

**AFTER THE TIMURID RENAISSANCE: SCHOLARLY MOBILITY  
BETWEEN THE LANDS OF RUM AND ACEM FROM THE  
FOURTEENTH THROUGH THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

BY

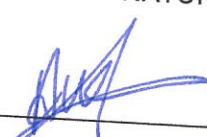

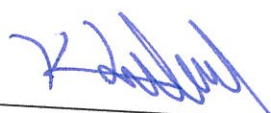
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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN  
HISTORY

AUGUST 2019

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Sena Fidan Öztürk", written in a cursive style.

## ABSTRACT

### AFTER THE TIMURID RENAISSANCE: SCHOLARLY MOBILITY BETWEEN THE LANDS OF RUM AND ACEM FROM THE FOURTEENTH THROUGH THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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MA in History

Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Abdurrahman Atçıl

August 2019, 92 pages

This thesis aims to ascertain the causes and effects of the scholarly mobility between the Persianate lands and the lands of Rum from the fourteenth century through the sixteenth century. This was an age of turmoil and change caused by the collapse of the Mongol Empire and rise of new empires in the Islamic lands. Based on the information from two biographical dictionaries, *Al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi 'Ulama al-Dawla al-'Uthmaniyya* and *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, this thesis will explore how socio-political changes in the region shaped the motivations behind scholarly mobility, with the focus on educational centers, career opportunities, and personal networks in the Persianate lands and the Ottoman Empire. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to a better understanding of the motivations behind and the effects of scholarly mobility on Islamic intellectual traditions, especially the Ottoman intellectual tradition.

Keywords: Scholarly mobility, Rum, Acem, Persianate scholars, Ottoman intellectual system, intellectual centers

## ÖZ

### TİMUR RÖNASANSINDAN SONRA: ON DÖRDÜNCÜ YÜZYILDAN ON ALTINCI YÜZYILIN SONUNA KADAR ACEM VE RUM TOPRAKLARI ARASINDA GERÇEKLEŞEN ULEMA HAREKETLİLİĞİ

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Tarih Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Abdurrahman Atçıl

Ağustos 2019, 92 sayfa

Bu tez Acem ve Rum toprakları arasında on dördüncü yüzyıldan on altıncı yüzyılın sonuna kadar yaşanan ulema hareketliliğinin nedenlerini ve etkilerini bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu dönem Moğol İmparatorluğu'nun çöküşü ve İslam topraklarında yeni imparatorluklarının ortaya çıkmasından kaynaklanan karmaşa ve değişme çağıdır. Eş-Şekâ'îku'n-nu'mâniyye fî 'ulemâ'i'd-Devleti'l-'Osmâniyye' ve Hadâiku'l-hakâik fî tekmileti'ş-Şekâik eserlerinin verdiği bilgilere dayanarak Osmanlı ve Acem topraklarında sosyo-politik değişimin ulema hareketliliğini nasıl şekillendirdiği eğitim merkezleri, kariyer olanakları ve kişisel ağlar dikkate alınarak incelenecektir. Bu tezin özellikle Osmanlı entelektüel geleneği olmakla birlikte İslam entelektüel geleneğinde ulema hareketliliğinin nedenleri ve etkileri üzerine daha geniş bir bakış açısı sunması umulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulema hareketliliği, Rum, Acem, Acem uleması, Osmanlı entelektüel sistemi, entelektüel merkezler

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to many people for their patient support in the process of writing this thesis. For and foremost I would like to thank my adviser Prof. Abdurrahman Atçıl for his continuous support since the beginning of my graduate education in İstanbul Şehir University. I would like to show my sincere gratitude for his patience, encouragement and insightful comments in the process of writing this thesis.

Besides my advisor, I would like to thank the rest of my thesis committee: Prof. Kahraman Şakul and Dr. Ertuğrul İsmail Ökten for their valuable comments and contributions. I am also grateful for their encouragements for further research on this topic.

My sincere thanks also goes to Nurullah Ardıç, Abdülhamit Kırmızı, Ebru Kayaalp and Tufan Buzpınar who provided me a fruitful intellectual environment in İstanbul Şehir University during my graduate study.

During my graduate studies I have been supported both financially and intellectually by ISAM's Researcher Project. I am very grateful for having this opportunity.

I thank to my friends, Fatmagül Özden, Rümeyşa Nur Çekici, İrem Gündüz Polat, Burcu Sağlam, Ferzan Aşık, Ayşe Berre Karaman, Beyza Nur Ceran, Leyla Dede for their support and long motivation talks.

My greatest debts and gratefulness is to my family, who support and trust in me always. I have to admit my special thanks to my husband for his great patience and encouragements. I am fortunate enough to be together with him in this stressful process.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the early fifteenth century, the scholar Alaeddin Ali Kuşçu, son of the royal falconer of the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg, started his education in Samarqand. His education advanced under the patronage of Ulugh Beg, but his desire for knowledge drove him to Kerman (Kirman), where he traveled without the permission of his teacher, Kadızade Rumi or patron, Ulugh Beg. After his return, he submitted his book *Hall-e Eshkal-i Ghammar* (Explanations of the Periods of the Moon) as a gift to Ulugh Beg. When Ulugh Beg died in 1449, Ali Kuşçu visited Tabriz on route to Mecca. He impressed Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Akkoyunlu state. Uzun Hasan sent him to Istanbul as an ambassador. He was welcomed by Mehmed II and invited to Istanbul, but Ali Kuşçu insisted that he complete his ambassador duty and return to Tabriz. After he completed his duty to Uzun Hasan, Ali Kuşçu came back to Istanbul and was welcomed with gifts and ceremonies.<sup>1</sup>

The distance Ali Kuşçu traveled was vast. The extent of his mobility would be surprising even for a person living today. But was Ali Kuşçu really so unique in this respect? This is the question that first piqued my interest at the beginning of my research. With further research, I realized that mobility was a defining characteristic of the lives of Muslim scholars well into the early modern period.

