.¹⁰⁵ The construction of a minaret gave an unambiguous architectural form to the new denomination, altering the visual identity of the *zāviye* /*'imāret*.

Between the conversion and "enlargement" of Skopje's İshāk Bey *zāviye*, on or before 925/1519, and the conversion of Bursa's Hāmza Bey *'imāret* in 1023/1614, in order to provide the neighborhood with a space for Friday prayer "in line with the jurisdiction of the Hanafi imams,"¹⁰⁶ the majority of T-type *'imārets* in the Ottoman domains (whether they had originally incorporated a prayer hall with a mihrab or not, and whether their endowments included allowances for *masjid* personnel or not), were converted into congregational mosques.¹⁰⁷ The story of the early Ottoman *'imāret* through the long tenth/sixteenth century captures in full light the spatial, social, and institutional dimensions of processes of confession building, in particular measures directed at consolidating Hanafi-Sunni praxis in cities. This involved excluding the devotional practices of those groups who located themselves outside of Sunni Islam as state religion. Measures aimed to reshape the spatial and corporeal regimes of city dwellers, and sought to create and keep intact congregational communities attached to particular nodes, whether *masjids* or Friday mosques. Derin Terzioğlu has noted that acts toward Sunnitization and confessionalization in

104 Kuran, *The mosque* 132–133; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında* ii, 39–43.

105 Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında* 147. A Yorgaki Kalfa was summoned to Istanbul in relation to the minaret project. He is not referred to as *hāşşa mī'mārī*, suggesting that a local architect was entrusted with the construction, rather than one sent from Istanbul.

106 "*E'imme-i hanefiyye'nin kavli üzere*," Bursa court records, no. 227, f. 125, no. 225, f. 13, cited in Ayverdi, *Fatih devri* iii, 89. The records also site the difficulty experienced by *maḥalle* residents in reaching the Friday mosque, which was at a distance. Hāmza Bey died in 866/1462 at the hands of Hunyadi Janos; the undated building was likely completed prior to that date, during or before the reign of Meḥmed II.

107 At the time Evliyā Çelebi visited Dimetoka (Didymoteichon), he noted several *zāviyes* that were "suitable for conversion into mosques" (*cāmi' olmağa müsta'id zāviyeler*), suggesting that the process continued; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme* viii, 30. On mosque construction and conversions in Rumelia in through the tenth/sixteenth century, see the chapter by Grigor Boykov in this volume.

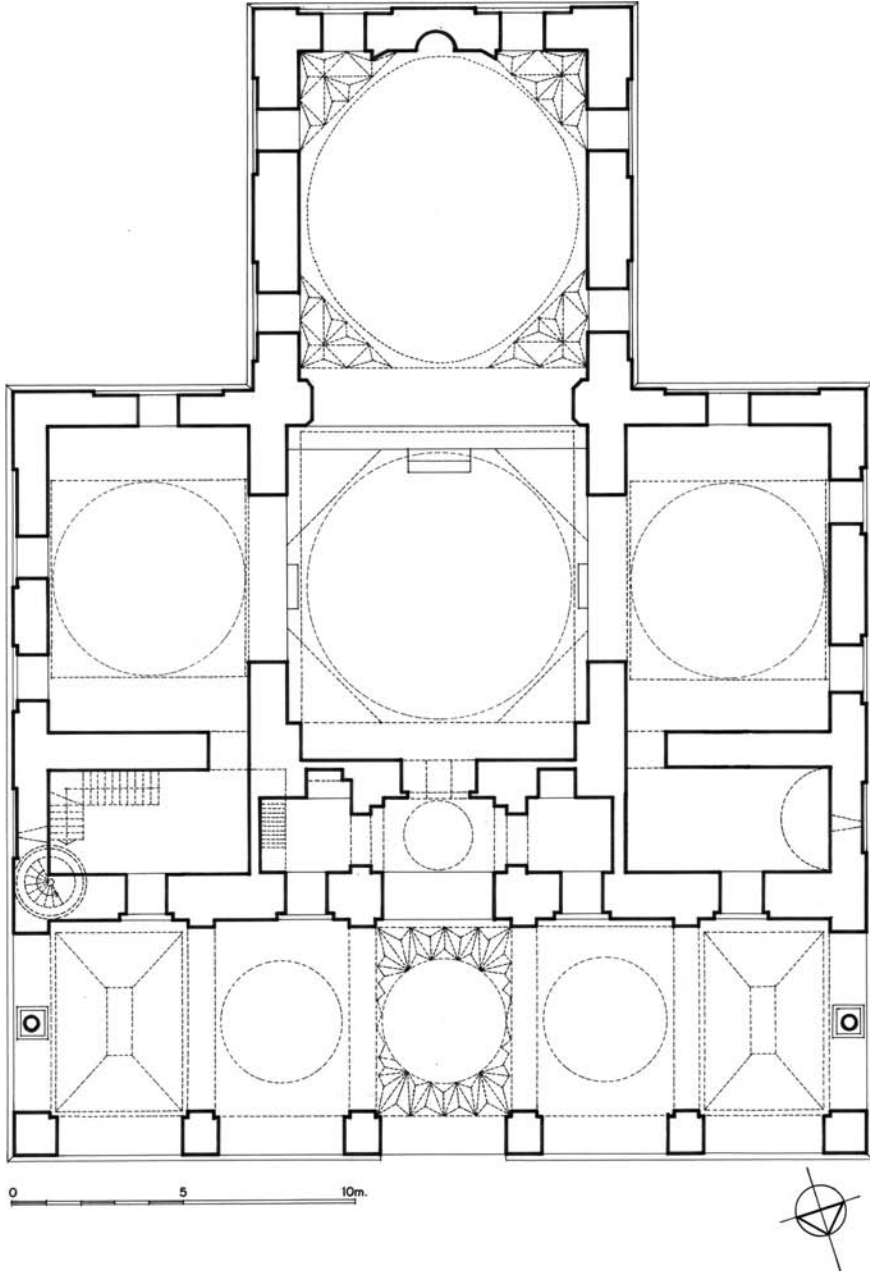


FIGURE 8.15A Bursa, Orhan *'imâret* (740/1339–1340) converted into a congregational mosque ca. 984/1576; plan

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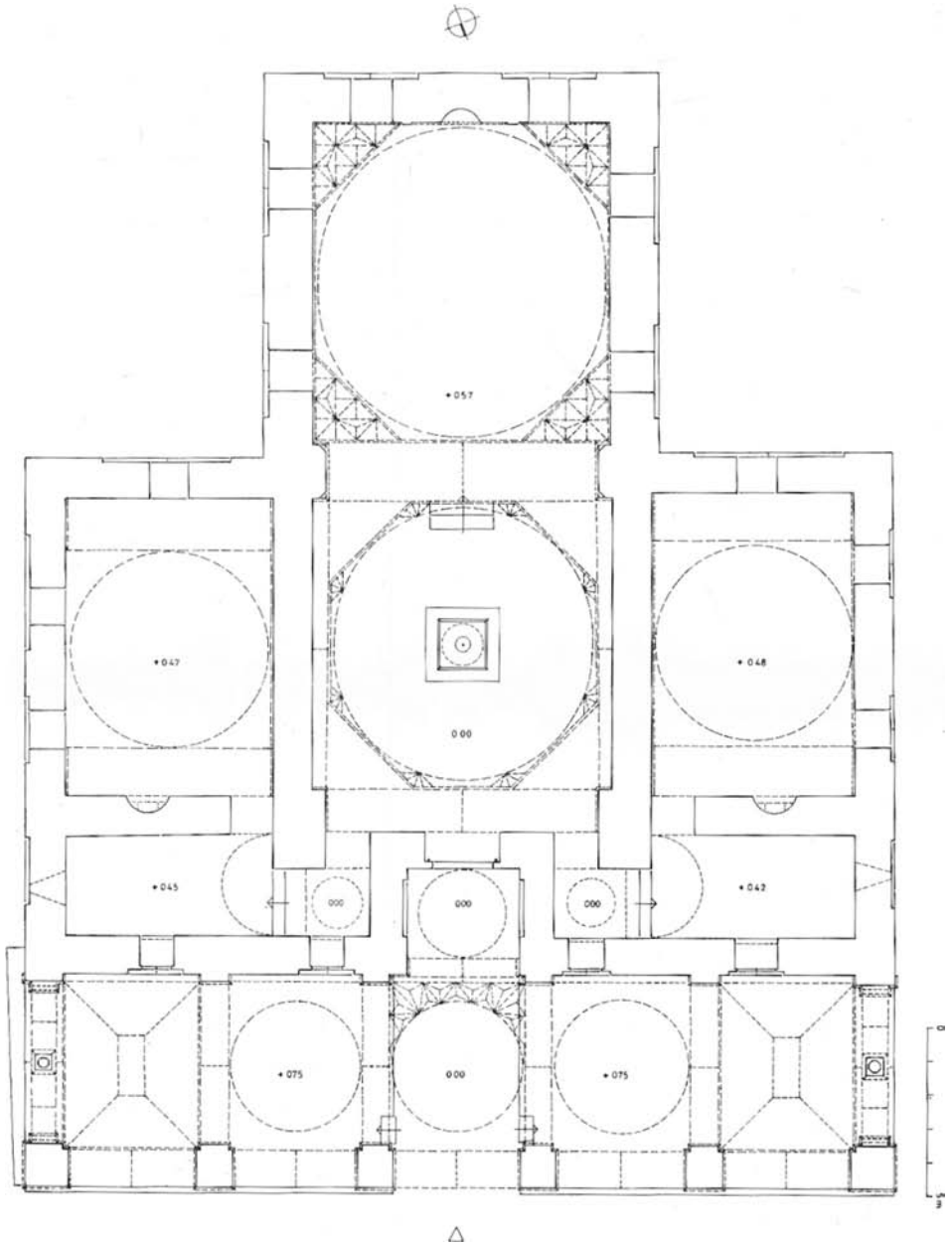


FIGURE 8.15B Bursa, Orhan *'imāret* (740/1339–1340) converted into a congregational mosque ca. 984/1576; reconstitution by Sedat Emir showing the original layout of the interior FROM SEDAT EMIR, ERKEN OSMANLI, BY PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR



FIGURE 8.15C Bursa, Orhan *'imâret* (740/1339–1340) converted into a congregational mosque ca. 984/1576; view from north, with later addition of side entrance
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

the Ottoman domains were directed toward Sunnis as much as toward non-Sunni communities.¹⁰⁸ The evidence presented in this paper with regard to the afterlives of the early Ottoman *'imâret* and largely concerning the central and western areas of the lands of Rum supports this view.

The institutional and spatial interventions to spaces of devotion and the disciplinary measures that accompanied them were directed at the corporeal and spatial regimes of city dwellers. Architecture conformed to the religiopolitical vision of the Ottoman center; the multifunctional *'imâret* that offered no clear demarcation between sacred and profane, and between normative religious practice and Sufi ritual, was rendered a thing of the past. Did the *'imâret* converted into mosque and the new architecture of the congregational mosque with its unified space (a powerful Ottoman legacy into the twenty-first century) alongside the plethora of prescriptive texts that sought to define usage of mosques succeed in creating a public that conformed to the disciplinary measures of the center? Not completely, if we are to consider how central issues of Sufi ritual and ritual in mosques were to the Kadızadellis and their opponents in the eleventh/seventeenth century, or if we were to attend Niyâzi-i Mıṣrî in the

108 Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize, 320–321.

Bursa of the 1080s/1670s, where he held *zīkr* circles in a neighborhood *masjid*, and also, clashes with the imam notwithstanding, in the celebrated Ulucami.¹⁰⁹

Zāviye and the mosque-hospice remained buried in the early Ottoman past until a modern evocation of a now idealized era of Ottoman beginnings ushered them into the representational spaces of late empire. Ironically perhaps (at a moment when the aesthetics of Bursa and particularly of the Yeşil complex were all the rage), it was not the *zāviye* but the mosque with the hospice rooms that was recreated in ‘Abdü’l-ḥamīd II’s Hamidiye Mosque attached to the Yıldız Palace in 1886, a building that has been described by Ahmet Ersoy as “a tribute to the long abandoned archetype of the T-plan building, an exceptional product of pure historicist reflection.”¹¹⁰ A republican, and infinitely more solemn, revival when compared to the Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque, has recently been on view at Salt Galata: an unrealized project by the architect and restorer Ali Saim Ülgen (d. 1963). His is a proposal dating to the 1950s for a mosque in Ankara’s Yenışehir district, modeled after royal mosques with hospice rooms, such as those of Bāyezīd II in Edirne and Selīm I in Istanbul.¹¹¹ It captures a modern imagining of the Ottoman past at a time when architects and scholars were engaged in debate regarding the original functions of the T-plan *‘imārets* with hospice rooms and the intentions of their builders. As in scholarly pursuits, in architectural practice of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, too, the mosque, it seems, overshadowed the *‘imāret/zāviye*. Architectural and written archives remain and bear witness to the plural and layered histories of these buildings and their spatial and conceptual afterlives within the wider geography of Rum, and through different temporalities.

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109 Terzioğlu, Sufi and dissident 117. Terzioğlu notes that a lodge was later built for Mıṣrī.

110 Ersoy, *Aykırı binanın* 110.

111 *Modern Türkiye'nin Osmanlı mirasını keşfi: Ali Saim Ülgen arşivi*, Exhibition at Salt, Istanbul, 8 February–24 March 2013; Salt Araştırma, cat. no TASUPA0540001.

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Abdāl-affiliated Convents and “Sunnitizing” Halveti Dervishes in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Rumeli

Grigor Boykov

As recent research suggests, Ottoman “Sunnitization” entailed much more than a number of state-led measures directed against the non-Sunni Muslim communities in the empire. It was an uneven, complex, and long-term process that was driven not solely by religiopolitical concerns centered on the rising Safavid threat during the late ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries, but by deeper social, political, cultural, and even regional dynamics both before and after this period. Moreover, recent scholarship has demonstrated that even in the tenth/sixteenth century, when the process of state-enforced Sunni orthodoxy intensified mainly due to the Shi’ite Safavid challenge, it was not only the Ottoman authorities but a mixture of multiple agents with their own religious and political agendas who played a crucial role in and shaped the process of Ottoman Sunnitization.¹

These agents, as persuasively argued by Derin Terzioğlu, included various Sunna-minded Sufis who sought to negotiate their own place and role in the religious and political dynamics of the time, when Sufi groups themselves were experiencing concurrent institutionalization and confessionalization in the Ottoman Empire.² The latter processes went hand in hand with an increased pressure on nonconformist dervish groups both in Anatolia and the Balkans, who were denounced for their “innovations” in practices and beliefs, and even persecuted as “heretics” during the tenth/sixteenth century, as revealed by Ottoman archival sources.³ The deep involvement of the Halveti (Ar. Khalwati) shaykhs who acted as agents of Sunnitization, especially the network constituted by adepts of Şofyalı Bālī Efendi (d. 960/1553), has been convincingly demonstrated by Nathalie Clayer, who shed light on the complexity of the tenth/sixteenth-century developments that led to the gradual Sunnitiza-

1 Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize 301–308; Krstić, State and religion.

2 Terzioğlu, Sufis in the age of state-building 86–102; Terzioğlu, Sunna-minded Sufi preachers 241–321.

3 Refik, *On altıncı asırda*.

tion of Muslim populations in Rumeli.⁴ Some Halveti shaykhs enjoyed particularly close relations with the Ottoman political elite and ulama circles, and functioned as a clientage network that on the one hand secured their firm position in the Sufi convents both in the capital and throughout the imperial provinces, and eased the reach of the Sunnitizing and centralizing efforts by the Ottoman authorities to the farthest regions of the empire, on the other. At the same time, however, as John Curry has shown, Halvetis constructed different chains of mystical authority (*silsile*), all of which originate with ‘Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib and pass through his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn—which was common among other Sufi orders as well—but some of which also include “the major Shi‘ī imams,” Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d. 95/713), Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/732), and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765).⁵ The fact that the order was steeped in the ‘Alid tradition and the veneration of the Household of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*)—a phenomenon widespread among Ottoman Sunnis, as discussed in this volume by Vefa Erginbaş—likely made Halvetis a particularly useful partner for the Ottoman authorities in their efforts to negotiate the boundaries of Ottoman Sunnism and bring nonconformist Sufi orders with pronounced ‘Alid loyalties under control.

Despite the increasingly nuanced scholarly understanding of the Halvetis’ role in Sunni propaganda, much is still unknown about their strategies of either resistance to or implementation of Sunnitizing policies at a provincial and local level. Focusing on the latter, what is especially missing is some sense of how local nonconformist groups reacted toward the Sunnitizing efforts of the Halveti preachers, as well as a better idea of the characteristics peculiar to the individuals or groups who were targeted in particular regions or locales. Were the targets of the Sunnitizing Halveti preachers undifferentiated groups of “heretics” or did Halvetis find particular social groups or religious allegiances particularly “attractive”? Did Halvetis single out their targets purely for the latter’s nonconformist religious views or did their choices have certain political overtones as well? What can we discern about the Halveti leaders’ own patron-client networks and how they informed the policies of Sunnitization in particular contexts?

The present paper aims at elucidating these questions with respect to the broader region of the eastern Balkans. This region is particularly worth examining because it was a zone of interaction between various antinomian Sufi groups collectively known as *abdāls*, military retainers of several Rumeli frontier

4 Clayer, *Des agents du pouvoir* 21–30; Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société*.

5 Curry, *The transformation* 25, 45n9.

commander (*uc begleri*) families, as well as nomadic or seminomadic populations, which by the 850s/1450s seem to have formed an informal alliance that came to resist first the centralizing initiatives of the Ottoman authorities and subsequently their Sunnifying policies as well. It was also the region where some of the most influential Halveti leaders chose to settle and set up their own Sufi hospices as bases for their preaching. It is therefore an area where the examination of the local agents of Sunnification and their targets can reveal much about the broader dynamics of the process and how it was informed by the networks that bound the capital and the provincial locales. The paper will focus in particular on the clientage network of the Ottoman Grand Vizier Şokollu Mehmed Pasha (in office 972–987/1565–1579) that included some of the most influential Halveti shaykhs of the period. Together, they sought to overcome the bitter opposition of the nonconformist Balkan frontier commanders' families and their patronage network, which included the antinomian dervishes in the region. Thus, the paper will offer a preliminary picture regarding how the process of the Sunnification of nonconformist religious communities, and specifically *abdāl* groups, transpired in the eastern Balkans in the tenth/sixteenth century, with the hope of outlining a research agenda and inciting further studies. It makes a contribution to the topic by highlighting the importance of geography and approaching the multiple clientage networks in the region and their interrelations in a spatial perspective.

1 The Establishment of Nonconformist Religious Communities in the Eastern Balkans in the Fifteenth Century: An Entangled Network of Border Society

The establishment of the Kızılbaş-Alevi communities and antinomian Sufi groups in the eastern Balkans is closely intertwined with the historical formation of the sizable Muslim communities in the area. The two regions with the most compact Muslim population—Thrace and the eastern Rhodope Mountains in the southeast, and Deliorman, Gerlovo, and Dobrudja in the northeast—were regions that witnessed significant Turcoman colonization (through voluntary or forced migration) in the course of the Ottoman conquest, beginning in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century and continuing with growing intensity until the mid-tenth/sixteenth century.⁶ Adherents of var-

6 Recent studies, examining this process and providing abundant bibliographical references on the matter, include Boykov, *The human cost of warfare* 103–166; Antov, *The Ottoman “wild west”* 30–40, 98–157. Antov, *Ottoman Dobrudja* 72–94.

ious antinomian Sufi groups also migrated or were deported to these very territories, which are today home to the bulk of the Kızılbaş-Alevi and Bektaşi communities in the Balkans.⁷ The close link between Turcoman colonization and Sufi groups in the eastern Balkans is also clearly attested by their numerous convents built in the area under consideration during the first two and a half centuries of Ottoman rule.⁸ Moreover, the Ottoman archival evidence demonstrates that the crescent-shaped territory that links Dobrudja and Thrace had the highest concentration of seminomadic Turcomans (*yürük*), who were among the most vigorous supporters of different itinerant dervish groups.⁹ When one maps out the available data for the convents of antinomian dervishes in the region, which predate 1008/1600, it becomes apparent that the two groups were very closely linked and depended on one another. The *tekkes* of nonconformist dervishes that I was able to identify as existent in the period in question were all commissioned and built in territories that were heavily colonized by Anatolian *yürük* settlers in the course of the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries. The map appended to this study (figure 9.1) displays those 47 identifiable convents in eastern Rumeli that exercised a significant influence over the local Muslims in the first centuries of Ottoman rule in the region.¹⁰

The antinomian dervish groups in the eastern Balkans were largely identified with the appellation *abdāls*, an umbrella term that broadly described the nonconformist itinerant dervish collectivity in the late eighth/fourteenth

7 De Jong, The Kızılbaş sect 21–25; De Jong, Notes on Islamic 303–308; Mélikoff, La communauté Kızılbaş 401–409; Zarccone, Nouvelles perspectives 1–11; Gramatikova, *Non-orthodox Islam in Bulgarian lands*; Yıldırım, Bektaşi kime derler? 23–58.

8 Barkan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân 279–386; De Jong, The Kızılbaş sect 21–25; De Jong, Notes on Islamic 303–308; Mélikoff, La communauté Kızılbaş 401–409; Zarccone, Nouvelles perspectives 1–11; Gramatikova, *Non-orthodox Islam in Bulgarian lands* 411–557; Kayapınar, Dobruca 85–102.

9 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar*; Yeni, Osmanlı Rumelisi’nde Yörük teşkilatı 187–205; Altunan, XVI. ve XVII. yüzyıllarda Rumeli’de 189–200; Altunan, XVI. yüzyılda Balkanlar’da Naldöken Yürükleri 11–34.

10 Data for building the map were extracted from a variety of sources, such as Ottoman taxation registers, *velāyetnāme* texts, and a number of secondary publications. Data reliability for each of the 47 mapped out convents has been analyzed individually, and their exact location has been displayed on the map to the best of author’s capabilities. In cases when buildings from these convents or their ruins are still extant, the map visualizes their GPS coordinates. Certainly, for many of the convents that are no longer extant, the map merely displays a tentative location, based on the toponymy on the 1:5000 modern Bulgarian map that often indicates the former location of the convents. Some convents that do appear in the secondary literature, but whose existence or correct identification is uncertain, are not visualized on the map.



FIGURE 9.1 Map of nonconformist dervish *tekkes* in Eastern Rumeli up to 1008/1600 (map by G. Boykov)

and ninth/fifteenth centuries, which in the course of the following centuries merged with the Bektashi order.¹¹ The *abdāls* were an integral component of the sociocultural landscape of the then-frontier zones in Rumeli, which comprised antinomian dervishes, *yürüks*, and military leaders and their retinues (known as *gāzīs*) who were active in the conquest and colonization of the Balkans. The hagiographic works produced by the *abdāl* milieu resemble examples of the

11 Köprülü, Abdal 21–56; Ocak, *La Révolte de Baba Resul* 117–134; Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda marjinal* 85–93; Karamustafa, *God's unruly friends* 46–49, 70–78; Karamustafa, *Çalenders, Abdāls, Hayderīs* 121–129; Gramatikova, *Non-orthodox Islam in Bulgarian lands* 133–141; Antov, *The Ottoman "wild west"* 49–61; Popovic and Veinstein, *Bektachiyya*.

gazāvatnāme literature, embracing the values and ethos of the frontier zone with an emphasis on frontier warfare, in which a leading role is ascribed to the wandering dervishes and the *gāzīs*. Textualized at the end of the ninth/fifteenth and the early tenth/sixteenth century, *velāyetnāmes* of Kızıl Deli and Otman Baba, for example, should also be seen as an attempt to legitimize these groups' existence within the sociopolitical order affected by the centralizing and bureaucratizing Ottoman empire, in which all the protagonists of the frontier culture were increasingly becoming marginalized.¹²

The centralizing policies of Mehmed II (r. 848–850/1444–1446 and 855–886/1451–1481) affected the social, religious, and ethnic base of the frontier society while also manifesting first signs of a centrally supported program of gradual Sunnitization.¹³ These policies targeted the relative autonomy of the Balkan frontier lords who effectively assimilated into the imperial military-administrative structure, as they were granted offices as provincial governors of different border provinces on a rotating basis.¹⁴ The seminomadic *yürüks*, who constituted the bulk of raider (*aķıncı*) troops and were the strongest sympathizers and supporters of the itinerant *abdāls* in Anatolia and Rumeli, were also subjected to heavy obligations and forced to gradually adopt a sedentary lifestyle through regular registration and taxation.¹⁵

The dissatisfaction of these groups with the centralizing Ottoman policies brought them into conflict with the Ottoman dynasty's impulse for establishing and ruling over a much more solidly—politically and socially—integrated polity. Hagiographical works that were written by and about the *abdāls* in this period articulate their discontent with the changing sociopolitical order (for a similar dissatisfaction on the other side of the empire, in eastern Anatolia, see Ayşe Baltacıoğlu-Brammer's article in this volume). The frontier lords, who were these dervishes' natural allies, on the other hand, not only sought the latter's support and blessing, but also became vigorous patrons of their associated convents in the Balkans.¹⁶ Moreover, in the late ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth century the Balkan frontier lords' dynasties began an ambitious program for endowing the principal gathering places of the itin-

12 Kafadar, *Between two worlds*; Yürekli, *Architecture and hagiography*; İnalçık, Dervish and sultan; Yıldırım, *Rumeli'nin fetihinde*; Krstić, The ambiguous politics 247–262; Krstić, *Contested conversions* 45–48.

13 Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize 309–314; see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu's paper in this volume.

14 Kiprovska, The military organization; Kiprovska, Mihaloğlu family 173–202.

15 İnalçık, The Yürüks 97–136; Yeni, The utilization of mobile groups 183–205; Yıldırım, 'Heresy' as a voice 22–46.

16 İnalçık, Dervish and sultan; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Le règne de Selim I 34–48; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Seyyid 'Ali Sultan 45–66; Yıldırım, *Rumeli'nin fetihinde*; Kiprovska, Shaping the Ottoman borderland 185–220.

erant *abdāls* in Anatolia.¹⁷ Thus, the Seyyid Baṭṭāl Gāzī convent near Eskişehir was completely rebuilt in two generations by the Plevne branch of the Miḥāloğlu family,¹⁸ while the nearby Şüca'ed-din Velī *zāviye* and, in all likelihood, the smaller Üryān Baba shrine were patronized by a member of the İhtiman branch of the same family.¹⁹ The important Hāccī Bektaş Velī complex, located even further east in Anatolia, near Kırşehir, was patronized by the Evrenosoğlu and Malçoçoğlu families.²⁰ Malçoçoğlu Bālī Beg alone commissioned and built three convents in Rumeli, namely the ones of Pīrzāde in Tatar Pazarı, of Bāyezīd Baba near Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa), and of Ḥasan Baba v. Yağmur at the foot of the Rhodope Mountains.²¹ Yaḥyāpaşaoğlu Bālī Beg built two convents frequented by the antinomian dervishes—the *zāviye* in the Deliorman village of Lomtsi²² and the *zāviye* of Kütüklü Baba, located east of the once important Ottoman town of Karasu Yenicesi (Genisea) in Greece.²³ The patronage of the Balkan warlords in Anatolia proclaimed a political message linking the Anatolian *gāzī* tradition to their actions in Rumeli, thereby claiming legitimacy.²⁴ In the Balkans, however, where the raider families established their powerbases, they seem to have been more cautious about displaying their affiliation to the antinomian *abdāls*. Recent studies on the four principal Bektashi-turned convents of the eastern Balkans, namely those of Otman Baba, Kıdemli Baba, Aқыazılı Baba, and Demir Baba, all spiritually connected to the Seyyid Baṭṭāl Gāzī and Şüca'ed-din Velī complexes, demonstrate that while distinct politically and confessionally nonconformist symbols were included in the architectural layout of these buildings, the patrons from the

17 Yürekli, *Architecture and hagiography*.

18 Ibid. 126–128.

19 I owe this information to Mariya Kiprovska. Unlike Zeynep Yürekli, who ascribes the patronage of Şüca'ed-din Velī's complex to a member of the Malçoçoğlu family, Kiprovska maintains that its patron was a member of the Miḥāloğlu family, who possessed lands in the ancestral domains in the region of Harmankaya. Kiprovska, Byzantine renegade 245–269.

20 Yürekli, *Architecture and hagiography* 100–113.

21 Boykov, *Tatar Pazardzik* 39–40; Kayapınar, Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey vakfı 105–115; Barkan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân 341.

22 The convent stood until 1829, when it was demolished by an invading Russian military force. Local lore considers the current chapel of St. Elias (xy coordinates—43.429053-23.354372) a replacement of the convent. Barkan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân 342.

23 The magnificent tomb of the patron saint, Hāccī Baba/Kütüklü Baba still stands in a field by Lake Vistonida, xy coordinates—41.075583-25.058267. BOA, TD 311, 39. Lowry, *The shaping of the Ottoman Balkans* 49–50.

24 Yürekli, *Architecture and hagiography passim*.

Miḥāloğlu family were careful not to manifest explicitly their affiliation to the convents.²⁵ They seem to have found, however, a roundabout way to show their devotion to the ethos of the frontier milieu in general and *abdāl* mysticism in particular.

The case in point is the mausoleum (*türbe*) of Binbiroklı Aḥmed Baba in the vicinity of Pınarhisar in Thrace (a private domain of the Miḥāloğulları), which was commissioned for a Miḥāloğlu family member. Aḥmed Beg's mausoleum later became known under the name Aḥmed Baba and became a focal point of the dervish convent that developed around it.²⁶ Similar must have been the story behind the development of another hospice in Thrace, the one of Hızır Baba *veled-i* Timurtaş Beg, whose name indicates that it was built for a son of Timurtaş Beg, another frontier warrior of the eighth/fourteenth and early ninth/fifteenth century.²⁷ The latter two cases in which the frontier warlords erected dervish hospices in their own name identifying themselves as *abdāl* leaders (*baba*) not only exemplify the religious and political alliance between the *gāzīs* and the itinerant dervishes but bespeak of a shared or similar sociopolitical background. These two examples of sanctification of historical figures from the *gāzī* milieu of the raider commanders in the Ottoman Balkans makes Irène Beldiceanu's suggestion that the popular dervish Kızıl Deli was identical with Ḥāccī İlbegi, the Karasi warlord, known from the early Ottoman chronicles for his incursions and conquests in Thrace, even more plausible.²⁸ Hence, one can see prominent figures from the frontier lords' dynasties, whose relationship with the centralizing Ottomans was probably never too smooth, at the center of a network of political figures as well as social and religious groups with anti-centralizing (i.e., anti-Ottoman) sentiments.²⁹

25 Yürekli, 79–133; Kiprovska, The Mihaloğlu family.

26 Kiprovska, Legend and historicity 29–45.

27 Gramatikova, *Non-orthodox Islam in Bulgarian lands* 544–545. The archival documents show that Timurtaş's son Hızır Baba passed on this hospice to his own son Shaykh Şücā. Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân* 338, 347. The location of this *zāviye* was not established in the literature to date, because the Ottoman archival sources place it in the region of Çirmen (Ormenio in Greece) without any further indication of its exact location. In my opinion, the evidence, even if it is circumstantial, strongly suggests an identification of the convent of Hızır Baba v. Timurtaş with the now standing tomb of Hızır Baba (xy coordinates—41.989557-26.025702) in the village of Bogomil in Bulgaria. The tomb that must have been part of a larger complex is studied by Mikov, *Muslim tomb in Bogomil* 113–121.

28 Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Le règne de Selim I* 44–45. Cf. Yıldırım, *History beneath clouds of legend* 21–57.

29 Çıpa, *Yavuz'un kavgası* 130–135; Kiprovska, *Ferocious invasion or smooth incorporation* 93–102.

The Ottoman rulers seem to have been fully aware of the immediate threat to the centralized order posed by the hostility of the frontier warlords and their Turcoman seminomadic supporters who manned their armies, on the one hand, and the *abdāls*, who held religious authority among these groups, on the other. Yet, in the Ottoman imperial setting the frontier warlords were an essential element who were not only at the vanguard of the Ottoman incursions in the West, but were also major landed magnates in control of vast territories in the Balkans. The members of the Ottoman dynasty, therefore, had to apply carefully calibrated measures against them in order to diminish their power. It is with this perspective in mind that one needs to consider the reversal of Mehmed II's confiscation measures by his son and successor Bāyezīd II (r. 886–918/1481–1512) who returned the appropriated properties to the *gāzīs* and the dervish communities.³⁰ Bāyezīd II appeared as a keen patron of dervish convents himself; his patronage of the shrine of Şarı Şaltuğ in Dobrudja in all likelihood demonstrates his conciliatory approach toward those Sufis and *gāzīs* in Rumeli who were dissatisfied with the harsh centralization policy of his father. It was also during his reign that the Balkan frontier warlords rebuilt the Seyyid Baṭṭāl Gāzī and Ḥāccī Bektaş convents—an investment and construction on such a scale could not have gone unnoticed and therefore must have received the sultan's sanction.³¹ Nevertheless, these conciliatory policies toward the Balkan *gāzīs* and different antinomian dervish groups went hand in hand with the introduction of fines and penalties in the Ottoman penal code for the absentees at the five daily prayers.³² In moments of serious threats to the central power, Bāyezīd II did not hesitate to order preemptive strikes on those groups in the Balkans who were suspected of tacitly embracing any claimant who could promise relief from the gradually increasing centralization and turn to Sunni orthopraxy.

A few decades later, when the “Kızılbaş threat” became one of the main themes on the Ottoman political agenda, the sultans hardened their approach. It appears that in the viewpoint of the Ottoman rulers the distinction between the nonconformist Sufis and “Kızılbaş” was very vague, if it existed at all, which led the Ottoman authorities to the idea, probably not completely ill founded, that the Safavids were using the antinomian dervishes to focus pop-

30 On Mehmed II's confiscations, known as “land reform,” see Beldiceanu, *Recherches sur la réforme* 27–39; Cvetkova, *Sur certaines réformes* 104–120; Özel, *Limits of the almighty* 226–246; İnalçık, *Autonomous enclaves* 112–134.

31 Yürekli, *Architecture and hagiography*.

32 Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 313–314. See the contributions of Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and H. Evren Sünnetçioğlu in this volume.

ular discontent against the rule of the Ottoman sultan.³³ Furthermore, with regard to active Safavid propaganda, the central power perhaps feared that the close cooperation between the *abdāls* and the frontier lords might embolden the Balkan raider commanders to challenge the preeminence of the Ottoman dynasty in Rumeli.

2 Pressures to Conform in the Early Sixteenth Century

Without denying the transformative effects of the persecution of the Kızılbaş communities during the reign of Selīm I (r. 918–926/1512–1520), it seems that it was during the reign of Süleymān I (r. 926–974/1520–1566) that an empire-wide and centrally coordinated effort was made to strengthen Sunni Islam by implementing a number of “positive measures” that had a long-lasting effect. As Gülru Necipoğlu has demonstrated, the period inaugurated an unprecedented spree of mosque building in the cities, facilitating access to ritual worship and allowing imams to better monitor attendance at prayer.³⁴ Additionally, in 944/1537–1538 Süleymān promulgated an imperial decree ordering that every village where Muslims resided must have a place of worship (*masjid*)—studied in this volume from the legal perspective by Evren Sünnetçioğlu. At the present state of research, it is very difficult to tell how successful this enterprise was and whether in fact the Imperial Treasury, the Ottoman officials who had private funds, and the local Muslim communities managed to marshal the enormous financial resources that were needed for construction on such a scale.

A general survey of Rumeli from the 930s/1530s can provide quantitative data for the religious infrastructure that existed in the province during the first decades of the rule of Süleymān I. According to the document, at that time the Ottoman province of Rumeli, roughly the territory of the Balkan Peninsula, had 242 towns and 25,210 villages. The document also meticulously indicates aggregated figures for revenues, individuals on a state payroll, and other important details about provincial affairs, including an inventory of the public buildings. The survey shows that in the early years of Süleymān I’s reign Rumeli had some 241 mosques, 992 *masjids*, 45 *‘imārets*, 45 colleges (madradas), and 196 dervish convents (*zāviye*).³⁵ If data are scaled down to the district level, the initiative to

33 Minorsky, Shaykh Bāli-Efendi 437–450; Imber, The persecution of the Ottoman Shi’ites 245–273; Baltacıoğlu-Brammer, The formation of Kızılbaş communities 21–48; Karakaya-Stump, *Kızılbaş-Alevi in Ottoman Anatolia* 220–245.

34 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 47–56.

35 İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı, M.C. Evr. 37/7, fol. 2v.

furnish Muslim villages with *masjids* in the course of the tenth/sixteenth century can be better observed in qualitative terms. The *każā* of Eski Zagra (mod. Stara Zagora) in Thrace, which had almost an exclusively Muslim population, can serve as a good example. In 921/1516 only 30% of the villages in the district had an imam, thus supposedly a functioning *masjid* too.³⁶ In 977/1570, more than three decades after the promulgation of Süleymān's decree ordering the mass construction of village *masjids*, the share of settlements with a *masjid* in the Eski Zagra district rose to 42%.³⁷ It was only toward the end of the century, in 1004/1596, when the majority of the villages (80%) are recorded to have an imam and a *masjid*.³⁸ One should bear in mind that the increase in the number of imams in the *każā* was accompanied by a substantial growth of the Muslim population, which between 921/1516 and 1004/1596 more than doubled; therefore, the higher number of imams is also a reflection of the growing Muslim community. Nevertheless, the efforts of the central authorities to encourage Sunni orthodoxy and orthopraxy in the rural areas are attested in the changing ratio of the number of imams to the size of the congregation—while in 921/1516 it was one imam to 229 residents, in 977/1570 it dropped down to one to 136. Furthermore, it is also telling that it was during Süleymān's reign that the multifunctional buildings (T-shaped *zāviye/imārets*), which previously combined accommodation for Sufis and travelers while serving as sites for the performance of the congregational Friday prayer, and which had been a symbol of the *gāzī* milieu in the previous centuries, ceased to be constructed.³⁹ As Çiğdem Kafescioğlu demonstrates in her paper in this volume, these T-shaped *zāviye/imārets* were transformed into Friday mosques by undergoing certain structural transformations. The flanking guestrooms were detached from the body of the building functioning as a mosque, and a *minbar* and a minaret were added too. Alongside imams, *muezzins* and Friday preachers were also appointed for the regular performance of the prayers.⁴⁰

All of the state-initiated Sunnitizing measures went along with another process that intensified in the course of the tenth/sixteenth century, namely the institutionalization of the Sufi orders, and more particularly, the growing influence of the Sufis with a more pronounced *sunna* consciousness. During that period some shaykhs from Sufi orders, such as the Naqshbandi and Halveti, enjoyed particularly close relations with the Sunni ulama and were appointed

36 BOA, TD 77.

37 BOA, TD 494 and TD 498.

38 BOA, TD 470 and TD 1001.

39 Eyice, İlk Osmanlı devrinin 3–80; Yürekli, Architectural patronage 733–754.

40 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 49–55.

as preachers both in the imperial mosques in the largest Ottoman cities and in the dervish convents in the provinces, acting as agents of state-inspired centralization and Sunnitization.⁴¹ Royal and grandee patronage of a multi-branched network of clients originating from the Sunni Sufi circles also allowed a smoother implementation of the central power's ruling concept, which, along with reaffirming the Ottoman dynastic myth, clearly aimed at increasing centralization and gradual Sunnitization.⁴²

Returning to the territory of the eastern Balkans, one of the most important features that needs to be underlined is the very low population density of the region before the Ottoman conquest, which led to a mass settlement of the Anatolian Turkish population, both sedentary and seminomadic, to this region during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule.⁴³ It seems that this process was partly the result of the transfer of deportees by sultanic decree, and partly spontaneous, or orchestrated by the powerful Balkan frontier lords.⁴⁴ The development of the two principal urban centers in the region of Upper Thrace, namely Filibe (Plovdiv) and Tatar Pazarı (Pazardzhik), provides an excellent illustration of this dynamic. While the much larger metropolis of the region, Filibe, attracted the patronage of the ruling dynasty and the high-ranking Ottoman officials who commissioned and built all the principal religious and commercial infrastructure there, its smaller counterpart, Tatar Pazarı, was created from scratch and developed into a provincial town by the members of the frontier society.⁴⁵ The patronage of several of the great families of raider commanders, those of Malkoçoğlu, Evrenosoğlu, and Miḥaloğlu not only promoted the newly founded settlement to a *kaşaba* in a very short period, but also in the course of the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century their seemingly coordinated effort turned Tatar Pazarı into an attractive spot, which gave shelter to a wide

41 Terzioğlu, Sufis in the age of state-building 96.

42 Karateke and Reinkowski, *Legitimizing the order*; Clayer, *Des agents du pouvoir*; Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société* 63–112; Karamustafa, *God's unruly friends* 65–84; Terzioğlu, Sufis in the age of state-building.

43 Kiel, *Incorporation of the Balkans* 142–154. In spite of the mass migration of the Anatolian population to the region by 936/1530, it still remained very sparsely populated. Thrace had a population density of roughly 4.8 p/km², while the eastern Danubian part of Bulgaria, approximately Deliorman, Dobrudja, and the Black Sea coast—6.9 p/km²; Boykov, *The human cost of warfare* 136.

44 Barkan attributes to the Ottoman rulers a decisive role in revitalizing Thrace and other parts of the Balkans. See Barkan, *Quelques observations* 289–311. Recent studies, however, demonstrate that the marcher lords (*uc begleri*) also played a significant role in the process. See Lowry, *The shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*; Lowry, *The Evrenos family*.

45 For a study of these cities, see Boykov, *Mastering the conquered space*.

network of political and religious figures as well as social groups that did not share the centralizing and Sunnizing policies of the Ottoman government.

These developments coincided with the peak of influence of the highly popular *abdāl* Otman Baba who was closely associated with the Miḥāloğlu family and was one of the outspoken critics of Meḥmed 11's rule.⁴⁶ Evidence about the visible presence of followers of Otman Baba in the region can be derived from both the literary and archival sources. Thus, for instance, his *velāyetnāme* insists that two convents in Filibe, namely the Hızırlık *tekke* and the Ḥasan Baba *zāviye* recognized the authority of the renowned Baba.⁴⁷ Even if we cannot be sure of the existence of these convents on the basis of this statement alone, the presence of Rum *abdāls* in Filibe is also attested in Corneille de Schepper's travel account. De Schepper, who traveled through the city in the summer of 939/1533, witnessed there a group of naked dervishes and attended their ritual of song and dance in a garden near Filibe. The Flemish traveler's description of the dervishes, whom he called "dervitz" or "ischnicqz," strongly suggests that he was depicting a gathering of itinerant *abdāls*.⁴⁸ Possibly the *abdāls* described by Corneille de Schepper were followers of Otman Baba who are mentioned in the *velāyetnāme*. The presence of itinerant *abdāls* is also ostensible in the nearby town of Tatar Pazarı, which is hardly surprising given the seminomadic background of many of the town dwellers and the vigorous support of the Balkan *aķıncı* families. A good portion of the personal names of the residents in the town, encountered in the tax registers from the late ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries, belong to the pantheon of the Anatolian Sufi brotherhoods.⁴⁹ There is not much information about the convent of Pırzāde,

46 İnalçık, *Dervish and sultan* 28–32.

47 Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda marjinal* 191; Gramatikova, *Non-orthodox Islam in Bulgarian lands* 539.

48 "En ce jardin y avoit ung lieu où se retiroient ordinairement les dervitz ou ischnicqz, c'est-à-dire les numbdes, à raison qu'ilz disent avoir fuy le monde, et sont quasy toutz nudts et très-mal en ordre. Ils s'assembloyent environ la nuict, et au chant d'ung, les aultres respondoient, chantantz assez barbarement, en caste substance: Sicha Sahestem va Hussem, selon qu'on est accoustumez en nostre quartier de faire aux danses ... Les susdictz dervi[c]tz usent des susdictes chansons, à raison que personne n'est parfaict en leur ordre, ne soit qu'elle ayt visité les sépulchres de ces deux, Sahuestem et Hussem; et quand ilz entreprennent ledict ordre, ilz font serment d'aller visiter les dictz sépulchres. Les dictz dervitz sont abhorrez, et grandement hayz des Turcqz en horreur et hayne, à raison qu'ilz n'ayment que Hasdrith, c'est-à-dire le magnifique Haly. Et après qu'ilz eussent longtems chanté de ceste sorte, ilz commencèrent à danser, et finalement se misrent à resposer." De Schepper, *Missions diplomatiques* 191–192.

49 For instance names like "Bektaş," "Mūsā Baba," "Baraķ Baba," "Zūlfikār, v. Baba 'Acem," etc. are encountered among the taxpayers in the town.

built near the town by the prominent marcher lord Malkoçoğlu Bāli Beg, but yet again the personal names of the dervishes—İşhāk, Hinzir Kulu, and Kaygusuz Abdāl—recorded in the register as residents in the convent, suggest their direct connection to the nonconformist dervishes.⁵⁰ The rural surroundings of the two towns had a mixed Christian and Muslim population, but the fact that the area lies a few kilometers east of one of the Miḥāloğlus’s ancestral powerbases (the town of İhtiman) and that four other convents, namely those of Hüseyn Dede, Umur Baba, Kürekçi Baba, and Turnacı Baba, were located in the immediate vicinity bespeaks of a considerable presence of antinomian *abdāls* in the rural areas too.

The turning point, when the central power began targeting in a more systematic manner the unruly, disobedient social groups in the eastern Balkans, seems to have come during the 930s/1530s. It seems that along with the sultan-initiated empire-wide project of Sunnitization, multiple agents of the Sunnifying policies also converged on the provincial level. An illustrative example of this is the evolution of the city of Hezargrad in the Deliorman region, which developed into an outpost of Sunni Islam within a predominantly heterodox religious landscape marked by the influx of a religiously nonconformist population as a result of the pro-Safavid rebellions of Shah Kūlu, Shaykh Celāl, and Kalendar Shah in the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century.⁵¹ The foundation of the town is associated with the establishment of the mosque and the pious endowment of the grand vizier İbrāhīm Pasha in 939/1533, who intentionally exchanged his private estates in other parts of the empire with landed properties in the Deliorman region in order to raise enough local revenues for the pious foundation, established to support his newly created town and its buildings.⁵² The endowment deed of İbrāhīm Pasha indicates that the mosque was part of a complex that also included a school (*dārü't-ta'lim*), a public bath, and a 50-room inn for the travelers. It also lists the stipends of the personnel that included an imam, a Friday preacher (*haṭīb*), *muezzins*, Quran reciters, and primary school teachers (*mu'allims*) and their assistants, along with other service personnel.⁵³ A tax register from 957/1550 suggests that the school of İbrāhīm Pasha was soon elevated to a madrasa, while a convent (*zāviye*) appears to have

50 Boykov, *Tatar Pazardzik* 154.

51 Antov, *The Ottoman “wild west”* 165–178.

52 Kiel, *Hrâzgrad-Hezargrad-Razgrad* 495–569.

53 The endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) of İbrāhīm Pasha was first published by Mikov, *The mosque of Ibrahim pasha* 35–67 and later also analyzed by Antov, *The Ottoman “wild west”* 168–172.

been added to this complex also.⁵⁴ In the mid-tenth/sixteenth century the rank of the madrasa in Hezargrad was *kırklı*, while later in the course of the century it was elevated to *ellili*.⁵⁵ The town, centered around the Friday mosque complex of the Ottoman grandee, soon became a seat of a judge (*każā*) and within several decades grew into a major regional urban center. Forming a new separate administrative unit, centered on Hezargrad, not only changed the administrative division of the Ottoman northeast province but also helped bring it under centralized state control.⁵⁶

About the same time, the town of Tatar Pazarı, a token of the marcher lords' cooperation, was also promoted to a *każā* center by creating a new administrative unit that lay between the metropolis Filibe and Miḥāloğlus's family domain in İhtiman. Naturally, a single administrative act, such as the appointment of a kadi, in places dominated by the borderland forces could hardly have changed the social and religious atmosphere. In subsequent years, a sophisticated network that included high-ranking Ottoman officials and prominent Halveti preachers, possibly approved or at least encouraged by the sultan, began to converge on the city, apparently in order to bind the region closer to Sunni Islam and the Ottoman state. It is difficult to reconstruct the exact chronology of the events that followed or to discern the ties among all of the participants in the network, but members of the Şoğollu household, their clients, and the Halveti shaykhs Şofyalı Bālī Efendi, Muşliḥu'd-dīn Nüre'd-dīnzāde (d. 980/1573), and Kurd Efendi (d. 996/1588) were certainly part of it.

