

POLITICS IN A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN SCHOLAR'S
WORLDVIEW: TAŞKÖPRİZADE AHMED'S (d. 968/1561) DISCOURSE ON
RULERSHIP

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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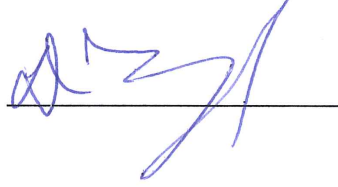
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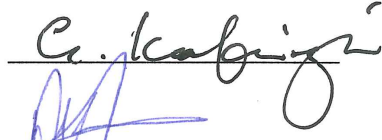
Politics in a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Scholar's Worldview: Taşköprizade
Ahmed's (d. 968/1561) Discourse on Rulership

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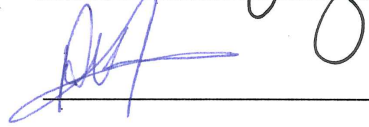
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July 2015

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Ahmed Tahir Nur, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Politics in a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Scholar's Worldview:
Taşköprizade Ahmed's (d. 968/1561) Discourse on Rulership

This thesis focuses on the theme of rulership in the discourse of the Ottoman scholar Taşköprizade Ahmed (d. 968/1561), who lived during the reigns of Selim I (1512-20) and Süleyman (1520-1566). Through an analysis of his three works, which might be regarded as ethical, philosophical and sufi texts, this thesis sheds light on Taşköprizade's political and moral teachings within the context of the mid-sixteenth century Ottoman Empire. Three aspects of that context are highlighted, namely the incorporation of the Arab lands into the Ottoman Empire, the emphasis on moral perfection along with the increasing role of ulema in government, and the complex relationship between the sufis and the Ottoman political authorities.

The central argument of the thesis is that Taşköprizade's foremost scholarly model and main source of inspiration in formulating his views on rulership was Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. Envisioning an ideal ruler to be an ascetic, Taşköprizade embraced and reappropriated many aspects of Ghazālī's discourse on rulership, namely, the degrees of government, the emphasis on knowledge in rulership, the ideal relationship between scholars and sultans as well as the high standards of piety for rulers. Taşköprizade's second source in formulating his views on rulership was Ibn al-ʿArabī, whose symbolic language helped Taşköprizade make a direct correlation between the government of self and the government of human community. Notwithstanding his peculiar discourse, Taşköprizade can be situated among the sixteenth-century Ottoman political writers who maintained a moral-philosophical approach to rulership.

ÖZET

Bir On Altıncı Yüzyıl Osmanlı Alimi'nin Gözüyle Siyaset:

Taşköprizade Ahmed'in (ö. 968/1561) Yönetim Üzerine Söylemi

Bu tezin odak noktasını Selim I (1512-20) ve Süleyman (1520-1566) dönemi Osmanlı alimlerinden Taşköprizade Ahmed'in yönetim konusundaki söylemi oluşturmaktadır. Ahlak, felsefe ve tasavvuf türleri içerisinde ele alınabilecek üç metnin analizi yoluyla bu tez, Taşköprizade'nin ortaya koyduğu siyasi ve ahlaki öğretilerine on altıncı yüzyılın ortası Osmanlı hayatındaki bağlamı içerisinde ışık tutmaktadır. Sözkonusu bağlamın vurgulanan üç yönünü Arap topraklarının Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na katılması, ulemanın etkinlik kazanması ile ahlaki kemale yapılan vurgunun artması ve sufiler ile siyasi otorite arasındaki ilişkiler oluşturmaktadır.

Bu tezin ana iddiası, Taşköprizade'nin Gazali'yi kendisine ilmi model olarak gördüğü ve yönetim üzerine düşüncelerini formüle ederken de ana ilham kaynağı olarak aldığıdır. Siyaset mertebeleri, yönetimde ilim vurgusu, alimler ve sultanlar arasındaki ilişkinin mahiyeti ile ideal yöneticiyi bir zahid olarak tasavvur etme hususlarında Taşköprizade, Gazali'nin görüşlerini benimseyerek yeni bir bağlamda ele almıştır. Taşköprizade'nin yönetim üzerine düşüncelerini formüle ederken ikinci ilham kaynağı Ibn Arabi olmuştur. İnsanın kendini yönetmesi ile insan topluluğunun yönetimi arasında doğrudan bir ilişki kurarken Taşköprizade, İbn Arabi'nin sembolik dilini kullanmıştır. Bu tezde gösterilen özellikleriyle Taşköprizade, yönetim söyleminde ahlaki-felsefi bakış açısını benimseyen on altıncı yüzyıl Osmanlı siyasi düşünürleri arasında kendine has bir biçimde yer alır.

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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND USAGE

If the context is Turkish, the modern Turkish usages of personal names are used. For example, Selim, Süleyman and Taşköprizade are used instead of Selīm, Suleymān and Ṭāşköprīzāde. If the context is not Turkish, then the following Arabic transliteration system is used. For example, Abū Ḥanīfa, and Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī.

The Arabic transliteration system is used for Arabic and Persian terms. When there is a convention in the English language usage of Arabic, Persian and Turkish terms, it is followed. For example, sharia, qadi, ulema, madrasa are used in all contexts.

In the case of the citations, the original transliteration is kept.

ا	ء	گ	g
ب	b	ل	l
پ	p	م	m
ت	t	ن	n
ث	th	ه	h
ج	j	و	w/ ū
چ	ç	ی	y/ī
ح	ḥ	ا	ā
خ	kh		
د	d		
ذ	dh	Short vowels	
ر	r	a/i/u/	
ز	z		
ژ	j		
س	s		
ش	sh		
ص	ṣ		
ض	ḍ / ḏ		
ط	ṭ		
ظ	ẓ		
ع	ʿ		
غ	gh		
ف	f		
ق	q		
ك	k		

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

An essay on intellectual history, the present study analyzes the political thought of the Ottoman scholar Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi (901-967/1495-1561) with the question how Taşköprizade conceptualized “politics” and envisioned rulership under the light of the circumstances of the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

The sixteenth century was a time of intense and dynamic intellectual activity in the Ottoman world. In this period, multilayered texts in different genres, such as *tezkire*, *tabakat*, *şehname* and *şehrengiz* were produced and reproduced. Ottoman intellectual production was complemented with the translation of many medieval texts, mostly of Islamic literature, into Turkish. In the process, Turkish itself was transformed into a more sophisticated medium of communication and attained a distinctly Ottoman character.

Despite the dynamism of the period, however, relatively little attention has been paid so far to intellectual production in the sixteenth-century Ottoman world, and the scholarship on the political thought of the period is no exception to this rule. Not only Ottomanists but also Islamicists at large have ignored Ottoman political thought. This is despite the fact that as Norman Itzkowitz states, the Ottoman Empire was an integral part of the Islamic world and the Islamic intellectual tradition¹. Studies on the history of Islamic political thought by Western Orientalists usually cover the period from the birth of Islam to the Mongol destruction of the

¹ Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (New York: A.A. Knopf Inc., 1973;

Abbasid Caliphate in the thirteenth century and then skip to the nineteenth-century modernist Muslim thinkers. The few exceptions to this rule incorporate into their discussion a few notable examples of advice literature (nasihatname), most of which were written in the seventeenth century and address the question of Ottoman decline.²

Among the Ottomanists, Halil İnalcık has written a series of influential articles on the legal and political culture of the Ottoman “classical age,” which he defines as running from the early fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century.³

Cornell Fleischer is another pioneering scholar who has devoted his studies mostly to the Ottoman political ideas and literature in the sixteenth century.⁴ Linda Darling’s studies are also significant contributions to the field primarily because they consider

² Erwin Rosenthal analyzes three Ottoman political treaties, all written in seventeenth century, in 10 pages in appendix, see Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958; Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam. An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (Oxford University Press, London, 1981); Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004; Anthony Black devotes four pages to the Ottoman political theory, see Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present*. New York: Routledge, 2001; p. 217-20.

³ Halil İnalcık, “Osmanlı Pâdişahı.” *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 13 (1958): 68-80; “Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law.” *Archivum Ottomanicum* I (1969): 105-38; *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*. London: Phoenix, 1973; “Sultan Süleymân: The Man and the Statesman.” in *Soliman le Magnifique et Son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein. Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992, 89-105; “Comments on “Sultanism”: Max Weber’s Typification of the Ottoman Polity.” *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1992): 49-72; “State and Ideology under Suleyman I.” in Halil İnalcık, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington, 1993; “State, Sovereignty and Law During the Reign of Süleymân.” in *Süleymân the Socond and his Time*, eds. H. İnalcık and C. Kafadar. Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1993, 59-92; “Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi.” In *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, ed. H. İnalcık. Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993, 19-37.

⁴ Cornell H. Fleischer, “From Şehzade Korkud to Mustafa Ali: Cultural Origins of the Ottoman Nasihatname. Paper Presented at *Third International Congress on the Economic and Social History of Turkey*, Princeton, 1983, 67-77; “Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism, and Ibn Khaldunism in Sixteenth century Ottoman Letters.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983): 198-220; *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986); “The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Suleyman.” In *Soliman le Magnifique et Son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein. Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992, 159-179.

some trends in Ottoman political thought within the broader framework of intellectual history of the Middle East.⁵

While these scholars have taken a more holistic and analytical approach to the question of Ottoman political thought and culture, other scholars, including Agah Sırrı Levent in the 1960s, Ahmet Uğur in the 1980s and Coşkun Yılmaz in the 2000s, have compiled bibliographic material on Ottoman *siyasetname* literature from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.⁶ Following upon the more analytical track pioneered by İnalçık, Fleischer and Darling, more recent scholars have also undertaken closer study of individual figures from the sixteenth century. Among them, Baki Tezcan's study on Kınalızade (d. 979/1572), Nabil al-Tikriti's study on Şehzade Korkut (d. 919/1513) and Kaya Şahin's study on Celalzade (d. 975/1567) can be mentioned as works dealing with Ottoman political thought during this period.⁷ Finally, Hüseyin Yılmaz's doctoral dissertation is the most extensive study

⁵ Linda T. Darling, "Islamic Empires, the Ottoman Empire and the Circle of Justice"; *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1992); "Political Change and Political Discourse in the Early Modern Mediterranean World", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 38/4 (2008), 505-31; *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice From Mesopotamia to Globalization* (London and New York, 2012).

⁶ Ağâh S. Levend, "Siyaset-nâmeler." *TDAY Belleten* (1962): 167-194; idem, "Ümmet Çağında Ahlâk Kitaplarımız." *TDAY Belleten* (1963): 89-115; Ahmet Uğur, *Osmanlı Siyasetnameleri*, Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 1987; Coşkun Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Siyaset Düşüncesi Kaynakları ile İlgili Yeni Bir Kavramsallaştırma: Islahatnâmeler", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, v. 2, 2003, p. 299-338.

⁷ Baki Tezcan, "The Definition of Sultanic Legitimacy in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î of Kınalızâde Alî Çelebi (1510-1572)" (M.A. Thesis, Princeton University, 1996); "Ethics as a Domain to Discuss the Political: Kınalızâde Ali Efendi's Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î", A. Çaksu ed., *IRCICA International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World* (Istanbul, 12-15 April 1999) (Istanbul 2001), 109-120; Nabil Sırrı Al-Tikriti, "Şehzade Korkud (ca. 1468-1513) and the Articulation of Early 16th Century Ottoman Religious Identity", (Phd. Diss. Chicago Universtiy, 2004); "Kalam in the Service of State: Apostasy and the Defining of Ottoman Islamic Identity", in H. T. Karateke-M. Reinkowski (ed), *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden-Boston 2005), 131-149. For a recent thesis on Şehzade Korkud's views of 'urf and sharia, see Abdullah Vahdi Kanatsız, "Da'wah an-Nafs: Şehzade Korkud on Örf and Sharia in the Ottoman Context", (M.A. Thesis, Sabancı University, 2013); İbrahim Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

on political theory in the ‘Suleimanic age’.⁸ Yılmaz has not only introduced many Ottoman political texts in manuscript form for the first time but also analyzed them extensively, both individually and as a corpus produced at a very specific moment in Ottoman political history. Most recently, Marinos Sariyannis has also written a number of interpretative articles on Ottoman political ideas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹

The academic studies on Taşköprizade can be roughly classified into two groups: those that have been undertaken by scholars of theology and those that have been undertaken by historians. Quantitatively speaking, studies that fall in the first category clearly exceed the latter.¹⁰ Historical studies on Taşköprizade until now have focused mostly on his biographical dictionary of Ottoman scholars, namely, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu‘māniyya fi ‘Ulamā al-Dawla al-‘Uthmāniyya*. The groundwork for these studies was laid by Behçet Gönül’s article introducing the various manuscript

⁸ Hüseyin Yılmaz, “The Sultan and the Sultanate: Envisioning Rulership in the Age of Süleyman the Lawgiver (1520-1566)” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2005). Apart from the thesis, Yılmaz also wrote articles on Ottoman political thought before the Tanzimat era, see Hüseyin Yılmaz, “Osmanlı Tarihçiliğinde Tanzimat Öncesi Siyaset Düşüncesine Yaklaşımlar”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 112 (2003), 231-298; “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Batılılaşma Öncesi Meşrutiyetçi Gelişmeler,” *Divan Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 13, no. 28 (2008).

⁹ Marinos Sariyannis, “Ottoman Critics of Society and State, Fifteenth to Early Eighteenth Centuries: Toward A Corpus For the Study of Ottoman Political Thought”, *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 25 (2008); “The Princely Virtues as Presented in Ottoman Political and Moral Literature”, *Turcica*, 43, 2011; “Ruler and State, State and Society in Ottoman Political Thought”, *Turkish Historical Review* 4 (2013) 92–126.

¹⁰ For the studies by scholars of theology, focusing on Taşköprizade’s views in different subjects such as kalam, tafsir, education, see Şaban Gülsoy, Taşköprülüzâde Ahmet Efendi’nin Hayatı, Eserleri ve “Mevzuatı’l Ulum” İsimli Eserindeki Kelam Bahsinin Günümüz Diline Çevrilerek Taftazani’nin “Şerhul Akaid”i ile Karşılaştırılması, (M.A. Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi SBE, 1995); Cafer Yıldız, Taşköprülüzâde’nin Mevzuatı’l-Ulum Adlı Eserinin Tasavvufla İlgili Bölümlerinin Sadeleştirilmesi ve Kuşeyri’nin Risalesi Hucviri’nin Keşfi ve Gazali’nin İhyası ile Karşılaştırılması, M.A. Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi SBE, 1998; Büşra İbrahimoglu (Yaman), Taşköprülüzâde Ahmed Efendi’nin Eğitim Anlayışı, (M.A. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, SBE 2001); Ahmet Sururi, Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi’nin Tefsir Risâleleri, (M.A. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, SBE , 2002); Apart from the articles and theses, the proceedings of two symposia on Taşköprizade were published: *Taşköprülüzâde Ahmed Efendi (1495-1561)*, (ed.) A. Hulûsi Köker (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Gevher Nesibe Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1992); “*Taşköprü’den İstanbul’a Osmanlı Bilim Tarihinde Taşköprülüzâdeler*” *Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, (ed.) Celil Güngör, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006.

copies of *Shaqā'iq*.¹¹ While many scholars subsequently used the text as a source for the analysis of Ottoman ulema, the first textual analysis of the biographical dictionary as a complex work was undertaken by Ali Anooshahr. Seeking an answer to the question of “sterility” of the narration of scholars in the reign of Suleiman, Anooshahr argued that Taşköprizade produced *Shaqā'iq* under professional constraints, arising from the combination of the fifteenth-century controversies about the nature of the Ottoman state and the sixteenth-century absolutist policies. According to him, *Shaqā'iq* was an alternative, ulema version of Ottoman history, defending ulema in the face of both the charges of corruption directed by some sufis, and the strict hierarchy set by the sixteenth century Ottoman policies.¹²

Taking a similarly textual approach, Aslı Niyazioğlu has analyzed the dream stories Taşköprizade narrates in *Shaqā'iq*, and has shown that Taşköprizade attributes to the sufi sheikhs a power which supports rather than challenges the hierarchically superior rank of ulema. In Taşköprizade's depiction, the ideal relationship between ulema and sufi sheikhs is one of cooperation between the two groups, notwithstanding the former's superior position.¹³

Other scholars have examined *Shaqā'iq* as part of a broader inquiry into Ottoman learned establishment in the sixteenth century. Among them Abdurrahman Atçıl has also paid attention to the structural features of the broader genre of which *Shaqā'iq* was part, the biographical dictionaries of ulema, and their relationship with

¹¹ Behçet Gönül, "İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Al-Şakâ'ik Al-Nu'mâniya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7-8 (1945): 137-168. Also see Ahmet Suphi Furat, "Şekayık-ı Nu'maniyye'nin Türk İlim Tarihindeki Yeri", *Türk Tarihinde ve Kültüründe Kastamonu*, Tebliğler, Ankara 1989.

¹² Ali Anooshahr, 'Writing, Speech and History for an Ottoman Biographer', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 69 1 (2010), pp. 43-62, here p. 44.

¹³ Aslı Niyazioğlu, "In the Dream Realm of a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Biographer: Taşköprizade and the Sufi Shaykhs", *Sufism and Society: Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World, 1200–1800*, (ed.) John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander, Routledge, 2012, p 252-3.

the Ottoman establishment. “By organizing their books according to the reigns of Ottoman rulers as well as by distinguishing between religious scholars and Sufi masters in each reign”, writes Atçıl, “Taşköprizade and his successors implicitly claimed that the Ottomans always had a distinct group of religious scholars who supported their enterprise and provided legitimacy.”¹⁴

In a similar vein, Guy Burak recently studied and recontextualized *Shaqā’iq* in relation to the Arabic historiographical tradition as well as contemporary and later Ottoman *ṭabaqāt* literature. Like Atçıl, Burak writes that “Taşköprüzâde stresses the relationship between a particular group of jurists and the Ottoman dynasty” by narrating the lives of Ottoman ulema “at least in the author’s and probably his peers” perception of the scholarly history of the Ottoman enterprise”.¹⁵ Highlighting the tension between the Arabic historiographical tradition and Rumi political context, Burak interprets Taşköprizade’s choice of Arabic in compiling his work as an “attempt to take part in a historiographical project whose center in the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century was in the Mamluk sultanate.”¹⁶

Lastly, Ertuğrul Ökten discusses trans-regional scholarly mobility in the Ottoman lands during the reigns of the first ten sultans as mentioned in *Shaqā’iq*. Two main issues related to the subject matter are the definition of “Ottoman ulema” and the delineation of “Ottoman boundaries”.¹⁷ Although the author relies on the data in *Shaqā’iq*, he is also aware that Taşköprizade’s work was written with a

¹⁴ Abdurrahman Atçıl, “The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship (1300-1600)” (The University of Chicago: Ph.D. dissertation, 2010), p. 12.

¹⁵ Guy Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Hanafî School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge University Press: 2015), p. 95.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁷ Ertuğrul Ökten, “Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of al-Shaqayiq al-Nu’maniyya”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2013, v.41, pp. 56-9.

certain agenda. Pointing to the necessity of analyzing the work in its historical context, he suggests studying how political and intellectual frameworks affected the choices of Taşköprizade.¹⁸

Apart from the literature focusing on *Shaqā'iq*, a few studies have addressed Taşköprizade's conception and classification of the sciences, based on his encyclopedia of sciences, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda wa Mişbāḥ al-Siyāda fī Mawḏū'āt al-'Ulūm (The Key of Happiness and Guide to Nobility in Objects of Science)*.¹⁹ In addition, Taşköprizade's views on *kalām* as expressed in his book *al-Ma'ālim fī 'ilm al-Kalām* have recently been studied.²⁰

In terms of the scholarship on Taşköprizade's political thought, Hüseyin Yılmaz's Ph.D. thesis, mentioned above, is once again indispensable. Many significant aspects of the political ideas Taşköprizade expressed in *Risāla fī Bayān Asrār al-Khilāfa al-Insāniyya wa al-Salṭana al-Ma'nawiyya (Treatise on Explaining*

¹⁸ Ibid., p.68.

¹⁹ For an analysis of Taşköprizade's life and scholarly views, M. Tayyib Gökbiçgin, "Taşköprizade ve İlmi Görüşleri", *İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, v. 6, 1975-6, p. 127-82; Ali Uğur, "Taşköprizade Ahmed İsâmeddin Ebu'l-Hayr Efendi Hayatı, Şahsiyeti ve İlmi Görüşleri" (habilitation thesis, Erzurum, 1980); idem, "Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi", in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1988, 419-437; Fahri Unan, "Taşköprülüzade'nin Kaleminden XVI. Yüzyılın 'İlim' ve 'Alim' Anlayışı", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, v. 17 (1997). p. 149-264; for a study of Taşköprizade's shorter work on classification of sciences, see Mustafa Necip Yılmaz, "Taşköprülüzade ve es-Saadetü'l-Fahire fi Siyadeti'l-Ahire Adli Eseri", M.A. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1991; for an analysis of Taşköprizade's religious and scholarly views within a broader framework, see İlhan Kutluer, "Farabi'den Taşköprülüzade'ye: Uygarlık, Din ve Bilim", *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi (Osmanlı Özel Sayısı)*, v. 4-5, İstanbul 2000, p. 13-30; for a recent thesis that demonstrates Taşköprizade's conception and classification of sciences through a comparative analysis of the different classifications until Taşköprizade's time, see Selime Çınar, "Farabi'den Taşköprizade'ye: İslam Medeniyetinde İlimler Tasnifinin Gelişimi", (M.A. Thesis, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi Medeniyetler İttifakı Enstitüsü), İstanbul, 2014; for remarks on Taşköprizade's utilization of cognitive-ontological criteria in the classification of the sciences, see Didar Akbulut, "The Classification of the Sciences in Nev'i Efendi's Netayic al-Funun: An Attempt at Contextualization", (M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2014), p. 94-96.

²⁰ Ahmet Sururi, "Taşköprizade'nin el-Me'ālim'i ve Kelami Görüşleri", PhD Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2011. Though not specifically related to this work, for an important suggestion to view *kalām* books as works of political import, see İ. Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Düşünce Geleneğinde 'Siyasi Metin' Olarak Kelam Kitapları", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 112 (2003), 379-398.

the Secrets of Man's Caliphate and Spiritual Sultanate) and *Miftāh al-Sa'āda* were studied by Hüseyin Yılmaz in the context of the visions of rulership in the 'Suleimanic age'.²¹

Following on Yılmaz's study, this thesis focuses on other significant aspects of Taşköprizade's political thought, namely, his classification of the sciences related to governance, his thoughts on the duties and manners of the sultan and vizier, his citation of authoritative books and authors on rulership, his special emphasis on the role of scholars in rulership inspired by the model of Ghazālī.

This study argues that Taşköprizade embraced Ghazālī as a model of scholarship, appropriating his ideas and adapting them to the circumstances of the mid-sixteenth century. Ghazālī's conceptualization of scholars and their role in government was Taşköprizade's main reference point. It was also Ghazālī's magnum opus *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn (The Revival of the Religious Sciences)* that provided Taşköprizade with the foremost source in conveying his moralist-pietist teachings for the moral education and perfection of the ruler.

Taşköprizade was an Ottoman scholar who usually kept a distance from administrative affairs. Throughout his life, he served as a professor (*mudarris*) in the Ottoman center, except when he was appointed as the qadi of Istanbul and Bursa for a couple of years. One of the most prolific authors of his time, Taşköprizade wrote on various subjects, ranging from biography to logic, and from ethics to theology. Among his writings, three in particular - *Risāla fī Bayān Asrār al-Khilāfa al-Insāniyya wa al-Salṭana al-Ma'nawiyya*, *Miftāh al-Sa'āda wa Mişbāh al-Siyāda fī Mawdū'āt al-'Ulūm*, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-'Aḍudiyya (Commentary on the Adudian Ethics)* - pertain to political thought and will constitute the focus of this thesis. A

²¹ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", especially pp. 7-8, 49, 93-99, 170-5, 257-8, 277-8, 285-6, 295-301, 305, 307-308, 347 and others.

fourth one, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya*, the abovementioned biographical dictionary of the scholars of Rum, will be referred to in so far as it sheds light on Taşköprizade's political outlook. A comparative analysis of his texts written at different times within different genres might help us understand the concerns and worldview(s) of Taşköprizade Ahmed, and their changing and remaining aspects in time.

In the first chapter of the thesis, the abovementioned four texts of Taşköprizade are introduced. In addition to the information on their dates of compilation and manuscript copies; a brief description of their contents and an explanation of their significance are provided. After introducing the four texts, I discuss the context in which they were written. Here I emphasize three aspects of that context. The first aspect pertains to the incorporation of the Arab lands into the empire, an event that preceded but also set the tone of the Suleimanic age by making the Ottomans the leading Sunni polity in the Islamic world and by adding another level to the already increased significance of ulema in government. The second aspect entails the institutionalization of the ulema, a process than had actually begun after the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II and which gained impetus in the reign of Suleiman, when Taşköprizade wrote his texts. Lastly, the complex relationship between the sufis and the Ottoman political authorities is presented as another aspect of the context that left its imprint on Taşköprizade's religio-political discourse.

The second chapter analyzes Taşköprizade's discourse on rulership with a specific focus on his elaboration of sciences on government. It demonstrates his indebtedness to *akhlāq* literature by citing his sources as well as forerunners such as Fārābī (d. 339/950), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), Māwardī (d. 450/1058), Abū Hāmid Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), Nasīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (d.

672/1274), Molla Lutfi (d. 900/1495) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwāni (d. 908/1502) and attempts to contextualize Taşköprizade's ethico-political thought both in its intellectual and socio-political context.

The last chapter focuses on the religious foundations of Taşköprizade's political thought. The chapter begins by highlighting the influence of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī on Taşköprizade's political outlook. Ghazālī's and Taşköprizade's views of scholars and sultans are discussed in a comparative way, and both the conceptual interconnections and contextual divergences are pointed out. The second part of the chapter analyzes the influence of sufi ideas on Taşköprizade's perspectives on rulership. Here it is shown that Taşköprizade was quite open and favorable towards those practitioners of sufism who were mindful of shariah, and that his utilization of sufi perspectives on rulership was heavily indebted to both Ghazālī and partly from the famous Andalusian sufi Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240).

CHAPTER 2

TAŞKÖPRİZADE'S DISCOURSE IN CONTEXT

In the first part of this chapter, Taşköprizade's four texts are introduced in a chronological order. These four texts are as follows. *Risāla fī Bayān Asrār al-Khilāfa al-Insāniyya wa al-Salṭana al-Ma'nawiyya*, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-'Aḍudiyya*, *Miftāh al-Sa'āda wa Mişbāh al-Siyāda fī Mawzū'āt al-'Ulūm*, and *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fī 'Ulamā al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*. In the second part of the chapter, an attempt is made to contextualize these texts, all of which were written during the reign of Suleiman the Lawgiver. The three highlighted aspects of the context are the incorporation of the Arab lands into the Ottoman Empire, the increasing role of the ulema in government along with the emphasis on moral perfection and the complex relations between the Sufi orders and political authorities.

2.1 Texts

2.1.1 *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-'Aḍudiyya*

Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-'Aḍudiyya is a central text for understanding Taşköprizade's conceptions of rulership. Taşköprizade's compilation of his work as a commentary on another text should not overshadow its significance. Writing commentaries on past authorities was a part of the prevailing approach to scholarship in the post-Mongol Islamic world and rather than showing lack of originality, these works

became the forms in which some of the most creative ideas were expressed.²² *Al-Akhlāq al-‘Adudiyya (Adudian Ethics)*, written by ‘Adud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355) is a concise (*mukhtaṣar*) treatise drawing the general principles of practical philosophy, continuing the line established by Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) and Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 672/1274).²³ The treatise consists of four parts: theoretical philosophy (*ḥikma nazariyya*), moral philosophy (*ḥikma khulqiyya*), philosophy of the household (*ḥikma manziliyya*), and political philosophy (*ḥikma madaniyya*).²⁴ Apart from the first commentary written by Ījī’s pupil Shams al-Dīn Muḥammed b. Yūsuf al-Kirmānī (d. 786/1384), at least four commentaries were written on *al-Akhlāq al-‘Adudiyya* in the Ottoman realms from the sixteenth century up until the twentieth century, with Taşköprizade being the first Ottoman scholar to compile a commentary on this work.²⁵ According to the colophon in the autograph, Taşköprizade compiled this commentary on 27 Ramadan 946 (5 February 1540) in Istanbul,²⁶ most probably during his teaching position at one of the Sahn Madrasas in Istanbul, where he was appointed as *müderris* on 23 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 946 (8 August

²² Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), vol. 2, 437-9. For a discussion of the forms of writings, including commentaries and supercommentaries, by the Ottoman scholars on theoretical jurisprudence between 1300-1600, see Abdurrahman Atçıl, “The Formation”, p. 246-254.

²³ Mustakim Arıcı, ‘Adudüddin el-İci’nin Ahlak Risalesi: Arapça Metni ve Tercümesi’, *Kutadgubilig Felsefe-Bilim Araştırmaları*, 15, (Mart 2009), p.135-172, also in Taşköprizâde Ahmed Efendi, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-‘Adudiyya*, (text and trans.) Elzem İçöz-Mustakim Arıcı, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014, p.15. (Hereafter referred to as SA.)

²⁴ SA, p.33.

²⁵ Münecimbaşı Ahmed Dede (d.1113/1702), İsmail Müfid İstanbuli (d. 1217/1802), Alā al-Dīn al-Qazarūnī (?) and Mehmed Emin İstanbuli (?) wrote commentaries on this work. For a brief introduction to these works, see Arıcı, ‘Adudüddin el-İci’nin Ahlak Risalesi’, p.135-172.

²⁶ Beyazıt Devlet Ktp., Veliyyüddin Efendi, 1940, fol. 39a. For the introduction of this and other manuscript copies of the work, see Mustakim Arıcı’s introduction, SA, p. 19.

1539).²⁷ Taşköprizade states in his encyclopedic compendium *Miftāh al-Sa'āda* that he wrote this book in his youth, even though he was actually forty-five years old when he finished its writing. Perhaps he made this comment out of humility; on the other hand, he depicts this work as one of his comprehensive (*wāfi*) and sufficient (*kāfi*) works²⁸. One of Taşköprizade's main sources in formulating his views regarding practical philosophy was Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Ḥikma* and Ījī's pupil Kirmānī's *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-'Aḍudiyya*.²⁹ Taşköprizade's commentary is distinguished by the frequent usage of Quranic verses and hadiths.

2.1.2 *Miftāh al-Sa'āda wa Mişbāh al-Siyāda fī Mawzū'āt al-'Ulūm*

The second text to be analyzed is Taşköprizade's renowned encyclopedic compendium, *Miftāh al-Sa'āda wa Mişbāh al-Siyāda fī Mawzū'āt al-'Ulūm*, which includes over three hundred sciences.³⁰ Taşköprizade compiled this encyclopedia in 948/1541, when he was a professor in one of the Sahn madrasas.³¹ Although there is no study about its reception, *Miftāh al-Sa'āda* probably had a considerable impact on later Ottoman intellectuals, and perhaps even on the madrasa curriculum.