The idea that scholars tend to move over the course of their lives may not seem particularly novel. But the nature and trends of this mobility are rarely static. What were the motivations of traveling to or from the Ottoman Empire? And where exactly did they go? Were there specific centers that tended to draw them? How the number of incoming and outgoing scholars changed through time? And if so, what were they? I hope that through clarifying these questions, I can grasp the trends of scholarly mobility in the Ottoman world in the late medieval and early modern periods.

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<sup>1</sup> Cengiz Aydın, "Ali Kuşçu," *TDVIA*.

### 1.1. Scope and Limitations: The Acem and Rum lands from the fourteenth century to the end of sixteenth century

The mobility of scholars in the Ottoman Empire is an extensive topic, which necessitates it be handled with certain limitations concerning time and geography. There is no doubt that the mobility of Arab scholars or outgoing scholars to the Arab lands is crucial to see whole picture. On the other hand, the mobility to or from the Arab lands happened with different historical process and need also extensive study that might be too much for a master thesis. Thus, I aim to study the two ways of scholarly mobility between the lands of Rum and the Persianate lands from the fourteenth century to the end of the sixteenth century.

For the Ottomans of the period, Acem as a geographical term does not only refer to today's Iranian geography. According to Ali Arslan, the term *Bilad-ı Acem* or *Vilayet-i Acem* referred to Iran, Azerbaijan, Khurasan, and Transoxiana (the Caspian Sea to the west, Siberia to the north, and Chinese border to the east). In that sense, Acem signified a much wider region than modern Iran.<sup>2</sup> When it comes to the lands of Rum, according to Cemal Kafadar, it was constitutively differentiated from the Arab and Acem lands. He argues that the lands of Rum, in the way that Ottomans used the term, referred to what is known as Anatolia today, together with the west of the Marmara Sea, which was called Rumelia.<sup>3</sup> Salih Özbaran focuses on how the term Rum and Rumi used firstly for referring Byzantium lands by in the early Islamic accounts then Anatolian Seljuks and finally a term that described the central regions for Ottomans. On the other hand, the usage of these two terms in the primary sources most probably did not define the same territory in all cases. The perception of Acem or Rum could change regarding to the age. In that sense, these terms in the primary sources should be analyzed while being aware of the changing 'borders' for these regions in the minds of writers.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ali Arslan, "Osmanlılar'da Coğrafi Terim Olarak 'Acem' Kelimesinin Manası ve Osmanlı-Türkistan Bağlantısındaki Önemi (XV.-XVII. Yüzyıllar)," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 8, (1999).

<sup>3</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Kendine Ait Bir Roma: Diyar-ı Rum'da Kültürel Coğrafya ve Kimlik Üzerine* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> For further information, please see; Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği: 14-17. Yüzyıllarda Rum/Rumi aidiyet ve imgeleri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 52-64.

I choose a relatively long period, almost three centuries, for three reasons. First, I aim to understand how scholarly mobility evolved among the Ottomans from their foundation period as a principality (*beylik*) to their establishment as an empire. Second, I want to show how the post-Mongol period influenced scholarly mobility. Finally, I think that a study on scholarly mobility with a macro perspective in respect to time will offer fruitful insight about intellectual exchanges among the Islamic empires. Thus, I hope that my study will show general tendencies in scholarly mobility and the formation of intellectual traditions as a result of scholars' dissemination of knowledge between the fourteenth and the end of the sixteenth century.

### **1.2. Significance of the Scholarly mobility for the Ottoman Intellectual History**

It might be underlined in the beginning that the concept of mobility was not odd or exceptional in the early modern world. Some of the fundamental elements in that time could be take place with the mobility of people like pilgrimage, trade, wars etc. Hence, the physical conditions for mobility already existed and scholars did not experience something that did not happened before. In that sense, the scholarly mobility is not taken as an extraordinary attempt in this thesis. Instead, this study aims to show how the scholarly mobility as a part of other kinds of mobility in the early modern age shaped the intellectual tradition.

The Ottoman rise from a small principality in the lands of Rum to a large empire was a gradual process. It is impossible to understand the rise of the Ottoman state without appreciating the external factors that contributed to this growth. Scholars were one such factor. Scholars from other Islamic empires and scholars who had received advanced education abroad fed the early Ottoman scholarly system. Meanwhile, after the Ottoman state became an empire in the fifteenth century, Ottoman lands became an attraction for the career opportunities for foreign scholars. Thus, to understand the Ottoman intellectual tradition, historians should study the influence and the contribution of other Islamic intellectual traditions. Hence, a study on the mobility of incoming and outgoing scholars in Ottoman lands is beneficial to show these interactions in a more concrete framework.

It should be noted that it is not plausible to accept the concept of 'Muslim world' as a homogenous socio-cultural unity in the early-modern world. As Cemil Aydin explained in his book the term Muslim world does not refer to *ummah*, Muslim religious community. Rather than that the term was started to use in the nineteenth century and became stronger and accepted term after two world wars. The reason of both emergence and acceptance of this term is related to 'racialization of Islam' as oppose to European hegemony that started to after the colonization. On the other hand, it should be understood that there were Muslim people who have different ethnicity, language, political opinion, worldview, nationality and living conditions. This was also a reality in the early modern world.<sup>5</sup> Hence, the interactions of different Islamic societies should be studied while being aware of their differences even they had common religion.