3 Sunnizing Measures of the Şoğollu and Halveti Networks

The beginnings of the cooperation between the Şoğollus and the Halvetis must be linked to the appointment of Şoğollu Meḥmed Pasha as governor-general (*beglerbegi*) of Rumeli in 956/1549 and his transfer to Sofia.⁵⁷ This period coincided with the peak in the popularity of the Strumica-born Bālī Efendi, who upon receiving education in Istanbul and becoming a disciple of Shaykh Kāsım Efendi, returned to his native region. He settled near Sofia, established a *zāviye* and gathered a large number of disciples.⁵⁸ The sources do not contain explicit

54 BOA, TD 382, 847; Antov, *The Ottoman "wild west"* 172.

55 Baltacı, *XV–XVI asırlar Osmanlı medreseleri* 257–258.

56 Kiel, *Hrāzgrad-Hezargrad-Razgrad*; Antov, *The Ottoman "wild west"* 165–178.

57 Samardžić, *Meḥmed Sokolovitch* 39–40; Dakić, *Sokollu Family clan* 39.

58 Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société* 70–71; Belgrādi, *Silsiletül-muḥarrebīn* 119b. The *vita* of Bālī Efendi *Baḥr'ül-velāye* (Sea of sainthood) was written by the thirteenth/nineteenth-

evidence that Bālī Efendi and Şoğollu Meḥmed Pasha were in direct contact, but the fact that they resided in the same provincial town strongly suggests so, especially if Bālī Efendi indeed held the post of kadi of Sofia as suggested by Tietze.⁵⁹ In any case, the letters sent by Bālī Efendi to the then grand vizier Rüstem Pasha (in office 951–960/1544–1553 and 962–968/1555–1561) in which he expresses his ideas about the Kızılbaş heresy,⁶⁰ and to the sultan advising severe punishments for the followers of Shaykh Bedre'd-dīn in the Deliorman and Dobrudja region,⁶¹ were written during Şoğollu Meḥmed Pasha's tenure in Sofia.

There is a great chance that it was also in Sofia that Şoğollu Meḥmed Pasha first met Muşliḥu'd-dīn Nüre'd-dīnzāde, who was to be his life-long confidant and a highly influential Halveti Sufi preacher. Being a native of the region, Nüre'd-dīnzāde had become one of the numerous followers of Bālī Efendi after receiving a madrasa education in Edirne in the second decade of the tenth/sixteenth century.⁶² Halveti hagiographic tradition maintains that Bālī Efendi recommended that, as one of his most talented disciples, Muşliḥu'd-dīn Nüre'd-dīnzāde leave Sofia and establish a Halveti convent in Tatar Pazarı in order to “guide the believers” and fight against the heretics.⁶³ Nüre'd-dīnzāde's sojourn in Tatar Pazarı and the surrounding region in the 940s/1540s and 950s/1550s is shrouded in obscurity, but his preaching must have targeted the *abdāls* at the convent of Pirzāde (mentioned above) built by Malkoçoğlu Bālī Beg near the town at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century. These dervishes seemed to have been the natural target in the joint efforts of the central power and the Halvetis in introducing a closer observation of Sunni Islam and the strengthening of the central rule, which requested the personal involvement of a character of the magnitude of Nüre'd-dīnzāde. That Nüre'd-dīnzāde was successful in his

century scholar Süleymān Köstendili. See Kalicin and Mutafova, *Halveti Shaykh Bali Efendi* 339–353. Bālī Efendi was buried in a mausoleum in his convent, which grew into a village of the same name. The *türbe* of the shaykh was rebuilt in the thirteenth/nineteenth century by the son of the famous brigand leader Kara Feyzī (I am indebted for this information to Dr. Tolga Esmer). The mosque of the convent was replaced by the St. Elias church built in the post-Ottoman period. The partially preserved tombstone of Bālī Efendi is published by Kmetova and Mikov, *Bali Efendi* 41–44.

59 Tietze, *Shaykh Bālī Efendi's report* 115. Kalicin and Mutafova (*Historical accounts* 127) point out that they could not find a confirmation of Tietze's statement.

60 Minorsky, *Shaykh Bālī-Efendi on the Safavids*.

61 Tietze, *Shaykh Bālī Efendi's report*.

62 Belgrādī, *Silsiletü'l-muḥarrebīn* 113a. Based on the information of 'Aṭā'ī, Nathalie Clayer proves that Nüre'd-dīnzāde was born in the village of Anbarlı (mod. Žitnitsa) located thirty kilometers north of Filibe.

63 Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société* 83; Belgrādī, *Silsiletü'l-muḥarrebīn* 114a.

mission and likely had the support and sanction of the Ottoman authorities is suggested by the fact that a tax register from 936/1530 is the last documentary evidence attesting to the existence of the Pîrzâde convent in Tatar Pazarı. It would appear that after this date the convent ceased to exist.⁶⁴

Nûre'd-dînzâde was given a regular daily stipend derived from the surplus of Şihâbe'd-dîn Pasha's *waqf* in Filibe. It is not known when Nûre'd-dînzâde moved to Filibe, but a sultanic order from 963/1556 shows that he was already residing in the city at that time.⁶⁵ Later in the 950s/1550s Nûre'd-dînzâde came to Istanbul in order to defend his master Şofyalı Bâlî against accusations of heresy. His acute comment and interpretation of a passage of the Quran convinced the *şeyhül-islâm* Ebû's-su'ûd Efendi (d. 981/1574) that the accusations were false and Nûre'd-dînzâde was offered the convent of Küçük Aya Sofya in the Ottoman capital.⁶⁶ This marked the beginning of a successful career for Nûre'd-dînzâde in Istanbul during which he enjoyed the patronage of the sultan and the grand vizier Meḥmed Pasha who, together with his spouse, the princess İsmihân, commissioned and built for him the Kadırğa Limanı complex.⁶⁷

Returning to Nûre'd-dînzâde's Filibe period, one discovers that he founded a Halveti *zâviye* in this city too. The available information about Nûre'd-dînzâde's convent in Filibe is extremely scarce, but archival documents show that he established a pious foundation for its support, endowing a lump sum of cash (*vakf-i nukûd*). Supporting his establishment with a cash *waqf* might have been a purposeful decision. The foundation was created only a few years after the height of the so-called cash *waqf* debate in the Ottoman learned circles. Keeping in mind that Nûre'd-dînzâde was a disciple and a vigorous supporter of Şofyalı Bâlî, who had been one of the vocal proponents of cash *waqfs*, it might not be coincidental that Nûre'd-dînzâde established a cash *waqf* in support of his convent in Filibe.⁶⁸ In Bâlî Efendi's view, expressed in his letter to the sultan, cash endowments were a crucially important mechanism that supported the establishment of Islam in Rumeli. Snježana Buzov's brief, but

64 The geomancer of Süleymân I, Remmâl Ḥaydar must have also been present in the town in this period, but it is unclear whether he played any role in the process. Fleischer, *Shadow of shadows* 60.

65 BOA, A.DVN.MHM 2, 45/409. The record in the *mühimme* register is very brief, stating that upon sultanic order a daily salary of three *akçes* was allocated to the shaykh from the surplus of Şihâbe'd-dîn Pasha's *waqf*.

66 Yüreki, A building between the public 163.

67 Yüreki, A building between the public; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 331–345.

68 On the cash *waqfs* and Bâlî Efendi's involvement in the debate, see Mandaville, *Usurious piety* 289–308; Keskiöglü, *Bulgaristan'da Türk vakıfları* 81–94; Özcan, *Sofya Bâlî Efendi'nin* 125–155; Karataş, *The cash waqfs debate* 45–66.

insightful, analysis of the Sofian Halveti shaykh's involvement in the cash *waqf* debate demonstrates that he not only propagated the cash endowments as one of the pillars supporting and encouraging Sunni orthodoxy in the heterogeneous atmosphere of Rumeli, but he was also inclined to mislead his high addressee by twisting the facts and claiming that cash *waqfs* constituted the only support of many mosques, responsible for the “settling of Islam” in the province.⁶⁹

In light of this, it is highly likely that his disciple Nüre'd-dinzāde also perceived the cash endowments as one of the important instruments for encouraging Sunni Islam in Rumeli and therefore opted to found a cash *waqf* to support the *zāviye* he established in Filibe. A document dating to 1004/1596, drawn up by the administrator of the cash *waqf* of Nüre'd-dinzāde, a certain 'Abdullāh, presents a brief accounting balance of the foundation, established with a lump sum of 70,000 *aḳçes*, lent at 10% annual interest.⁷⁰ The document reveals some details about the *zāviye* itself. It had a public soup kitchen, since the foundation spent annually 4,900 *aḳçes* for the food cooked there. Appointments of personnel, registered in a later *hurūfāt defteri*, show that the *zāviye* of Nüre'd-dinzāde must have been a rather spacious complex, since except for the dervish convent and the public kitchens it had a mosque served by at least one imam and one *muezzin*.⁷¹ Another *hurūfāt* register, though containing much less detailed information, provides an important clue about the exact location of Nüre'd-dinzāde's *zāviye* in Filibe. It specifies that a certain Muṣṭafā received a *berāt* for his appointment as imam to the mosque of Nüre'd-dinzāde, which is located near the bank of the river Meriç.⁷² Additional information from the earlier *hurūfāt* register, showing that the *zāviye* and the mosque of Nüre'd-dinzāde were built in the quarter of Ḥāccī 'Ömer, allows one to establish with a great degree of certainty the location of Nüre'd-dinzāde's convent in Filibe. It was built in a place that in the mid-tenth/sixteenth century was quite distant and isolated from the commercial part of the city. The *zāviye* and the mosque stood by the river on the northwestern edge of Filibe in a zone that must have been uninhabited at that time. Even in the thirteenth/nineteenth-century photographs the district appears empty. It is unknown when the convent was abandoned or demolished. Undoubtedly the *zāviye* was still functioning in the mid-twelfth/eighteenth century, because after sultan Muṣṭafā III (r. 1171–

69 Buzov, *The Lawgiver and his lawmakers* 254–256.

70 BOA, TSMA d. 4319. The document is wrongly dated in the catalogue to 1020/1611.

71 VGMA, D. 1180, ff. 225, 228, 239, 242, 248. In 1176/1763 the imam was entitled to a daily salary of two *aḳçes*.

72 Çal, *Hurufat defterine göre Bulgaristan* 258.

1187/1757–74) occupied the Ottoman throne, he issued a *berāt* that reaffirmed the post held by a certain Shaykh Muṣṭafā as *zāviyedār* of the Nüre'd-dinzāde Muṣliḥu'd-dīn lodge.⁷³

Recalling de Schepper's account of the naked dervishes dancing in a garden by the river from 939/1533, it is possible that Nüre'd-dinzāde's convent simply replaced a preexisting lodge, which had once accommodated the followers of Otman Baba. The replacement was not an isolated case, and there is little doubt that the pressure on the nonconformist dervishes in the eastern Balkans and Anatolia was instigated by the central power and Sufi circles close to it. Numerous imperial orders compiled during the second grand vizierate of Rüstem Pasha testify that the *abdāls* were targeted by the Sunnitization policies supported at a highest level. In the late 950s/1550s, the primary gathering place of the Anatolian and Balkan *abdāls*, the Seyyid Baṭṭāl Gāzī convent, was handed over to a Naqshbandi shaykh, and a madrasa was established within the complex, while its dervishes were chased away.⁷⁴ The convent had been built and patronized by the Miḥāloğlu; therefore, expelling the original residents of the *tekke* and their replacement with Naqshbandis clearly aimed not only to Sunnitize this important convent but also to undermine and diminish the influence of the family there. The pressure on the convents patronized by Miḥāloğlu was by no means restricted to Anatolia. Another *zāviye* in the eastern Balkans, built and patronized by the Miḥāloğlu and which "was provided by the frontier *begs* with slave servants," that of Aқыazılı Baba near Balçık on the Black Sea coast, was also heavily pressured by the central power in 967/1559.⁷⁵ The same applies to the nearby convent of Şarı Şaltuḡ in Kaliakra, whose resident dervishes were also subjected to investigation and persecution following a sultanīc order issued upon a report of the local *kadi*.⁷⁶

The mission of Nüre'd-dinzāde in Rumeli was taken up by another highly influential Halveti figure, Shaykh Meḥmed b. Ḥelvacı 'Ömer, more popularly known as Ḳurd Efendi. Being also a native of the region, born in the town of Tatar Pazarı itself and known for his profound commitment to Sunni Islam and animosity toward antinomian dervish groups, Ḳurd replaced his tutor Bālī Efendi in Sofia in 960/1553 upon the latter's death.⁷⁷ At this date, Şoḡollu Meḥmed Pasha was still *beglerbegi* of Rumeli and the events that followed

73 BOA, C.EV. dosya 569, gömlek 28746.

74 Faroḡhi, Seyyid Gazi revisited 90–122; Faroḡhi, The tekke of Hacı Bektaş 183–208; Yürekli, *Architecture and hagiography* 42–45.

75 Refik, *On altıncı asırda* 19.

76 Ibid. 17–19.

77 Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société* 94.

clearly show that these two men came into closer contact at this early stage, if not even earlier when Bālī Efendi was still alive. Ẕurd Efendi's subsequent actions and career path reveal that he belonged to the client network of Şoķollu Meħmed Pasha. In 973/1566 Ẕurd Efendi left Sofia, and marched with the imperial army to Hungary in the company of Nūre'd-dinzāde and the grand vizier Şoķollu Meħmed Pasha. The available sources do not specify whether the two Halveti shaykhs were involved in the execution of Arslan Pasha, the *beglerbegi* of Buda, in 973/1566, but the fact that his post was taken by Şoķollu Muştafā Pasha, a nephew of the grand vizier Şoķollu Meħmed Pasha, and that Ẕurd Efendi remained in Buda after the campaign and served as the new *beglerbegi*'s counselor for several years before returning to his convent in Sofia, strongly suggests so.⁷⁸ In any case, the execution of Arslan Pasha was a major blow for the frontier society as it removed one of the last remnants of real political power held by the marcher lords and transferred it to the centrally supported network of the Şoķollu family.⁷⁹ The executed Arslan Pasha descended from the illustrious family of *uc begleri* known as the Yaħyālī (in Serb. Jahjapašići), named after the founder of the dynasty, the Rumeli *beglerbegi* and vizier of Sultan Bāyezīd II, Yaħyā Pasha, who established the family in the western Balkans.⁸⁰ Yaħyā Pasha married a daughter of Bāyezīd II and left behind seven sons, who reaffirmed the family position as the leaders of the frontier society in Rumeli. Members of the family were frequently governors of *sancaķs* in Bosnia, Albania, Serbia, and Croatia, while the post of *beglerbegi* of Buda was held almost on a hereditary basis by the family members until 973/1566.⁸¹ The removal from the post and the subsequent execution of Yaħyālī Arslan Pasha can probably be regarded as a sign of cooperation between the Şoķollu clan and the Halveti preachers, directed against the political and military leadership of the frontier society and its nonconformist dervish supporters.⁸² It might have been for this reason that Ẕurd Efendi remained for several years in Hungary, enjoying the patronage of the Şoķollu clan and spreading the influence of Sunni orthodoxy in the frontier regions. Ẕurd Efendi's popularity in the Ottoman ruling circles and the Halveti order must have been growing because in 981/1574, prior to his death, Nūre'd-dinzāde designated Ẕurd Efendi as a fellow-in-lineage (*pīrdāş*)

78 Ibid; Römer and Vatin, *The lion that was only cat*; Dakić, *The Sokollu family clan* 52–57; Káldy-Nagy, *Budin beylerbeyi Mustafa Paşa* 649–663; Vatin, *Ferīdūn Bey* 90–91.

79 Fodor, *Wolf on the border*.

80 Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid* 336–345.

81 Fotić, *Yahyapaşa-Ođlu Mehmed Pasha* 437–452; Bojanić, *Požarevac u XVI veku* 49–75; Altaylı, *Budin beylerbeyi Arslan Paşa* 33–51.

82 Işksel, *Ottoman power holders in the Balkans* 92–96.

who was to replace him in the Kadırğa Limanı convent in Istanbul and soon after Ẕurd Efendi moved to Istanbul.⁸³ He died in 996/1588 in his native Tatar Pazarı during one of his journeys outside the capital.⁸⁴

Documentary evidence demonstrates that Ẕurd Efendi was a faithful continuator of Nüre'd-dīnzāde's policy of exerting firm pressure on the antinomian dervishes because in 983/1576 he was involved in the resolution of a case, which in all likelihood was initiated earlier by Nüre'd-dīnzāde himself. In the period of Şoğollu Mehmed Pasha's grand vizierate (972–987/1565–1579), the influence of Nüre'd-dīnzāde at the Ottoman court reached a peak. Except for enjoying the patronage of the mighty grand vizier and his spouse, the Ottoman princess İsmiḥān, Nüre'd-dīnzāde became one of the sultan's confidants and his advice was offered at the highest level.⁸⁵ In the early 970s/1570s Nüre'd-dīnzāde was heavily involved in the Şoğollu administration's persecutions of influential Sufis who were deemed heretical. He played a decisive role in the accusations against the Melami-Bayrami shaykh Ḥamza Bālī, his pursuit in Bosnia, and subsequent execution in Istanbul in 980/1573 after interrogations orchestrated by Nüre'd-dīnzāde.⁸⁶

Moreover, official orders demonstrate that in the same period the antinomian dervishes in the convent of Seyyid Baṭṭāl Gāzī in Anatolia were once more subjected to persecutions since they failed to abandon the unorthodox practices, allowed the mosque to fall into disrepair, and disrupted the functioning of the madrasa in the complex.⁸⁷ The Ottoman documents do not explicitly indicate the involvement of Nüre'd-dīnzāde in the persecutions of the dervishes in the Seyyid Baṭṭāl Gāzī convent, but the concurrent processes in Rumeli strongly suggest so. A sultanic command from 979/1572 ordered the kadīs of Filibe and Tatar Pazarı to launch an investigation against a certain ʿĪsā Halife and ʿOsmān Halife from the village of Umur obası in the region of Filibe and of a certain Muşṭafā Işık from a village named Manend(lü) in the district of Tatar Pazarı.⁸⁸ The men in question were suspected of being Hurufis and/or followers of Shaykh Bedre'd-din (“Simav şeyhi”) and therefore “heretics” who misguided the local Muslims and corrupted their faith. The kadīs were urged to investigate the case, and if these individuals were found guilty of heresy, they were to be executed. The *yürük* village of Umur obası is no longer extant, but its precise

83 Yürekli, A building between the public 163.

84 Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société* 94.

85 Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual* 57–58.

86 Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société* 86–90.

87 Yürekli, Architectural patronage 45.

88 Refik, *On altıncı asırda* 31–32.

former location can be identified thanks to detailed historical maps.⁸⁹ It was situated to the northeast of Filibe in close proximity to the convents of Umur Baba and ʤurnacı Baba, who are mentioned in the *velāyetnāme* of Otman Baba as his followers. A tax register, compiled two years before the sultan's order for investigation, in 977/1570, shows that the village had 67 Muslim households and several of the taxpayers served as raiders (*aķıncı*). In the next census, conducted in 1004/1596, the village population dropped to 40 households, thus losing one-third of its residents in the interim years.⁹⁰ It is difficult to tell whether this sudden population drop was a consequence of the sultan's order in question or whether it was caused by natural processes, but the fact that local residents were persecuted suggests a possible involvement of the Ottoman authorities in local demographic processes.

The other village mentioned in the Ottoman documents as being investigated, Manend(lü),⁹¹ is located northwest of Tatar Pazarı, on the way to İhtiman and Sofia. Manend(lü) is also only six kilometers away from the convent of Hüseyn Dede, built near the village of Semçine (mod. Semchinovo).⁹² The fields near the village regularly served as one of the stations of the Ottoman imperial army marching toward Central Europe, especially during the campaigns led by Süleymān I. This could be the reason why the Ottoman authorities were particularly interested in subduing those deemed “heretical” in this particular locality.⁹³ By 977/1570 the village had 37 Muslim households and was registered together with the nearby village, named Akıncı (mod. Akandzhievo).⁹⁴ The Ottoman registers specify that Manend(lü) had an imam, who in 977/1570 also served as *aķıncı*. This individual must have been quite young in 977/1570, because in 1004/1596 he still appears among the village residents, but it seems

89 The village is marked on the Russian 1:126 000 (3-vest) Military map, drawn up in 1877–1879. XY coordinates of the vanished settlement are 42.310105-25.171454.

90 Borisov, *Gazetteer of Upper Thrace* 303.

91 The modern village of Menenkyovo in the region of Pazardzhik, Bulgaria.

92 The Hüseyn Dede or Hüseyn Baba convent and its *waqf* are first registered in the early tenth/sixteenth-century registers, BOA TD 77, 825 from 922/1516 and BOA, MAD 519, 271 from 931/1525. After 936/1530 the convent and its endowment disappear from the Ottoman documents.

93 Several campaign itineraries show that the Ottoman army regularly stopped near the village, which strongly suggests that this was a specifically designated camping spot before the army moved west through the difficult pass of Trojan's gate and descended to the plane of İhtiman. These were, for instance, the campaigns of 927/1521, 932/1526, 935/1529, 938/1532, and 973/1566. See Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs* 148, 158, 167, 175; Erdoğan, Kanuni Sultan Süleymān'ın 167–187; Vatin, *Ferîdûn Bey* 30; Arslantürk and Börekçi (eds.), *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-ahyâr* 217.

94 Borisov, *Gazetteer of Upper Thrace* 199–200.

that in the interim years between the registrations he was stripped of his post as village imam and was recorded solely as a raider.⁹⁵

As stated above, none of the documents mentions explicitly Nüre'd-dīnzāde's involvement in the persecutions of those deemed "heretics" in Thrace in the early 970s/1570s. Nevertheless, considering the fact that he was closely linked with this region and that his close associate Ẕurd Efendi resided in Sofia at the time, it is highly likely that the active communication between the Halveti shaykhs about provincial developments and the influence that Nüre'd-dīnzāde exercised through his patron Şoĝollu Meĝmed Pasha were the decisive factors that instigated the imperial order for investigation. As a further indication of that, when the case was resolved in 984/1576, the document explicitly specifies that the sultanic order was handed to one of the subordinates of Ẕurd Efendi, who had already occupied the place of Nüre'd-dīnzāde in the convent in Kadırĝa Limanı in Istanbul built by Şoĝollu.⁹⁶ Another disciple of Nüre'd-dīnzāde, İbrāhīm-i Ẕırmī (d. 1001/1593), known as "Tatar Shaykh," continued the established tradition of Halveti shaykhs' involvement in persecutions of nonconformist dervishes at the highest political level. After spending some time fighting against the misbelievers in Baba (i.e., Babadaĝ) Ẕırmī received the post of the shaykh of the convent of Küçük Ayasofya in Istanbul and became an important factor in the capital's highest Sufi and political circles, reaching the position of sultan's shaykh.⁹⁷ In a series of letters addressed to Murād III (r. 982–1003/1574–1595), Ẕırmī advised the sultan to take decisive actions against the followers of Shaykh Bedre'd-dīn and the Kızılbaş in Dobrudĝa, where he spent an unspecified period of time.⁹⁸ The rhetoric of these letters and the social groups targeted in them are greatly reminiscent of the letters authored by Bālī Efendi of Sofya. Ẕırmī himself may have been the person who orchestrated the Halveti takeover of the *zāviye* of Şarı Şaltuĝ in Babadaĝ and the subsequent dispersal of the resident dervishes. A sultanic order to the kadi of Baba, asking for an inspection, attests that in 991/1584 a *halvethāne* existed there.⁹⁹

Clearly, the persecutions of the antinomian dervishes during the 970–980s/1570–1580s targeted places in Anatolia and especially in the eastern Balkans

95 Ibid. 199.

96 Refik, *On altıncı asırda* 36–37.

97 On Ẕırmī's biography, see Terzioĝlu, Power, patronage, and confessionism 157–163.

98 The letters are widely known in modern scholarship but were erroneously attributed to Maĝmūd Hüdāyī (d. 1037/1628). For the correction and analysis, see Terzioĝlu, Power, patronage, and confessionism 154–164. I am grateful to Derin Terzioĝlu for bringing her recent publication to my attention.

99 The order was handed to a certain Meĝmed Sufi. Refik, *On altıncı asırda* 41.

that were also closely associated with the Balkan frontier lords. Archival sources demonstrate that both of the villages in the Filibe region that were supposedly home to “Hurufis” and “Bedreddinis” had *aķuncıs* among the residents and were situated very close to convents established by *abdāls* originating from the circle of Otman Baba and his followers. Moreover, the territory was very close to the Miķālođlu family ancestral domain in İhtiman and had been in the sphere of influence of the mighty family for nearly two centuries. The Sunniti-zing efforts of the Ottoman government, which were tacitly embraced if not induced by the Halveti shaykhs also aimed at marginalizing the influence of the frontier lords’ families on a provincial level. It is difficult to tell whether the convents, built in towns that constituted part of the family domains of the marcher lords, such as Plevne or İhtiman of the Miķālođlus, were also subjected to systematic pressure to implement policies that assured the local population’s adherence to Sunni orthodoxy. Circumstantial evidence, however, suggests that this might have indeed been the case. For instance, in 985/1578, the *haķıb* of the *zāviye* of Miķālođlu Maķmūd Beg in İhtiman, a certain convert to Islam named İbrāhım b. ‘Abdu’llāh, copied the text of *‘İmādi’l-İslām* (written c. 949/1543) by ‘Abdu’r-raķmān b. Yūsuf Aķsarāyi, a popular *‘ilm-i hāl* in Turkish that aimed to instill the principles of Sunni orthodoxy and orthopraxy into its readers. This suggests that by the second half of the tenth/sixteenth century a greater awareness of what it meant to be a Sunni must have reached the family estates of the frontier lords too.¹⁰⁰ Further studies can reveal more details that will demonstrate the pace of Sunnitization and its penetration within the domains of the other families of marcher lords in the Balkans and test whether the Cemaliye branch of the Halveti order, and especially the descendants of Bāli Efendi, had any involvement in the process as well. The appointment of the Halveti shaykh Sinān, a disciple of Kırımı, as Quran commentator at the mosque of Turaķānođlu ‘Ömer Beg in Tırhala, is very indicative and demonstrates that further research in this direction might be very useful.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, a little-known *zāviye*, built by Gāzı Evrenos Beg in Yanya (Ioannina) and supported by his pious foundation, appears in later sources as the “Halveti *tekke* of Shaykh Hāşım.”¹⁰² The power base of the Evrenos family, the town of Yenice-i Vardar, had a convent directed by a certain shaykh ‘Ali Efendi, who was one of the dis-

100 The manuscript of *‘İmādi’l-İslām* by ‘Abdu’r-raķmān b. Yūsuf Aķsarāyi is kept in the Bulgarian National Library in Sofia, Department of Oriental Collections, Op. 828. It treats the five pillars of Islam. For more on this text, see the article by Tijana Krstić in this volume.

101 Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société* 103.

102 Umur, *Reconstructing Yenice-Vardar* 83. Terziođlu, *Power, patronage, and confessionalism* 173.

ciples of Ümmī Sinān (d. 976/1568), who gave his name to the Sinaniye branch of the Halvetiye. This suggests that the Halveti takeover of convents previously supported by marcher lords could have been part of a systematic effort of which we currently know very little.¹⁰³

The cases examined in the paper show that the provincial perspective in the process of Sunnizing Rumeli is worth exploring. The complex dynamics at a local level demonstrate multifaceted connections that bound provincial affairs and the highest levels of the Ottoman government through the policies of spreading and enforcing Sunni Islam in the empire. The map appended to this study presents the spatial spread of the convents of antinomian dervishes in the eastern Balkans, which offers a glimpse, but not much more, into the rich and dynamic processes in this region and it might be indicative of the increased interest of the Ottoman ruling elite in this region in the tenth/sixteenth century. The map suffers, however, from a complete lack of temporal dimension since it is apparent that these convents evolved, functioned, and many of them disappeared within a time span that spreads over at least two centuries. Therefore, as any static map, it fails to illustrate the changes that took place over time. Nevertheless, it demonstrates quite clearly that most of these convents were built in a crescent-shaped territory, which is enclosed by the large landed estates of the Miḥāloğlu family in İhtiman, Plevne, and Pınar Hisar. The same territory became a new home for many Anatolian settlers, among which were at least 600 *ocaks* of seminomadic *yürüks* who arrived to the region in the course of the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries. Recent studies on the recruitment of raiders (*aķıncı*) show convincingly that a large portion of the manpower that filled the raiding parties organized by the marcher lords came from exactly the same area.¹⁰⁴ Thus, if *yürük* settlements, places of recruitment of raiders, and the convents of the nonconformist dervishes in the eastern Balkans are placed onto a single map, one can easily notice an overlap between the three within a territory flanked by the possessions of the Miḥāloğlu family. Therefore, it is scarcely surprising that the Ottoman archival documents referred to this area as the “Miḥāllu wing” of the *aķıncı* corps.

The cooperation between the groups who shared an anticentrist sentiment and opposed the Sunni orthodoxy was not restricted either to the Miḥāloğlu

103 Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société* 173.

104 The registers and the maps displaying the places of recruitment of raiders (*aķıncı*) by the Miḥāloğlu family, published recently by Kayapınar and Özünlü, show significant overlap between the territories with high *yürük* concentration and the location of the principal convents of the antinomian dervishes in Rumeli. See Kayapınar and Erdoğan Özünlü, *Mihaloğulları'na ait; Erdoğan Özünlü and Kayapınar, 1472 ve 1560 tarihli akıncı defterleri*.

family, or to the region of the eastern Balkans. On the contrary, the architectural patronage of the shrine of Hāccī Bektaş by the Evrenosoğlu, and later in the mid-tenth/sixteenth century by the Malkoçoğlu family, demonstrates the deeply rooted connection between the Balkan marcher lords' families and the Anatolian *abdāl* tradition. In the Rumeli context, the attempts to introduce closer compliance with Sunni orthodoxy appear to have gone hand in hand with attempts to marginalize the influence of the marcher lords who constituted the political, but also the military, embodiment of the antiestablishment sentiments of a large group of subjects of the sultans. The comprehensive understanding of the process thus requires a more detailed research into the local power relationships. At the present state of research, very little is known about the dynamics taking place in the territories under the influence of the Evrenosoğlu family, which stretches from western Thrace through Aegean Macedonia to the Adriatic coast, or in Thessaly, dominated by the Turaḥānoğlu, or in the zone between Skopje and Sarajevo that was under the control of the İshākoğlu, later replaced by the Yahyālī and Malkoçoğlu families, etc. The present study focuses primarily on the eastern parts of the Balkans where the Miḥāloğlu and Malkoçoğlu families appear to have been the chief local players in the power struggle, but hopefully it constitutes the first step toward a more detailed exploration of provincial power dynamics and their role in the process of Sunnitization of Rumeli.

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Attendance at the Five Daily Congregational Prayers, Imams and Their Communities in the Jurisprudential Debates during the Ottoman Age of Sunnitization

H. Evren Sünnetçioğlu

1 Introduction

On 25 Receb 1000/7 May 1592, imam Receb and his congregation from the Hasan Ağa neighborhood of Üsküdar went to the court. They notified the judge of Üsküdar that a certain resident by the name of Hasan does not attend the *masjid* for prayers, nor does he pray at all. Upon listening, the judge decided to record Hasan into the court register.¹ It is not clear whether this entry served as a prelude for an investigation against Hasan. The judge seemed to be cautious, as evident in his choice to qualify the allegation as *haber* (Ar. *khavar*), which signals that he treated it as information that can be either true (*şidq*) or false (*kidhb*).² However, Hasan's reputation was now formally jeopardized because his social infamy for disregarding the five daily prayers entered the official record. If the allegations had been proven as true, Hasan could have been

1 "Zikr olunan inâm ve cemâ'at bâ'isü'l-hurûf Hasan nâm kimesneyi namaza gelmez ve bî-namazdır deyu haber verdikleri kayd olundu. Şuhûdü'l-hâl: es-Sâbikün." See *İstanbul kadı sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 84 numaralı sicil* 247. For the name of the imam and the neighborhood, see the preceding entry on the same page. It is worth emphasizing that the neighbors of Hasan did not just claim that he neglects the five daily congregational prayers (*namaza gelmez*; lit. "he does not come to prayer"). They also denounced Hasan for not observing the five daily prayers at all (*ve bî-namazdır*; i.e. "and he does not pray"), implying that he does not perform his prayers even in the privacy of his home. On the boundary between "public" and "private" in the Ottoman neighborhoods during the tenth/sixteenth century, see Yılmaz, xvi. yüzyıl Osmanlı toplumunda 92–110. On similar examples of denouncement from other places of the Empire, see Ergenç, Osmanlı şehrindeki "mahalle"nin 74; Kivırım, Osmanlı Mahallesinde 233; Yılmaz, xvi. yüzyıl Osmanlı toplumunda 96–97.

2 Jurisprudentially speaking, *haber* (Ar. *khavar*) can be true (*şidq*) or false (*kidhb*) as opposed to proof (*al-ḥujja huwā al-khavar al-şidq*). See Mollā Hüsrev, *Durar al-ḥukkām* ii, 270. On the question of proof standards in the proceedings of criminal cases, see Johansen, *Zum Prozessrecht der 'Uqūbāt* 421–433.

liable for a punishment. At the very least, both the complaint by the congregation and the judge's decision to record Ḥasan indicates the growing emphasis on Ottoman Muslims' attendance at the five daily congregational prayers that was increasingly perceptible by the mid-tenth/sixteenth century.

This paper focuses on the debates among the leading Hanafi jurists that informed this growing sensitivity to and moral surveillance surrounding the performance of the congregational prayers, as well as the judge's decision to record Ḥasan's alleged misconduct. Based on differences of opinion (*ikhtilāf*) among some of the earliest authorities of the Hanafi school (*madhhab*), the debates specifically revolved around two major questions that long predated the Ottoman era: the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers and the ability and qualifications of imams to lead the prayer. I explore how Hanafi jurists of Rum (Anatolia and the Balkans) received and intervened into this debate, arguing that their particular interpretation provided the Ottoman authorities with a legal and moral idiom to discipline their male Muslim subjects by enforcing the congregational performance of the five daily prayers. This is famously reflected in the decree promulgated by Sultan Süleymān in 944/1537–1538, which obliged each and every Muslim-populated village in the empire to have a designated place of prayer (*masjid*) in order to ensure the observance of the five daily prayers in congregation throughout the sultan's domains.

In what follows, I examine how Ottoman jurists received the aforementioned debates and engaged with them before and after the promulgation of this imperial decree, suggesting that the decree was a product of negotiation between the jurists and the sultan on the latter's role in the everyday piety of his subjects and the enforcement of the divine law within the Ottoman domains. I argue that by the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century the jurists and the sultan had arrived at a consensus on the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers by rendering the sultan responsible for promoting *masjid* attendance among his male Muslim subjects. Thus, the Ottoman reception of this age-old but virtually unexplored jurisprudential debate became central to the processes of confession-building and imperial consolidation from the ninth/fifteenth to the eleventh/seventeenth centuries.

In the second part of the paper, I demonstrate how the jurists navigated the debates on the ritual and moral duties of imams that had a bearing on attendance itself, with a particular attention to the question of whether prayer behind a sinful imam is permissible. This question came into sharper focus due to the growing expectations of moral leadership and communal surveillance in the mid-tenth/sixteenth century. I demonstrate that the Ottoman jurists navigated through the differences of opinion both within and beyond the Hanafi school to define their own orthodoxy on this matter, treading carefully to contain dissenting voices from Muslim congregations across the empire.

2 The Decree of 944/1537–1538 in the Context of Ottoman “Sunnitization”

The imperial decree of 944/1537–1538 ordering the construction of *masjids* in Muslim-populated villages to enforce the regular performance of the five daily prayers in congregation has been at the center of the discussions on Ottoman “Sunnitization.”³ Although the original text of the decree is still missing, our knowledge of its content comes from a fatwa issued by the chief jurist (*şeyhül-islām*) Ebū’s-su‘ūd:

Question: If some Muslims have no *masjid* at all in their villages, and if the people do not perform the prayers in congregation, is it necessary for the judge of the law to force them to build a *masjid* and to inflict discretionary punishment?

Answer: Yes. The governors of the protected domains had been sent a noble decree in 944 in order to force the people of such villages to build a *masjid* and to make them attend the congregational prayers. It is necessary to abide by what the decree requires.⁴

As the fatwa makes it clear, the decree was issued in 944/1537–1538 by Sultan Süleymān (r. 926–974/1520–1566) before Ebū’s-su‘ūd was appointed chief jurist (952–982/1545–1574). It concerned the Muslim peasants who neither observed the five daily congregational prayers, nor did they even have a *masjid*. In order to deal with this matter, Süleymān stipulated punitive measures. The governors and judges of the empire had to force the villages in question to construct a *masjid*. Also, they were authorized to inflict discretionary punishment (*ta‘zīr*) in order to prevent nonattendance at prayers. These punitive measures were confined to Muslim men since Muslim women had by then been banished from

3 For the discussion of the term “Sunnitization,” see Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize 301–338.

4 “Mes‘ele: Ba‘zı Müslimānlar, kıryelerinde ašlā mescid olmayub ahālisi cemā’atle namāz kılmasalar hākimü’ş-şer‘ mezbūrlara cebr ile mescid binā etdürüb namāz kılmaktan thmāl edenleri ta‘zīr lāzım olur mu?” El-cevāb: Olur. Öyle olan kurā’nın ahālisine cebr ile mescid binā etdürüb şalāta müdāvet etdürmek için vülāt-ı Memālik-i Maḥmiye’ye sene-i erba‘ın ve tis‘amī’e tārihinde mü’ekked aḥkām-ı şerīfe vārid olmuşdur. Mücebince ‘amel olunmak lāzımdır. Ketebehu Ebū’s-su‘ūd ‘ufya ‘anhu.” Ebū Su‘ūd, *Zur Anwendung* 24. This is my transliteration of the fatwa from Ebū’s-su‘ūd’s *Ma‘rūdāt*, which P. Horster edited in Arabic script. I use this edition in the paper when discussing the fatwa because it includes Ebū’s-su‘ūd’s annotations, which are omitted from the more recent edition by P. Düzenli (Ebussuūd, *Ma‘rūzāt*). I use the latter edition when I discuss the preface of the *Ma‘rūdāt*, because Düzenli bases his edition on many more manuscript copies than Horster.

attending the congregational prayers.⁵ The decree, Ebū's-su'ūd affirms, is still valid: "it is necessary to abide by what the decree requires."

In recent years, historians have pointed to this decree as an example of how Ottoman authorities' understanding of Sunni Islam changed toward the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century. The primary purpose of the decree was to enforce the congregational performance of the five daily prayers in the villages since it took issue with the lack of *masjids* in the villages and not the Friday mosques in cities and towns. As a rule, the jurists of the Hanafi school, and by extension the Ottoman Rumi Hanafi jurists, excluded Friday mosques from villages, since they held that the Friday noon prayer was valid only in urban regions (*misr jāmi'*; *misr*), not in the countryside.⁶ However, apart from the construction boom of *masjids* across the empire, the decree was also followed by the proliferation of Friday mosques in cities and towns.⁷ Gülru Necipoğlu has suggested that this general emphasis on the places of prayer in congregation was due to the religious climate at the time, which was informed by the Ottoman authorities' attempt to draw clear distinctions with the Shi'ite Safavid Empire, its principal ideological rival.⁸ Indeed, the very legitimacy of holding the Friday prayer was then under debate among the Twelver Shi'ite scholars.⁹ As such, the decree was part of broader policies aiming to establish the markers of Ottoman Sunni orthodoxy as the empire sought to internally consolidate and demarcate boundaries with its imperial rivals both to the east (the Safavids) and to the west (the Habsburgs).¹⁰

Derin Terzioğlu has pushed the discussion further in a historiographical essay that challenges the view of Sunnitization as a mere political reaction provoked by the rise of the Shi'ite Safavid Empire (r. 906–1134/1501–1722). Instead, she emphasized the need to study Ottoman Sunnitization in its own right as part of the history of Sunni Islam with an eye to continuities and ruptures between the religious policies of the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman eras.¹¹ Taking

5 See Katz, *The "corruption of the times"* 171–185; Reinhart, *When women went to mosques* 116–128.

6 Johansen, *The all-embracing town*, esp. 144; Calder, *Friday prayer* 35–36; Holmes Katz, *Prayer* 130–131; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 56.

7 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 48; see also Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 314. On the numbers of *masjids* and Friday mosques constructed in Rumeli by the 1530s, see Grigor Boykov's article in this volume.

8 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 47–58.

9 Stewart, *Polemics and patronage* 425–457.

10 Necipoğlu, *Süleyman the Magnificent* 401–427; Krstić, *Contested conversions* 75–97; Greene, *The Edinburgh history* 57–86, especially 59.

11 Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 305, 313, 315, 318–319.

this historical approach is significant from the standpoint of the decree under discussion: while the decree of 944/1537–1538 was unprecedented in scope, it was not unique in kind—a similar order was issued in 717/1317 under the Mamluk sultanate that ordered Nusayris in the Tripoli district to construct *masjids* in their villages.¹²

In the context of Ottoman history, Terzioğlu situates the decree at the intersection of architectural, administrative, and legal historiography with the following question in mind: how did the Ottoman legal and political authorities conceive of the neighborhoods and villages along with religious, penal, and fiscal rights and liabilities?¹³ Although the decree of 944/1537–1538 heightened the significance of mosques and *masjids* in the neighborhoods and villages, Terzioğlu notes that evidence from the reigns of Mehmed II (r. 848–850/1444–1446; 855–886/1451–1481) and Bāyezīd II (r. 886–917/1481–1512) indicates that enforcing the five daily congregational prayers was a religious policy already before the onset of the rivalry between the Sunni Ottoman and Shi‘ite Safavid Empires. At this juncture, Terzioğlu puts forth several “agents of Sunnification,” who had greater responsibilities in the neighborhood and village contexts (such as the imam, muezzin, and judge) or were new figures (such as the prayer enforcer, i.e., *namāzci*) in the history of Sunni Islam, as worthy of further investigation. While Ottoman authorities particularly authorized *namāzcis*, imams, and muezzins to monitor male Muslims to make sure they attended the daily prayers, they also coupled these new measures with “empowering the judge” and “mobilizing the local populace to provide community surveillance” in order to compensate for the limits of the state in terms of its access and control over the daily life of neighborhoods and villages. To this end, Terzioğlu invites comparisons with relatively more institutional, parish-based mechanisms of social disciplining in early modern Europe.¹⁴

Building on Terzioğlu’s insights on how to conceptualize Ottoman Sunnification, Tijana Krstić demonstrated that Ottoman catechisms (*‘ilm-i ḥāl*) as well underscored the significance of attendance at the congregational prayers in their discussions of what it entailed to be a Sunni Muslim. Written during the reign of Sultan Süleymān by Hanafi authors with *and* without ties to the state, within *and* beyond the circles of madrasa-trained scholars, these widely circulated catechisms tailored the medieval attributes of “the people of the Sunna and the Community” (*ehl-i sünnet ve’l-cemā‘at*, Ar. *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā‘a*) to

12 Tsugitaka, *State and rural society* 171–172.

13 Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize 313–315.

14 Ibid. 313–315, 322.

highlight the differences between Sunnis and Shi'ites on the matters of creed and piety.¹⁵ As such, they espoused the discourse implicit in Süleymān's decree through emphasizing the importance of performing the five daily prayers with the congregation (Lütfi Pasha) or praying behind imams regardless of whether they are sinful or not ('Abdu'r-raḥmān bin Yūsuf Aḳsarāyī, Birgivi Meḥmed, and Lütfi Pasha).

Given the central place that the question of attending the five daily congregational prayers at the local *masjids* occupied in the religious policies and catechisms, it is all the more pressing to understand how the debates of the leading Ottoman jurists informed this concern. In the following section, I will demonstrate that the decree of 944/1537–1538 was not an arbitrary decision. Rather, it was a product of a consensus reached among the jurists on an age-old debate as to the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers. By doing so, I will shed light on the moral and legal registers that jurists invoked in arguing for the duty of adult male Muslims to observe and the duty of the sultan to enforce attendance at the *masjids*.

3 Traces of a Jurisprudential Debate: Normative Value of the Five Daily Congregational Prayers and the Question of Attendance

In his *Ghunyat al-mutamallī*, written as a handbook for students, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), a Hanafi scholar educated in Mamluk Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo who migrated to Ottoman Istanbul around 906/1500 and became a prominent jurist there, offers a curious prelude to his discussion on a centuries-old jurisprudential debate regarding the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers.¹⁶ Starting with a succinct survey of the different opinions held by various jurists from the formative period of the Sunni schools of law, al-Ḥalabī introduces the question in a way that encapsulates the central point of contention among the Ottoman Hanafi jurists of Rum that underpins Sultan Süleymān's decree: Are the adult male Muslims under a duty to observe the five daily congregational prayers? If so, under what circumstances should the sultan implement the penal sanctions to ensure that they do not abandon the prayers? The jurists debated this issue throughout the ninth/fifteenth and the early tenth/sixteenth century, effectively arriving at a consensus by

15 See Krstić, *State and religion* 65–91.

16 On Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, see Has, *A study*.

the time the decree was issued in 944/1537–1538: “In *al-Aṣl*, Muḥammad [b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805)] said: ‘Know that prayer in congregation is a confirmed *sunna*. Abandoning it is not authorized except for illness or other valid excuses.’¹⁷ The former statement signifies the exemplary model of the Prophet (*sunna*) and the latter signifies duty (*wujūb*).¹⁸

Here, al-Ḥalabī highlights a seeming paradox inherent in the opinion delivered by *al-Aṣl*, a foundational text of the Hanafi school composed by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī: “the former statement signifies the exemplary model of the Prophet (*sunna*),” while “the latter signifies duty (*wujūb*).” Indeed, these technical terms—*sunna* and *wujūb*—appear incompatible when one looks at a famous reference book on the definitions of key terms from various sciences that was sought after among the students of Rum: “words, deeds, and attitudes of the Prophet as well as the things that the Prophet habitually did without obligation” (*sunna*) versus “[an act] whose abandonment entails rebuke and punishment” (*al-wujūb al-sharʿī*).¹⁹ While *sunna* is by definition not obligatory, *wujūb* requires sanctions, such as rebuke and punishment.

Al-Ḥalabī devoted an entire section to explaining that in his opinion *sunna* and *wujūb* were not necessarily incompatible when it comes to the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers and the penal sanctions to deter nonattendance.²⁰ Without delving into how this incompatibility had found expression as well as resolution among the leading Ottoman Hanafi jurists of Rum, the significance of the decree of 944/1537–1538 for imperial governance and religious politics cannot be fully appreciated. In order to shed light on this process, I will start by examining the discussions on the subject by two prominent Hanafi jurists from the lands of Rum: Bedreʿd-dīn Maḥmūd (d. 823/1420), a celebrated jurist who served briefly as the Ottoman military justice (*kāḍīʿasker*)²¹ during the civil war among the Ottoman princes (804–816/1402–1413),²² and Mollā Fenārī (d. 834/1431), who was remembered as the

17 Al-Ḥalabī does not give a citation for this quote. I was able to locate the same passage in *Khulāṣat al-fatāwā* of Iftikhār al-Dīn Ṭāhīr b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī (d. 542/1147). See Iftikhār al-Dīn, *Khulāṣat al-fatāwā* 40b.

18 “*Qāla Muḥammad fī l-Aṣl ʿI lam anna al-jamāʿa sunna muʿakkada. Lā yarkhuṣu al-tark fī hā illā bi-ʿudhri maraḍ aw ghayrihi. Wa-awwal hādihā l-kalām yufidu al-sunniya wa-akharihu yufidu al-wujūb.*” Al-Ḥalabī, *Ghunyat al-mutamallī* 508.

19 Al-Jurjānī, *Taʿrīfāt* 195, 345.

20 Al-Ḥalabī, *Ghunyat al-mutamallī* 508–510.

21 On Bedreʿd-dīn Maḥmūd, known also as Shaykh Bedreʿd-dīn, whose jurisprudential career is overshadowed by his reputation as a leader of a messianic rebellion, see Balivet, *Islam mystique*; and Ocak, *Zındıklar ve mühlidler* 136–202. For a recent reassessment of this reputation, see Binbaş, *Intellectual networks* 129–132.

22 For a detailed analysis on the conflicts, see Kastritsis, *The sons of Bayezid*.

first chief jurist of the Ottoman Empire by the later early modern biographical tradition.²³ Thereafter, I will demonstrate how the Ottoman jurists resolved the debate in the tenth/sixteenth century through reaching a consensus before Sultan Süleymān issued the decree in 944/1537–1538.