Taşköprizade emphasizes that he cites prominent authors and their books in each discipline to guide students. He even explicitly tells the readers that books are

²⁷ Taşköprizade, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyyah fī 'Ulamā al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1975), p. 329.

²⁸ Taşköprizade cites this work as 'Risāla Mawlānā Adud al-Dīn', see Taşköprizade Ebülhayr İsamüddin Ahmed Efendi, *Miftāh al-sa'āda wa-mişbāh al-siyāda fī mawzū'āt al-'ulūm*, (ed.) Kāmil Kāmil Bakrī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb Abū al-Nūr, vol. II (Cairo; Dar al-Kutub al-Khadisa, 1968), v. 1, p.408. (Hereafter referred to as *MSMS*.) He also praises this work in its very introduction by depicting it as the brightness in the forehead of time and the pearl in the crown of the century (fa şāra al-sharḥ gurra fī jabīn al-dahr ve durra fī iqlīl al-'aşr) see *SA*, p.27.

²⁹ *SA*, p.18.

³⁰ İlhan Kutluer, 'Miftahü's-Saade', *TDVIA*, v.30, p. 18.

³¹ The author states the date as 948 according to hijra, *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 328.

described in a hierarchical order so that readers do not mix their ranks and attribute to each its proper value.³² Hence, for studies on the history of education and knowledge transmission in the Ottoman Empire, it is worth questioning what kind of an impact his citation of books had on the formation of the madrasa curricula.

Judging by the fact that there are twenty-five copies of the book in the libraries of Istanbul alone and that three are found in the Topkapı Palace library, one may say that this book was widely read by the Ottoman learned elites and possibly even by some Ottoman sultans.³³ As Emine Fetvacı discusses, books in the palace collection could be read by a wide variety of people with access to the palace.³⁴ At least it is for sure that Ahmed I was presented the extended translation of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* by Taşköprizade's son Kemaleddin Efendi, under the title of *Mawzū'āt al-'Ulūm*.³⁵

As for the sources of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, a note in the opening page of an early manuscript lists the sources from which Taşköprizade benefited, namely the works of Molla Lutfi, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Akfānī and Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī.³⁶ Taşköprizade himself acknowledges that he benefited from a work of Ibn Sīnā when discussing the

³² Wa nubayyin asmā al-kutub al-mu'allafa fihā wa asmā mü'ellifihā liyakūna 'awnan fī taḥṣīl al-'ulūm wa targhībān fī ṭalabihā wa irshādan ilā ṭuruḳi taḥṣīlihā, ammā dhikr al-muṣannafāt fa li al-tanbīh 'alā marātibihā wa jalāla qadrihā wa al-tafāwut bayna tilka al-kutub wa fī dhālika irshād li al-ṭālib ilā taḥṣīlihā wa ta'rīf lahū bimā ya'tamiduhū minhā wa taḥdhīruhū mimmā yakhāfu min al-ightirār. *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 73.

³³ Topkapı Ahmed III Library, 1372; Topkapı Emanet Hazinesi, 001687, Topkapı Revan Köşkü 1594. For a presentation of the twenty-five copies of the book, see Cevat İzgi, Taşköprizade'nin Miftah as-Sa'ade 'sinin Dil ve Edebiyatla ilgili Bölümünün Tenkitli Metin Neşri (yüksek lisans tezi, 1987). İÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, p. 25-35.

³⁴ Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, Indiana University Press, 2013, p. 5.

³⁵ Taşköprizade Ahmed, *Mawzū'āt al-'ulūm*, (trans.) Taşköprizade Kemaleddin Mehmed, Darsa'adat: İkdām Matbaası 1313/1895); M. Münir Aktepe, "Taşköprizade", *IA*, XII/1, s.43.

³⁶ Akhadha al-Mawlā al-Muṣannif hādihā al-kitāb min 'idda kutub minhā Risāla li Mawlā Lutfi wa Irshād al-Qāsid ilā Athnā al-Maqāsid li Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm (al-Akfānī) wa Taqāsim al-Ḥikma li Ibn Sīnā wa Ta'līm al-Muta'allim wa Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn lakhkhaṣahū fī ākhirihī tamāman wa kadhā lakhkhaṣa al-Itqān fī furū' 'ilm al-tafāsīr. Süleymaniye Library, Murad Molla 1575.

science of the classification of the sciences (*'ilm taqāsīm al-'ulūm*).³⁷ The treatise in question is Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla fī Aqsām al-'Ulūm al-'Aqliyya* (*The Treatise on the Divisions of Rational Sciences*), also known as *Risāla fī Aqsām al-Ḥikma* (*The Treatise on the Divisions of Wisdom*).³⁸

Another major source of Taşköprizade in compiling *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* is Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348)'s *Irshād al-Qāşid ilā Athnā al-Maqāşid*, which covers sixty sciences. Taşköprizade adopted parts of this book without modification, especially the sections on the religious sciences.³⁹ In Ibn al-Akfānī's classification, ten out of the sixty sciences constitute the principal (*aşlī*) sciences, seven of which (logic, metaphysics, physics, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music) are theoretical while the remaining three (ethics, household management and politics) are practical sciences.⁴⁰

Taşköprizade, in the fifth part (*dawḥa*) of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, explains the sciences of practical philosophy as having three principal branches, as found in Aristotle, ethics (*akhlāq*), household management (*tadbīr al-manzil*) and politics (*siyāsa*). Yet, writing in line with the Arabic tradition⁴¹, he adds other disciplines, namely, the science of the manners of rulership (*'ilm ādāb al-mulūk*), the science of the manners of the vizierate (*'ilm ādāb al-wizāra*), the science of market inspection

³⁷ Wa şannafa Ibn Sīnā fī hādha al-'ilm risāla laṭīfa wa hādhih al-risāla allatī nahnu bişadad tanqīhihā ve tahdhībihā azīma al-naf' fī hādha al-bāb. Wa Allahu a'lam bi al-sawāb'. *MSMS*, v.1, p. 324.

³⁸ İlhan Kutluer, 'Miftahü's-Saade', *TDVIA*, v. 30: 18-20, for an analysis of Ibn Sīnā's classification of sciences and analysis of this epistle see, Halide Yenen, "İbn Sina'da İlimler Tasnifi ve Risale fi-aksami'l-hikme", *Kutadgubilig Felsefe- Bilim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, v. 14, Ekim 2008, p. 82.

³⁹ Çınar, "Farabi'den Taşköprizade'ye", p. 74.

⁴⁰ Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-Qāşid ilā Athnā al-Maqāşid*, (crit.ed.) Januarius Justus Witkam, Leiden, 1989, p. 398; İhsan Fazlıoğlu, 'İbnü'l-Ekfani', *TDVIA*, v. 21, p. 22-24.

⁴¹ *MSMS*, v.1, p. 72.

(*‘ilm al-ihtisāb*), and the science of commanding armies (*‘ilm qūd al-‘asākir wa al-juyūsh*) as branches of practical philosophy (*furū‘ al-ḥikma al-‘amaliyya*).⁴² At least in two branches of practical philosophy, namely, market inspection and military commandership, Taşköprizade might have been inspired by Molla Lutfi, who wrote before him and who elaborated on these two sciences, which he apparently deemed significant.⁴³

2.1.3 *Risāla fī Bayān Asrār al-Khilāfa al-Insāniyya wa al-Salṭana al-Ma‘nawiyya*

Taşköprizade wrote *Risāla fī Bayān Asrār al-Khilāfa al-Insāniyya wa al-Salṭana al-Ma‘nawiyya* as a short treatise on political philosophy focusing on spiritual rulership. The author explains his reasons for writing as follows. “The goal here is to explain the sultanate of the spirit (*rūḥ*) and the mode of its management in the body (*kayfiyya taşarrufihī fī al-badan*) as a thorough examination of its secrets is impossible in this concise treatise (*fī hādhā al-mukhtaşar*)”.⁴⁴

Although we do not have a clear indication as to when he wrote the treatise, according to a note at the beginning of one manuscript copy, Taşköprizade wrote this treatise during his service as qadi.⁴⁵ Taşköprizade served as the qadi of Bursa during the years 952-54/1545-47 and as the qadi of Istanbul during the years 958-61/1551-

⁴² *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 418-415.

⁴³ Molla Lutfi, *Dil Bilimlerinin Sınıflandırılması: El-Metalib el-İlahiyye fī Mevzuat el-Ulum el-Luğaviyye*, (crit.ed.) Şükran Fazlıoğlu, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2012, p. 159-163.

⁴⁴ *Risāla fī Bayān Asrār al-Khilāfa al-Insāniyya wa al-Salṭana al-Ma‘nawiyya*, Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye 4902, fol. 28b. (Hereafter referred to as *AH*.)

⁴⁵ *AH*, Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa 2767, fol. 20a.

54. The manuscript in the Veliyuddin collection is dated 966/1558.⁴⁶ Therefore, this date represents a terminus ante quem for the compilation of this treatise.

The five manuscript copies of the treatise shown in the table below indicate that it continued to be copied from the sixteenth until the late nineteenth century.⁴⁷ The copy in Carullah Efendi's (d. 1151/1738) collection shows that the treatise found readership in the seventeenth century. One may say that the treatise received attention in the eighteenth century, judging by the fact that a copy of it exists in the collections of Nuruosmaniye, which was founded as a public library. It should be noted that the four copies in Istanbul libraries are situated in *majmū'as* (manuscript compilation) that contain other treatises of the same author, sometimes together with a few treatises on related subjects. A quick look at the contents of these *majmū'as* shows that Ibn Sīnā and Dawwānī's ethical treatises frequently find a place in the same *majmū'a* as Taşköprizade's writings.⁴⁸ Among the five copies, I have used primarily the one at Nuruosmaniye Library, while also consulting the other three copies when necessary.

⁴⁶ Wa qad waqa'a al-farāgh min taḥrīrihā al-layla al-sādisa min shahr Safar al-Muzaffar li sana sitta wa sittīn ve tis'i mia hijriyya. *AH*, Süleymaniye Library, Veliyüddin Efendi 3275, fol. 130a.

⁴⁷ The four copies in Süleymaniye Library are: Veliyüddin Efendi 3275, fol. 110b-130a, Carullah Efendi 2098, fol. 89-114; Nuruosmaniye 4902, fol. 28b-45b; Şehid Ali Paşa 2767 fol. 21-36. The latest copy, which dates to 1287/1870, is located at Milli Kütüphane Yazmalar Koleksiyonu A 4915/31, fol. 92b-110b. Its existence shows that the treatise received attention until the end of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁸ Ibn Sīnā's *Risala fi Ma'rifa al-Nafs al-Natiqa* and Dawwānī's *Risala fi al-Masa'il al-Ashara* are frequently found in the same *majmū'a* along with Taşköprizade's treatises.

Table 1. The Copies of *Asrār al-Khilāfa*

The Manuscript Collection	Treatises of other Scholars in the <i>Majmū‘a</i>	Date and Copyist
Süleymaniye Veliyüddin Efendi 3275, fol. 110b-130a.	Dawwānī, Ibn Sīnā	966/1558
Süleymaniye Carullah Efendi 2098, fol. 88b-114a.	Dawwānī, Ibn Sīnā	No date
Süleymaniye Nuruosmaniye 4902, fol. 28b-45b.	Dawwānī, Ibn Sīnā	No date, yet written by Taşköprizade’s pupil Şaban Efendi
Süleymaniye Şehid Ali Paşa 2767 fol. 21-36		No date
Milli Kütüphane Yazmalar Koleksiyonu A 4915/31, fol. 92 b-110 b.		1287/1870, Hüseyin b. Mehmed Hadimi

The content of the treatise shares many characteristics of *Dhakhīra al-Mulūk*, written by Sayyid ‘Ali al-Hamadānī (d. 786/1385), a sufi of the Kubrawī order who had an interest in the teachings of Ibn al-‘Arabī, which led him to write his commentary on *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, called *Ḥall al-Fuṣūṣ (Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam)* in Persian-Arabic. Adding some new elements to the traditional teaching of his order, Hamadānī attempted to reconcile the foundations of Kubrawiyya and the teachings of Ibn al-‘Arabī.⁴⁹ Yet the treatise does not revolve around the idea of the axis mundi (*quṭb*) that we find in other texts of Ottoman political thought before and after the appearance of *Asrār al-Khilāfa*.⁵⁰ Taşköprizade composed the treatise in ten sections, each dealing with the rights and obligations (*ḥuqūq*) that apply in the case of

⁴⁹ Tahsin Yazıcı, “Hemedani”, *TDVIA*, v. 17, p. 186.

⁵⁰ For an analysis of the idea of *kutbiyet* and *insan-ı kamil* in *Otman Baba vilayetnamesi* see İnalçık, “Dervish and Sultan”, p.24; for an analysis of the Ibn al-‘Arabīan notion of poleship in the writings of a seventeenth century Ottoman Celveti Sheikh Ibrahim Hakkı Bursevi, see Merve Tabur, “İsmail Hakkı Bursevi and the Politics of Balance” (M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2011).

different social relations; namely between parents and children, between husbands and wives, amongst friends and between slaves and masters in addition to those between the ruler and the ruled (*ra'āyā*).

Although sixteenth-century writers like Ali b. Bali (d. 992/1584) and Mecdi (d. 999/1591) did not mention the treatise among the writings of Taşköprizade, we can infer from two textual clues that he wrote this text. Firstly, in the beginning of the *majmū'a* at Nuruosmaniye 4902 there is a paragraph written by Taşköprizade's son Kemāleddin Efendi (d.1030/1621): 'This *majmū'a*, which consists mostly of my virtuous father's treatises, was copied down in its entirety by Mevlana Şaban Efendi, who was one of the pupils of my father. And I am Kemaleddin b. Muhammed b. el-Mevla el-Fazıl Ahmed Efendi known as Taşköprizade, who is the author of these treatises, each of which is a great way to the attainment of sciences. May God benefit us with these and the secrets of their author.'⁵¹ Although the identity of Şaban Efendi remains unclear,⁵² Taşköprizade's direct student clearly regarded this treatise as his teacher's work. Kemaleddin Efendi's usage of the word "mostly" and not "entirely" does not mean that this treatise may not belong to Taşköprizade but rather indicates that the *majmū'a* includes treatises of other thinkers, such as Ibn Sīnā and Dawwānī. The second textual evidence is the correspondence of *Asrār al-Khilāfa* and *Sharḥ al-*

⁵¹ hādhihī al-majmū'a allatī aktharuhā min tasānīf al-mawlā al-wālid al-fāzıl intaqalat ilayya bi al-shirā' al-shar'īyy min taraf al-marhūm Muhammed Efendi al-shahīr bi Himmet(?)zade wa jamī'uhā bi khatt ustādhīh Mevlana Şaban Efendi alladhī kāna min talāmidha al-mawla al-wālid rahimahum Allah ta'ālā wa ana al-faqīr ilā ghufṛāni(?) al-samad Kemāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mawlā al-Fāzıl Aḥmed Efendi al-shahīr bi Ṭāşköprizāde müellif hātik al-rasāil allatī kull minhā ilā nayl al-'ulūm min a'zam al-wasā'il nafa'anā Allāhu bihā wa bi asrār muallifihā āmīn, NO 4902, the first page of the *majmū'a*, written all in nasikh script.

⁵² Nevizade Atayi narrates lives of two Naqshī Şaban Efendis from Kastamonu. The first one is chronologically more likely to have been Taşköprizade's pupil. Born in Kastamonu, Sheikh Şaban died in 975. Nev'izāde Atāi, *Hadaiku'l-Hakaik fī Tekmileti'ş-Şakaik*, (ed.) Abdülkadir Özcan, Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989, p. 199; The other Şaban Efendi (d. 1002) is also a sheikh from Kastamonu, who came to Istanbul in 970s, that is, after Taşköprizade's death. Atāi, *Hadaiku'l-Hakaik*, p. 371.

Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya. An intertextual analysis shows that the two texts include several identical passages, namely the sections on the rights of sultanate and the subject population.⁵³ Probably after Taşköprizade wrote this work, another pupil of his, Muslihuddin Mustafa Sururi (d. 969/1562),⁵⁴ translated *Dhakhīra al-Mulūk* from Persian to Turkish upon the request of the son of the Lawgiver, the prince Mustafa (d.960/1553), whose tutor he would later become in Amasya.⁵⁵ The book was translated into Ottoman Turkish five times between 1550 and 1650. The number of extant copies of *Dhakhīra al-Mulūk* shows how popular the book was in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁶

2.1.4 *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu‘māniyya fī ‘Ulamā al-Dawla al-‘Uthmāniyya*

Written in simple Arabic, *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu‘māniyya fī ‘Ulamā al-Dawla al-‘Uthmāniyya* is the first biography devoted to Rumi/Ottoman ulema and Sufis who died before the last years of the reign of Süleyman the Lawgiver.⁵⁷ Organized in ten *tabaqah*, each corresponding to the reign of a sultan, *Shaqā’iq* includes short biographies of 521 people, comprising 371 ulema and 150 sufis.⁵⁸ At the very end, the author also provides his autobiography, where he explains that he had lost his

⁵³ For the same passages on rights and obligations of sultanate, see SA p. 184 and AH 34a; on the rights of non-Muslim population, see SA p. 256 and AH 39a.

⁵⁴ ‘Ali bin Bali, *Al-‘Iqd al-Ma‘nūm fī Dhikr Afādil al-Rum*, Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-‘Arabi, 1975, p. 343; Atayi, *Hadaiku’l-Hakaik*, p. 23.

⁵⁵ Seyyid Ali Hemedani, (trans.) Muhammed b. Hüseyin (ed.) Necdet Yılmaz, *Zahiratü’l-Müluk/Hadisler Işığında Yönetim İlkeleri Yönetici Nitelikleri*, İstanbul: Darulhadis, 2003, p. 25-26. For more information about the translations of *Dhakhīra al-Mulūk*, especially Sururi’s translation, see Yılmaz ‘The Sultan’, p. 47-9.

⁵⁶ For more information about the copies and translations of this work, see *Zahiratü’l-Müluk*, p. 25-29.

⁵⁷ Abdülkadir Özcan, ‘eş-Şekâiku’n-Nu‘māniyye’, *TDVIA*, p. 485.

⁵⁸ Abdülkadir Özcan, “Introduction” in Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hadāiq al-Shaqāiq*, (ed.) Abdülkadir Özcan. İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989, İstanbul, v.1, p.XII.

sight in the last years of his life, and had to dictate this work to his students until it was completed in 30 Ramadan 965/16 July 1558.⁵⁹

In the introduction, Taşköprizade explains that he decided to compose this book upon seeing the lack of biographies devoted to Rumi scholars: He also mentions an anonymous person of excellence and virtue (*ba'z min arbāb al-faẓl wa al-kamāl*) who wanted him to collect the deeds (*manāqib*) of Rumi scholars (*'ulamā Rūm*). Although he does not name this person in the main text, we learn of the identity of the requestor from at least two annotated copies of *Shaqā'iq*. The notes injected after the phrase 'wanted from me' (*iltamasa minnī*) name the requester as Fudayl Efendi (d. 991/1583).⁶⁰

Known either as Zenbillizade or as Cemalizade, Fudayl Çelebi was the son of Zenbilli Ali Efendi (d. 932/1526) and grandson of Cemaleddin Aksarayı (d. 791/1388-89 [?]).⁶¹ Why he wanted Taşköprizade to compose this book is a question worth pursuing. The nature of the relationship between these two scholars should also be investigated. Fudayl Çelebi, like Taşköprizade, was a scholar and jurist who deliberately avoided being too close to rulers. Even though he held several prestigious positions as a mudarris and as a qadi, towards the end of his life he turned

⁵⁹ Taşköprizade, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fi 'Ulamā al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyya* (ed.) Ahmed Subhi Furat, İstanbul: 1985, p. 559-560; M. Münir Aktepe, "Taşköprizâde", IA, XII/1, p. 351.

⁶⁰ wa huwa Mevlānā Fuḫayl Efendi, Arkeoloji 403, .., Ayasofya 3273, 1b?, Ahmed Paşa 236-M, 1b. The last copy also includes additional information about Fuḫayl Çelebi: *Qāla al-Mawlā Fuḫayl Alaaddin b. Cemālī al-Müfīt ana allazī küntü sababan lita 'līf hāza al-kiṭāb bi ibrām wa ilhāḥ kāmīl waqta 'amā al-mawlā al-mü'allif (r.h.) wa māta al-mawlā al-Fuḫayl al-mazkūr Safer 991 raḥimahullah.*

⁶¹ Ferhat Koca, 'Fudayl Çelebi', *TDVIA*, 1996, v. 13, p. 207. Taşköprizade entered the biography of Aksarayı along with that of Kadı Burhaneddin in the third section (*tabaqah*), where the scholars in the reign of Murad I were narrated.

down the posts of both kadiasker and sheikhulislam and devoted himself solely to scholarship.⁶²

Although historians have long used *Shaqā'iq* as a biographical source, it is only in the last decades that *Shaqā'iq* has started to be analyzed as a historical text. In his analysis, Abdurrahman Atçıl has argued that *Shaqā'iq* reflects its author's "tendency to project the realities of his time backwards onto earlier periods".⁶³ As Atçıl states, by organizing *Shaqā'iq* according to the reigns of Ottoman rulers as well as by distinguishing between ulema and sufis in each reign, "Taşköprizade and his successors implicitly claimed that the Ottomans always had a group of religious scholars who supported their enterprise and provided legitimacy."⁶⁴ Taşköprizade juxtaposes ulema and sultans, assigning the ulema a similar authority and rank to that of the sultans. While agreeing with this view, I would add that the origins and inspiration of this intertwining perspective can be found in Taşköprizade Ahmed's model of scholarship Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, who not only regarded religion (*dīn*) and kingship (*mulk*) as twins, but also ascribed to the ulema an elevated status in political affairs, aiding, guiding and authorizing the sultans.⁶⁵

Ali Anooshahr argues that *Shaqā'iq* is an alternative, ulema version of Ottoman history, produced out of "the need to find a proper place between the ulema and the Ottoman dynasty while simultaneously answering the charges of corruption brought against his colleagues by the dervish chroniclers of some years before".⁶⁶ It

⁶² Ibid., p. 207-8.

⁶³ Atçıl, "The Formation", p. 13.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁵ For an analysis of Ghazālī's view of scholars and sultans, see Chapter 3.

⁶⁶ Anooshahr, "Writing, Speech and History", p. 60.

seems to be a convincing argument since Taşköprizade's narration of scholars usually shows their positive characteristics.

Yet Anooshahr's analysis fails to explain why a work such as *Shaqā'iq* did not appear in earlier periods. I agree with Abdurrahman Atçıl and Guy Burak that with the growing incorporation of the Arab lands into the Ottoman Empire, Taşköprizade (and the authors of other *ṭabaqāt* works) wanted to direct the attention of the sultan as well as the ruling elites to the long relationship between a group of religious scholars and the Ottoman establishment. Burak argues that this was to "secure their position in their competition with followers of other branches within the Hanafi school of law that operated throughout the empire and were not affiliated with the imperial learned hierarchy".⁶⁷ Taşköprizade stresses that the Ottoman scholars all belonged to the Hanafi school of law, as in the second part of the name *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya*, Numan alludes to the founder of the Hanafi school Nu'mān b. Thābit.

I agree with these historians in that by choosing to write their *ṭabaqāt* works in Arabic, Taşköprizade and *ṭabaqāt* authors wanted their works to be read by the Arab readers both within and outside the Ottoman lands. They also likely wanted to show the competency of Rumi scholars in their competition with the Arab ulema.

2.1.5 Four texts in overview

Asrār al-Khilāfa bears the concerns of a sufi-inclined writer who articulated his vision of rulership in both a juridical and a mystical discourse that reflects his vision of sufism that completely lies within the boundaries of sharia. This interpretation is also congruent with what Taşköprizade conveyed in his account of sufis in his

⁶⁷ Burak, *The Second Formation*, p. 98.

biographical compendium, *Shaqā'iq* (965/1558) which he wrote in his last years. His language seems to be prescriptive as well as descriptive in the sense that he demonstrated the correct form of sufism that lies within the boundaries of sharia. Although not in such an explicit way, his early work *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-'Aḍudiyya* also shows a certain sufi orientation. Parallel to his earlier and later writings and in accordance with Ghazālīan notion, Taşköprizade acknowledges the nobility of sufism that is in line with sharia in *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, the last part of which is a short version of Ghazālī's *İhyā*.

2.2 Context

2.2.1 The incorporation of the Arab lands into the Ottoman Empire

One significant point that needs to be underlined in understanding the worldview of Taşköprizade is that he spent most of his life in an Ottoman empire that had newly incorporated the Arabic lands.⁶⁸ At the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, Taşköprizade witnessed this critical juncture, which seems to have had an impact on his intellectual formation, self-perception and cultural vision.⁶⁹ Sultan Selim I's (r. 1512-1520) victory over the Mamluks in 1516-7 and the capture of the two holy cities of Macca and Madina was a significant historical and political event, enabling the Ottoman sultans to assume the title 'The Protector and Servant of the Two Noble

⁶⁸ For general information about the military, political, social and cultural aspects of history of the Ottoman empire in the early sixteenth century, see H. Inalcik and Cemal Kafadar (ed.), *Süleyman the Second (i.e. First) and His Time* (Istanbul: Isis, 1993), Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (eds), *Süleyman the Magnificent and his age: the Ottoman Empire in the early modern world*, London ; New York : Longman, 1995; Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream* (London: John Murray, 2005), pp. 115-151.

⁶⁹ For a recent article that demonstrates the significance of the Ottoman incorporation of the Arab lands, especially in terms of the Ottoman cultural and literary history, see Helen Pfeifer, 'Encounter after the Conquest: Scholarly Gatherings in the 16th-Century Ottoman Damascus', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47 (2015), 219–239.

Harams.⁷⁰ As the conquest of the Arab provinces changed the status of the Ottoman sultans, moving them from the margins of the Islamic world to a central position, religious and political concerns also came together in many governmental policies.⁷¹ One may fairly argue that Taşköprizade's outlook projected the realities of his time in certain aspects. During a time when the self-perception of the Ottomans underwent a significant transformation, Taşköprizade seems to have spent a considerable effort in projecting the intellectual orientation of the empire to the Arabo-Islamic cultural zone, deliberately maintaining a distance from the strands of Persian culture that were imbued with pre-Islamic elements. On the one hand fueled by the experience of having inherited and incorporated the Arabo-Islamic political and cultural zone, the last major representative of which was the Mamluk sultanate, and on the other hand in view of the centrality of Arabic, the language of Quran, in Islamic scholarship⁷², Taşköprizade insisted on the usage of Arabic in scholarly production, be it a work of Islamic sciences, history, philosophy or any other subject. Part of the reason why he wrote his works in Arabic was that he targeted the Arabic-speaking audience beyond the core Ottoman lands. The use of *Shaqā'iq* as a biographical source by the later Arabic biographical writers shows that Taşköprizade's work reached its audience.

⁷⁰ Halil İnalcık, Donald Quataert (ed.), *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire: 1300-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 20; Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005, p. 27.

⁷¹ Gilles Veinstein, 'Religious institutions, policies and lives', in (ed.) Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, *Cambridge History of Turkey Vol. 2, The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603*, 2013, p. 320-356; for an elaborate study on İdris-i Bidlisi's (d. 926/1520) views on religio-political authority in the context of the sixteenth century Ottoman political thought and practice, see Ebru Sönmez, *İdris-i Bidlisi: Ottoman Kurdistan and Islamic Legitimacy*, (Istanbul: Libra Kitap, 2012).

⁷² Being the language of Quran and Islamic sciences, Arabic had a central place in Ottoman intellectual history. Until at least the seventeenth century, the majority of religious and judicial works were composed in Arabic. The learned elites had to acquire facility with the Arabic during their early youth as medrese students. Christine Woodhead, "Ottoman Languages", in *The Ottoman World*, (ed.) Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 155.

The Ottoman-Safawid conflict is another factor that might have played a role in Taşköprizade's distance from the Persian language, history and culture. Both the Ottomans and Safawids underwent territorialization processes in which religious concerns and policies played a significant role. By the time Taşköprizade wrote his texts, the Shiite Safawids posed more an ideological than a military threat to the Sunni Ottomans.⁷³ Yet Taşköprizade's negative attitude toward the use of Persian does not represent the majority of the Ottoman intellectuals who used both Arabic and Persian as well as Turkish in their scholarly and literary works. Still, there were similar minded scholars who shared Taşköprizade's emphasis on the knowledge of Arabic and insistence on its use in scholarship like Ali b. Bali, the author of an Arabic continuation to *Shaqā'iq*, namely, *al-'Iqd al-Manzūm fī Dhikr Afādil al-Rūm*. As his emphasis on Arabic throughout the book suggests, Ali b. Bali considered a good command of Arabic to be an essential characteristic of a scholar, while he regarded Turkish and Persian as the language of poets.⁷⁴ Another sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar and qadi, Hüseyin b. Hasan seems to have shared Taşköprizade's concern by avoiding to give any references to Persian history and culture in his encyclopedia of "government, ethics, history, literature and religious traditions", namely, *Latā'if al-Afkār wa Kāshif al-Asrār (Fine Thoughts and Revealer of Secrets)*, written in Arabic at around 1529 as "an instructive handbook for the education" of the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (d. 942/1536), to whom it was

⁷³ On the ideological aspects of Ottoman-Safawid rivalry, see Elke Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz, 1970; Markus Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy: Competing Claims for Authority and Legitimacy in the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict," in Hakan T. Karatepe, Maurus Reinkowski (eds.), *Legitimizing the Order: the Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, p. 151-173.

⁷⁴ I owe these remarks to my friend Gürzat Kami who shared with me the draft of his M.A. thesis before its submission, see Gürzat Kami, "Understanding a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Scholar-Bureaucrat: Ali b. Bali and his Biographical Dictionary *Al-'Iqd al-Manzūm fī Dhikr Afādil al-Rūm*", M.A. Thesis, Istanbul Sehir University, 2015.

dedicated.⁷⁵

As a sign of his diligence to maintain Arabic as the *lingua franca* of the Ottomans, now the leading entity of the Islamic world, Taşköprizade not only wrote literally all his works in Arabic, but also wanted Arabic works to dominate over works written in Persian or Turkish. He was reported to have reproached Aşık Çelebi for translating *Shaqā'iq* into Ottoman Turkish, stating that he wrote the book in Turkish, implying that there was no need for such a translation.⁷⁶ Possibly aware of Taşköprizade's concern with Arabic, Muhtesibzade Mehmed Haki came to Istanbul from Edirne in order to ask for Taşköprizade's approval of his translation of *Shaqā'iq* into Ottoman Turkish. After having received permission, he conducted a full translation of *Shaqā'iq*.⁷⁷

Taşköprizade's preference of Arabic as a language of scholarship is reflected in his reliance only on Arabic books and his exclusion of Persian books in the sciences of history (*'ilm al-tawārīkh*) in *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, explaining that there was no need for Persian books.⁷⁸ Taşköprizade's deliberate neglect of Persian histories might

⁷⁵ For Hüseyin b. Hasan and his book, see Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 68-70; for an analysis of Hüseyin b. Hasan's political thought and specifically the observation that he hardly gave any reference to Persian history and culture in his world history, see Özgür Kavak, "Bir Osmanlı Kadısının Gözüyle Siyaset: *Letâifü'l-efkâr ve kâşifü'l-esrâr* Yahut Osmanlı Saltanatını Fıkıh Diliyle Temellendirmek", *MÜ İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, (2012), p. 118; idem, "Zaman Osmanlı'ya Doğru Akarken: Bir Osmanlı Aliminin Penceresinden Dünya Tarihi", *Hece Dergisi Medeniyet Özel Sayısı*, p. 463-9, especially p. 468.