This study can also contribute to the transnational history of Islamic empires. The study on scholarly mobility to or from Ottoman lands will offer insight into the sharing experience, interactions among Muslim scholars from different parts of the Persianate lands. For this aim, this study necessitates focus on the scholarly centers like Tabriz, Shiraz, Herat, Samarqand, Bukhara and transformation of these different intellectual cultures and diffusion of knowledge in Ottoman lands. I hope to contribute not only to our understanding of the Ottoman intellectual system but also of the intellectual systems of other Islamic empires and their interaction with one another.

The study on scholarly mobility between lands of Rum and Acem help illuminate the concept of mobility in the early modern world and interaction of people from different backgrounds. This feature will broaden our perspectives regarding thinking more globally, without the restrictions of contemporary nation-states boundaries. The showing of intense mobility among different parts of the Islamic lands can change

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<sup>5</sup> Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History* ( London: Harvard University Press, 2017), 1-14.

our perception of early-modern times regarding their communication, interaction, and coexistence.

### 1.3. Sources and Methodology

I will base my research on two biographical dictionaries: Taşköprizade's *Al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi'Ulama al-Dawla al-'Uthmaniyya* and Nevizade Atayi's *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*. Taşköprizade's *Al-Shaqa'iq* is the first compilation of scholar ('ulema) biographies in the Ottoman literature. In the introduction, Taşköprizade explains that he wrote the work because there were no studies on Ottoman scholars as there were on Persian and Arab scholars. He says that a wise man (probably Zenbillizade Fudayl Çelebi) asked him to write a work about Anatolian and Rumelian scholars (scholars from the lands of Rum) to prevent them from being forgotten. He finished *Al-Shaqa'iq* on 11 July 1558 (25 Ramazan, 965).

Taşköprizade organizes the work according to the reigns of the first ten sultans of the empire. The source covers the period from Osman I (d.1326) to 1558, the reign of Süleyman I (d.1566). It contains biographies of 371 scholars and of 150 Sufis, 521 in total. The arrangement of biographies is based on approximated date of deaths. The biographies, in general, include information about birthplace, education, and professional career. Taşköprizade used his observations and experiences, what he heard from his father and grandfather and some official documents as sources to write his book. He wrote in Arabic, which was the language of education.

*Al-Shaqa'iq* became popular immediately after it was finished. Many copies were produced, and translations were started while Taşköprizade was still alive. Today, there are 150 manuscripts of *Al-Shaqa'iq* in Turkey and abroad. Moreover, there are many addendums starting from Aşık Çelebi until the twentieth century. It can be said that from the sixteenth century, *Al-Shaqa'iq* literature became an established genre in the Ottoman intellectual production.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Abdülkadir Özcan, "eş-Şekâ'îku'n-nu'mâniyye," TDVIA.

I use Nevizade Atayi's *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq* as a second main primary source. In the introduction, Atayi explains that the addendums of *Al-Shaqa'iq* could not cover all the important figures that had emerged since Taşköprizade's time, and he notes that there was no work detailing the lives of the scholars who lived from 965 until 1010 (when he started the book). It should be noted that the reference point of Atayi was not Taşköprizade's *Al-Shaqa'iq*. He chose the Mecdi's translation *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq* as the model and wrote addition (*dhayl*) to it. There are eight *tabaqqas* in the book, covering the period from Suleyman I to Murad IV. Atayi finished the book on 10 July 1634 (14 Muharram 1043) in Skopje. His work covers the period between 1533 and 1634 and includes the biographies of 935 scholars. He wrote *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq* in Turkish.<sup>7</sup>

Both sources were important works in the genre for their time. Their contents are precious for scholars of intellectual history. But they do not always paint a complete picture. Taşköprizade and Atayi chose whom to include and whom to exclude, and neither work captures the whole picture of the system and mobility of scholars. The data these works contain is not appropriate for statistical research. However, the aim of this thesis is grasping the general tendencies as mentioned above.

I will study these biographies closely together with the historical context. I will try to understand how the socio-political changes affected the motivation for the mobility (for instance the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the foundation of Safavid Empire in 1501). In addition to socio-political changes, I will try to ascertain whether there was a relationship between mobility in a scholar's professional life and such aspects of a scholar's biography as his birthplace, the profession of his father, whether he belonged to a certain intellectual tradition or Sufi order, his teacher, the educational institution(s) he attended, his relatives, and friends.

The biographical dictionaries are rich sources for this kind of information. Even the selection of the scholars partly depended on the writer's choice; the information is relatively objective due to its nature (birthplace, father's name, etc.). In that sense, it

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<sup>7</sup> Nev'izade Atayi, *Hada'iku'l-Haka'ik Fi Tekmilet'iş-Şakaik* vol.1, ed. Suat Donuk (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2017), 38, 120-26.



might be assumed that using these sources is not enough to see whole picture but a good start for study scholarly mobility.

#### **1.4. Literature Review**

Up to the present, the scholarly mobility in the Ottoman world has not been studied widely. Tofiq Heiderzadeh, İsmail Ertuğrul Ökten, and Abdurrahman Atçıl are three scholars, who are interested specifically in scholarly mobility in the context of the Ottoman Empire.