The problem of the incompatibility between *sunna* and *wujūb* is traceable from the tension between Bedre'd-dīn and Fenārī on the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers. While Bedre'd-dīn considered the five daily congregational prayers as confirmed *sunna*,²⁴ Fenārī thought that they are “akin to duty” (*shibh al-wujūb*).²⁵ As we have seen in al-Ḥalabī, this distinction had ramifications for the consideration of penal sanctions. Bedre'd-dīn dwelled upon the question from the standpoint of the call to prayer. He did so by reflecting on the difference of opinions between Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805), the two prominent successors to the Hanafi school's eponymous founder, Nu'mān bin Thābit, known as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767). For Abū Yūsuf, Bedre'd-dīn wrote, the call to prayer corresponds to a confirmed *sunna* rather than a duty. According to this stance, the ruler is bound to enforce an act if the act is a duty rather than a confirmed *sunna* (*al-qitāl innamā yakūn 'alā tark al-wājib dūna al-sunna*). In contrast, for Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, Bedre'd-dīn noted, the call to prayer (and the five daily congregational prayers) was a duty²⁶—this, as I will show below, was historically the majority opinion within the Hanafi school. The reasoning behind Muḥammad al-Shaybānī's opinion is that abandoning the call to prayer (and the five daily congregational prayers) connotes a disdain of Islam. Bedre'd-dīn maintained that the opinion that takes precedence is the one attributed to Abū Yūsuf unless the five daily congregational prayers are collectively and persistently abandoned.²⁷ Although Fenārī agreed with Bedre'd-dīn on the ruler's duty to inflict punishment in cases of collective and persistent abandonment, he also demanded sanctions for any male Muslim individual who did not attend the *masjid*.²⁸ In line with Muḥammad al-Shaybānī's moral justification, Fenārī maintained that the five daily congregational prayers are “from among the distinguishing marks of the religion” (*min a'lām al-dīn*).²⁹

23 On Mollā Fenārī see Repp, *The müfti* 73–97.

24 Bedre'd-dīn, *al-Tashīl* i, 75–76, 97.

25 Mollā Fenārī, *Fuṣūl al-badā'ī* i, 242.

26 Bedre'd-dīn, *al-Tashīl* i, 75–76, 97.

27 Ibid. 76, 97.

28 Mollā Fenārī, *Fuṣūl al-badā'ī* i, 242.

29 Ibid. 243.

By the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century, the Ottoman Hanafi jurists of Rum had resolved this conundrum and arrived at a consensus that paved the way for the decree of 944/1537–1538. This is traceable from the reading notes of Sa'di Çelebi (d. 945/1539),³⁰ who was the chief jurist (940–945/1534–1539) when Sultan Süleymān issued the decree in question. While reading the discussion on the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers from Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bābartī's (d. 786/1384) authoritative commentary on a major Hanafi jurisprudential manual, Burhān al-Dīn al-Farghānī al-Marghinānī's (d. 593/1197) *al-Hidāya*, Sa'di Çelebi recorded his emphatic consent to al-Bābartī's opinion that the five daily congregational prayers constitute "one of the characteristics of the religion" (*min khaṣā'is al-dīn*) and attendance is a duty.³¹ When discussing al-Marghinānī's opinion that the five daily congregational prayers constituted *sunna al-hudā* (i.e., confirmed sunna), al-Bābartī, a well-known Hanafi scholar who taught in Mamluk Cairo, argued that the terms *sunna* and *wujūb* overlap in meaning in the context of this discussion. The tension between al-Marghinānī and al-Bābartī was based on the question of how the Prophet Muḥammad's words should be interpreted: "the congregation is a *sunna* from among the *sunan al-hudā* (pl. of *sunna al-hudā*; i.e., confirmed *sunna*), which are not given up except by the hypocrite (*munāfiq*)."³² Al-Bābartī maintained that the term *sunna al-hudā*³³ in the hadith is defined as an act of worship whose "observance provides guidance, [and] its abandonment leads to going astray."³⁴ By drawing on this definition, al-Bābartī maintained that when reading the hadith, the word "hypocrite" (*munāfiq*) should be conceived as a "rebellious sinner" (*āṣī*).³⁵ Al-Bābartī's interpretation of "hypocrite" as "rebellious sinner" brings out the question of penal sanctions because "rebellious sinner" constitutes a status that a Muslim is assigned for the failure to observe an act that corresponds to a duty.³⁶ In this way, an act of confirmed *sunna* becomes a duty whose noncompliance leads to penal sanctions.

30 On Sa'di Çelebi, see Repp, *The müftü* 240–244.

31 Sa'di Çelebi wrote, "yes, but I say that as the majority of *our* masters maintain, it signifies a duty" (*Aqūlu na'am lākin yufid al-wujūb kamā dhahaba ilayhi 'amma mashayikhinā*). See Sa'di Çelebi, *Hāshīyya* 346. Although Sa'di Çelebi's note starts with "yes, but I say," he in fact did not mean to oppose al-Bābartī. To the contrary, Sa'di Çelebi gave an emphatic consent in the sense of "not just yes, but yes, indeed" to al-Bābartī's assessment of al-Marghinānī's opinion.

32 Al-Bābartī, *al-'Ināya* 284.

33 The terms *sunna al-hudā* (sunna of guidance) and *sunna al-mu'akkada* (confirmed sunna) are interchangeable. See al-Jurjānī, *Ta'rīfāt* 195.

34 Al-Bābartī, *al-'Ināya* 284.

35 Ibid.

36 Reinhart, *Like the difference* 216.

Within the Hanafi school, there were other opinions that conceived the five daily congregational prayers as an obligation without the need to illustrate how the confirmed sunna and duty are compatible in the context of the five daily congregational prayers. It would have been arguably more straightforward to simply adopt the opinion that classified attendance at *masjids* as an obligatory act (*farḍ*).³⁷ While it may sound trivial, the difference between a duty and an obligatory act was an epistemological distinction exclusive to the Hanafi school. In the eyes of Hanafi jurists, the evidential basis of a duty conveyed probability rather than definite knowledge, while that of an obligatory act was established through definitive indications from the sources of law that left no room for doubt. This distinction manifested itself in the ramifications on the status of a Muslim who fails to comply with what was required. While failure to observe an obligatory act placed a Muslim outside of the community of believers (which could lead to execution in the extreme cases), failure to observe a duty did not lead to such exclusion but instead rendered a Muslim a “rebellious sinner.”³⁸

The Ottoman Hanafi jurists of Rum explicitly preferred the status of “rebellious sinner” in legal as well as moral terms. As part of the discussion to which Sa’dī Çelebi gave consent, al-Bābartī had also made the legal point that the duty to perform the five daily prayers in congregation is established by *khabar wāḥid* [hadiths reported by transmitter(s) varying from one to few people], which convey probability rather than definite knowledge. Thus, noncompliance can only lead to the status of “rebellious sinner” rather than “unbelief” (*kufr*).³⁹ The moral justification of the Ottoman jurists regarding attendance at the *masjids* for the five daily congregational prayers arguably shows that they sought to exhort the sultan’s male Muslim subjects to observe the five daily congregational prayers rather than apply more extreme (and more unrealistic) sanctions.⁴⁰

As we have seen, the question of penal sanctions for individual worshippers was precisely the difference between Bedre’d-dīn’s and Fenārī’s views in the

37 Al-Bābartī’s contemporary and opponent Ibn Abī al-‘Izz (d. 792/1390) was one of the Hanafi jurists who considered the performance of the five daily congregational prayers as an obligatory act (*farḍ*). See Ibn Abī al-‘Izz, *al-Tanbih* esp. 599–601. On a debate between al-Bābartī and Ibn Abī al-‘Izz regarding the methods of rule formulation within the Hanafi school, see İnanır, İbn Ebi’l-İzz’in 225–260.

38 Reinhardt, Like the difference, esp. 207–212, 215–216.

39 Al-Bābartī, *al-İnāya* 284.

40 This is comparable to the question of why the leading Ottoman Hanafi jurists addressed and resolved the issue of blasphemous phrases and deeds through recourse to “renewal of faith and marriage.” Burak, Faith, law and empire 1–23, esp. 10–11.

ninth/fifteenth century. Bedre'd-dīn may not have seen it as necessary to elaborate on the question of penal sanctions for the nonattendance of individuals at congregational prayers at the particular time that he wrote, which was one of the greatest political turmoil. However, as suggested by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu in this volume, over the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, the question of clearly demarcated places of prayer became more central to Ottoman governance. This was reflected in the gradual separation of *masjid* from spaces with other accommodative and social functions within the *'imārets* as well as the gradual transformation of the *'imārets* into congregational mosques starting in the 1510s. This growing emphasis on the places of prayer as sites of community building might have been one of the motives behind the chief jurist Sa'dī Çelebi's concern with the reconciliation between *sunna* and *wujūb*, thus opening the door for disciplining male Muslim subjects if they abandoned the five daily congregational prayers individually and collectively. Sa'dī Çelebi's reading note on al-Bābartī's discussion espoused his opinion by stating "as the majority of *our* masters maintain, it signifies a duty," which indicates that Sa'dī Çelebi saw this reconciliation as reflective of a consensus among the leading Ottoman jurists. Here, "the majority of *our* masters" did not only signify that conceiving of the five daily congregational prayer as a duty was the majority opinion within the history of Hanafi school.⁴¹ It also signified the stance of the leading jurists within the Ottoman Empire who were on board with this majority opinion throughout the late ninth/fifteenth and the tenth/sixteenth centuries. Indeed, apart from Sa'dī Çelebi, established jurists such as Mollā Hüsrev (d. 885/1480),⁴² Çiwizāde (d. 954/1547),⁴³ al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549),⁴⁴ Birgivi Meḥmed (d. 981/1573),⁴⁵ and Ebū's-su'ūd (d. 982/1574),⁴⁶ whose opinions had on occasion provoked controversies on important jurisprudential issues,⁴⁷ all agreed that the five daily congregational prayers constituted a duty.

The consensus that underlined the decree of 944/1537–1538 was the result of tremendous political, religious, and institutional changes that took place in the lands of Rum from the late eighth/fourteenth to the early tenth/sixteenth cen-

41 Sa'dī Çelebi is not the only Rumi jurist who acknowledged the presence of this majority opinion within the history of the Hanafi school. See Ibn Melek, *Sharḥ majma' al-baḥrayn* 31a; Chiwizāde, *al-Īthār* 174. See also al-Ḥalabī, *Ghunyat al-mutamallī* 508.

42 Mollā Hüsrev, *Mirqāt al-wuṣūl* 278.

43 Chiwizāde, *al-Īthār* 173.

44 Al-Ḥalabī *Ghunyat al-mutamallī* 508–510.

45 Birgivi Meḥmed, *Jalā' al-qulūb* 63.

46 Ebū Su'ūd, *Zur Anwendung* 24–25.

47 See Özen, Molla Hüsrev'in velâ meselesi 321–394; Mandaville, Usurious piety 289–308; Terzioğlu, *Bid'at*, custom, and the mutability (forthcoming).

turies. By the time Sa'dî Çelebi was appointed as the chief jurist in 940/1534, the Ottoman dynasty had already established political control over much of the Balkans and the Middle East. However, the dynasty was confronted by the crisis of legitimacy along with this territorial expansion. Between 917/1511 and 944/1537–1538, central and southern Anatolia was swept by messianic and anti-nomian revolts in the countryside, some of which were inspired by the rise of the Shi'ite Safavid Empire in Iran.⁴⁸ While experimenting with messianic discourses in an attempt to reconceptualize the notion of the caliphate,⁴⁹ the Ottoman sultans and their advisers also drew on the legal and moral idiom that a new class of scholars and jurists under their patronage provided to enhance the coercive function of the state to discipline Muslim subjects in line with the changing understanding of the requirements for belonging to the Sunni Muslim community.⁵⁰

In contrast to the consolidation of Ottoman power in the tenth/sixteenth century, the climate in which Mollâ Fenârî and Bedre'd-dîn lived was markedly different. The lands of Rum were fragmented and ruled by various dynasties that competed against each other not only through warfare and diplomacy but also by extending patronage to scholars and jurists from different parts of Islamdom.⁵¹ Despite these efforts, the lands of Rum were still peripheral to the eminent centers of Islamic learning in Syria, Egypt, and Central Asia. Like many Rumis at the time, Fenârî and Bedre'd-dîn had to seek jurisprudential education in Mamluk Cairo, where they were taught by none other than al-Bâbartî.⁵² Unlike the tenth/sixteenth century when the Ottoman dynasty had a concentrated network of high-level scholars and well-funded royal madrasas,⁵³ the relationship of jurists with the dynasties of Rum were relatively fluid in the late eighth/fourteenth and the early ninth/fifteenth centuries. Mollâ Fenârî, who was remembered as the first Ottoman chief jurist, spent an important

48 See Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Safaviden*, especially 145–186; Ocak *Idéologie* 185–192.

49 See Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined*. On Ottoman messianism as well as its cultural and intellectual references, see Fleischer, *The lawgiver as Messiah* 159–177; Fleischer, *Learning and sovereignty* 155–160. See also Flemming, *Sâhib-ı kârân* 43–62.

50 See Burak, *Faith, law and empire* 1–23; Aykan, *A legal concept in motion* 1–19. See also Derin Terzioğlu's article in this volume.

51 See Peacock and Yıldız, *Introduction* 19–42, esp. 23–28.

52 See Ökten, *Scholars and mobility* 55–70; Atçıl, *Mobility of scholars* 315–332; Yıldız, *From Cairo to Ayasuluk* 263–297, for a discussion on al-Bâbartî and his Rumi students, see esp. 266–268.

53 With respect to the institutional history of the Ottoman learned class, studies have demonstrated the formation, bureaucratization, and hierarchization of the learned establishment into a single central system with fairly standardized and graded training and career tracks across the empire by the mid-sixteenth century. For the most recent monograph on this process, see Atçıl, *Scholars and sultans*.

part of his career under the patronage of the Karamanid dynasty in central Anatolia.⁵⁴ Bedre'd-dīn for his part wrote a sizable commentary on his own jurisprudential book while in exile following the murder of Ottoman prince Mūsā Çelebi (d. 816/1413) and completed it after the outbreak of the messianic rebellion against the Ottoman dynasty in which he himself would be implicated.⁵⁵ When Sultan Süleymān issued the decree in 944/1537–1538, however, Sa'dī Çelebi was presiding over a class of scholars and jurists who were embedded within an imperial system for the production of knowledge and authority and who readily provided the language and legitimacy to the political exigencies of the time.⁵⁶

It appears that the Ottoman authorities punished collective and persistent abandonment of the five daily congregational prayers even before Sultan Süleymān's decree signaled the reconciliation of *sunna* and *wujūb* to sanction punishment for individuals and communities who did not attend the *masjids*. For example, the chief jurist Kemālpaşazāde, also known as Ibn Kemāl (d. 940/1534), who held the office of chief jurist between 932/1526 and 940/1534, was asked “what punishment is required by law for the people of a neighborhood or a village who do not attend the daily congregational prayers even though they are healthy and fit.”⁵⁷ Moreover, as the fatwa makes it clear, the people in question remained recalcitrant in the face of repeated exhortations on the part of imam and muezzin (*imām ve mü'ezzin tenbīh eyleseler*), to which Kemālpaşazāde prescribed severe discretionary punishment.⁵⁸ The fatwa features a confrontation in which imams and muezzins approach the people who refuse to attend the *masjid*. This was the kind of collective and persistent abandonment that Bedre'd-dīn and Fenārī had in mind for which both of them thought that the penal sanctions were justifiably applicable.

At the heart of the issue is the lack of a valid excuse for the failure to perform the prayers collectively as the fatwa stresses that the people who are supposed to attend the *masjids* are “healthy and fit” (*şağ ve sālīm*) Muslims. As

54 On the mobility of scholars and Sufis between the Ottoman and Karamanid realms in the ninth/fifteenth century, see Karataş, *Onbeşinci yüzyılda Karamāni* 283–298, on Fenārī, see esp. 284–285, footnote 6; see also Atçıl, *Scholars and sultans* 42.

55 Binbaş, *Intellectual networks* 131.

56 On the relationship between the institutionalization of the Ottoman learned establishment and the emergence of the Ottoman branch of the Hanafi school, see Burak, *The second formation*.

57 For variant copies of the fatwa, see İbn Kemāl, *Fetāvā*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Darülmüşnevi 118, 32b; and MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1224, 152b; The fatwas are also cited in İbn Kemal, *Şeyhülislam İbn Kemal* 154.

58 Ibid.

such, the fatwa's reasoning rests on the relationship between law and exemption (*rukḥṣa*) in legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). Accordingly, people were granted exemption from a responsibility only when they suffered from a hardship recognized by law. Otherwise, law retained its force (*'azīma*).⁵⁹ Seen in this light, for Kemālpaşazāde, it was legally unacceptable not to attend the *maşjids* for the community of able-bodied male Muslims without a valid excuse.

As this convergence between Mollā Fenārī, Bedre'd-dīn, and Kemālpaşazāde shows, the opinion that upholds punishment for collective and persistent abandonment had been circulating earlier than the tenth/sixteenth century. In fact, it is possible to trace the initial experiments with an official punishment policy before the tenth/sixteenth century not only for the cases of collective and persistent abandonment but also for the cases in which each and every settled, able-bodied, adult male Muslim habitually neglect performing the five daily prayers with the congregations. As Derin Terzioğlu points out, the office of prayer-enforcer (*namāzçı*) had been established around the last years of Meḥmed II's reign and its job description was to fine the habitual absentees from the five daily congregational prayers. Moreover, Terzioğlu notes, the sultanic law code of Bāyezīd II indicates a continuity given that the monetary punishment upon the absentees was put in a set of clauses.⁶⁰ One can, thus, argue that the opinion that underpins Süleymān's decree had already acquired footing in the decisions of the political authority within the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, half a century earlier than the rise of the Shi'ite Safavid Empire. However, over the course of the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century, the authorities' attention to the attendance at congregational prayers and spaces where they were to be performed increased significantly in tandem with the growing concern for building a Sunni community and monitoring its boundaries.

The legal consensus expressed by Sa'dī Çelebi found political confirmation not only through the decree of 944/1537–1538 but also through Ebū's-su'ūd's fatwa in which he confirms that the decree is still valid. We can demonstrate this based on an annotation found within *Ma'rūḍāt*, a posthumously compiled book of Ebū's-su'ūd's fatwas with bibliographical annotations in Arabic that reveal preferred opinions on the jurisprudential questions, which were confirmed by Sultan Süleymān.⁶¹ By quoting from *Khizānat al-muftīn*—a com-

59 Katz, *Azīma* and *rukḥṣa* 188–189. It is precisely with reference to this very distinction between the original rule (*aşl*) and the valid excuse (*'udhr*) under which Mollā Fenārī had expressed his opinion that the five daily congregational prayers were tantamount to duty (*li-muta'alliqi al-ḥukm bi-i'tibār al-'udhr al-makhrāj 'an aşlihi*). See Mollā Fenārī, *Fuṣūl al-badā'ī'* i, 240.

60 Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize 313–314. For further insights on this point, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu's article in this volume.

61 Ebū Su'ūd, *Zur Anwendung* 24–25.

pendium of jurisprudential opinions composed in 740/1398 by a Hanafi jurist Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī—the annotation provides the reader with a moral justification for the continuing validity of the decree:

The call to prayer is one of the manifest signs of Islam (*shaʿāʾir al-islām*),⁶² thus, if the people of a city or a village or a neighborhood refrain from it, the ruler coerces them. If they do not abide, he fights against them with arms. And, if the people of a city abandon the call to prayer (*adhān*) and the call to perform prayer (*iqāma*)⁶³ and the five daily congregational prayers (*jamāʿa*), then the ruler fights against them, since they are of the religion's landmarks and its manifest signs. *Khizānat al-muftīn*.⁶⁴

As we have seen, this justification echoes al-Bābartī's opinion through which the chief jurist Sa'dī Çelebi expressed his endorsement of the view that the five daily congregational prayers constituted a duty. The annotation of Ebū's-su'ūd's fatwa makes this endorsement enforceable by stating that one of the major duties of the ruler was to safeguard the five daily congregational prayers from negligence. If they are not observed, the ruler must have recourse to coercion (*ajbarahum*). If they are persistently abandoned, the ruler must have recourse to violence (*qātalahum; qātalahum bi'l-silāḥ*). It is not a coincidence that both found expression in the decree: while coercion was to be employed in enforcement of building a *masjid* (*cebr ile mescid binā etdürüb*), violence was implicit in stipulating discretionary punishment (*ta'zīr*) for habitual absentees. The justification is imbued with concerns over confessional boundaries: "they are of the religion's landmarks and its manifest signs," meaning they are distinct and specific to Islam, and thus, the ruler has to make sure his male Muslim subjects distinguish themselves in daily life through observing these acts of worship that are inherently public and communal.⁶⁵ In this respect, Ebū's-su'ūd's fatwa

62 On the various meanings of *shāʿir* (pl., *shaʿāʾir*), see Fahd, *Shiʿār* 424; Özervarlı, *Şiār* 123–124.

63 The difference between *adhān* and *iqāma* is that *iqāma* serves to let those who have congregated know that the prayer is about to commence, be it the five daily congregational prayers or the Friday noon prayer. After repeating the words of the *adhān*, the muezzin adds "*qad qāmati al-ṣalāt*," that is "now begins the prayer." See Juynboll, *Ikāma* 1057; Akyüz, *İkāmet* 16–17.

64 "*Inna al-adhān min shaʿāʾir al-islām ḥattā law imtinaʿ ahl mişrin aw qaryatin aw maḥallatin ajbarahum al-imām fa-in lam yafʿalū qātalahum biʿl-silāḥ. Wa law anna ahla mişrin taraka al-adhāna wa al-iqāma wa al-jamāʿa qātalahum al-imām li-annahū min maʿālim al-dīn wa shaʿāʾirihī. Khizānat al-muftīn.*" Ebū Su'ūd, *Zur Anwendung* 24–25 (my transliteration).

65 This normative Sunni discourse on religion (*dīn*) vis-à-vis the call to prayer, call to perform prayer, and the five daily congregational prayers had highly divisive as well as unifying overtones. It is plausible to suggest that this discourse informed some of the policies

reflects the success of the consensus in which both the leading Hanafi jurists and the sultan saw a desirable idiom to formulate the scope of sultanlic authority in enforcing the divine laws on earth.

Not only did the presence of the consensus within the *Ma'rûdât* render the sultan responsible, but it also provided the institutional framework for the Ottoman dynasty to become directly involved in the religious lives of male Muslims in public by enforcing the congregational performance of the five daily prayers in the *masjids*. The governors and judges of the empire were required to comply with the opinions espoused in the *Ma'rûdât* even after Süleymân's reign. As expressed in the preface⁶⁶ of the *Ma'rûdât*, throughout his career, the chief jurist Ebû's-su'ûd submitted his fatwas to Sultan Süleymân with an aim to clarify many disputed jurisprudential issues and express his conviction to abide by them.⁶⁷ By doing so, the preface notes, Ebû's-su'ûd selectively engaged with the erstwhile authorities from age-old jurisprudential traditions for the necessity to attain order in religion and state as well as regularity in the realm's state of affairs. In his turn, Sultan Süleymân promulgated decrees in accordance with Ebû's-su'ûd's fatwas. Although the governors and the judges were accustomed to abide by the opinions, the preface continues, some of them were resubmitted in order to dispel doubts as to how to resolve the jurisprudential issues after the renewal of the regal power with the succession of new sultans from

towards the Kızılbaş-Alevis in the Ottoman Empire during the tenth/sixteenth century. For a very brief but insightful discussion on a call for a demanding task to historicize Muslim conceptions of *dîn* that were marginalized by the traditions of scholarly Islam, see Karamustafa, *Islamic dîn* 167–168. For some of the recent contributions on the Kızılbaş-Alevis and the religious policies of the Ottoman authorities toward these communities, see Baltacıoğlu-Brammer, *The formation* 21–48; Karakaya-Stump, *The Kizilbash-Alevis*; Yıldırım, *Turcomans between*.

66 “*Sultanım hazretleri arz-ı dâ'i-i bî-mînetleri oldur ki; bundan akdem merhûm Şeyhülislâm Müftî'l-enâm Allâme-i zamân Fehhâme-i evân Efdalü'l-mevcûd Mevlânâ Ebussuûd-yesserallâhu'l-makâme'l-mahmûd Sultân-ı zemîn u zemân Halîfe-i Rabbi'l-âlemîn cennetmekân hümâ-yı kuds-âşiyân Ebu'l-feth en-nasr es-Sultân Süleymân Hân aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'r-ıdvân hazretlerine nîzâm-ı dîn u devlet ve itîzâm-ı ahvâl-i memleket iktizâ etmeğîn ba'zı mesâilde eimme-i dinden ba'zı müctehidîn ıdvânullâhi teâlâ ecma'ın kavilleri üzere amel eylemek münâsib olduğın arz buyurub ol minvâl üzere amel olunmağa ferman-ı sultânî ve hükm-i cihân-bânî sâdır olub vülât-ı İslâm ve kuzât-ı hükkâm ol vechile amele mu'tadlarıdır hâlen serîr-i saltanat ve pâye-i hilâfet tecdîd-i sâni ile mücedded olub hadîka-i saltanat tâze behcet ve riyâz-ı hilâfet cedîd nusret bulcak emr-i sultânî ve hükm-i hâkânî zikr olunan mesâilde ne minvâl üzere idîğîne iştibâh olmağın ahvâl müşkil olub keşf u beyân ve emr-i Pâdişâhî gyan buyurulmak recâsına vâki olam mevâddın ba'zı arz olundu. Bâkî fermân men lehu'l-emrindir. Halledellâhu sübhânehû ve teâlâ ve bi fazlihi.” See Ebussuûd, *Ma'rûzât* 44.*

67 For the significance of the *Ma'rûdât*, see Imber, Süleymân as caliph 180–182; Ayoub, “The sultân says” 239–278.

the Ottoman dynasty.⁶⁸ Yet, it is important to keep in mind that when Sultan Süleymân issued the decree in 944/1537–1538, the chief jurist was Sa'dî Çelebi and the function of Ebû's-su'ûd's fatwa was just to affirm its continuing validity.

As the governors and judges were expected to follow the *Ma'rûdât*, the consensus on the normative value of attending the five daily congregational prayers retained its force in the eleventh/seventeenth century at the individual and communal level. The work by Mevķûfâtî Meĥmed of Lesbos (d. 1065/1654) provides an illustrative example of this continuity. While elaborating on the compactly formulated opinion that the “five daily congregational prayers constitute a confirmed *sunna*” (*al-jamâ'a sunna mu'akkada*) in Ibrâhîm al-Ĥalabî's *Multaqâ al-abĥur*, Mevķûfâtî's commentary seamlessly relates *sunna* to duty. Unlike al-Ĥalabî's long discussion on the subject in a separate book (*Gĥunyat al-mutamallî*), Mevķûfâtî clarifies the consensus in a laconic way: “[performing] five daily prayers in congregation constitutes a *sunna* that is tantamount to a duty” (*ķuvvetde vâcib meşâbesindedir*).⁶⁹ Gone are the rather lengthy justifications for resolving the incompatibility between *sunna* and duty from the previous century.

4 Who Can Lead the Prayer? Imams as Models of Correct Practice

The Ottoman Hanafî jurists of Rum were not just concerned about the attendance at the five daily congregational prayers. They were also preoccupied with different ritual and moral duties related to imams that had a bearing on the prayer itself. In his memorably pessimistic monologue on human experiences across various strata of Ottoman society, the celebrated polymath Muştafâ 'Âlî (d. 1008/1600) described the challenges of imams in the following way:

Listen, O you who know the truth of things!
 This speech will purify you in the way gold is purified. [...]
 The fight for one's living is a universal calamity;
 In it there is no exception for any individual. [...]
 Let us suppose you were an imam or a preacher. [...]
 Many have performed their ritual prayers behind you.
 A wondrous self-conceitedness has appeared in you.

68 Ebussuûd, *Ma'rûzât* 44.

69 Mevķûfâtî Meĥmed, *Şerĥü'l-Mevķûfâtî* i, 79. See also, Dâmâd Efendi, *Majmû'a al-anĥur* i, 161.

If you lack in regular attendance to your duty,
 The judge will at once reprimand you.
 If you commit an error contrary to Divine Law,
 The civil administrators will sentence you to the punishment of the
 whip.
 If during the ritual prayer you break wind, [...]
 Then, the congregation that worshipped behind you
 Will become the cause of your punishment.⁷⁰

According to Muştafâ Âlî, being an imam meant being under the watchful eyes—and ears—of his neighborhood. Surely, to “break wind” may sound a rather petty misdeed for the congregation that worshiped behind the imam to “become the cause of his punishment” compared to “lack in regular attendance,” or “an error contrary to shari‘a.” However, the misdeed in question does not merely signify the imam’s ritual impurity (*hadath*) that risks the validity of his congregation’s prayer. The additional layer of meaning is also reflected in a common proverb, equally famous back then, as the *Letâ’if* of Lâmi‘î Çelebi (d. 938/1532) suggests: “When the imam breaks wind—as this is to the people a proverb well beknown—, then no wonder if the rest of the community shits,” which might have inspired Muştafâ Âlî’s choice of words.⁷¹ At stake is the compromised image of an imam (*muḳtedâ*) as a model (*ḳudve*) his neighborhood should follow (*iḳtidâ*).⁷² To serve as an imam was not confined to meeting the ritual requirements. An imam had to display moral behavior. Practical skills in leading the prayer as well as proper conduct in daily life had a bearing on an imam’s career.

In their respective discussions on the evolving notions of Sunni orthodoxy and orthopraxy among the Ottoman authorities between the mid-ninth/mid-fifteenth and mid-tenth/mid-sixteenth centuries, Gülru Necipoğlu and Derin Terzioğlu have suggested that the neighborhoods became the sites of social disciplining and community monitoring.⁷³ Necipoğlu emphasized that neighborhoods (*maḥalle*) were reorganized in the tenth/sixteenth century around the local *masjids* and represented by their imams and muezzins. They were appointed by the royal diploma (*berât*) based on the recommendation of the

70 Tietze, *The poet* 145, 156 (translated by Tietze).

71 Lâmi‘î Çelebi, *Letâ’if* 257b.

72 Ahterî, *Ahterî-yi kebir* 99, 750, 89.

73 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 47; Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 315; Terzioğlu, *Where ‘ilm-i ḥâl meets catechism* 101.

local community and paid from the *masjid's* endowment.⁷⁴ Necipoğlu and Terzioğlu have also pointed to Ebū's-su'ūd's fatwas that discouraged attendance at congregational prayers outside of one's own neighborhood, which in turn enabled imams, muezzins as well as the pious Sunni Muslims to monitor regular attendance.⁷⁵ However, while imams sought to enforce and sustain piety as official intermediaries between the state authorities and the neighborhoods, the communities, too, kept an eye on their imams. The neighbors could also resist or even denounce the imams to the authorities. This mutual moral surveillance upheld by the Hanafi school⁷⁶ drew on a particular liturgical bond between the imams and their congregations.

In terms of ritual requirements, in the Hanafi school the validity of the prayers of the entire congregation depends on the validity of the imam's prayer, which in turn makes the imam liable to his congregants.⁷⁷ This Hanafi opinion is traceable among the scholars in the Ottoman lands of Rum as early as the ninth/fifteenth century. Bedre'd-dīn adduces this opinion through a hadith: "the imam constitutes the warrantor of the congregation's prayer."⁷⁸ With reference to this hadith, Bedre'd-dīn formulates the legally binding norm as follows: "whether the congregation's prayer is valid or void hinges on whether the imam's prayer is valid or void."⁷⁹ The responsibility of imams as "warrantor" (*ḍāmin*) stands out as an important marker of difference for the Hanafi school as Bedre'd-dīn explicitly contrasts it with the Shafi'i opinion, which maintains that praying behind an imam means praying in conformity with him and nothing more and that the validity of his prayer is independent from the validity of the congregation's prayer.⁸⁰ Bedre'd-dīn mentions that the basis of the Shafi'i opinion is a different hadith: "indeed, the imam is appointed just to be followed [by those praying behind him]."⁸¹

74 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 47. It goes without saying that imams and muezzins were not the only representatives of Muslim neighborhoods, nor were the neighborhoods strictly divided as Muslim and non-Muslim neighborhoods. For an overview, see Ergenç, *Osmanlı şehrindeki "mahalle"nin* 69–78.

75 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 49; Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 315; Terzioğlu, *Where 'ilm-i ḥāl meets catechism* 101.

76 The phenomenon of moral surveillance was an extension of the collective responsibility (and liability) of a community that was bound together based on spatial proximity in the form of a neighborhood or a village. On an essay as to the jurisprudential roots of collective responsibility and its development within the Ottoman period, see Canbakal, *Some questions* 131–138. On the moral discourses of neighborly relations in the early modern Ottoman history, see Tamdoğan-Abel, *Les relations de voisinage* 167–177.

77 Katz, *Prayer* 138, footnote 50.

78 Bedre'd-dīn, *al-Tashil* i, 100.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid. 101–102.

81 Ibid.

This difference of opinion between the two legal schools did not prevent certain Hanafi congregations from praying behind Shafi'i imams. The reason appears to have been related to a chronic shortage of male Muslims capable of leading the prayer in the Hanafi way. Judging from the questions posed to the chief jurists from the tenth/sixteenth and the eleventh/seventeenth centuries, the view that the imam is the "warrantor" to the validity of his congregation's prayer exercised a degree of influence in such circumstances, but at no point was the opinion fully enforced in order to avoid discouraging attendance at the daily congregational prayers. When a Hanafi congregation wondered whether it is permissible to pray behind a Shafi'i imam, for instance, Ebū's-su'ūd allowed the Shafi'i imam to lead the Hanafi congregation, but with one caveat: "it is permissible, if the Hanafi congregation feels convinced that the Shafi'i imam preserved his ritual purity throughout the act of worship (*ābdestinde halel yok idüğüne 'itikād edecek, olur*)."⁸² Here, Ebū's-su'ūd espouses the Hanafi opinion about the imam being the "warrantor" in its rudimentary form, while also recognizing the legitimacy of ritual differences between the Shafi'i imam and the Hanafi congregation at the same time.⁸³ He does so by expecting the Hanafi congregation to be attentive to the Shafi'i imam's ritual purity rather than requiring the Shafi'i imam to abide by the Hanafi way of leading the prayer. In the same spirit, when Es'ad Efendi (d. 1034/1625) assents to the court's dismissal of a Shafi'i imam on the grounds that the Hanafi congregation managed to find a Hanafi imam, he does so tactfully by avoiding the word "dismissal" (*'azl*) in his answer: "it is appropriate for the judge to replace [the imam]."⁸⁴ Es'ad Efendi's reasoning appears to be on a par with Ebū's-su'ūd's: there is essentially no harm in prayer behind a Shafi'i imam, an opinion of the famous Transoxanian jurist Qādī Khān (d. 592/1196) that is indicated through an annotation as a marginal note within the compilation of Es'ad Efendi's fatwas.⁸⁵

Moreover, in line with the Hanafi school, Ottoman Rumi Hanafi jurists thought that jurisprudential knowledge and recitation of the Quran constituted the two foremost qualities of a competent imam as both were inte-

82 Ebū's-su'ūd, *Fetāvā-yı Ebū's-su'ūd* 12b.

83 On the question of prayer behind an imam of another legal school, see Katz, *Prayer* 150–155.

84 "Mes'ele: Bir mescid-i şerifin cemā'ati cümle Hanefiül'-mezheb iken mescid-i şerifin imāmu Şāfi'ül'-mezheb olsa cemā'ati imām-ı merkūmu imāmetinden 'azl etdirüb Hanefiül'-mezheb-i imāmu naşb etdirmeğe kâdir olurlar mı? El-cevāb: Hākime münāsib olan tebdil etmekdir." See Es'ad Efendi, *Fetāvā-yı müntehab* 6a.

85 Ibid.

gral to leading the prayer.⁸⁶ Imams of such caliber certainly did exist. They embodied the juristic ideal to maintain the correct performance of prayer as painstakingly as physicians maintained the well-being of a human, a simile drawn by the Ottoman scholar Tāşköprüzāde (d. 968/1561).⁸⁷ Yet they were by no means a norm and sources suggest that in some parts of the empire capable imams were difficult to find, thus raising the question of the validity of many a congregation's prayers.⁸⁸ At times, the chief jurists had to certify the imams whose physical challenges would potentially disrupt the prayer (e.g., inguinal hernia,⁸⁹ deafness,⁹⁰ epilepsy,⁹¹ senility,⁹² lameness,⁹³ amputee-ness,⁹⁴ incontinence,⁹⁵ blindness⁹⁶). The reasoning is predictable—necessity (*zarūret*)—since no other person knew how to perform the duty in the community.

Certainly, some places were more fortunate than others in having a pool of qualified candidates. Take the case of Istanbul. The famous poet Zātī (d. 953/1546), for instance, was rejected by his neighbors, when the imam of his neighborhood decided to set out on a pilgrimage and thought Zātī worthy of temporarily taking his place.⁹⁷ It apparently made no difference that Zātī felt confident enough in his knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence to even consider himself fit for a deputy-judgeship of Edirne, Bursa, and Istanbul.⁹⁸ Judging from Zātī's background, however, his neighbors may have had good reasons for not considering him as worthy of serving as an imam. Zātī came from a humble artisan background rather than a family of jurists and had no known formal training. Even though his gift in poetry opened the doors of powerful men from the grand viziers to established scholars and even the sultan, he was not considered fit for this position.⁹⁹ His poor hearing may have also played a role in being

86 Bedre'd-din, *al-Tashīl* i, 98; Mollā Hüsrev, *Durar al-ḥukkām* i, 68.

87 Tāşköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* 182.

88 At the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century, Prince Korkud (d. 919/1513) complained to his father Sultan Bāyezīd II by noting that in the countryside Muslims are religiously illiterate and the daily prayers are neglected. See Fleischer, *From Şeyhzade Korkud* 71.

89 Ebū's-su'ūd, *Fetāvā-yı Ebū's-su'ūd* 19a.

90 Es'ad Efendi, *Fetāvā-yı müntehab* 6a.

91 Zekeiriyāzāde Yahyā, *Fetāvā-yı Yahyā Çelebī* 3a.

92 *Ibid.* 2a.

93 Minkārīzāde Yahyā, *Fetāvā-yı 'Aṭā'ullāh* 6a.

94 Çatalcalı Ali, *Açıklamalı* i, 20.

95 Feyzullah Efendi, *Fetāvā-yı Feyziyye* 9.

96 Yenişehirli Abdullah, *Behcetü'l-fetāvā* 35.

97 Çavuşoğlu, *Zâtî'nin letâyifi* 44.

98 *Ibid.* 41.

99 Kim, *The last of an age* 31–49; Çavuşoğlu, *Zâtî'nin letâyifi* 41.

rejected (“Zātī, your hardness of hearing makes an office impossible for you,” he was told by the court officials¹⁰⁰) since ability to hear well was important for imams to lead the prayers as well as to fulfill administrative responsibilities of a neighborhood.

At one level, the qualifications expected from an imam to lead a formally correct prayer overlapped with the qualifications that were desirable for his moral duty to guide Muslims to live a pious and law-abiding life. As Mollā Fenārī tellingly puts in his discussion on the concept of forbidding (*al-nahy*), vices (*qubuḥ*) are of two kinds: those (*qubuḥ li-‘aynihi*) that one can discern merely by physical senses (*‘an al-ḥissiyāt*) “such as drinking wine, fornication, or homicide,” and those (*qubuḥ li-ghayrihi*) that one can fully grasp by recourse to sharia (*‘an al-sharī‘āt*) in matters “such as prayer, sale, marriage, or rent.”¹⁰¹ Even when they met these standards, some imams did not know enough Arabic to even recite a verse from the Quran without distorting its meaning,¹⁰² let alone being able to read texts on the matters of law and piety. Seen in this light, lacking the qualifications that the jurists expected from imams could at times become a barrier to upholding law and religion of sharia in the neighborhoods or villages no less than leading the prayer in a correct manner. This juncture between the knowledge necessary for leading the prayer and offering moral guidance may be compared, as Terzioğlu suggests, with Protestant and Catholic parishes of Europe, which were similarly faced with lack of qualified personnel for the religious and social disciplining of local communities throughout the early modern period.¹⁰³

This convergence between the ritual and moral aspects of serving as an imam brought to the fore another debate rooted in the history of Islamic jurisprudence: the question of whether or not congregational prayer behind a sinful imam is permissible. The basic contours of the debate, including both legal and moral points of view, are traceable to the medieval period. As a renowned Andalusian Maliki jurist Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595/1198) notes in his book on differences of opinion, the question is a matter of debate among the Sunni schools of law. At one end of the spectrum, some held that the ability to lead the congregation correctly was the sole criterion, an opinion that flows from a legal rationale. At the other end of the spectrum, others viewed sinful imams through a moral lens. By drawing on an analogy (*qiyās*) with witnessing, they held that an imam must be a person of probity (*‘adl*). Accordingly, just as

100 Kim, *The last of an age* 37.

101 Mollā Fenārī, *Fuṣūl al-badā’i* ii, 41.

102 Minkārīzāde Yahyā, *Fetāvā-yı Aṭā’ullāh* 8a.

103 Terzioğlu, How to conceptualize 322.

one must trust a witness to tell the truth, one must trust an imam to perform a valid prayer behind him. Thus, the unreliability of an imam would invalidate the prayer.¹⁰⁴

Tijana Krstić traced the echoes of this debate in Ottoman catechisms from the latter part of Sultan Süleymān's reign, which were written to instruct Turkish-speaking Rumi Muslims in the basics of creed and piety. She observes that authors like 'Abdu'r-raḥmān bin Yūsuf Aḳsarāyī, Birgīvī Meḥmed, and Lütḫī Pasha emphasized that one of the key attributes of belonging to "the people of the Sunna [True Path] and the Community" was following imams in congregational prayers regardless of whether they are sinful Muslims or not.¹⁰⁵ Krstić suggests that this jurisprudential view was implicitly connected with how Ottoman Sunni Hanafis envisaged imamate vis-à-vis sin in contrast to the Safavid Shi'ites. As Krstić suggests, it is not a coincidence that 'Abdu'r-raḥmān bin Yūsuf Aḳsarāyī discusses the question of prayer behind a sinful imam in the context of a summary of the Sunni creed.¹⁰⁶ She maintains that Aḳsarāyī here contrasts the Sunni view that "imams are not expected to be infallible or without sin," with the Shi'ite belief that the imam was immaculate. Some of the opponents of the Friday congregational prayer in the Safavid Empire argued that in the absence of the immaculate imam, who was in occultation, or of his designated representative, the Friday prayer was in abeyance and the shah did not have the right to convene it.¹⁰⁷

While in the Sunni tradition the question of the infallibility of the imam as a political leader may seem a separate matter from the question of a sinful imam as a prayer leader, the two were in fact linked. The link between the *imām al-kubrā* (greater imam, i.e., ruler) and *imām al-ṣuḡhrā* (lesser imam, i.e., prayer leader) persisted within the Sunni tradition. It was due to this link that the Ottoman Rumi Hanafī jurists also had the "greater imam" in mind while discussing the jurisprudential question of prayer behind a sinful imam. This link finds expression in Mollā Hüsrev's (d. 885/1480) discussion on the analogy drawn between a witness and an imam. Although Mollā Hüsrev himself thought that prayer behind a sinful imam is permissible,¹⁰⁸ he did not fail to explain the basis of opposing moral opinion within the Hanafī school. As I discussed above, the necessity for an imam to be a person of probity was based

104 Katz, *Prayer* 142.

105 Krstić, *State and religion* 72, 74, 75.

106 Ibid. 72.

107 Ibid. On different arguments in the Safavid debate regarding the Friday prayer, see Stewart, *Polemics and patronage*, esp. 428.

108 Mollā Hüsrev, *Durar al-ḥukkām* i, 68.

on an analogy with the question of who deserves to be a witness. Analogy with a witness, Mollā Hüsrev noted, is not confined to prayer leaders (*al-imāma*), but also includes the guardians (*al-wilāya*), the judges (*al-qaḍā'*), and the rulers (*al-saltāna*).¹⁰⁹ In light of Mollā Hüsrev's explanation, it makes sense why, as Krstić notes, 'Abdu'r-raḥmān bin Yūsuf Aḳsarāyī wrote "imams are not expected to be infallible or without sin," while maintaining that prayer behind a sinful imam is permissible.¹¹⁰ What he meant was that in the Sunni tradition, imams were not expected to be infallible, whether they were prayer leaders or rulers. By doing so, 'Abdu'r-raḥmān bin Yūsuf Aḳsarāyī implicitly highlighted the link between the ruler and the prayer leader in order to contrast it with the Shi'ite tradition.

Nevertheless, as far as jurisprudence goes, the question of "prayer behind a sinful imam" was more complex than the pithy language of catechisms would have us believe. In the rest of the section, I discuss how Ottoman Hanafi jurists of Rum allowed room for invoking one Hanafi opinion (prayer behind a sinful imam is permissible) over the other (imam must be a person of probity). I contend that this was a matter of weighing conflicting norms and values inherent in the difference of opinion between Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) and Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798): on the one hand, praying behind a sinful imam was a legally binding norm. Demanding an unwavering moral compass from an imam was conducive to inviting social unrest. On the other hand, failure to hold a "sinful imam" accountable could corrode religious values. In order to demonstrate how the Ottoman jurists assessed the applicability of these two opinions, I focus on two fatwas issued by the chief jurist Ebū's-su'ūd with reference to the discussions of Ottoman Rumi Hanafi jurists from the ninth/fifteenth to the eleventh/seventeenth centuries. By doing so, I discuss how the question of prayer behind a sinful imam betrays the dual authority of muftis, be they the chief jurist or provincial muftis. As a legal authority, the mufti declared the legally binding norms to the courts. But, as a religious authority, he explained the moral dimensions of law. This dual phenomenon is also noteworthy for historicizing the normative discourses of Sunni Islam with an eye to distinguish its legal and moral aspects.¹¹¹

The first fatwa centers on a famous hadith that encapsulates the mainstream Sunni position regarding the permissibility of prayer behind a sinful imam. The hadith constitutes the basis of the opinion attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa and urges

109 Ibid. ii, 270.

110 Krstić, *State and religion* 72.

111 See Johansen, *Die sündige* 246–282.

the congregations to pray behind imams, be they virtuous Muslims or not.¹¹² The fatwa answers the question of whether the hadith can legitimately be acted upon:

Question: “Pray behind every virtuous and sinful person.” Is this hadith sound? Is it permissible to abide by it?

Answer: Yes. Follow your official. Do not breach and foment civil disturbance because he commits sins. That is what it means.¹¹³

As evident from the answer, Ebū’s-su’ūd does not only confirm that the hadith is applicable, but also explains how his contemporaries should interpret it. “Follow your official,” Ebū’s-su’ūd notes, to signify a legally binding norm derived from the hadith that deters Muslims from confronting an imam through a refusal to congregate behind him for prayer. The moral condition of imams as state officials (*ehl-i berāt*)¹¹⁴ does not provide a legitimate basis for the congregations abandoning their *masjids*. Quite to the contrary, this collective act means a “breach” that invites “civil disturbance” in daily life.

In legal terms, Ebū’s-su’ūd considers both a sinful and a virtuous Muslim equally suitable to serve as a prayer leader.¹¹⁵ By doing so, he censures recourse to unrest as a means of forbidding wrong. At stake is not merely the duty of regular attendance at the five daily prayers and the Friday noon prayer, but also the preservation of stability in everyday life, which are concerns that Ottoman Rumi Hanafi jurists shared before and after Ebū’s-su’ūd. From the ninth/fifteenth century, even Bedre’d-dīn, who was convicted by the Ottoman government as one of the leading figures behind a massive rebellion, invoked the same hadith to convey his opinion that mirrors Ebū’s-su’ūd’s.¹¹⁶ As Bedre’d-dīn puts it, from a moral point of view, a person who commits sins cannot be bothered to observe religious matters (*lā yahtammu bi-amr dīnihi*); nevertheless, even though it is reprehensible, it is legally permissible to pray behind a sinful

112 Wensick, *The Muslim creed* 220–221; Katz, *Prayer* 147–148.

113 “*Me’s’ele: Şallū khalfā kullī barrīn wa fājirīn hadīsī sahih olup anın ile ‘amel cāiz olur mu? Elcevab: Cāizdir. ‘Emīrinize ittiba’ edin, fācirdir diye hulf edip, isāre-i fitne etmen’ demektir.*” See Ebussuud, *Şeyhülislam* 177.

114 İnalçık, *Osmanlılar’da raiyyet rüsümü* 596–597, 598.

115 Based on her discussion of Kemālpaşazāde’s fatwas on Sufi rituals in the context of the conversion of *‘imārets/zāviyes* into mosques, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu’s article in this volume shows that if the words and deeds of imams signified unbelief, prayers performed behind imams were considered null and void. By doing so, Kafescioğlu highlights that Kemālpaşazāde’s fatwas resonate with Ebū’s-su’ūd’s.

116 See also Chiwizāde, *al-İthār* 176.

imam because of the hadith.¹¹⁷ In the eleventh/seventeenth century, Mevķūfātī Meħmed makes a similar case for the permissibility while acknowledging its reprehensibility (*emr-i dīnde ihtimāmi olmadıķıķın*). He even goes a step further and evokes the topos of *historia magistra vitae* by invoking an exemplum from a politically volatile period of Umayyad history in order to stress the necessity of peace by congregating behind an imam regardless of his sins. Many of the Prophet Muħammad's Companions and their immediate successors (*řahābe ve tābī'undan ok kimesne*) continued to pray behind the notorious governor al-Ĥajjāj bin Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (d. 95/714), whom Mevķūfātī describes as the tyrant Ĥajjāj (*Ĥaccāc-ı zālīm*).¹¹⁸ Clearly, the act of renouncing the prayer behind sinful imams was understood to have subversive connotations.

Despite the legal opinion that enjoined Muslims to pray behind a sinful imam, we do know that just like judges,¹¹⁹ imams could also be dismissed,¹²⁰ although how the Ottoman jurists discussed the practice of dismissals has not been explored.¹²¹ Ebū's-su'ūd's other fatwa demonstrates how it was possible, if not always achievable, for the congregations to hold a "sinful imam" accountable to the standards of probity, in cases when they had recourse to legitimate means of forbidding wrong:

Question: If the people of a neighborhood say "We are aware that the imam-preacher Zeyd does not refrain from interacting with unrelated women, committing forbidden acts, and lying, but we cannot prove it. We are loath to pray behind him" about the imam-preacher of their mosque, can they have him dismissed?

Answer: Yes, as long as those who are loath to pray are the righteous of the neighborhood.¹²²

117 Bedre'd-dīn, *al-Tařıl* i, 98.

118 Mevķūfātī Meħmed, *řerħi'l-Mevķūfātī* i, 80. See also, Dāmād Efendī, *Majmū'a al-anħur* i, 163.

119 İnalçık, *Adāletnāmeler* 75–79, especially 78.

120 Jennings, *Limitations of the judicial powers 177–178*; Majer, *Ulema* 111; Beydilli, *Osmanlı dōneminde imamlar* 6–7; Özcın, *Osmanlı mahallesi* 138–140.