⁷⁶ Whether or not related to Taşköprizade's reaction, it seems that Aşık Çelebi's translation has not survived. Atayi narrates Taşköprizade's reaction as the following: 'Şakaik-i Nu'maniye'yi tercüme edip Taşköprizade Efendi'ye arz eyledikde Mevlana Aşık biz bunu Türki yazmış idik, tercümede beyhude zahmet ihtiyar etmişsiz deyu latife edip kitab-ı mezburun sehlü'l-ahz olduğuna işaret ederler', Atayi, *Hadaiku'l-Hakaik*, p. 163.

⁷⁷ Behçet Gönül, "İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Al-Şakâ'ik Al-Nu'mâniya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7-8 (1945): 137-168, here p. 147.

⁷⁸ wa ammā al-tawārīkh fī lisān al-fars fa akthar min an tuhsā lākinnanā taraknā dhikrahā li al-istighnā bimā dhakarnāhu 'anhā, *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 270. Guy Burak also dwells on the language choice of Taşköprizade which he thinks "might be attributed to Taşköprizade's attempt to take part in a historiographical project whose center in the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century was the Mamluk sultanate", see Burak, *The Second Formation*, p. 96.

be attributed to his desire to keep a distance from the pre-Islamic historical and cultural elements of Persia. Another evidence showing Taşköprizade's prioritization of Arabic is that even when he includes some milestone works written in Persian, he does not hesitate to mention that their only drawback was that they were written in Persian. For instance, Nāsir al-Dīn Tūsī's *Akhlāq-ı Nāsirī* (*The Nasirean Ethics*) is described as a pleasant book that would have been of ultimate benefit, if it had not been written in the Persian language.⁷⁹ The same reserve appears in the qualification of *Akhlāq-ı Jalālī* (*The Jalalian Ethics*) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dāwwānī. Another sign of Taşköprizade's view of Arabic as the *lingua franca* of Muslim scholarship and hence non-affirmative attitude toward Persian is his narration of Musannifek's compilation of his Quranic exegesis (*tafsīr*) in Persian, something that needed to be justified. To this end, Taşköprizade explains that Musannifek apologized for writing it in Persian by stating that he wrote it on the demand of Sultan Mehmed II, invoking the famous expression that 'the commanded one is forgiven' (*al-ma'mūr ma'dhūr*).⁸⁰

As a sign of his deliberate distancing from and disapproval of pre-Islamic Persian political culture, Taşköprizade drew examples and made quotations not about ancient Iranian kings like Nushirevan but about early Arab Muslim rulers such as Mu'āwiya (d. 60/680), in addition to the Prophets and the Rightly Guided Caliphs (*al-khulafā al-rāshidūn*).⁸¹ While Taşköprizade referred to Alexander as an ideal

⁷⁹ wa huwa kitāb latīf nāfi' fī al-ghāya illā annahū waqa'a bi al-lisān al-fārisī, *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 408..

⁸⁰ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 190. Taşköprizade does not further describe the context for Musannifek's apology in *Miftāh al-Sa'āda*. Taşköprizade's inclusion only of Musannifek's apology for having written his *tafsīr* in Persian in a way conveys the sense that a justification was required for a *tafsīr* to have been written in Persian. This seems to be in line with Taşköprizade's overall attitude toward Persian in *Miftāh al-Sa'āda*, as can be seen, for instance, in his deliberate omission of Persian history books or notes on ethical works written in Persian.

⁸¹ The four Rightly Guided Caliphs with their dates of caliphate are Abū Bakr (632-34), Umar (634-44), Uthmān (644-656), Ali (656-661).

ruler, he mentioned the kings of pre-Islamic Persia only as negative examples of rulership.⁸²

2.2.2 The Increasing power of ulema and the emphasis on moral perfection

Following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Mehmed II laid the foundations for the institutionalization of the ulema by establishing the Sahn madrasas (eight higher educational institutions) in Istanbul and by assigning hefty salaries for their professors.⁸³ The developments at the turn of the sixteenth century, namely, the adoption of Twelver Shiism by the newly risen Safavids in the early sixteenth century and the total defeat of the Mamluks by the Ottomans in 1516-1517 made the Ottoman Empire the only major Sunni power with royal patronage in the central Islamic lands. By the end of the reign of Süleyman, ulema had already been integrated into the Ottoman state through a highly bureaucratized and hierarchical career path. Many scholars provided services to the Ottoman establishment with which they identified.⁸⁴ During the reign of Süleyman, there prevailed a symbiotic relationship between the ulema and the sultan. In such a context, Taşköprizade assigned a high significance to the morality and piety of scholars in the maintenance

⁸² *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 415.

⁸³ On the Sahn madrasa, see Fahri Unan, *Kuruluşundan Günümüze Fâtih Külliyesi* (TTK, Ankara 2003); on its architectural qualities, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

⁸⁴ On the bureaucratization of the Ottoman ulema, see Mehmet İpşirli, “Osmanlı İlmiye Teşkilatında Mülazemet Sisteminin Önemi”, *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1982, v. 11, p. 221-231; Richard C. Repp, *The Mufti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London: Ithaca Press, 1986), 27-72; Madeline Zilfi, “The Ottoman Ulema.” in *Cambridge History of Turkey III: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, (ed.) Suraiya N. Faroqhi, 209–25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, here p. 210-2; Atçıl, “The Formation”, p. 9 and Burak, *The Second Formation*, p. 11.

of the world order. He ascribed a significant role to the scholars who as “heirs to the prophets” aid the rulers in perfecting law and order.

On the other hand, Taşköprizade’s insistence on the morality and piety of scholars has been interpreted as indicative of his discomfort with and possibly, even disapproval of the bureaucratization of scholarly life.⁸⁵ At the same time, the ideas of Taşköprizade have their own referential framework in addition to their socio-political significations. The significant role of ulema in politics as authorizing figures was also emphasized by Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, whose perspective Taşköprizade followed in his overall approach to the status of scholars and their relations with the sultans.

Cornell Fleischer states that the late 1530s and 1540s ushered in activity with regard to the compilation of imperial ordinances based on the newly articulated principles of law and order, focusing more on functions than on persons.⁸⁶ By the 1550s, the cultural and ideological tone of the Suleimanic regime changed substantially, now no longer striving to promote a universal imperium but more prominently emphasizing the rule of law in imperial rhetoric and perfecting the system within the empire.⁸⁷ The idea of perfecting the social, political and moral order as well as perfecting the rulers have connections to two prevailing trends of the time: a heightened emphasis on the rule of law and a sufi orientation especially

⁸⁵ This is the overriding argument of Anooshahr, who links the “sterility” of Taşköprizade’s description of scholars of his own age to his disapproval of the bureaucratization of ulema (p. 46). He argues that Taşköprizade belonged to the ulema that “had lost their equal rank and autonomy vis a vis the sultans and had been turned into the dependants of an impersonal bureaucracy” (p. 53). He also argues that the omission of Ebussuud is an important clue to “evaluate the Şekaik against the backdrop of the rise of absolutism under Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent”, (p. 47) while the reason being that Ebussuud was still alive seems to be a more convincing explanation for his omission. Anooshahr, “Writing, Speech and History”, pp. 43-62.

⁸⁶ Fleischer, “The Lawgiver as Messiah”, p. 167.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

among the elites. If one side of what Fleischer calls ‘*kanun*-consciousness’ in the mid-sixteenth century can be regarded as the idea of perfection at least in the mindsets of the elites, it can be said to have its repercussions or parallels in Taşköprizade’s political thought.

Taşköprizade not only stressed the rights and obligations (*huquq*) of the sultanate but also the idea of perfection, which had legal, mystical and moral tones. In one instance, he defines rulership (*siyāsa al-malik*) as the vicegerency of God on earth and imamate (*imāma*), which aims to perfect the people.⁸⁸ In another passage, he assigns the imams (in the sense of caliphs rather than prayer leaders), along with the prophets, the task of perfecting (*takmīl*) the deficient but capable people, disciplining the rebels, legislating the basic principles of justice (*qawā’id al-‘adāla*) and enacting the laws of politics (*qawānīn al-siyāsa*).⁸⁹ Furthermore, for Taşköprizade, among the three qualities of an ideal ruler, the second one is the quality of persuasion and imagination necessary for perfecting (*takmīl*).⁹⁰ In another passage that reflects the then prevailing tendency to conceive of prophethood as the model of rulership⁹¹, Taşköprizade writes that Prophet Muhammad was sent for

⁸⁸ *Siyāsa al-malik wa hiya khilāfa Allah ta‘āla fi arđihī wa al-imāma allatī ghāyatuhā takmīl al-khalq*, SA p. 33.

⁸⁹ *takmīl ahl nuqsān musta‘iddīn wa takmīl ahl tughyān al mutamarridīn tanzīm qawā’id al-‘adāla wa taqnīn qawānīn al-siyāsa wa hum al-anbiyā wa al-aimma*, SA, p. 53.

⁹⁰ The three qualifications of an ideal ruler for Taşköprizade are 1. wisdom both in theory and practice (*al-ḥikma ‘ilman wa ‘amalan*) 2. the quality of persuasion and imagination necessary for perfecting (*jawda al-iqnā’ wa al-takhyīl al-mūjiba li al-takmīl*) 3. the power of jihad (*quwwa al-jihād*), SA, p. 225. Indeed, Taşköprizade selectively appropriates the qualifications of the ruler of the virtuous city according to Fārābī, bringing them to a new context, for Fārābī’s list of the qualifications of an ideal ruler, see Fārābī, *Fusūlū ‘l-Medeni*, (ed.) D.M.Dunlop (trans.) Hanifi Özcan, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1987, p. 50.

⁹¹ Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p. 170-176.

perfecting the humankind (*takmīl naw‘ al-bashar*).⁹² The ultimate end of rulership is thus conceived as perfecting the people by improving their social and moral qualities, a vision akin to the sufi notion of spiritual perfection.

2.2.3 Relations between mystical and political authorities

As Veinstein put it, ‘the close but often also tension-ridden relationships between the representatives of Islamic mysticism and the Ottoman elite’ should also be born in mind as a vital factor that helped shape Taşköprizade’s thoughts on rulership.⁹³

During the early sixteenth century, as the Sunni character of the Ottoman empire was more boldly emphasized partly against the challenge from the Shiite Safavids⁹⁴, some sheikhs were persecuted by the *fatwas* of chief muftis and top-ranking Ottoman ulema because their beliefs and practices were deemed contrary to the sharia, canonical law of Islam.⁹⁵

⁹² *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 404.

⁹³ Gilles Veinstein, “Religious Institutions, Policies and Lives”, in (ed.) Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, *Cambridge History of Turkey Vol. 2, The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603*, 2013, p. 354.

⁹⁴ Derin Terzioğlu states that it would not be accurate to regard the Ottoman Sunnitization as a politically-minded response to the emergence of the Safavid threat, showing that it was a multi-dimensional and dynamic process that had started earlier and later continued with ups and downs, see Derin Terzioğlu, ‘How To Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion’, *Turcica*, 44, 2012-2013, p. 301-338.

⁹⁵ For studies problematizing or describing aspects of these relationships, see A. Yaşar Ocak, “Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devrinde bir Osmanlı Heretiği: Şeyh Muhyiddin-i Karamani”, *Prof.Bekir Kütükoğlu’na Armağan*, İstanbul 1991, sf.473-484; “Kanûnî Sultan Süleyman Devrinde Osmanlı Resmî Düşüncesine Karşı Bir Tepki Hareketi: Oğlan Şeyh İsmail-i Mâşûkî,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 10 (1990): 49-58; “Les réactions socio-religieuses contre l’idéologie officielle ottomane et la question de Zendeqa ve İlhad (hérésie et athéisme) au XVIe siècle,” *Turcica* 21-23 (1991): 71-82; “XV.-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İdeolojisi ve Buna Muhalefet Problemi,” in *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Bildiriler)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994), pp. 1201-1210; “XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Bayrâmî (Hamzavî) Melâmîleri ve Osmanlı Yönetimi,” *Belleten* 230 (1997): 93-110; Mahmut Ay, “Osmanlı’da İtikadi Alanda Aykırı Bir Düşünce: Şeyh İsmail Maşuki,” in *İslami Araştırmalar Dergisi*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Ankara: 1999), pp. 34-9, Reşat Öngören, “Şeriat’ın Kestiği Parmak: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devrinde İdam Edilen Tarikat Şeyhleri”, *İlam Araştırma Dergisi*, 1 (1996), pp. 123-140.

Yet it would not be accurate to regard sufi sheikhs and ulema as fixed and homogenous groups in “timeless opposition” to each other.⁹⁶ In the mid-sixteenth century, for instance, a new kind of interest in sufism emerged among the Ottoman ulema.⁹⁷ Taşköprizade represents a type of Ottoman scholar who while not formally a member of a sufi order, was strongly influenced by some sufi ideas, and who also conveyed his views on rulership in a sufiesque language.⁹⁸ Through his narration and reverence of various sheikhs, Taşköprizade depicts a symbiotic relationship between the ulema and the sufis. He also strives to determine the boundaries of sufism, excluding all sufi manifestations that lie outside the sharia. In this regard, Taşköprizade’s account of sufism, most explicitly in *Shaqā’iq*, might be understood as prescriptive.⁹⁹ One can also infer a perspective of Sharia-minded sufism from Taşköprizade’s other works, as will be shown in the thesis. In this regard,

⁹⁶ Derin Terzioğlu demonstrates that neither ulema nor sheikhs belonged to homogeneous groups with unchanging interests and in a timeless opposition to each other. Derin Terzioğlu, “Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi Mısri (1618-1694)” (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1999), p. 8. Aslı Niyazioğlu also shows the necessity of studying the shifting patterns of alliances between the ulema and sheikhs in the context of the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Aslı Niyazioğlu, ‘Ottoman Sufi Sheikhs Between This World and the Hereafter: A Study of Nev’izade Atai’s (1583-1635) Biographical Dictionary’, (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 2003), p. 8-10.

⁹⁷ Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 133-137; Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf: Anadolu’da Sufiler, Devlet. ve Ulema (XVI. Yüzyıl)*, (Istanbul: 2000); p. 235-392; Necdet Yılmaz, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf: Sufiler. Devlet ve Ulema* (Istanbul: 2001); p. 429-75; Aslı Niyazioğlu, ‘Ottoman Sufi Sheikhs’; Derin Terzioğlu, “Sunna-Minded Sufi Preachers in Service of the Ottoman State: The Nasihatname of Hasan Addressed to Murad IV,” *Archivum Ottomanicum*, no. 27 (2010), p. 250.

⁹⁸ For the expositions of rulership as mystical experience and a discussion of the relationship between representatives of sufi orders and political authorities, see Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p. 192-204.

⁹⁹ Taşköprizade’s narration of his conversations with various sheikhs in *Shaqā’iq* indicates that he regarded sharia-minded sufism as the correct form of sufism, as will be shown in the third chapter of this thesis. On the other hand, in the seventeenth century, when the close relations between the sharia-abiding sufis and the ulema was challenged by the rise of a more puritanical interpretation of Sunni Islam, some observers sympathetic to the Sufis looked back on Taşköprizade as somebody who had previously foreseen this fall-out. Such at least is the implication of a reader’s note in the opening page of one *Shaqā’iq* copy written during the reign of Mehmed IV. It reads: This is the date when Vani (d. 1096/1685) and some other deniers (of sufism) forbid the ritual dance of the sufis and the mevlevi. He (Taşköprizade) foresaw this and made a note of it. “Merhum Sultan Muhammed Han Gazi zamanlarında Vani ve bazı ashab-ı inkar tarik-i sufiyenin ve mevlevilerin devirlerin meneylediklerine tarihtir mukaddem keşfedip buyurmuşlar.” (İÜ Arapça, 1228)

Taşköprizade, like Birgivi (d. 981/1573), can be said to have represented a type of Ottoman scholar, who set high standards of piety and law as the backbone of his socio-political vision based on his understandings of God's law and morality.

Taşköprizade, like Birgivi, maintained a sharia-minded sufism that revolves around two tenets: adherence to sharia and emulation of the Prophet Muhammad as “the perfect example of human virtue”.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Katharina Ivanyi, “Virtue, Piety and The Law: A Study of Birgivî Meḥmed Efendî's *Al-Ṭarīqa Al-Muḥammadiyya*.” PhD Diss., Princeton University, 2012, p. 111; Taşköprizade, *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 404; *MSMS*, v.3, p. 311-19, 449; *SA*, p. 29, 31.

CHAPTER 3

THE SCIENCES OF RULERSHIP: THE ANALYTICAL BACKGROUND OF TAŞKÖPRİZADE'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

This chapter analyzes the writings of Taşköprizade that relate to the sciences of rulership. It not only examines the science of government in Taşköprizade's classifications of the sciences but also identifies other sciences related to rulership in Taşköprizade's discourse. In addition to drawing up the intellectual background of Taşköprizade in *akhlāq* genre, the chapter demonstrates the similarities between Taşköprizade's and Ghazālī's analytical frameworks pertaining to the science/art of government. The chapter concludes with a descriptive analysis of Taşköprizade's recommended books and authors on government.

3.1 Practical philosophy as the science of human action

In order to analyze Taşköprizade's conceptualization of rulership, one should first set of the framework within which the sciences of human governance were analyzed in the moral and philosophical tradition that Taşköprizade inherited and maintained.

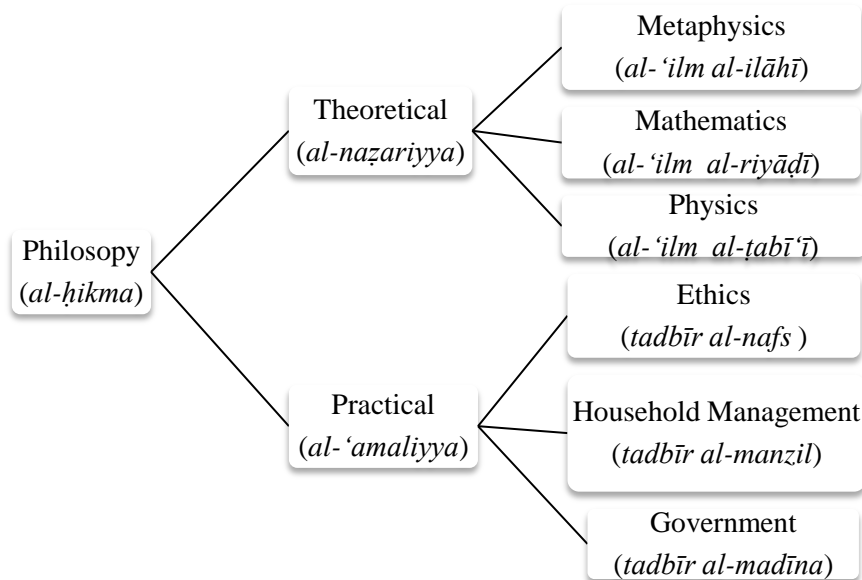
According to the classical classification, philosophy (*al-ḥikma*) as the science that investigates the conditions of existence was divided into theoretical and practical parts. Theoretical philosophy (*al-ḥikma al-naẓariyya*) dealt with things whose existence is not by human choice and action while practical philosophy (*al-ḥikma al-*

'*amaliyya*) dealt with things whose existence is by human choice and action.¹⁰¹

Practical philosophy was divided into three parts: ethics (*tadbīr al-nafs* or '*ilm al-akhlāq*), household management (*tadbīr al-manzil*) and government (*tadbīr al-madīna* or '*ilm al-siyāsa*).

According to such notable works on Islamic ethics as Tūsī's *Akhlāq-ī Nāsirī*, Ījī's *al-Akhlāq al-'Adudiyya*, Dawwānī's *Akhlāq-ī Jalālī*, and later Kınalızade's *Akhlāq-ī Alā'ī*, the realm of ethics (*akhlāq*) comprised of the arts of human governance, including that of the self, the household and the city/polity. In this view, ethics was conceived to be equal to the whole of practical philosophy.

Figure 1. The Classical Division of Philosophy into Theoretical and Practical Parts



¹⁰¹ Michael M. Marmura "Avicenna on the Divisions of the Sciences in the Isagoge of His *Shifā*," in *Probing in Islamic Philosophy: Studies in the Philosophies of Ibn Sīnā, al-Ġazālī, and Other Major Muslim Thinkers* (Binghamton, NY: Global Academic Publishing, 2005), p. 3.

Taşköprizade made use of both these conceptions of ethics. Writing a commentary on *Adudian Ethics*, an ethical work comprehending all these realms, Taşköprizade embraced this holistic view. He also regarded the science of ethics as a branch of practical philosophy in *Miftāḥ al-Sa‘āda*. Taken together, his discussion of ethics and government shows that he adopted the entire tradition of practical philosophy.

3.2 The sciences of ethics and household management

3.2.1 The science of ethics (*‘Ilm al-Akhlāq*)

Taşköprizade defines the science of ethics as “a science through which one knows the types of virtues”. Virtue means the moderation (*i‘tidāl*) of three powers: theoretical power (*al-quwwa al-naẓariyya*), irascible power (*al-quwwa al-ghaḍabiyya*) and concupiscent power (*al-quwwa al-shahawiyya*).¹⁰²

The state of moderation (*i‘tidāl*) in each of these powers equals to their perfection. The perfection of theoretical power is wisdom (*ḥikma*), which is the moderation (*tawassuṭ*) between the two excesses of stupidity (*balāda*) and deception (*jarbaza*). The perfection of irascible power is courage (*shajā‘a*), which is the moderation between the excesses of cowardness (*jubn*) and extravagance (*tahawwur*). The perfection of concupiscent power is chastity (*‘iffa*), which is the moderation between the excesses of inactivity (*khamūd*) and dissipation (*fujūr*). Standing in the middle (*tawassuṭ*) of two vices (*radhīla*), these three balances of power - wisdom (*ḥikma*), chastity (*‘iffa*) and courage (*shajā‘a*) - have their branches

¹⁰² *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 406.

(*furū*).¹⁰³ The best of the actions is what lies in the middle (*khayr al-umūr awṣāṭuhā*).¹⁰⁴ Hence, the way of curing a vice is to stay away from excess and keep the balance. The subject of the science of ethics is the ability of the self (*al-malakāt al-naḥsāniyya*) in terms of finding a balance between two excesses (*ifrāt, tafrīt*). The benefit of this science is that human beings become perfect (*kāmil*) in their actions according to the circumstances so that they become happy (*sa'īd*) in their life and praiseworthy (*ḥamīd*) in the afterlife.¹⁰⁵

3.2.2 Household management (*ʿIlm Tadbīr al-Manzil*)

Taşköprizade describes household management as a science through which one knows the balance of conditions that human beings share with their spouses, children, and servants, the way of curing the acts that lie out of balance and the correct way of dealing with them. The subject of this science is the conditions of the people, children, relatives, servants and the like in terms of order (*intizām*).¹⁰⁶

The great benefit of this science is so evident that even commoners (*ʿawām*) know it. For the end-result (*ḥāṣıl*) of this science is the ordering of the conditions of human beings in their household so that they are able to observe the due rights (*ri'āya al-ḥuqūq*)¹⁰⁷ between them and other people in their household and attain

¹⁰³ In *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, Taşköprizade only mentions that the branches of these powers were described in the books of ethics. In *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya*, he gives an elaborate account of each branch, see SA, p. 65-105.

¹⁰⁴ MSMS, v. 1, p. 406.

¹⁰⁵ MSMS, v. 1, p. 406.

¹⁰⁶ MSMS, v. 1, p. 407.

¹⁰⁷ The general emphasis of Taşköprizade on the observation of rights (*ri'āya al-ḥuqūq*) is also evident here. For this part is lacking in Ibn al-Akfānī's text, which includes the previous sentences, at least in terms of their meaning, see Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-Qāsīd*, p. 401.

happiness in this world and the Hereafter by balancing and ordering these rights.¹⁰⁸

3.3 The Science of government in Taşköprizade's classifications of the sciences

Taşköprizade divides his encyclopedia of sciences, *Miftāh al-Sa'āda*, into two main parts. The first part covers the sciences that are acquired through theoretical investigation (*naẓar*) and the second one comprises the sciences acquired by purifying the soul (*taşfiya*) by combining knowledge with necessary action (*'amal*).¹⁰⁹

Taşköprizade's classification of the sciences in *Miftāh al-Sa'āda* combines the philosophical approach that was represented by Fārābī, Amirī, Ikhwān al-Safā, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn al-Akfānī and the religion-centered approach that was represented by Harizmī, Ibn Hazm, Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn within the Islamic learned tradition.¹¹⁰

Ibn Sīnā had divided existence into four ranks (*marātib al-wujūd*) as 1) Things (*A'yān*) 2) Ideas (*Awhām*) 3) Wordings (*Alfāz*) 4) Writings (*Kitābāt*).¹¹¹ Utilizing Ibn Sīnā's quadruplet division, Taşköprizade classified the sciences into four main parts: 1) Scriptural Sciences (*Fī al-Kitāba*). 2) Linguistic Sciences (*Fī al-'İbāra*) 3) Mental Sciences (*Fī al-Adhhān*) 4) Sciences dealing with external beings (*Fī al-A'yān*).¹¹² Testifying to the systematical character of his work, Taşköprizade added a separate science entitled 'the science of the classification of the sciences' (*'ilm taqāsīm al-*

¹⁰⁸ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 407.

¹⁰⁹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 28-29; *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 5-6.

¹¹⁰ Çınar, "Farabi'den Taşköprizade'ye", p. 63-82.

¹¹¹ Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Najāt fī al-Ḥikma al-Mantiqiyya wa al-Ṭabī'iyya wa al-İlāhiyya*, Beirut: Menşurat Dar al-Afak al-Cedide, 1982, p. 49.

¹¹² *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 68, 69.

'*ulūm*) under metaphysics (*al- 'ilm al-ilāhī*).¹¹³

Out of the seven chapters (*dawḥa*)¹¹⁴ of the book, the first three chapters correspond to the first three levels of existence. The remaining four chapters are comprised of the sciences that deal with actual beings (*fī al-a 'yān*).

3.3.1 The science of government in Taşköprizade's classification of the sciences in *Miftāḥ al-Sa 'āda*

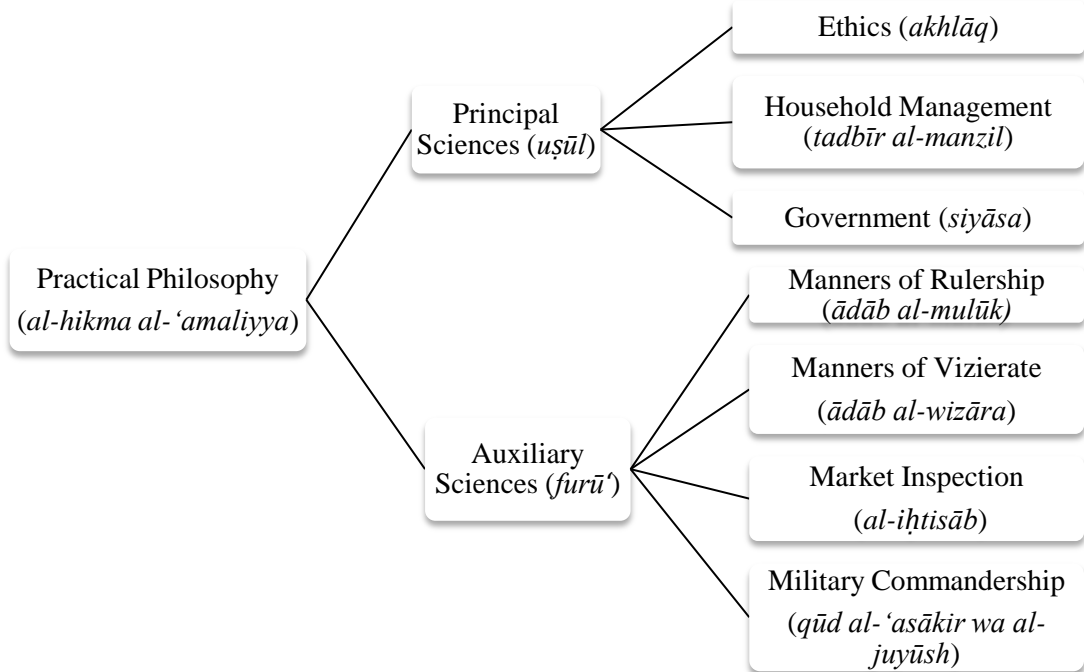
Following the classical tripartite division of practical philosophy (*ḥikma 'amaliyya*) as ethics (*tadbīr al-nafs* or *akhlāq*) household management (*tadbīr al-manzil*) and government (*tadbīr al-madīna* or *siyāsa*), Taşköprizade treats government as a separate science in the fifth chapter (*dawḥa*) of *Miftāḥ al-Sa 'āda*, which deals with practical philosophy.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ MSMS, v.1, p. 324.

¹¹⁴ Taşköprizade likened the book to a city of sciences (*madīna al- 'ulūm*) consisting of seven lofty trees (*dawḥa*).

¹¹⁵ MSMS, v. 3, p. 407-8.