Heiderzadeh's article of "Patronage, Network and Migration: Turco-Persian Scholarly Exchanges In the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries" is one of the earliest studies. His aim in the article is to show the movement of Persian scholars to Ottoman lands and the effects this mobility had for both territories. Heiderzadeh focuses on the period from Timur to Shah Ismail and then from the reign of Shah Ismail to the end of the Safavid Empire. According to the writer, the migration of Persian ulema to Ottoman lands had a number of causes: political instability after the Timurid period, which led to diminishing of the material and immaterial support to education in madrasas, the increasing power of the Ottoman state, as well as, its support for ulema and artists, and the change of the official madhab in Iran. Although this article is innovative regarding its topic, it only offers general observations. Heiderzadeh describes the historical context of Ottoman-Timurid and Ottoman-Safavid relations with short biographies of ulema who received education in Persianate lands and who migrated to the Ottoman realm. However, he does not contextualize the mobility of the scholar with the historical context of Islamic empires of the time.<sup>8</sup>

In the article "Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of al-Shaqayiq al-Numaniyya," Ökten attempts to sketch the scholarly mobility in the reigns of first ten Ottoman sultans through a quantitative analysis of Taşköprizade's *Al-Shaqa'iq*. He argues that numbers of the ulama coming to the Ottoman lands prior

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<sup>8</sup> Tofiq Heidarzadeh, "Patronage, Network and Migration: Turco-Persian Scholarly Exchanges In the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries," *Archives Internationales d'Histoire Des Sciences* 55(155), (2005): 419–434.

to the reign of Murad II was higher than during the reigns of the last four sultans. Based on this finding, he makes a number of arguments. He argues that until the reign of Murad II, the system was in its formative stage and open to scholars coming in from outside. Second, he claims that after the reign of Murad II, the system turned into a relatively closed/exclusive institution because of the gradual institutionalization and bureaucratization of the Ottoman system. Lastly, he asserts that the rise of the Safavids did not cause a rupture in the traffic of scholarly mobility. Hence, scholars should focus on long-term factors rather than momentary political developments to understand trends in scholarly mobility. The writer declares the Ottoman scholarly system became self-reproducing, self-sufficient and closed social class that was reluctant in admitting scholars from outside, combined with a declining interest in going abroad for educational purposes.<sup>9</sup>

In the article, “Mobility of Scholars and Formation of a Self-Sustaining Scholarly System in the Lands of Rum during the Fifteenth Century,” Atçıl claims that the flow of scholars into the lands of Rum probably remained consistent and perhaps even increased from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. According to Atçıl, the pull factors for Muslim scholars in the lands of Rum in the fifteenth century were political stability, the construction of an increasing number of prestigious madrasas, and growing bureaucratization. The writer also touches upon the push factors outside the Ottoman lands, such as, in Persianate lands, political and religious destabilization after the death of Timur. In that sense, Atçıl opposes Ökten’s argument that the number of incoming scholars decreased from Murad II’s reign onward. Atçıl argues that the decrease in the proportion of newcomers in the Ottoman scholarly system in Taşköprizade’s account was not due to decreasing number of newcomers. Instead, due to high-level Ottoman scholars who were born and got an education in the lands of Rum, Taşköprizade gives them more place in his book.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> İsmail Ertuğrul Ökten, “Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of al-Shaqayiq al-Numaniyya,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 41, (2003): 55-70.

<sup>10</sup> Abdurrahman Atçıl, “Mobility of Scholars and the Formation of a Self-Sustaining Scholarly System in the Lands of Rum during the Fifteenth Century,” in *Literature and Intellectual Life in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. Andrew S.C. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (Wurzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), 324–29.

The lack of literature on scholarly mobility in the Ottoman Empire and Persianate lands necessitates a wider look at studies on other sorts of mobility between the two regions. One of them is M. Tayyip Gökbilgin's "XVI. Asır Başlarında Osmanlı Devleti Hizmetindeki Akkoyunlu Ümerası." He argues that the Ottomans used local rulers to fulfill administrative duties, either in their homelands or another similar province, after the conquest of new lands. In other words, the dynasty could integrate other loyal rulers into the Ottoman system. The case of Gökbilgin's article is Aqqoyunlu emirs who immigrated to Ottoman lands after the Battle of Otlukbeli in 1473. For instance, Uğurlu Mehmed, who revolted against his father in 1474 in Shiraz defected to Mehmed II. He became the *vali*, or governor, of Rum and the son-in-law of Mehmed II. According to Gökbilgin, Shah Ismail tried to kill the emirs and big families belonging to the Aqqoyunlu state. Some of them escaped to Syria and Dulkadir lands, but most fled to Ottoman lands. These immigrants settled in eastern and central Anatolia. This first generation of immigrants and their descendants were granted administrative positions, and salaries. Gökbilgin gives an official register of the list of Aqqoyunlu emirs who did not have a *dirlik* from 926 (1520). This document supports the arguments of the writer, which is the existence of mobility related to political changes. I think the mobility of Aqqoyunlu emirs gives an insight into the general framework of interactions between the Persianate and the Ottoman lands.<sup>11</sup>

Another type of work is biographical studies on scholars who came to the Ottoman realm from Persianate lands. One of them is Vural Genç's recently published book, "*Acem'den Rum'a Bir Bürokrat ve Tarihçi İdris-i Bitlisi (1457-1520)*." The writer questions the accepted image of İdris Bitlisi as a political figure against the Shi'a Safavids in the reign of Selim I. Genç emphasizes that the certain period in his life is not enough to make assumptions about İdris Bitlisi. Instead writer focusses on his whole life and challenges with the existing literature. From this perspective, Genç argues that the definitive aspect of İdris Bitlisi's life was the patronage among the Islamic empires in the sixteenth century. Hence, one of the aim of this book is showing how the rivalry among the Ottomans, the Safavids and the Mamluks affected