121 This does not mean that there was no distinction between the court-binding norms and religious-ethical norms. See Johansen, *Die sündige* 246–282. For a recent article that underscores the necessity to incorporate jurisprudential debates into our analyses of court cases, see Aykan, *Property between life and death* 211–228; See also, *Ibid.*, *Rendre la justice à Amid*, especially, 162–226.

122 "Mes'ele: Bir cāmī'in mahallesi halkı imam hatib olan Zeydin 'nâ-mahrem avret ile mu'amelesin ve haramdan ve kizbden ictinâb etmediķine bizim utulâ'ımız oldu, amma isbâta kâdir deķiliz, istikrah ettik iktidâ etmeziz' deseler azl ettirmeķe kâdir olurlar mı? Elcevâb: Olurlar, mahallenin esleħâsı istikrah edicek." See Ebussuud, *řeyhülislam* 68.

Here, the “people of neighborhood” raise the question of prayer behind a sinful imam. Differing from the previous fatwa, civil disturbance is not necessarily a matter of concern as the neighborhood disputes the imam through legal channels. “We are loath to pray behind him,” the neighborhood declares and demands dismissal because in their eyes Zeyd fails to live up to the religious and moral codes by “interacting with unrelated women, committing forbidden acts, and lying.”

As far as the evidentiary circumstances are concerned, however, the neighborhood faces challenges.¹²³ They resort to an expression “we are aware of it, but cannot prove it,” whereby they admit the conjectural basis of their allegations. Moreover, their lack of evidence is compounded by the imam’s higher status in the social hierarchy and the fact that contemporary sultanic lawbooks (*kanunnâmes*) envisioned different punishments for different social strata. The lawbooks stipulated that the discretionary punishment for culpable imams was admonition instead of the usual more severe sanctions.¹²⁴ Against these odds, the neighborhood resorted to witnessing *en masse* in order to bypass the strict evidentiary requirements. This strategy was “one of the most convincing indicators of the collective competency of the community in the use of the judicial process to advance its own interests,” as Boğaç Ergene observes in similar cases where the defendant was an official or a member of the elite.¹²⁵ Ebū’s-su’ūd’s answer clearly shows the effectiveness of collective witnessing. He rules that the imam could indeed be dismissed “as long as those who are loath to pray are the righteous of the neighborhood.” By this caveat, he refers to a court procedure through which social credibility, honesty, and ability of witnesses to testify before the judge was established.¹²⁶

The point Ebū’s-su’ūd makes is that to say “we are loath to pray behind him” cannot lead to an imam’s dismissal if its association with a feeling of dislike is arbitrary. This opinion carried its influence well into the eleventh/seventeenth century. In other words, while the permissibility of prayer behind a sinful imam was still the norm, the moral opinion that the imam should be a

123 Interestingly, when it comes to the judges, within advice-to-sultans literature, Hans Georg Majer shows that a number of Ottoman authors from Lütüfi Pasha (d. 970/1563) to Şarı Mehmed Pasha (d. 1129/1717) emphasized the necessity to dismiss them after recurring violations rather than one or two complaints or as a result of an investigation based on sound proof. See Majer, *Die Kritik an den Ulema* 147, 149–150.

124 Akgündüz (ed.), *Kanûni devri kanunnâmeleri* iv/i, 318; *Ibid.* vi/ii, 487; Akgündüz (ed.), *Selim devri kanunnâmeleri* vii/ii, 356.

125 Ergene, *Local court* 151.

126 This procedure was called “witness reliability verification” (*tezkîye*). See Coşgel and Ergene, *The economics of Ottoman justice* 72–73, 226–231.

man of probity remained legitimate as long as the demands for dismissals were not arbitrary. For instance, the chief jurist Minkārīzāde Yahyā (d. 1088/1678) was asked:

Question: If some people harbor animosity towards imam Zeyd, but if his state of affairs does not necessitate dismissal in any way, can they have him dismissed by the judge with an appeal “we do not want Zeyd”?

Answer: No.¹²⁷

The fatwa makes it clear that if the reasons do not ring true with any “condition that necessitates dismissal,” appeals against an imam are bound to be rejected. As Minkārīzāde Yahyā’s naysay indicates, the chief jurists did not authorize the dismissal of an imam just because the congregation disliked him. In support of his fatwa, Minkārīzāde cites an authoritative text of the Hanafi school, *al-Fatāwā l-Tātārkhāniya*. From this citation, we learn that the fatwa’s genealogy goes as far back as one of the three founding scholars of Hanafi school, Abū Yūsuf, and his own discussion of prayer behind a sinful imam. For Abū Yūsuf, the people of a neighborhood cannot render an imam unwanted “unless he is sinful” (*illā ‘an yakūna fāsiqan*),¹²⁸ where a “sinful person” denotes a status that is the exact opposite of a person of probity.¹²⁹ As such, Minkārīzāde’s fatwa ultimately hinges on Abū Yūsuf’s opinion which not only underscores the moral duty of imams to be persons of probity but also safeguards imams from unjustifiable dismissals by the standard that probity itself imposes. In this respect, Ebū’s-su‘ūd’s two different answers for the question of prayer behind a sinful imam suggests a weighing of opposing Hanafi opinions with an eye to the circumstances of a case, and especially its bearing on community order and morality.

5 Conclusion

This paper has discussed how the leading Hanafi jurists provided the Ottoman dynasty with a legal and moral idiom to discipline its male Muslim subjects by

127 “Me’s’ele: Bir mahallede vāki’ mescidde imām olan Zeyd’in bir vechile ‘azlin icāb ider hāli yok iken cemā’atden ba’zi kimesneler Zeyd’e garaž ve ta’aşşub idüb hākime Zeyd’t istemeziz deyu ‘azl etdirmeğe qādīr olurlar mı? El-cevāb: Olmazlar.” Minkārīzāde Yahyā, *Fetāvā-yı ‘Aṭā’ullāh* 7b.

128 Ibid.

129 Gardet, *Fāsık* 834.

enforcing the congregational performance of the five daily prayers. By contextualizing the famous decree on the construction of *masjids* in Muslim villages with reference to imperial rivalries and religious politics in the long tenth/sixteenth century, the paper highlights the Ottoman reception of two age-old debates that shaped the history of Sunni Islam: the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers and prayer behind a sinful imam. The cases discussed here illustrate that by carefully examining how the Ottoman political and legal authorities inherited and participated in the long-standing jurisprudential questions like these, we can see how they understood the Hanafi and Sunni tradition as well as its relationship to political authority and its increasing aspirations to regulate the moral well-being of the Muslim subjects.

When it comes to the normative value of the five daily congregational prayers, the paper demonstrates that the decree was informed by the decision of the leading jurists and the sultan to promote the coercive function of the state in order to respond to the challenges of religious pluralism and legitimacy which were especially intensified by imperial rivalries after the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century. Central to the imperial policy of coercing the attendance was the question of prayer behind a sinful imam. As opposed to the question of whether the five daily congregational prayers constituted a duty for the adult male Muslims to observe and for the sultan to enforce, where the jurists opted for a more top-down, interventionist solution, prayer behind a sinful imam remained a thorny question that was receptive to the moral reservations arising from the Muslim congregations. On the one hand, this pressure from “below” was part of a long-established dynamic of governance. On the other, however, this was the time of evolving Sunni sensibilities among the common Muslims due to attempts to increase their understanding of what constitutes correct practice and belief through preaching and closer attention to public expressions of piety, especially in the cities. The paper, thus, suggests that Ottoman Sunnitization was a multidirectional process that negotiated various legal and moral registers of Islam that were themselves constantly evolving in pace with the developing Ottoman polity.

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Piety and Presence in the Postclassical Sultanic Mosque

Ünver Rüstem

When, in 989/1581, the Ottoman historian Gelibolulu Muştafâ 'Âlî (d. 1008/1600) wrote that only those sultans who had successfully waged holy war should build religious foundations, he was spelling out an attitude that must have been widely shared at the time, and that continues to inform modern perceptions of Ottoman architecture.¹ The idea that even the sovereign should be bound by codes of decorum was well enough accepted that 'Âlî's dictum—a passage from his famous *Counsel for sultans* (*Nüşhatü's-selâṭin*)—was intended for no less a reader than Murād III (r. 982–1003/1574–1595), who himself refrained from erecting a mosque in Istanbul because of his relatively humble military achievements. Underscoring the association between empire building and imperial building were the numerous mosques that Murād's more successful predecessors had added to the Ottoman capital since its conquest. This series of monuments culminated in 964/1557 with the completion of the mighty hilltop complex of Süleymân the Magnificent (r. 926–974/1520–1566), whose transformative intervention in the cityscape was to remain unrivaled until the early eleventh/seventeenth century, when the young Aḥmed I (r. 1012–1026/1603–1617) decided to flout convention and build a great mosque despite having no significant victories to his name.²

Aḥmed's apparent disregard for the rules has helped to make his mosque a turning point in modern art-historical accounts, which have tended to view the building as an overblown vanity project that ushered in not only aesthetic decline, but also semiotic attenuation. After the tenth/sixteenth century, the story goes, the imperial mosque ceased to be a convincing emblem of the state's *gāzî* (holy warrior) ideology, and scholars have often treated later examples of the genre as if they were conceived and viewed outside the codified

1 'Âlî, *Counsel* 1, 54, 146, quoted and discussed in Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 60.

2 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 207–222, 256–257, 511; Rüstem, *The spectacle*. For an overview of the sultanic mosque and its symbolism, see Crane, *Ottoman sultan's mosques*. For an analysis of the “rule” described by Muştafâ 'Âlî and the strategies developed in response to it, see Budak, “The temple of the incredulous.”

religiopolitical framework that we take for granted in relation to earlier centuries.³ My aim here is to challenge this interpretation by demonstrating the ways in which notions of religious—and specifically Sunni—propriety and triumphalism remained key to the postclassical sultanic mosque, even as the empire's expansion slowed and eventually stopped. Far from overturning the standards that made such architecture meaningful, the later mosques renegotiated them in response to changing circumstances, engendering new visual, ceremonial, and discursive strategies by which to maintain the sultanate's image as the spearhead of Islamic orthodoxy. Above all, the reformulation of the imperial mosque was underpinned by, and itself contributed to, a new model of kingship that increasingly emphasized the ruler's auspicious presence in the capital as a benevolent steward over his subjects. This development, which spanned the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, is exemplified by three monuments that will punctuate my discussion: the aforementioned Sultan Ahmed Mosque (1018–1026/1609–1617), the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1161–1169/1748–1755), and the Beylerbeyi Mosque (1191–1192/1777–1778).⁴ Each marking a pivotal juncture in the imperial mosque's adaptive evolution, these buildings testify to the resourcefulness with which the sultans, together with their architects and advisers, continued to profit from the legitimating force of this building type, whose status at the apex of the Ottoman architectural hierarchy endured precisely because of such readiness to depart from classical norms.

1 Victory without Conquest: The Sultan Ahmed Mosque and Devout Display

Notwithstanding the declinist terms in which they have sometimes seen it, scholars are justified in identifying the Sultan Ahmed Mosque as a break from established practice (figure 11.1).⁵ The monument caused quite the stir in its own time, for Ahmed's decision to build it was from the outset understood as problematic. The issue was twofold: having conquered no enemy territories, the sultan possessed neither the prestige for such self-commemoration nor the

3 For an extreme instance of this view, see Lewis, *What went wrong?* 137.

4 This discussion draws heavily on Rüstem, *The spectacle*, and Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*.

5 For the mosque, see Fetvacı, *Music, light and flowers*; Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 342–349; Kuban, *Ottoman architecture* 361–369; Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi* 35–133; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 514–518.



FIGURE 11.1 Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Istanbul, 1018–1026/1609–1617, with the royal pavilion on the left protruding from the prayer hall
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war booty with which to fund it. His clerics urged him to direct his resources instead toward the invasion of Christian lands, especially Crete, and the grand mufti added that the mosque's intended site next to the Hippodrome was not populated enough to necessitate a new house of worship.⁶ But Aḥmed pushed on regardless, and though, according to the French traveler Guillaume-Joseph Grelot (d. after 1680), the mosque was initially dubbed "*Imansiz Gianisi*" (*īmānsız cāmi'si*)—Mosque of the Faithless—by its detractors,⁷ it soon won general acceptance and even acclaim, with various contemporary and later observers extolling its superlative beauty.

The ultimately positive response to Aḥmed's transgression was facilitated by numerous sympathetic voices who found ways to vindicate the project. The sultan's own imam, Muṣṭafā Şāfi (d. 1025/1616), authored a eulogistic chronicle in which Aḥmed is recast as a successful champion of Sunnism, particularly

6 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 514–515; Rüstem, *The spectacle* 254–256; Şāfi, *Zübdetü't-tevârih* i, 51; Fetvacı, *Music, light and flowers* 234.

7 Grelot, *A late voyage* 212 (where the historical English translation is "Temple of the Incredible"); Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 515.

with regard to his suppression in 1017/1608 of the rebellious Celalis, who were often branded *Kızılbaş*—that is, Shi‘is—by their opponents.⁸ Implicit in Şâfi’s defense is the view that the sultan’s victory over heterodox rebels already qualified him as a *gāzī* entitled to build, an opinion also recorded in a dispatch written by the English ambassador Thomas Glover (d. 1625) in late 1609, when the foundations were being dug:

[T]he Gran Sig:^r in respecte of his victorie againste the [Celali] Rebels in Asia, or in that he hath, contrarie to all mens expectations, soe sud-daynlie subdued and whollie rooted them out, hath comaunded to pull downe many goodlie and sumptuous pallaces, belonginge to some of his vizereis or vizereis sonnes (payinge them well for it) and insteade therof to be builte a verie sumptuous church or Meskite, which shall be bigger then any as yet in Constant:^ple and to be named by his name, Sultan Achomat.⁹

As if to confirm the mosque’s connection to his anti-Shi‘i zeal, Aḥmed declared war on the Safavids shortly after the foundations were laid.

But not everyone can have been convinced that Aḥmed had done enough to deserve such a monument. Glover himself gives a quite different reason for the construction in a dispatch written only a few months later, linking the project to a dangerous ailment of the throat that was causing the sultan to choke on his food. Because it was “iudged by the wiseste, that this happeneth, rather by the permission of the Allmightie, then otherwise,” Aḥmed felt compelled

to betake himselfe to an extraordinarie devotion, and whollie to have his conversation amongste Sofies [Sufis], and Dervishes, as much to saye, purytans ... and it is reported that this accident is the onlie cause of the buildinge of the sumptuous Meschit ... thinkinge that therby he shall, not onlie obtayne salvation of his soule, but that the Allmightie will withdrawe this dreadfull infirmitie from him, beinge therto counselled and assured, by all his above named Sofies, and his cheefe ministers, and inpticuller his Muftie; whoe sayeth to have seene a vision, or a dreame,

8 Şâfi, *Zübdetü't-tevârih* i, 48. On the Ottoman authorities’ attempts to smear the Celalis as heretics, see Olson, *The siege of Mosul* 36n82; Zarinebaf, Qızılbaş “heresy.”

9 Dispatch dated 22 October 1609, The National Archives, UK (henceforth TNA), SP 97/6, 139a, quoted in Rüstem, *The spectacle* 257. See also Avcioğlu, Ahmed I 219.

that unlesse this be performed wth. a good will and harte, without any sparinge of gould or sylver, or any mans labour, (allsoe with contynual prayers to their divill Mahoma, or Mahemet) the Gran Sig^r. is like to incurre a verie speedie danger of his life.¹⁰

Although Glover's account seems at first to contradict the more usual claims that the ulama advised against the mosque, the situation he describes is no less tense, with the clerics using the project almost to reprove the frightened sultan. Glover adds that these clerics assured Aḥmed that, as well as curing his condition, the mosque would bring "greate and incredible victories, againste all the Gran Sig:^{rs} enemies, whersoever he shall please to wage any warre." Even according to this account, then, the building's legitimacy was predicated on the idea that Aḥmed would at least retroactively fulfill the expectation of a suitable martial victory. The conquest of Crete remained the favorite hope, but the sultan's apparent willingness to take up the challenge bore no fruit, and even the war he had launched against the Safavids came to nothing.¹¹

If Aḥmed's military credentials were undeniably lacking, he and his backers were savvy to other means by which to promote the mosque, with ceremonial emerging as a major component of this campaign. It was already customary to mark constructional milestones when putting up a new imperial mosque, and much was made in particular of the foundation-laying and inauguration, which were typically celebrated with processions, thanksgiving prayers, sacrifices, and the distribution of gifts.¹² With the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, however, this traditional pageantry was taken to unprecedented heights. The building was thus heralded by two foundation ceremonies, during the first of which the sultan personally dug the ground with a silver mattock. This direct and unusual act of participation not only signaled his humble devotion to the endeavor, but also alluded to a future Cretan invasion by harking back to a ninth/fifteenth-century practice whereby the sultan would lay the first stone of his mosque before setting off on campaign.¹³ Aḥmed's viziers and janissaries by turns followed him in the act of digging, prolonging the ceremony by a week. The

10 Dispatch dated 27 January 1610 (1609 old style), TNA, SP 97/6, 150a–b, copied also on 151a–b. Quoted in Rüstern, *The spectacle* 256.

11 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 514, 516; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire* 188–189.

12 For examples over the centuries, see Barkan, *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmareti* 48, 58–59; Bates, *The patronage of Süleyman* 67, 70; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 60, 143; Neftçi, *Nuruosmaniye Camii açılış töreni*; Rüstern, *Ottoman Baroque* 123–124, 132–133; Rüstern, *Victory* 102–104, 112n44.

13 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 60, 516; Rüstern, *The spectacle* 266–267.

public, meanwhile, was gratified with gifts of sacrificial meat, so that all levels of society were implicated in the project from the moment of its commencement.¹⁴

Other ceremonies soon followed, including the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's nativity, the *Mevlid*, in 1019/1610, when the building site was installed with cushioned sofas for the men of state and religion. In 1023/1614, while the walls were still being raised, the mosque began to host the *Mevlid* on an annual basis, introducing a more inclusive ceremony in which refreshments were offered to high and low alike (figure 11.2).¹⁵ The mosque's association with the *Mevlid*, which continues to this day, swiftly secured it a distinctive ritual profile, no mean feat in a city already teeming with religious monuments. Such use of the site also capitalized on Aḥmed's reputation for uncommon piety, a trait repeatedly hailed in Muṣṭafā Şāfi's chronicle and other sources.¹⁶

But the most spectacular episode in the mosque's ceremonial life occurred in Jumādā II 1026/June 1617, when a grand celebration took place to mark the closing of the central dome. Held only a few months before the official opening, the dome-closing ceremony allowed Aḥmed to announce the completion of his monument with far greater fanfare than afforded by the more formalized protocol of an inauguration proper. Basic details of the ceremony have long been known from the standard chronicles, where it is usually confused with the opening itself, but I was fortunate enough to stumble upon and publish an otherwise overlooked manuscript that provides a thorough monographic account of the event written within a few months of its occurrence by an anonymous author.¹⁷ While the ceremony included such expected elements as lavish gift-giving and a splendid cavalcade from and back to the Topkapı Palace, it was in other ways a highly distinctive affair. Its ostensible *raison d'être*—the closing of the dome—was staged to great effect in clear view of the Hippodrome, where thousands of onlookers were treated to the sight of the dome being crowned with a symbolic capstone and a gilt crescent finial. The moment was spiritually overseen by a party of clerics and grandees whom the sultan, the manuscript tells us, had instructed to “climb and close [*bağla-*] the lofty dome with prayer and eulogy.”¹⁸ Chief among them was the revered Sufi shaykh Maḥmūd Hüdāyī

14 Rüstem, *The spectacle* 266–267.

15 Fetvacı, *Music, light and flowers* 237–239; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 516; Rüstem, *The spectacle* 267–270.

16 See, for example, Şāfi, *Zübdetü't-tevârih* i, esp. lxxx, 24–48; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte* iv, 492–493; Rüstem, *The spectacle* 285–286.

17 Rüstem, *The spectacle*, where the manuscript is discussed, transliterated, translated, and reproduced.

18 Rüstem, *The spectacle* 267, 328, 337–338.



FIGURE 11.2 View of the celebration of the Prophet's nativity at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, with the royal prayer loge at the far-left corner. By Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Née, 1787, from Ignatius Mouradgea d' Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, pl. 25. Engraving on paper

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(d. 1038/1628), a religious adviser to Aḥmed who had already played a leading role in earlier ceremonies at the site.¹⁹ It is unclear whether this party ascended all the way to the dome's exterior or, as is perhaps likelier, went only as far as the catwalks and galleries of the mosque's interior, which was also filled with spectators. However the episode played out, the dome's capping and consecration must have made a remarkable spectacle.

19 Ibid. 256, 266, 267, 268, 272–276. For his life and career, see Yılmaz, Aziz Mahmūd Hüdayî.

Another unusual aspect of the ceremony, and one scarcely less eye-catching, was the presence of tents for the sultan and his courtiers in the mosque's courtyard (probably the outer court, but the sources do not specify). Although tents were often used for Ottoman festivals, I know of no other ceremony in which a mosque precinct was turned into an encampment, and it is impossible not to read this atypical feature as a reference to warfare. Such martial symbolism defied Aḥmed's critics head-on by presenting him as a victor within his own capital, and to underscore the point, his enemies too were among the ceremony's cast. As our manuscript explains,

The sultan was watched that day by the ruthless [foreign] ambassadors who were present at the assembly, and when they—despite having not a trace of faith in their hardened hearts—saw the selfless favor that the magnanimous sultan conferred on the people of the world, together with the good works and pious deeds done in the path of God ... countless infidels could not help but come to Islam ... And even the remaining wicked infidels could not help but say countless prayers for the life and state of the sultan ... and whether the ambassador of the reprobate Kızılbaş or whether Venetian, Fleming, or Frank—they are one scourge alike—all of them were frustrated and confounded.²⁰

This dense narrative requires some clarification. Though conflated with the reference to foreign ambassadors, the mention of infidels adopting Islam must pertain to *Ottoman* non-Muslims who may have converted during the ceremony, as we know happened at other public festivals.²¹ As for the “Kızılbaş” ambassador, he was, of course, the Safavid representative, who is treated as no less of an unbeliever than his Christian counterparts.²² This equation builds on the idea that Aḥmed's fight against Shi'ism—epitomized by his quashing of the Celalis—merited the same approbation as a war against a Christian foe.

Without explicitly telling us, the manuscript gives the impression that the ambassadors were not merely present but officially accommodated at the ceremony, and this is confirmed by a dispatch written by the Venetian *bailo* Almorò Nani (d. 1633), who was among the representatives. We learn from his

20 Rüstem, *The spectacle* 286, 330, 339–340 (quoted with minor orthographic changes).

21 For examples of this phenomenon, see Terzioğlu, *The imperial circumcision festival* 85; Baer, *Honored by the glory* 179–203, 293n31. It is significant to note that Aḥmed's reign saw the development of a special kind of conversion ritual at the Imperial Council: see Krstić, *Illuminated* 58.

22 Cf. Terzioğlu, *The imperial circumcision festival* 85–87.

account that he and the English, Dutch, French, and Habsburg ambassadors were invited to attend the ceremony and provided with their own specially built viewing loggia opposite the mosque on the other side of the Hippodrome.²³ Nani says nothing of the Safavid envoy, who may have been permitted a spot within the mosque precinct despite his “reprobate” status. As for the European ambassadors, their orchestrated presence at the event appears to have been extremely unusual by the standards of other Ottoman mosque ceremonies and was clearly vital to the event’s meaning. In the context of so much religiously charged display, the vastly outnumbered Christian dignitaries served as the event’s symbolic antagonists, subjugated by all that was happening around them. This “us-and-them” setup no doubt hinted at the possibility of future warfare, but the ceremony’s real success lay in its glorification of the mosque itself as an achievement already equal to any Muslim conquest, one that could, as the manuscript asserts, overwhelm the “hardened hearts” even of foreign infidels. Invoking Aḥmed’s widely lauded religiosity, the conceit would have been verbalized after the blessing of the dome by Maḥmūd Hüdāyī, who Nani tells us gave a sermon “praising the sultan’s goodness and then reproving the general injustice and rapacity of [his] enemies.”²⁴

The most vivid proof of this goodness was, of course, the mosque itself, whose undeniable splendor gave convincing form to the rhetorical and ceremonial claims being made for it (figure 11.1). Although criticized by modern art historians as an ostentatious reiteration of the classical Ottoman manner,²⁵ the Sultan Ahmed was in its own time widely praised. Evliyâ Çelebi (d. 1095/1684?), for instance, tells us that “the graciousness of its architectural style is unknown in the mosques of other countries,”²⁶ a sentiment echoed by Grelot, who deemed the mosque “the most beautiful in *Constantinople*, if not in all the East.”²⁷ The monument’s architect, Şedefkâr Meḥmed Agha (d.

23 Dispatch dated 13 June 1617, State Archives of Venice, Senato, Dispacci Costantinopoli, filza 83, 15/11, 211a–221b, translated and transliterated in Rüstem, *The spectacle 286–287*, 297–298n162.

24 Rüstem, *The spectacle 287*.

25 Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 344.

26 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme* i, 87, quoted and translated in Necipoğlu, *Challenging the past 177*; Fetvacı, *Music, light and flowers* 224. Despite this high praise, the claim that Evliyâ describes the Sultan Ahmed as “the most beautiful of all the sultanic mosques in Istanbul” is an erroneous one that, as Robert Dankoff and Semih Tezcan have pointed out, is based on a misleading late thirteenth/nineteenth-century transcription of the original text. The mistake regrettably appears in my own article on the dome-closing ceremony. See Dankoff and Tezcan, *Evliya Çelebi bibliography 4*; Rüstem, *The spectacle 260*.

27 Grelot, *A late voyage* 211–212.

ca. 1031/1622), was a student of the famous Sinān (d. 996/1588), whose Süleymaniye Mosque was the Sultan Ahmed's immediate forerunner.²⁸ As Emine Fetvacı has discussed, Mehmed Agha skillfully adapted his master's manner to create something that referred to the empire's Süleymanic heyday even as it spoke to eleventh/seventeenth-century tastes.²⁹ With its elephantine piers, four semidomes, six minarets, and lavish tilework, the Sultan Ahmed eschews the more restrained grandeur of the Süleymaniye in favor of unbridled pomp. This approach also allows the mosque to hold its own against the Hagia Sophia, which faces it from across an open square. While much smaller than the erstwhile cathedral, the mosque outdoes it in terms of aesthetic coherence and elegance, thus earning its place in this most central and privileged of locations. Few among the sultan's Muslim subjects can have failed to see the monument as a magnificent sign of God's favor.

The multipronged effort that went into selling Aḥmed's enterprise shows how mindful he and his advisers were of established codes even as they were redefining them. After all, the justifications put forward for the mosque still centered on the idea that the sultan had won the right to build by advancing the cause of Islam. The earlier tactic—that of treating the defeat of (supposedly Kızılbaş) Celali insurgents as tantamount to a victory over infidels—reflected what Derin Terzioğlu has characterized as a “greater expectation of confessional exactitude in matters of [Ottoman Sunni] doctrine and ritual as well as a heightened concern with social discipline” during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the Ottomans were busy fighting their (Shi'i) Safavid neighbors.³⁰ But it was ultimately Aḥmed's own exemplary Sunnism that was weaponized as his chief credential, further widening the traditional conception of “campaigns of the Faith” to include even nonmilitary deeds.³¹ Built for the glory of the religion, the mosque in a sense became its own vindication, and thereby the sultan's too.

Such spin was part of a broader shift in the ruler's image that began around these years. In contrast to their more aloof predecessors, Aḥmed and the sultans who followed him generally tended toward a less remote style of kingship, making themselves more visible and—notionally, at least—accessible to their

28 For an architectural treatise centered on Mehmed Agha's career and written during the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, see Ca'fer, *Risāle*. On Aḥmed's identification with Süleymān, see Avcioğlu, *Ahmed I*, esp. 218–220.

29 Fetvacı, *Music, light and flowers*.

30 Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 318.

31 The term “campaigns of the Faith” (*ḡanāyim-i cihād*) is borrowed from Muṣṭafā 'Āli: see 'Āli, *Counsel I*, 54, 146, quoted in Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 60.



FIGURE 11.3 Sultan Ahmed Mosque, royal pavilion viewed toward its entrance side, with the attached mosque on the right
PHOTO COURTESY OF GÜVEN ERTEN

subjects.³² The desire to raise the sovereign's profile in this way must have been spurred in part by the diminishment of his once invincible military aura, but the result was far from defeatist. On the contrary, the Ottoman state succeeded in cultivating a new kind of reputation for the sultan that foregrounded his benevolent presence among his people as God's shadow on earth. The vibrant ceremonial activity surrounding the Sultan Ahmed Mosque was very much part of this new manner of kingly conduct, and the monument also introduced a more concrete means of facilitating the sultan's self-display: a pavilion attached to the mosque's eastern corner (figures 11.1 and 11.3).

Entered by a ramp and containing an elevated suite of rooms, this L-shaped structure gives access to the sultanic loge inside the neighboring prayer hall (figure 11.2).³³ It is the first example of a building type that would come to be known as the *kaşr-ı hümayûn* (*hünkâr kasrı* in modern Turkish), or royal

32 Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures* 50–52; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 516; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 126–128, 133–137.

33 For this structure, see Kuban, *Ottoman architecture* 365–369; Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi* 78–79; Rüstem, *The spectacle* 262–268.

pavilion, a name that accurately captures its function as a miniaturized palace designed to host Aḥmed and his successors before and after their visits to the mosque.³⁴ Its brick-and-stone walls and hipped roofs are at once a mark of its status—they follow the norms of palatial architecture—and a decorous concession to the adjacent mosque, whose domes, ashlar walls, and scale make the far smaller pavilion seem almost like a latterly added afterthought. Contrary to this impression, the pavilion had its origins in a structure erected at the very start of the project to accommodate Aḥmed whenever we came to view the building site.³⁵ As the prayer hall took shape, certain parties must have realized the long-term potential of turning this structure into a permanent pavilion for use during royal visits, and especially the Friday parade, when the sultan would set out from the Topkapı Palace in stately procession to attend the mid-day prayer in one of the city's imperial mosques. These regular public outings afforded the populace not only sight of their ruler, but also, in theory, recourse to his protection, as the sultan's guards would collect petitions from the watching crowds.³⁶ The Friday parade thus brought the splendor of the court and the justice of the Imperial Divan—another venue for petitioners—out into the city itself, connecting palace and mosque in a powerful statement of the sultan's God-given authority. Even with the procession's longstanding grandeur, however, sultans before the eleventh/seventeenth century would reach their prayer loges through nothing more than a discreet private entrance. The pavilion at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque redressed this deficiency by providing the parade with its own architectural climax, one that gave solid expression to the idea of the ceremony as a nexus between the courtly, public, and spiritual spheres. What made this symbolism all the more potent was that it endured long after the impact of the royal visits themselves had subsided, implying the sultan's presence even in his absence. So effective was the feature that all subsequent imperial mosques would include it, a tangible demonstration of the sultan's increasingly public face.

34 For the history of this feature, see Kuran, *The evolution of the sultan's pavilion*; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 125–129; Tanman, *Kasr-ı hümayun*. For an alternative view of its origins, see Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque* (as discussed in footnote 45 below).

35 Gontaut-Biron, *Ambassade* ii, 372; Sâfi, *Zübdetü't-tevârih* i, 52; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 516.

36 Boyar and Fleet, *A social history of Ottoman Istanbul*, 31, 37–39; İpşirli, *Osmanlılarda Cuma selâmlığı* 463–466.

2 New Approaches for Changing Times: The Emergence and Impact of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque

Despite Ahmed's personal achievement in overcoming the traditional restrictions, his successors trod rather more carefully, and it would take over a century for a sultan to build another mosque in the capital. This apparent reticence suggests a return to a more normative understanding of the sultanic mosque's significance, with glorious victory in holy war reasserting itself as a prerequisite—or at least desideratum—for royal self-commemoration. But if Ahmed had failed to amend earlier codes, his project seems nonetheless to have encouraged the pursuit of further alternative strategies in its wake. One such strategy was for the grandest level of patronage to be taken up by the *vālide sultāns*, queen mothers, who, as well as being exempt from any expectation of martial valor, were also growing in power during this period. And so it was Hadice Turhān (d. 1094/1683), mother of Mehmed IV (r. 1058–1099/1648–1687, d. 1104/1693), who erected Istanbul's other great eleventh/seventeenth-century foundation, the Yeni Cami in the busy shoreline district of Eminönü (figure 11.4).³⁷ Inaugurated in 1076/1665, the mosque had in fact been initiated as far back as 1006/1597 by another queen mother, Şāfiye Sultan (d. 1028/1619), but was abandoned when she lost her rank upon the accession of her grandson Ahmed. The walls of Şāfiye's mosque reached only as high as the lower windows when work was halted, and the site soon became covered over with houses and debris.³⁸ It was not until the great fire of 1070/1660 destroyed these dwellings that construction resumed under the patronage of Hadice Turhān Sultan, who is said to have been touring the district with the aim of helping its people when she first noticed the mosque's aborted walls.³⁹ Where Şāfiye had faced strong criticism for her legally dubious expropriation of the site, Hadice Turhān was praised for making good the enterprise and piously regenerating Eminönü, such that—to use Evliyā Çelebi's terms—a mosque of oppression (*zulmiyye*) was turned into one of justice (*'adliyye*).⁴⁰

37 For this mosque, see Ateş, *İstanbul Yeni Cami*; Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi* 137, 135–168; Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman women builders* 186–257, 272–274; Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque*.

38 Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi* 136–137; Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque at Eminönü* 63–64.

39 Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi* 137; Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque complex at Eminönü* 66.

40 Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque complex at Eminönü* 63–68. For Evliyā's account of the mosque, see Evliyā, *Seyahatnâme* i, 302, as quoted and discussed in Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque complex at Eminönü* 68, 70n48.



FIGURE 11.4 Yeni Cami, Istanbul, 1006–1076/1597–1665, with the royal pavilion on the left protruding from the prayer hall
 © JEAN-PIERRE BAZARD / WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

This narrative of redemption was fueled by the fact that most of the inhabitants of the site had been Jewish, which allowed the Islamization of Eminönü to be regarded as a sort of conquest in its own right. Already operative during the initial phase under Şāfiye,⁴¹ the anti-Jewish sentiment surrounding the project would have intensified in the sociopolitical climate of the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century, when the zealous and puritanical Kadızadeli movement exercised considerable influence in Istanbul, including in Hadice Turhān's own circle.⁴² Something of the Kadızadelis' hostility toward the *dhimmi* communities may be reflected in a later account by the chronicler Silāhdār Mehmed Agha (d. 1139/1726–1727), who, with reference to Eminönü's demographics and general dilapidation, wrote, "The abominable condition of the area was an affront to the religion and the state; the comple-

41 Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque complex at Eminönü* 61–63, 64.

42 *Ibid.* 66–68. For the Kadızadeli context, see Zilfi, *The politics of piety* 129–181.



FIGURE 11.5 Yeni Cami, royal pavilion viewed toward its entrance ramp, with the attached mosque on the left

PHOTO FROM İBRAHİM ATEŞ, *İSTANBUL YENİ CAMİ VE HÜNKAR KASRI* [ISTANBUL, 1977?], FIG. 39

tion of the mosque would guarantee prayers for the *valide* until the time of the Resurrection.”⁴³

Like the Sultan Ahmed, Hadice Turhân’s mosque is (from the perspective of eleventh/seventeenth-century audiences) a modernized reworking of the classical manner, its central dome loftier in profile than its tenth/sixteenth-century counterparts and its interior more lavishly tiled. Here, the royal pavilion has grown into a truly substantial brick-and-stone building entered by a monumental ramp that the sultana is said to have ascended by means of a palanquin (figure 11.5). The rooms to which the ramp leads survive with much of their palatial splendor intact.⁴⁴ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak has linked the scale and arrangement of the pavilion to Hadice Turhân’s status as a female patron: as well as providing a venue for her entourage, the building would have given her visual access to, and symbolic dominance over, parts of the complex that a

43 Quoted in Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque complex at Eminönü* 66.

44 For the pavilion, see Ateş, *İstanbul Yeni Cami* 17–46; Kuran, *The evolution of the sultan’s pavilion* 281–282; Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi* 157–159; Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman women builders* 220–237; Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque*; Yücel, *Yeni Cami hünkâr kasrı*.

royal woman could not enter.⁴⁵ She is, moreover, recorded as having used the pavilion as a vantage point from which to survey the building work, recalling Aḥmed's visits to his pavilion earlier in the century.⁴⁶ The structure thus stood as a conspicuous testament to the queen's munificent supervision.

But as much as the Yeni Cami became Hadıce Turhān's gift to the city, it was also designed to be used by her son, Meḥmed, and it is he rather than the queen mother who is eulogized in a poem that decorates the pavilion's interior. The verse hails Meḥmed as the sultan "who has subdued all" and whose "rule is full of conquests from the beginning to the end," likening him to Süleymān the Magnificent and the legendary hero Rustam.⁴⁷ Meḥmed's military record had, in reality, been a mixed bag up to this point, though his reign would soon see a number of impressive Ottoman victories—including the conquest of Crete—that brought the empire to its greatest territorial extent in Europe.⁴⁸ Even so, Meḥmed could not yet confidently claim a *gāzī*'s prerogative when the Yeni Cami was resumed, and the mosque must to some extent have been intended as a workaround, with the mother using her own wealth and entitlement to build something that might also serve as a monument to her son.⁴⁹ Although the seeds of this solution had been sown long before by Şāfiye,⁵⁰ the likelihood of its success had grown by the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century in tandem with the stature of the queen mother herself. Hadıce Turhān in particular often acted as her son's proxy, representing him in the capital during his frequent retreats to Edirne.⁵¹ A physical outcome of this arrangement, the Yeni Cami likewise assumed the role of a substitute for what the sultan had left unperformed.

A still stronger conflation of mother and son would occur with the mosque of another *vālide sultān*, Emetu'llāh Rābī'a Gülnüş (d. 1127/1715) (figure 11.6). Located in Üsküdar and completed in 1122/1710, the Yeni Valide Mosque has

45 Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque*, esp. 74–77. I do not agree with Thys-Şenocak's assertion that the early eleventh/seventeenth century witnessed no significant ceremonial changes to explain the advent of the royal pavilion at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and that the feature may therefore have originated as a gendered space in the Yeni Cami's original design. As I have discussed above, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque was from the outset associated with highly augmented ceremonial practices that provide a logical context for the pavilion's introduction there.

46 Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 357; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 512.

47 Translated by Hakan Karateke in Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman women builders* 220–222.

48 Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire* 209–213; Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman women builders* 218.

49 Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman women builders* 218, 222–224.

50 Thys-Şenocak, *The Yeni Valide Mosque* 64.

51 Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman women builders* 104–106, 269–270.



FIGURE 11.6 Yeni Valide Mosque, Üsküdar, Istanbul, 1120–1122/1708–1710
PHOTO COURTESY OF WALTER B. DENNY

since the late twelfth/eighteenth century been misattributed to Gülnüş's son Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1115–1143/1703–1730, d. 1149/1736), who is said to have built it in her honor.⁵² But the period's official chronicler, Râşid, as well as the mosque's own inscriptions leave us in no doubt that Gülnüş herself was the patron, even if the building was meant to stand in for her son too.⁵³ Installed on the throne through a revolution in 1115/1703, Ahmed III is famous for presiding over Istanbul's reinvigoration following a long absence by the court, which had been based in Edirne for much of the preceding half century.⁵⁴ He fared less well on the international stage, however. His reign followed on from the aftermath of the disastrous Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1094/1683, which spelled an end to

52 For the mosque, see Ayvansarâyî, *The garden of the mosques* 493–494; Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 365–366; Haskan, *Yüzyıllar boyunca Üsküdar* i, 379–391; Kuban, *Ottoman architecture* 384–386; Özgüleş, *The women who built* 157–184. Of these authors, all but Haskan and Özgüleş erroneously credit the mosque to Ahmed III, as too does Crane (*The Ottoman sultan's mosques* 189).

53 Râşid and Âşım, *Târih-i Râşid* ii, 797, 848–849; Haskan, *Yüzyıllar boyunca Üsküdar* i, 380–382, 387–388.

54 For the architectural boom that that followed the court's return in 1115/1703, see Artan, *Architecture as a theatre of life*; Artan, *Istanbul*; Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, esp. 17–75; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 20–55.

the empire's expansion, and though his armies were able to recover certain territories from the Venetians, he was compelled to cede Serbia to the Habsburgs in 1130/1718.⁵⁵ Little wonder, then, that an imperial mosque was not among the numerous architectural works that Aḥmed bestowed upon Istanbul after the court's return, and it was once again through the surrogacy of a queen mother that such a foundation came to be built.

That Aḥmed was able to profit so fully from his mother's mosque—even to the point of being latterly credited with it—was in part because of its location. Being outside the walled peninsula, and on the Asian side to boot, Üsküdar was not part of Istanbul strictly defined, and this points to another factor determining the decorousness of sultanic construction. Although Muṣṭafā 'Āli does not qualify his advice geographically, it seems that the conditions he outlines were felt to apply above all to the capital. Murād III may have stopped short of erecting a mosque in Istanbul, but he did not hesitate to have Sinān construct one in Manisa (991–994/1583–1586), replacing an earlier—and smaller—mosque he had built while a prince in that city.⁵⁶ Even Sinān's celebrated masterpiece, the Selimiye (976–982/1568–1574), may have been affected by locational concerns: despite presiding over a number of Ottoman victories, Selīm II (r. 974–982/1566–1574) did not personally lead the army as his father, Süleymān, had done, and this, as Gülru Necipoğlu has suggested, may partly explain why his foundation was built in Edirne rather than Istanbul.⁵⁷ As we are about to see, the limiting of the regulation to the capital—that is, the walled city—seems to have become codified by the twelfth/eighteenth century, and it was perhaps partly out of regard for this opinion that Gülnüş, knowing her mosque would be identified with her son, chose to build it in Üsküdar.

A more forthright approach could be taken by Aḥmed's immediate successor, Maḥmūd I (r. 1143–1168/1730–1754), whose now rather unremarkable reputation belies the high esteem in which he was held during the twelfth/eighteenth century. Following a shaky start, Maḥmūd emerged as a capable ruler both domestically and in the international arena. His standing was secured in 1152/1739 when his army, following years of war with both the Austrians and the Russians, defeated the former in Belgrade, winning back Serbia. The ensuing peace treaty with the Habsburgs compelled Russia to sign a treaty of its own, ending the war in the Ottomans' favor. An unprecedented thirty years of peace

55 Finkel, *Osman's dream* 253–333.

56 Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan* 256–265.

57 *Ibid.* 65–66.



FIGURE 11.7 Nuruosmaniye Mosque, Istanbul, 1161–1169/1748–1755, aerial view, with the Grand Bazaar in front and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in the right background. Photographed by ‘Ali Rıẓā’ Bey, ca. 1880s. Albumen print
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, DC. PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, ABDUL HAMID II COLLECTION [LC-USZ62-78322]

would follow between the empire and its Christian neighbors.⁵⁸ Having already shown himself to be a keen patron of the arts,⁵⁹ Maḥmūd wished to mark his empire’s good fortune by building a new royal mosque complex in the capital, the first to be established by a sultan since the Sultan Ahmed. Work on the monument began in 1161/1748 and reached completion in 1169/1755, shortly after Maḥmūd’s death and a year into the reign of his brother ‘Oṣmān III (r. 1168–1171/1754–1757), who claimed the building as his own and named it Nuruosmaniye—both “Light of the Ottomans” and “Light of ‘Oṣmān”—in dual reference to himself and the dynasty (figure 11.7).⁶⁰

58 For overviews of these events, see Finkel, *Osman’s dream* 355–371; Aksan, *Ottoman wars* 102–128.

59 Keskiner, Rüstem and Stanley, *Armed and splendid*; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 60–63, 68–82, 97–103.

60 For the mosque, see Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 382–387; Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*; Kuban, *Ottoman architecture* 526–536; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 111–169; Sav, *Nuruosmaniye Camii*; Suman, *Questioning an “icon of change.”*

As we shall see, Maḥmūd's decision to bring the imperial mosque back to life would rejuvenate the genre as whole, sparking a new boom in the sultans' own patronage of religious foundation for the next century and a half.⁶¹ This revival has received surprisingly little attention in the scholarship, which has tended to discuss late Ottoman architecture with reference to secular works that both reflect and reaffirm the notion that the postclassical period witnessed a decline in the sultanic mosque's cachet. Consistent as this view may seem with the many institutional and cultural changes that indeed transformed the empire in its final two centuries, the Nuruosmaniye and its heirs demonstrate that even the most traditional of building categories could flourish hand in hand with artistic novelty and broader processes of institutional modernization.⁶² Not only did the sultanic mosque remain meaningful in this shifting context, but it managed to reassert its preeminence in ways that continued to invoke—albeit differently from before—the ruler's status as defender and promoter of Islam.

The religiously and politically charged circumstances in which the Nuruosmaniye came into being are explained in a letter by Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel (d. 1790), a French consul and long-time resident of the Ottoman Empire: "The Sultan, before he can build a Temple, within the walls of Constantinople, must have gained some victory over the enemies of the Empire, or have extended the Ottomans possessions, and thereby merited the surname of *Gazi*, or Conqueror. Sultan Mahmoud, who had legally acquired this right, by gaining the battle of Grosca [Grocka], against the Germans, and taking Belgrade, never thought of building a Mosque at Scutari, but erected a very beautiful one within the capital."⁶³ Written by someone well acquainted with Ottoman custom, these words prove not only that the codes inherited from earlier centuries still carried considerable weight, but that they had been further refined to explicitly address the issue of location. Crowning Istanbul's second hill and situated in a prime spot next to the Grand Bazar, the Nuruosmaniye replaced a smaller nonroyal mosque that had fallen into disrepair, and so claimed the last

61 For an overview of these later mosques, see Crane, *The Ottoman sultan's mosques* 189–191. For this boom as it played out in the twelfth/eighteenth century, see Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*.

62 Indeed, my book on the architectural transformation of twelfth/eighteenth-century Istanbul centers on these mosques precisely because of their value as case studies. See Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, esp. 1–4, 13.

63 Peyssonnel, *Strictures and remarks* 194–195. For Peyssonnel's biography, see Depincé, *Compte* i, 158–162. His letter ("to the Marquis de N.") appears as a lengthy corrective appendix to the second edition of the memoirs of François de Tott (d. 1793), a French aristocrat of Hungarian origin who served as a military adviser to the Ottomans.

available spot on Istanbul's intramural skyline.⁶⁴ Much buzz surrounded the building, and the project's financial secretary, a certain Aḥmed Efendi, penned a rare and lengthy account of its construction, the *History of the noble mosque of Nuruosmaniye* (*Tārīh-i cāmī'-i şerīf-i Nūr-ı 'Osmānī*).⁶⁵ Throughout the text, Aḥmed Efendi emphasizes Maḥmūd's divinely inspired purpose in building the mosque, even referring to a chance encounter with a sage who supposedly inspired the sultan to enlarge the scheme.⁶⁶ He does not, however, mention the Ottomans' success at Belgrade as a reason for the project, and while this may seem to undermine Peyssonnel's explanation, it should be borne in mind that the text was written under Sultan 'Osmān, who could take no credit for the conquest and who tried in other ways to disassociate the mosque from his brother.⁶⁷ Notwithstanding the silence of the official discourse, then, Peyssonnel's account surely reflects a wider interpretation of the mosque as Maḥmūd's victory monument.

The Nuruosmaniye's triumphal message was redoubled by its novel appearance (figure 11.7). Although its construction harked back to historical precedent, the mosque looks quite unlike any of its forerunners. Its single dome, set high on four enormous arches, stands in contrast to the pyramidal vaulting typical of earlier mosques, and the semielliptical rather than quadrangular shape of its courtyard is a yet bolder departure from tradition. Even the choice of architect—an unconverted Greek named Simeon Kalfa—broke with custom.⁶⁸ Confirming the sense of newness is the mosque's exuberantly carved decoration, which is a highly original and distinctive interpretation of the Baroque (see figure 11.8). In spite of the modern tendency to view the style as a mark of the empire's decadence in the face of Western hegemony, the Ottoman Baroque sprang forth in the mid-1150s/early 1740s, on the back of the peace treaties of 1152/1739. It was, in other words, a manner born under favorable conditions, and its blatant engagement with Western models takes on a pointed significance when considered in light of the Ottomans' recent success at Bel-

64 On the location, see Peker, Return of the sultan.

65 This account is known from a single manuscript copy that is now in the İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi (MS. Türkçe Yazmalar 386). For an imperfect early twentieth-century print edition, see Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīh*. For a full transliteration and translation, see Aḥmed Efendi, Ahmed Efendi's *Tārīh*. For an alternative transliteration, see Aḥmed Efendi, Tarih. For analysis of the text, see Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nuruosmāniye*; Kuban, Tarih, imperfectly translated into English as Kuban, Notes; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 119–123, 132–133, 137–138, 147–148, 150–154.

66 Aḥmed Efendi, Ahmed Efendi's *Tārīh* 385–386, 447–448.

67 Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 111–112.

68 Ibid. 120, 147–148.



FIGURE 11.8 Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior of the prayer hall looking toward the royal prayer loge
AUTHOR'S PHOTO

grade, where the Habsburgs had left a number of new Baroque buildings.⁶⁹ Foreign and local audiences were deeply impressed by the style, and numerous commentators of the time opined that the Nuruosmaniye—the first truly monumental deployment of the Ottoman Baroque—was the finest mosque in Istanbul.⁷⁰ There is nothing in these assessments to indicate that the monument's innovative design was felt to compromise the seriousness of its function as an imperial mosque; on the contrary, the building's stylistic freshness made its meaning more current in the eyes of contemporary observers, for whom the more sober classical mode had lost appeal.