Figure 2. Taşköprizade’s Classification of Practical Philosophy in *Miftāḥ al-Sa‘āda*



In Ibn al-Akfānī’s *Irshād al-Qāsīt*, one of Taşköprizade’s major sources, there is a similar account about the definition, subject and benefit of each of these sciences, while the order is slightly different, starting with government, then continuing with ethics and household management.¹¹⁶

While using the identical phrases that were found in Ibn al-Akfānī’s account, Taşköprizade also supplements, revises and modifies some parts. For instance, Taşköprizade includes the elements of government, such as kings, princes, market inspectors, jurists, ulema and others, in his definition of the science of government. Taşköprizade also emphasizes the vitality of adherence to sharia for the maintenance

¹¹⁶ Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-Qāsīt ila Athnā al-Maqāsīd*, (crit.ed.) Januarius Justus Witkam, Leiden, 1989, p. 400-401.

of the state.¹¹⁷ The major difference between the two accounts, however, is the breadth of Taşköprizade's discussion of practical philosophy. While Ibn al-Akfānī briefly explains the three practical sciences without any ramification, Taşköprizade presents a much more detailed account of the sciences of practical philosophy with his theoretical introduction about the foundation for political philosophy, his inclusion of the branches of practical philosophy and his recommendation of books for each of these sciences.¹¹⁸

Under the science of government (*'ilm al-siyāsa*), Taşköprizade conveys the definition, subject, benefit and problems of this science, which he describes as follows:

It is a science through which one knows the types of leadership (*riyāsāt*), governance (*siyāsāt*), "socio-political" communities (*al-ijtimā'āt al-madaniyya*) and their conditions, including the conditions of the sultans, kings (*mulūk*), princes (*umarā*), market inspectors (*ahl al-ḥisba*), jurists (*quḍāt*), scholars and managers of properties (*zu'amā al-amwāl*) and deputies of the treasury (*wukalā bayt al-māl*) and those who carry out their tasks (*wa man yajrī majrāhum*).¹¹⁹

Taşköprizade describes the subject of the science of government as socio-political ranks (*al-marātib al-madaniyya*) and their rules (*aḥkām*).¹²⁰ This emphasis on the hierarchy of people according to their political positions is a running theme in political literature from Plato to Fārābī. It is also congruent with the hierarchical worldview of Taşköprizade, which will be dwelled on in the following pages.

¹¹⁸ Although Taşköprizade cites the same books that Ibn al-Akfānī had also cited in the science of ethics, household governance and politics, he adds five works that he regards as comprehensive of these three sciences, see *MSMS*, p. 408. In contrast to Ibn al-Akfānī, Taşköprizade also elaborates on the branches of practical philosophy and recommends books in these sciences, see *MSMS*, p. 408-415.

¹¹⁹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 407.

¹²⁰ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 407.

Taşköprizade states that the benefit of the science of government is that it produces knowledge about the virtuous political communities (*ma'rifa al-ijtimā'āt al-madaniyya al-fāḍila*). The aim of this knowledge (*al-murād bih*) is to maintain (*istibqā*) the existence of those communities and dispel the reasons of their dissolution (*zawāl*) and aspects of their transitions (*intiqāl*). Having defined the benefit of the science of government as the knowledge of the maintenance of the state, Taşköprizade explains that one of the basic causes behind the fall of states is violating a pillar (*rukṅ*) of sharia. He once again emphasizes the temporary and God-given character of rulership. For the sultan is granted a delay (*mumahhal*) until he exceeds the pillars of 'imāra (welfare, prosperity) and the premises of sharia; if he does so, God relieves him of this (sultanate).¹²¹

Taşköprizade briefly touches upon the issues (*masā'il*) of the science of government. These include the knowledge of what state and government entail, the conditions of dignitaries (*a'wān*), the situation of subjects (*ra'āya*) and the welfare ('imāra) of cities.¹²²

Elaborating more on the science of government, Taşköprizade states that kings and sultans need this science more than others; yet other people are also in need of it. This is because human beings are by nature social (*madaniyy bi al-tab'*). Hence, a person is required to reside in a virtuous city (*al-madīna al-fāḍila*) and migrate (*hijra*) from an unvirtuous (*radī'*) one and to know how to act for the mutual benefit of the residents of the virtuous city.¹²³

¹²¹ MSMS, v. 1, p. 407.

¹²² MSMS, v. 1, p. 408.

¹²³ MSMS, v. 1, p. 408.

While the conceptualization of man as a social creature by nature (*madaniyy bi al-ṭabʿ*) has been a mainstay of political thought from Aristotle onwards, the conceptualization of the human being as *madanī* and of the polity as *madīna* has one of its most systematic elaborations in Fārābī's works.¹²⁴ Yet the translation of the word *madanī* simply as “political” does not adequately capture the meanings of this word as used by Fārābī and later thinkers like Taşköprizade. Problematizing the translation of the term *madanī* as “political”, Dimitri Gutas underlines the necessity of differentiating the meaning of *madanī* in Fārābī's time and “political” in our world.¹²⁵ For instance, Gutas disapproves of the translation of *siyāsa madaniyya* as “political regime” and translates it as “governance of the city”.¹²⁶ Whether or not Taşköprizade employs *madanī* in the same vein, it has to be translated with caution as well. Civilization does not seem to be a good translation, for its meaning carries the stamp of the nineteenth century. Hence, I do not provide an exact translation but use the term “social” or “socio-political” as a close translation in meaning.

3.3.2 The Science of government in Taşköprizade's classification of the sciences in *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-ʿAḍdiyya*

Taşköprizade presents another classification of the sciences in *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-ʿAḍdiyya*. According to this schema, sciences (*ʿulūm*) are divided into two main categories: bodily/physical (*badanī*) and spiritual (*rūḥānī*) sciences. Government constitutes the fourth major (*aşl*) category among the bodily sciences, which include

¹²⁴ Mahmut Kaya, "Fârâbî", *TDVIA*, İstanbul, 1995, e. 12, s. 153-4. For an informative analysis of definition, types and characteristics of *medina* and *madani* sciences (*ʿilm*) in relation to *milla* in Farabi's thought, see Abdullah Selman Nur, "Farabi'nin Mille Teorisi", M.A. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2011, p. 72-99.

¹²⁵ Dimitri Gutas, 'The Meaning of *Madani* in al-Farabi's 'Political' Philosophy, *Melanges de L'Universite Saint-Joseph Bayrou-Lebanon*, V: LVII-2004, 259-278.

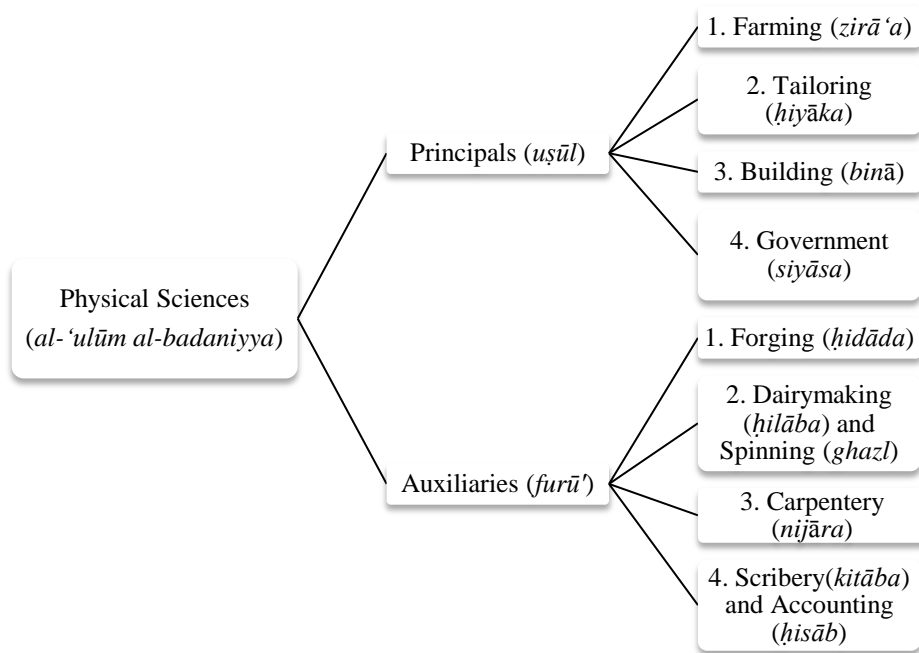
¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

1) farming (*zīrā‘a*) for food (*maṭ‘am*), 2) tailoring/knitting (*ḥiyāka*) for clothing (*malbas*), 3) building (*binā*) for shelter (*maskan*) and 4) government (*siyāsa*) for the ordering (*intizām*) of people’s union and gathering (*ta’līf wa al-ijtimā‘*). The sciences that stand outside this schema are auxiliaries (*khādima*) of these four major sciences. For instance, forging (*ḥidāda*) is auxiliary to farming; dairymaking (*ḥilāba*) and spinning (*ghazl*) are auxiliary to knitting (*ḥiyāka*); carpentry (*nijāra*) is auxiliary to building, and scribery and accounting (*kitāba wa ḥisāb*) are auxiliary to government.¹²⁷ Taşköprizade also emphasizes the relationship between writing and government in *Miftāḥ al-Sa‘āda* by pointing out that the sciences of diplomatic writing (*‘ilm al-inshā*) and registry (*‘ilm al-shurūṭ wa al-sijillāt*) are branches of practical philosophy (*al-ḥikma al-‘amaliyya*).¹²⁸

¹²⁷ SA, p. 63.

¹²⁸ MSMS, v. 1, p. 221.

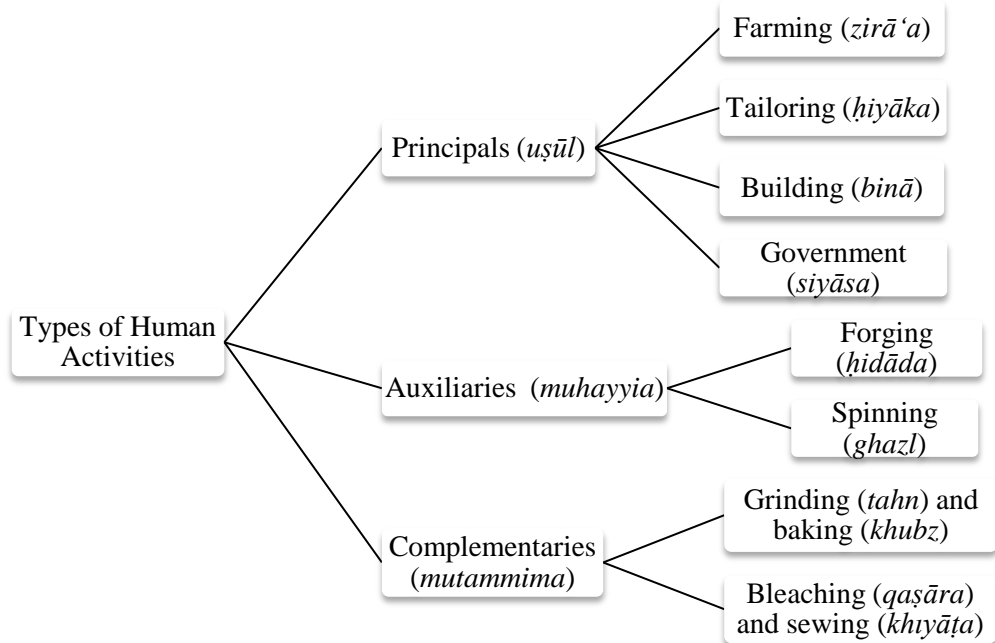
Figure 3. Taşköprizade’s Classification of the Physical Sciences as Principals and Auxiliaries and the Place of Government in Them



Although not conceptualized as physical sciences but as crafts (*ḥiraf*) and arts (*sanāi'*), Taşköprizade’s schema had already been laid out in Ghazālī’s *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, albeit with a slight difference. While Taşköprizade adheres to a twofold division, Ghazālī divides human activities into three parts: principals (*uṣūl*), auxiliaries (*muhayyi'a*) and complementaries (*mutammima*).¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Ghazālī, *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 2005, p. 20.

Figure 4. Types of Human Activities in Ghazālī’s Schema

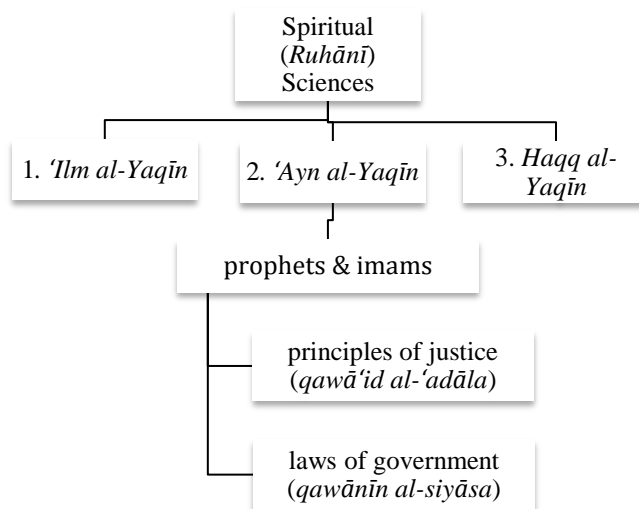


Whereas there is no reference to writing and accounting in Ghazālī’s schema, Tašköprizade’s emphasis on writing (*kitāba*) and accounting (*ḥisāb*) as auxiliary sciences to government might be regarded as a reflection of the increase in the scope and significance of record-keeping and writing in Ottoman state administration and bureaucracy in the mid-sixteenth century.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ For the development of bureaucratic consciousness, see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the Historian Mustafa Āli (1541-1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 214-231; “Preliminaries to the Study of the Ottoman Bureaucracy,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 135-41, for more information on the Ottoman scribal practice in the sixteenth century, see Cornell Fleischer, “Between the Lines: Realities of Scribal Life in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, edited by Colin Heywood and Colin Imber, 45-61 (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1994); Linda Darling, “Ottoman Turkish: Written Language and Scribal Practice, 13th to 20th Centuries,” in *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order*, ed. Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2012), 171-95.

In Tašköprizade’s twofold classification, although government is not placed in the category of the spiritual sciences, which aim at the perfection of the soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiqa*), it is connected to them on the broader level of establishing the laws of government (*qawānīn al-siyāsa*). As for spiritual sciences, Tašköprizade explains the three consecutive degrees of certitude for knowledge: knowledge of certainty (*rutba ‘ilm al-yaqīn*), vision of certainty (*rutba ‘ayn al-yaqīn*) and true certainty (*rutba haqq al-yaqīn*). Standing in the second rank (*rutba ‘ayn al-yaqīn*) of true knowledge and perfecting their theoretical and practical powers are prophets and leaders (*imām*), who legislate the basic principles of justice (*qawā‘id al-‘adāla*) and enact the laws of government (*qawānīn al-siyāsa*).¹³¹

Figure 5. Tašköprizade’s Classification of the Spiritual Sciences into Three Ranks



¹³¹ SA, p. 53.

3.4 Political sciences as branches of practical philosophy

In a manner reminiscent of Ibn Sīnā's division of the theoretical sciences as principals (*aşl*) and branches (*far'*), Taşköprizade classifies the practical sciences as principals and branches.¹³² In this regard, Taşköprizade introduces a more detailed classification than the earlier traditions on practical philosophy.¹³³ After listing the principal sciences which form the traditional trinity of the sciences of practical philosophy (ethics, household management and government), Taşköprizade elaborates on the branches of practical philosophy, namely the sciences manners of rulership (*ādāb al-mulūk*), manners of the vizierate (*ādāb al-wizāra*), market inspection (*al-ihtisāb*), and military commandership (*qūd al-'asākir wa al-juyūsh*) which were developed by the Arabs.¹³⁴

3.4.1 The science of the manners of rulership (*‘Ilm Ādāb al-Mulūk*)

Taşköprizade describes this science as the conditions that rulers and kings know with experience (*tajārib*), intuition (*ḥads*) and sound opinion (*al-ra'y al-şā'ib*) as to what they should and should not do.¹³⁵ Then he lists the duties and manners (*wazā'if*) of sultans, based mostly on the sources he read and partly on his own reasoning and experience. These teachings on good government form the normative aspects of Taşköprizade's discourse on rulership and will be analyzed separately in the next chapter.

¹³² Mustakim Arıcı, "Ahlak Neyi Bilmektir? Bir İlim Olarak Ahlak", in *İslam Ahlak Literatürü: Ekoller ve Problemler*, (ed.) Ömer Türker-Kübra Bilgin, İlem Kitaplığı, p.51.

¹³³ Taşköprizade himself mentions in a general manner his invention of some particularities in the introduction by the words 'fimā ikhtara't min al-tafsīl' (the details that I invented)., *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 3.

¹³⁴ *MSMS* v. 1, p. 72; for Taşköprizade's explanation of these disciplines, see *MSMS* v. 1, p. 408-415.

¹³⁵ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 408.

3.4.2 The science of the manners of vizierate (*'Ilm Ādāb al-Wizāra*)

The science of the manners of vizierate is the second science in the branches of practical philosophy. Instead of providing a definition of this science, Taşköprizade explains through Quranic verses that vizierate is an extremely necessary office. As the prayer of Moses “Increase through him my strength and let him share my task” (Quran, 20/31-2) shows, the place (*mawzi'*) of vizierate strengthens the foundations of the kingdom (*qawā'id al-mamlaka*). It also means that a vizier who is needed by a sultan (*li-'ajzih*) should take care of the affairs when good morals are perfected in himself.¹³⁶

3.4.3 The science of market inspection (*'Ilm al-Ihtisāb*)

Taşköprizade defines this science as the investigation (*naẓar*) of the affairs of the inhabitants of the city (*ahl al-madīna*) by exercising rites (*marsam*) in the conventional sense of rulership (*riyāsa iştīlāhiyya*), prohibiting what is against them, applying what was established by the sharia, and commanding right and forbidding wrong (*al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*). Taşköprizade states that market inspectors (*muhtasib*) should follow these affairs (*yuwāzīb 'alayhā*) day and night implicitly and explicitly.¹³⁷

In order to demonstrate the significance of market inspectors, Taşköprizade forms an organic analogy between the human body and political actors. The sultan as the source of opinion and governance (*manba' al-ra'y wa al-tadbīr*) corresponds to the head, the vizier corresponds to the tongue and market inspectors (*muhtasib*) are like hands and feet or slaves and servants (*mamālik wa al-khuddām*). All of these

¹³⁶ MSMS, v. 1, p. 414.

¹³⁷ MSMS, v. 1, p. 414.

serve a public good (*maṣlaḥa*) without which order (*nizām*) is not possible. The science of ‘governance of the city’ (*‘ilm siyāsa al-madaniyya*) comprises some of the basic requirements (*lawāzim*) of this exalted office (*manṣīb jalīl*).¹³⁸

3.4.4 The science of military commandership (*‘Ilm Qūd al-‘Asākir wa al-Juyūsh*)

This science investigates the arrangement of soldiers (*tartīb al-juyūsh*) and appointment of (military) leaders (*naṣb al-ruasā*). Recapitulating some teachings of Māwardī in his *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya (The Ordinances of Government)*, Taṣkōprizade lists the elements of this science as follows: Controlling the conditions of the soldiers, preparing their foodstuff, privileging the courageous over the cowards, the powerful over the weak, showing benevolence to the powerful and cowardly more than to their weak and cowardly peers and then gaining the hearts of the powerful soldiers with various gifts, preparing their clothes for war and accompanying military equipment, then commanding both groups (powerful and courageous vs. weak and cowardly) with piety (*zuhd*) and righteousness (*ṣalāḥ*) so that they attain goodness (*khayr*) and salvation (*falāḥ*), commanding them not to oppress anyone (*lā yazlim*), not to break any covenant (*‘ahd*), and not to neglect any of the pillars of the sharia, which leads to the extinction of the state.¹³⁹

To illustrate the above-mentioned statement, Taṣkōprizade narrates the story of an ancient Persian king. Yet he presents it not as a model of rulership but as an example of failure on the part of the king. According to the story, Firuz Ibn Yazdajir was told not to violate his oath/covenant (*‘ahd/ mawthiq*), for abiding by one’s oath is among the pillars of the sharia, and God takes away sovereignty not from those

¹³⁸ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 415.

¹³⁹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 415.

kings who oppress but from those who violate one pillar of the sharia. In the end, defeated by the power of his whims (*sulṭān al-hawā*), Firuz exceeds the pillars of the sharia by violating his oath. Alluding to the tragic end of the story, Taşköprizade states that the king reached his end which was recorded in the history books.

Taşköprizade, in line with his conception of history as teaching lessons from the past, prays to God that He protects them from doing any wrong deed or uttering any wrong words.¹⁴⁰

3.5 Other sciences related to rulership: A preliminary assessment from the perspective of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*

3.5.1 Metaphysics (*al-ʿIlm al-Ilāhī*)

Taşköprizade defines this science as the investigation of existence inasmuch as they exist. Leading to truth, the purpose of this science is the attainment of eternal happiness and leadership. Although Taşköprizade explains in the second part of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* that the way to truth is the purification of the soul (*taṣfiya*), he states that what is called *al-ḥikma al-dhawqiyya* (philosophy of illumination) comes close to the way of purification in attaining truth. Those who have reached this status are Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191), Molla Fenari (d. 834/1431) and Dawwānī.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 415.

¹⁴¹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 313.

Taşköprizade then narrates the lives of the masters of philosophy (*al-ḥikma*), namely Hermes, Plato, Aristotle, Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Tūsī.¹⁴² Those who follow them in the knowledge of *ḥikma* are Suhrawardī, Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), Qutb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 766/1365), Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390), Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), Dawwānī, Hocasade (d. 893/1488) and Kastallani (d. 901/1496).¹⁴³

Taşköprizade’s discussion of scholars indicates the centrality of wisdom (*al-ḥikma*) in his political thought. For instance, describing the meaning of the name “Aristotle” as the lover of philosophy/wisdom (*al-ḥikma*), Taşköprizade credits Aristotle with having tutored Alexander the Great in the task of government. For Alexander acted upon the manners (*ādāb*) and the art of rulership (*siyāsa*) that Aristotle taught him.¹⁴⁴ The description of Aristotle as lover of philosophy/wisdom (*al-ḥikma*) and tutor of Alexander in government seems to be in line with Taşköprizade’s definition of wisdom (*ḥikma*) as the combination of knowledge and action as well as the backbone of government, which will be analyzed in the next chapter.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 314-20.

¹⁴³ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 320.

¹⁴⁴ Wa kāna mu‘allim al-Iskandar wa bi ādābihi wa siyāsatihi ‘amila huwa. *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 315.

¹⁴⁵ *SA*, p. 33.

3.5.2 The science of epistolography and elegant prose (*'Ilm al-Inshā*)

Taşköprizade regards *'ilm al-inshā*¹⁴⁶ (the science of epistolography and elegant prose) as a science that has applications in many sciences, especially practical philosophy (*al-ḥikma al-'amaliyya*) and the religious sciences (*al-'ulūm al-shar'iyya*).¹⁴⁷ Taşköprizade's emphasis on the science of writing and its connection with practical philosophy might be a reflection of the fact that the diplomatic writings formed an essential component of the expanding Ottoman statecraft, with a heightened importance in the mid-sixteenth century along with the bureaucratization and record-keeping.

3.5.3 The science of recording (*'Ilm al-Shurūṭ wa al-Sijillāt*)

Taşköprizade describes recording as a branch of *'ilm al-inshā* and jurisprudence (*'ilm al-fiqh*). It has also applications in *'urf*.¹⁴⁸ In a similar vein, Taşköprizade describes the science of writing and accounting (*al-kitāba wa al-hisāb*) as auxiliary to the science of government in his second classification of the sciences as physical/bodily (*badanī*) and spiritual (*rūhānī*).¹⁴⁹

3.5.4 The science of composing letters (*'Ilm al-Tarassul*)

This science deals with the affairs of the correspondent, letter and addressee in terms of following the manners and terminology suitable for different audiences avoiding

¹⁴⁶ For an analysis of a number of attractions this science held in the sixteenth century, see Christine Woodhead, 'Ottoman İnşa and the Art of Letter-Writing Influences Upon the Career of the Nişancı and Prose Stylist Okçuzade (d. 1630)', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, v. 7-8, 1988, p. 143-159.

¹⁴⁷ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 221.

¹⁴⁸ *Wa lahū istimdād min al-'urf*, *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 272.

¹⁴⁹ *SA*, p. 63.

inappropriate words in the addresses. Classifying it as a branch of *'ilm al-inshā*, Taşköprizade states that it also has implications (*istimdād*) for practical philosophy.¹⁵⁰

3.5.5 The science of discernment (*'Ilm al-Firāsa*)

'Ilm al-Firāsa is classified under the category of natural science (*al-'ilm al-tabī'ī*) in the fifth chapter (*dawḥa*), which deals with theoretical philosophy.¹⁵¹ Taşköprizade thinks that human beings need this science because they are social by nature (*madaniyy bi al-tab'*) and need to distinguish between the beneficial and the harmful. This science helps people to judge others when they have to choose friends, spouses or slaves.¹⁵² Hence, the science of discernment (*'ilm al-firāsa*) forms another component of the political thought of Taşköprizade, as can be seen in his separate treatment of the rules of discernment in *Asrār al-Khilāfa*.¹⁵³

3.6 Books and authors on rulership recommended by Taşköprizade

Besides mentioning the subject, problems, benefits and goals of each science, Taşköprizade gives the major works written in these disciplines according to their rankings, emphasizing that this is beneficial for the attainment of knowledge and the motivation of students. As such, Taşköprizade reproduces and readdresses a large body of scholarly literature that survived until his time. Taşköprizade also states that

¹⁵⁰ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 272-3.

¹⁵¹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 333.

¹⁵² Şükran Fazlıoğlu, "İbnü'l-Ekfânî'nin İkmâlu's-Siyâse Fî İlmi'l-Firâse Adlı Eseri", *Divan Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2001/1, v. 10, p. 237.

¹⁵³ In the treatise, Taşköprizade, like Ibn al-Akfânî, emphasizes the moderation (*i'tidl*) in any aspect of body and soul, be it the length of hair, size of eye or height of tone. However, Taşköprizade does not include certain parts that are found in Ibn al-Akfânî's book, which relate to the obscene parts of the body, a manner congruent with the elevated language of the treatise, see *AH*, 35b-36b.

one of his intentions in recommending books is to protect the students from the books that might be harmful for them.¹⁵⁴ Hence, Taşköprizade's recommendation of certain books and authors coupled with their biographies might be regarded on the one hand as signifiers of his politics of citation and transmission of knowledge. On the other hand, these citations are rich sources for the social history of knowledge in the early modern Ottoman Empire for they indicated the books that Taşköprizade was aware of or had access to.¹⁵⁵

Among the mirrors for princes, Taşköprizade does not cite the *Qābusnāma* of Kaykāus (d. 475/1082) or *Siyāsatnāma* of Nizām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092). Although there is the possibility that Taşköprizade was not aware of these two works, one is still tempted to think that Taşköprizade's neglect of them can be a reflection of his distance from the Persian *Siyāsatnāma* genre. Since *Qābusnāma* was a famous work which was translated many times into the Turkish by Taşköprizade's time, the reason why Taşköprizade did not cite it might also be that it included some obscene elements which stand against sharia, for Taşköprizade embraced the Islamic framework of reference as found in Ghazālī's thought.¹⁵⁶ Given his reverence of Ghazālī, Taşköprizade's citation of Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk* is not surprising.¹⁵⁷ In

¹⁵⁴ Wa nubayyin asmā' al-kutub al-mu'allafa fihā wa asmā' mu'allifihā li yakūna 'awnan fī tahsīl al-'ulūm wa targhībān fī talabihā wa irshādan ilā turuq tahsīlihā. Ammā dhikr al-musannafāt fa li al-tanbīh 'alā marātibihā wa jalāla qadrihā wa al-tafāwut bayna tilka al-kutub wa fī dhālik irshād li al-tālib ilā tahsīlihā wa ta'rīf lahū bimā ya'tamiduhū minhā wa tahdhīruhū mimmā yukhāfu min al-ightirār. *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 73.

¹⁵⁵ For a pioneering work in the European social history of knowledge in the early modern period, see Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge From Gutenberg to Diderot*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002. I would like to thank Hasan Karataş who drew my attention to this comparison and connection.

¹⁵⁶ The last and the most famous one is the translation of Mercimek Ahmed for Murad II (d. 855/1451), see Rıza Kurtuluş, "Keykavus b. İskender", *TDVIA*, 2002, v. 25, p. 357.

¹⁵⁷ Although Taşköprizade thinks and presents it as Ghazālī's work, Ghazālī's authorship of this text, apart from its first part, is questioned by Patricia Crone, "Did al-Ghazali Write - Mirror for Princes? On the Authorship of Nasihat al-Muluk", *Jerusalem Studies of Arabic and Islam*, 10, 1987, pp. 167–197.

addition to the high esteem of Ghazālī, another feature that might have enhanced *Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk*'s reception by Taṣkōprizade can be that unlike *Siyāsatnāma* of Nizām al-Mulk, *Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk* was influenced by sufi ethics. This sufi ethics was to be more fully elaborated in later works such as *Dhakhīra al-Mulūk* of Sayyid ‘Ali al-Hamadānī, which was Taṣkōprizade’s main source of inspiration along with Ghazālī’s *Ihyā*.¹⁵⁸

Although it is not always possible to determine the logic behind Taṣkōprizade’s inclusion and exclusion of different sources, the reasons of his choices can further be investigated in comparison with other bio-bibliographical works. What I will present here is a descriptive analysis of the books Taṣkōprizade recommends in the section on practical philosophy.

3.6.1 The science of ethics (*‘Ilm al-Akhlāq*)

For the science of ethics, Taṣkōprizade cites one detailed and two summary works, leaving out two influential books, *Akhlāq-ı Nāsirī* of Tūsī and *Akhlāq-ı Jalālī* of Dawwānī, to the end of the section, for he regards them not as works about the science of ethics *per se*, but as books that comprehend the three sciences of practical philosophy together. He does not give the title of Rāzī’s book but only cites it as *Kitāb*.

¹⁵⁸ Ann K. S. Lambton, “The Theory of Kingship in the *Nasihāt ul-Mulūk* of Ghazālī.” *The Islamic Quarterly* 1 (1954), p. 48.

Table 2. Books on ethics recommended by Taşköprizade

Concise (<i>Mukhtasar</i>) Books	Authors
<i>Kitāb al Birr wa al-Ithm</i>	Abū Ali Ibn Sīnā
<i>Kitāb al Fawz</i>	Abū Ali Miskawayh
Extensive (<i>Mabsūt</i>) Books	Authors
<i>Kitāb (al-Nafs wa al-Rūḥ)</i> ¹⁵⁹	Imām Fakhr al Dīn al-Rāzī

3.6.2 The science of household management (*‘Ilm Tadbīr al-Manzil*)

Taşköprizade cites *Kitāb Brush (The Book of Bryson)*¹⁶⁰ as the most famous book related to this science.¹⁶¹ Stating that many other books were written in this science, Taşköprizade informs the reader that he will introduce the books that cover all the three sciences in the following pages.¹⁶²

3.6.3 The science of government (*‘Ilm al-Siyāsa*)

Taşköprizade states that *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, which Aristotle sent to Alexander, contains the significant points of this science (*muhimmāt hādihā al-amr*). He cites *Kitāb Arā Ahl al-Madīna al-Fāḍila* of Fārābī as the second book on government, qualifying it as a work that includes the laws of this science (*jāmi‘ li qawānīnih*).¹⁶³ Taşköprizade’s

¹⁵⁹ Taşköprizade does not mention the name of the book but just writes *Kitāb*, which is probably *Kitāb al-Nafs wa al-Ruh (The Book of Soul and Spirit)* of Razi. The reason why Taşköprizade did not need to write the name of the book might indicate the popularity of Razi, whom the Ottoman writers frequently revered as an authority. Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p. 298.