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<sup>11</sup> M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, "XVI. Asır Başlarında Osmanlı Devleti Hizmetindeki Akkoyunlu Umerası," *Journal of Turkology* 9, (2010): 35-46.

a Persianate scholar's life and shaped his perception regarding the lands of Rum and the Ottomans. The second aim is understanding the role of İdris Bitlisi in the Ottoman historiography because *Hasht Behisht* was the first Persian Ottoman history in the Ilkhanid and the Timurid style of historiography. It should be said that this work is one of the most comprehensive and successful studies regarding the scholarly mobility, the patronage and the identity issues in the sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

The latest study regarding the scholarly mobility was written by Kiourmars Ghereghlou. In the article of "*A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mirza Makhdum Sharifi Shirazi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the İlmiye Hierarchy*", Ghereghlou analyzed the life and the career of Mirza Mahdum (1540-87) a Persianate scholar, who came to the Ottoman lands during the reign of Murad III. The writer argues that a high ranking bureaucrat from the Safavid state had a frustrating, 'rotational and non-tenured', career line in the Ottoman lands. Ghereghlou underlines that the reason of this short term and provincial appointments was related to the fact that the job market for incoming scholars in the end of the sixteenth century was restricted compared to the previous centuries. The article is one of the most extensive works about the incoming scholars in the Ottoman empire. On the other hand, writer's emphasis on the nepotism in the Ottoman intellectual system and the 'negative' attitude of Ottomans towards incoming scholars might be misleading. This thesis will suggest a different picture from what Ghereghlou offer. It will direct attention to the transformation of the Ottoman intellectual system in the sixteenth century to become a self-sufficient system—as factor that drastically affected the chances of success for incoming Persianate scholars in the lands of Rum.<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately, even this broader literature on mobility between the Ottoman realm and Persianate lands more generally fails to offer a general framework capable of

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<sup>12</sup> Vural Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a Bir Bürokrat ve Tarihçi İdris-i Bitlisi (1457-1520)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> Kiourmas Ghereghlou, "A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mirza Makhdum Sharifi Shirazi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the İlmiye Hierarchy," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/ The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 53, (2019): 153-194.

addressing specific types of mobility. These works either have a descriptive approach, focusing biographical studies or are short studies that aim to ask a new question. In my thesis, I aim to go beyond merely saying that there was scholarly mobility in the Islamic world, explore into the conditions in different cultural centers, which encouraged scholarly mobility, and to search for specific motivations for individual scholars to relocate.

The thesis has a broad geographic scope to understand scholarly interactions. The idea that the Ottoman scholarly establishment was isolated and self-contained within its own territorial domain is untenable but continues to enjoy wide currency. The scholars who traveled to and from Ottoman lands constituted a major source of new ideas in the Ottoman intellectual system. I believe that by showing how these scholars contributed to the influx and dissemination of knowledge in the Ottoman realm will help contribute to a new way of viewing the Ottoman scholarly establishment as one that was not a *sui generis* entity but was instead closely connected with the intellectual worlds of other Islamic empires.

I hope to make a methodological contribution by examining a prosopographically study on mobile scholars spread over a long period, instead of focusing on an individual case. There is no doubt that the focusing on a certain individual is useful. But, the concept of scholarly mobility is not a fixed phenomenon. The motivations behind mobility can change depending on the person, time and place. By examining a long period, I hope to identify the general tendencies of scholarly mobility over time. Understanding these will help to appreciate the impact of this mobility on intellectual traditions. This approach overcomes the notion of uniqueness as in the biographical research and can grasp the institutional changes.

### **1.5. The Outline of Chapters**

Chapter one will be about travel to receive an education and the intellectual centers. Until the fifteenth century, scholars from the Ottoman lands tended to travel abroad to Persianate lands for education more often than they did in later periods. I will focus on the education centers of the Persianate lands and explore what advantages they

possessed that led early Ottoman scholars to travel there in such numbers. I am also going to trace their career paths after their return to the Ottoman lands. Secondly, I will analyze the incoming scholars from the Persianate lands and their professional lives in the Ottoman empire. It can be assumed that in the formative period incoming scholars received great respect. I will investigate why the number of Ottoman scholars traveling abroad for education decreased the mid-fifteenth century. I suspect that the essential reasons were political stability and foundation of new madrasas in the Ottoman territories.

The second chapter will be about the transformation of the Ottoman lands to an attractive center for a growing number of Persianate scholars, especially after the conquest of Istanbul. I think one reason for the rise of foreign scholars traveling to Ottoman lands was the efforts of sultans to patronize famous scholars in Ottoman lands. Another reason is the increasing numbers of high level madrasas and hence greater career opportunity. Lastly, political and religious changes created an unstable environment in the Persianate lands. I will discuss how the Persianate scholars found jobs in Ottoman lands. I will also question the concepts of personal relationships, specialization in a specific field, etc. to understand which factors facilitated their integration into the Ottoman system.