The Nuruosmaniye was not, however, a statement of *gāzī* expansionism of the type propounded in earlier centuries. Enough time had passed since the downturn in Ottoman military fortunes that even the retaking of a former possession might now be presented as a significant conquest. Not everyone, to be sure, can have deemed it such: in a dour social commentary written in about 1153/1740, the moralistic Sufi Faḫlīzāde 'Alī dismisses the Treaty of Belgrade as a trifling gain that would ultimately fuel the empire's complacent descent into decline.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the view recorded by Peyssonnel shows that some, at least, were prepared to accept the revised threshold for victory. Another difference from the past was that this victory brought no new expectations of conquest: having secured peace with Christendom, the Ottomans were content to set themselves on a more diplomatic course with their traditional enemies and pursue a more amicable position in the European balance of power. Their appropriation of the Baroque was in part a reflection of this realignment, which also entailed a sustained effort to update the empire's institutions with selective reference to Western military and technological models.⁷²

Self-assured though it was, then, the Nuruosmaniye celebrated the sultan less as a warrior on campaign—no sultan after Muṣṭafā II (r. 1106–1115/1695–1703) personally led his troops⁷³—than as a magnanimous presence on home turf. This image is richly expressed by the mosque's royal pavilion, which is here more fully integrated into the overall ensemble (figure 11.9). While still clearly an ancillary to the prayer hall, the pavilion is now clad in stone like the rest

69 Rüstern, *Ottoman Baroque*, esp. 70, 92, 154–169. For other assessments of the Ottoman Baroque, see Kuban, *Türk barok*; Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 380–419; Hamadeh, Ottoman expressions; Hamadeh, Westernization.

70 Rüstern, *Ottoman Baroque* 1, 154–157.

71 Kurz, *Ways to heaven* 28–30.

72 For aspects of this wider context, see Ágoston, Military transformation; Aksan, *Ottoman statesman*, esp. 42–46; Berridge, Diplomatic integration; Eldem, 18. yüzyıl, esp. 195–197; Naff, Ottoman diplomatic relations; Rüstern, *Ottoman Baroque* 164.

73 Özcan, Mustafa II 279.



FIGURE 11.9 Nuruosmaniye Mosque, royal pavilion, with the attached prayer hall visible on the far left

PHOTO COURTESY OF WALTER B. DENNY

of the monument. It has, moreover, lost much of its residential appearance: the suite of rooms has been reduced to a single salon, with the majority of the pavilion composed of fenestrated arcades that form a grand ramp and elevated gallery leading to the sultan's prayer loge. The resultant L-shaped structure helps to delineate a secondary courtyard around the back and side of the mosque, where the gates into the complex are located. This open area set the stage for the sultan's visits, and what the pavilion had lost in its palatial air, it more than made up for by furnishing the Friday parade with a statelier culmination.⁷⁴

Accounts of 'Osmān's inaugural visit to the mosque reveal how well the reconfigured pavilion complemented his ceremonial movements. Upon arriving at the precinct with a multitudinous cavalcade, 'Osmān dismounted his horse and, with a select entourage, entered the pavilion, whose generously sized arches rendered it a semiopen showcase for his passage. After a period of repose in the salon at the corner of the L, 'Osmān moved to the elevated gallery and watched as his grand vizier distributed robes of honor outside the ramp.

74 For the pavilion, see Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 129–132.

He then continued along the route into his loge within the mosque proper (figure 11.8). The highpoint of the ceremony came when the screens of the loge were momentarily opened to reveal the sultan to the congregation below, who prostrated themselves in salutation before proceeding to pray.⁷⁵

What made the Nuruosmaniye's pavilion so effective was its ability not only to flaunt sultanic spectacle, but also to prolong its impact. With every stage of the ceremony made architecturally manifest, the pavilion stood as a perpetual reminder of such occasions, accruing in symbolism with each subsequent royal visit. The increasingly theatrical approach to framing and memorializing the sultan's presence during the twelfth/eighteenth century reflected a further rise in the importance of royal visibility. The sultan's movements were watched with ever more interest by his subjects, a growing number of whom were themselves engaging in such outdoor activities as picnicking and promenading.⁷⁶ Whereas in previous centuries, the Friday parade was apt to be skipped every so often, nothing less than a weekly performance would now do, and any failure to undertake the procession caused real alarm. Public appetite to see the sultan could even have fatal results: after an outcry by his subjects, Maḥmūd was forced to attend prayer while so gravely ill that he died riding back to the palace.⁷⁷ It was also in this period that the sultan was expected to make morale-boosting appearances near the sites of great fires and other disasters.⁷⁸ Far from betraying overcompensation for waning power, this heightened culture of display was a hallmark of Eurasian (early) modernity, tied to the burgeoning of public space, social and physical mobility, and leisure.⁷⁹ The sultans took full advantage of these new opportunities for self-advertisement, presenting themselves ever more insistently to their subjects' eager gaze.

While martial prowess was no longer as important to the royal image in this postclassical climate, a sultan who ignored the criterion still risked censure. The Nuruosmaniye had engendered a conundrum: its construction revitalized a dormant practice that other sultans wished to capitalize on, but there were few new victories to justify further building work. 'Oṣmān III's successor, Muṣṭafā III (r. 1171–1187/1757–1774), was not to be put off, however. Having already built the small but stately Ayazma Mosque (1171–1174/1758–1761) in

75 Neftçi, Nuruosmaniye Camii açılış töreni; Rüstern, *Ottoman Baroque* 132–133.

76 Hamadeh, Public spaces; Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 2008, 48–75, 110–138.

77 Rüstern, *Ottoman Baroque* 135.

78 The practice seems to have originated in the tenth/sixteenth century but did not become common until the twelfth/eighteenth. See Cezar, Osmanlı devrinde; Karateke, Opium 114–115. Rüstern, *Ottoman Baroque* 134, 232.

79 For examples in other regions, see Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*; Ledoux-Prouzeau, *Les fêtes*; Melo, *Respect*; Naquin and Rawski, *Chinese society* 83–90; Tierney, *Urban festival*.



FIGURE 11.10 Laleli Mosque, Istanbul, 1174–1177/1760–1764, qibla façade of the prayer hall, with the royal pavilion on the right
AUTHOR'S PHOTO

Üsküdar in memory of his mother and brother,⁸⁰ the sultan embarked on his own foundation in the walled city, even as the empire was at peace. This mosque, the Laleli, was completed in 1177/1764, its largely Baroque form infused with prominent Byzantine references that make it one of the most distinctive of Istanbul's monuments (fig. 11.10).⁸¹ While its pavilion again takes the form of a dramatic ramped and arcaded passageway, the Laleli is smaller than the Nuruosmaniye and was originally built with a single minaret,⁸² perhaps to deflect the charge of unmerited extravagance. Muştafâ was evidently aware of the issue, for after being reluctantly drawn into war with Russia in 1182/1768, he

80 For this mosque, see Bilge, *Üsküdar Ayazma Camii*; Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, 387; Haskan, *Yüzyıllar boyunca Üsküdar ı*, 79–89; Kuban, *Ottoman architecture*, 543; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque 172–182*.

81 For this mosque, see Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 388–391; Neftçi, *Lâleli Külliyesi*; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque 182–198*, 210–211; Tanyeli, *Laleli Külliyesi*.

82 *Ayvansarâyî, The garden of the mosques* 25.

seized upon the opportunity to claim *gāzī* status. He made known his desire for the title in Ramaçān 1182/February 1769 and was granted it in Muḥarram/May following some early victories. Muṣṭafā's mosque could thus be retroactively legitimated, and it is telling that the second minaret—a royal prerogative—was added not long afterward.⁸³

But the war did not go well for the empire, and when, in Shawwāl 1184/February 1771, Muṣṭafā was hailed as a *gāzī* while attending Friday prayers at the Hagia Sophia, two members of the congregation—a Mevlevi dervish and his Arab companion—shouted, “It is a lie! He is no *gāzī*!” (*yalandır, gāzī değildir*). The event was noteworthy enough that even the European press reported it.⁸⁴ Only when reconstructing the mosque of Meḥmed the Conqueror, which had been badly damaged in the earthquake of 1180/1766, was Muṣṭafā able to build without fear of criticism.⁸⁵ A stylistic throwback to the classical age, the new Fatih Mosque (1181–1185/1767–1771) is far grander than the Laleli, demonstrating that the latter, for all the questions it raised, was still conceived with traditional restrictions in mind. That the Laleli came to be known after its district rather than by the name of its founder may be another indication that Muṣṭafā was understood to be skirting the rules and that a surer means of following in the Nuruosmaniye's footsteps had yet to be hit upon.⁸⁶

3 Hearts and Minds: The Beylerbeyi Mosque and the Rhetoric of Beneficence

The Laleli was the last mosque to be built in the walled city by a sultan,⁸⁷ though far from the last to be built in greater Istanbul. Utilizing the locational loophole, the rulers who came after Muṣṭafā erected their foundations instead along the Bosphorus, and in so doing embraced a tactic that was both beyond reproach and more enduringly suited to the empire's new realities. The pattern was set by Muṣṭafā's half-brother and successor, ‘Abdü'l-ḥamīd I (r. 1187–1203/1774–1789), whose reign was itself marked by momentous developments

83 Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 182, 185. For the military background, see Aksan, *Ottoman wars* 149–151.

84 Göksu, *Müellifi meçhûl bir rûznâme* 17; Hoey's *Dublin Mercury*, Intelligence.

85 For this mosque, see Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 394–395; Kuban, *Ottoman architecture* 538–540; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 212–219.

86 Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 182–183.

87 To be sure, royal patronage of mosques within the intramural city continued on a limited basis, though no new sultan's foundations were established: see Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 288n29.

in Ottoman sultanic identity. ‘Abdü’l-ḥamīd had inherited a beleaguered realm still at war with Russia, and though he quickly brought the conflict to an end in 1188/1774, the peace treaty signed at Küçük Kaynarca forced the empire to relinquish control of the Crimea, only for war to resume in 1201/1787 after Russia invaded the peninsula.⁸⁸ The sultan’s inability to present himself as a victor in battle was counterbalanced, however, by a more convincing claim to power: having already been recognized in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca as the religious leader of the Crimean Muslims, he was formally invested as caliph in 1204/1779.⁸⁹

The move to strengthen the Ottoman caliphate’s legal framework continued a trend that can be traced back to the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century and that accelerated in the 1130s–1140s/1720s, when the Ottoman ulama—rebuffing the claims of the Afghan ruler Shah Ashraf Hotak (r. 1137–1142/1725–1729, d. 1142/1730) to a localized caliphate—formulated new juridical arguments in favor of the sultan’s unique position over all the world’s Muslims.⁹⁰ A member of the Sunni Hotaki dynasty, which had wrested control of Iran from the Safavids in 1135/1722, Ashraf was in turn ousted in 1142/1729 by Nādir Afshār (r. 1148–1160/1736–1747), a military commander who restored the Safavids to power before putting himself on the throne in 1148/1736. (The Ottomans themselves had tried to grab a chunk of Iran in the wake of the Safavids’ initial fall, though their gains were short lived.) The newly ascendant Nādir Shah, whose successors would rule Iran until 1210/1796, was eager to improve relations with the Ottomans by declaring Shi’ism a fifth school—the Ja’fari *madhhab*—of orthodox Islam, a step that entailed disallowing such provocative practices as the cursing of the first three “Rightly Guided” caliphs.⁹¹ Although Nādir’s request for recognition of the Ja’fari school was ultimately rejected by the Ottomans, and war between the two states would continue intermittently into the thirteenth/nineteenth century, the fall of the Safavids had, by the 1140s/1730s, essentially removed the specter of Shi’ism both as a practical threat and as an ideological foil, and some degree of rapprochement between Iran and

88 Aksan, *Ottoman wars* 157–170.

89 On the significance of the caliphate to ‘Abdü’l-ḥamīd, see Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi kaleminden* 211–225. The investiture is briefly recorded with the words “Investiture Califale: enfin consommée” in a summary of a French diplomatic dispatch dated 3 December 1779. I was not able to find the letter summarized by this entry, nor any further information on this event. See Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes, 166PO/A/55, 227b.

90 Akbulut, *The scramble* 135–159; Tucker, *Peace negotiations* 20–22. For the eleventh/seventeenth-century background to this development, see Emecen, *Hilâfetin devri* 562; and the chapter by Selim Güngörürler in the present volume.

91 Tucker, *Nadir Shah*; Tucker, *Peace negotiations*, esp. 25–32.

the Ottomans ensued.⁹² This new relationship, which built on earlier attempts at ecumenical dialogue with the Safavids that are analyzed by Selim Gönörürler in the present volume, meant that confessionalization as defined with reference to a Shi'i other was no longer an especially relevant concern for the Ottomans. In these altered circumstances, a different mode of Sunnitization—one designed to augment the sultan's religious and social leadership—came increasingly to the fore.

As Madeline Zilfi has discussed, both Muştafâ and 'Abdü'l-ḥamîd formalized existing notions of the sultan as "scholar-master" by establishing the custom of the *ḥużūr-ı hümmāyün dersleri* (Imperial Command Lectures) held at the palace during Ramadan. These annual events, which began in 1172/1759 and continued until 1340/1922, involved multiple sessions attended by various members of the ulama, who would gather in the sultan's presence as lecturers and respondents to debate the Quranic commentary of the medieval Hanafi jurist 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 691/1291?).⁹³ Besides being staged for the benefit of a courtly audience, including female spectators screened off by curtains, the lectures had a public dimension: each was preceded by a grand cavalcade that broadcast the sultan's diligence in mingling with and nourishing his empire's clerics, whose status had more generally risen over the course of the twelfth/eighteenth century.⁹⁴ Concurrent with—and related to—Muştafâ and 'Abdü'l-ḥamîd's sponsorship of the lectures was a tightening of social regulations, aimed in particular at curbing the perceived transgressions of women and non-Muslims.⁹⁵ Two sides of the same coin, the spiritual fervor and moralistic agenda of these years belonged to what Zilfi has characterized as a series of "calculated responses" by which the sultans addressed "the gradual transformation of an authority derived from war to an authority based on social stability."⁹⁶

These multipronged responses—already operative by the middle decades of the twelfth/eighteenth century—paved the way for the more overt invoca-

92 Özervarlı, *Between tension and rapprochement*; Tucker, *The peace negotiations*, esp. 33–36.

93 Zilfi, *A medrese*. On the longer history of the Ottoman sultans as patrons of Hanafi doctrine and overseers of piety, see Burak, *The second formation*; and the chapter by Evren Sünnetçioğlu in the present volume.

94 Zilfi, *A medrese* 188. On the rising status of the ulama, see Zilfi, *The politics of piety* 43–80, 183–235.

95 Zilfi, *A medrese* 189. For such regulation more generally in the twelfth/eighteenth-century Ottoman context, see Başaran, *Selim III*; Tuğ, *Politics of honor*; Zarinebaf, *Crime* 125–140; Zilfi, *Women* 45–95.

96 Zilfi, *A medrese* 190–191.

tions of religious stewardship that would follow Küçük Kaynarca. The resultant boost to the Ottoman caliphate's significance was felt both within and without the empire,⁹⁷ and it was also in these years that the legend arose concerning the Abbasids' supposed transfer of caliphal power to the Ottomans after the conquest of Mamluk Egypt.⁹⁸ Such elaborations of the sultan's spiritual role further bolstered the idea that his ability to serve Islam was not contingent on his conquering foreign territories or defeating "infidel" foes. Through good works, unstinting care for his subjects, and the protection of his existing dominions—which included the holy cities of Mecca and Medina—the sultan might continue to assert himself as an influential agent of the divine will.⁹⁹

The concept of sultanic superintendence found a fitting vehicle in the recently reenergized category of religious architecture, as 'Abdü'l-ḥamīd demonstrated with two major projects that he undertook in tandem with each other: the Beylerbeyi Mosque, built on the Asian shore between 1191/1777 and 1192/1778,¹⁰⁰ and the Hamidiye, a mosque-less complex constructed in the vicinity of the Yeni Cami between 1189/1775 and 1194/1780.¹⁰¹ The inception of the latter undertaking is recounted by the court chronicler Enverī, who tells us that the sultan wished to "build an exalted mosque and lustrous *'imāret* [public soup kitchen¹⁰²] for the sake of God Almighty in his sublime caliphal seat, and so he immediately expressed his kingly resolve to realize this good work. But most of the selected places already had mosques and maşjids, and it came to his pure mind that the noble mosque of Her Majesty the late Vālide Sulṭān—may she rest in peace—was in need of an *'imāret*."¹⁰³ Delicately sidestepping the

97 Arnold, *The caliphate* 163–183; Deringil, *The well-protected domains* 46–50; Karpat, *The politicization* 68–89.

98 Arnold, *The caliphate* 142–147; Deringil, *The well-protected domains* 46–47.

99 On the role of such religiosity in legitimating the Ottomans sultans, see Crane, *The Ottoman sultan's mosques* 193–201; Karateke, *Opium*.

100 For the Beylerbeyi Mosque, see Baraz, *Teşrifat meraklısı* i, 110–118; Batur, *Beylerbeyi Camii*; Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 397–399; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 234–250.

101 For the Hamidiye complex, see Alpay, I. Sultan Abdülhamid Külliyesi; Bülbül, iv. Vakıf Han'ın; Cunbur, I. Abdülhamid vakfiyesi; Eyice, Hamidiye Külliyesi; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 222–234.

102 This definition of *'imāret* became standard in the early modern period and displaced the word's earlier use as a term for the distinctive multifunctional T-type buildings (later converted into mosques) that are characteristic of early Ottoman architecture. See the chapter by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu in the present volume.

103 "Öteden-berü Halife-i kerâmet-âşâr ve Hâkân-ı ma'delet-kâr hazretleriniñ tab'-ı hümayün-ı hudivâneleri teکشir-i hayrât ve tevfir-i meberrâta ma'tûf olmağın Dârül-hilâfeti'l-'alîyeler-



FIGURE 11.11 Hamidiye Complex, Istanbul, 1189–1194/1775–1780, with the *seb'il* in the right center and the tomb partially visible on the far left. Albumen print by Basil Kargopoulo, 1875
GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, LOS ANGELES. PIERRE DE GIGORD COLLECTION [96.R.14 (A11.V2.F12B)]

obstacles that 'Abdü'l-ḥamīd would have faced had he attempted a more ambitious intramural scheme, this account emphasizes his pious purpose in enlarging the preexisting Yeni Cami complex. What he created was nonetheless a substantial complex in its own right, comprising not only a soup kitchen, but also a madrasa, library, primary school, *seb'il* (fountain kiosk), and his own eventual tomb (figure 11.11). (The soup kitchen and primary school are no longer extant, while the *seb'il* has been relocated.) Rather than being walled off, the buildings making up the complex hugged the busy street that passed through it and—through its exuberant Baroque stonework—appealed directly to the

inde li-vech'i'llāhi te'ālā bu ešnāda bir cāmī-i mu'allā ile bir 'imāret-i zibende binā tarḥ u inşā olunması zāmūr-i münir-i şehriyānelerine ilhām ve der'aḳab ol kār-ı hayrīñ kuvveden fi'le getirilmesin 'uhde-i mülūkānelerine iltizām buyurup lākin ihtiyār olunacaḳ maḥalleriñ ekşeri cevāmī' ü mesāciddin 'ibāret ve cennetmekān Vālide Sultān—ṭābete şerāhā—ḥāzretleriniñ cāmī-i şerifleri bir 'imārete muhtāc olduḡu 'aḳs-endāz-ı hāṭır-ı şāf-seriretleri olmaḡla." Enverī, *Tārīh* 477b.



FIGURE 11.12 Beylerbeyi Mosque, Beylerbeyi, Istanbul, 1191–1192/1777–1778, renovated 1235–1236/1820–1821

PHOTO COURTESY OF ANDY TEACH

people, generously serving them while emphatically identifying their benefactor, whose domed tomb was the stateliest element of the ensemble.

While ‘Abdü’l-ḥamīd refrained from incorporating a mosque into the Hamidiye Complex, the rather distant Beylerbeyi was from the outset understood as a related and complementary enterprise, with contemporary sources discussing them together (figure 11.12).¹⁰⁴ The sultan could make a virtue of the mosque’s decorous location, which affirmed the reach of his patronage by linking both continents of the city together. Like the Hamidiye, the Beylerbeyi is architecturally extroverted, its otherwise humble form enlivened by an eye-catchingly novel frontispiece: the royal pavilion, which, instead of being a dependency attached to the corner, has here been fused with the prayer hall’s entrance porch, replacing the courtyard and giving the mosque an entirely original kind of façade.¹⁰⁵ This reconfiguration was probably a result of the mosque’s placement on the Asian shore, which left its entrance facing the water. The unknown architect (traditionally held to be Meḥmed Ṭāhir Agha

104 Ayvansarāyī, *The garden of the mosques* 480–486; Cunbur, I. Abdülhamid vakfiyesi 37; Enverī, *Tārīh*, 569a.

105 Kuran, *The evolution of the sultan’s pavilion* 282.



FIGURE 11.13 Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior looking toward the entrance, with the royal prayer loge on the right
AUTHOR'S PHOTO

(d. after 1202/1788) took advantage of this topographical good fortune to build a mosque that could evoke a waterfront palace, thereby returning the pavilion to its formerly residential character. Inside, the scheme entailed moving the lattice-screened royal loge from its usual position near the qibla wall to the back of the prayer hall, so that the sultan now overlooked the congregation below (figure 11.13). Conceptually collapsing the distance between ruler and ruled, this fusion of palace and mosque recalls the spatial arrangement of the Imperial Divan, where any Ottoman subject could seek justice from the sultan's representatives under a grilled window from which the sovereign himself might be watching.¹⁰⁶

106 A domed structure located in the second court of the Topkapı Palace, the Imperial Council (Divân-ı Hümayûn) was constructed in the tenth/sixteenth century and redecored in the Baroque style in 1207/1792, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, ceremonial, and power* 58–61; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 243–244, 261–262. Başaran and Başak Tuğ argue that the Imperial Council was no longer used for the hearing of petitions by the twelfth/eighteenth century, when the grand vizier held his own assemblies at the Sublime Porte. The sources, however, reveal that the council continued to convene at the Divan and hear petitioners'



FIGURE 11.14 View of the Beylerbeyi Mosque from the Bosphorus during a visit by Maḥmūd II, showing the original single minaret. By Wolf after Ludwig Fuhrmann, from Edward Raczyński, *Dziennik podróży do Turcyi odbytey w roku MDCCCXIV* (Wrocław, 1821), pl. 44. Engraving on paper
COURTESY OF THE OSSOLIŃSKI NATIONAL INSTITUTE, WROCLAW [13.737]

Although seemingly an ad hoc experiment inspired by a particular setting, the Beylerbeyi's arrangement proved a far-reaching success, establishing a new paradigm that almost all subsequent imperial mosques would follow. Its popularity is not difficult to explain. The foregrounding of the pavilion yielded an aesthetically and symbolically cohesive design that proclaimed the mosque's royal status without the expense of a courtyard, even in the absence of monumental scale. As we can see from an engraving of Beylerbeyi during a visit by 'Abdü'l-ḥamīd's son Maḥmūd II (r. 1223–1255/1808–1839) in 1229/1814, the pavilion frontage also served as an impressive backdrop to processions by water, which the sultans were undertaking with growing frequency when attending Friday prayers (figure 11.14).¹⁰⁷ This same image shows the mosque with its origi-

complaints on a regular, if less frequent, basis. Başaran, *Selīm III* 184–185; Tuğ, *Politics of honor* 75–78; Mouradgēa d'Ohsson, *Tableau général* vii, 213–220; Watkins, *Travels* ii, 224, 226 (this corrects an erroneous reference in my book); Pertusier, *Promenades* ii, 277–278.

107 The engraving, made after a drawing by the artist Ludwig Fuhrmann, appears together with another scene of the visit in Raczyński, *Dziennik podróży*, plates 43–44, reproduced and discussed in Rüstēm, *Ottoman Baroque* 245–247.

nally single minaret; the two that stand today were added in between 1235/1820 and 1236/1820–1821 by Maḥmūd, who enhanced the building to reflect the unanticipated prestige it had come to enjoy.

The creation and impact of the Beylerbeyi were embedded in a larger phenomenon of shoreline development that had begun with the court's return to Istanbul in 1115/1703. In a process analyzed by Tülay Artan and Shirine Hamadeh, the Bosphorus was transformed during the twelfth/eighteenth century into a ceremonial thoroughfare dotted with sultanic and elite residences.¹⁰⁸ The addition of the mansion-like Beylerbeyi to this avenue consolidated the royal presence in explicitly religious terms, and this model was perpetuated well into the thirteenth/nineteenth century by a series of mosques that, as well as emulating the Beylerbeyi's plan, were likewise located along or close to the water.¹⁰⁹ The wholesale shifting of imperial mosque patronage to the shoreline suburbs represented a notable break from earlier norms, and one that was a wise move in several regards. Besides providing an elegant solution to the rule described by Peyssonnel, the suburbs offered the sultans fertile new ground to extend their largesse beyond the crowded walled city by building up the areas around their mosques, which typically came with public drinking fountains and in some cases more extensive dependencies.

The potential of this approach was fully recognized by 'Abdü'l-ḥamīd's nephew and successor, the reformist Selīm III (r. 1203–1222/1789–1807, d. 1223/1808), whose self-named Selimiye Mosque in Üsküdar was the centerpiece of an entire new neighborhood complete with gridded streets, shops, and factories (figure 11.15).¹¹⁰ Erected between 1216/1802 and 1220/1805, the hilltop mosque was a careful fusion of earlier Ottoman Baroque experiments, combining the Beylerbeyi's pavilion-fronted arrangement with the elegance and loftiness of the Nuruosmaniye. Among the other buildings of Selīm's new district were barracks for his famous Nizām-ı Cedīd (New Order) army—a modern infantry trained on Western models¹¹¹—and a dervish lodge for the Naqsh-

108 Artan, *Architecture as a theatre of life*; Artan, Istanbul 305–308; Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures* 17–47.

109 For a survey of these mosques, see Berberoğlu, *Boğazın incileri*. For their architecture, see Wharton, *The architects*.

110 For the mosque and its district, see Batur, *Selimiye Camii*; Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* 413; Kuban, *Ottoman architecture* 545; Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 256–265. For the Selimiye's formal and symbolic impact on Maḥmūd II's Nusretiye Mosque (1238–1241/1823–1826), see Rüstem, *Victory*, esp. 101–102.

111 For the barracks, see Batur, *Selimiye Kışlası*; Kuban, *Ottoman architecture* 555. For the political and military background, see Aksan, *Ottoman wars* 180–258; Finkel, *Osman's dream*, 389–422; Shaw, *Between old and new*; Yayıcioglu, *Partners* 38–63.



FIGURE 11.15 Selimiye Mosque, Üsküdar, Istanbul, 1216–1220/1802–1805, view toward the mosque's right side, with the royal pavilion projecting toward the foreground (the original minaret caps were conical). Albumen print by Abdullah frères, 1880–1893

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C. PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, ABDUL HAMID II COLLECTION [LC-USZ62–81873]

bandi order, who, together with the Mevlevi, were enthusiastic advocates of Selim's reforms.¹¹² The support that Selim enjoyed from these unimpeachably orthodox Sufi groups shows once again how central Sunnism remained to the Ottoman royal brand in this late period, even if certain quarters of the ulama joined with the janissaries in opposing the New Order.¹¹³ As if to accentuate the message, the Selimiye's Naqshbandi lodge was built opposite the famous shrine of the eighth/fourteenth-century saint *Çaraca Ahmed*, who was venerated by the janissary-affiliated Bektashi order. The confrontational juxtaposition of state-backed (and state-backing) orthodox Sufis and their questionable "heterodox" rivals emblemized the Selimiye's commitment to righteous modernization.¹¹⁴ Clearly visible from across the Bosphorous, this striking new socioreligious complex announced to the wider city that Selim's reforms were being undertaken for the well-being of the state, and hence of Islam itself.

The Selimiye's visual and topographical impact points to another reason behind the growing preference for such suburban patronage. Away from the massive landmarks and dense fabric of the walled city, the later mosques faced less competition and could continue to impress despite being smaller than their intramural forerunners. Revised traditions of architectural decorum further secured the mosques' legibility as imperial works: the recently introduced pavilion façade entrenched itself as an unmistakable sultanic marker, and even the use of a domed prayer hall—previously commonplace in non-royal commissions—became rare at other levels of patronage after the mid-twelfth/eighteenth century, at least as far as Istanbul was concerned. And so while numerous servants of the state and other well-to-do individuals joined the ruler in erecting new mosques in the expanding capital, their contributions generally made use of hipped roofs that posed no real challenge to their domed sultanic counterparts, which thus rose as beacons of kingly munificence along the city's mushrooming shoreline suburbs.¹¹⁵ The reduced scale of these later sultanic mosques might even bolster their credibility as symbols of the gener-

112 For the lodge, which was rebuilt between 1250/1834 and 1251/1835–1836 and is today known as the *Küçük Selimiye Çiçekçi Mosque*, see Haskan, *Yüzyıllar boyunca Üsküdar* i, 142–157; Tanman, *Selimiye Tekkesi*. For Selim's Sufi backers, see Heyd, *The Ottoman 'ulemā*, esp. 33; Weismann, *Naqshbandiyya* 77–78; Yayıoğlu, *Janissaires*; Yayıoğlu, *Partners* 50, 58–61.

113 Heyd, *The Ottoman 'ulemā* 33.

114 For *Çaraca Ahmed's* shrine, which is part of an eponymous cemetery, see İşli, *Karacaahmet Mezarlığı*. On the reformists' hostility toward the janissaries and Bektashis, see Heyd, *The Ottoman 'ulemā* 41–42. On the role of the Sufis in backing the Ottoman sultanate (and caliphate) in earlier periods, see Yılmaz, *Caliphate*.

115 Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque* 293n10. For Istanbul's thirteenth/nineteenth-century expansion, see Çelik, *The remaking*.



FIGURE 11.16 Ortaköy Mosque (Büyük Mecidiye Mosque), Ortaköy, Istanbul, completed 1271/1854, view of a royal visit for the Friday prayer. Photographed by Pascal Sébah, 1885. Albumen print
GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, LOS ANGELES. PIERRE DE GIGORD COLLECTION [96.R.14 (A9.F24B)]

ous but commanding hold of their founders: with the prayer hall diminished in size as the pavilion acquired greater prominence, these spaces assumed the nature of royal chapels where worshippers were permitted the honor of praying under the sovereign's auspices.¹¹⁶

The conceit of sultanic attentiveness was underscored by the lavish visits that regularly enlivened these monuments, which constituted new destinations in an already busy ceremonial roster (figure 11.16). Crisscrossing the waterways, the multiplied processional routes associated with this building activity formed a citywide network that spoke of the sultan's comprehensive and beneficent dominance, an idea physically substantiated by the mosques themselves. Indeed, more than any other kind of Ottoman imperial foundation, the post-

116 The comparison to chapels is made (although framed almost as a deficiency) also in Crane, *The Ottoman sultan's mosque* 190, 193, 205.

Beylerbeyi model treats the royal presence as a precondition of its design: the pavilion stands front and center always ready to receive the sultan, forever concretizing his position among—and over—his subjects. It is their promise of perpetual access to the ruler that renders the later mosques such effective encapsulations of the state's religiopolitical ideology. Wielding the concept of royal piety in terms that built on Aḥmed I's daring experiment, the imperial mosque in its final form absolved the sultan from the obligations of a holy warrior. To serve the Sublime State as God's chosen representative was, these monuments declared, victory enough.

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PART 3

*Sunnis, Shi'is, and Kızılbaş:
The Context- and Genre-Specific
Nature of Confessional Politics*



Neither Victim Nor Accomplice: The Kızılbaş as Borderland Actors in the Early Modern Ottoman Realm

Ayşe Baltacıoğlu-Brammer

The leaders of the Safaviyya order with its center in Ardabil, a relatively small city in northwestern Iran, put immense efforts into recruiting followers from among Turkoman (and Kurdish) tribesmen in Anatolia beginning in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century. By the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, as the movement completed its transformation into a Shi'i military-cum-political group under the leadership of Junayd (d. 869/1460) and his son Ḥaydar (d. 893/1488), Safavid efforts consequently evolved from mostly uncoordinated endeavors aiming to gain followers for the order to a series of semiofficial and programmatic policies of recruiting full-fledged adherents to their cause. These adherents were called Kızılbaş, meaning “read head” in Turkish, due to a crimson twelve-gored headpiece that they wore, which signified their devotion to the Twelve Shi'i Imams, as well as to the leaders of the Safavid movement.¹ This new type of loyalty under the Safavid banner often times meant sending money to the Safavid state via its agents, serving as soldiers in the shah's army, and in many cases migrating to the Safavid realm. The relatively small number of Kızılbaş in greater Iran, where most of the population were either nominally Sunni or politically distant from the movement, made Anatolia (and to a lesser extent Iraq and Syria) even more attractive for the Safavid leaders in their attempts to find a loyal base.² The Safavid leaders, continuing

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- 1 For a detailed discussion on the gradual crystallization of the Safavid Sufi order into a Shi'i religiopolitical movement under the Safavid banner, see Baltacıoğlu-Brammer, *The emergence of the Safavids*; Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Safavids*; Abbaslı, *Safevilerin kökenine dair*; Anooshahr, *Turkestan and the rise of Eurasian empires* 56–83; Musalı, *Şeyh İbrahim Safevi döneminde Erdebil Tekkesi*; Pourahmadi-Amlashi and Zeylabpour, *Sheikh Ibrahim Safavi Morshid-e Ghomnam*; Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd*; Sümer, *Safevi devleti'nin kuruluşu*.
 - 2 Sultan Ya'qub (d. 896/1490), the ruler of the Aq Qyunlu state, in his letter to Sultan Bâyezîd II (d. 918/1512) specifically mentions Ḥaydar's brutality against the locals including “nursing babies, women, and elderly” to explain Safavids' unpopularity in Azerbaijan. Ferîdün Beg, *Münşe'âtü's-selâtin* i, 302–304. One should also mention the linguistic connection between the Turkish-speaking Safavid leaders and most of the inhabitants of Anatolia as a reason for this affinity.

with Shah Ismā'īl (r. 907–930/1501–1524) and Shah Tahmāsb (r. 930–984/1524–1576), primarily strengthened their position by addressing certain vulnerabilities and sensibilities of the inhabitants of the region stemming from various sociopolitical and financial grievances, as well as millenarian anxieties,³ by offering a communal identity, a sense of security, and a series of possibilities for advancement. The end result was that by the mid-tenth/sixteenth century, if one is to believe some of the Ottoman, Safavid, and European sources, the Kızılbaş constituted the majority of the population in Anatolia with a heavy presence not only in rural areas but also in urban centers, including Istanbul.⁴

Modern historiography's initial attempts to tackle the Kızılbaş question was, however, inconsistent, if not problematic. At the outset, according to the Turkish historians-cum-politicians of the early twentieth century, whose staunch nationalist agenda shaped the nature of history writing in the first decades of the newly founded Turkish republic, the existence of the Kızılbaş population in the early modern Ottoman realm was never more than an "aberration" because, according to them, Shi'ism and "Turkishness" have been historically incompatible with each other.⁵ On the other hand, a number of scholars in the second half of the century, while recognizing the existence of a substantial Kızılbaş community in early modern Anatolia, have overemphasized either the influence of pre-Islamic beliefs and traditions, the ignorance of local populations, or the intensity and permanence of the Sunni Ottoman administration's persecution of its non-Sunni (in this case, the Kızılbaş) subjects of the empire.⁶ Consequently, the Ottoman Kızılbaş existed in these foundational works mostly as the passive followers of the Safavid court against whom Istanbul's "keen sword" swung ceaselessly.

3 For detailed discussions on millenarian anxieties in the early modern period, see Subrahmanyam, *Turning the stones*; Fleischer, *The Lawgiver*; Özel, *Population changes*; Babayan, *Mystics, monarchs, and messiahs*; Bashir, *Deciphering the cosmos*; Bashir, *Messianic hopes*; Ocak, *Syncrétisme et esprit messianique*.

4 Minorsky, *Shaykh Bali-Efendi* 438, n. 4; Baha Said Bey, *Türkiye'de Alevi zümreleri* 404–406; Baştaoğlu, *16. asırda yazılmış* 178–180.

5 Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*; Günaltay, *Türk-İslam tarihine eleştirel bir yaklaşım*, and for a later era example of this approach, see Saray, *Türk: İran münâsebetlerinde*. The so-called "Köprülü paradigm" has been widely criticized by several scholars. See, for instance, Karamustafa, *Origins of Anatolian Sufism*; Dressler, *Writing religion*; Karakaya-Stump, *The Kizilbash-Alevi*.

6 Bardakçı, *Alevilik*; Ocak, *Babailer isyanı*; Ocak, *Alevi ve Bektaşî inançlarının*; Ocak, *Din ve düşünce*; Mélikoff, *Uyur idik uyardırıldar*; Arjomand, *The shadow of God* 79; Cahen, *Le problème du Shi'isme* 120; Eröz, *Türkiye'de Alevilik Bektaşîlik*; Roemer, *The Qizilbash Turcomans*; Imber, *The persecution*; Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-Iran siyasi münâsebetleri*.

The revisionist historiographical wave of the late twentieth and the early twenty-first century has rightfully criticized these previous approaches and broadened our horizon not only about the early modern Kızılbaş movement, but also about the nature of the Ottoman state and society in general.⁷ With a new set of concepts, debates, and perspectives to evaluate the past, recent studies have (re)contextualized the sociopolitical and religious undercurrents of the era to meaningfully evaluate the early modern Ottoman state and its involvement in the creation and dissemination of religious narratives and policies. Drawing on the studies examining the efforts taken by the state authorities in early modern Europe toward confessional uniformity, several historians of the eastern Mediterranean have recently proposed to reassess the Ottoman state's increasing emphasis on sectarian standardization in the early modern era under the rubric of "confessionalization." While Marcus Dressler has characterized these efforts of the Ottoman state as "inventing orthodoxy,"⁸ Tijana Krstić has convincingly argued that the Ottoman central authority's efforts at confession building in fact aimed "higher" than simply defining a confessional identity for its subjects, because a "tendency to sacralize authority exercised by the ruler" was also a way of maintaining social discipline.⁹ The Ottoman state's increasing emphasis on Sunnism in the highest political and scholarly circles was also noted by Hüseyin Yılmaz, who pointed to a sharp increase in the number of Ottoman polemical and nonpolemical accounts written during and/or right after Istanbul's military engagements with the Safavids, which depicted the Ottoman dynasty as the one chosen by God.¹⁰ At the same time, however, Derin Terzioğlu has argued that Ottoman Sunnitization was a "continuation of pre-existing trends" with multifaceted causes rather than "simply a politically minded response to the rise of the Safavids," and that a wider set of issues must be considered in order to get a better understanding of the phenomenon.¹¹

Although these scholars established that the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry radically changed the Ottoman imperial and scholarly language, their works' heavy emphasis on confession building has perpetuated—as an unintended consequence, I would say—the dichotomy between the Sunni Ottoman rulers and their non-Sunni/Kızılbaş subjects. As a response, this article, while building upon recent studies that have reevaluated Ottoman religious politics, inte-

7 See the scholarship produced by Yıldırım, Karakaya-Stump, and Zarinebaf listed in the bibliography.

8 Dressler, *Inventing orthodoxy* 141.

9 Krstić, *Contested conversions* 14.

10 Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined* 218–228.

11 Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 305.

grates a new set of questions into the picture to challenge the long-held view that the relationship between the Sunni rulers and their Kızılbaş subjects was irreconcilable and characterized by the state's perpetual persecution of the "defenseless" and/or "powerless" confessional nonconformists.¹² This is only possible with an in-depth examination and synthesis of the Ottoman imperial sources which reveals that, as a unique population situated in between the two mighty empires, the Ottoman Kızılbaş were neither the passive followers of the Safavid court nor the defenseless victims of the "never-ending" Ottoman persecution. On the contrary, even though Istanbul from time to time pursued policies targeting the Kızılbaş en masse, the same community embodied regional, socioeconomic, and political heterogeneity, and shaped the nature of the relationship between the Ottoman and Safavid courts. The Kızılbaş also indirectly influenced the formation and development of sectarian identities at both the state and the individual levels in the early modern era, from Ottoman Sunnism to Safavid Shi'ism and everything in between. While acknowledging possible limitations of relying on the sources written by the "ruler," not by the "ruled," I should note that this is an intentional approach as the goal here is to reexamine the status of the Kızılbaş and the power that they wielded vis-à-vis the political establishments of the region (i.e., the Ottoman and Safavid states) by scrutinizing the mundane-looking and often straight-forward state documents and narratives, which on the surface are heavily informed by sectarian language.¹³ The voice of the Kızılbaş as a substantial power holder of the era manifests

12 Several historians have recently challenged this dichotomy from different angles. Vefa Erginbaş has successfully demonstrated the heterogenous nature of Sunnism in the Ottoman domains. See Erginbaş, *Problematizing Ottoman Sunnism*; Erginbaş, *Reading Ottoman Sunnism*. Stefan Winter brought further nuance to this picture by demonstrating the importance of pragmatism as the leading—yet often times neglected—factor that determined Istanbul's approach toward its Shi'i population, rather than confessional zealotry. Winter, *Shiites of Lebanon*. For a nuanced take on the ambiguities between Sunnism and Shi'ism in the context of medieval Anatolia, see Yıldırım, *Sunni orthodoxy vs. Shi'ite heterodoxy?*

13 The limited number of existing and available Kızılbaş sources provide us with certain clues on the sociopolitical and fiscal authority that the Ottoman Kızılbaş retained. See Karakaya-Stump, *Kızılbaş; Bektaşî, Safevi ilişkilerine dair*. However, one should mention that Kızılbaş sources carry their own limitations, since they mostly discuss the rules, regulations, and teachings of the Kızılbaş/Shi'i faith, religious and/or heroic poetry, or the pedigree of certain Kızılbaş families. The recent growing corpus on the Kızılbaş sources in general include Kaplan, *Yazılı kaynaklara göre Alevilik*; Kaplan, *Şeyh Safî buyruğu*; Ayyıldız, *Buyruk*; Birdoğan, *Alevi kaynakları*; Musalı, *Şeyh Safî Velâyetnâmesi*; Karakaya-Stump, *Documents and buyruk manuscripts*; Birdoğan, *Anadolu ve Balkanlar'da Alevi yerleşimleri*; Yaman, *Buyruk*; Taşğın, Bisâtî, *Şeyh Sâfî Buyruğu*; Yıldırım, *Geleneksel Alevilik*.

itself in these sources via the practices of conversion and reconversion, as well as the acts of negotiation, tax evasion, migration, and ultimately rebellion.¹⁴

Within this context, this chapter also problematizes the clear-cut boundaries between the sectarian camps in the early modern Middle East (i.e., Sunni Ottomans vs. Shi'i Safavids), as well as the depiction of the Kızılbaş population as caught in the middle, by elucidating the latter's vigorous and dynamic interactions with both sides based on individual and communal interests. To do so, I employ two broad frameworks. To begin with, I utilize the concept of "social conversion," which was coined by Richard Bulliet in his attempt to examine the Islamization, and later Shi'itization, of Iran.¹⁵ I use this concept to encapsulate the complexities of forming and shifting religious identities as behaviors with multifaceted thought processes, particularly in the early modern context denoting, in many cases, relocation "from one religiously defined social community to another" with nonreligious motivations playing a significant role in the process. Bulliet's approach, based on the argument that "leaving aside ecstatic converts, no one willingly converts from one religion to another if by virtue of conversion he markedly lowers his social status,"¹⁶ serves here as a significant tool for understanding the practice of political and religious conversion in the early modern Ottoman context, in which the members of the Kızılbaş community were active participants and negotiators rather than oblivious followers or the powerless victims of the imperial powers in play.¹⁷

The second framework that I employ in this article involves the notions of frontier, border, and borderland authority. As significant historical points of reference, borderlands in the early modern era revealed different state-society dynamics. These broadly defined "end territories," Palmira Brummet rightfully argues, were places "where one empire flowed into (and out of) another ... wars were fought, garrisons built, and allegiances tested."¹⁸ While the borders

14 A similar approach has been recently taken by several scholars in their attempts to scrutinize the Ottoman court's interaction with Kurdish tribes and tribal leaders. For instance, Baki Tezcan mentions an imperial document dating from the 930s/1530s giving privileges of hereditary rule to various Kurdish emirs in return for their loyalty to the Ottoman sultan, not the Safavid shah. See Tezcan, *The Development*. In a similar vein, Nelida Fuccaro examines the complexity of the Kurdish frontier between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires. See Fuccaro, *The Ottoman frontier in Kurdistan*.

15 Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*; Radushev, *The spread of Islam* 363–384.

16 Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam* 34, 41.

17 This approach can be criticized as being reductionist with its heavy emphasis on sociopolitical factors. While seeing this point, this study aims to strike a balance between the existing literature, in which the Kızılbaş have no power, and historical reality where, I argue, their power manifested itself via various forms and behaviors.

18 Brummet, *Mapping the Ottomans* 84.

of the Ottoman Empire with its western neighbors have been a popular topic among historians, the eastern Ottoman borders in the early modern era have not received comparable attention.¹⁹ A close reading of the sources reveals that in this context the Kızılbaş were an integral party in negotiating and maintaining the border between the Ottoman and Safavid empires, although by that I do not necessarily mean the conventional borders resulting from peace treaties but borders demarcated by sphere of influence that could sometimes be limited in one's own but extend deep into the other polity's territory. I call this type of demarcation of power and legitimacy as "domestic" or "inner" borders. Therefore, every Ottoman sultan and Safavid shah, being fully aware of the importance and the volatility of their borders, both in the sense of conventional and inner borders, had to (re)negotiate their position not only with the high-ranking members of their court and the provincial elites but also with the population(s) of the borderland regions, in this case the Kızılbaş, Kızılbaş-to-be, or former Kızılbaş. In return, these subjects amassed a significant degree of power as: the cultivators of the land and the providers of tax revenues; foot soldiers; the de facto intermediaries; defenders of the active border zones; and as the subjects who recognized one or the other state authority and thus played a key legitimating role. In other words, the three major participants in the political landscape of Anatolia (i.e., the Ottomans, the Safavids, and the Kızılbaş) were concerned either with the expansion of their empire and the upholding of their legitimacy (in the case of Ottoman and Safavid courts), or with the protection of their status and way of life (in the case of ordinary subjects and community/tribal leaders alike). These motivations and concerns resulted in the cultivation of certain practices that often times crossed the presumed boundaries of sectarian adherences both by the state and its subjects.

Last, but not least, it is also important to emphasize that the term Kızılbaş always carried multilayered social, political, and fiscal meanings for individuals and institutions within the Ottoman and Safavid realms. As I have shown elsewhere, the Ottoman central authority began to refer to the sympathizers (both Ottoman and non-Ottoman) of the Safavid court as "Kızılbaş" only immediately prior to the reign of Sultan Selīm I (r. 918–926/1512–1520), who changed the nature of the relationship between Istanbul and the Safavid court with open military engagements and fiscal sanctions. In this context, the term "Kızılbaş"

19 Recent works on the topic of borders between the Ottoman Empire and its neighbors include Peacock (ed.), *The frontiers of the Ottoman world*; Heywood, *The frontier in Ottoman history*; Ágoston, *A flexible empire*; Kołodziejczyk, *Between universalistic claims and reality*; Zarinebaf, *Rebels and renegades*; Schwarz, *Writing in the margins of empire*; Ateş, *Ottoman-Iranian borderlands*.

provided the negative labeling that the Ottoman central authority required to identify and pursue the enemy of the “religion and state” (*dīn-ü devlet*), given that the geopolitical legitimacy of Istanbul was at stake with the rapid emergence and expansion of the Safavid state on its eastern frontier.²⁰ As Guy Burak has cogently argued, this period also corresponds with the Ottomans’ adoption of the Hanafi *madhhab* as the official school of law under the aegis of the office of the chief mufti (or *şeyhül-islām*), bridging the gap between the Islamic (*sharia*) and sultanic (*kānūn*) law.²¹ Therefore, Ottoman policy makers, more often than not, disguised their nonreligious concerns with an increasingly sectarian rhetoric provided by various influential members of the same religious elite group. In the wake of this foundational period, the Ottoman court, starting with Süleymān the Magnificent (r. 926–974/1520–1566) and continuing for over a century, embraced a more complex approach toward both its Kızılbaş subjects and its rival, the Safavids, whereby the term Kızılbaş carried notably different, and in many cases conflicting, meanings depending on the context, as well as the genre of the documents in which such references were made.²²

Driven by the objective to emphasize the importance of fluidity and multi-causality behind the actions and loyalties, as well as the necessity to reconceptualize the importance of religion and religious belonging in the early modern Middle Eastern context, the following pages will focus on specific sources of the Kızılbaş authority and power: ability to migrate to the enemy territory and stop paying taxes and providing military services to the current ruler. It is my firm belief that the (re)formation of sectarian identities and their politicization in the early modern Middle East can only be fully grasped with this approach that reevaluates the position of the Kızılbaş within the Ottoman state and society by paying attention to the group’s intrinsic diversity, their economic interests and political grievances, as well as the complexity of the relationships that they forged with Istanbul and its regional representatives.