¹⁶⁰ There is probably a typo here for the original name of the author is Bryson.

¹⁶¹ This book appeared in the first bibliographical work in the Islamic intellectual history, *al-Fihrist*, which was written in the 4th/10th century, see Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, p. 452.

¹⁶² Wa sata‘rif al-kutub al-jāmi‘a li al-thalātha, *MSMS* v. 1, p. 407.

¹⁶³ *MSMS* v. 1, p. 408.

recommendation of this work, which elaborated on the sultanate, might reflect the then prevailing view among the Ottoman political thinkers of his time that sultanate was the only just and legitimate type of political regime.¹⁶⁴

After mentioning books on the science of government and before moving on to the fourth branch (*shu'ba*) of practical philosophy, Taşköprizade cites the works that contain the three sciences of practical philosophy (*jāmi' li hādhihī al-'ulūm*).¹⁶⁵

Table 3. The Books That Combine the Sciences of Ethics, Household Management and Government

Books Covering the Three Sciences	Authors
<i>Kitāb al-Akhlāq al-Nāsiriyya</i>	Khāja Naşīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī
<i>Kitāb al-Akhlāq al-Jalālīyya</i>	Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī
Mukhtasar (Concise) Books	Authors
<i>Al-Risāla</i>	Mawlānā Aḩud al-Dīn
1. <i>Sharḩ al-Risāla</i>	1. Kirmānī (Aḩud al-Dīn's Pupil)
2. <i>Sharḩ al-Risāla</i>	2. Taşköprizade

3.6.4 The branches of practical philosophy (*Furū' al-Hikma al-'Amaliyya*)

3.6.4.1 The science of the manners of rulership (*'Ilm Ādāb al-Mulūk*)

Taşköprizade cites two books in relation to this science. He describes *Sirāj al-Mulūk* of Imām al-Turtūshī (451-520/1059-1126) as a good, beneficial work on this

¹⁶⁴ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 147.

¹⁶⁵ As for the concise books, Taşköprizade regards them as comprehensive of the principles of these three sciences (*jāmi'a li usūl hādhihī al-funūn*). *MSMS* v. 1, p. 408.

subject.¹⁶⁶ Taşköprizade depicts Turtūshī as a pious religious scholar, who did not give much importance to the world. He reports Turtūshī as saying ‘If you are faced with two affairs, one related to this world and the other to the Hereafter, choose the otherworldly one so that you succeed in the affairs of both this world and the Hereafter.’¹⁶⁷ It is not surprising that Taşköprizade devoted considerable space to the life of Turtūshī, who was known to have worked for the moral redress of society, criticized some social and political practices that he considered to be against Islamic principles and gave advice to rulers.¹⁶⁸

The second work Taşköprizade cites is *Silwān al Mutā' fī Udwān el Tībā'* of Ibn Zafar (d. 565/1170), a book already introduced under ‘*ilm al-muḥāḍarāt* (the science of opportune narration).¹⁶⁹

3.6.4.2 The Science of the manners of vizierate (‘*Ilm Ādāb al-Wizāra*)

Taşköprizade cites three books in relation to this science. One is *Kitāb al-Ishāra fī Ādāb al-Wizāra*, the author of which Taşköprizade does not mention but who was probably Ibn al-Khatīb (d.1374).¹⁷⁰ The other two are *Sirāj al-Mulūk* of Turtūshī and *Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk* of Ghazālī.¹⁷¹ Being moralistic advice books rather than juristic works on the vizierate, Taşköprizade’s recommended books reflect the then

¹⁶⁶ Wa huwa hasan nāfi‘ fi babihī *MSMS*, v.1, p. 413.

¹⁶⁷ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 412.

¹⁶⁸ Muharrem Kılıç, ‘Turtuşi’, *TDVIA*, 2012, v. 41, p. 430-431.

¹⁶⁹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 233.

¹⁷⁰ Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p. 347, fn. 161.

¹⁷¹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 414.

prevalent lack of interest in the juristic conception of the vizierate, parallel to the lack of interest in the the juristic conception of the sultanate.¹⁷²

3.6.4.3 The science of market inspection (*'Ilm al-İhtisāb*)

Taşköprizade states that he has not seen a book written specifically about this science and he adds that the science of the 'governance of the city' (*'ilm al-siyāsa al-madaniyya*) includes some of the requirements of this elevated position (*mansab jalīl*).¹⁷³

3.6.4.4 The science of military commandership (*'Ilm Qūd al-'Asākir wa al-Juyūsh*)

Taşköprizade here recommends *al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyya* of al-Māwardī, stating that it provides the necessary information about this science.¹⁷⁴

3.6.5 Other sciences related to government

3.6.5.1 The science of discernment (*'Ilm al-Firāsa*)

Taşköprizade recommends the book of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on this science, which he depicts as the summary of the book of Aristotle, though with many significant additions.¹⁷⁵ He also cites the book of the Greek scholar of physiognomy Philemon (*Iqlīmūn*), describing it as a work that deals particularly with women.¹⁷⁶ He describes

¹⁷² Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 347.

¹⁷³ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 415.

¹⁷⁴ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 415.

¹⁷⁵ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 333.

¹⁷⁶ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 333. The name appears in encyclopedic dictionaries in different versions such as Polemo, Philemon, Iqlīmūn, Iqlīmūn or Qlīmūn. For Philemon, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, (ed and trans.) Bayard Dodge, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, v. 2, p. 736; for Qlīmūn, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Matbaatü'l-İstikame, Kahire 1348, p. 450; for Iqlīmūn, see Zakariyyā Kazwīnī, *Athār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ibād*, Beirut: Dar Sadr, p. 573. For a detailed discussion of these names, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitab al-Fihrist*, (ed.) Gustav Flügel and Fuat Sezgin,

Kitāb al-Siyāsa (The Book of Government) of Muhammad Sufi as a concise and beneficial book on this science.¹⁷⁷

3.6.5.2 Metaphysics (*Al-‘Ilm al-Ilāhī*)

Taşköprizade notes that Fārābī wrote over seventy beneficial books and treatises, and he recommends two of them, which he thinks have no equivalent on the metaphysics and socio-political science (*al-‘ilm al-madanī*). These are *al-Siyāsa al-Madaniyya (Governance of the City)* and *al-Sīra al-Fādila (The Virtuous Character)*.¹⁷⁸

Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 2005, v. 2, p. 155.

¹⁷⁷ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 333.

¹⁷⁸ Taşköprizade most probably refers to *al-Madīna al-Fādila*, *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 318.

CHAPTER 4

GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION INTERTWINED: THE CONCEPTUAL AND NORMATIVE ASPECTS OF TAŞKÖPRİZADE'S DISCOURSE ON RULERSHIP

4.1 Siyasa and Sharia

One of the questions to be asked with regard to Taşköprizade's political thought is how he uses the term *siyāsa*.¹⁷⁹ Taşköprizade's differing usages of the term suggest that he understood government not in the narrow sense of the term but as the art of human governance, in line with how Ibn Sīnā and following him, later Islamic philosophers had conceptualized it.¹⁸⁰ According to this view, the art of making a friend, raising a child and ruling a state were interrelated actions.¹⁸¹

Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Siyāsa (The Book of Government)* begins with the discussion of the human being's governance of himself, his family and others. Writing on governance, Ibn Sīnā maintains that it is the most convenient way for

¹⁷⁹ As Yılmaz notes, *siyasa* and *maslaha* are widely used terms that have 'diametrically different meanings in philosophical, juristic and administrative texts', Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 124. *Siyasa* does not occur in Quran, but related concepts such as *khalifa*, *imam*, *sultan* appear in different ways in Quran and Hadith. For an overview of the various dictionary definitions of *siyasa* as well as the occurrences of its adjacent concepts in multifarious sources, see Hızır Murat Köse, "Siyaset", *TDVIA*, 2009, v. 37, p. 294.

¹⁸⁰ M. Mahdi states that Avicenna was a central figure in Islamic philosophy, charting the later directions in the investigation of both theoretical and practical sciences. M. Mahdi, "Avicenna: Introduction," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater (London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1989), Vol. III, 66; for Ibn Sīnā's understanding of practical philosophy and its legacy on the later Islamic philosophy, see M. Cüneyt Kaya, "In the Shadow of Prophetic Legislation: The Venture of Practical Philosophy after Avicenna", *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, vol. 24 (2014) pp. 269–296.

¹⁸¹ Kınalızade also embraced this broad meaning of *siyāsa* as the art of human governance, as Tezcan shows in his MA thesis, see Tezcan, "The Definition of Sultanatic Legitimacy", p. 52-53.

people to start with the governance of their own selves.¹⁸² Likewise, Taşköprizade uses the term to denote the governance of one's own powers (*siyāsa al-insān quwāhu*) in order to attain well-being both in this world and in the Hereafter (*ṣalāh al-ma'āsh wa al-ma'ād*).¹⁸³

On the other hand, Taşköprizade makes use of the legal sense of *siyāsa* as well. In explaining the rights of the sultanate (*huqūq al-ṣaltana*) over the sultan, he states that the sultan should not be flexible (*lā yusāhil*) in punishment (*siyāsa*). Rather, he should discipline and polish the statesmen with advice and punishment (*siyāsa*).¹⁸⁴ Another obligation of the sultan is to prevent the sins and disobedience (of his subjects) with sanction (*siyāsa*).¹⁸⁵

What Taşköprizade understands from *siyāsa* in the conventional sense is the government of affairs for the preservation of the order of the world (*niẓām al-'ālam*), which is congruent with the sixteenth-century Ottoman dictionary definition of the term.¹⁸⁶ Taşköprizade deems 'conventional government' (*al-siyāsa al-iṣṭilāḥiyya*) adequate for the maintenance of the world order (*niẓām al-'ālam*). Conventional government resembles what Ibn Khaldūn had called rational government (*al-siyāsa*

¹⁸² Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, (ed.) Louish Cheikho et al. *Maqālāt Falsafīyya*, Kahire: 1990, p. 1-17, here at p.6.

¹⁸³ SA, p. 33.

¹⁸⁴ wa lā yusāhila fī al-siyāsa wa an yuhadhhiba arbāb al-dawla bi al-nasīha wa al-siyāsa, SA 253, AH 35a.

¹⁸⁵ wa yamna' an al-manāhī wa al-ma'āshī bi al-siyāsa, AH, 39a. Uriel Heyd points to the different meanings and usages of *kanun* and *siyaset* in the introduction of his book, see Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford University Press, 1973, 167-207, especially p. 167-170.

¹⁸⁶ The term "siyāsa" is defined in the sixteenth century Ottoman dictionary Ahteri-i Kebir as *niẓām al-'ālam* and *adab*, see Ahteri Mustafa Efendi, *Ahteri-i Kebir*, Nadir Eserler Kitaplığı, 2013, p. 530.

al-‘aqliyya).¹⁸⁷ In Taşköprizade’s words, through government (*al-siyāsa*) world order endures, even if the Hereafter does not ameliorate.¹⁸⁸

In contradistinction from such contemporaries as Dede Cöngi, Taşköprizade does not use the term *al-siyāsa al-shar‘iyya*. He only refers to sharia as perfect *siyāsa* when he discusses the juxtaposition of *siyāsa* and sharia, harshly criticizing those who argue that sharia requires *siyāsa*. For him, this argument is the mistake of ignorant lay people, who violate the sharia by killing people without justification and calling this *siyāsa*.¹⁸⁹ Rather, sharia embodies *siyāsa*. For only the prophets can bring true justice (*al-‘adl haqīqatan*). Rulers can only provide an approximation of justice (*mā yushbih al-‘adl*).¹⁹⁰

Taşköprizade’s description of sharia as a wider realm of authority and knowledge that both incorporates and stands above *siyāsa* had already been articulated before him.¹⁹¹ In line with the conception of sharia as perfect *siyāsa*, Taşköprizade depicts the Prophet Muhammad as combining perfect *siyāsa* and virtuous character.¹⁹² In his understanding of the term sharia, Taşköprizade comes

¹⁸⁷ İlhan Kutluer, ‘Temeddün ile Tedeyyün Arasında Taşköprizade’, in *Yitirilmiş Hikmeti Ararken*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2011, p. 464.

¹⁸⁸ *al-siyāsa mim mā yabqā bih niẓām al-‘ālam wa in lam tuşlih bihā umūr al-ākhirā*, *MSMS*, v. 1, p.404.

¹⁸⁹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 404.

¹⁹⁰ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 404.

¹⁹¹ Tarif Khalidi notes in his survey of the term *siyase* in the writings of medieval Arab historians a similar formula that the sharia was perfected *siyāsa* (*al-sharī‘a hiya al-siyāsa al-kāmila*), to which Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī often referred: Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 195. Others used the term *siyase* in other senses: ‘to denote effective (or ineffective) state policy, to describe acts of government lying outside the shari‘a or, in a more nuanced sense, to denote an independent art whose object is the preservation of the state’ *ibid.*, p.197.

¹⁹² *Qad jama‘a Allah lahu al-sīra al-fādila wa al-siyāsa al-tamma*, *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 313.

very close to Ibn Sīnā who used sharia to mean not only “the legal aspects of Islam but all aspects of it, including the principles of faith, morality, and daily life; that is, the totality of the message of the Prophet Muḥammad”.¹⁹³

4.2 Siyasa and Hikma

The concept of *ḥikma* (wisdom) occupies such a significant position in the conceptual framework of Taṣkōprizade’s thought that he justifies government with wisdom. In his words, “Just as body is to nature (*tabī‘a*), nature is to the soul (*nafs*), and the soul is to the mind (*‘aql*), countries (*mudun*) are to the king (*malik*), the king is to government (*siyāsa*) and government is to wisdom (*ḥikma*)”.¹⁹⁴

Taṣkōprizade envisions a tight connection between wisdom and religion, portraying wisdom as one of the pillars of religion. Government stands firm (*yataqawwam*) by virtue of wisdom, the neglect of which results in the weakening of sharia. In his words: “If wisdom is neglected (*uhmilat*) then the sharia gets weakened, the value of the kingship (*bahā al-mulk*) is gone, honor (*muruwwa*) is extinguished and grace is perished.”¹⁹⁵

Taṣkōprizade defines wisdom as the combination of knowledge (*‘ilm*) and (righteous) act (*‘amal*).¹⁹⁶ For him, wisdom is a kind of act.¹⁹⁷ His definition is a

¹⁹³ Kaya, “In the Shadow of Prophetic Legislation”, p. 273, 11th footnote.

¹⁹⁴ SA, p. 245.

¹⁹⁵ SA, p. 245.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Al-ḥikma... hiya majmū‘ al-‘ilm wa al-‘amal, SA p. 33. He quotes the Quranic verse 1/269: “He giveth wisdom unto whom He will, and he unto whom wisdom is given, he truly hath received abundant good...”

¹⁹⁷ Wa hiya bi i‘tibār taḥṣīlihā bi isti‘mal hāzihī al-kuwā fi taḥqīq al-yaqīniyyāt naw‘ min al-‘amal. SA, p. 43.

recapitulation of and a contribution to that of Tūsī, whom he reveres and whose *Akhlāq-ı Nāsirī* he quotes in *Miftāḥ al-Sa‘āda* as comprehensive of the disciplines on practical philosophy. Kınalızade, writing after Taşköprizade, also adhered to this definition.¹⁹⁸

As the combination of knowledge (‘*ilm*) and action (‘*amal*), wisdom is an enormous good (*khayran kathīran*) that is given by God to whomever He wishes. Just as sultanate is regarded as a grace from God, so is wisdom viewed as a God-given fortune. Those who have wisdom stand in a more powerful position than others since God has perfected their theoretical and practical powers.¹⁹⁹

Hence another reason why wisdom occupies such a central place in Taşköprizade’s political thought is its connection to power. Based on the interpretation of the Quranic verses 83/26, 16/20 and 31/30, Taşköprizade assigns the twofold message in all these verses to the perfection of theoretical and practical power (*takmīl al-quwwa al-naẓariyya wa al-‘amaliyya*). Wisdom is comprehensive of theoretical and practical realms. Hence, the perfection (*kamāl*) explained by wisdom (*al mufassar bi al-ḥikma*) is the perfection of the rational soul (*al-naḥs al-*

¹⁹⁸ Having stated in the beginning that the widely accepted definition of *ḥikmet* is the knowledge of the things as they are (*mevcudat-ı hariciyye nefsü’l-emrde ne halde ise ol hal üzerine bilmektir...*), Kınalızade turns to the meaning given by ‘Hace-i Muhakkik Tusi’ in his *Ahlak-ı Nasirī*: knowing the things and fulfilling the acts in the due manner (*Ḥikmet eşyayı layık ne ise eyle bilmek ve ef’ali layık nice ise eyle kılmaktır*). Kınalızade himself adheres to this meaning, which regards *ḥikma* as the combination of theory and practice, or knowledge and action. Kınalızade, *Ahlak-ı Alai*, (ed.) Mustafa Koç, İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2007, p.47.

¹⁹⁹ The relation between wisdom, power and perfection is characteristic of the Ash‘ari interpretation of the divine name “Wise” (*Hakīm*). According to the Ash‘aris, masterly production (*iḥkām*) in God’s creation originates from His knowledge, power and wisdom (*ḥikma*). Ghazālī writes: ‘The Wise (*Hakīm*) means the knower of the realities of things and the one capable of creating them perfectly according to His will.’ Ayman Shihadeh, *The Teleological Ethics of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006, p. 51.

nāṭiqā), which is the end result (*thamara*) of theoretical power (*quwwa naẓariyya*).²⁰⁰

4.3 Sultanate as duties and manners

Taşköprizade enumerates the code of conduct and the duties of the sultan under the science of the manners of rulership (*‘ilm ādāb al-mulūk*), the first science in the branches of practical philosophy (*furū‘ al-ḥikma al-‘amaliyya*).²⁰¹

4.3.1 Manners of the sultan

Having defined the science of the manners of rulership as the knowledge of conditions with experience (*tajārib*), intuition (*ḥads*) and correct opinion (*al-ra’y al-sā’ib*), Taşköprizade cites Mu‘āwiya: ‘A ruler should not be a liar. Otherwise, people shall neither believe in his promise nor fear his threat. Nor should a ruler be a traitor. For authority (*walāya*) proves well and useful (*tuṣliḥ*) only with sincerity (*munāṣaḥa*). A ruler should not be like iron, for when he hardens, the folk is exhausted. Nor should he be jealous (*ḥasūd*), for a person with jealousy is not noble (*lā yushrif*) and people become well (*yusliḥ*) only with noble men (*ashrāf*) ruling over them. A ruler should not be cowardly; otherwise, the enemy dares to attack him and he loses his territory.’²⁰²

Taşköprizade, citing an unidentified source, mentions stupidity as the worst quality in a leader (*sayyid*). It is better for a ruler to be smart (*‘āqil*) but seem stupid (*mutaghāfil*), as the poet Abū Tamām wrote: ‘A leader is not the stupid one but the one who seems stupid.’²⁰³

²⁰⁰ SA, p. 51.

²⁰¹ MSMS, v. 1, p. 408-11.

²⁰² MSMS, v. 1, p. 409.

²⁰³ MSMS, v. 1, p. 409.

Aristotle appears here as a counseling figure as he does in other passages of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*. When Zulqarnayn (Alexander) wants to set off on a campaign, he asks Aristotle for advice. Aristotle tells him the following words: 'Make your patience the bridle of your hurry, your ruse the envoy of your rigour, your mercy the king of your power. I guarantee that you will gain the hearts of your people as long as you do not hurt them with violence or indulge them with excessive favour.'²⁰⁴

Another point Taşköprizade touches upon with regard to the code of conduct of sultans is the issue of senility. He first cites Qays Ibn 'Āsım who told his son: 'When I die, bring to power your elders, not the youth. Otherwise, people disrespect the youth and you will lose favor;' however, Taşköprizade does not accept the appointment of the elderly to rulership just because of their seniority. He looks for other qualifications such as being intelligent ('*āqil*) and knowledgeable about public affairs ('*ālim bi al-maşāliḥ*), and having experience in (administrative) affairs (*mujarrib li al-umūr*). Taşköprizade gives examples from the life of Prophet Muḥammad such as his appointment of 'Itāb Ibn Usayd as the Governor of Macca when the latter was in his twenties and Sa'd Ibn Waqqās when he was not even twenty years old.²⁰⁵

4.3.2 Duties of the sultan

4.3.2.1 Taşköprizade's enumeration of the duties of the sultan in *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*

Taşköprizade states that the duties (*wazā'if*) of the sultan are numerous and are adequately covered (*mustawfā*) in the books on this subject. Hence he finds it appropriate to mention only those duties that he deems indispensable (*lā manduḥa*

²⁰⁴ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 409.

²⁰⁵ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 409.

anhā aşlan).²⁰⁶

The first duty is the recruitment of the army, fulfilling the religious duty (*farḍ*) of *jihād* for exalting the word of God (*i'lā kalima Allah*). For God does not grant one authority over Muslims so that one becomes a leader who eats and drinks in comfort but to help the religion and raise the word (of God). Whoever retires from (*taqā'ada*) doing this and takes the goods of Muslims unjustly is a traitor to God, His Prophet and the Community of Believers (*jamā'a al-muslimīn*).²⁰⁷

The second duty is to take care of the fiefs (*iqtā'*), distribute them appropriately and employ those who would benefit the Muslims, protect the religion and inhibit the adversaries. If the sultan distributes *iqtās* to his slaves and if he embellishes them with forbidden (*muḥarrama*) clothes, leaving those who benefit Islam hungry in their houses, then, Taşköprizade firmly states, he should not blame anyone but himself when God takes His grace from him.²⁰⁸ Taşköprizade's use of the term *iqtā'* and not *timar* indicates that he immersed himself in more a textual world than a material or "socio-political" one. He seems to have been concerned with summarizing, adopting or merely conveying the discussions and teachings in the works of the scholars he read and revered.

In both the first and the second duties, Taşköprizade depicts authority and sultanate as a grace from God, which requires the sultan to act according to God's will as opposed to his own. Otherwise, God's grace will vanish.

The third duty is thinking (*al-fikra*) of scholars, the poor (*fuqarā*) and the worthy (*mustahiqqīn*). The sultan pays for their clothes from the treasury (*bayt al-*

²⁰⁶ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 410.

²⁰⁷ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 410.

²⁰⁸ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 410.

māl), which is a trust (*amāna*) in his hands. With regard to the treasury, the sultan is not any different from the people. He was granted authority by the people to oversee the affairs of the Muslims. If he leaves them poor and their families hungry while he himself enjoys good clothes and ornaments, he is foolish, and he will face (the consequences of what) he does.²⁰⁹

Taşköprizade treats as a separate duty of the sultan his obligations related to the treasury of Muslims. He states that the Lawmaker (*Shāri*'), that is to say, God, has determined the (legitimate) ways to spend the wealth of Muslims. Yet, Taşköprizade writes without mentioning any names, they saw them spending that wealth according to their whims and desires (*shahawātihim wa ladhdhātihim*) and granting thousands to their slaves (*mamālīkihim*), poets (*shu'arā*), singers (*mughannī*), people of (blameworthy) innovation (*arbāb al-bida'*), and even infidels (*kafara*). When God shows them His justice on Doomsday, the sultan should not blame anyone but himself.²¹⁰

The sultan should improve (*yuşliḥ*) the conditions of his deputies (*nuwwāb*), for they watch over the conditions of the people (*ra'āyā*), young and old, noble and inferior, rich and poor. He should also take care of the villages and yields (*ghallāt*) and convey the rights (*ḥuqūq*) to their owners (*mustaḥiqq*). They should not give as a pretext the lack of possibility in this time, because they will be asked about this in the Hereafter.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 410.

²¹⁰ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 411.

²¹¹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 411.

The sultan should appoint a jurist (*faqīh*) to every village that lacks one.²¹² Taşköprizade uses exactly the same expression that Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Subqī (d. 771/1327) used in his political treatise *Mu'īd al-Ni'am wa Mubīd al-Niqam*.²¹³ Similar to Ghazālī, who defined a *faqīh* as a person who knows the law of governance (*qānūn al-siyāsa*),²¹⁴ Taşköprizade assigns *faqīh* the role of a ruler and religious teacher. He will teach the people of the village their religious affairs, aiding the sultan by complementing his duties. For it is among the duties of the sultans to convey the rulings of God (*aḥkām*) to the people, as there is no sovereign but God (*lā ḥākima illā Allah*).²¹⁵

Another duty of the sultan is to eliminate the 'innovators' (*mubtadi'a*) and apostates (*malāḥida*) and the strengthening of (*taqrīr*) the Ash'ari school (*madhhab*) whose truth/validity (*ṣiḥḥa*) was agreed upon. Even if Taşköprizade takes this phrase from another source, his emphasis on the Ash'ari school is interesting. For contemporary Ottoman writers such as Kemalpaşazade (d. 940/1534) and Nev'ī Efendi (d. 1007/1599) emphasize that Maturidi and Ash'ari schools share many commonalities and only in small matters differ from each other.²¹⁶ In parallel to their view, it seems that Taşköprizade's emphasis on Ash'arism is not aimed at dominating it over Maturidism but including it in the mainstream. Notwithstanding

²¹² For evidence that this order was applied in the villages of Jerusalem, see Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration Around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem*, Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994, appendix.

²¹³ Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Subqī, *Muid al-Ni'am wa Mubid al-Niqam*, Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, 1948, p. 22; Bilal Aybakan, "Sübki, Taceddin" *TDVIA*, v. 38, p. 12.

²¹⁴ *Ihyā* p. 22.

²¹⁵ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 411.

²¹⁶ Edward Badeen, *Sunnitische Theologie in osmanischer Zeit*, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2008, p. 19-27.

his frequent use of Ash‘ari thoughts and reverence of Ash‘ari thinkers like Ghazālī, Taşköprizade’s writings on *kalām* represent the Ottoman fusion of Maturidism and Ash‘arism. For he also uses the writings of Maturidi thinkers such as Sadr al-Sharī ‘a (d.747/1346), whom he greatly reveres.²¹⁷ Taşköprizade, in the end, gives glory to God for the four prevailing legal schools (*madhhab*) in his time.²¹⁸ His outlook can be seen as a confirmation of the observation that “the supra identity of Sunnism was more appealing to the Ottomans than the sectarian identity of the Hanafī school of law.”²¹⁹

The sultans should enhance the livings (*arzāq*) of scholars if it is little, and decrease theirs if it is too much. Taşköprizade criticizes some sultans for their overprosperity compared to scholars. Some of them might rebuke some religious scholars (*fuqahā*) for riding on horses or for dressing in precious clothes although they themselves show off the graces of God with ignorance and sin. These remarks of Taşköprizade bring to the mind the controversy surrounding the comportment of the famous scholar Feyzullah Efendi (d. 1115/1703) a century and a half later and the possibility that there were similar controversies in Taşköprizade’s time. In many passages, Taşköprizade, using Ghazālī’s conceptualization of worldly or bad scholars, complains about scholars without mentioning any names.²²⁰ Yet in the abovementioned passage, Taşköprizade aims, rather, to defend the honor of knowledge and to argue that ideally the status of scholars should be higher than that

²¹⁷ Sururi, “Taşköprizade’nin el-Me‘alim’i ve Kelami Görüşleri”, p. 425-429.

²¹⁸ wa lillāhi al-ḥamd ‘alā al-madhāhib al-arba‘a al-jāriya fi zamāninā hādhā. *MSMS* v. 1, p. 411.

²¹⁹ Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p. 130.

²²⁰ He uses the term ‘*ulamā sū*’ (literally bad scholars), a major concept in Ghazālī’s terminology, the opposite of which is real scholars, ‘*ulamā al-ākhirā*’ (literally scholars of the Hereafter), *SA*, p. 103. In another passage, he warns of the ulema in the form of Antichrist (*Dajjālīn*) *AH*, 34b.

of the sultan's servants. In this connection, Taşköprizade makes a striking comparison between the material status of religious scholars and that of the slaves in the sultan's household. For him, if the sultan directs his attention to this point, he will see that the livelihood of the highest *faqīh* is less than that of the lowest slave (*mamlūk*) in the sultan's household. Taşköprizade harshly asks whether the ruler does not fear God and states that when God takes His grace from him, he should neither cry nor be surprised.²²¹

4.3.2.2 Duties of the sultan in peace and war

Taşköprizade lists a number of teachings related to the sultan's strategy in both the times of peace and war. Sending spies (*jawāsīs*) to one's enemies is a great measure to become informed about their conditions and secrets. There are many tips for a ruler in understanding the plans of the enemy with regard to war. Accordingly, a ruler should be ready for extraordinary conditions like the assembling of troops that are normally dispersed and or creating a change in the usual conditions of things. In addition, receiving reports from their elites (*khawāṣṣihim*) and the simple-minded among them (*ḍi'āf' uqūlihim*) and especially their children, and talking to them in groups are effective means of finding out about their secrets. Regarding war as the last resort, he advises the ruler to make his utmost effort to gain the hearts of the enemies (*istimāla al-a'dā*) and to arrive at a compromise (*muwāfaqa*), unless this is perceived as a weakness of his.²²²

²²¹ *MSMS* v. 1, p. 411.

²²² *SA*, p. 247.

4.3.2.3 Duties of the sultan toward the social groups

In order to preserve order (*nizām*), the ruler should gather the friends (*ta'līf al-awliyā*) and split the enemies (*tafrīq al-a'dā*), which is not complete unless he looks after the affairs and interests (*maṣalih*) of the subject population (*ra'iyya*) and beware of the deterioration of the condition of justice (*fasād amr al-'adāla*).

Just as the balancing of one's character (*mizāj*) depends on the balancing of the four elements (*al-'anāşır al-arba'a*) -namely, water, fire, air, and earth- the maintenance of justice depends on the ruler's balancing of the four social classes (*al-aşnaf al-arba'a*), namely, scholars, soldiers, craftsmen and farmers.²²³ The latter was a commonly adopted classification in the tradition of ethical and political philosophy.²²⁴

Forming the basis of the circle of justice, the ancient Greek theories about the four humors of the body and the four elements of nature were adopted and developed in various traditions of political thought.²²⁵ After Taşköprizade, Ottoman thinkers such as Kınalızade (d. 979/1572), Katip Çelebi (d. 1067/1657) and Naima (d. 1128/1716) also made use of humoral theory, corresponding the four elements to the four social classes as a key determinant of balance and harmony.²²⁶

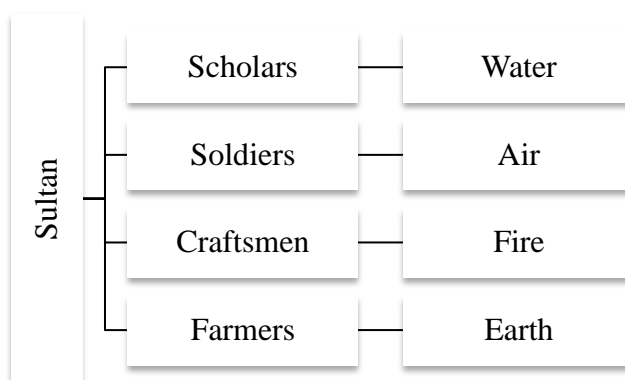
²²³ SA, p. 235. These four social groups are also called *al-arkān al-arba'a*. The correspondance between the social groups and the four elements might slightly vary across different thinkers.