The third chapter will be about the closure of the Ottoman system to scholars coming in from outside. After the 1550s, Persianate scholars could no longer obtain high positions in the Ottoman scholarly system. I will propose that this drop in the number of foreign scholars was a result of the institutionalization of the Ottoman scholarly system and the shift to a *mülazemet* system. I think that after the formation of the Ottoman scholarly system and institutionalization of the *mülazemet* system, scholars had to integrate into the system at their youth years or be left out altogether.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE PERSIANATE INTELLECTUAL CENTERS

“The Search of Knowledge is the Duty of Every Muslim.”<sup>14</sup>

The significance of intellectual tradition and history of Persianate lands in our efforts to contextualize and understand Ottoman intellectual history is all clear.<sup>15</sup> For, for about two centuries, the intellectual tradition of the Persianate lands in different ways fed and shaped the lands of Rum, where the distinctive Ottoman culture flourished. This relationship among Muslim empires partly arose from the crucial Muslim practice, *al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-‘ilm* (travel in search of knowledge). This attitude towards intellectual mobility can be related to Prophetic advice of seeking knowledge, no matter how remote one has to travel to acquire it. These travels strengthened the networks and communication of Muslim scholars from different geographies and their interaction.<sup>16</sup>

Both outgoing and incoming mobility from the Persianate lands seeking knowledge and job had great relevance for understanding the intellectual tradition of Ottomans, especially during the formation period since the Ottomans had to adopt and adapt their intellectual environment from the beginning, as a small principality (*beylik*). The current literature accepts the interaction of ideas, intellectual traditions and the reciprocal relationship among Islamic empires as a well-known fact.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the specific location of intellectual centers, the movement of scholars through centuries is not thoroughly studied in detail in the Islamic intellectual history. Thus, in this chapter, I aim to analyze the incoming and outgoing mobility of scholars

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<sup>14</sup> *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, 224.

<sup>15</sup> For further information, İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual networks in Timurid Iran, Sharaf al-Din \_Ali Yazdi and the Islamic Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>16</sup> John O. Voll, “Scholars in Network: Abd al-Ghani Nabulusi and His travels” in *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Waded Kadi*, ed. Maurice Pomerantz and Aram A. Shahin (Leiden: Brill Press, 2005), 343-44.

<sup>17</sup> İsmail Ertuğrul Ökten, “Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of al-Shaqayiq al-Numaniyya,” 56.

between the Persianate lands and Lands of Rum from the fourteenth century to the mid-fifteenth century, particularly the conquest of Constantinople in the 1453. I want to shed light to the intellectual environment of the Persianate lands by defining the study of important centers for scholarly activities. This aim is crucial in order to understand the reason for the welcoming attitude of Ottomans to Persianate scholars as well as the desire of Ottoman young scholars in receiving an education in the Persianate lands.<sup>18</sup> To achieve this purpose, I focus on the scholars' biographies and define the most important intellectual centers in the Persianate lands, which were as follows: Tabriz, Herat, Samarqand, Bukhara, and Shiraz.

## **2.1. Historical Background**

### **2.1.1. The Foundation of the Timurid Rule and Re-establishment of Territorial Integrity**

In order to understand the intellectual environment of the Persianate lands, Timurid rule should be studied first. The foundation of Timurid rule was an important turning point since it ended political instability. Timur was born in 1336 in the village of Khoça Ilgar, in the city of Kesh, which was part of Chagatai Khanate. Although Timur did not belong directly to the lineage of the ruling family, his father Turagay was a well-respected beg in the Chagatai Khanate. Descendants of Timur could not be underestimated due to his marriage, affinities and his sisters' marriages. His attempts to have power started in the 1360s. His move to become prominent figure started after he allied with the grandson of Kazan Khan, Hüseyin. After the death of Kazagan Khan in 1346, his son Abdullah came to power. Abdullah's decision to move the capital to Samarqand caused discontentment among the begs and finally led to his death. The execution of Abdullah gave an opportunity to Tuğluk Timur to gain power. Meanwhile, Timur sided with Tuğluk Timur from 1361 to 1362 and had the power to control Kesh. Yet, Timur was dissatisfied with Tuğluk Timur's son's cruel attitude towards İlyas Hoca and other begs. Abdullah's son, Hüseyin, had a vindictive position due to execution of his father. Timur decided to fly away from the authority of Tuğluk Timur and to be Hüseyin's side. Their alliance paved the way in gaining control of

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<sup>18</sup> In the primary sources, the information regarding scholarly mobility was given as 'went to the Persianate lands' or 'came to the lands of Rum from the Persianate lands'. Due to this reason, the determination of the intellectual centers is important step to analyze scholarly mobility.



Kesh and Belh, hence the rule of Transoxiana in 1365. Their cooperation however, ended harshly in 1370. After that Timur decided to enthrone Suyugatmış and attack Hüseyin. After the execution of Hüseyin, Timur married the daughter of Kazan Khan, Saray Mülk Khatun and received the title of “*kuragan or han güveysi* (the bridegroom of khan)”. Finally, he attained the throne in Samarqand on April 9, 1370.<sup>19</sup>

Besides the political struggles within the borders of Chagatai Khanate, Timur’s imperial project might be also shaped under the circumstances of the fall of the Ilkhanids, as well as the diminishing population after the Black Death in the early 1350s and the defeat of Golden Horde by Russians in 1380. These conditions in absence of power sustained an appropriate environment for Timur to establish his control over the Middle East and the Persianate lands.<sup>20</sup> Besides, the absence of strong authority created fragmented rules. There was the rule of Kerts, using Herat as a center, in Khorasan; the rule of the Muzafferids in the region of Fars and Kirman and their center was Shiraz as well as the rule of Jalairids in Irak-ı Acem and Irak-ı Arab and Azerbaijan that used Baghdad as a center. Timur started his campaign in Fergana Valley between 1370-72 to increase his fame and realized that the region of Khorasan was conquerable. He first sent his son Miran Shah to end the rule of Kerts, Toga Timurids and Serbedaris. The campaigns in Khorasan paved the way to new campaigns for the Persianate lands. So, he started his ‘three years campaigns’ between 1386-88 and captured Mazenderan, Luristan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Karabakh. After these campaigns, he went to Shiraz and ended the rule of Muzafferids in 1393. The same year, in August he captured Baghdad and sent an ambassador to Yıldırım Beyazid, Memluks, Karamanids, Dulkadirids, Karakoyunlus, Akkoyunlus and Kadı Burhaneddin to request their obedience to him. Before receiving any response, he conquered Musul, Mardin and Diyarbakır. After that, he started his dispute with Toktamış, the ruler of Golden Horde and, moved near Moscow and defeated Golden Horde state completely in 1395. As he turned back to Samarqand, he decided to attack India. He captured Delhi brutally and returned his

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<sup>19</sup> İsmail Aka, *Timur ve Devleti* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2017), 3-11.