20 Baltacıoğlu-Brammer, One word, many implications.

21 Burak, *The second formation of Islamic law*.

22 Baltacıoğlu-Brammer, One word, many implications. For instance, Ottoman imperial documents often times labeled subjects (mainly, but not limited to the Shi’ites of Greater Syria) as Kızılbaş as a legal device in order to justify official violence in situations of brigandage and tax evasion, rather than on account of heretical beliefs. In the eyes of the Ottoman authorities, the Kızılbaş who sent money (and valuable gifts) to the Safavid shahs and sought to migrate to Safavid Iran represented the loss of a critical part of the empire’s revenue-producing work force and various orders were sent to the provinces to closely watch these subjects of the empire.

1 Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry, Its Frontiers, and Pecuniary Reasons of Religiopolitical Loyalty

According to Gábor Ágoston, “a common feature of the frontiers [of the Ottoman Empire] were the condominium, that is the joint rule, of the former power elite and the Ottoman authorities.”²³ This understanding is commonly used among scholars to contextualize the western borders of the empire, where Istanbul established and maintained tributary systems with various non-Muslim local power holders. A similar structure, however, existed on the empire’s eastern frontier(s) as well, even though the time frame of the expansion and the manner in which it came to be established differed significantly.²⁴ During the initial era of the Ottoman and Safavid interaction in southern and eastern Anatolia as well as in northern Iraq (between roughly the 880s and 950s/1480s and 1550s), many local tribes, communities, and individuals positioned themselves strategically between the two political entities, contingent upon obtaining material and territorial gains and privileges, as well as spiritual salvation (particularly in the case of loyalty and subjugation to the Safavids). This gave the inhabitants of this porous territory a rationale for supporting or fighting against either the Ottomans or the Safavids in their expansionist endeavors with various degrees of power of negotiation in hand. Accordingly, a high level of fluidity in the political allegiances of the local populations prevailed in the region.

Personal interests and intratribal frictions factored notably into the decision to switch sides when tribes in the regions between the two empires became aware of their ability to play the two imperial authorities off against each other. For instance, when Muḥammad Khan (d. 935/1528–1529), the Safavid governor of Baghdad, left the city and escaped to Basra after he learned that his tribe was collaborating against him with the Ottoman authorities, the Safavid shah Tahmāsb I offered him a better position in Basra.²⁵ In response, the Ottoman authorities countered by offering the rank of bey to three signifi-

23 Ágoston, *A flexible empire* 22.

24 Heywood, *The frontier in Ottoman history* 234–240; İnalçık, *Ottoman methods of conquest* 103–129. Erzurum and Diyarbakir were two of the few provinces in the region where the *tīmār* system was implemented. For the rest of the region, especially those parts inhabited by the Kurds, Istanbul implemented other systems, mainly *yurtluk-ocaklık*, in which landholdings were typically transmitted from father to son. The holders of *yurtluk-ocaklık* would keep the tax revenues of their landholdings while providing military services to the state. Ateş, *Ottoman-Iranian borderlands* 37–40; Ágoston, *A flexible empire* 20–25; Kılıç, *Yurtluk-Ocaklık*.

25 Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik* 51.

cant members of Muḥammad Khan's family in the region.²⁶ Contemporary sources also mention the frontier districts as the scenes of ongoing competition between the Ottomans and Safavids, as well as among the local elites and tribal leaders, who switched allegiance depending on personal and tribal interests. The story of Sulṭān Tekelu, an Ottoman *sipāhī* who "turned Kızılbaş" and defected to the Safavids with many members of his tribe during the Şah Kūlu Rebellion in Anatolia in 917/1511–1512, is a noteworthy case. The Safavid court rewarded Sulṭān Tekelu's defection with high-level political/military positions in the regions of Tabriz, Shirvan, and Baku.²⁷ The Tekelu tribe, however, was politically weakened as a result of conflicts among various Kızılbaş tribes for dominance in Azerbaijan, and following the death of Shah Ismā'īl in 930/1524, Sulṭān Tekelu this time marched against the new shah's forces. Defeated, he fled to the Ottoman fortress of Van to seek refuge in 940–941/1534.²⁸ He was later appointed *lālā*, or tutor, to the Safavid prince Alqāş Mīrzā, who also sought refuge at the Ottoman court.²⁹

The military and political career of the Bidlīsī family, Kurdish overlords of the southeastern Anatolian province of Bitlis, further demonstrates how a frontier family played the Ottomans and Safavids against each other during much of the tenth/sixteenth century, specifically after the rise of the Safavids as the Ottomans' main geopolitical and religious rival in the east. Beginning with Sharaf Beg, grandfather of Sharaf al-Dīn, the author of the famous *Sharafnāma*, the Bidlīsī family made tactical shifts of allegiance to avoid being trapped between the two regional powers.³⁰ While Sharaf Beg supplied the Ottomans with detailed intelligence reports on events in Safavid territory,³¹ his son, Shams al-Dīn, migrated to Safavid Iran after Süleyman I appointed 'Ulāmā' Beg, a Kızılbaş from Safavid Iran who had switched sides, the governor of Bitlis following the Ottoman campaign to Iraq in 939–940/1533–1534. Shams al-Dīn, along with the members of his tribe, was welcomed by Shah Tahmāsb I and honored with the title *khan* and the governorship of various districts in Safavid Iran. His son

26 Interestingly enough, Muḥammad Khan decided to work for the Ottomans again when Sharaf Khan changed sides and collaborated with the Safavids. Savaş, *xvi. asırda Anadolu'da Alevilik* 21.

27 Bidlīsī, *The Sharafnāma* 145–146.

28 Riyāḥī, *Seḫāratnāmeḥ-i Irān* 28; Monshī, *History of Shah 'Abbas* i, 80–83.

29 Solak-zāde, *Solak-zāde Tarihi* ii, 214.

30 For a comprehensive discussion on the Bidlīsī family, particularly Idris Bidlīsī, and their intricate interactions with the political authorities of the time, see Markiewicz, *The crisis of kingship*.

31 Glassen, *Bedlīsī, Şaraf-al-Dīn Khan*.

Sharaf al-Dīn, however, moved back to his hometown, Bitlis, after a series of meetings with the Ottoman general Hüsrev Pasha in 985–986/1578; as a reward, he was appointed governor.³²

Even though the contemporary accounts do not specify whether the members of the Bidlīsī family (or the above-mentioned Tekelu tribe) explicitly changed their sectarian affiliations whenever they changed their geopolitical allegiance, it is noteworthy that Sharaf al-Dīn's overt 'Alid loyalty³³ is quite visible in his chronicle, which he wrote as the Prince of Bitlis under the Ottoman rule. While narrating the events of 803/1401, for instance, he writes, "[Timur] opened the grave of Yazīd the cursed (*mel'ūn*), the son of Mu'āwiya," who ordered the killing of the third Imam Ḥusayn and his family, and burned his bones.³⁴ In another passage, while narrating the Timurid ruler Shahrūkh's (d. 850/1447) pilgrimage to Mashhad, Sharaf al-Dīn states that Shahrūkh left Herat to visit "our dear Imam and his splendid and heaven-scented tomb."³⁵ The persistence of 'Alid loyalty among the Sunnis of the Ottoman Empire—the phenomenon highlighted by Vefa Erginbaş in this volume and elsewhere—must have facilitated the fluidity of the political and religious sympathies among both common people and the tribal elites in the Ottoman-Safavid borderlands. Furthermore, these and many other examples show that while confessional affiliation played a significant role in shaping political allegiances, practical benefits were at least as—or more—important than the message of salvation.

The dynamic nature of the interactions between the Kızılbaş and the Ottoman and Safavid courts continued to exist after the Treaty of Amasya (962/1555), which designated a set of zones as the border between the two empires.³⁶ Following this treaty, the essential factor motivating the locals (both at the individual and communal levels) to side with either polity (or in some cases to stay relatively neutral) remained relatively the same, this time with heavier emphasis on receiving prestigious posts, titles, or money from the Ottoman and/or

32 Even when the level of Anatolian participation in the Safavid cause was at its peak, Ottoman counterpropaganda did not cease and often met with relative success. According to Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, for instance, in 1535, around 3,000 Kızılbaş decided to defect to the Ottoman side after Süleyman I promised to make them rulers of Azerbaijan. Bidlīsī, *The Sharafnâme* 184.

33 On the notion of confessional ambiguity see Woods, *The Aqquyunlu* 1–24; Pfeiffer, Confessional ambiguity vs. confessional polarization. Also see Vefa Erginbaş's article in this volume, Reading Ottoman Sunnism.

34 Bidlīsī, *The Sharafnâme* 184.

35 Ibid. 86.

36 Ebel, Representation of the frontier.

Safavid capitals. This was particularly the case when the “new faith is perceived to be tied to a larger and more bountiful political economy.”³⁷ Therefore, the allocation of money, land, and titles, as well as marriage alliances with key members of the courts and the provincial elites served as successful strategies. According to Fariba Zarinebaf, the main consequence of this mentality was local border communities that were “divided, short of strong leadership, and lacking in effective resistance.”³⁸ While this was the case in certain situations, the local actors’ attempts to insert themselves into ongoing political (and religious) struggles and/or negotiations between the Ottoman and Safavid courts as active participants culminated in both short and long term material (and also strategical) gains for the individuals and the communities in the region alike.

Following the Treaty of Amasya, the Safavid leaders, while retaining their overall goal of creating and maintaining a strong base in Ottoman Anatolia, shifted their attention from recruiting large tribal populations to the Safavid cause, encouraging them to migrate to Safavid Iran, to targeting individuals and small groups, whose loyalty to the Safavid court manifested itself in multifarious ways. Particularly during the last decades of the tenth/sixteenth and early eleventh/seventeenth century, which saw serious domestic unrest within the Ottoman Empire, the religiopolitical loyalties of small groups and individuals were used to justify political actions, financial moves, and in some cases migrations. This situation is evident in Ottoman imperial documents as individuals with their names and religious/regional affiliations within the context of the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry began to appear more often after the mid-tenth/sixteenth century. For instance, Istanbul often utilized money and valuables to prevent individuals and groups from “becoming Kızılbaş.” In an imperial order from 982/1574, the governor of Diyarbekir was asked to honor a certain Shaykh Ebū’l-hayr Sālif Efendi with ten *ağçes* for not becoming Kızılbaş (*Kızılbaş mezhebine girmeyib*).³⁹ At the same time, the Ottoman central authority remained highly skeptical of tribes and large groups of people in the border regions who returned to the Ottoman realm (*tekrār ‘avdet eyleyen*) after “becoming Kızılbaş” and migrating to Safavid territory. Several imperial orders sent to frontier towns in Anatolia and Iraq in 980/1573 repeatedly warned the local authorities to capture those who came back from *Yuğarı Cānib*, or the “upper side,” meaning mountainous Safavid territory, and to exile them imme-

37 Hefner, *World building* 29.

38 Zarinebaf, *Rebels and renegades*.

39 BOA, MD, Vol. 25, No. 1627 (17 Şefar 982/7 June 1574).

diately to remote parts of the empire, above all newly conquered Cyprus.⁴⁰ In other cases, an order sent to the governor of Şehrızor (Kirkuk) in 986/1578 mentioned the commander of a frontier fortress, Ḥasan, to whom the fortress was given with the condition of giving up his *kızıl tac* (i.e., the red headgear symbolizing loyalty to the Safavid shah). The order, after making a comparison with a certain Iskender, who—unlike Ḥasan—sent his *tac* to Istanbul to keep his *sanjak* (or district), accuses Ḥasan of not being reliable and asks the governor not to trust him again, to remove him from his official position, and to confiscate the *tac*.⁴¹

Moreover, an increasing number of Kızılbaş subjects of the Ottoman Empire made a payment, called *nezir* (or *nüzür*), to the Safavid religious and/or political authorities as a sign of sympathy and a source of support.⁴² Ottoman imperial documents show that as the intensity of the flow of money to the Safavid court increased, Istanbul became further concerned about possible revenue losses and its subjects' loyalties, particularly in the Anatolian countryside. Because the Ottoman central authority measured its own legitimacy in terms of tax collection, land cultivation, and battle-ready subjects, its struggle with the Safavids escalated as it attempted to secure its revenue sources and manpower.⁴³ This concern with tax evasion and loss of manpower can be seen as early as the correspondence between Sultan Bâyezîd II (886–918/1481–1512) and Shah Ismâ'îl I. When Shah Ismâ'îl asked Sultan Bâyezîd to let the followers of the Safavid order visit the order's center in Ardabil, the sultan responded that the Anatolian Kızılbaş could not be allowed to leave the Ottoman realm since they would not come back. Later, Bâyezîd expressed a willingness to allow his subjects to travel to Ardabil only if they made a commitment not to settle permanently in Safavid Iran.⁴⁴ On the other hand, relative acceptance was shown

40 BOA, MD, Vol. 21, No. 652 (22 Zilhicce 980/25 April 1573). It should also be noted that the Ottoman state was trying to repopulate the island. For further details on early modern Ottoman Cyprus, see Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus*.

41 BOA, MD, Vol. 35, No. 816 (26 Şa'bân 986/28 October 1578).

42 For instance, an official letter sent to Erzurum in 960/1553 asks the governor to collaborate with the governors of Karaman and Anadolu to calculate the amount of *nezir* sent from the region of Sivas to the *öteki taraf* (literally, "the other side," i.e., the Safavids) by the *mülâhîde* and *râfiẓa*. BOA, Cevdet Tasnifi, Document No. 922–39839 (20 Ramazân 960/30 August 1553).

43 According to the mainstream Turkish historiography, however, Istanbul perceived this as the Safavids' exploitation of Ottoman subjects and thus would not allow it. Saray, *Türk-İran münâsebetlerinde Şiîlîğin rolü* 31.

44 Feridün Beg, *Münşe'âtü's-selâtin* I, 328–329. Shah Ismâ'îl's second request, sent in 1502–1503, was, however, not accepted by the sultan. Solak-zâde, *Solak-zâde Tarihi* 429; Sümer, *Safevi devletinin kuruluşu* 26.

toward the “heretical” practices of particular Kızılbaş communities as long as the sultan could rely on local notables and tribal and religious leaders to guarantee the communities’ taxes. As Winter shows, among the first of Greater Syria’s tribal leaders to pledge loyalty to Selīm I on his conquest of the region in 922/1516 was the Kızılbaş family of Baalbek.⁴⁵

Furthermore, in the following decades, Ottoman sultans tried to differentiate between “fiscally loyal” and “fiscally disloyal” Kızılbaş populations under their rule. As Stefan Winter notes in the case of the Kızılbaş families in Syria, Ottoman policy makers labeled Shi’ites as Kızılbaş not on account of heretical beliefs but to justify official violence in the cases of brigandage and tax evasion.⁴⁶ Furthermore, in the Anatolian and İraqi provinces, if a Kızılbaş individual or group remained peaceful and remitted their taxes, they were labeled only “Kızılbaş,” whereas if they rebelled and/or refused to remit their taxes, additional pejorative labels were attached to them, such as *mülhid*, *Rāfizi*, *ehl-i fesād*, *bī-namāz* or *bed-mezheb*.⁴⁷ In a similar vein, Istanbul managed fiscal appointments in many parts of Anatolia in a way that the Kızılbaş who were in close contact with the Safavid court were punished more severely than the Kızılbaş who were not. An order from 977/1570, for instance, asked the governor of Baghdad not to assign *muḳāṭa‘as*, a type of tax farm, to Burç ‘Alī and his peers in Mosul since they had been active on the frontier as Shi’i disciples (*Rāfizi serdār halīfeleri*).⁴⁸ Another decree sent to the governor of Divriği district (*sancaḳ*), Meḫmed Bey, in Şafer 976/August 1568 mentioned three *halīfes* who were collecting money and goods for the Safavid shah. While one of them was caught and executed, the other two escaped to Safavid Iran.⁴⁹ The anxiety of the Ottoman capital toward the financial power that the Kızılbaş subjects possessed is also manifested in other ways. For instance, 17 of the 33 *mühimme* orders from 978/1570–1571 that mention Kızılbaş individuals or groups detail Selīm I’s orders to local authorities to catch anyone providing financial support either to the shah’s court or to the center of the order

45 Winter, *The Kızılbaş of Syria* 46.

46 For further examples of Ottoman financial support for various Kızılbaş subjects, *Ibid.*; Öz, *Alevilik ile İlgili* 147. For further information on the Shi’ites of Greater Syria under the Ottoman rule, see Abu Husayn, *The Shiites in Lebanon*.

47 BOA, MD, Vol. 14, No. 311 (14 Şafer 978/18 July 1570); MD, Vol. 14, No. 488 (12 Ramazān 978/7 February 1571).

48 MD, Vol. 9, No. 79 (29 Ramazān 977/7 March 1570).

49 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, 7 *Numaralı mühimme* iii, 13–14, No. 1988 (10 Şafer 976/4 August 1568). The order pointed out that allowing them access to the public treasury, *beyt’ül-māl*, was unlawful (*cā’iz olmaya*) and, therefore, should be absolutely prevented (*kaṭ’i şürette*).

in Ardabil. In addition, local authorities were told to confiscate money and valuables that were being sent to the shah.⁵⁰ In many other cases, the flow of money was in the reverse, from the Safavid court to the Ottoman subjects, and Istanbul was equally anxious about it. An order from 987/1579 details Istanbul's concern over a transaction of 500 filori (Venetian ducats) between the Safavid state and Manşūr Halife of Tokat. The Kadis of nearby Zile and Artıkabad were sent to investigate this transaction and confiscate the money for the treasury.⁵¹

Ottoman central authority still applied the strategy of redistributing posts and benefits and granting privileged status to Safavid subjects who "turned" Sunni and/or moved to the Ottoman realm. However, these were fewer in number and mostly symbolic in Istanbul's counterpropaganda activities to win the "war of legitimacy" against the Safavid shahs. In one of the two noteworthy cases, Meḥmed Sulṭān, the Kızılbaş governor of Qahqaha (Alamut) in northern Iran, took refuge in Istanbul in 995/1587, during the Ottoman-Safavid War of 986–999/1578–1590. In return for his loyalty to the Ottoman sultan and his help in conquering Ardabil, Meḥmed Sulṭān and his immediate family were promised high official positions.⁵² Changing sides (more than once in certain cases) between the Ottomans and Safavids was relatively common among Kızılbaş emirs of the frontier regions.⁵³ Meḥmed Sulṭān's migration to the Ottoman lands, however, was a sign of increasing Ottoman influence among the Kızılbaş emirs from the inner parts of Iran and left no choice for Shah

50 In an order from 978/1571, the Ottoman central authority asked the governor of Baghdad to inquire into the nature of the communication between its Ottoman Kızılbaş subjects and the Safavid Kızılbaş who came to the Ottoman realm to collect alms and to confiscate these alms: "Yukarı Cānibden varanlara ne maḳūle kimesneler ihtilāṭ edip ve ne söyleşirler nuzūr (nezir) ve şadakāt gibi nesne götürürler mi götürēn ne aşıl kimesnelerdır ve Yukarı Cānib adamları ne aşıl kimesnelere mektūblar ve armağan götürmüşlerdir ve bi'l-cümle cemi aḥvāllerine vāḳıf ve muṭṭalī' olub şıḫhati ile defter eyleyüb sana teslīm eyledikten sonra sen dahī te'hīr eylemeyüb Südde-i Sa'ādetime gönderesün." BOA, MD, Vol. 14, No. 376 (9 Ramazān 978/4 February 4, 1571).

51 BOA, MD, Vol. 40, No. 479 (28 Şa'bān 987/20 October 1579).

52 BOA, MD, Vol. 63, Nos. 59 and 60 (2 Şefer 995/11 January 1587). *Mühimme* records mention other Kızılbaş emirs and their families who moved to the Ottoman Empire in response to the ongoing Ottoman counterpropaganda. For example, see MD, Vol. 65, No. 444 (3 Şefer 998/11 December 1589); Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar'ın Kafkas* 378–379.

53 Monshī, however, singles out the Kurdish emirs for this behavior: "As in the custom of landowners in frontier areas, these men ["seditious Kurds"], as occasion demanded, from time to time attached themselves to the saddle straps of one of the rulers in the area and claimed to be his retainers, but their real motive was to stir up trouble and achieve their own ends in the ensuing confusion." Monshī, *History of Shah 'Abbas* 347.

‘Abbās but to sign a peace treaty with Istanbul in 998/1590.⁵⁴ In a second case, an official decree from Aḥmed I (r. 1012–1026/1603–17) granted the post of *kapıcıbaşı*, or chief doorkeeper, an honorary position typically given to converts, to a musician from the shah’s court upon his conversion to Sunni Islam.⁵⁵ Murād III (r. 982–1003/1574–1595) observed several staged conversions of Kızılbaş Iranians to Sunni Islam in the official circumcision ceremonies organized for his sons in 990/1582. The miniatures of the court historian, or *şehnāmeçi*, Seyyid Loḳmān’s *Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān*⁵⁶ and *Şehnāme-i Murād-i Sālis*, as well as İntizāmī’s *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn*, written for this occasion, depict the public conversion of many Kızılbaş during the festival. In one of the paintings, an Ottoman subject is depicted throwing off his Kızılbaş turban in an attempt to gain the favor of the sultan, who is observing the scene from the balcony of the İbrahim Pasha Palace.⁵⁷

2 Ottoman Alienation of the Anatolian Population and the Issue of Migration

The gradual integration of Anatolia into the Ottoman Empire was followed by tensions emerging between the Ottoman central authority and the nomadic and seminomadic populations, including small beylicates of the peninsula, largely because of the Ottoman policies of centralization, taxation, sedentarization, and displacement which caused long-lasting problems, including

54 “The presence of the Ottomans and the successful revolt of the Kurds encouraged others to rebel: among them was a tribe which had long enjoyed the favor of the Safavid royal house, and which resided in the Solduz and Mianduab districts of Maraga [an ethnically Turkish town in northwest Iran].” Ibid. 348–349.

55 BOA, Ali Emiri Tasnifi, I. Ahmed, File no. 7, Document no. 678 (1025/1616). Hülya Canbakal has analyzed the Ottoman registers of *seyyids*, or descendants of the Prophet, and suggested a link between the central authority’s attempts to regulate the allotment of *seyyid*-hood and its policies of containment of the Kızılbaş, for whom descent from the Prophet was particularly important. Canbakal, *Society and politics in an Ottoman town* 1–19, 61–90; Canbakal, *The Ottoman state and descendants*.

56 For a detailed study on the production process of *Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān*, see Fetvacı, *The production*.

57 Atasoy, *1582 Sūrnāme-i hümāyūn* 111. For further details on Murād III’s circumcision ceremony, see Zarinebaf-Shahr, *Rebels and renegades*; and Terzioğlu, *The imperial festival*. According to Muştafa Ālī, the narrator of the festivities in the *Sūrnāme-i hümāyūn*, the Safavid convert was a *hānzāde*, the son of a prince, who was rewarded with an office following his conversion to Sunni Islam. Terzioğlu, *The imperial festival* 86.

inflation, brigandage, and demographic fluctuations.⁵⁸ Turcoman and Kurdish tribes were the main disadvantaged parties in this process, and as a result they came to distrust the Ottoman administration. Tension between the tribes and the Ottoman state was especially pronounced in eastern and southeastern Anatolia on account of relatively recent imposition of Ottoman control over the region, and the higher level of tribal influence and power compared to other parts of the peninsula. Furthermore, the state presence was closely associated with constant military struggles, shifting borders, and spying activities,⁵⁹ which caused unrest among the dissatisfied and poorly organized rural populations who bore the bulk of the tax burden. The Celali Rebellions are often understood as a consequence of the tension between the tax-collecting state and the tax-paying subjects that accumulated in many parts of the peninsula and shook the state's authority for over a century.⁶⁰

This tension, however, did not always culminate in outright rebellion, particularly when the disgruntled taxpayers had other options available. In fact, many locals, from both urban and rural environments, reacted to centralization and overtaxation by migrating to the Safavid realm either individually or as members of tribal groups, because of the Safavids' assurance of greater autonomy for them. In general, Safavids consistently promoted its subjecthood as a legitimate alternative to Ottoman taxpayer status. Imperial orders preserved in the *mühimme* registers reveal that the Anatolian tribes (and individuals) became more interested in relocating to the Safavid realm as they faced increasing financial pressure from the Ottoman capital, primarily after the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century, which corresponded with the emergence of the Safavid Empire as a powerful religiopolitical actor in the region.

Immediate responses of the Kızılbaş toward the adverse effects of the Ottoman centralization policies and their contribution to the success of pro-Safavid efforts in Anatolia can be clearly seen with the "*tîmâr* system," which was implemented in the early ninth/fifteenth century in much of the Balkans (see Grigor Boykov's paper in this volume on the reactions toward Ottoman centraliza-

58 Faroqhi, Politics and socio-economic change 95. For further information on the tensions between the early Ottomans and various Anatolia beylicates, see Emecen, *İlk Osmanlılar*; Karadeniz, *Osmanlılar ile beylikler arasında*; Kafadar, *Between two worlds* 90–117; Terzioğlu, Sufis in the age of state-building 89.

59 For more information on the Ottoman tribal policy and the tribes in the eastern frontier zone, see Sinclair, The Ottoman arrangements.

60 For details on these rebellions, see Akdağ, *Celali isyanları*; Griswold, *The great Anatolian rebellion*; Tekindağ, Şahkulu Baba Tekeli isyanı; Şahin, *Empire and power*. The conventional scholarship has regarded these rebellions as the result of Safavid instigation. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi* ii, 345–347; Saray, *Türk-İran münâsebetlerinde*.

tion policies in this region and their impact on religious dynamics) and in many parts of the Anatolian peninsula.⁶¹ While in principle *tīmārs* were allocated based on merit rather than family connections and prestige, the quasi-hereditary nobility of certain tribes and families was able to dominate the system from its inception.⁶² In many instances, Istanbul used the distribution of *tīmār* assignments as a tool to establish strong ties with local elites and “give them a stake in the Ottoman system”⁶³ so that they would not become disloyal to the Ottoman government. However, during the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries, control of *tīmārs* shifted from the entrenched tribal elite of the countryside, who had ties to the local population, to the urban elite. This process, combined with the increasingly oppressive behavior of the *tīmār* assessors, led to a sharp increase in dissidence among the rural population.⁶⁴ Complaints concerning *tīmār* assignments begin to appear in primary sources as early as the 1510s. According to an official document from this period, the main reason for the Kızıldağ rebellion of Shah Kūlu in 916–917/1511 was the unfair allocation of *tīmārs* to people from the inner circle of the palace and to local rulers, instead of meritorious cavalymen.⁶⁵ In a similar vein, the tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman statesman Celālzāde Muṣṭafa Çelebi (d. 975/1567) points out that Anatolians fled to the Safavid side in droves simply because of Bāyezīd II’s negligence of his rural subjects, who were heavily oppressed by local authorities.⁶⁶

The situation continued during the second half of the tenth/sixteenth century as well.⁶⁷ As certain elite urban families monopolized *tīmār* allocations, a

61 A *tīmār* was a land grant, the revenue from which enabled the holder to outfit and support a number of cavalry forces and additional number of armed retainers (*cebeli*) for the Ottoman armies depending on the value and size of the land grant. Faroqhi, *Politics and socio-economic change in the Ottoman Empire* 94.

62 Haldon, *The Ottoman state* 55, 62–63.

63 *Ibid.* 55.

64 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi* ii, 333. Tribal leaders were not the only disgruntled group whose dissatisfaction with the system culminated in serious unrest. Beginning in the early ninth/fifteenth century, frontier warriors (*gāzīs*) and the Sufis connected to them were similarly victimized by Ottoman centralization efforts. The Sufis voiced their dissatisfaction with the ulama, the “agents, allies and beneficiaries of a centralizing state ... [filling] the medreses at an unprecedented rate” and, in some cases, sided with the Safavids. Kafadar, *Between two worlds* 90–117; Terzioğlu, *Sufis in the age of state-building* 89.

65 Cited in Uluçay, *Yavuz Sultan* 53–90.

66 Celālzade, *Selīm-nâme* 48b–51a.

67 Only ten percent of *tīmārs* were assigned to provincial cavalry soldiers in 1600. Tezcan, *The second Ottoman empire* 22.

divide grew between them, on the one hand, and tribal leaders and other members of the rural elite, on the other, who lacked the connections to acquire such grants and therefore felt betrayed by and alienated from the state. Celâlzâde Muştafa mentions Anatolian tribes whose members migrated to Safavid Iran when they lost their privileged status and *tîmârs* in the 910s/1510s and 920s/1520s.⁶⁸ Peçevî similarly explains how the disenfranchisement of certain tribes led them to join regional rebellions.⁶⁹

In the following decades, as more disgruntled *tîmâr*-holders and tribal leaders, both of whom Kaya Şahin aptly describes as “the perennial malcontents of Ottoman history,”⁷⁰ as well as individuals seeking material gain and spiritual fulfillment, relocated to the Safavid realm, Istanbul began to pay increasing attention to these migrations. The Ottoman court frequently regarded these migrants as ignorant, lazy, or disloyal subjects who opposed the state for illegitimate reasons. In describing the influence of Safavid disciples in Anatolia, the Ottoman chronicler Kemâlpaşazâde asserts that unemployed people who “had not achieved anything in their entire lives and who had no *tîmârs*” left their villages to join the *halîfes* with the false hope of becoming district governors on the Safavid side.⁷¹ Although Kemâlpaşazâde is obviously biased against the Kızılbaş subjects of the Ottoman Empire and antagonistic toward the Safavids, he correctly points out that the oppressive *tîmâr* policies of the Ottoman central authority and the lack of *tîmâr* assignments to nonelites contributed significantly to the success of pro-Safavid efforts in early modern Anatolia.

In addition to witnessing “tremendous political and economic dynamism, a pervasive pragmatism, and an important level of social mobility and mobilization,”⁷² the sixteenth century also marked the monetization of the Ottoman economy even further with the large-scale transformation from the *tîmâr* system to tax farming. In response to these socioeconomic transformations, “money, which had always constituted the sinews of government, acquired an unprecedented significance for the Ottoman administrative military apparatus, which seemed to need it more than ever.”⁷³ The central administration’s dire need for cash and, as a result of advances in military technology, declining need for cavalry resulted in a sharp decline in *tîmâr* assignments and a

68 Savaş, *XVI. Asırda Anadolu’da Alevilik* 59, 156.

69 Peçevî, *Peçevî Tarihi* i, 94.

70 Şahin, *Empire and power* 125.

71 Kemâlpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân* ix, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Fatih 4221, 198a, cited in Uğur, *The reign of Sultan Selīm I* 43.

72 Şahin, *Empire and power* 10.

73 Tezcan, *The second Ottoman empire* 11.

corresponding increase in tax farms (*iltizām*). Many Kızılbaş Anatolians felt cheated by this transformation on account of corruption and overtaxation. They also suffered from the effects of the general late tenth/sixteenth-century crisis, notably population pressure and climate change.⁷⁴

Both empires were fully aware of the fiscal power of the Kızılbaş, and this concern became manifested in the peace treaties signed between the two capitals. Istanbul reciprocated Safavid efforts at keeping the peace treaties intact by enforcing their articles, particularly in the frontier regions. For instance, while Sunni Iranians were not allowed to migrate to the Ottoman realm, official orders sent from Istanbul called for the investigation and punishment of Ottoman individuals or groups who violated the agreement between the two empires as well.⁷⁵ A series of imperial orders, likewise, warn the governor of Van to pay utmost attention to and prevent any type of infringement of the Amasya Peace Treaty following rumors of Ottoman subjects attacking the Safavids and plundering their land and property. These orders ultimately asked the governor to find and to punish severely the violators harming the Safavid frontier tribes of Brados and Lityan, after mentioning that the Safavids have been fulfilling their responsibilities.⁷⁶ Furthermore, countless imperial orders requested the Ottoman authorities in central and eastern Anatolia to stop these migrations. A series of orders from the 960s/1560s, for instance, demanded from the rulers of Amasya, Tokat, and Çorum, heavily Kızılbaş towns in north central Anatolia, to investigate the large numbers of migrants, some of whom had been stopped in Erzurum in northeastern Anatolia and barred from entering

74 Ibid. 17. Sam White convincingly argues that the suitable ecological environment of the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century allowed the Ottoman central authority to pursue expansionist policies, to create an Ottoman elite class, and to forge ahead with state formation. However, as the state apparatus grew, "Ottoman systems of provisioning and settlement faced mounting problems. Just as the Ottomans proved especially precocious at building these systems, so they became particularly dependent on their stability and susceptible to their failures," particularly during the critical periods of "population pressure, inflation, and diminishing returns from agriculture" from the 970s/1570s to the 990s/1590s. White, *The climate of rebellion* 19.

75 For examples, see Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, 3 *Numaralı mühimme* 517–518, No. 1168 (966–968/1558–1560); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, 5 *Numaralı mühimme* 270, No. 1721 (10 Zilka'de 973/29 May 1566).

76 "Mādām ki ol cānibden şulh ve şalāha muğāyir vaz' şādūr olmağa bu cānibden bir ferde şulh ve emāna muhālif iş eylemekten ihtiyāt eyleyib şulh ve şalāh umürün gereği gibi ri'āyet eyleyüb." BOA, MD, Vol. 14, No. 756 (28 Cemāziyülāhır 978/27 November 1570). The same order, however, asks the governor to keep sending "useful and civilized" (*yārār ve müte-meddin*) spies to Safavid Iran. See also BOA, MD, Vol. 18, No. 57 (29 Ramazān 979/14 February 1572).

the Safavid realm.⁷⁷ In another order from the late 1560s, the ruler of Trabzon was cautioned about the increasing risk of the entire Kızılbaş population migrating to Safavid Iran if their relations with the Safavid court were not cut off immediately.⁷⁸ While many of these orders do not specify individuals and their attempts to migrate to Safavid Iran, others address specific local elites and tribes, whose migration had a greater impact on both sides. For instance, Istanbul repeatedly warned the governor of Erzurum about the Turcoman Batlu tribe from Ardahan, whose leader fled to the “other side,” ordering him to stop the tribe’s members from following their leader and to find and execute the leader himself.⁷⁹ The leader of the Kurdish Belilhānoğulları tribe from the Van/Tabriz region, for instance, migrated to the Safavid side and sought help from Shah ‘Abbās I in 1010–1011/1602. The Ottoman governor of Tabriz, ‘Alī Pasha, responded by provoking a military conflict between the two sides that resulted in the occupation of Tabriz by the Safavids in 1012/1603.⁸⁰

As Robert Hefner asserts, early modern communities “burdened with a sense of oppression and powerlessness [were] in need of ... social redemption, that is, a state that provides relief from an intolerable situation through new morality and social relations.”⁸¹ As mentioned above, the emergence of the Safavid Empire right next door to Anatolia and the formation of a new religiopolitical identity around the Safavid Sufi order provided Anatolians with a legitimate political and territorial alternative. Celālzāde Muştafa, in his *Ṭabaqātü'l-memālik ve derecātü'l-mesālik*, describes this period, with his typically strong anti-Safavid prejudice, as one in which “a band of naked dervishes, runaway Turkish peasants, and heretics” (*bir bölük çıplak ışıklar, çiftbozan Türkler, münāfiqlar*) attacked sharia and *қанүн* and killed Sunnis under the influence of the “sharia-abrogating and sedition-filled East” (*şark-ı şer-fark ve fitne-gark*).⁸² Despite his gross generalization and open hostility against the Safavids and their Anatolian sympathizers, the Kızılbaş, indeed, became not only an object of the Ottoman-Safavid competition but also an active participant and contributor to it.⁸³ On occasion, various Safavid actors, disguised as merchants or travelers, orchestrated these migrations. For instance, Istanbul warned the governor of Baghdad in 980/1573 about a certain Sohrāb who had entered Ottoman

77 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, 3 *Numaralı mühimme* 630, No. 1422 (Zilka'de 967/August 1560).

78 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, 5 *Numaralı mühimme* 221, No. 1401 (973/1565).

79 BOA, MD, Vol. 21, No. 110 (19 Ramazān 980/23 January 1573).

80 Saray, *Türk-İran Münasebetlerinde* 38.

81 Hefner, *World building* 29.

82 Cited in Şahin, *Empire and power* 69–71, 90–91.

83 Dressler, *Inventing orthodoxy* 153.

territory allegedly to fetch the daughter of a Safavid regional ruler but instead took many members of a local tribe back to Iran with him.⁸⁴ As another precaution against this type of migration, Istanbul several times asked local authorities not to let the Safavid Iranians mingle with the locals when they visited their towns for trade or pilgrimage.⁸⁵ Within a short period, however, thousands whose dissatisfaction stemmed from financial devastation, the lack of sustainable revenues, and overtaxation decided to relocate as the Safavid realm promised less taxation, more autonomy, and salvation through allegiance to a messianic ruler. According to Rudi Matthee, the Safavid shahs from the beginning attempted to build a state on the notions of “shared religion, a long legacy of strong personalized authority, and a governmental tradition centering on royal justice and commercial activism.”⁸⁶

These migrations meant not only the loss of population, but also the loss of income and goods, which in many cases were more crucial for the Ottoman court, which led to a flurry of imperial orders attempting to stop the outflow.⁸⁷ In one order from 982/1574, the sultan asked the governor of Van to stop the migration of the Haledi tribe, who had been paying their dues and taxes (*hukuk ve rüsūmları*) to the Ottomans, to the Safavid territory. In many instances, Istanbul also asked the Safavid court to send back Ottoman subjects who had already migrated.⁸⁸ Istanbul justified these requests by invoking the Peace of Amasya, which banned migrations from one side to the other.⁸⁹ For instance, in an order from 1574, the sultan told the governor-general of Baghdad to accept those who had moved to Safavid Iran and come back following the peace, regardless of their sect (*madhhab*).⁹⁰

84 BOA, MD, Vol. 21, No. 697 (29 Zilhicce 980/2 May 1573).

85 BOA, MD, Vol. 23, No. 430 (29 Zilhicce 981/21 April 1574); MD, Vol. 24, No. 124 (29 Zilkade 981/23 March 1574).

86 However, decentralizing forces (“formidable mountain regions, fearsome deserts, a harsh climate, long distances, and a thinly spread and largely nomadic population,” as well as “the lack of an effective infrastructural state power”), prevented a strong state from materializing. Matthee, *The politics of trade* 232.

87 For an earlier discussion on this topic, see Allouche, *The origins and development*. Allouche rightfully emphasized the importance of trade for both the Ottoman and Safavid courts and the consecutive attempts to secure them with various policies that included signing agreements and dispatching envoys on the one hand and closely monitoring trade-related activities and punishing those who acted against the rules and regulations on the other.

88 BOA, MD, Vol. 26, No. 496 (10 Cemâziyelevvel 982/27 August 1574).

89 BOA, MD, Vol. 26, No. 78 (28 Şefer 982/18 June 1574).

90 BOA, MD, Vol. 26, No. 958 (14 Şa‘bân 982/28 November 1574). The following orders warn the governor-general of Baghdad not to send the returnees back to Iran even if the Safavid court requests it. For an example, see BOA, MD, Vol. 26, No. 974 (15 Şa‘bân 982/29 November 1574).

3 Conclusion

As the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry turned into a conflict shaped by sectarian narratives, the religious and political identities of the subjects between the two emerging empires became closely intertwined. The increasing sympathy for the Safavids among the Ottoman subjects, however, did not stem solely from confessional priorities of those seeking salvation through becoming the followers of the shah. The regions from which the largest number of people converted to Kızılbaşism and/or migrated to Safavid Iran were usually those experiencing economic problems or political disturbances, mostly deriving from the policies of the Ottoman central authority. In other words, various worldly concerns—sociopolitical and fiscal pressures or enticements, the loss or prospect of posts and pensions—constituted significant motives behind becoming or remaining a Kızılbaş in the early modern Ottoman realm. This dynamic created a horizontal power relation between the Ottoman imperial center and its subjects, in which the power holder status of the Kızılbaş manifested itself as a combination of multifarious decisions taken against (or for) the central authority and its representatives in the provinces. In these interactions, many Kızılbaş individuals and groups acted as mediators, negotiators, facilitators, and also as rebels.

This article has also demonstrated the complexity of the interactions among the three major participants in this specific geopolitical environment (i.e., the Ottoman and Safavid courts and the Kızılbaş) that went beyond the conventional Sunni-Shi'i division. The cases provided here, as a small sample from a larger pool, provide us with strong indicators of the nature of the relationship between the Ottoman central authority vis-à-vis its Kızılbaş subjects, as well as the constant efforts made by both the Ottomans and Safavids to retain this population's loyalty. By contextualizing and historicizing the actions taken by the Kızılbaş, these cases display the enmeshment of sectarian policies with the oft-neglected issues of political, religious, and fiscal motivations in inter-confessional and interimperial contact zones. From this angle, one can see the utility of approaching this history "laterally" as opposed to top-down or bottom-up approaches that imagine the relations between the ruler and the ruled in terms of vertical relations of power. Last but not least, the increase in punitive actions and persecutions that the Ottoman central authority took against the Kızılbaş subjects of the empire should be scrutinized within this context. In other words, in the eyes of Istanbul, the conversion, tax evasion, and migration of its subjects to Safavid Iran represented the loss of a critical part of the empire's work force, and the Kızılbaş population(s) was fully aware of this. While the Ottoman central and provincial authorities dealt with them through

multifaceted policies (from offering new titles, land autonomy, and tax exemption on the one end, to heavy persecution on the other), fiscally and politically motivated conversions and/or migrations to and from Safavid Iran constituted a significant aspect of the early modern era and continued until the beginning of the twelfth/eighteenth century, albeit with decreasing intensity.⁹¹

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Reading Ottoman Sunnism through Islamic History: Approaches toward Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya in Ottoman Historical Writing

Vefa Erginbaş

Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya (r. 61–64/680–683), the second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, has been a major bone of contention in the sectarian rift between Sunnis and Shi‘ites to the present day. Conflicting views about Yazīd are not the product of the modern age of sectarian disputes but are reflections of a historical debate among the Muslim historians and religious scholars regarding Yazīd’s persona and his actions, and whether one is to love, tolerate, or curse him. There are three major factions on this issue: on the one side, there are those who accept Yazīd as a Muslim king who deserved obedience from his people. In a famous verse in the Quran (4: 59), God asks believers to obey “those in authority” (*ūlū l-amr*). This verse was used by various rulers throughout the Islamic world to suppress opposition and quell rebellions. According to this view, Muḥammad’s grandson Ḥusayn’s (d. 61/680) opposition to Yazīd made him a rebel. These people see Yazīd as a Muslim for better or worse and discourage anyone from cursing him based on a hadith of the Prophet Muḥammad, which prohibited Muslims from cursing their brethren. On the other side stand those who find in Yazīd’s life clear evidence of unbelief as well as debauchery. They emphasize Yazīd’s direct involvement in the killing of Ḥusayn and members of the family of Muḥammad at Karbala.¹ In between these two groups, there are those who agree on the “wicked” character of Yazīd but see him as a legitimate ruler devoid of religious authority. In this camp are also those who accept Yazīd’s questionable character and allow cursing him because they believe his

1 The earliest source of this episode is *Kitāb Maqatal al-Ḥusayn* of Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). Abū Mikhnaf’s original work is not extant. His work is preserved to a large extent by his transmitter Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 204/819). Abū Mikhnaf, *Maqatal al-Ḥusayn*. In a more recent revision and translation of this work, the editor and translator of Abū Mikhnaf’s work argue that this widely circulated version of the *Maqatal* is unreliable. They suggest using their edition. See Abū Mikhnaf, *The event of Taff*. This version indeed provides critical comparison with other sources that describe the events at Karbala. Al-Ṭabarī also based his section about Yazīd’s caliphate mostly on Abū Mikhnaf. Al-Ṭabarī, *The history* xix.

actions made him an unbeliever. Although one could be tempted to identify the first of these groups as Sunnis, and the opposing group as Shi'ites, and label everybody in between as people of fluid confessional identity, the historical evidence makes it difficult to pinpoint rigid boundaries among these groups.

The Sunni-Shi'ite dispute originated in the first civil war in the history of Islam when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (r. 35–40/656–661) and Mu'āwiya (r. 40–60/661–680) clashed with each other. Even though neither Sunnism nor Shi'ism was firmly established until after the fourth/tenth century, the murder of Ḥusayn and many of Muḥammad's descendants at Karbala in the hands of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya's governor 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (d. 67/686) became a cornerstone of Shi'ite grievances from the very early days of the formation of Shi'ism. The Shi'ites, after the sixth imam, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), opted for dissimulation (*taqiyya*) in regards to the first three caliphs since 'Alids were not strong enough to establish an independent state. On the other hand, the Umayyads, beginning with Mu'āwiya, demanded public cursing of 'Alī from the pulpits, especially during the Friday prayers. This practice is believed to have continued until the end of Umayyad rule except for a short period when the Umayyad caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (r. 99–101/717–720) banned it.² Even though the cursing of the first three caliphs existed among some branches of Shi'ism, it seems that public cursing was initiated and heavily sponsored by the Safavid Shah Ismā'īl I (r. 907–930/1501–1524) under the influence of his *ghulāt* (extreme Shi'i) followers. Cursing Yazīd and denigrating the first three caliphs became significant markers of Safavid Shi'ism. Ismā'īl conveniently used the practice to subdue the Sunni population of Iran.³ His successor, Shah Tahmāsb (r. 930–984/1524–1576), is said to have institutionalized this practice, which became a major point of contention in the Ottoman-Safavid struggle.⁴ In the famous Treaty of Amasya (962/1555), the Safavids promised to end the ritual cursing of the first three caliphs, the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha (d. 58/678), and the Prophet's Companions.⁵ This was a promise that they never kept as the *tabarrā'iyān* continued to flourish under the following Safavid shahs, except during the brief reign of Ismā'īl II (r. 984–985/1576–1577), who purportedly attempted to revert Iran to Sunnism, with little success.⁶

This chapter looks into the differing approaches toward Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya as they are reflected in select Ottoman historical sources from the ninth/fif-

2 Al-Ṭabarī, *The history* xviii, 122–125.

3 Algar, Caliphs and caliphate.

4 On this Safavid invention (*tabarrā'iyān*), see Stanfield-Johnson, *The tabarra'iyyan* 47–71.

5 Newman, *Safavid Iran*.

6 For an excellent treatment of this episode, see Stewart, *The lost biography* 177–205.

teenth until the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century to reveal the nuances of Ottoman Sunnism. It argues that, in its intellectual and cultural manifestations, Ottoman Sunnism had a strong “ahl al-baytist” bent, meaning that it incorporated a strong tradition of love and reverence toward Muḥammad’s family and descendants (*ahl al-bayt*).

One cannot, in fact, talk about Yazīd in limbo; to understand Ottoman attitudes toward him and his actions, we should locate him in his historical context, as a member of the Umayyad dynasty. The Umayyads get a critical treatment in the classical Islamic historiography mostly due to the ‘Abbasid-era historians’ stance toward them.⁷ One can safely argue that the Ottoman intellectuals borrowed similar views from these ‘Abbasid historians. It is important to remember, however, that a countertradition to the ‘Abbasid one developed, especially in Syria in the third/ninth century, a tradition which espoused the Umayyads, and among them especially Mu‘āwiya and Yazīd. Charles Pellat aptly calls this tradition “the Mu‘āwiya cult.”⁸ In a similar vein, the incredibly prolific and influential medieval historian Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 571/1175) painstakingly worked to rehabilitate the image of Yazīd as a pious man, who deserved the caliphate and who was not personally responsible for the events at Karbala.⁹ Similarly, in the fifth/eleventh century, a Hanbali theologian ‘Abd al-Mughith b. Zuhayr al-Harī (d. 483–484/1091) published a book entitled *Fī faḍā’il Yazīd* (On Yazīd’s Virtues).¹⁰ In the following pages I will examine how the Ottoman-era historians positioned themselves vis-à-vis the accounts of Yazīd.

7 See Blankenship, *The end of the jihad state*; Robinson, *Islamic historiography*; El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic historiography*.

8 Pellat, *Le culte de Mu‘āwiya* 53–66. I would like to thank Devin J. Stewart for directing me to this study.

9 Lindsay, *Caliph and moral exemplar?* 250–278. Also see Khalek, *Early Islamic history reimagined* 431–451. Ibn ‘Asākir’s approach seems to be influenced by his almost “extreme” love for Syria and particularly Damascus, to an extent that Damascus emerges from his *Tārīkh* as a more important Islamic city than Mecca and Medina. Today, such an approach would be associated with some sort of a “local nationalism,” which obviously tainted Ibn ‘Asākir’s view of the Umayyad caliphate and its contributions to the Islamic history. This work also includes many hadiths of dubious authenticity which foretell the glorious future of Syria as well as the Syrians. For more detail on this and his *Tārīkh*, see Baş, *İbn Asâkir ve Târihu* 691–706.

10 Goldziher, *Muslim studies* 96.

1 Between Confessional Ambiguity and Refashioned Sunnism: Perspectives from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

It is hard to pinpoint Ottoman religious identity in the first century of the empire. It is even harder to tell if there really was a religious policy. As Cemal Kafadar rightly argued, early Ottomans were doxy-naïve and not doxy-minded, living in what he calls the state of “metadoxy.”¹¹ Popular Sufi *tariqas*, which were just forming and presenting a quiet “fluid and untidy” view,¹² as well as a nonstringent religious landscape, dominated the lands of Rum. These religious figures, who presented quite an eclectic world view, propelled the Ottoman expansion into the Balkans. On the other hand, with the territorial expansion in the ninth/fifteenth century came also the institutions such as madrasas and mosques, and a more concerted effort toward defining orthodoxy. One could argue that especially after Meḥmed 11’s reign (r. 848–850/1444–1446, 855–886/1451–1481), under various *şeyhü’l-islāms*, Ottoman religiosity began to be shaped by the religious policies of the Ottoman dynasty. Even though one can clearly talk about a gradual Sunnitization process steered by the Ottoman dynasts and their ulama, there is not enough evidence showing that their efforts successfully transformed the religious feelings and associations of large segments of the society. On the contrary, various heresy trials toward the end of the ninth/fifteenth century,¹³ as well as the popularity of antinomian movements display the resilience on the part of society.