²²⁴ Farabi lists five groups in a virtuous city, see Farabi, *Fusūlü'l-Medeni*, (ed.) D.M.Dunlop (trans.) Hanifi Özcan, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1987, p. 50. The fourpartite version of this can be seen in Tusi, see Nasiruddin Tusi, *Ahlak-ı Nasiri*, (ed.) Tahir Özakkaş (trans.) Anar Gafarov, Zaur Şükürov, İstanbul: Litera Yayınları, 2007, p. 295.

²²⁵ For a global historical analysis of the circle of justice, see Darling, *A History of Social Justice*.

²²⁶ For analysis of their use of humoral theory, see V. Syros, "Galenic Medicine and Social Stability in Early Modern Florence and the Islamic Empires", *Journal of Early Modern History* 17, (2013), p. 201-212.

Figure 6. The Sultan's Balancing Position toward the Four Classes in Society That Correspond to the Four Elements in Nature



In the social classification of Taşköprizade, the first group are the people of knowledge (*arbāb al-‘ilm*), who include jurists (*faqīh*), judges (*qādī*), doctors, astrologers (*munajjim*), scribes (*arbāb al-kitāba*), accountants (*hussāb*) and others who are the causes of the rectitude of religion and the world (*sabab qiwām al-dīn wa al-dunyā*). This group corresponds to water.

The second group are the people of sword (*aṣḥāb al-sayf*) like the courageous fighters (*mujāhidīn*) and soldiers (*muṭawwa‘a*) who are the cause of the livelihood of the people (*sabab ma‘īsha al-nās*). This group corresponds to air among the four elements.

The third group are the craftsmen (*aṣḥāb al-mu'āmalā*) like traders (*tujjār*) and those travelling with soldiers (*ahl al-'ir*) who make provisions, food and delicate dress for the kul/slaves (*'ibād*) who are the pillars of the order (*arkān al-niẓām*). The corresponding element of the craftsmen is fire.

The fourth group are the people of agriculture (*ahl al-muzāra 'a*) like farmers and millers (*dakkākīn*) who work for the acquisition of foodstuff. This group corresponds to earth among the four elements.

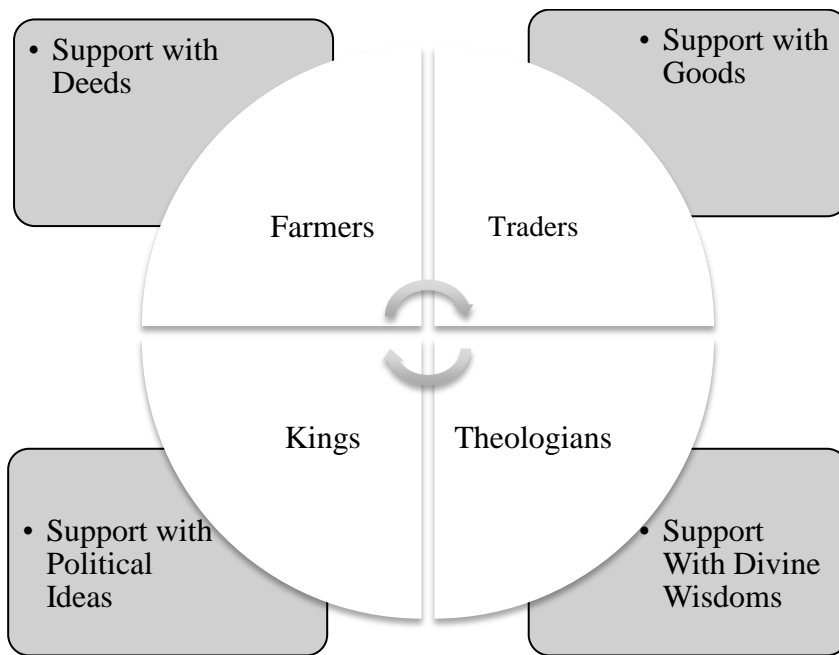
In the end Taşköprizade recapitulates humoral theory, making a direct connection between moderation (*i'tidāl*) in character (*mizāj*) and the social order (*niẓām*). For him, justice is realized through the balancing (*ta'dīl*) of these four social groups in order (*fī al-tartīb*), for the excess of any one of the four elements over the others leads to the deterioration of character (*inḥirāf al-mizāj wa inḥilāl al-tarkīb*). The domination of any one group over the others would necessarily lead to the disruption (*ikhtilāl*) of the natural social order (*niẓām al-ijtimā' bi al-ṭab'*) and the annihilation of the quality of union and equality of the kind (*inqilā' waṣf al-ittiḥād wa al-musāwāt 'an al-naw'*).²²⁷

Taşköprizade presents a circle of virtue that resembles the well-known circle of justice. Quoting from the philosophers (*ḥukamā*), Taşköprizade asserts that the virtue (*faḍīla*) of farmers is that they contribute to the common good (*ta'āwun*) with their deeds (*a'māl*); the virtue of traders is that they support the common good with their wealth (*amwāl*); the virtue of kings is that they contribute to the common good with political ideas (*al-ārā al-siyāsiyya*) and the virtue of theologians (*ilāhiyyīn*) is that support the common good with divine wisdom (*al-ḥikam al-ilāhiyya*). In a

²²⁷ SA, p. 235.

manner consistent with his general methodology of combining the teachings of philosophy and religion, Taşköprizade here articulates a social theory based on both the words of the philosophers and on Quranic verses. Immediately after the citation from the philosophers, Taşköprizade cites the Quranic verse 5/2, which commands believers to cooperate in righteousness and piety, and which forbids them from cooperating in sin and aggression.²²⁸

Figure 7. Taşköprizade’s Circle of Virtue Based on the Mutual Support of Four Social Groups



Asserting another duty of the ruler, Taşköprizade explicitly depicts a hierarchical view of human society. He states that the ruler should determine the ranks (*marātib*) of the people (*khalq*) according to their predispositions (*isti'dāt*). For

²²⁸ SA, p. 235.

people are of three categories: Good (*akhyār*) by nature (*bi al-ṭabʿ*), bad (*ashrār*) by nature and those who are neither good nor bad by nature. He supports this view by the Quranic verse 32/35²²⁹. The Sultan should honor and employ the best people (*akhyār*), authorizing them to rule over the populace (*jumhūr*). For these are the essence (*lubāb*) and the elites (*khāṣṣa*) among the people (*khalq*), and the precious stone on their rings.²³⁰

4.3.2.4 Duties of the sultan toward the constituent elements of the sultanate

The sultan should observe the muftis (*aṣḥāb al-iftā*) who constitute a significant pillar (*rukn ʿaẓīm*) among the pillars of the sharia. A mufti should be a *mujtahid* (a “highly learned jurist who is capable of *ijtihād*, i.e., reasoning about the law through applying complex methods and principles of interpretation”)²³¹ and *chase* (*ʿafīf*), the definition of which is made in the science of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Among the best (*akhyār*) people, judges (*arbāb al-qadā*) are the most beneficial element, on whom the religious well-being of the world depends (*alayhim madār ṣalāh al-ʿālam sharʿan*). A judge ought to be learned (*ʿālim*), a practitioner (*ʿāmil*) of what he knows, *he should be chase* (*ʿafīf*), and just (*ʿādil*), and he should stay away from offences and embrace good morals following the path (*maslak*) of the Companions (*ṣaḥāba*) and Followers (*tābi ʿīn*)²³² of the Prophet in action, belief and truth.²³³

²²⁹ ‘... among them is he who wrongs himself, and among them is he who is moderate, and among them is he who is foremost in good deeds by permission of Allah.’ Part of the Quranic verse 35/32.

²³⁰ SA, p. 237.

²³¹ Wael B. Hallaq, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 175.

²³² A term in Islamic history used to denote the next generation coming after the Companions of the Prophet.

²³³ SA, p. 237.

Scribes (*aşhab al-kitāba*) are another significant element of the sultanate. Taşköprizade lists certain criteria that scribes have to fulfill. Among them, knowledge of the Quranic verses with the reasons of their revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), knowledge of the Prophetic sayings with their meaning, understanding of the words and deeds of the kings of the past, sense of poetic meanings, choice of the pieces found best by the scribes in terms of rhetoric and clarity (*afşah lafzan wa arjah ma'nan*). Accountants (*hussāb*) and keepers of state registers (*aşhāb al-dafātir wa al-dawāwīn*) also belong to the best (*akhyār*) for they protect the public's goods and deeds, and are the bases of the state and butlers (*qahramān*) of the sultanate and the religious community (*milla*).²³⁴

4.4 Vizierate as the axis of the state (*quṭb al-dawla*)

It has been noted that the conception of the vizierate changed in the political theory of the sixteenth century, whereby the vizier came to be seen as a central figure in terms of his significance in government.²³⁵ In line with the common attitude toward the vizier in the political theory of his time, Taşköprizade uses a language that centers on the vizier, boldly emphasizing the merit of the vizierate and its indispensability for the sultanate. He states that it is obligatory for a sultan to have a vizier whom he will consult about difficult affairs. For the vizier is the axis and center of the state (*quṭb al-dawla wa madāruhā*) as well as the guide and candle of the honorable ways (*sunan al-'izza wa manāruha*). The axis (*quṭb*) was one of the most commonly used metaphors referring to the status of the vizierate in

²³⁴ SA, p. 237. For a list of similar criteria by Hüseyin b. Hasan, see Kavak, "Bir Osmanlı Kadısının Gözüyle Siyaset", p. 111-113.

²³⁵ This is one of the main arguments of Hüseyin Yılmaz's thesis.

Taşköprizade's time.²³⁶ A vizier enlightens a sultan with his management (*tadbīr*). By quoting the Quranic verses 20/29-30 and 35/35, Taşköprizade shows that God also stated the need for a vizier.²³⁷ According to the verses, the order of the world and the Hereafter can only be achieved by conversation/companionship (*ṣuḥba*) with scholars and pious people (*ṣāliḥīn*), and people of experience and knowledge (*ahl al-khibra wa al-ma'rifa*).²³⁸ Just as the bravest person needs a weapon or the nimblest horse needs a whip, even the noblest, greatest and wisest sultan needs a vizier.²³⁹ Taşköprizade's emphasis on the role of scholars as sources of consultation along with viziers is a clear reflection of the significance he attributes to scholars in political theory and practice.

Elaborating on the semantics of the vizier, Taşköprizade attributes to the vizierate the meanings of carrying the weight of the ruler, providing assistance, guidance and support to the ruler. Since vizierate is such a noble position, those capable of acquiring it are but a few people. A vizier should combine in himself such good qualities as chastity (*iffa*), righteousness (*istiḳāma*), reliability (*amāna*), and honesty (*ṣadāqa*). He should soften (the ruler) by mildness (*ḥilm*) and waken (him) by knowledge (*ilm*). He should have the leadership of rulers, the wisdom of philosophers, the modesty of scholars and the discernment of jurists (*fuḳahā*). Lastly, he should be free from whims and excessive ambitions.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 276. Hüseyin b. Hasan also describes vizier with the same words, see Kavak, "Bir Osmanlı Kadısının Gözüyle Siyaset", p. 108.

²³⁷ SA, p. 239-241, MSMS, v. 1, p. 414.

²³⁸ MSMS, v. 1, p. 414.

²³⁹ MSMS, v. 1, p. 414.

²⁴⁰ SA, p. 241. Hüseyin b. Hasan also prescribes similar qualifications for a vizier, see Kavak, "Bir Osmanlı Kadısının Gözüyle Siyaset", p. 109.

Taşköprizade illustrates the role of the vizier in the two analogies that he forms between human beings and the body politic. In the physical analogy, the vizier corresponds to the tongue, which articulates and conveys the views and rules that are generated by the head, which corresponds to the sultan.²⁴¹ In the spiritual analogy, he likens the vizier to the intellect and the sultan to the spirit. The vizier-intellect governs all the affairs in the realm of the body and presents them to the spirit-sultan, who in turn makes these deeds a means to approach God.²⁴² Elevating the position of the vizier to governorship of the realm while regarding the sultan as the life-giver of the realm and its connection to the divine, this spirit-intellect metaphor was frequently articulated in the works of the sixteenth-century sufi-minded Ottoman political authors.²⁴³

4.5 Conclusion

By way of conclusion, we can say that Taşköprizade's writings on practical philosophy (ethics, household management and government) reveal his grounding in medieval Islamic philosophy. Articulating his political ideas in the *Akhlāq* genre after Tūsī and before Kınalızade, Taşköprizade represents a continuity in practical philosophy, especially in the use of humoral theory and the circle of justice. Conceptually, Taşköprizade's diversified usages of the term *siyāsa* show that he understood government not in the narrow sense of the term but as the art of human governance in a broader sense in line with the conceptualization of Ibn Sīnā and later Islamic philosophers. Likewise, in his understanding of sharia as perfect *siyasa*, Taşköprizade comes very close to Ibn Sīnā who used sharia to mean not only the

²⁴¹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 414.

²⁴² *AH*, 29a.

²⁴³ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 307.

legal aspects of Islam but all aspects of it, from the principles of faith to morality and daily life.

Taşköprizade's recommendations on rulership indicate his familiarity with the major pre-Ottoman writers such as Fārābī, Māwardī, Ghazālī, Tūsī, Dawwānī and Ibn Zafar. From the perspective of the intellectual tradition of the classification of sciences, Taşköprizade in *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* provided one of the most elaborate explanations on rulership until his time. Parallel to Ibn Sīnā, who did not posit a hierarchy between the practical sciences and who envisioned continuity between the three types of governance, Taşköprizade considered the different parts of practical philosophy together in his *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*. In addition, after explaining the three practical sciences, *akhlāq*, *tadbīr al-manzil* and *siyāsa*, he elaborated on other governmental disciplines, namely, *'ilm ādāb al-mülūk*, *'ilm ādāb al-wizāra*, *'ilm iḥtisāb*, *'ilm qūd al-'asākir wa al-juyūsh*, as subdisciplines of practical philosophy (*furū' al-ḥikma al-'amaliyya*) in general, without restricting them to the third branch, government.

CHAPTER 5

GHAZALIAN AND AKBARIAN FOUNDATIONS OF TAŞKÖPRİZADE'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

In this chapter, I primarily analyze how Taşköprizade's discourse reflects and reappropriates Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī's (d. 555/1111) views on rulership. The main themes are the significant role of ulema in government, the notion of world order centered on the piety of scholars, the relations between sultans and scholars, the ranks of government and the sharia-abiding path of sufism. I argue that these particular themes of Taşköprizade's discourse on rulership have their counterparts in Ghazālī's writings. In the second section of the chapter, I point to the Akbarian foundations of Taşköprizade's political thought. I argue that Ibn al-‘Arabī's perspective on human governance was an intellectual source and inspiration for Taşköprizade, who made a direct connection between the government of the self and the government of society.

5.1 The Ottoman Ghazālī: Taşköprizade's and Ghazālī's discourses compared²⁴⁴

Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī is one of the most influential scholars in Islamic intellectual history. Among the achievements he has been credited with are the synthesis of the external and internal aspects of the Sunni Muslim creed, and demonstration of the centrality of shariah-abiding sufism to the core message of Islam in addition to the

²⁴⁴ My source of inspiration for this title has been Hüseyin Yılmaz, who coined the phrase "The Ottoman Aristotle" for Nevālī, see Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 59.

approval of the study of philosophy as long as it is compatible with Islamic faith.²⁴⁵

As Frank Griffel describes, Ghazālī was “the first Muslim theologian who actively promotes the naturalization of the philosophical tradition into Islamic theology”.²⁴⁶

In his autobiography, *al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl* (*The Deliverer from Error*) Ghazālī presents sufism as the right path to truth. While reason only helps one realize the incoherence of others’ beliefs, it is spiritual practice that enables one to realize the truth of his/her own belief.²⁴⁷ Significantly, Ghazālī also states that as philosophers have taken the rules of the government from the prophets, the rules of morality (*akhlāq*) are based on sufi practices.²⁴⁸ Ghazālī conveyed his sufi outlook most comprehensively and systematically in his magnum opus, *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, which he himself held to be his most significant work²⁴⁹. He also wrote a summary version of the same work in Persian, titled *Kimyā al-Sa‘āda* (*The Alchemy of Happiness*).²⁵⁰

Although Ghazālī’s influence on the later Islamic intellectual tradition is widely acknowledged, the Ottoman reception of Ghazālī still lacks in-depth analysis. It lies outside the scope of this study to provide such an in-depth analysis. Still, we might note that the central place of sufism in the social, cultural and intellectual life and worldview of Ottoman elites also created a very favorable environment for the

²⁴⁵ Süleyman Uludağ, “Ghazzali”, *TDVIA*, 1996, v. 13, p. 515-518; E. Ormsby, *Ghazali: The Revival of Islam* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2008), p. 66.

²⁴⁶ Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazali’s Philosophical Theology*, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 7.

²⁴⁷ Ghazali, *al-Munqidh min al-Dalal* in (ed.) Ahmed Şemseddin, *Majmua rasail al-imam al-Ghazali*, Beyrut: Dârü'l-Kütübi'l-İlmiyye, 1997/1418, p. 56-65.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44; cited in Arıcı, “Ahlak Neyi Bilmektir”, p. 59, fn 38.

²⁴⁹ Kenneth Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver: Abu Hāmid al-Ghazālī and His Revival of the Religious Sciences*, Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 9.

²⁵⁰ Ghazālī, *Kimyā al-Saada*, Bairut: Muassasa al-Kutub al-Thaqafiyya, 1987.

reception of the teachings of Ghazālī.²⁵¹ Ottoman intellectuals in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries overwhelmingly preferred the Ghazālīan synthesis for it not only accepted sufism as the right path to truth and as constituting the inner core of Islamic faith but also regarded the study of philosophy as compatible with Islam.²⁵² Ghazālī’s non-exclusivist approach to philosophy might have also played a role in his warm reception among the Ottoman learned circles. For the Ottoman scholars inherited and maintained the intellectual tradition of Transoxiana, which combined philosophy, theology (*kalām*) and other Islamic sciences. The prototypes of this combining approach were scholars like Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi and later Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī. The ideas of these two figures influenced the Ottoman scholars both through the works they wrote and the students they taught.²⁵³ In addition, Ghazālī’s notion of anti-sectarian sufism, which highlighted the supra-identity of Sunnism, further enhanced his reception in the Ottoman realms. A comparative analysis of Taşköprizade’s writings reveals that Ghazālī’s model of scholarship forms an axis

²⁵¹ The Ottoman world of the sixteenth century was imbued with the culture of sufism. For an extensive study of sufism in this period, see Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf*; for a collection of studies on various aspects of sufism in the Ottoman empire, see, *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society : Sources-Doctrine-Rituals-Turuq-Architecture-Literature and Fine Arts-Modernism*, (ed.) Ahmet Yaşar Ocak Ankara: Tarih Kurumu, 2005; for the penetration of Sufi ideas and images in political theory of the period, see Yılmaz, “The Sultan”; for the impact of Sufi culture in Ottoman architectural contexts, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan* and Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*; For the influence of sufism in the Ottoman literary culture, see, for instance, Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

²⁵² Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p. 97-8. For instance, another sixteenth century Ottoman scholar, Birgivi, who is commonly regarded as anti-sufi, also made use of certain strands of sufism, particularly Ghazālī, see Ivanyi, “Virtue, Piety and The Law”, p. 92-111.

²⁵³ A. Yaşar Ocak calls it “Fakhr al-Din al-Razi school”, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, “Social, cultural and intellectual life, 1071–1453”, in (ed.) Kate Fleet, *Cambridge History of Turkey Vol. 1, Byzantium to Turkey: 1071-1453*, 2009, p. 353-481, here p. 414; for an article on Fakhr al-Din al-Razi’s influence in the Ottoman lands, which uses the same conceptualization of “Razi school”, see Mustakim Arıcı, “İslam Düşüncesi’nde Fahreddin er-Razi Ekolü”, in (eds.) Ömer Türker-Osman Demir, *İslam Düşüncesinin Dönüşüm Çağında Fahreddin er-Razi*, İsam, 2013, p. 167-203; Harun Anay, “Devvani”, *TDVIA*, 1994, v. 9, p. 257-262; for the list of Devvani’s students in the Ottoman empire which make it possible to talk about a “Devvani school”, see idem, “Celaleddin Devvani, Hayati, Eserleri, Ahlak ve Siyaset Düşüncesi”, Ph.D. Thesis, İstanbul University, p. 95-109.

around which Taşköprizade's religio-political thought revolves.

In addition to the high level of similarity between Taşköprizade and Ghazālī in matters related to religion, especially in terms of attainment of truth through spiritual experience, the relationship between Ghazālī's "thinking about God, His Law and definition of politics and political ethics"²⁵⁴ seem to have their near counterparts in Taşköprizade's writings.

Nevertheless, this is not to say that Taşköprizade was a replica of Ghazālī. Sharing Ghazzali's ideals, Taşköprizade embraces, refines and reconsiders Ghazālī's views in the light of the circumstances of the sixteenth century. For instance, Taşköprizade diverges from Ghazālī in one point, namely, the appropriation of pre-Islamic Iranian political culture.²⁵⁵ Not authoring any work in the Persian *Siyasetname* genre or drawing any example from ancient Iranian kings or sages, Taşköprizade took a negative attitude toward pre-Islamic Persian political culture.

5.1.1 Compatibility of Islam and philosophy

In line with Ghazālī's approach to philosophy, Taşköprizade approves of Muslims' studying philosophy, albeit with two reservations. The first is that their philosophical arguments should not contradict the sharia. When a contradiction arises, they should learn philosophy to discredit its teachings. The second is that they should not mix the

²⁵⁴ Yazeed Said, *Ghazālī's Politics in Context*, Routledge, 2013, p. 62-4.

²⁵⁵ Ghazālī makes frequent use of Iranian political culture in his works, especially in *Nasiha al-Muluk*. In Hossein Ziai's words, "Ghazālī's *Nasiha al-Muluk* (Counsel for Kings) represents a synthesis of Islamic political philosophy and older Iranian views on politics and government. It sets forth anecdotes, stories and tales to illustrate the exemplary conduct of Caliphs, Sasanian Kings, Sufi saints and Iranian sages. Even maxims from Mazdaism are used to portray a universally accepted standard of morality and political conduct." Hossein Ziai, 'The Source and Nature of Authority: A Study of al-Suhrawardi's Illuminationalist Political Doctrine', in *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy*, (ed.) Charles E. Butterworth, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 1992, p. 309, 11th fn.

words of philosophers with the words of the scholars of Islam (*‘ulamā al-Islām*).²⁵⁶

Taşköprizade writes that Ghazālī and Rāzī combined theology (*kalām*) with philosophy (*ḥikma*). Yet, they did this in order to reject the philosophy that is incompatible with the sharia, as can be seen in their works. As long as this is the conclusion, there is no problem with studying philosophy, even if it is helpful for Muslims.²⁵⁷

Taşköprizade’s general perspective on the combination of philosophy and religion is reflected in his commentary on the three conditions for the application of justice, which, according to Ījī, are easily met by applying the sharia (*iltizām al-shar’*). Taşköprizade adds to this statement the philosophical laws (*al-qawānīn al-ḥikamiyya*) that are compatible with sharia.²⁵⁸

5.1.2 Sharia-minded sufism

Similar to Ghazālī, Taşköprizade describes sufism as the way leading to the truth and glorifies sufis as the people of wonders and virtues: “Thus it appears that beyond the knowledge that is affirmed by the evidence, there is a truth (*yaqīn*) that is special to the sufis with oracles/wonders (*karāmat*) and sights (*mushāhadāt*), not to mention their glory and virtue.”²⁵⁹

Similar to Ghazālī, Taşköprizade advises one to follow the Sufi path only after having attained a certain level of knowledge of sharia. In the biographies of the

²⁵⁶ *MSMS*, v.1 p. 28.

²⁵⁷ *MSMS*, v.1 p. 28.

²⁵⁸ *SA*, p. 244-5.

²⁵⁹ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 29.

Ottoman ulema whom Taşköprizade narrated to us, we read a general gradual process in which to-be-scholars attain knowledge and then choose the path of sufism, not vice versa. This hierarchical depiction is parallel to Ghazālī's view that the path of knowledge should always come before that of sufism. For sufism without knowledge might lead to one's moral and religious destruction. Ghazālī quotes from Junayd Bağdādī as he was told by his teacher: "May God make you a muhaddith (scholar of hadith) and Sufi, not a Sufi and muhaddith. Interpreting the word of Junayd, Ghazālī asserts that who learns knowledge and then becomes Sufi saves himself but who becomes Sufi before attaining knowledge throws himself in danger."²⁶⁰

Taşköprizade emphasizes in a number of passages the fusion of sharia and sufism, likening this phenomenon to the junction of two oceans. He attributes the accomplishment of this fusion to such figures as Sadreddin Konevi (d. 673/1274)²⁶¹ and Molla Fenari.²⁶² Taşköprizade depicts Konevi as a sheikh and ascetic (*zāhid*) who combined the sciences of sharia and sufism and became junction of two oceans (*majma'an li al-baḥrayn*). He also met with Naşīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī and answered his questions in the philosophical issues (*masā'il ḥikamiyya*). In the end, Tūsī admitted his inability and fault (*i'tarafa bi al-'ajz wa al-qusūr*).²⁶³

²⁶⁰ *Ihyā*, p.30.

²⁶¹ Jama'a bayna al-'ulūm al-shar'iyya wa 'ulum al-taşawwuf wa şāra majma'an li al-baḥrayn wa multaḡan li al-baḡrayn. Taşköprizade also says that Konevi's mother was married to Ibn al-'Arabī, who educated and took care of Konevi, *MSMS* v.2, p. 124.

²⁶² Taşköprizade states that Mevlana Şemsüddin el-Fenari fused these sciences in his beautiful commentary on Fatiha: *mazaja fiḥ bayna al-'ulūm al-shar'iyya wa 'ulūm al-taşawwuf*, *MSMS* v.2, p. 124.

²⁶³ *MSMS* v. 2, p. 124.

Taşköprizade frequently emphasizes the coexistence of sufism and sharia. In the section on the organization of soldiers, Taşköprizade states that he witnessed many times in his life and heard from the big sheikhs that whoever breaks one of the pillars of sharia is deprived of God's grace.²⁶⁴ One of the sections in which Taşköprizade prescribes sharia-minded sufism as the correct path is his narration of a dialogue he had with the famous Halveti sheikh and scholar Cemaleddin Ishak el-Karamani, known as Cemal Halife (d. 933/1526). Taşköprizade describes Cemal Halife as someone who was preoccupied with the noble science (*al-‘ilm al-sharīf*) and whose virtue was known (*mashhūd*) among his peers. He relates that two days before his death, this widely respected man advised him as follows.²⁶⁵

Do not enter the path of sufis for there remain no (genuine) representatives (*ahl*) of them today. It is nearly impossible to distinguish the affirmation of the oneness of God (*tawhīd*) and apostasy (*ilhād*). Persisting on your chosen path (i.e., the study of law) is more secure for you. If you feel an attraction to sufism, choose a sheikh who is firmly tied to sharia. If you observe in him something against sharia (*yukhālīf al-shar‘*), even if it is little, beware of him. Because the basis of the Sufi path (*ṭarīqa*) is the observance of rules (*aḥkām*) and manners (*ādāb*) of sharia.²⁶⁶

Complaining about a lack of genuine sufis in his own times, Cemal Halife warns Taşköprizade of the danger of sufis who commit acts against sharia. In his portrayal, the basis of sufism is the observance of sharia. Thus he advises Taşköprizade to beware of sheikhs who are not firmly tied to the sharia. One may fairly say that Taşköprizade's inclusion of this advice in his book is quite a deliberate choice on the part of the author. Taşköprizade conveys a message he got from a

²⁶⁴ *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 415.

²⁶⁵ Taşköprizade, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fi 'Ulamā al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniyya* (ed.) Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul: 1985) p. 371. Ahmet Sururi lists the conversations and anecdotes Taşköprizade narrates in the introduction of his PhD thesis, see Sururi, "Taşköprizade'nin el-Me'alim'i ve Kelami Görüşleri", p. 27-34.

²⁶⁶ *Shaqā'iq*, p. 371.

revered sheikh with regard to the correct form of sufism, a prescription that he also embraces and advocates.

In another passage, Taşköprizade conveys a similar message that he received from Mahmud Çelebi (d. 938/1531) who was also pursuing higher knowledge in Islamic law and theology before he became the disciple and successor of Seyyid Ahmed Buhari (d. 922/1516), the founder of the first Naqshbandi lodge in Istanbul.²⁶⁷ Taşköprizade used to attend Mahmud Çelebi's majlis (scholarly gathering). He relates that people used to read Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi's *Mathnawi* and interpret it in this majlis. On one such occasion, Mahmud Çelebi asked Taşköprizade: "Have you ever denied the Sufis?" Taşköprizade answered: "Can there be anyone who denies them?" Mahmud Çelebi said: "Yes" and then narrated the story of Seyyid Buhari, who turned away from the lessons of a scholar he attended in Bukhara and entered the service of Sheikh İlahi (Molla İlahi)²⁶⁸ who had also read from that scholar. One day Seyyid Buhari and Sheikh İlahi visited their common teacher. When he saw Seyyid Buhari, he asked him about his occupation. When Seyyid Buhari said that he gave up the pursuit of scholarship (*taraktu al-ishtihāl bi al-'ilm*), he insisted on the question until Seyyid Buhari said: "I am involved in *reading (ashtaghulu bi) Mirşād al-'İbād*"²⁶⁹. That scholar said: "You are involved in such a book and the smartest of all people is philosophers (*hukamā*)."²⁶⁹ Seyyid Buhari then replied: "The author of this book says that philosophers are

²⁶⁷ Mustafa Kara, "Emir Buhari", *TDVIA*, 1995, v. 11, p. 125-126.

²⁶⁸ Mustafa Kara-Hamid Algar, "Abdullah-ı İlahi", *TDVIA*, 1988, v. 1, p. 110-112.