<sup>20</sup> S. Frederick Starr, *Lost Enlightenment Central Asia’s Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlane* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 478-79.

capital city with a great booty in 1399. Although an alliance was formed among Ottomans, Golden Horde Khanate, Mamluks and Kadı Burhaneddin due to the threat of Timur, it did not last long and was interrupted with the death of Kadı Burhaneddin in 1398. In addition to that, the death of Mamluk sultan created a suitable environment for the Ottomans to gain authority of new territories. So, Yıldırım Beyazid captured the cities of Amasya, Sivas, Malatya, Darende and Divriği.

The end of the alliance created a more advantageous position for Timur. After his return from India, he went to the Persianate lands. He started his 'Seven-Year Campaign' to the west between 1399-1404. He moved towards Mamluks and captured Aleppo, Hama, Humus, and Damascus. The campaign continued with the capture of Kemah, Sivas, Kayseri, Kırşehir and finally Ankara. Timur advanced until İzmir in the west and decided to return to Samarqand in 1404. During his return, he decided to go to China but he got sick on the road and died on February 18, 1405 and was buried in Samarqand.<sup>21</sup>

The campaigns of Timur had numerous reasons. He wanted to end the political threat coming from the Golden Horde, to maintain his political authority in India and Anatolia, to dominate the important rival, the Chaghatayids as well as the Qaraunas in Transoxiana and Khwarazm. The motivation to conquer Persianate lands was different. Timur aimed to neutralize other powers in the region instead of ending their existence as his protectorates. In that sense, he sustained his political power in addition to material acquisition.<sup>22</sup> As a result, his imperial project recreated a total cultural entity of Persianate lands from Transoxiana to eastern Anatolia to the Aral Sea to the Mesopotamia and from the Caucasus to the Indus with territorial integrity.<sup>23</sup>

Although Timur had a fairly indifferent attitude towards religion, descendants of the Prophet Muhammed, *sayyids*, Sufis, dervishes and religious judges had special

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<sup>21</sup> İsmail Aka, "Timur", TDVIA.

<sup>22</sup> H. R. Roemer, "Timur in Iran" in *Cambridge History of Iran Volume 6 The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 52.

<sup>23</sup> Roemer, "Timur in Iran," 97.

protection under Timur's rule. Moreover, the acquisition of people as a labor force, especially the qualified men, was an important feature of his era.<sup>24</sup> For instance, he recruited the stone masons from India in the construction process of Samarqand.<sup>25</sup> There were scholars in his close circle and he liked to have conversations with members of religious orders, theologians, and representatives of spiritual life.<sup>26</sup> For instance, the three astonishing scholars during his time, the theologian and grammarian Sadeddin Taftazani, the famous mystic and logician Seyyid Şerif Cürçani, and the well-known lexicographer Firuzabadi, all enjoyed the patronage of Timur.<sup>27</sup> Hence, Timurid power and patronage enabled intellectual, cultural and religious advancement including both Turkish and Persian elements in the Persianate lands. After these massive conquests and the attempts of patronage, Timur was also very much aware of the importance of the cities in addition to trade and agriculture.<sup>28</sup>

### **2.1.2. The Successors of Timur**

After Timur's death, scholarly exodus happened alongside the development of new centers of Iranian culture under the Timurids. This environment also led to radical changes at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century in the Persianate lands.<sup>29</sup> The cultural advancement in the sphere of arts and intellectual areas, including painting, miniatures, calligraphy, architecture, music, historiography, and theology of Islam, flourished due to not only the Timurid ruler but also members of his family, descendants and high-ranking members of the court.<sup>30</sup> Hence, the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Timurids continued in the Persianate lands after the death of Timur, which extends from 807/1405 to 913/1507.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, after the destruction of cities in Timur's reign, his sons and grandsons rebuilt the cities as their seat of government and revived the urban centers in the economic and

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<sup>24</sup> Roemer, "Timur in Iran," 51-53.

<sup>25</sup> Hayrünnisa Akbıyık, "Timurluların Bilim ve Sanata Yaklaşımları ve Bazı Son Dönem Sanatkârları," *Bilig* 30, (2004): 153.

<sup>26</sup> Roemer, "Timur in Iran," 87.

<sup>27</sup> Roemer, "Timur in Iran," 96.

<sup>28</sup> Akbıyık, "Timurluların Bilim ve Sanata Yaklaşımları ve Bazı Son Dönem Sanatkârları," 153.

<sup>29</sup> H. R. Roemer, "The Successors of Timur" in *Cambridge History of Iran Volume 6 The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 98.

<sup>30</sup> Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 105.