How did the early Ottoman sources treat the succession struggle in early Islam? What can we learn from their treatments about Ottoman Sunnism in its formative stage? What immediately follows answers these questions based on four of the Ottoman writers from the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries: Aḥmedī (d. 815/1413), Yazııcıoğlu Meḥmed (d. 855/1451), Şükrullāh (d. after 868/1464), and Enverī. Granted, the first three are poets with clear Sufi associations while Şükrullāh is a historian and statesman, and their works do not fit neatly into one genre. For this reason, the following analysis will focus on what these works have to say on the topic at hand, without taking into close consideration the specifics of their genres.

Aḥmedī’s most significant work, *İskendernāme*, is a poetic rendition of the Alexander romance, which was a popular genre in the medieval period, combined with a universal history.¹⁴ Born around 735/1334, Aḥmedī in middle age

11 Kafadar, *Between two worlds* 76.

12 Kara, *Origins of Anatolian Sufism* 90.

13 Ocak, *Zındıklar ve mühlidler*.

14 A detailed study of this text can be found in Sawyer, *Alexander, history, and piety*.

enjoyed the patronage of Süleymān Beg of the central Anatolian Germiyanoglu dynasty (r. 768–788/1367–1386).¹⁵ He probably started writing his *İskendernāme* when he was under Süleymān Beg's patronage. Aḥmedī switched allegiances according to the fortunes of the Anatolian *beyliks* during the tumultuous eighth/fourteenth century; after leaving the service of the Germiyanogulları, he attached himself to the Aydınogulları dynasty of southwestern Anatolia, and finally to the House of 'Oṣmān, which was still a largely unknown entity among intellectuals of the age. In an ironic twist of fate, he ended up presenting his *İskendernāme* to another Süleymān, Süleymān Çelebi, one of the sons of Bāyezīd I (r. 791–804/1389–1402) and an ultimately unsuccessful contender for the Ottoman throne during the interregnum (804–816/1402–1413) following Bāyezīd's defeat by Tamerlane.¹⁶ The latter part of Aḥmedī's account, which covers the history of the House of 'Oṣmān, stands as the earliest written account of the early Ottoman polity, on which almost all later historians relied for their versions of early Ottoman history.¹⁷ Most of the universal history, however, is devoted to the rise of Islam and the history of the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids.

It is hard to call Aḥmedī an Ottoman per se; he was more of a Rumi (i.e., an educated Muslim from Anatolia), like most other literary figures of this century, as his career illustrates. Nonetheless, Aḥmedī's section on the history of Islam is still instructive: How did the earliest known historian of the House of 'Oṣmān treat the early history of Islam and the early Muslim dynasties? Aḥmedī's account of the Prophet's life and mission does not seem to differ significantly from other Sunni accounts, even down to the historical inaccuracies.¹⁸ He depicts Mu'āwiya very negatively: Mu'āwiya was appointed by the Prophet as a scribe to record his revelations from God, but he betrayed Muḥammad's trust and was exiled. When 'Uthmān became caliph, he appointed Mu'āwiya to an important post, and that was why, according to Aḥmedī, 'Uthmān was killed. (In reality, Mu'āwiya was appointed by 'Umar). Mu'āwiya was indeed a recorder of revelations (*waḥy*), at least according to most *sirāts*. However, earlier accounts do not mention his betrayal. Aḥmedī, to dramatize Mu'āwiya's actions or, under the influence of the philo-'Alid sentiments of the time or, more speculatively, under the influence of a Shi'ite source, makes him a villain, even during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad.

15 For Aḥmedī's biography see Ünver, *İskendernāme*.

16 Ünver, *İskendernāme* 5–7.

17 İnalçık, The rise of Ottoman historiography 161.

18 The following folio numbers refer to the copy of the *İskendernāme* preserved in the Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar, MS 921. This text is reprinted in a facsimile in Aḥmedī, *İskendernāme*.

Aḥmedī describes ‘Alī’s rule in the context of Mu‘āwiya’s attempts to instigate rebellion against him. He accuses Mu‘āwiya of being untrustworthy because he broke his covenant with ‘Alī’s elder son Ḥasan, whom he allegedly poisoned. Aḥmedī is terse on Mu‘āwiya’s caliphate. He does not refer to any of Mu‘āwiya’s achievements or conquests and depicts him as a usurper with no legitimate claim to the leadership of the Islamic community: “Mu‘āwiya took the caliphate from ‘Alī with ‘a thousand sorceries’ and betrayed religion.” He is called a *mūteḡallibe*, someone who became a king by force and without legitimate right (*istihkāk̄suz*).¹⁹ Aḥmedī’s negative treatment of the descendants of Abī Sufyān continues with Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, who, according to the poet, has “no share in religion.” He depicts him as a tyrant who harmed the public. “Although people say there should be no cursing of him,” Aḥmedī avers, “may God’s curse be upon him from beginning to end.”²⁰ However, he praises Yazīd’s son Mu‘āwiya II (r. 64/683–684) for abdicating the caliphate; this, Aḥmedī feels, is the act of a wise ruler who admits that his family usurped the leadership from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

A near contemporary of Aḥmedī, Yazıcıoğlu Meḡmed’s famous mathnawi *Risāletü’l-Muḡammediye* is another significant source on Rumi Muslim religiosity in the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire. This work, known simply as the *Muḡammediye*, enjoyed immense popularity over the centuries. Manuscripts can be found in libraries all over the world, as well as in the private collections of numerous Turkish families who held it sacred like the Quran.²¹ Yazıcıoğlu Meḡmed belonged to an erudite family as both he and his brother Aḥmed (Bicān) (d. after 870/1466) became well-known scholars. As he mentions in his work, he was educated by two great scholars of his age: Zeynü’l-Arab²² and Ḥaydar-ı Hafī.²³ Yazıcıoğlu was also a pupil of the age’s great Sufi master, Ḥācī Bayrām-ı Velī of Ankara (d. 834/1430). Yazıcıoğlu became acquainted with Velī on the latter’s way to Edirne when Velī was summoned

19 Ibid. 57b–58a.

20 Ibid. 58a.

21 The work’s popularity outside the Ottoman domains attests to its wider impact: the *Muḡammediye* was also known among Crimean and Central Asian Turkish populations later in the ninth/fifteenth century. Köprülü, *Dıvan edebiyatı antolojisi* 68, cited in Yazıcıoğlu, *Muḡammediye* i, 85; and Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque* 259. On the reception of the *Muḡammediye* corpus, see the magisterial study by Heinzelmann, *Populäre religiöse Literatur*. Most recently, Krstić argued that this work should be counted among the ‘ilm-i ḡāl works in terms of authorial intent. Krstić, From *shahāda* to ‘*aqida*’ 299.

22 Yazıcıoğlu, *Muḡammediye* ii, 603, couplet 8973.

23 Ibid., couplet 8974.

by Sultan Murād II (r. 824–855/1421–1451), based on allegations that he was causing trouble in Ankara and gathering rowdy pupils around him.²⁴ After this initial encounter, he submitted himself to Ḥācī Bayrām-ı Velī and became his pupil and eventually one of his adepts. *Muḥammediye* indeed showcases greatly Yazıciöğlü's Sufi inclinations.

Events following the death of Muḥammad are covered rather succinctly in *Muḥammediye*. As for 'Alī, Yazıciöğlü cites the hadith in which Muḥammad likens his relationship with 'Alī to Moses's relationship with Aaron. However, Yazıciöğlü observes, Mu'āwiya and his followers did not see that 'Alī was a mirror to God, and so they opposed his caliphate and caused him to suffer. Like most authors discussed in this study, Yazıciöğlü reports a hadith in which the Prophet predicts that the caliphate would last for 30 years after his death but would be followed by kingship (*mülk*).²⁵ Ottoman historians used this hadith to make sense of the end of the line of the Rightly Guided (*Rāshidūn*) caliphs and what all of them regard as the Umayyad usurpation of the caliphate. Yazıciöğlü adopts the widespread popular practice of cursing Yazīd because of his destruction of the Prophet's grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. He explains that cursing Yazīd had been prohibited among the Sunnis in the past but that it has recently come back into vogue. In betraying the family of the Prophet, in any case, Yazīd had fallen into heresy (*ilhād*) and thus deserved to be cursed.²⁶

A few decades later, Şükrullāh also treated early Islamic history in his famous work *Bahjat al-tavārīkh*. Unlike most other Ottoman historians, he does not speak ill of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān except to point out that he conspicuously consumed luxuries. He is also reticent about the conflict between him and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. However, he includes a summary of the events of Karbala, mostly in line with Abū Mikhnaf and al-Ṭabarī, a source he frequently refers to along with *Qūt al-arwāḥ* of Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Hammād. He does, however, condemn Mu'āwiya's son Yazīd for the massacre of Ḥusayn and his family at Karbala in 680. He calls Yazīd "dirty and damned" and points to his wicked character. He heavily criticizes him for drinking openly, introducing castration in Islam, and destroying God's house (Kaba) and the cities of Mecca and Medina. He says that Yazīd's demonic and damned body went straight to the lowest level of hell (*esfel-i sāfilīn*).²⁷ He calls Yazīd's followers *Yezīdīs* and condemns them with heavy curses for supporting Yazīd and being instrumental in the murder

24 Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve tarikatlar* 133.

25 Yazıciöğlü, *Muḥammediye* ii, 303–304, couplets 4635–4645.

26 Ibid. 305, couplets 4667–4669.

27 Almaz, *Şükrullah* 311–313.

of Ḥusayn.²⁸ Apart from a few figures, such as the famously pious ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (r. 99–101/717–720), who is widely praised for his devoutness and benevolent treatment of the family of the Prophet, and Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Mālīk (r. 105–125/723–43), who honored the fifth Shi‘ite imam, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/732), he unflatteringly describes the Umayyads as gluttonous, arrogant, lustful, dull, insensitive, violent, and irreligious.

A contemporary of Şükrullāh, Enverī’s famous mathnawi *Düstürnâme* also has a few lines on early Islamic history.²⁹ Enverī tells us that he dealt with early Islamic history in his now lost *Teferrücnâme*. He briefly summarizes ‘Alī’s conflict with ‘Ā’isha and her allies, Ṭalḥa and Zubayr, and Mu‘āwiya’s call for arbitration of his struggle with ‘Alī. He affirms that Mu‘āwiya won over the caliphate with a trick and calls him *şakīl*, which means both overweight and oppressive (Mu‘āwiya was known for his overeating). With regards to Ḥusayn’s killing, he again refers his readers to *Teferrücnâme*.³⁰ For Yazīd, he says “he was drowned in the pool of crime.”³¹

How should we assess this apparent animosity toward the Umayyads and especially Yazīd among the early Ottoman writers? The history of the Umayyads was written by ‘Abbasid-era historians such as al-Ṭabarī. Therefore, most histories of the Umayyad era are tinged with a strong ‘Abbasid bias and sympathy for ‘Alī. One could easily argue that early Ottoman intellectuals’ view of the early Islamic history is similarly tinged due to their sources. However, their sources were scanty and often incomplete. What shaped their views more than their sources was a tradition that the Ottoman intellectuals cherished. This tradition, which openly venerates *ahl al-bayt*, first manifested itself in the *futuwwa*³²

28 As a matter of fact, historical Yazidis are perhaps one of the most scourged groups in the Sunni world up to today. They were subjected to a genocide by the so-called Islamic State in 2014. Even though they have a history that goes back earlier than the establishment of the Umayyad caliphate, some of their significant figures are of Umayyad descent. The term *Yazīdī* as used by the Ottoman historians may not necessarily correspond to the historical Yazidis but rather should be understood as a theoretical group of staunch defenders of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd’s caliphate as well as his persona.

29 Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destān d’Umūr Pacha*. An earlier edition is [Enverī], *Düsturnamei Enveri* edited by M.H. Yınanç. For a more recent one, see Öztürk, *Fatih devri kaynaklarından*. None of the above editions include pre-Islamic sections of the *Düstürnâme*. Complete work can be found in İzmir Millî Kütüphanesi, MS 16114-22/401.

30 “Maktelin okumağa kılusuñ heves/ bul teferrücnâme ibret saña bes.” Enverī, *Düstürnâme* 37b.

31 “Suç havuzunda boğulur gör nider.” Ibid. 37b.

32 ‘Alī b. Abi Ṭalīb was seen as the spiritual leader of the *futuwwa* (urban fraternities) and styled as the ideal youth, or *fatā*. Various *fütüvvetnâmes* carry a very strong Shi‘ite influence. See Breebaart, *The Fütüvvet-nâme-i kebîr* 203–215; Loewen, *Proper conduct (adab) is everything* 543–570; also see Yıldırım, *Shi‘itization of the futuwwa*. Note, however,

networks and various Sufi groups.³³ The historians of the Mongols and successor states, such as the Ilkhanids, agree that after the Mongol invasions of the seventh/thirteenth century, confessional ambiguity characterized the religious attitudes of both the political leaders and some of the religious communities.³⁴ “To cite only one example, some of the coins of the Timurid ruler Abū al-Qāsim Bābur (r. 853–861/1449–1457) bear Shi‘i formulas on one side and Sunni legends on the other.”³⁵ In this environment, a moderate inclination toward Shi‘ism made great strides in Sunni communities. The veneration of not only ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, his wife Fāṭima, and his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, but also the entirety of the Shi‘ite imams had spread in the dominantly Sunni communities.³⁶ This process paved the way for the inextricable linkage of Sufism and Shi‘ism in Iran, finally resulting in the birth of the Safavid dynasty. In the remainder of the Sunni lands, on the other hand, it led to a profound veneration for the *ahl al-bayt*. Many Sunni states capitalized on that sentiment by projecting themselves as sponsors and protectors of Shi‘ite shrines in Egypt, Iraq, and Syria.³⁷

I believe R.D. McChesney captures this phenomenon best in his study of an ‘Alid *waqf* in Central Asia.³⁸ McChesney calls this deep veneration for *ahl al-bayt* among the Sunnis “ahl al-baytism.” I argue that this is a useful concept to address strong ‘Alid loyalty in predominantly Sunni geographies such as the

that ‘Alī was not always central to the *futuwwa* tradition but became more so in the late medieval period; Yıldırım sees the ninth/fifteenth century as a critical turning point, while Lloyd Ridgeon points to some earlier developments as well. See Ridgeon, *Morals and mysticism*.

33 B.G. Martin argued more than 40 years ago that had Halvetis not been forced by the Ottoman ulama to adopt a Sunni attitude, they could have easily ended up being a Shi‘ite *tariqa* given their early attachment to Shi‘ism. Martin, *A short history* 284. In a recent appraisal of the Halvetis order in the Ottoman Empire, John Curry opposes Martin’s argument: “In the end, the inclusion of the six imams of the Shi‘ite tradition in the constructed identity of the Halveti silsile need not be taken as decisive proof of crypto-Shi‘ism.” Curry, *The transformation* 25. For an excellent treatment of the relationship between Shi‘ism and Sufism, see Nasr, *Shi‘ism and Sufism*.

34 For this phenomenon, which is also called “confessional ambiguity,” see Woods, *The Aqqyūnlu* 4–5; Amoretti, *Religion in the Timurid* 610–655.

35 Woods, *The Aqqyūnlu* 4.

36 See various studies by Rıza Yıldırım on eighth/fourteenth- and ninth/fifteenth-century Anatolia for the impact of Shi‘ism on the Sunni communities and the interactions between the two: Yıldırım, *Beylikler dünyasında*; Yıldırım, *Abdallar, akıncılar, Bektaşilik*; Yıldırım, *Anadolu’da İslamiyet*; Yıldırım, *Sunni orthodoxy vs. Shi‘ite heterodoxy*.

37 For a recent study of the shrines in Syria, see Mulder, *The shrines of the ‘Alids* 16–47. For the importance of the cult of ‘Alid saints, especially in Fatimid Cairo, see Williams, *The cult of ‘Alid saints* i, 39–60; ii, 37–52.

38 McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia* 33–34, 268.

Ottoman Empire. Even though McChesney limits ahl al-baytism to ‘Alī and his immediate descendants, I include in this concept all of the Twelve Imams. The poets mentioned above, Aḥmedī, Enverī, and Yazıcıoğlu, also exhibited ahl al-baytism, especially in their criticisms of Yazīd and the Umayyads. It seems that, in pre-Safavid Anatolia, Shi’ite-tinged readings of early Islamic history were common among intellectual circles. It is also worth noting that all of these writers had Sufi affiliations. Just like it changed the religious landscape in the medieval Islamic world, Sufism also helped shape Ottoman Sunnism by carrying over Sufism’s strong ‘Alid stance. One could argue, based on Cemal Kafadar’s previously mentioned concept of metadoxy, that what I described above is perhaps not surprising. What follows in the next section testifies to the fact that this trend continued unabated despite the sectarian milieu of the tenth/sixteenth century.

2 Sunnism and Islamic History in the Age of Ottoman-Safavid Conflict: Perspectives from the Sixteenth Century³⁹

The tenth/sixteenth century has been considered a watershed moment for Ottoman Sunnism. Selīm I’s (r. 918–926/1512–1520) anti-Kızılbaş campaigns in Anatolia and his rivalry with the nascent Safavid state, as well as Ottoman jurists’ continuous efforts to redefine Sunni orthodoxy, are considered clear testaments to that effect. In a recent study, Derin Terzioğlu sketches the history of Ottoman Sunnism and suggests that Ottoman Sunnitization began considerably earlier than the tenth/sixteenth century: “This process (Sunnitization) was a continuation of pre-existing trends, and had complex and multiple causes rather than being simply a politically-minded response to the rise of the Safavids and their adoption of Shi’ism.”⁴⁰ Pioneering works of a new generation of scholars, namely Tijana Krstić, Derin Terzioğlu, and Guy Burak, have placed Ottoman efforts at Sunnitization, beginning in the tenth/sixteenth century, within the context of the broader early modern phenomenon of confession-building and confessionalization that they see spanning Europe and the Middle East.⁴¹ In its original formulation, “confessionalization” refers to the social effects of confession-building projects after the Reformation in Europe and

39 This section is mostly a reiteration of the relevant sections from my article *Problematizing Ottoman Sunnism* 614–646.

40 Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 305.

41 Krstić, *Contested conversions*; Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize*; Terzioğlu, *Where ‘ilm-i ḥāl*; Burak, *The second formation*; Burak, *Faith, law and empire*.

gradual rapprochement between the state and the church. Even though there is a great value in integrating Ottoman (and Safavid) religious landscapes into the broader Eurasian trends, the term confessionalization carries the potential to overemphasize the role of the state and the ulama (the only group that to some extent resembles clergy in Islamic societies) in the formation of religious confessions.⁴² However, it would be incorrect to argue that Sunnitization (or any religious process for that matter) was primarily a state-enforced and state-led policy. I particularly value here the multiplicity of agents and processes argument brought forth by Terzioğlu and expanded by Krstić.⁴³

When one considers Ottoman Sunnism, a state-centered religious approach often dominates the narrative. Besides what the state and jurists tell us about Sunnism, what can we learn from the Ottoman historians and intellectuals who penned works on these subjects in the tenth/sixteenth century? Since a rehabilitation of the images of Yazīd and Mu‘āwiya was already in place in the seventh/thirteenth century, probably as a reaction to the increasing ‘Alidism in Sunni circles, did the Ottoman historians, in their treatments of the succession struggle in early Islamic history, show a pro-Umayyad stance? To address this question, this section will investigate the works of two of the prominent intellectuals of the tenth/sixteenth century: Muṣṭafā Cenābī (d. 999/1590–1591) and Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī (d. 1008/1600).⁴⁴

Muṣṭafā Cenābī is the lesser known of the two, even though his work, *Aylām al-zāhir*, had a substantial impact on a future generation of historians, such as Qaramānī (d. 1019/1611), Kātib Çelebī (d. 1067/1657), and Müneccimbaşı Aḥmed (d. 1113/1702).⁴⁵ Cenābī was himself a *sayyid*, a descendant of Muḥammad, and had great love for the *ahl al-bayt*. Cenābī’s work includes an extensive treatment of the Twelve Imams. His account of the Shi‘ite imams, as well as his narrative of the different sects of Shi‘ism, is clearly inspired by al-Shahrastānī’s (d. 548/1153) famous compilation of various religious beliefs, philosophies, and doctrines known as *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*.⁴⁶ In addition to the Isma‘ili-inflected work of al-Shahrastānī,⁴⁷ Cenābī bases this section on Twelver, or Imami, Shi‘ite

42 For a study that emphasizes the role of the Ottoman, state see Krstić, *Illuminated by the light*.

43 Terzioğlu, *How to conceptualize* 320. See also the recent study on ‘*aqā’id* works by Krstić, where she argues for a similar point of view. Krstić, *From shahāda to ‘aqida* 296–314.

44 For more detail on the tenth/sixteenth century, see Erginbaş, *The appropriation of Islamic history*.

45 Cenābī, *Aylām al-zāhir* (the manuscript I am using records the title as *al-Ḥāfil al-wasīf wa-l-aylām al-zāhir al-muḥīf*, which is one of the known variants). The primary study on Muṣṭafā Cenābī is Canatar, *Müverrih Cenābī Muṣṭafā*.

46 Al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*.

47 For details, see Erginbaş, *Problematizing*.

sources where these are available to him, such as *Kitāb al-irshād* of the Twelver theologian, jurist, and polemicist al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)⁴⁸ and *I'lām al-warā bi-a'lām al-hudā* of the Twelver scholar and theologian Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153). Cenābī also makes extensive use of Sunni sources on the imams that are known for their sympathies for the *ahl al-bayt*, so much so that their authors have been dubbed as “Twelver Sunnis” by some modern scholars.⁴⁹ One of these authors, Ibn Ṭalḥa wrote his work in Damascus in 649/1252; it became notorious among the Sunni authors of the seventh/thirteenth century since it not only defended the Twelve Imams but also supported the idea that the Twelfth Imam was indeed the eschatological Mahdī.⁵⁰ Cenābī's careful use of both Shi'ite and “ahl al-baytist” Sunni sources shows the extent of his knowledge of the Shi'ite imams and their history, as well as his preference for such sources that support an 'Alid interpretation of early Islamic history.

Cenābī regards the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, as a *mutaghallib*, or usurper, and lists a few of his achievements with little comment. He briefly describes his bad temper and weaknesses, such as wearing expensive clothing and riding expensive horses. His only redeeming feature was his skill at politics. He is harder on Yazīd, who was responsible for the killing of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb, arguing that he was an infidel because of his poems praising drinking and because of the derisive words that he uttered when Ḥusayn was martyred.⁵¹ Cenābī's Umayyad section seems to be a very concise précis of al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) account.

Muṣṭafā 'Ālī is possibly the best known of the tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectuals. His account of the reign of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, in his *Künhü'l-ahbār*,⁵² is far superior to other accounts under study here. The author's attitude toward Mu'āwiya appears empathetic at first, but as the narrative continues, a critical stance emerges. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī asserts that Mu'āwiya converted to Islam many years before the Muslim conquest of Mecca in 8/630 but concealed his belief out of fear. He was one of the Companions of the Prophet, for whom the latter prayed for both this world and the hereafter, and on whose authority hadith were transmitted. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz famously defended him. He reportedly saw Mu'āwiya in a dream in which the latter told

48 For al-Mufīd and his importance in the Shi'ite revival of the Buyid age, see Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance* 67–68.

49 These works are *Al-Fuṣūl al-muhimma fi ma'rifat aḥwāl al-a'imma* of the Maliki scholar 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbāgh and *Maṭālib al-su'ul fi manāqib Āl al-Rasūl* of the Shafi'i author Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-'Adawī al-Niṣībīnī.

50 Madelung, al-Mahdī.

51 Cenābī, *Aylām al-zāhir* 353b.

52 'Ālī, *Künhü'l-ahbār*.

him that God forgave him for opposing 'Alī. In other dreams reported by anonymous mystics, Mu'āwiya sits next to the Prophet Muḥammad like the other true companions. Sunni mystics and scholars alike, including the great legist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), saw in their dreams that the Prophet Muḥammad condemned people who disparage Mu'āwiya. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī reports a tradition of Jarīr ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, one of the teachers of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, that Mu'āwiya was disconsolate when the news of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb's martyrdom reached him. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī also refers to Mu'āwiya with honorific titles. Although Muṣṭafā 'Ālī duly reports on the caliph's vices, such as his love for jewelry and food, for which the Prophet condemned him, as well as his actions against the Prophet's descendants, he also praises him for his raids against the Byzantines, for serving as a scribe to the Prophet, for his generosity, especially toward 'Alī's sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the Prophet's grandchildren, and the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha, and for his skill in politics and military strategy.

On the other hand, he also provides a critical perspective on Mu'āwiya. In Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's narrative, Mu'āwiya acknowledges more than once that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb is superior to him and that he did not want to be caliph until after his cousin 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was killed. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī also includes a critical report of the famous mystic Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) to the effect that there are four of Mu'āwiya's actions that are impossible to justify: his role in 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb's murder, his killing of one of the Prophet's companions, his favoritism toward his own family, and his appointment of his son Yazīd as his successor. We also see 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's favorite wife, rationalizing Mu'āwiya's caliphate by pointing out that God sometimes bestows power on unbelievers or sinners; after all, He allowed the pharaohs to rule Egypt for centuries. On the conflict between Mu'āwiya and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb, Muṣṭafā 'Ālī argues that one should assess it within the context of fate and God's will. However, given the hadith in which the Prophet advises everyone to follow 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb, Mu'āwiya should have acknowledged his caliphate. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī asserts that he cannot understand those who do not comprehend the truths revealed by this hadith and adds that it is impossible to forget that many companions of the Prophet were killed at the battle of Siffin while fighting on the side of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb.

Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's rather ambivalent account of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān contrasts with his even-handed account of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, who is usually regarded in a far more negative light than his father. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī distances himself from narratives praising or disparaging Yazīd and acknowledges that he is aware of hadiths of dubious authenticity in support of both positions. He relates a somewhat positive tradition that in later life Yazīd distanced himself from his protégé, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, because of the latter's role in the massacre of

Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī. Another hadith that Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī cites, in contrast, insists that Yazīd was purely one of the denizens of hell. Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī indicates his own position by using derogatory terms for Yazīd such as “damned and dirty.” He also argues that Yazīd’s attacks against the people of Mecca and Medina, as well as his brutal treatment of the Prophet’s descendants, above all Ḥusayn, are signs of a lack of belief and submission to Islam. Commensurate with his even-handed approach, he also points out Yazīd’s good qualities, such as his generosity and intelligence. As in the case of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, certain mystics reported dreams in which Yazīd told them that God had forgiven him. Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī does not find these reports credible because of Yazīd’s actions, which, according to the author, surely proved otherwise. Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī also argues that because of Yazīd’s atrocities against the descendants of the Prophet, none of his children lived long enough to enjoy this world, although there were among them some righteous people, such as his son Mu‘āwiya II.

Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s account of Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī’s life and martyrdom at Karbala is one of the most exhaustive and vibrant sections of *Kūnhū’l-ahbār*.⁵³ Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī composed elegies for Ḥusayn and the other eleven imams. His *Sūbhatū’l-abdāl*, completed in 1000/1593–1594, collects elegies on ‘*Ashūrā*’, the day of Ḥusayn’s martyrdom.⁵⁴ To show his devotion to Ḥusayn, he endowed a fountain in Karbala while serving as interim governor of Baghdad in 993/1586.⁵⁵ Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī acknowledges that some of the reports of the extreme Shi‘ites concerning blood flowing from stones on the site and the sun bearing a bloodstain on the day of the massacre are not true. On the other hand, he argues that Ibn Athīr is wrong to discourage lamentations for Ḥusayn that go beyond those for the other imams. Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī justifies the lamentations because, he argues, on no other occasion when an imam was victimized was the Prophet’s lineage so gravely endangered.

Cenābī and Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī glowingly portray the Shi‘ite imams. The latter explicitly states that the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad had a right to the caliphate. He regards the ‘Alids as far superior to the Umayyads and evinces a deep devotion to the martyred Ḥusayn.⁵⁶ In its cultural and intellectual representation, Ottoman Sunnism did not show hostility toward the ‘Alids and their political cause. The image of Ottoman Sunnism that we have in

53 ‘Alī, *Kūnhū’l-ahbār* iii, 353–385.

54 Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual* 148.

55 Ibid. 124.

56 In his later work known as *Curious bits of wisdom*, he apparently goes so far as to offer a solution to the Sunni-Shi‘i division. Fleischer, Muṣṭafā ‘Alī’s *Curious* 103–109. Unfortunately, I do not have access to the text of Muṣṭafā ‘Alī’s work.

our mind is mostly epitomized by Selīm I's anti-Kızılbaş campaigns in Anatolia and strong anti-Safavid rhetoric evident in the writings of the Ottoman jurists such as Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1534) and Ebū's-su'ūd (d. 982/1574). However, one has to also remember that Ottoman Sunnism in the most general sense was also imbued with ahl al-baytism and sympathy toward the 'Alid political cause. Both Cenābī's and 'Ālī's works show that despite the ever-growing Safavid influence in Anatolia and Iraq in the late tenth/sixteenth century, and despite a state of open warfare between the Ottoman and Safavid empires, Ottoman intellectuals did not necessarily adopt a rigid Sunnism that legitimized the results of the early succession struggle in Islam. Rather, reverence for the *ahl al-bayt* remained quite strong among them. Ottoman Sunnism by no means entailed disowning the Shi'ite imams or their legacy; in some cases, it did not even entail rejecting the Shi'ite eschatological doctrine.⁵⁷ The contributions of these two authors point to the strong ahl al-baytist bent in Ottoman Sunnism among the intellectuals in the tenth/sixteenth century.

3 A More Visible Sunnism or Sunnitization "From Below": Perspectives from the Seventeenth Century

While the discussion of religiosity in the tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire revolves around the state-sponsored Sunnization efforts, the Kadızadeli controversy overshadows the eleventh/seventeenth century. One could argue that the puritanical movement of the Kadızadeli represents the peak in a process that Krstić called "confessionalization from below." However, the mere existence of this controversy shows that this Sunnitization process was neither seamless nor universally accepted. In what follows, this section investigates how three intellectuals who wrote sections on Islamic history in their universal histories in the first half of the eleventh/seventeenth century approached the succession issue.

The universal history written in Arabic by Abū al-Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Sinān al-Qaramānī al-Dimashqī, famously known as al-Qaramānī, is entitled *Akḥbār al-duwal wa-athār al-uwal fī l-tārīkh*, and was composed right at the turn of the eleventh/seventeenth century.⁵⁸ Kātib Çelebi and many others after him describe *Akḥbār al-duwal* as a summary of Cenābī's history with few additions. While it is true that Qaramānī reproduces a great deal of Cenā-

57 See Erginbaş, *Problematizing*.

58 Al-Qaramānī, *Akḥbār al-duwal*.

bī's material, his work is not a verbatim copy of the latter's history. In fact, his omissions and additions shed a good deal of light on how he and Cenābī differed in their scholarship and their attitudes toward early Islamic history. Although Qaramānī's work features some of the ahl al-baytist notions of his predecessors, his work strikes one as more Sunni-oriented than Cenābī's work. For instance, he acknowledges at the very beginning of Abū Bakr's reign that he was the best created being after Muḥammad according to the Sunnis (*ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a*), followed by 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī. He also praises the greatness of Abū Bakr's *'ilm*, or esoteric knowledge, in contrast to other works, which stress Abū Bakr's closeness and loyalty to the Prophet and not his esoteric knowledge.⁵⁹ It is to 'Alī that *'ilm* is usually attributed. In keeping with his overall approach, Qaramānī refrains from including much detail on the political aspects of the reigns of the *Rāshidūn* caliphs, preferring to emphasize their personalities. His aversion to political narrative continues in his treatment of 'Umar's reign; hadiths concerning the caliph's virtues and quasi-miraculous deeds are of greater concern to Qaramānī.⁶⁰ In summarizing 'Uthmān's reign, he asserts that he was killed by "oppressors" and acknowledges that he favored the old-guard Quraysh, who were recent converts to Islam, as opposed to 'Umar, who was harsh toward them. He acquits 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb of any complicity in 'Uthmān's murder based on a report recorded in Ibn 'Asākir's history. He provides additional circumstantial details that tend to exonerate 'Alī: 'Alī beat his children because 'Uthmān was killed while they were guarding the door to his house; 'Alī sent water to 'Uthmān while he was under siege. He also includes a glowing report of 'Alī's virtues. He narrates 'Alī's murder based on al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) and Ibn 'Asākir's histories and adds a report of 'Alī asserting that he did not see anyone better fit than he was to assume the caliphate when the Prophet died.⁶¹ Following his account of 'Alī, he presents a narrative of the lives of the twelve imams; from this point on, his history closely parallels that of Cenābī.⁶² Like Cenābī, Qaramānī presents the imams as epitomes of righteousness, justice, and true faith. He focuses on the characters of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn while avoiding comment on the explosive political issues surrounding their careers.

Qaramānī adopts a more conventional Sunni position regarding Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. He emphasizes Mu'āwiya's generosity and gentleness. He refrains from taking a stand on his dispute with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb, insisting that what hap-

59 Ibid. 91–95.

60 Ibid. 95–98.

61 Ibid. 102–104.

62 Ibid. 105–118.

pened between them should be assessed according to their independent reasoning (*ijtihād*). For the rest of the Umayyads, Qaramānī is critical. He praises only a few of the Umayyad caliphs, and then only the ones who, in his estimation, followed the “righteous” paths of the four rightly-guided caliphs. The author explicitly states that Yazīd was responsible for the murder of Ḥusayn.⁶³ At first, he does not openly curse Yazīd but instead curses “Shamir” (Shimr), who actually killed Ḥusayn. Cursing Yazīd, in the manner of most of the Ottoman historians we have studied, would become a bone of contention between the puritanical Kadızadeli and their opponents in the first half of the eleventh/seventeenth century. Although Qaramānī lived before this debate emerged, he does comment on the appropriateness of cursing Yazīd in his section on Yazīd’s caliphate. He notes that three of the four purported founders of the Sunni legal rites, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik b. Anas, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, agreed on cursing him directly (*taṣrīh*) or indirectly (*tabwīh*). For his own part, Qaramānī prefers cursing Yazīd directly because of his actions, such as hunting cheetahs, playing chess, and drinking and praising alcohol, because he believes these made him an unbeliever. To underline his antipathy toward Yazīd, Qaramānī cites a tradition that the later Umayyad caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz punished a man with twenty lashes because he called Yazīd *amīr al-mu’minīn* (commander of the faithful), a title that should be used only by legitimate caliphs; as well as a tradition of the Prophet claiming that the first man who will alter his *sunna*, or custom, will be an Umayyad named Yazīd. Yet to balance his account, he includes a counter-opinion of the great theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who did not permit the cursing of Yazīd because even though he was a sinner, he was still a Muslim, and it is incumbent upon all Muslims not to curse anyone who submits to God. Al-Ghazālī also maintained that Yazīd did not order the murder of Ḥusayn.⁶⁴ Even though he joined the choir in cursing Yazīd, Qaramānī relied more on mainstream Sunni interpretations of history than Cenābī did. A case in point is the ‘Alid claimants to the caliphate. Although he follows Cenābī in his account of the early ‘Abbasid caliphs, Qaramānī ignores a number of ‘Alid claimants whose efforts to attain the caliphate Cenābī describes in some detail.

A near contemporary of Qaramānī is Meḥmed b. Meḥmed, famously known as Edirnevī. His history *Nuhbetü’t-tevārīh* also includes details on early Islamic history.⁶⁵ Edirnevī’s work is reminiscent of Lārī’s famous history *Mir’āt al-*

63 Ibid. 107.

64 Ibid. 130–131. See also McDonald, *The life of al-Ghazzālī* 71–72.

65 Meḥmed b. Meḥmed, *Nuhbetü’t-tevārīh*.

adwār.⁶⁶ Since Edirnevī used Lārī's work as his model, his opinions, and his reverence for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb bear a close resemblance to those of Lārī. Edirnevī asserts that 'Alī's virtues are beyond human comprehension as he is the gate of learning whose every word warrants a book. Edirnevī vehemently insists that 'Alī refrained from shedding the blood of his brothers in faith and showed respect to all the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad; he acquits 'Alī of 'Uthmān's murder. He narrates Ḥasan's and Ḥusayn's lives in summary form by listing their virtues. He calls Ḥusayn's murderers oppressors. Edirnevī refrains from commenting on Mu'āwiya while portraying Yazīd very negatively. He condemns Yazīd and his men because of their oppression of the people of Mecca and Medina and explicitly blames Yazīd for Ḥusayn's murder, calling him damned (*la'īn*) and filthy (*palīd*). He also prays that Yazīd gets what he deserves.

The towering intellectual of the eleventh/seventeenth century was Kātib Çelebi. Kātib Çelebi's universal history in Arabic, *Fadhlaka*,⁶⁷ is composed of many works but mostly follows Cenābī's history. In his treatment of the *Rāshidūn*, Kātib Çelebi shortens some parts of Cenābī's narrative and expands others. He also makes occasional references to Qaramānī's *Akhbār al-duwal*. Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's reigns are briefly summarized.⁶⁸ In his coverage of 'Uthmān's reign, Kātib Çelebi rejects as unreliable a report by Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab to the effect that since 'Uthmān favored his relatives, those who disdain him should be excused; Cenābī uses this report to neutralize 'Uthmān's murder.⁶⁹ Although relatively detailed, Kātib Çelebi's account of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb's reign is likewise a précis of the relevant section in Cenābī's chronicle. Like Cenābī, Kātib Çelebi emphasizes 'Alī's virtues. At the end of this section, he raises the question of whether Sunnis consider 'Alī or 'Uthmān more virtuous. Drawing on the scholar and Sufi al-Yāfī'ī (d. 768/1367), he concludes that there are some Sunnis who regard 'Alī as superior to 'Uthmān; among them are the authoritative *sīra* author Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d. 150/770) and the famous mystic Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778). Kātib Çelebi does not clarify in *Fadhlaka* the ranking among the first four caliphs; in *Mizānū'l-haqq*, however, he advises his readers to follow the path of *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a*. According to the mainstream Sunni position, which was defended by, for example, the sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar Birgivi (Birgili) Mehmed Efendi (d. 981/1573), the ranking

66 Lārī, *Mir'āt al-advār*. For more details about Lārī and his work see Erginbaş, The appropriation of Islamic history 111–127.

67 Kātib Çelebi, *Fadhlaka*.

68 Ibid. 65a–69a.

69 Ibid. 71a.

among the early caliphs follows the historical sequence, that is, Abū Bakr comes first, followed by ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī. After them in virtuousness come the rest of the Prophet’s companions, then the companions’ followers, then the followers of the followers.⁷⁰

Kātib Çelebi renders Ḥasan’s and Ḥusayn’s biographies briefly, without commenting on their distinctive virtues. Unlike the earlier Ottoman historians, apart from Qaramānī, he does not provide biographies of the remaining Shi’ite imams. The ahl al-baytist narrative, which was very much present in Cenābī’s history, turns into a dry summary of events in Kātib Çelebi’s work. Like Qaramānī but unlike Cenābī, Kātib Çelebi often weeds out ‘Alid rivals to the Umayyads’ and ‘Abbasids’ rule. Although he might have opted for this method to keep his work short, Kātib Çelebi seems to have been heavily influenced by the conflicts between the Kadızadelis and the Sufis. His choice of a more conventionally Sunni view of events was a consequence of how he approached this conflict.⁷¹

Since Kātib Çelebi uses Ibn Khaldūn’s (d. 808/1406) work extensively, it is appropriate here to discuss how Ibn Khaldūn interprets the succession problem in early Islamic history and whether his interpretation differs from Kātib Çelebi’s. Ibn Khaldūn’s view of the issue of succession to Muḥammad reflects what might be called a conventional Sunni position. He favors the Umayyads because they represented group feeling (*‘aşabiyya*) at the time, the only thing that prevented the splitting of the Muslim community. He acknowledges the wickedness of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, who is accused of the murder of Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, the Prophet’s grandson. However, he finds Ḥusayn faulty in his judgment (although he considers him a martyr because of his good intentions) because he opposed the group feeling that was strong among the Umayyads.⁷² Kātib Çelebi adopts a similar outlook on this matter although he does not agree that Ḥusayn erred in his judgment. He does not openly criticize and curse Yazīd, but he does not refrain from discussing his wickedness. He acknowledges that there is a controversy over cursing Yazīd. He adds that the Prophet banned Muslims from cursing fellow Muslims who pray five times a day; Yazīd was known to be a Muslim who prayed. He also mentions alternative views, such as that of the mystic Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240), who allowed such cursing based on the fact that Yazīd’s acts cannot be considered the acts of a true Muslim.

In an interesting section at the end of his *Fadhlaka*, Kātib Çelebi includes Yazīd in a list of history’s notorious debauchers and oppressors; however, he

70 Imam Birgivi, *The path of Muhammad* 87.

71 Kātib Çelebi, *Mīzanü’l-hakk* 61–64.

72 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah* 425–438.

does not comment on this elsewhere in the work. In his famous treatise *Mizānū'l-hakīk*, however, he explains the issue in some detail. This book discusses 21 issues that were controversial in Kātib Çelebi's lifetime, such as the propriety of Sufi lodges, singing and whirling in Sufi rituals, using tobacco and coffee, the faith of the Prophet's parents, and Ibn 'Arabī's concept of the "unity of being." After discussing each of these issues, Kātib Çelebi reveals his own position. He wrote his book in an attempt to curb the hostilities between the Kadızadelis and the followers of the Halveti Sufi leader 'Abdü'l-mecīd Sivāsī Efendi (d. 1049/1639). The Kadızadelis took their name from Kāḏizāde Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1045/1635), a onetime teacher of Kātib Çelebi, who, as a young man admired his preaching. Kāḏizāde is said to have been an eloquent preacher who attracted a huge following. (The Kadızadelis adopted a shorter, more basic work by Birgivi, known simply as the *Risāle*, as a sort of proof text.) Both authors were known as being rigid followers of the Sunni path who did not criticize Sufi practices that were in conformity with the ones of the Prophet but opposed innovations to Islamic practice at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. Like the Damascene jurist Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and similar early traditionalist figures,⁷³ they came into conflict with certain Sufi orders of whose religious practices they vehemently disapproved.

During Kātib Çelebi's lifetime and in the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century, the Kadızadelis' struggle against particular Sufi orders frequently took the form of physical conflict, which created turmoil in the Ottoman capital. A particular target of Kadızadeli preaching and activism were the followers of the aforementioned 'Abdü'l-mecīd Sivāsī Efendi, a Halveti shaykh who also enjoyed a large following, including many members of the imperial court. Like Kāḏizāde Meḥmed, he was a Friday preacher in one of the biggest mosques in Istanbul. As opposed to Kāḏizāde Meḥmed's literal reading of the Quran and other religious texts, Sivāsī argued that there was an esoteric path to knowledge of God that could be attained only by a select few who chose to follow the Sufi path. Although both groups considered themselves followers of

73 It has long been thought that Birgivi used Ibn Taymiyya's work extensively in his treatises; however, a growing number of recent studies argue that this was not the case. Yüksel, *Mehmed Birgivi* 148; Ivanyi, *Virtue, piety and the law* 39, 81–82; El-Rouayheb, *From Ibn Hajar al-Haytamī* 303; Terzioğlu, *Bir tercüme ve intihal*; Radtke, *Birgivi's Tawāḥud Muḥammadiyya* 159–174. For a contrary perspective, see Sheikh, *Ottoman puritanism*. For an extensive treatment of Ibn Taymiyya in the Ottoman context as well as an analysis of his impact on the Kadızadelis, see Derin Terzioğlu's article in this volume. Terzioğlu argues that there is insufficient evidence to claim that Kadızadelis were significantly influenced by Ibn Taymiyya.

the Sunni path, Sivāsī's view was more lax in matters concerning religion and society.⁷⁴ In later life, Kātib Çelebi distanced himself from Kādizāde Meḥmed, especially because he did not approve of the Kadızadelis' opposition to the rational sciences and philosophy, which Kātib Çelebi believed were essential. According to Kātib Çelebi, both the Kadızadelis and the followers of Sivāsī benefited from the controversy and encouraged it to fuel their notoriety.

One of the issues that split the Kadızadelis and the Sufis was cursing Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya. The very fact that such a controversy existed suggests that many Ottoman subjects had adopted the practice of cursing.⁷⁵ The Kadızadelis' spiritual guide, Birgivi Meḥmed, disapproved of such cursing in general because it is not permissible to curse someone who did not die as an infidel; he lists many hadiths forbidding this practice. He does not, however, specify whether Muslims can curse Yazīd.⁷⁶ In *Mizānū'l-haḳḳ*, Kātib Çelebi summarizes this controversy and cites different views. He categorically forbids Muslims from cursing Mu'āwiya because he was a companion of the Prophet, and a *mujtahid*. Any disagreement among them is a matter of *ijtihād* (independent reasoning); a companion who is proven wrong in his reasoning receives a reward in the afterlife for his intention, whereas one who is proven right receives twice the reward. Although 'Alī was right and Mu'āwiya wrong in the dispute between them, they both deserve credit because they were both companions of Muḥammad. This is the same position that Kātib Çelebi takes in *Fadhlaka*.⁷⁷ As for Yazīd, Kātib Çelebi notes that there are conflicting views. Shi'ites and some Sunnis, such as the Shafi'i jurist Muḥammad al-Kiya al-Harrāsī (d. 504/1111) and Sa'ad al-Dīn Taftāzānī (d. 792/1389) allow cursing him. But the majority of Sunnis, including al-Ghazālī, do not approve of cursing Yazīd. (He also includes this report of al-Ghazālī in *Fadhlaka*.) According to Kātib Çelebi, most people curse Yazīd not because they revere 'Alī or abhor Mu'āwiya but because they imitate other people who curse; he points out that using Yazīd's name in vulgar curses has become a popular practice. A matter such as this, which has been around for a millennium, should be put to rest; people who follow the middle path, which Kātib Çelebi clearly believes is the correct path, should heed al-Ghazālī's warnings and stay out

74 On the Kadızadeli movement, see Zilfi, *The politics of piety* 129–183; Zilfi, *The Kadızadelis* 251–269; Çavuşoğlu, *The Kādizādeli movement*; Baer, *Honored by the glory* 62–77; Baer, *Death in the hippodrome* 77–80; Le Gall, *Kādizādelis, Nakşbandis, and intra-Sufi diatribe* 1–5.

75 Niyāzī-i Mısrī (d. 1105/1694), who was also a Halveti, was one of those Sufis who in his treatises allowed the cursing of Yazīd. Çavuşoğlu, *The Kādizādeli movement* 282–283.

76 Imam Birgivi, *The path of Muhammad* 246–248.

77 Kātib Çelebi, *Fadhlaka* 76a–b.

of the affair. These ideas reflect Kâtib Çelebi's overall attitude toward the conflicts in the early Islamic community. In *Fadhlaka* and other works, he adopts a conciliatory attitude toward matters such as this and encourages his readers to stay away from controversy and public dispute, which he deems futile.

One can observe Kâtib Çelebi's "middle path" policy in his section on the Umayyad caliphs. Since Cenâbî disapproved of the Umayyads and summarized their reigns only very briefly, Kâtib Çelebi relies on Qaramânî's *Akḥbâr al-duwal* in this section, although he does not quote it extensively. Unlike Ottoman historians of the previous century discussed in this study, he is not very critical of the Umayyads. Of course, rulers who were upright and devout, such as 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz or Yazîd b. al-Walid, are given special treatment, as they are in earlier histories. The remaining Umayyads, however, are not disparaged.

Although the historians of the first half of the eleventh/seventeenth century relied on their predecessors for much of their coverage, they were selective in adopting their predecessors' interpretations and analysis. For example, since Eḍirnevî relied on Lârî's work, he adopted Lârî's ahl al-baytist attitude. Qaramânî, on the other hand, adopted a more visibly Sunni outlook toward matters in early Islamic history while still honoring some of the ahl al-baytist notions of his main source, Cenâbî. Kâtib Çelebi, in contrast, stripped Cenâbî's account of its pronounced ahl al-baytism and presented a more conventional Sunni reading of early Islamic history. A close reading of these eleventh/seventeenth-century historians' takes on early Islamic history reveals the complexity of Ottoman Sunnism. One could argue that in the eleventh/seventeenth century a more visibly Sunni outlook, which was more sympathetic toward Mu'âwiya and Yazîd, was apparent in the works of Ottoman intellectuals if one is to judge it from the evidence presented here.

4 Conclusion

This chapter argues that when one studies Ottoman Sunnism, one must pay close attention to the phenomenon of ahl al-baytism. In the period discussed here, we can define ahl al-baytism as a belief in the spiritual superiority of *ahl al-bayt* as well as a clear preference for the 'Alids over the Umayyads in political authority. An often-made critique against this argument is the fact that Sunnism has always included love for the *ahl al-bayt*. Although Sunni attitudes toward 'Alî and his descendants varied across time and space, there existed a strong current within Sunnism that continued to honor the ranking of the first

four caliphs and argued that Abū Bakr is the worthiest of all, followed by ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī. What is more, Sunni apologists, such as al-Ghazālī and Ibn ‘Asākir, among others, found ways to justify Umayyad rule or problematic figures like Mu‘āwiya and Yazīd.