²⁶⁹ Najm al-Din Dāya's (d.654/1256) *Mirşād al-'İbād min al-Mabda' ilā al-Ma'ād* was a widely read book in the Ottoman realms, as the number of its copies shows. For more information about the book and its author, see Mehmet Okuyan, "Necmeddin-i Daye", *TDVIA*, v. 32, p. 496. For the Ottoman translation of this book by Kasım b. Mahmud Karahisari, see Necmeddin-i Dāye, *Süfi Diliyle Siyâset (İrşâdü'l-Mürîd ile'l-Murâd fî Tercemeti Mirsâdi'l-İbâd)*, (ed.) Özgür Kavak, İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2010.

definitely heretics”. That scholar got angry and expelled Seyyid Buhari and Sheikh Ilahi from his majlis. When Mahmud Çelebi ended the story, Taşköprizade asked him: “Those who deny sufis get into trouble. Would it not be worse to admit their truth but not enter their path than deny them?” He said: “No, in the end, admission will bring to the right path.” Then Taşköprizade asked him: “In some books on sufism, we come across things against the apparent meaning (*zāhir*) of the sharia. Can we deny them?” He said “Rather it is incumbent upon you to deny them. You should do so until you reach the true condition (*hāl*) of sufism. When you reach that stage, your sufism will be in accordance with sharia.”²⁷⁰

Taking into consideration that every work has some patterns of inclusion and exclusion as well as the fact Taşköprizade emphasizes the observance of sharia in other passages, it seems inadequate to regard these two anecdotes as merely descriptive reports. Implicit in these narrations is the concern to draw the boundaries of sufism, distinguishing between its acceptable and non-acceptable forms, as Taşköprizade received and perceived it.

Testifying to his emphasis on the adherence to sharia and observance of rights, Taşköprizade wrote a note stating that his relatives and friends demanded him to forgive their bad performance in the observance of his rights (*ri‘āya al-ḥuqūq*). Having given them his blessings, Taşköprizade affirms that he lived in the religion of Islam (*milla al-Islām*) and far from any innovation.²⁷¹ This note shows that

²⁷⁰ *Shaqā‘iq*, p. 534-5.

²⁷¹ Taşköprizade was hit by ophthalmia (*ramad*) during his qadīship of Constantinople and turned blind in the last years of his life. The illness of emorrhoids (*basur*) came in the last days of his life as a signal of his coming death, his relatives begged him to give his blessings to them, forgiving their inadequate observation of his rights. In his reply to his relatives, Taşköprizade wrote the following sentences: “My sons and relatives demanded that I give them my blessings (*ḥall*) in what they were required of fulfilling my rights (*ri‘āya ḥaqqī*) and I gave them my blessings. (...*awlādī wa aqribā‘ī iltamasū minnī an aj‘alahum fī ḥalli mimmā ‘amilū min al-isā‘a fīmā wajaba ‘alayhim min ri‘āya ḥaqqī wa innī ja‘altuhum fī ḥalli an ‘amilū fī ri‘āya ḥaqqī fīmā ba‘da dhālik...*)”, *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, p. 337.

Taşköprizade's uncompromising attitude towards the violation of rights was very well-known by his social circles, primarily relatives.

5.1.3 The correspondence between *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* and *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*

Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda reflects the overall influence of Ghazālī's outlook on Taşköprizade's thought, most explicitly through the former's magnum opus *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.²⁷² One can demonstrate the influence of Ghazālī on Taşköprizade in several passages of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*. Firstly, the chapter of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* on the virtue of learning and teaching follows the corresponding part of Ghazālī's *Iḥyā* very closely. Indeed the only modification that Taşköprizade made to the relevant chapter was shortening it by excluding some Quranic verses and hadiths. Secondly, in the section on Shafiite scholars in *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, Taşköprizade devotes eighteen pages to the life of Ghazālī, which is almost equal to the number of pages he devotes to Abū Ḥanīfa.²⁷³ Besides being a Hanafī scholar, Taşköprizade wrote *Shaqā'iq* where he covered the lives of the Ottoman ulema of Hanafī school. Given these facts, his long narration of Ghazālī's life can be regarded as another clear sign of his reverence of Ghazālī. Thirdly, the seventh and last part (*dawḥa*) of *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, which deals with the esoteric sciences (*'ulūm al-bāṭin*), follows Ghazālī's *Iḥyā* both in style and content. One can regard it as a summary of *Iḥyā*.²⁷⁴ Indeed, Taşköprizade

²⁷² For Ghazālī's influence on Taşköprizade's classification of sciences, see Çınar, "Farabi'den Taşköprizade'ye", p. 76-80.

²⁷³ For Ghazālī's biography, see *MSMS*, v.2, pp. 332-350; for Abū Ḥanīfa's biography, see *MSMS*, v. 2, pp. 195-215. I directed my attention to Taşköprizade's lengthy account of Ghazālī's biography thanks to Şükrü Özen who emphasized this point in his speech at the Foundation for Arts and Sciences (BİSAV) on 10.01.2015.

²⁷⁴ *MSMS*, v.1, p. 73.

describes his book as a *mukhtasar* in one passage, yet he does not further elaborate on his source(s).²⁷⁵

The second part (*taraf*) of Taşköprizade's *Miftāh al-Sa'āda* (*risāla* as he names it), corresponding to one-third of the entire text in length, can be regarded as a summary of *Ihyā* as a whole. Organized in the same way as *Ihyā*, this part mainly describes how one can reach truth through the purification (*taşfiya*) of the soul while the first part includes its counter methodology, namely, careful investigation (*naẓar*). Taşköprizade presents the sciences related to purification in the second part as the outcome of action with knowledge (*al- 'amal bi al- 'ilm*).²⁷⁶ Before Taşköprizade, Ghazālī had regarded as the highest science (*ghāya al- 'ulūm*) the science of unveiling (*'ilm al-mukāshafa*) which is the end-result of mastering esoteric knowledge (*'ilm al-bāṭın*), attained by the purification (*taşfiya*) of the heart.²⁷⁷ Hence, the ultimate conclusion of Taşköprizade with regard to how to reach truth is also congruent with that of Ghazālī. In the end, as in the beginning of *Miftāh al-Sa'āda*, Taşköprizade shares the religious views of Ghazālī, whom he greatly praises.

5.1.4 Portraying Ghazālī as an authority

Taşköprizade's reverence for Ghazālī is evident in many of his writings. An apparent sign of how Taşköprizade regarded Ghazālī as an authority and model of scholarship is found in his discussion of the mutability of human disposition. After outlining the competing views on this issue, he uses the conventional word 'I say'

²⁷⁵ Wa tahqiq haza al-maqam kharij an tawq haza al-mukhtasar, *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 197.

²⁷⁶ For a paper that discusses the relationship between *Miftāh al-Sa'āda* and *Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by showing the similarities in the titles of the two books' chapters, see the Talat Sakallı. "Miftahu's-saade-Ihyau Ulūmi'd-din Mūnasebeti", *Taşköprülüzade Ahmet Efendi: 1495-1561*, Kayseri 1992, s. 65-80.

²⁷⁷ Alexandre Treiger, "Al-Ghazālī's Classifications of the Sciences and the Descriptions of the Highest Theoretical Science", *Divan Dergisi* 16 (2011/1): 1-32, here p. 7.

(*aqūlu*), meaning that the author starts to convey his own view, but immediately after that word, he quotes Ghazālī.²⁷⁸ As the quotation ends two lines below, Taṣkōprizade writes “Ghazālī's words ended” and conveys his understanding of Ghazālī's words, basing his view in this matter on the authority of Ghazālī.²⁷⁹

In another passage, immediately after quoting Quranic verses, hadiths and sayings of Ali Ibn Abī Tālib, Taṣkōprizade sets Ghazālī as the next authority, ‘Imām al-Ghazālī thus said in *Ihyā...*²⁸⁰ Another instance when Taṣkōprizade sets Ghazālī as an authority is his explanation of the esoteric (*bāṭinī*) interpretations of Quran. In determining the boundaries of what can be regarded as the right interpretation of Quran, Taṣkōprizade relies on the authority of Ghazālī.²⁸¹

In another passage, Taṣkōprizade reports that Ghazālī wrote uncountable books. Their titles could not be totally known by any one and their number reached nine hundred ninety nine. While this number may seem excessively high, Taṣkōprizade states that those who know the majesty (*sha 'n*) of Ghazālī can affirm this statement.²⁸²

Explaining the greatness of Ghazālī's *Ihyā*, Taṣkōprizade narrates a story reported from sheikh Abū Hasan al-Shādhālī, whom he depicts as the leader (*sayyid*) of his age. This sheikh saw the Prophet Muhammad in his dream. The Prophet was taking pride in Ghazālī in front of the Prophets Moses and Jesus. “Is there such an

²⁷⁸ Qāla al-Imām al-Ghazālī fi *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, SA, p. 36.

²⁷⁹ SA, p. 36.

²⁸⁰ SA, p. 43.

²⁸¹ MSMS, v.2, p. 78-81.

²⁸² MSMS, v.2, p. 349.

authority (*ḥabr*) amongst your people (*umma*)”, asked the Prophet Muhammad. Their reply was "No". Taṣkōprizade narrates two other reports testifying to the greatness and nobility of Ghazālī and his *Iḥyā*.²⁸³

5.1.5 Combining knowledge and action

Very much in line with the outlook of Ghazālī, one of the central points in Taṣkōprizade’s works is his emphasis on the combination of knowledge (*‘ilm*) and righteous action (*‘amal*), which he presents in *Miftāḥ al-Sa‘āda* as the ultimate end and purpose.²⁸⁴ He also prays to God for protection from the state of knowing but not practicing what he knows.²⁸⁵ In the introduction to *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, Taṣkōprizade describes his main objective in writing this work as combining the two realms of reason (*‘aql*) and revelation (*naql*) as well as knowledge and action.²⁸⁶ As a reflection of this notion, in his description of ulema in *Shaqā’iq*, Taṣkōprizade emphasizes the characteristic of being a scholar (*‘ālim*) and practicing what one knows (*‘āmil*), that is to say, engaging in righteous action.

5.1.6 Scholars in Ghazālī’s and Taṣkōprizade’s conceptualizations

Taṣkōprizade uses Ghazālī’s classification of scholars into two kinds: scholars of the Hereafter (*‘ulamā al-ākḥira*) and scholars of this world (*‘ulamā al-dunyā*).²⁸⁷ While the former represents the real scholars, the latter stands for those pseudo-scholars, who instrumentally use their knowledge for their whims. Scholars of the second type

²⁸³ *MSMS*, v.2, p. 350.

²⁸⁴ *muntahā al-su’l- wa al-‘amal*, *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 70.

²⁸⁵ *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 310.

²⁸⁶ *SA*, p. 24.

²⁸⁷ *Iḥyā*, p. 71-98, *MSMS*, p. 17-22.

seek knowledge for worldly benefits. Scholars of the first type are the real scholars who combine knowledge and action in order to gain the consent of God and the eternal happiness. Taşköprizade describes the scholars of this world as brothers of kings and sultans.²⁸⁸

5.1.6.1 Guiding and authorizing: The relationship of scholars with sultans

According to both Ghazālī and Taşköprizade, scholars play the principal role in both the well-being and corruption of the world. In Ghazālī's words: "The jurist is the teacher and mentor of the sultan, showing him the modes of governing the people (*turuq siyāsa al-khalq*) in order to put the affairs in this world in order (*intizām*)."²⁸⁹

In Taşköprizade's words, scholars lead the way in case of deterioration: "The corruption (*fasād*) of the population (*ra'iyā*) is caused by that of kings, which is the end result of the corruption of scholars (*'ulamā*)."²⁹⁰

Scholars' role as teachers and guides to the sultans in Ghazālī's conceptualization is based on his understanding of human nature. According to his conception, God created the world for human kind as a means of preparation and provision for the Hereafter. Yet people did not act in accordance with justice, but followed their whims. Hence emerged the need for a sultan to govern the people and for a law (*qānūn*) to guide the sultan. A jurist (*faqīh*) is one who knows the law of government (*qānūn al-siyāsa*). Government is closely related to religion, not in itself but through the agency of the world. For the world is the field of the Hereafter and

²⁸⁸ SA, p. 103.

²⁸⁹ *Ihyā*, p. 22.

²⁹⁰ Fasād al-ra'iyā bi fasād al-mulūk wa fasāduhum bi fasād al-'ulamā, see *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 310, In Ghazālī's words, innamā fasadat al-ra'iyā bi fasād al-mulūk, wa fasād al-mulūk bi fasād al-'ulamā, see *Ihyā*, p. 602.

religion cannot be complete without the world. Religion (*dīn*) and kingship (*mulk*) are twins, religion is the base and sultan is the protector (*ḥāris*). Whatever lacks base is demolished and whatever lacks protector is lost. Kingship (*mulk*) is only possible with the sultan and the method of solving people's problems is *fiqh*.²⁹¹

As an application of his view of ulema, Taşköprizade in *Şaqā'iq* implicitly claims that ulema had a supporting and legitimizing role in relation to the Ottoman sultans from the beginning of the state.²⁹² He also envisions the sultans to be the caretakers of scholars. One may recognize Taşköprizade's emphasis on the independence of scholars even as he affirms the need for sultans and scholars to cooperate.²⁹³

Depicting the ideal sultan-scholar relation in line with Ghazālī, Taşköprizade gives examples of scholars from among the Companions of the Prophet (*ṣaḥāba*) and the Followers (*tābi'ūn*). He writes that the Companions and Followers did not hesitate to warn the kings and sultans. They did not mind persecution and they had sincere intentions (*akhlāṣū al-niyya*). They strived for true knowledge (*ḥaqq al-'ilm*) rather than for worldly benefits.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ *Ihyā*, p. 26. In Ghazālī's political theology, the term *fiqh* has a comprehensive sense, especially as it relates to spirituality. Ghazālī's use of *fiqh* indicates "a comprehensive vision that is not simply limited to the establishment of jurists", see Yazed Said, "Knowledge as *Fiqh* in the Political Theology of al-Gazali", in *Philosophy and the Abrahamic Religions: Scriptural Hermeneutics and Epistemology*, (ed.) Torrance Kirby, Rahim Acar, Bilal Baş, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, p. 225.

²⁹² Atçıl, "The Formation", p. 13.

²⁹³ Anosahr argues that Taşköprizade disapproved of an excessive royal interference in the affairs of the ulema beginning from Mehmed II's time. Anosahr, "Writing, Speech and History", p. 52.

²⁹⁴ *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 310.

According to Taşköprizade, sultans should spend much time with the companions of God and not waste time with the companions of this world.²⁹⁵ The companions of God (*Ahl Allah*) in Taşköprizade’s discourse include –besides the prophets, saints and imams- the ulema who act upon their knowledge. He identifies the ulema as scholars of tafsir and hadith and scholars who command right and forbid wrong. He puts them in stark contrast to the scholars of this world, using Ghazālī’s conceptualization.²⁹⁶

Table 4. The Sultan’s Relations with People Classified according to Their Piety

<i>The Sultan Should Spend Time with</i>	<i>The Sultan Should Avoid Spending Time with</i>
<i>Fuqarā</i> (literally the poor, might also be the sufis)	<i>Aghniyā</i> (the rich, with negative tones)
<i>Ahl Allah</i> (the companions of God)	<i>Ahl al-Dunyā</i> (the companions of the world)

As a reflection of his sufi worldview, Taşköprizade classifies people according to their relation with wealth, which in turn indicates their relation with death. For Taşköprizade cites a prophetic tradition in which the Prophet warned the Companions not to sit with (*mujālasa*) the dead. When asked who was the dead, he replied “the rich”.²⁹⁷ In addition to this hadith, Taşköprizade gives the example of the Prophet Suleiman, who used to visit the mosque every day and look for a poor person (*miskīn*). Whenever he found one, he would go near him and sit next to him, saying “a pauper sits with another pauper”.²⁹⁸ By quoting authoritative sources that

²⁹⁵ AH, 38a.

²⁹⁶ SA, p. 103. He uses the term ‘*ulamā sū* (literally bad scholars), a major concept in Ghazālī’s terminology, standing in contrast to ‘*ulamā al-ākhirā* (scholars of the Hereafter).

²⁹⁷ AH, 38b.

²⁹⁸ *miskīn jalasa miskīn*, AH, 38b.

equate wealth with death and poverty with life, Taşköprizade expresses expectations that the ruler adhere to a high standard of piety, one that was set by Ghazālī in *Ihyā*.

Taşköprizade conveys the prescription with regard to the relations between sultans and scholars by stating that scholars should avoid visiting sultans, which causes a great deal of harm.²⁹⁹ Stating that it is a religiously disapproved act for scholars to visit sultans,³⁰⁰ Taşköprizade, nevertheless, does not recommend a total isolation of scholars from sultans. For he deems it one of the obligations of sultans to visit scholars and take their advice.³⁰¹ The sultan should visit and love ulema and pious people (*şulahā*), even if these people are rarely found in Taşköprizade's times, as he views it. If he finds anyone of them, the sultan should strive to see them, listen to their advice and regard them as the felicity of his reign. The sultan should keep away from Antichrists (*Dajjālīn*) who appear in the guise of ulema and devils who appear in the guise of righteous people (*şulahā*), who eulogise him for worldly benefits. These are the party of the Devil (*ḥizb al-shaytān*) who will be destroyed.³⁰²

Hence, Taşköprizade does not totally reject the possibility of there being a close relationship between sultans and scholars but discusses it from the perspective of scholars and sultans respectively. For scholars, it is unacceptable to visit sultans, for it causes many harms. Yet from the point of view of sultans, it is a recommended

²⁹⁹ *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 18-19.

³⁰⁰ *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 241-3. For Ghazālī's similar yet more detailed exposition about the conditions and manners of scholars' relations with sultans, see *Ihyā*, p. 593-7.

³⁰¹ This is seventh article in the obligations of the sultanate (*huqūq al-şaltana*). In addition to ulema, Taşköprizade uses the word *suleha*, which might refer to Sufis. He also adds that they are rarely found in his time. *AH*, 34b.

³⁰² *AH*, 34b.

act to visit the scholars who will guide them in their affairs, enabling them to preserve the world order.

5.1.6.2 World order and scholars

Taşköprizade strongly asserts that the world order is dependent upon the piety of scholars (*wara' al-'ulamā*) and their speaking the truth (*ḥaqq*) in front of the rulers (*'inda al-umarā*), presenting it as a point upon which most scholars agreed (*ittafaqa jumhūr al-'uqalā*). As an extension of this line of thinking, the corruption of the world (*fasād al-'ālam*) is attributed to the scholars' love of leadership (*ḥubb al-riyāsa*) and wealth, and their flattery (*mudāhana*) of kings concerning their affairs and conditions.³⁰³

Taşköprizade links the religious well-being of the world (*ṣalāḥ al-'ālam shar'an*) with the qadis, whom he considers among the most significant pillars (*rukn*) in terms of benefit (*naḥ'*).³⁰⁴ For Taşköprizade, the order of the world and the Hereafter can only be achieved by conversation/companionship (*ṣuḥba*) with scholars and pious people (*ṣāliḥīn*), and people of experience and knowledge (*ahl al-khubra wa al-ma'rifa*).³⁰⁵

It has been stated that in the early modern Ottoman conceptions of world order, the world (*'ālam*) tends to represent the social world of human beings rather than the material world at large.³⁰⁶ While there are other worlds, of animals, plants, stars etc.

³⁰³ SA, p. 237.

³⁰⁴ SA, p. 237.

³⁰⁵ MSMS, v. 1, p. 414.

³⁰⁶ Analyzing the concept of world order in its occurrences, dynamics as well as relations to the notions of law, justice and legitimacy, Gottfried Hagen states that although the origins of the world order can be traced back to the Iranian theories of statecraft, "it seems to have been the Ottomans who coined the term *nizam-ı alem* as a chiffre for an interpretive concept of social order." see Gottfried Hagen,

the aim of human politics is to preserve the order of the world (*nizām al-‘ālam*) among human beings. Indeed the world of the humans is also in the hands of God, who is the lord of all the worlds (*Rabb al-‘ālamīn*).³⁰⁷ Human beings as the vicegerent and shadow of God (*khalīfa Allah* and *ẓill Allah*) on earth (*fi al-arḏ*) are given the responsibility to imitate God’s government by observing His laws. As God sent the prophets with laws (sharia) to guide the people and help them attain perfection (*takmīl naw‘ al-bashar*), human rulership also aims to perfect the morals of the people (*takmīl al-khalq*).³⁰⁸

5.1.6.3 Prophets, sultans, scholars, preachers: four degrees of government

As outlined in the previous chapter, government (*siyāsa*) corresponds to the fourth and the last major physical (*badanī*) science in Taşköprizade’s classification of the sciences. Ghazālī, who had already drawn this scheme, did not classify government (*siyāsa*) as science but as one of the major human activities, arts and crafts (*a‘māl wa ḥiraf wa şinā‘āt*).³⁰⁹ Government is then divided into four levels/degrees (*marātib*) according to the extent of the ruler’s command over the inner (*bātin*) and outer (*ẓāhir*) realms of both the commoners (*‘awām*) and elites (*khawāş*).³¹⁰ It should be noted that the division of outer-inner realms here does not refer to the external and internal aspects of the Islamic creed. What external (*ẓāhir*) refers to here is sanction

‘Legitimacy and World Order’, in *Legitimizing the Order. The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, (ed.) H. T. Karateke und M. Reinkowski, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005, pp. 55-83, here p. 61.

³⁰⁷ Hagen shows that Ebu’s-su’ud also interpreted the occurrence of *alem* in plural in *sūra fātiḥa* as *Rabb al-‘ālamīn* as referring to mankind in his commentary, *Irshād al-‘aql al-salīm ilā mazāya al-kitāb al-karīm*, vol. 1 (n.p., n.d.), 14 in Hagen, ‘Legitimacy and World Order’, p. 61, 25th footnote.

³⁰⁸ SA, p. 33.

³⁰⁹ Ghazālī, *Iḥyā*, p. 20.

³¹⁰ SA, p. 63.

and legislation (*al-ilzām wa al-man‘ wa al-shar‘*).³¹¹ The first category is the government of prophets (*siyāsa al-anbiyā*). Being the most comprehensive one, this kind of governance includes ruling over the inner and outer realms of commoners and elites. The second degree, the government of caliphs/kings/sultans includes rule over the outer realms of commoners and elites. The third category, the government of scholars, is ruling over the inner realms of the elites. The fourth and last degree of government is that of the preachers, which equals rule over the inner realms of commoners. Ghazālī explains that the noblest of these four deeds, after prophethood, is knowledge (*‘ilm*), ascribing to the scholars a rank second to that of prophets, and above that of the rulers.³¹² Likewise, by mentioning in this regard the prophetic saying that scholars are the inheritors of prophets, Taşköprizade also represents the role of scholars in government as akin to that of the prophets, the widely embraced model of rulership by the political writers of the time.³¹³

Since scholars lack the power of sanction (*taşarruf*), their government is directed to the inner realms of the elites, complementing their external powers.³¹⁴ In line with Ghazālī’s view of religion (*dīn*) and kingship (*mulk*) as twins,³¹⁵ this conception treats scholars and rulers as representing two aspects of an ideal rulership modeled on prophethood, a vision reflected in the title of Taşköprizade’s biographical dictionary of Ottoman scholars *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniyyah fī ‘Ulamā al-Dawla al-‘Uthmāniyyah*. The first word *al-Shaqā’iq* literally means two uterine

³¹¹ *Ihyā*, p. 21.

³¹² *Ihyā*, p. 21.

³¹³ Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p. 170-5.

³¹⁴ *SA*, p. 63.

³¹⁵ *Al-dīn wa al-mulk taw’amān*, *Ihyā*, p. 26, *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 240.

brothers and alludes to Taşköprizade’s juxtaposition of scholars and sultans in narration. Taşköprizade’s organization of the book according to the reigns of sultans and designating the title *‘Ulamā al-Dawla al-‘Uthmāniyyah* (lit. meaning the *Scholars of the Ottoman State*) reflects the Ghazālīan view of religion and state as twins.

Table 5. The Degrees of Government (*Marātib al-Siyāsa*)

Four Degrees of Government	‘ <i>Awām</i>		<i>Khawās</i>	
	<i>ẓāhir</i>	<i>bāṭin</i>	<i>ẓāhir</i>	<i>bāṭin</i>
Prophets	+	+	+	+
Rulers	+		+	
Scholars				+
Preachers		+		

Taşköprizade’s following depiction of the Prophet Muhammad is reminiscent of the abovementioned scheme:

When Muhammed, the noblest of prophets, peace be upon him, was bestowed religion (*dīn*), power (*mulk*) and sovereignty (*ṣaltana*), he was the only human being who combined them. With him, God also perfected religion and sealed the string of messengers (*nabiyyīn*). After him the ulema, as inheritors to messengers, followed. They found the right way and through the ulema the people found the right way. Then came the just sultans because the salvation of the world depended on them, just as the salvation of the afterlife depended on the ulema. Then followed those pious ones [Sufis] other than the ulema (*alladhīna aṣlahū anfusahum*) who reformed their souls. Those who digressed from those groups are but a herd of cattle.³¹⁶

³¹⁶ MSMS, v.3, p. 449. English translation is taken from Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p.174.

In this portrayal, the best rulership is that of prophets, which was perfectly represented in the last and noblest of all, the Prophet Muhammad. Scholars follow prophets in finding the right path and guiding the people in that direction. While the salvation of the Hereafter depends on ulema, the salvation of the world depends on sultans, who have, unlike ulema, the power of sanction. Hence, complementing each other sultans and scholars together fulfill the task of prophethood. Lastly, sufi masters come after the ulema, as in the organization of *Shaqā'iq*, supporting and not challenging the hierarchical superiority of ulema.³¹⁷

5.2 Human governance from an Akbarian sufi perspective

Besides Ghazālī, another important source of inspiration for Taşköprizade was Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240), known as al-Sheikh al-Akbar (The Greatest Master). Among the foremost achievements he has been credited with was the introduction of philosophical elements to non-sectarian sufism after Ghazālī. Ibn al-‘Arabī was thus one of the major representatives of philosophical sufism in the Islamic intellectual history. Although Ibn al-‘Arabī wrote numerous books, he most elaborately explained his sufi views in two major works, namely, *al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiyya* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*.³¹⁸

³¹⁷ Niyazioğlu, “In the dream realm”, p. 252-3.

³¹⁸ Mahmut Kaya, “İbnü'l-Arabî”, *TDVIA*, 1999, v. 20, p. 520-522; Mahmut Erol Kılıç, “el-Fütühatü'l-Mekkiyye”, *TDVIA*, 1996, v. 13, p. 251-258; idem, “Füsusü'l-Hikem”, *TDVIA*, 1996, v. 13, p. 230-237; Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Fütuhât-ı Mekkiyye*, (trans.) Ekrem Demirli. İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2009; Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Fususü'l-hikem*, (ed.) Mustafa Tahralı, (trans.) Ahmed Avni Konuk, İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı (İFAV), 1987. For Ibn al-‘Arabī’s thought, in addition to Mustafa Tahralı’s and Ahmed Avni Konuk’s important studies and interpretations, see A. E. Afifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi* (Cambridge, 1939); W. C. Chittik, *Ibn Arabi’s Metaphysics of Imagination: the Sufi Path of Knowledge* (Albany, 1989); idem, “The School of Ibn ‘Arabi” in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, 2 vols., (eds.) S. H. Nasr and O. Leaman. London and New York: Routledge, 1996, 510-527; idem, *Ibn 'Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2005; Mahmud Erol Kılıç, *İbnü'l-Arabî*, İsam, 2015.

As profound as his influence was on Islamic mysticism, Ibn al-‘Arabī was also a controversial figure for some of his religious views like the doctrine of “the unity of being” (*wahdat al-wujud*), a term which actually was coined by later followers.³¹⁹ In the Ottoman realms, Ibn al-‘Arabī seems to have been a very influential figure from the outset.³²⁰ He was so widely revered as to be depicted as a foreteller of the Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands and the patron saint of the Ottoman dynasty, in the early sixteenth century. Despite this strong veneration, however, a few scholars also attacked his teachings as being “heretical” around the same time. Even though these scholars represented a minority view, even the majority of scholars favored limiting the discussion of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s ideas to a fairly limited circle of advanced sufis and scholars.³²¹

Ibn al-‘Arabī’s symbolic language in political thought had a decisive influence on the way later sufi thinkers conceived of human governance. His theory of the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) laid down the foundations of a new political imagination, making a direct correlation between the government of self and the government of society. This correlation was fully elaborated especially in his *al-*

³¹⁹ William Chittick states that “the underlying theme of Ibn al-‘Arābī’s writings is not, as many would have it, *wahdat al-wujud*, the ‘Oneness of Being’ but rather the achievement of human perfection. He never mentions the term *wahdat al-wujud* but he does refer repeatedly to Perfect Man.” see Chittick, *Ibn ‘Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, p. 49-50. For the reception of Ibn al-‘Arābī in the later tradition, see Alexander D. Knysh, *Ibn Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam*, State University of New York Press, 1999; for a study on Ibn al-‘Arābī’s views on sharia which shows that his Sufi beliefs complemented, rather than weakened, the foundations of the shariah, see Nurasiah, “Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arābī and Sharia”, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, 1998.

³²⁰ Michel Chodkiewicz, “La reception de la doctrine de l’Ibn ‘Arabi dans le monde ottoman”, in *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society*, ed. Ahmed Yaşar Ocak, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2005, pp. 97-120; Tim Winter, “Ibn Kemal (d. 940/1534) on Ibn Arabi’s Hagiology,” in Ayman Shihadeh (ed.), *Sufism and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 137-157.

³²¹ For a recent evaluation of his legacy in the early Ottoman empire, Ahmed Zildzic, *Friend and foe: The early Ottoman reception of Ibn ‘Arabi*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2012.

Tadbīrāt al-İlāhiyya fī İslāh al-Mamlaka al-İnsāniyya (Divine Governance of the Human Kingdom).³²² Ottoman political writers in the sixteenth century made mystical interpretations of rulership that bear the stamp of Ibn al-‘Arabī.³²³

As a sign of his reverence for Ibn al-‘Arabī, Taşköprizade introduces him by putting a particular emphasis on his exceptional qualities. In addition to being the guide to the followers (*murshid al-sālikīn*) and the savior of the perished (*munqız al-hālikīn*), he has a grand majesty (*jalīl al-sha’n*) and a unique building of gnosis (*nasij wahdihī fī al-‘irfān*). Stating that Ibn al-‘Arabī composed innumerable books, Taşköprizade cites two of them with great reverence: *al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiyya* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*.³²⁴

At the very beginning of his political treatise, *Asrār al-Khilāfa*, Taşköprizade makes an analogy between the human being and the material world in line with the imagination of Ibn al-‘Arabī, whom he greatly revered. In Taşköprizade’s words, the essence of the human being (*al-nash’a al-İnsāniyya*) is a copy of all existence (*nuskha jamī‘ al-mawjudāt*). This is why philosophers called the human being a microcosmos. The meaning of this statement is that all of what can be found in the material world can also be found in the human being. As the material sultanate

³²² Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tedbirat-ı İlahiyye: Tercüme ve Şerhi*. (ed.) Mustafa Tahralı, (interp.) Ahmet Avni Konuk. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1992. For a comparative analysis of this work and pseudo-Aristotelian text on rulership, *Sırr al-Asrār*, see Zeliha Öteleş, “Ahlak ve Siyaset Felsefesi Açısından *Sırru’l-Esrar* ile *Tedbirat-ı İlahiyye*’nin Karşılaştırılması”, M.A. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007.