The majority of the Ottoman historians studied here shared a visceral distaste for the Umayyads and upheld the ‘Alid lineage’s right to rule. They described the Twelve Imams no differently than most Shi‘ites, even though they rejected some of the extraordinary deeds or qualities attributed to them by the extreme Shi‘ites. Some among them, such as Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, mostly under the influence of the so-called “Twelver Sunni” intellectuals of the seventh/thirteenth century, argued that the twelfth imam is indeed the expected Mahdi, who would eventually come back and restore justice in the world. There were a wide variety of opinions on the early succession problem; some Ottoman historians openly criticized Mu‘āwiya for opposing ‘Alī, whereas some hesitated. They argued that Mu‘āwiya was a companion of Muḥammad, and it would be wrong for a Muslim to criticize one of the companions of Muḥammad. Almost all of them cursed Yazīd and found him unjust and oppressive, and they questioned his sincerity. Some, however, like Kātib Çelebi discouraged people from cursing. One can presume from the given historical evidence that the Ottomans were aware of both ahl-al-baytist and Damascene traditions, particularly the one that Ibn ‘Asākir promoted about Mu‘āwiya that emerged out of the medieval period. The Ottoman historians selectively used these sources to support the views that they found most befitting their ‘Alid or pro-Mu‘āwiya positions; and most were clearly ‘Alid-tinged. From the chronological evidence, one could argue that ahl al-baytism was strong in the first two centuries of the Ottoman rule, and this continued in the tenth/sixteenth century without interruption despite the sectarian milieu created by the Ottoman-Safavid conflict. One could argue that the eleventh/seventeenth-century historians were more divided on the issue; whether this was due to the Kadızadeli influence, or a selective emphasis given to some of their sources, remains to be seen until more studies like this one are undertaken. All the evidence presented here, however, points to the strong ahl al-baytist bent in the broader framework of Ottoman Sunnism, if one takes the Ottoman historians’ interpretation of early Islamic succession struggle between the ‘Alids and the Umayyads as a measuring test.

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Islamic Discourse in Ottoman-Safavid Peacetime Diplomacy after 1049/1639

Selim Güngörürler

Ottoman-Safavid relations in the period between the late ninth/fifteenth century and early seventeenth centuries are relatively well studied. Because this period was marked by warfare with only brief interruptions, scholars have largely focused on the confrontational, exclusionary, and sectarian discourses. In this context, fatwas on unbelief (*kufir*), polemical treatises, and based on these, accusations, war declarations, and persecutions have attracted a good deal of scholarly attention.¹ For the most part, studies on this subject have approached religion either as a driving factor of the conflict or as one subordinate to politics. This is only natural, because in the successive wars during the one and a half centuries, the Ottoman Empire legitimized its hostility against Safavid Iran by referring to religious dogma and declaring the faith of the Safavids' militant followers, the Kızılbaş, a heresy—the phenomenon which is discussed in this volume from various angles by Nabil Al-Tikriti, Nir Shafir, and Ayşe Baltacıoğlu-Brammer.

However, a study of the bilateral relations between the two monarchies from the peace of Zuhab in 1049/1639 until the overthrow of the Safavid dynasty in 1135/1722 requires a different approach. During this period, political principles, along with the religious terminology that informed them, were reshaped into a new diplomatic discourse. The initiators of this new discourse were exclusively dignitaries and bureaucrats, rather than theologians and jurists. In this role, they ceased to employ religious terminology and legal concepts for the aggravation of hostilities, exploring instead how they could use religious concepts to articulate a unifying, inclusive, and nonsectarian agenda. In order for this to materialize, both parties selected new Islamic themes that were conducive to achieving the newly desired end.

1 See, for instance, Murphey, Süleyman's eastern policy; Diyanet, *İlk Osmanlı-İran anlaşması*; Dressler, *Inventing orthodoxy*; Küpeli, *Osmanlı-Safevi münasebetleri*; Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Safawiden*; Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran münasebetleri*. See footnote 36 below for further titles.

First of all, this required that the ulama's—especially the chief mufti's (*şeyhül-islām*)—involvement in diplomacy with the Safavids, in which the ulama traditionally played an active role, be discontinued, for the ulama's doctrinal position was too entrenched in sectarian, polarizing discourse to accommodate the state's new reconciliatory approach.² Rather than drawing on the ulama input, the political authority and bureaucracy now took over the role of articulating legal concepts and phrases referencing the Quran and hadith for use in diplomacy in order to make Islamic tradition foster, not delegitimize, the revised goals. In the field of diplomacy, both parties emphasized Islam's inclusivity, took accusations of heresy off the agenda, and adopted a purposeful, almost absolute silence in the matter of Shi'ite-Sunni sectarian discord. They revisited the concept of the caliphate, and through it, articulated in Islamic terms the early modern principle of Ottoman supremacy. In this context, concepts novel to the diplomacy between the Houses of 'Osmān and Şafī, such as “brotherhood-in-religion,” prayer exchange, “partnership in heavenly remuneration,” and “binding contract before God,” gained currency, albeit for a short period of time. Therefore, the use of Islamic discourse as a means to legitimize political goals in Ottoman-Safavid relations continued after 1049/1639; however, it now served policies of convergence rather than confrontation.

1 Documentary Evidence

The sultan and his grand vizier on the one hand, and the shah and his chief vizier on the other, exchanged many letters after 1049/1639. Their extant copies are kept in imperial epistle registers (*nāme-i hümāyün defteri*) and letter collections (*münşe'āt mecmū'ası*), and, to a certain extent, chronicles (*vekayī'nāme, tārīh*). This diplomatic correspondence illustrates the redefined role of Islamic themes in Ottoman-Safavid relations. The first Ottoman mission (1049–1051/1639–1641) sent to Isfahan to ratify the peace of Zuhab is a telling example of how earnestly the Safavids took the Sublime Porte's recognition of their Muslimness. At the behest of Shah Şafī, as the very first official event at court,

2 The chief mufti could also play a role in diplomacy with European states, see White, *Fetva diplomacy*. For the regulation of international relations by the Islamic canon, see Krüger, *Fatwa und Şyar*. For the extant fatwas from the period in question, see the survey in Özen, *Osmanlı döneminde fetva literatürü*. However, in diplomacy with Iranian states, the chief mufti's role was not limited to issuing fatwas but included direct and state-sponsored correspondence with his Iranian counterpart as well.

the sultan's envoy was taken to the new Grand Mosque of Isfahan to perform the Friday prayer together with the gathered congregation and dignitaries,³ indicating the importance attached to leaving the impression of being good Muslims on Ottoman visitors. This is particularly important in light of the early modern controversy among the Shi'ite ulama on whether the Friday prayer was obligatory in the absence of the Imam, and the Sunni ulama's engagement therewith (as discussed in Evren Sünnetçioğlu's paper in this volume).

The next piece of evidence comes from the first extant correspondence following the treaty of Zuhab and showcases the attempt to normalize relations after more than 15 years of warfare. Shah 'Abbās II's letters from 1050/1641 and 1052/1642 acknowledged the Ottomans' exclusive claim to the caliphate and primacy in Islamdom. The royal chancery glorified the sultan as the "exemplification of the beneficence and mercy of the Lord of the worlds," referred to his dignity of being the "servant of the Two Illustrious Sanctuaries," and paid homage to his supreme caliphal position by calling him "God's shadow (*zillullāh*)." ⁴

In his answer sent in 1053/1643, Sultan İbrāhīm relates his condolences to 'Abbās II for the passing of his father, Shah Şafī, for "whose absolution" (*'aleyh el-gufrān*) from worldly deeds he prayed—a prayer reserved for those who passed away as Muslims. In the following sentence, the Sublime Porte emphasized the empire's continuous preoccupation with the cause of Islam and the expectation that the Safavids would abstain from any aggression that would hinder Ottoman activities in this respect: "so long as there arises no situation that is contrary to the pact and that will cause our legions to occupy themselves [away] from the obligatory jihad," peace should prevail. Grand Vizier Kemānkeş Muştafā Pasha's parallel letter to 'Abbās II placed even more emphasis on the concepts above. After wishing the "mercy of God upon Shah Şafī" (*'aleyhi rahmetullāh*), and thus acknowledging the House of Şafī to be among the believers, the grand vizier set out to underline the Ottoman monarch's superior position in Islam in the following terms: "God's shadow in both worlds (*zillullāh fī-l-ālemeyn*), helper of Islam and the Muslims, servant of the House of God, confirmed by God." Additionally, by declaring the "jihad against infidels [to be] the seal-ring of the [Ottoman] dynasty," Kemānkeş Muştafā Pasha stressed the distinction of the Ottomans as the foremost wagers of holy war.⁵

3 Qazvīnī, *Khuld-i Barīn* 301.

4 Evoğlu, *Mecma'* 283a–b; Cevrī İbrāhīm and Şarī 'Abdullāh, *Düstürü'l-İnşā* entry: "Şehinşāh Sultān İbrāhīm Hān tarafına Şāh 'Abbās-ı Şānī cānibinden gelen nāmedir."

5 Cevrī İbrāhīm and Şarī 'Abdullāh, *Düstürü'l-İnşā*, the untitled entry following the section

In the following decade, the relations between Constantinople and Isfahan deteriorated due to the contentions and proxy war over in Basra. In his 1066/1656 epistle sent to disown his past attempts to intervene in Iraq, ‘Abbās II hailed İbrāhīm’s successor, Meḥmed IV, as the “refuge of Islam,”⁶ while in his follow-up epistle the next year, the shah lauded the sultan’s distinction in God’s service by calling him the “sharpness of *ghazā* and jihad, [and the] ornamentor of religion,” in addition to remarking that Mecca and Medina belonged to the Ottoman Empire.⁷

Meḥmed IV’s epistle on the conquest of Crete addressed to the shah in 1080/1669 opened with a thanksgiving to God for “making the caliphal [Ottoman] dynasty distinguish itself among the monarchs of the age by giving [it] accomplishment in the exaltation of the proclamation of God’s Oneness (*i’lā-yı kelime-i tevḥīd*) and revival of the Prophet’s sharia.” The ultimate conquest of Crete from the Venetian alliance was declared to have confirmed that the Ottoman dynasty had indeed lived up to God’s glad tidings “*We made you vicegerent [caliph] on Earth [Q 38:26], God shall help you with a precious victory [Q 48:3], a victory-help from God and imminent conquest [Q 61:13].*” Meḥmed IV depicted the Cretan war as the continuation of holy war (*ghazā*), which his “caliphal” person, who was the “refuge of religion” (*dīn-penāh*), had been “individually obligated” (*farz-i ‘ayn*) to wage, like each of his forefathers. In obedience to the divine command “*and strive duly in the way of God for endeavor [Q 22:78],*” said the sultan, he embarked on a holy quest and converted churches into mosques. The glad tidings conveyed in this “caliphal epistle” of Meḥmed IV were to make all Muslims rejoice, and upon its arrival, the shah was “to command celebrations, and spread around the glad tidings.”⁸

The parallel grand vizierial letter described the “best-possible deeds of monarchs, who are the pillars of the religion and the [Muslim] nation,” to be the “exaltation of the word of God [and] jihad.” Because of this, stated Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Aḥmed Pasha, his lord Meḥmed IV, as the “aider of Islam and the Muslims (*gyāsi’l-İslām ve’l-Müslimīn*), patron of Islam (*ḥāmī-yi Müselmānī*), sovereign of the *ghāzīs* and jihad-wagers, the confirmed one before God” had “personally departed for this greater *ghazā*,” and performed the narrated exploits with

titled “bu cānibden Şāh Abbās-ı Şānī tarafına gönderilmek için sâbıkan reisülküttâb olan ‘Abdullâh Efendi müsvedde ettiği nâmedir, lâkin bu mektûb gönderilmeyip ba’dehu yazılan gönderilmiştir.”

6 Navāi, *Asnād* 1038–1105 206.

7 Navāi, *Asnād* 1038–1105 209.

8 Navāi, *Asnād* 1038–1105 250. On Meḥmed IV’s conversion of churches and synagogues to mosques, see Baer, *The great fire of 1660*.

his army, the “jihad-strivers [in the path] of Islam,” on the island of Crete, the “cemetery of jihad.” This letter accompanied the above-mentioned imperial epistle in announcing the materialization of God’s glad tidings “*Muslims will cheer up with the God-helped victory* [Q 30:4–5].”⁹

In 1099/1688, apparently motivated by the shocking losses during the disastrous first half of the Great Turkish War against the Holy League of German states, Poland, Russia, Venice, and the Papacy, the Sublime Porte composed the imperial epistle that would be a game changer in that the Safavids became explicitly included in the community of Islam. First, Sultan Süleymân II defined the Islamic dimension of his reign as such: “[God] the Possessor of the regnum brightens a sunshine of caliphate in every era to reform the subjects; and as it is the tradition of [God] the Almighty to exalt the religion and affirm the sharia, He has crowned Our person with [His revelation] *We made you vicegerent [caliph] on Earth* [Q 38:26], and enthroned [Us] to the universal caliphate (*hilāfet-i cihānbānī*). It is necessary that [the news of Our] overwhelming caliphate reach Your Kingly ears.”

After this emphasis on the caliphal dignity of his “jihad-associated dynasty,” the sultan qualified the empire’s ongoing war against the Christian Holy League as the Muslims’ endeavor in the way of God and the Prophet. Following this, he called, “with complete union-in-religion” (*kemāl-i ittiḥād-ı dīnī*), on the shah “to exercise diligence in [upholding] the concord and fervor of the luminous Muslim community” (*yek-cihetī ve gayret-keṣī-yi millet-i beyzā*).¹⁰

In the imperial epistles of 1080/1669 and 1099/1688, the Ottoman state made its most explicit claim to the caliphate in its relations with the Safavid state since the reestablishment of peace in 1049/1639. Besides, the Ottomans, instead of making references to the Safavids’ Muslimness in passing, directly and explicitly addressed it in the 1099/1688 epistle, stating that both parties were of one and the same religion, which necessitated solidarity. This is crucial in the sense that it constituted the first and concrete step taken by the Ottomans toward acknowledging the Islamic legitimacy and thus the permanence of the Safavid rule in Iran.

Shah Süleymân’s reply composed in 1102/1691 confirmed this rapprochement by means of addressing the sultan—then Aḥmed II—as the possessor of the “greater caliphate (*hilāfet-i kübrā*), enkindler of the divine light, establisher of the foundation of Islam (*mü’essis-i bünyānül-İslām*), servant of the Two Illustrious Sanctuaries, [and] breaker of the heads of the infidels.” After

9 Navāī, *Asnād* 1038–1105 258.

10 *Nāme-i ḥümāyūn* v, entry 29.

paying such a clear homage to Ottoman claims, the shah then declared the “attachment-in-religion” (*teveddüd-i dîn*) between the parties and depicted the Ottoman campaigns against the Holy League as an “august march to eradicate the alliance of idol-worshippers.” “For the currency of the resplendent sharia,” declared the shah, “a prayer from this [Safavid] caliphal family (*hānevāde-i hilāfet*) of the progeny of the Prophet’s dynasty was required.” Accordingly, he stated, to have “commanded with heart and soul that in mosques, temples, venues, and habitations, the *seyyids*, the ulama, the ascetics, and the pious raise the hands to the [Divine] Court in complete servility, [and pray] that the [Ottomans’] army of the Faith (*cünūd-ı ehl-i imān*) conquer, and [commanded] that they [i.e., Iranians] set themselves to praying for the celestial-victory of the [Ottoman] troops in the path of God’s oneness and appeal for the toppling of the irreligious opponents.” This express prayer concluded with the shah’s expressing his “honest hope” that the “[Ottoman] jihad-wagers attain their portion from the divine-remuneration (*müşevvebāt*) of *ghazā* and jihad.”¹¹

Thereby, the Safavids recognized the Ottomans’ official position on the caliphate, not for the first time but, more strongly than before. In doing so, they referred to the distinction between the “greater” and the “lesser” versions of this office that had been introduced in the late Middle Ages, according to which the former was caliphate proper as in the monarchy of an Islamic world empire, and the latter was the caliphal authority a monarch enjoyed strictly within his own sovereign territory while paying titular homage to the hierarchically superior “greater caliph.”¹² The Safavids also acknowledged and advanced the Ottoman position on coreligionism. Instead of rephrasing his commitment to Islamic solidarity in abstract terms, the shah introduced yet another novelty by devoting mass prayers from his House and various circles in Iran to the Ottomans so that the latter succeed in their holy endeavor. The Safavid acknowledgment of Ottoman superiority in hierarchy and in accomplishment as expressed through the Islamic concepts of caliphate and jihad increased in precision. On the other hand, the House of Şafi also re-internationalized its longstanding claim to descend from Prophet Muḥammad’s cousin and husband of his daughter Fāṭima, ‘Alī b. Abu Ṭālib.

In 1103/1692, Aḥmed II sent his reply, whereby the Sublime Porte acknowledged the House of Şafi as “the [Muḥammedan] Muştafavid dynasty.” Then, by citing the verse “*fulfill the oath, indeed there is responsibility in oath* [Q 17:34]”

11 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.63.

12 See Kennedy, *The caliphate* 281–289, 341–346.

and Muḥammad's saying "*the goodness of oath [arises] from faith,*" it also declared that adherence to the current Ottoman-Safavid treaty was a religious obligation. Further emphasis on the same point was made with the hadith "*the faithful are like [parts of] a structure, each upholds the other,*" and the verse "*hold firmly to the rope of God all together, and do not separate. And remember the favor of God upon you, when you were enemies, He reconciled your hearts, and you became, by His favor, brothers [Q 3:103].*" Besides, the reason for the delay in the issuance of the reply was stated to be Aḥmed II's preoccupation with the endeavor against the infidels. In this regard, he wrote to the shah: "it is [Our] expectation from his royal highness that he have his share of the [heavenly] remuneration for *ghazā*; and that as required by the [revelation] *cooperate in righteousness and piety [Q 5:2]*, the elders and worshippers and the righteous and ascetics in those [Iranian] abodes of straightforward-foundation, who strive in the way of [God], succor with prayers the *ghāzīs* who are the patrons of the noble sharia and guardians of the luminous Muslim community (*millet-i Ḥanīfiye-yi beyzā*), and the celestially-victorious army of Islam."¹³

The exchanges between 1099/1688 and 1102/1691 offer the first evidence that direct citations from the Quran could serve to support not only a party's unilateral assertion but also a mutually agreed status quo. Now, the 1103/1692 imperial epistle, in a new step, represented the upholding of the Ottoman-Safavid peace as a religious obligation with direct, express, and multiple references to the word of God and the Prophet. Using a Quranic verse, it even references the concept of brotherhood in religion, going beyond the principle of theoretical solidarity between coreligionists. Such buttressing of the Ottoman-Safavid contractual relationship through the divine word was the second and thus far the firmest step taken toward the Ottoman dynasty's acknowledgment that the Safavid state was a legitimate and lawful Islamic monarchy, and that peace with it had now become everlasting.

It is no coincidence that, in response to Shah Süleymān's previous statement, Sultan Aḥmed II called on him again to have the Iranians pray for their Ottoman coreligionists waging holy war, as a result of which the Safavids would receive a share of the heavenly benefit from the Ottoman-led struggle. The introduction of this concept of partnership in divine remuneration for good deeds was no less a revolution in the relations between the foremost Shi'ite and Sunni polities of the age than citing the Quran in order to qualify bilateral relations as brotherly. Last but not least, although the House of Ṣafī's aspiration toward

13 *Nāme-i ḥümāyūn* v, ent.70.

the lesser caliphate was left hanging in the air, the nominal recognition of its claim to descend from the Prophetic House (*ahl al-bayt*) should be seen as the consequence of the accord reached in greater matters. Indeed, as Vefa Erginbaş's paper in this volume demonstrates, the veneration of the *ahl al-bayt* was an important aspect of Ottoman piety and constituted a major arena of symbolic and discursive competition between the Ottomans and Safavids, in light of which this recognition of the Safavid claims was a major concession.

In his 1107/1696 letter, Shah Ḥusayn fully honored the newly established Islamic status quo between the two states. By qualifying Sultan Muṣṭafā II as being “the Muḥammedan (*Muḥammedī-mezheb*) keeper of the frontier of Islam and the Faith, heir to the service of the Two Illustrious Sanctuaries, protector of Islam, and keeper of the sharia,” the shah emphasized the sultan's Muslimness much more than even the Sublime Porte itself did, as an extension of the Safavids' internalization of the principle of Ottoman supremacy on all platforms. In the same vein, Shah Ḥusayn also called Muṣṭafā II the “world-bestower via whom the religion triumphed, the Bountiful Monarch of the manifest verse, and Greater Caliph.”¹⁴

Next year, Muṣṭafā II sent his reply. By referring to the shah's ancestry of “immaculateness (*tahāret*) [and] *seyyid*hood,” the Sublime Porte affirmed its recognition of the House of Şafi's claim to prophetic lineage. The text, adorned with many Quranic verses, features a lengthy narration of the ongoing war against the Christian Holy League, “the enemies of religion,” and then asserts the position of the House of 'Osmān as the hereditary and rightful flag-bearer of Islam in the struggle against unbelief due to the dynasty's “sublime caliphate” girded by God, which also came with the responsibilities of safeguarding the Islamic community. For this reason, stressed Muṣṭafā II, his “caliphal Highness” himself engaged in jihad, following the example of his “jihad-accustomed stock.”

Muṣṭafā II also referred to himself and the shah as “affectionate [toward each other] through God.” Then, he repeated his predecessor's statement regarding the obligatory nature of the Ottoman-Safavid contractual relationship by citing the verse “*and fulfill the oath [to God] when you pledge it* [Q 16:91]”—in evocation of Shah Şafi's deed of oath given to Murād IV during the ratification of the peace of Zuhab in 1049/1639—and added: “it is considered impossible for contracts concluded at the behest of [the mentioned verse] to be broken.” Along the same lines, Muṣṭafā II described the nature of bilateral relations with reference to the verse “*the faithful are but brothers* [Q 49:10].” As the padishah

14 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.99.

concluded his letter, he expressed his “hope that his Highness [the shah], would as a declaration of faith, also become a co-rider [in the sultanic troops’ holy endeavor] with [an] army of prayers.”¹⁵

In his own reply to the shah, the grand vizier additionally underscored the sultan’s dignity through titles coined from Islamic concepts, such as the “aider of Islam and the Muslims, collector of the signs of religiosity (*cāmi’-i āyāt-ı dīn-dārī*), upholder of Muḥammed’s sharia, refuge of Islam.” As had happened in the previous round of correspondence, the grand vizier announced: “as there is the intention of jihad this year, it is demanded that You make Your [God-]answered prayer for the army striving in the path of God’s oneness, and not spare Your diligence towards partaking in the divine remuneration of *ghazā* via gathering prayers from the ulama, the elders, the righteous, and the pious who are at ease in Your extensive domains.”¹⁶

By this correspondence, beyond the consolidation of the previously introduced concepts, the Sublime Porte for the first time defined with Quranic verses not only the formation of a contractual relationship with the Safavids but also its due continuation, thus implying the obligatory nature of adhering to it and referring to the perpetuation of the peace between these Shi’ite and Sunni monarchies.

In his 1109/1698 epistle, Shah Ḥusayn called the Ottoman *pādishāh* the “refuge of religion, victory-bringer to Islam and the Muslims, suppresser of the infidels, servant of the Two Illustrious Sanctuaries, redoubled shadow (*zill-ı zalil*) of [God] the Merciful.” Then, the shah once again designated the Ottoman war against the Christian Holy League as “*ghazā* against the infidels,” and the subjects of both Iran and the Ottoman Empire collectively as the “community of Islam.”¹⁷

In his reply, Muṣṭafā II did not refer to the Islamic qualifications of his Safavid correspondent, as in the previous imperial missives, but he still cited the verse “*you became, by His favor, brothers* [Q 3:103].”¹⁸ In his parallel letter to the shah, Köprülü Amcazāde Ḥüseyin Pasha greeted his addressee as the “light of the garden of [Muḥammad] Muṣṭafā, the befitting one to [‘Alī] the gem of Najaf.” Yet, he referred to the “caliphal [Ottoman] hearth” and to Muṣṭafā II as the “servant of the Two Illustrious Sanctuaries, aider of Islam and the Muslims, victory-bringer of the jihad-strivers, refuge of Islam, greater shadow of God.” Regarding the Safavids’ active cooperation in restituting Basra to the Ottomans,

15 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.100.

16 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.112.

17 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.120.

18 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.121.

after it had been under rebel rule for several years, the grand vizier wrote that this act by the shah was meant to aid the Ottoman struggle against the Holy League—i.e., an “aid-of-victory to religion.”¹⁹ In his separate letter to the Iranian chief vizier, Köprülü Amcazâde Hüseyn Pasha additionally called the sultan “God’s shadow in both worlds” as opposed to which he styled the shah as the “shadow of the clemency of the God” (*sāye-i re’fet-i Yezdān*).²⁰

In 1111/1699, the Safavid court sent its counter replies. In the royal epistle to Muṣṭafā II, the sultan was again hailed for his “piety.” The moment of the imperial epistle’s arrival was depicted in a narration richly embellished with Quranic verses. The goal of the Ottoman army in the ongoing struggle against the Christian Holy League was underscored to be the “exaltation of the word of God, notification of the express religion, [and] endeavor against the infidels.” The “expediencies of the manifest religion (*dīn-i mübīn*) and the order of the affairs of the Muslims” were highlighted to be the desire of both parties.²¹ In a separate royal epistle to the grand vizier, the shah distinguished the padishah as the “helper of Islam, greater shadow of [God] the Merciful.”²² The Iranian chief vizier’s reply to Köprülü Amcazâde Hüseyn Pasha qualified the grand vizier as the “arm of the manifest caliphate (*hilāfetü’l-müstebīn*), [and] mast of the [Muslim] nation and religion,” while revering the sultan as the “greater shadow of God [and] refuge of Islam.”²³ The grand vizier’s follow-up letter to the chief vizier in 1112/1700 conformed to the by-now established precedents and titled the padishah, among other things, as “God’s shadow in both worlds” and the shah as the “shadow of the clemency of the Deity.”²⁴

The 1109–1112/1698–1700 correspondence between Adrianople, where the imperial court then resided, and Isfahan constituted the zenith of the fraternization between the Shi’ite Safavids claiming to rule in the absence of the Twelfth Imam and the Sunni Ottomans claiming to possess God’s vicegerency on earth. In line with the recent revival of the distinctions in the concept of caliphate, the Sublime Porte styled itself with the by-now established references to the greater caliphate. However, it also made a novel allusion to the Safavids’ lesser caliphate through a reference to the shah’s being the shadow not of God himself but of an attribute of God (i.e., his clemency; *re’fet*). Other than rhetorical diversification, this round of correspondence featured a repeated,

19 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.125.

20 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.126.

21 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.155.

22 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.157.

23 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.156.

24 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.180.

consolidated, and full adherence to the rest of the established concepts representing the recent Islamic rapprochement. Never had these polities championing Shi'ism on the one hand and Sunnism on the other interacted more harmoniously under the banner of Islam.

This leniency of the Ottomans, however, came to an end once their war against the four great powers and their lesser allies was concluded by the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1111/1699. The Safavid chief vizier's letter to the Ottoman grand vizier in 1114/1702 referred to the latter as the "reliance of the supreme caliphate," and to the sultan as the "refuge of Islam, shadow of God," while it qualified the shah's dignity as the "[lesser] caliphal throne."²⁵ The grand vizier's reply fell visibly short of satisfying Safavid expectations, for it contained none of the explicit references to the Islamic attributes of the Safavids that the Sublime Porte had formulated and used in their correspondence over the previous decade. Yet, the grand vizier did not fail to describe the sultan with supreme Islamic titles such as the "patron of the religion, aider of Islam, [celestially-]victorious with the help of [God] the best of the victory-aiders, shadow of God, [and] refuge of Islam."²⁶

As it happened, in the interval between 1099/1688 and 1103/1692, the initiative to alter the Islamic status quo between the parties came from the Ottoman state. In response to the Iranian chief vizier's letter that was antagonizing in content but compliant in form, the grand vizier retaliated with double the hostility received and stripped the Safavid side of nearly all of their recently recognized Islamic qualifications. The shah no longer enjoyed a territorial caliphal dignity, prophetic lineage, coreligionist solidarity, or even the full honors of a Muslim sovereign monarch. The undoing of the post-1099/1688 achievements had begun.²⁷

The deterioration in relations was yet to reach its peak. In Shah Ḥusayn's epistle of 1117/1705 to Sultan Aḥmed III, apart from the traditional reference to the padishah's safeguarding of Mecca and Medina, no title describing his Islamic leadership was inserted. Nevertheless, the text included passages mentioning the Ottomans' "breaking the reinforcement of the infidels," and thus enjoying God's glad tidings "*He shall recompense those who do good with the best [award] [Q 53:31],*" and "*indeed, the Earth belongs to the God, He bequeaths it to whom[ever] He wishes [Q 7:128].*" Upon receiving this good news from Aḥmed

25 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.218.

26 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* v, ent.220.

27 For the historical background of this case and all other cases discussed in this essay, see Güngörürler, *Diplomacy and political relations*; Güngörürler, *Fundamentals of Ottoman-Safavid*; Güngörürler, *Brotherhood, perpetual peace*.

III, the “sharia-cherisher [and] the pursuer of the road of the Prophet,” the shah, addressing the sultan, gave “thanks to God that standard of Islam became elevated due to the stroke of your sharp blade.”²⁸

The imperial epistle sent in response opened with an imperious reminder:

[God], by [His] verdict of *whom[ever] He wishes* and *whom[ever] He wills*, authorizes an entity to the seat of caliphate for the order of the world, [and by His word] *indeed, the Earth belongs to the God, He bequeaths it to whom[ever] He wishes of his servitors* [Q 7:128], He bestows [upon this caliph] the monarchy, world-keeping, rulership, and sovereignty, and when His [i.e., God’s] pre-eternal providence conjoins his [i.e., this caliph’s] height to the zenith of the sky, no one of the connoisseurs of plotting and jealousy can reject. *And it is He who has made you vicegerents* [i.e. *caliphs*] *on Earth and has raised some of you above the others* [Q 6:165].

The epistle’s *inscriptio* included no Islamic honorific other than the reference to Shah Ḥusayn’s being the “good successor of the dynasty of [‘Alī] the shah of Najaf.” In the *expositio*, one comes across, probably for the first time in decades, the reference to the “coverage of the Sunni community” (*şeml-i ehl-i sünnet ve’l-cemā’at*) as one in the set of causes that the Ottoman dynasty championed, alongside the more conventional ones like the “majesty of Islam, symbols of the Muḥammedan religion, [and] the sharia.” The Sublime Porte concluded its message as follows: “it is [by] the practice of Our great forefathers, that particularly those who are single-hearted with [and] honest towards Islamic rulers have always been [held in] esteem.”²⁹

It is noteworthy that in the grand vizier’s reply to the shah’s chief vizier, the Sublime Porte briefly referred to the shah as “of caliphal station” (*hilāfet-mertebet*), but in return, prayed for the sultan that “God may immortalize his caliphate,” and also decorated him with the usual titles emphasizing his patronage of Islam.³⁰

Within the scope of the 1117–1118/1705–6 exchange, the Safavids chose to escalate the tensions that had arisen during the previous several years. They alluded to Ottoman dignity in Islamic terms only by referring to the Ottomans’ conformity to the divine commandments and distinguished accomplishments in the path of God. Yet, none of these praises concealed the fact that explicit references to the greater caliphate and the set of associated titles denoting Islamic

28 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* vi, ent.61.

29 *Nāme-i hümāyūn* vi, ent.66.

30 Rāmī Meḥmed, *Münşe’at* 25a–26a.

primacy were omitted, except for the possibility that an accompanying and by-now nonextant chief vizierial letter might have included them.

This matter claimed the Ottomans' entire attention. In the response epistle, apart from a nominal recognition of prophetic lineage, the Sublime Porte omitted the entire set of references to the House of Šafi's Muslimness, brotherhood in Islam, or the prayer exchanges and partnership arising from coreligionism, save for a single mention of the concept of the lesser caliphate. Moreover, it emphasized the God-designated nature, exclusiveness, and indisputability of the Ottoman universal caliphate posited above all other rulers. While these points were mutually and constructively cited in the previous exchanges, now the Sublime Porte chose to patronizingly evoke them in the face of an unfriendly omission by the Safavids. In order to leave no room for doubt that this assertion was not an untargeted or general declaration but a direct retaliation, the imperial chancery inserted into the composition of the reply the very concepts and Quranic verses found in the royal epistle that initiated the exchange, employing them, however, to the detriment of the original citer. Furthermore, the Sublime Porte briefly touched upon the issue of sectarianism with a mention of Sunni orthodoxy in a diplomatic letter to the Safavids for the first time after at least 67 years. By means of this reference to Sunnism as the correct path of Islam, it insinuated that it indeed regarded the Shi'ites as unorthodox if not heretical, that it could revive the age-old controversy if the Safavid side was not to conform to the status quo by recognizing Ottoman supremacy, and that the nonmention of sectarian discord in the diplomatic correspondence between the parties for almost seven decades was for the sake of political expediency, which the Safavids better observe for their own good. Consequently, the reminder about how to enjoy esteem in Islamdom led by the Ottomans carried an admonishing rather than an encouraging tone.

Correspondence between monarchs resumed after a ten-year break. In its manner of imposing the Ottoman universal caliphate, the epistle of the conquest of the Peloponnese in 1128/1716 partially resembled the one from 1118/1706: "The Creator, by His pre-eternal grace and [His revelation] *We made you vicar [caliph] on Earth* [Q 38:26], certified Our caliphal Highness to uphold the frontiers of Islam hereditarily and rightfully. And Our caliphal Highness, not regarding the might of monarchy as a tool for self-advancement or boon-enjoyment, devoted time to secure the borders [of Islam] with *ghazā* and jihad, and the localities of infidelity became illuminated with symbols of Islam."

This was followed by a lengthy narration of the campaigns of the Ottoman-Venetian War, interspersed with multiple Quranic verses on jihad and references to the Ottomans' single-handedly waging it in the name of God as the army of Islam against the unbelievers. Eventually, the sultan declared that the

motive for the sending out of the epistles of conquest, among the receivers of which was the shah of Iran, was that “the proclamation of this sublime [victory] procession [would] cause the hearts of the people of Islam to relax.”³¹

The parallel letter sent to Shah Ḥusayn by the grand vizier, after a prologue on jihad, mentioned some of the Islamic titles of the sultan as “enhancer of the Muḥammedan sharia, infidel-melter, champion of *ghazā* and jihad, mirror of the religion, honor of the Muslim community, essence of the Ottoman caliphal dynasty, refuge of Islam, greater shadow of God, immortalized shall his caliphate be until the day of resurrection.”

In the rest of the narrative, the grand vizier associated the Quranic verses on jihad and Muḥammad’s sayings on God-given victory with the person of his lord Aḥmed III. Dāmād (Şehid) ‘Alī Pasha and concluded: “it is always expected from Your royal efforts that Your prayers for [celestial-] victory and confirmation of the [Ottoman] army, and [thus] [Your] obtainment of a share from the shares of [our] *ghazā*, be vouchsafed.”³²

Shah Ḥusayn’s reply to Aḥmed III stated that by conquering territory from the Republic of Venice, the sultan, just as his forefathers had traditionally done, merited God’s promise that the *ghāzīs* would prevail against enemy armies and rejoice in heaven as remuneration. After honoring his addressee as the “patron of Islam [and] the Muslims,” the shah renarrated the stages of the war as he had read them from the Ottoman correspondence, but with even more Islamic references than featured in the original, inter alia extolling his addressee for converting churches to mosques and rings of bells to prayer calls. Ḥusayn claimed that the Safavids had contributed to the Ottomans’ celestial-victory; for he, with the “most sublime effort, [had] truly asked for succor” that God materialize his promise—“indeed, *We have given you a clear conquest* [Q 48:1]”—and help the Ottomans triumph. The shah added that, motivated by orators from the pulpits of the mosques, congregations of all social backgrounds in Iran prayed and would keep praying in thanksgiving for this boon by God as well as for the perpetuation and continuation of such conquests through ages.³³

In this case of an epistle of conquest narrating a major victory portrayed as jihad, the Sublime Porte again chose to assert the sultan’s hereditary, rightful, God-given, supreme caliphate and universal leadership of Islam, maybe without directing the assertion negatively toward the person of the shah, but still in a correspondence addressed to him. Yet, the descriptions used and the discourse constructed therefore, while not resembling the constructive tone

31 *Nāme-i ḥümāyūn* vi, ent.221.

32 *Nāme-i ḥümāyūn* vi, ent.222.

33 *Nāme-i ḥümāyūn* vi, ent.246.

dominant during the period between 1099/1688 and 1112/1700, was not as overbearing as in 1118/1706 either, indicating a relative relaxation of tensions. The reintroduction of the concepts of prayer exchange and partnership in divine remuneration is even more noteworthy and tangible evidence of this, with the exception that there was no mention or even implication of the lesser caliphate for the House of Şafī. Nevertheless, the long-ignored and sensitive issue of sectarian discord, which had been brought up once in 1118/1706 in the manner of an implicit warning in the midst of mounting tensions, was again shelved.

In his reply, the shah did not fail to honor the Ottomans' Islamic dignity, as he underscored that the House of 'Oṣmān had been and still was the manifestation of God's promise for those who strive in His way. Plus, though not directly citing the caliphate itself, the Safavids nonetheless restored their recognition of the Ottomans' supremacy by mentioning the padishah's patronage of Islam and the Muslims—a description, if not identification, of the caliphate. They also returned the Ottoman gesture of good will by stating that the Iranians did and would pray to God for Ottoman victory, which they indeed regarded as the triumph of Islam. Thus, the 1128/1716 correspondence halted the loss of the common ground between the Shi'ite Safavids and Sunni Ottomans. There was even a relative restoration of the previous achievements on the diplomatic platform, but certainly not up to the level of the last decade of the seventeenth century.

The final round of diplomatic correspondence between the two parties took place between 1132/1720 and 1135/1722. Briefly stated, the Sublime Porte once again reasserted the God-given nature, exclusiveness, and universality of the Ottoman monarchy and caliphate through Quranic references. On the other hand, it continued to recognize the prophetic lineage of the House of Şafī and its brotherhood in religion with the House of 'Oṣmān. In return, the Safavids renewed their recognition of the Ottomans' patronage of Islam and supreme caliphate.³⁴

2 Evaluation

One of the most important concepts that come to the fore in the context of the post-Zuhab Ottoman-Safavid correspondence is the caliphate. As a standard practice during the examined period, the Safavid court acknowledged the Ottomans' greater caliphal dignity by inserting the relevant descriptors into the

34 *Nāme-i hūmāyūn* vi, ent.278–280; Navāī, *Asnād* 1105–1135 165, 170, 172.

sultans' *inscriptio*, such as "God's shadow," "refuge of Islam/religion," "servant of the Two Illustrious Sanctuaries," and "victory-bringer/patron of Islam." These were reinforced by a strong emphasis on the Ottomans' successfully leading the armies of Islam against the unbelievers. Even without the explicit mention of "caliphate," the references to leading the jihad, patronizing Islam as well as the Muslim community, and organizing the pilgrimage (hajj) constitute firm evidence of this acknowledgment, for these concepts were directly associated with caliphal prerogatives. In times of extraordinary rapprochement, the Safavid state took this acknowledgment to a higher level by directly referring to the Ottoman "greater caliphate" in phrases such as "[*extended*] shadow of God," and complementary honorifics such as "establisher of the foundation of Islam" and "sign of God." The correspondence in the examined period thus shows that the Safavids made abundant references, both direct and indirect, to the Ottomans' caliphal supremacy, leaving no room for ambiguity.

For its own part, in diplomatic correspondence with the Safavids, the Sublime Porte consistently made claims to the [greater] caliphate through sultanic titulature. However, it did not try to act upon the universal, extraterritorial dimension of this office (i.e., it did not attempt to revive the practice of issuing caliphal investiture diplomas for monarchs and princes whose territory of rule lay outside the Ottoman Empire). The fact that the Ottoman sultans did not adopt the title "commander of the faithful" (*emīrū'l-mūminīn*), one of the attributes of the early universal caliphate, must be because the validity of their caliphal dignity in the eyes of other sovereign states was only a matter of precedence and supremacy in rank, not of subordination in a chain of command. Yet, the Sublime Porte did expect, and mostly receive, nominal recognition of the theoretical universality of the Ottoman sultan's divine mandate, because the caliphal dignity had blended into the imperial rank, where it lived on as a set of titles. Rare instances of the Safavids' failure to honor in writing this (greater) caliphal dimension of the Ottomans' supreme monarchy resulted in the Sublime Porte's effectively imposing the claim to the God-designated, universal, and exclusive nature of the sultan's hereditary caliphate in the next outgoing correspondence.³⁵

As seen above, when the nature of the Ottoman-Safavid contractual relationship became Islamicized, its observance was formalized through references to the Quran. This was the result of the Ottoman acknowledgment of the

35 See Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman relations* 295, 326–329, 332, 334–337 for the discussion of the concept of caliphate in Mughal-Ottoman diplomacy. Also see Moudden, *The idea of the caliphate* 103–112.

legitimacy of Safavid rule in Iran, and in turn gave it a further boost. The Sublime Porte's recognition of the Safavid shahs as territorial caliphs (i.e., as fully independent, legitimate, Muslim, and sovereign monarchs who were inferior to the greater caliph only in terms of titulature and hierarchical precedence) was the ultimate manifestation of this novel Islamic legitimacy in Ottoman-Safavid relations. However, this diplomatic recognition did not entail a doctrinal reconciliation between the Shi'ite and Sunni theologians; it was constructed on a separate discursive plane.

Beyond the caliphate, the two most prominent aspects of this diplomatic discourse that enabled peace to last for 84 years were, first, that the Sunni Ottomans neither declared the Shi'ite Safavids as "infidels" nor hinted at it, and second, that the Safavids unreservedly recognized the Ottomans' supreme position as greater caliphs at the top of the hierarchy of rulers in Islamdom. This phenomenon must be the outcome of two separate but concurrent developments. On the one hand, it seems that the Ottomans came to recognize the eventual Shi'itization of the originally Kızılbaş Safavid polity. In the eyes of the Sunni establishment of the age, Kızılbaşism was a heresy that violated the founding principles of Islam and thus rendered its adherents non-Muslim, while Shi'ism was a deviation from the orthodox belief yet still within the circle of Islam.³⁶ On the other hand, an uninterrupted peace of 84 years enabled the parties, but again primarily the Ottomans, to maintain this status quo without resorting to a renewed fatwa on unbelief or polemical treatise. It is likely that the Ottoman recognition of the Safavids' Muslimness was the product of a belated Ottoman realization of the post-936/1530 gradual Shi'itization within the Safavid establishment, while the continuity of this recognition in the diplomatic discourse for almost nine decades was made possible by the uninterrupted peace. Enjoying Islamic legitimacy in the eyes of the Ottomans mattered much to the Safavids. The shah's court made the due effort to convince the Ottoman State of the Safavids' orthodox Shi'ite, if not Sunni, Muslimness, and thus, by implication, their disassociation from the Kızılbaş faith.

36 For the Kızılbaş-Shi'ite distinction, see Tekindağ, *Yeni kaynak* 54–55; Düzdağ, *Ebussu'ud Efendi'nin fetvaları* 135–137; Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik* 71–75, 85–88, 99, 101, 117, 130; Fiğlalı, Eş-Şirvani ve risalesi 260–265; Ocak, *Türk sufiligüne bakışlar* 237–238, 245–249; Emecen, *Zamânın İskenderi* 90; Bilge, *Yavuz Selim ve Şah İsmail* 311; Arjomand, *The shadow of God* 81, 110, 179; Savaş, *XVI. asırda Alevilik* 166, 213; Abisaab, *Converting Persia* 8–12, 24; Pârsâdüst, *Shâh Tahmâsb* 607–613, 809–816, 850–853; Posch, *Osmanisch-safavidische Beziehungen* 172–176. I discussed these and other sources on the mentioned topic in my paper "Die Frage der Abgrenzung zwischen offiziellen Sekten: das Osmanische Reich und safawidisches Persien in der Frühneuzeit" presented in *Forschungskolloquium Lehrstuhl Aserbaidshans* at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in 2016.

On the other hand, one does not need to look for the traces of such rethinking on the part of Safavid Iran, for it, despite the sectarian discord, had recognized from almost the very beginning not only the Ottomans' Muslimness but also their leadership in and of Islamdom.³⁷ This simply continued throughout the studied period.

Any variation on the religious platform took place within the parameters of this framework. Unless the political situation necessitated it, the Sublime Porte contented itself with referring only rarely and in passing to a Safavid monarch in a manner reserved for Muslim addressees. Only when the international conjuncture urged closer coordination with the Safavids did the Ottomans, of their own accord, promote the common ground under the banner of Islam. In bilateral relations, the concept of brotherhood in religion, the exchange of prayers, partnership in divine remuneration for good deeds, and recognition of the House of Şafî's claim to prophetic lineage and the lesser caliphate that emerged after 1097/1686 were part of a greater diplomatic initiative of the Sublime Porte to secure Safavid neutrality and cooperation in the empire's ongoing war against the alliance of the German states, Poland, Russia, and Venice, which necessitated the full mobilization of the empire's deployable power away from the Iranian frontier. Likewise, the introduction of these novel Islamic concepts in Ottoman-Safavid diplomacy went hand in hand with diplomatic concessions that the House of 'Osmân made to the House of Şafî. Later, as this practical urgency disappeared, so did the Sublime Porte's incentives to uphold these recently granted, Islamically inclusive honors for the Safavids. From 1114/1702 onward, the Ottomans at times cut down on their formulations referring to these concepts, and at times completely refrained from mentioning them (i.e., withheld the recognition). Yet, it is remarkable that these achievements on a common Islamic platform resurfaced when the circumstances of the time allowed, such as during the last decade of relations.

Despite their active participation in imperial consultative assemblies and some policy formulation initiatives in the later eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, the Sunni ulama of the Ottoman Empire do not seem to have played any role in the Sublime Porte's briefly declaring the Safavid shahs as brothers in religion and lesser caliphs, calling for the Safavids to pray for Ottoman victory, offering them in return partnership in the remuneration accruing from the Ottomans' deeds in the way of championing Islam, and honoring the House of Şafî's claim to descend from 'Alî. This agreement was apparently the work of dignitaries and bureaucrats, not the ulama. The mentioned

37 See the titulature in Çiftçi, Osmanlı-Safevi İlişkilerinin 147–149; Cantemir, *The history* 169.

development, however, is not linked to the bureaucratization and secularization or Islamicization of the Ottoman state apparatus, and should accordingly be understood as a case-specific phenomenon that arose due to the interstate conjuncture. In short, the ulama's being kept out of the post-1049/1639 Safavid relations was the result of the acknowledgment, both in the empire and in Iran, that only the prioritization of the Realpolitik over doctrinal matters could bring about a mutually beneficial status quo. As a matter of fact, under altered circumstances after 1135/1722, the ulama would be re-allowed to assume a role in Iranian-Ottoman diplomacy; however, exactly as in the previous period, the peace would be reestablished on practical foundations and without reaching an agreement on the religious matters of contention.

The Safavids were not in a position to reply in kind to these Ottoman concessions because they had been honoring these and similar qualities of the Ottomans from the outset. Yet, in order to duly respond to the Sublime Porte's friendly step taken toward them, the Safavids placed extraordinary emphasis on the House of 'Osmān's exclusive and God-given caliphate, Islamic primacy, universal patronage of the Muslims, and international leadership in championing the religion. It is noteworthy that the phrases with which the Safavids chose to elaborate on these attributes of the Ottomans mostly matched and occasionally even surpassed in extolment those formulated by the Sublime Porte itself.

As the religion of Islam was now construed as the common ground, the issue of the sectarian discord between Shi'ism and Sunnism barely surfaced in interstate diplomacy. Except in one isolated case that occurred when relations were at their nadir, the parties did not refer to their sectarian/denominational identity, let alone bring up their conflicting views on orthodoxy. Sectarian differences had been used for justifying hostilities in the pre-Zuhab period, but in relations based on peaceful coexistence after 1639, there was no place for such references. Had the ulama been involved, the almost-one-millennium-old doctrinal positions rejecting each other would have inevitably come up and informed the drafting of the diplomatic correspondence, which would have been contrary to the desired goals. In light of these goals, the governments, opting to benefit from Islam as a unifying force in the service of Realpolitik rather than as an inexhaustible repository from which to extract religious justifications for conflict, stayed clear from a polemic on orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

The fall of the Safavid state in 1135/1722 upset overnight the status quo of 84 years, and thus the Shi'ite-Sunni political conciliation. In the Ottomans' engagements with the Hōtakī Afghans, the Safavid claimants, and ultimately the polity of Nādir Afshār until the mid-twelfth/eighteenth century, religious

and sectarian matters would assume a place at the top of the agenda, in form as well as in content.³⁸ Hence, the intersectarian harmony brought about by political will would be undone, again by the altered political situation.

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38 See Aktepe, 1720–1724 *Osmanlı-İran münâsebetleri*; Külbilge, 18. Yüzyılın; Koca Râgıp Paşa, *Tahkik ve tevfiik*; Tucker, *The peace negotiations*; Güngörürler, *Diplomacy and political relations*; Akbulut, *The scramble for Iran*.

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