³²³ For the sixteenth century mystical interpretations of rulership, see Yılmaz, “The Sultan”, p. 192-216; for an analysis of the Ottoman reception of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s political thought as expressed in *al-Tadbīrāt al-İlāhiyya* within the framework of the general impact of Sufi tradition on Ottoman political thought, see Özkan Öztürk, “Siyaset ve Tasavvuf: Osmanlı Siyasi Düşüncesinde Tasavvufun Tezahürleri”, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2015.

³²⁴ He includes these works under the science of opportune narration (*‘ilm al-muhādarāt*), stating that these books include the amazing secrets and illuminations. Taşköprizade considers Ibn al-‘Arabī’s works among the best (*latā’if*) books of this science as opposed to many other books he cited without such qualification. *MSMS*, v. 1, p. 232.

requires a vizier, a scribe, a deputy (*nā'ib*), an officer (*'āmil*), a judge (*qādī*) and the like, the status of the spiritual sultanate is not much different. Hence, knowledge of its conditions is necessary for managing one's kingdom (*mamlaka*) and not being devastated by the attacks of the enemies.³²⁵

Taşköprizade then sorts out the corresponding parts of the material and spiritual sultanates. In this view, just as a sultan needs a managing (*mudabbir*) and intelligent vizier in the material world, the spirit as the sultan of the body kingdom (*mamlaka al-badan*) also has a vizier, which is intelligence. The palace of this vizier in the body kingdom is the mind (*dimāgh*). As all material existence is perceived through the five senses, God made five doors (senses) for this vizier, that is to say the mind, so that he supervises the affairs related to each sense, namely hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and touching. This elaboration of the faculties of the human soul was also found in Ghazālī, who, in line with Ibn Sīnā, identified the intellect as the highest faculty.³²⁶

5.2.1 Life as a voyage, world as a bridge to the Hereafter

Portraying the world as a temporary stage through which human beings pass on their way to the Hereafter is common among sufi-oriented Muslim thinkers.³²⁷ In this regard, Taşköprizade prescribes that a person from the beginning of his life until his

³²⁵ *AH*, 28b.

³²⁶ Al-Ghazālī, *Kimya al-Saada*, Bairut: Muassasa al-Kutub al-Thaqafiyya, 1987, p.101 , also in Syros, “Galenic Medicine”, p. 178, 45th fn.

³²⁷ Ghazālī prescribes to abandon worldly engagements of heart, see *Kimya al-Saada*, p.114

death should avoid overengaging with the affairs of this world, an attitude also reflected in his ascetic view of human governance.³²⁸

After depicting life in this world as a short and temporary experience, Taşköprizade takes an ascetic sufi stance toward rulership. By disapproving of the embellishment of the world beyond necessity, he emphasizes the ascetic aspect of human governance. In a world full of dangers, human beings as servants of God should always remember God and turn their deeds into a means to approach Him. As a servant of God, a ruler should carry the characteristics of an ascetic.

5.2.2 Ideal ruler as ascetic

Taşköprizade's role models in this regard were not lay rulers, but the prophets Adam, Joseph, Moses, Solomon and Muhammad and the four Rightly Guided caliphs, because these figures provided more binding authority.³²⁹ As Yılmaz notes, the characteristics of the ruler Taşköprizade described stood in a stark contrast to the practices of rulership during the reign of Süleyman. Taşköprizade did not grant to the ruler any special privilege and expected him to meet the requirements that apply to anyone in pursuit of moral perfection. The whole body of advice that Taşköprizade directed to the sultan was already prescribed by Ghazālī in his *Ihyā al-'Ulum* for the

³²⁸ Know that this world (*dār*) is the world of voyagers (*dār al-musāfirīn*), and has a finite number of way-stations (*manāzil*). The first one is the backbone of his father (*ṣulb abīh*), then the womb of his mother (*raḥm ummih*), the third is the space of the world (*fadā al-dunyā*), the fourth is the cradle (*lahd*), the fifth is the station of Doomsday (*mawqif al-qiyāma*), the sixth one is either Heaven or Hell. Every person (*nafs*) is incessantly in a journey (*sayr*) on the vessel of life (*markab al-'umr*). Every breath (*nafas*) is a step, every day is like a cycle (*shawt*), every month is like a mile, every year is like a parasang (*farsakh*). Every breath takes a brick from the house of his life and pulls him over to the Hereafter (*ākhirah*) with one step. In fact, the world is like a -sufi- lodge (*ribā*) on the way to the Hereafter or like a bridge on it. The smart people do not busy themselves with the embellishment of the world beyond what is necessary for it is a killing poison. *AH*, 33b.

³²⁹ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 96.

average believer.³³⁰ Taşköprizade's organization of the treatise around the manners of perfection in certain Prophets and the four Rightly Guided Caliphs is reminiscent of the structure of Ibn al-'Arabī's two most famous works. The first one, *Fusūs al-Hikam*, in Chittick's words, also "begins with a discussion of Adam, the original Perfect Man, and then describes the various modalities of human perfection in terms of its specific individuations in the prophets. As for *al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiyya*, it is a vast compendium of depictions of the various stations of human perfection".³³¹

In his first biographical book *Nawādir al-Akḥbār fī Manāqib al-Akhyār* (*The Rare Histories of the Best People*), written in 938/1531, Taşköprizade narrates the lives of scholars, excluding the histories of the prophets 'for the Holy Quran included them in a perfect manner.'³³² Yet in his treatise on political morality, *Asrār al-Khilāfa*, Taşköprizade describes in detail the lifestyles, manners and characteristics of the prophets along with the four Rightly Guided caliphs. In relating their deeds, Taşköprizade seems to have been more concerned with portraying the prophets as ideal rulers than simply narrating their lives.

5.2.3 Sultanate/Rulership as secret

When Taşköprizade titled his treatise on political morality as *Asrār al-Khilāfa al-Insāniyya wa al-Salṭana al-Ma'nawiyya*, he was not alone in attributing mystical or esoteric properties to the realm of rulership. Employing an overtly mystical language in articulating their views on government, various other contemporaries of Taşköprizade, including Celalzade, Arifi, Semerkandi, and Ebu'l-Fazl Münşi also

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 257.

³³¹ Chittick, *Ibn 'Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, p. 50.

³³² Taşköprizāde, *Nawādir al-Akḥbār fī Manāqib el-Akhyār*, Veliyüddin 2458, 1b.

proclaimed to explain the mysteries of the sultanate as they saw fit in their treatises.³³³ Displaying a mystical approach to the question of rulership along with Bidlisi, Kinalızade or Kemalpaşazade, Taşköprizade's main quest was to educate the ruler who was regarded as a moral guide to the community.³³⁴

5.2.4 Man's caliphate

Taşköprizade's depiction of the ruler as both vicegerent (*khalīfa*) and shadow of God on earth was a commonly held view among the political writers of this period.³³⁵ As indicated by the mystical overtones of various Ottoman political texts, the title caliph in the Ottoman period seems to have gained a new significance. No longer implying descent from the House of Abbas or tribe of Quraysh, the term now meant that the Muslim ruler derived his authority directly from God as His Vicegerent. Being a Vicegerent of God (*Khalīfa Allah*) and not Successor to the Prophet (*Khalīfa Rasūl Allah*), the meaning of the term shifted from representing the Sultan with supreme authority to any Sultan who 'cared to assume a designation once held to be unique'.³³⁶

In the sixteenth-century Ottoman context, the concept of caliphate (*khilāfa*) was shaped more by the sufi tradition than the juristic or philosophical theory.³³⁷ This mystical perspective focused on the personality of the ruler whereas juristic theory was mainly concerned with the problems of legitimacy or necessary

³³³ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 306.

³³⁴ Ibid., p. 240.

³³⁵ AH, 33b; Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 169.

³³⁶ Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford, 1924, p. 129.

³³⁷ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 183.

qualifications for rulership.³³⁸

Set as a moral objective for rulers in political theory, caliphate then meant, in Hüseyin Yılmaz's words, "the solidification of one's sovereignty with spiritual perfection as exemplified by the ruler-prophets".³³⁹ Conceived as such, the caliphate required a ruler to go through the same process as an ordinary believer in order to acquire this title.³⁴⁰

5.2.5 Sultanate and prophethood

In Taşköprizade's discourse, the sultanate appears as a hazardous institution and office that potentially poses serious dangers for the sultans unless they follow the right path in holding it.³⁴¹ In more than one passage, Taşköprizade reminds the holder of the sultanate of its inherent danger. First of all, he makes a distinction between prophethood and sultanate as political entities. According to this distinction, the position (*manşib*) of prophethood (*nubuwwa*) is exempt from the whims and solitudes (*wasāwis*) of the self (*nafs*), while the position of the sultanate is vulnerable to them.³⁴² If the ruler follows his whims and does not show mercy to people, he becomes a deputy (*nā'ib*) of the accursed Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl al-la'īn*)

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 240. For a general study on political thought which also deals with this subject, see Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian And Pagan Polities*, London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1997; Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, p. 280, 286.

³³⁹ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 184.

³⁴⁰ For an overall analysis of the visions of caliphate expressed in the political texts of the Suleimanic age, see Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 176 -191.

³⁴¹ *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 401; *AH*, 33b.

³⁴² *AH*, 30b.

and the enemy of God and vicegerent of Satan (*khalīfa al-Shayṭān*).³⁴³

Rulership was commonly modeled on prophethood (*nubuwwa*) by the Ottoman political writers of Taşköprizade's era.³⁴⁴ Before Taşköprizade's time, the political philosophers had already theorized about the relationship between rulership and prophethood. Constructed by Fārābī and elaborated by Ibn Sīnā, the theory of prophethood identified the philosopher-ruler with the prophet, making political rulership and spiritual guidance of the community inseparable. Dawwānī, an inspiring figure for the Ottomans, however, distinguished between the prophet-lawgiver and the ruler and apparently had an influence on Ottoman authors such as Ensari who separated prophethood and sultanate as two different missions, conceiving sultans as inheritors of prophets only on matters related to rulership.³⁴⁵ Taşköprizade seems to have adhered to both conceptions. On one hand, he ascribed to the theory of rulership central in Ibn Sina's thought and assigned the rulers (*imām*) the same role as the prophets:

They turned toward God by using their human powers in theoretical and practical conditions and undertook the task of perfecting (*takmīl*) the deficient but capable people, disciplining naughty rebels, legislating the basic principles of justice and enacting the laws of government. These are the prophets (*anbiyā*) and rulers (*imām*).³⁴⁶

On the other hand, Taşköprizade made a distinction between prophethood and sultanate in two aspects. First, while sultanate is vulnerable to the whims and

³⁴³ *AH*, 33b. For similar views, see Bagley's introduction in Ghazālī, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings (Nasihat al-Muluk)*, (trans.) Frank R. C. Bagley, (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), xliii, cited in Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 153.

³⁴⁴ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 170-176.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³⁴⁶ *SA*, p. 53.

solicitudes (*wasāwis*) of the self (*nafs*), prophethood is exempt from them. Only a small number of big prophets and saints have fulfilled the task (*'uhda*) of the sultanate, whose exemplary deeds Taşköprizade narrates consecutively. Second, according to Taşköprizade as well as many of his contemporaries, the distinguishing feature of rulership was 'political power' enhanced by wealth and military might.³⁴⁷ In the case of Adam, the first person combining prophethood and sultanate, Taşköprizade emphasizes the formation of a community around Adam. In a more instructive explanation of the rulership of prophets, Taşköprizade narrates how Moses was granted sultanate through wealth, territory and military power:

God combined *nubuwwa* and *şaltana* for Moses after the demise of the Pharaoh. Then God ordered the army of the Israelites to attack Jericho and fight the Amalekites to free the Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) from their hands.³⁴⁸

Narrating the prophets who combined prophethood and sultanate, Taşköprizade sets the ideal characteristics for sultans. Combining perfect vision (*al jam' bayna kamāl al-istibşār*) of the beneficial purposes of religion and world (*fi maşālih al-dīn wa al-dunya*) is only possible for those supported by the Sacred Spirit (*Rūh al-Quds*), namely the prophets. Other creatures get diverted from one when they deal with the other.³⁴⁹

As the goal of the science of ethics (*'ilm al-akhlāq*) is the perfection of the rational soul (*al-nafs al-nātiqa*) with happiness in both this world and the Hereafter, the goal of politics is the perfection of people. The government of the ruler (*siyāsa al-malik*) is the vicegerency of God (*khilāfa Allah*) and leadership (*imāma*) that aims

³⁴⁷ Yılmaz, "The Sultan", p. 172.

³⁴⁸ *AH*, 30b, 31a.

³⁴⁹ *MSMS*, v. 3, p. 324.

at the perfection of the subject population (*takmīl al-khalq*),³⁵⁰ as the ultimate model of ruler, Prophet Mohammad was sent to perfect all the people (*takmīl naw‘ al-bashar*).³⁵¹

5.3 Conclusion

By way of conclusion one can say that Taşköprizade’s religio-political thought revolves around the scholarly framework that was set by Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī. More specifically, the correspondence between *Miftāḥ al-Sa‘āda* and *Iḥyā‘ Ulūm al-Dīn*, Taşköprizade’s reverence and portrayal of Ghazālī in *Miftāḥ al-Sa‘āda* and *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*, his views on the compatibility of Islam and philosophy, combination of knowledge and action, conceptualization of scholars in their relations with sultans as well as the notion of sufism reveal that Taşköprizade embraces Ghazālī as a model of scholarship and his writings as authoritative sources, yet revising and adopting Ghazālī’s ideas in the circumstances of the sixteenth century. Not authoring any work in the Persian *Siyasetname* genre or drawing any example from pre-Islamic Iranian kings or sages, Taşköprizade took a negative attitude toward Persian political culture that was imbued with pre-Islamic elements, a divergence of him from Ghazālī. This stance can partly be explained by the transformation of the self-perception of Ottoman elites in the aftermath of the Arab conquest. The rivalry between the Sunni Ottomans and the Shiite Safavids can be counted as a complementary factor affecting Taşköprizade’s distance from the Persian history and culture, especially the political culture of the pre-Islamic Persia. On the other hand, Taşköprizade’s attitude can not be said to represent the view of

³⁵⁰ SA p. 33.

³⁵¹ MSMS, v. 1, p. 404.

Ottoman elites at large, for many of them continued to write in Persian and drew on the ancient Iranian kings as models of rulership.

In line with Ghazālī, Taşköprizade depicts the ideal relation between sultans and scholars as that of pupils and teachers. Ascribing such a high value to the scholars as to regard their piety as the basis of the world order, Taşköprizade shares Ghazālī's project of combination of knowledge and action. As inheritors of the prophets, scholars teach and guide the sultans. Complementing each other, sultans and scholars aim to fulfill the model of prophethood and the ideal of justice. Drawing examples of ideal rulers from the prophets and the Rightly Guided caliphs, Taşköprizade subjected the sultan to high standards of piety, which found its sources and inspirations in Ghazālī's *Ihyā*.

Taşköprizade's discourse also had the prescriptive vision of embedding sufism within the sharia by showing the correct relationship between the two. Narrating the conversations he held with sufi sheikhs as well as heard from them, Taşköprizade showed that the right form of sufism totally lies within the boundaries of sharia. Alluding to the danger of sufism without true knowledge and righteous action, Taşköprizade seems to have embraced, in line with Ghazālī, the principle of entering the path of knowledge before that of sufism. Both Ghazālī and Taşköprizade emphasized that sufism without knowledge of the sharia leads to one's exhaustion.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

One of the most prolific Ottoman authors of his time, Taşköprizade Ahmed was a qualified scholar as well as a skillful historian. He was extremely influential as both a scholar and a historian. His classification of sciences represents the epitome of the medieval Islamic intellectual tradition, which he inherited, continued and modified in the tenth/sixteenth century. His biography of Rumi scholars was a groundbreaking work since it formed a distinctly Ottoman genre that continued up until the twentieth century. In view of the fact that there was a diverse body of literature inherited from medieval Islamic scholarship, the departing point of this study was to search the ways in which a well-versed Ottoman scholar like Taşköprizade made sense of such a broad intellectual tradition, specifically focusing on its political aspects.

One of the findings of this study was that Taşköprizade, like his medieval Muslim predecessors, explained human governance in a religious framework while also drawing on diverse traditions of political thought. Taşköprizade used the term *siyāsa* not in the narrow sense of the term but as the art of human governance in a broader sense in line with the conceptualization of Ibn Sīnā, whose perspective Taşköprizade also embraced when he referred to sharia as a wider realm than mere legal aspects of Islam, encompassing all aspects of human life.

The works Taşköprizade recommended on rulership demonstrates that he was familiar with the major pre-Ottoman writers such as Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Māwardī, Ghazālī, Tūsī, Dawwānī and Ibn Zafar. From the viewpoint of the intellectual tradition of the classification of sciences, Taşköprizade in *Miftāh al-Sa'āda*

elaborated one of the most detailed explanations of rulership until his time. While embracing the tripartite division of practical philosophy, Taşköprizade also introduced a fourth branch in which he ramified the political sciences as subdivisions of practical philosophy.

Taşköprizade's discourse on the duties of sultans included the balancing of the social groups in line with the idea of the circle of justice. Articulating the sultan's balancing position by utilizing the humoral theory based on the Galenic medicine, Taşköprizade represents continuity in social theory between his predecessors like Fārābī, Tūsī, Dawwānī and successors like Kınalızade, Katip Çelebi and Naima.

One can compare Taşköprizade's *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* and Kınalızade's *Ahlāk-ı Alā'ī* in three respects. First, Taşköprizade wrote his work in 946/1540, while Kınalızade wrote his work in 973/1565. Second, Taşköprizade wrote *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq* in Arabic whereas Kınalızade wrote *Ahlāk-ı Alā'ī* in Ottoman Turkish. Third, Taşköprizade extensively commented on İjtī's text and did not give any reference to Tūsī and Dawwānī while Kınalızade compiled his work on ethics not as a commentary but gave numerous references to Tūsī and Dawwānī. As a major similarity between them, both Taşköprizade and Kınalızade wrote within the tradition that regards ethics as comprehensive of the three branches of practical philosophy.

Taşköprizade's discourse on rulership also elaborated on the qualifications of the constituent elements of the sultanate such as muftis, judges and scribes. Taşköprizade deemed these groups significant for the religious well-being of the world as well as the maintenance of the sultanate and religious community. Taşköprizade's discourse on rulership had a special emphasis on the qualities of the

vizier, who was regarded as a central figure in terms of his significance in government by the political authors of the sixteenth century.

Taşköprizade conveyed his political views in a diversified corpus of works including the disciplines of philosophy, ethics and sufism, but he did not write a work in the Persian Mirror for Princes or *Siyasetname* genre. With his uncompromising insistence on Arabic as the language of scholarship as opposed to Persian and negative view of pre-Islamic Persian kings, Taşköprizade can be regarded as a peculiar type of Ottoman political writer. For the Ottoman intellectuals and elites generally used Turkish and Persian in their treatises and continued to revere and cite the Persian kings like Nushirevan and Ardashir in the advice works they penned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Taşköprizade is not known to have formally been a member of a sufi order, although he had connections to various sufi sheikhs, which he depicts in *Shaqa'iq*. Still, like many of his contemporaries, Taşköprizade utilized a sufi mode of thinking in his works on government and rulership. Two influential figures in the history of sufism were Taşköprizade's main sources of inspiration in elaborating his political ideas. First and foremost scholarly model and reference of Taşköprizade was Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, whose synthesis of philosophy and sufism within the mainstream of Sunni Islam resonated among the sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectuals, whose own world was suffused with sufi ideas and beliefs. Taşköprizade largely embraced Ghazālī's teachings in *Iḥyā* as the right precepts for true knowledge and action. Emphasizing the virtue, piety and righteous action, Taşköprizade sought to educate and morally perfect the ruler, expecting him to conform to the high standards of piety that were observed among the Prophets and the Rightly Guided Caliphs. In line with Ghazālī, Taşköprizade considered scholars to be the backbone of the government,

guiding and authorizing the rulers. In Taşköprizade's conceptualization, the piety of scholars forms the basis of the world order.

Taşköprizade's second main source of inspiration in formulating his views on governance was Ibn al-‘Arabī, whose theory of perfect man and symbolic language left a decisive mark in the course of political thought and discourse in the later tradition. Like many sufi-inclined writers of Ottoman times, Taşköprizade used Ibn al-‘Arabian mystical language that formed a direct correlation between the government of self and the government of society. Regarding the spirit as the caliph in the body kingdom, Taşköprizade explained what he deemed to be the mysteries of spiritual sultanate, the ultimate form of rulership.

Guided by a moralist-pietist tendency on rulership, Taşköprizade expected the ruler to conform to the high standards of piety. By emphasizing the ascetic aspect of rulership as well as highlighting the moral and spiritual perfection of rulers, Taşköprizade's ultimate point of reference was the human agent. Situating the political teachings of Taşköprizade within the broader picture of sixteenth century Ottoman political thought, we can conclude that Taşköprizade was among the political authors who were more concerned with improving the moral and spiritual quality of the ruler than discussing the best form of political authority or establishing the best institutional settings.

APPENDIX

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN *MIFTĀḤ AL-SA‘ĀDA* AND *IḤYĀ‘ ULŪM
AL-DĪN*

	<i>Miftāḥ</i> (Seventh <i>dawḥa</i>)	page	<i>Iḥyā</i>	page
<i>The First Quarter: Acts of worship</i> (<i>Rub' al-'ibādāt</i>)	<i>Al-Shu'ba al-Ūlā: fī al-'Ibādāt</i>	9	<i>Al-Rub' al-Awwal: 'Ibādāt</i>	11
Book 1: Knowledge	al-Aṣl al-Awwal: al-'Ilm	9	Kitāb al-'Ilm	11
Book 2: Foundations of Belief	al-Aṣl al-Thānī: fī Qawā'id al-Aqā'id	24	Kitāb Qawā'id al-Aqā'id	106
Book 3: Mysteries of Purity	al-Aṣl al-Thālith: 'Ilm Asrār al-Tahārā	25	Kitāb Asrār al-Tahārā	148
Book 4: Mysteries of Worship	al-Aṣl al-Rābi': fī 'Ilm Asrār al-Ṣalāt	33	Kitāb Asrār al-Ṣalāt wa Muhimmātuhā	172
Book 5: Mysteries of Zakat	al-Aṣl al-Khāmis: fī 'Ilm Asrār al-Zakāt	63	Kitāb Asrār al-Zakāt	247
Book 6: Mysteries of Fasting	al-Aṣl al-Sādis: fī 'Ilm Asrār al-Ṣawm	70	Kitāb Asrār al-Ṣawm	273
Book 7: Mysteries of Pilgrimage	al-Aṣl al-Sabi': fī 'Ilm Asrār al-Ḥajj	74	Kitāb Asrār al- Ḥajj	283
Book 8: Etiquette of Qur'ānic Recitation	al-Aṣl al-Thāmin: fī 'Ilm Fadīla al-Adhkār wa al-Tilāwa wa al-Awrād	103	Kitāb Ādāb Tilāwa al-Qur'ān	322
Book 9: On Invocations and Supplications	al-Aṣl al-Tāsi': (This part is missing in <i>Miftāḥ</i>)		Kitāb al al-Adhkār wa al-Da'awāt	348
Book 10: On the Arrangements of Litanies and Divisions of the Night Vigil	al-Aṣl al-'Āshir: fī Taqṣīm al-Awrād wa Fadīlatuhā wa Aḥkāmuhā	160	Kitāb Tartīb al-Awrād wa Tafsīl Iḥyā al-Layl	392
<i>The Second Quarter: Norms of Daily Life</i> (<i>Rub' al-'ādāt</i>)	<i>Al-Shu'ba al-Thāniya: fī al-'Ādāt</i>	182	<i>Al-Rub' al-Thani: Rub' al-'Ādāt</i>	432
Book 11: On the Manners Related to	Al-Aṣl al-Awwal: fī Ādāb al-Akl	182	Kitāb Ādāb al-Akl	432

Eating				
Book 12: On the Etiquette of Marriage	Al-Aṣl al-Thāni: fī Ādāb al-Nikāḥ	195	Kitāb Ādāb al-Nikāḥ	456
Book 13: On the Etiquette of Acquisition and Earning a Livelihood	Al-Aṣl al-Thālith: fī Ādāb al-Kasb wa al-Ma'āsh	210	Kitāb Ādāb al-Kasb wa al-Ma'āsh	502
Book 14: The Lawful and Prohibited	Al-Aṣl al-Rābi': fī al-Ḥalāl wa al-Ḥarām	219	Kitāb al-Ḥalāl wa al-Ḥarām	534
Book 15: On the Duties of Brotherhood	Al-Aṣl al-Khāmis: fī Ādāb al-Suḥba wa al-Mu'āshara ma'a Asnāf al-Khalq	245	Kitāb Ādāb al-Ulfa wa al-Ukhuwwa wa al-Suḥba wa al-Mu'āshara ma'a Asnāf al-Khalq	610
Book 16: On the Etiquette of Seclusion	Al-Aṣl al-Sādis: fī Ādāb al-'Uzla	268	Kitāb Ādāb al-'Uzla	686
Book 17: On the Etiquette of Travel	Al-Aṣl al-Sābi': fī Ādāb al-Safar	275	Kitāb Ādāb al-Safar	712
Book 18: On Music and Singing	Al-Aṣl al-Thāmin: fī Ādāb al-Samā' wa al-Wajd	285	Kitāb Ādāb al-Samā' wa al-Wajd	738
Book 19: On Enjoining Good and Forbidding Evil	al-Aṣl al-Tāsi': al-Amr bi al-Ma'ruf wa al-Nahy an al-Munkar	301	Kitāb al-Amr bi al-Ma'ruf wa al-Nahy an al-Munkar	781
Book 20: Etiquette of Living and the Prophetic Mannerism	al-Aṣl al-'Āshir: Ādāb al-Ma'īsha wa Akhlāq al-Nubuwwa	311	Kitāb Ādāb al-Ma'īsha wa Akhlāq al-Nubuwwa	837
<i>The Third Quarter: The Ways to Perdition (Rub' al-muhlikāt)</i>	<i>Al-Shu'ba al-Thālitha: fī al-Muhlikāt</i>	319	<i>Al-Rub' al-Thālith: Rub' al-Muhlikāt</i>	876
Book 21: The Marvels of the Heart	al-Aṣl al-Awwal: fī Sharḥ 'Ajā'ib al-Qalb	319	Kitāb Sharḥ 'Ajā'ib al-Qalb	876
Book 22: On Disciplining the Soul	al-Aṣl al-Thāni: fī Riyāḍa al-Nafs wa Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq	334	Kitāb Riyāḍa al-Nafs	929
Book 23: On Breaking the	al-Aṣl al-Thālith: fī Kasr al-Shahwatayn	344	Kitāb Kasr al-Shahwatayn	964

Two Desires	Shahwa al-Batn wa al-Farj			
Book 24: Defects of the Tongue	al-Aṣl al-Rabi': fī Āfāt al-Lisān	349	Kitāb Āfāt al-Lisān	995
Book 25: Condemnation of Rancor and Envy	al-Aṣl al-Khāmis: fī Dhamm al-Ghadab wa al-Ḥiqd wa al-Ḥasad	359	Kitāb Dhamm al- Ghadab wa al-Ḥiqd wa al-Ḥasad	1059
Book 26: Condemnation of the World	al-Aṣl al-Sādis: fī Dhamm al-Dunyā	368	Kitāb Dhamm al-Dunyā	1101
Book 27: Condemnation of Miserliness and Condemnation of the Love of Wealth	al-Aṣl al-Sābi': fī Dhamm al-Māl wa Karāhiyya Ḥubbihī wa Dhamm al-Bukhl	373	Kitāb Dhamm al-Bukhl wa Dhamm Ḥubb al- Māl	1134
Book 28: Condemnation of Status and Ostentation	al-Aṣl al-Thāmin: fī Dhamm al-Jāh wa al- Riyā	380	Kitāb Dhamm al-Jāh wa al-Riyā	1182
Book 29: Condemnation of Pride and Conceit	al-Aṣl al-Tāsi': fī Dhamm al-Kibr wa al- 'Ujb	404	Kitāb Dhamm al-Kibr wa al-'Ujb	1249
Book 30: Condemnation of Self- Delusion	al-Aṣl al-'Āshir: fī Dhamm al-Ghurūr	413	Kitāb Dhamm al- Ghurūr	1296
<i>The Fourth Quarter: The Ways to Salvation (Rub' al- munjiyāt)</i>	<i>Al-Shu'ba al-Rābi'a: fī al-Munjiyāt</i>	425	<i>Al-Rub' al-Rābi': Rub' al-Munjiyāt</i>	1335
Book 31: On Repentance	al-Aṣl al-Awwal: fī al- Tawba	425	Kitāb al-Tawba	1335
Book 32: On Patience and Thankfulness	al-Aṣl al-Thāni: fī al- Ṣabr wa al-Shukr	438	Kitāb al-Ṣabr wa al- Shukr	1399
Book 33: On Fear and Hope	al-Aṣl al-Thālith: fī al- Rajā wa al-Khawf	462	Kitāb al-Khawf wa al- Rajā	1488
Book 34: On Poverty and Abstinence	al-Aṣl al-Rābi': fī al- Faqr wa al-Zuhd	473	Kitāb al-Faqr wa al- Zuhd	1541
Book 35: Faith in Divine	al-Aṣl al-Khāmis: fī al- Tawakkul	489	Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa al- Tawakkul	1601

Unity and Trust in Divine Providence				
Book 36: On Love, Longing, Intimacy and Contentment	al-Aṣl al-Sādis: fī al-Maḥabba wa al-Shawq wa al-Uns wa al-Ridā	512	Kitāb al-Maḥabba wa al-Shawq wa al-Ridā	1656
Book 37: On Intention, Sincerity, and Truth	al-Aṣl al-Sābi‘: fī al-Niyya wa al-Ikhlās wa al-Sidq	528	Kitāb al-Niyya wa al-Ikhlās wa al-Sidq	1730
Book 38: On Holding Vigil and Self-Examination	al-Aṣl al-Thāmin: fī al-Muhāsaba wa al-Murāqaba	536	Kitāb al-Murāqaba wa al-Muhāsaba	1765
Book 39: On Meditation	al-Aṣl al-Tāsi‘: fī al-Tafkīr	541	Kitāb al-Tafakkur	1798
Book 40: On the Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife	al-Aṣl al-‘Āshir: fī Dhikr al-Mawt wa al-Ba‘th wa al-Nushūr	548	Kitāb Dhikr al-Mawt wa Mā Ba‘dahū	1825

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