<sup>31</sup> Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 98.

cultural spheres.<sup>32</sup> The appanage system was a crucial element regarding the material support for the cultural and intellectual development. The system was established for the creation of a new wealthy class and autonomous grandees who were beyond the state control. These people became major supporters and patrons of cultural activity.<sup>33</sup>

In that sense, the heritage of Timur continued during the rule of his successors. Before his death, Timur appointed his grandson Pir Muhammed b. Jahangir as his successor although his two sons, Miran Shah and Shahrukh, were still alive. His choice on appointing his grandson in his place was based on mental health problems of Miran Shah due to an accident and modest attitude of Shahrukh. On the other hand, Pir Muhammed could not receive any support for his rule and was murdered by his own vizier in 1407. The death of the appointed ruler caused the disintegration of political authority among other successors, who were appointed as governors of separate provinces. Furthermore, the claims over the conquered territories started by adversaries.<sup>34</sup>

After the murder of Pir Muhammed, the rule of Samarqand was taken over by Khalil Sultan, the son of Miran Shah. Shahrukh marched his troops from Herat, a city that he was governor of, to Oxus and did not challenge Khalil Sultan further. Yet Khalil Sultan also could not have enough support, instead, he created a big dissatisfaction due to the influence of his wife, Shad Mulk upon him as well as the existing famine. The loss of power led to the invasion of Samarqand by Shahrukh in 1409. After that Shahrukh appointed his son Ulugh Beg as the governor of Transoxiana. Shahrukh also gave the city of Ray to Khalil Sultan but he died soon after in 1411.

After the death of Khalil Sultan and the murder of Sultan Hüseyin and Pir Muhammed, all rivals of Shahrukh were eliminated and he became the successor of Timur. After

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<sup>32</sup>Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 133.

<sup>33</sup> Maria Eva Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases of Cultural Patronage Under the Late Timurids," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20, no. 4 (Nov., 1988): 480.

<sup>34</sup> Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 99.

firmly establishing his power, Shahrukh moved the capital from Samarqand to Herat, which was the center of his former province Khorasan.<sup>35</sup>

Shahrukh wanted to project the image of an Islamic ruler and his reign witnessed a cultural flourishing. This improvement in cultural life and intellectual achievement did rely on the patronage of Shahrukh, other members of the Timurid family as well and their courtiers. For instance, Baysunqur (d.1433) was a supporter of the calligraphy; Prince Iskandar funded mathematician and astronomer Ghiyasaddin Jamshid.<sup>36</sup> The rule of Shahrukh ended in 1447 after his death while he was in the road to suppress the rebellion of his grandson, Sultan Muhammed. His son Ulugh Beg ascended the throne as the only son of Shahrukh.<sup>37</sup> There is no doubt that Ulugh Beg is the best-known person regarding the intellectual activities in the Timurid rule. He is perceived as an intellectual ruler with keen interest in science. His writings on astronomy, astronomical tables, and his observatory gave him an unforgettable title as the “scholar on the throne”.<sup>38</sup> However, his political career was not successful compared to his intellectual side. Two years of his rule passed with struggles for the throne. In the end, he was murdered by his son Abdullatif.<sup>39</sup>

Abdüllatif was also interested in exact sciences like his father. He also had good relationships with religious circles and dervishes. On the other hand, his murder of Ulugh Beg was not positively received by amirs. Finally, he was murdered just after six months of reign in 1450. After the death of Abdüllatif, the son of İbrahim Sultan, Mirza Abdullah was released from the prison and enthroned. Similarly, Mirza Abdullah could not stand in throne due to the disapproval of religious men.

In the end Sultan Abu Said was freed from captivity. Abu Said defeated Chagatai amirs and captured Samarqand and ascended the throne. Abu Said had a longer rule that lasted nineteen years and consolidated his political power until 1468. Yet, the

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<sup>35</sup> Roemer, “The Successors of Timur,” 100-1.

<sup>36</sup> Roemer, “The Successors of Timur,” 105.

<sup>37</sup> İsmail Aka, “Timurlular”, TDVIA.

<sup>38</sup> Roemer, “The Successors of Timur,” 110-11.

<sup>39</sup> Aka, “Timurlular,” TDVIA.

territory that he ruled was incomparable to Timur's. He could only rule the western Turkistan, Khorasan, Mazandaran, and parts of contemporary Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the Turkmen polities, the Karakoyunlus and the Akkoyunlus, started to gain power in the Persianate lands. Finally, Jahan Shah, the ruler of Karakoyunlus invaded Herat in the 1458. While Abu Said on the road for the campaign to get back Herat, Jahan Shah had to go back to Tabriz because his son, Hasan Ali declared his independence, after he captured the city. An alliance was made after this event between Abu Said and Jahan Shah with the conditions of Timurids taking Khorasan back and Karakoyunlus keeping Irak-ı Acem, Fars and Kirman. This coalition also continued after the murder of Jahan Shah. Abu Said helped Hasan Ali to take revenge of his father's murder from Akkoyunlus, while he aimed to capture the region from the hands of Akkoyunlus in the west. Yet, Abu Said was taken captive in the campaign against the Uzun Hasan and was murdered in 1469. After the death of Abu Said, Hüseyin Baykara (d. 1506), the grandson of Ömer Sheikh, took Herat from Karakoyunlus in 1470 and made the city one of the intellectual and cultural centers in that time like Baghdad, Cairo, and Istanbul.<sup>40</sup> Even Hüseyin Baykara achieved to rule the region of Khorasan, the Timurid state was disintegrated to a much smaller state.<sup>41</sup>

Three rulers, Shahrukh, Abu Said, and Hüseyin Baykara had the chance to be on the throne. They also achieved to sustain stable rule in the region. Yet, even the internal problems could be suppressed partially, the external factors such as the rising power of Akkoyunlu as well as Karakoyunlu states in the west, and Uzbeks in the east (while having never-ending disputes on the throne) affected the political strength of the Timurids. Those conditions caused the absence of long-standing peace and prosperity.<sup>42</sup> It is a reasonable question to ask how the cultural flourishing could happen under the constant changes of the authority among the successors of Timur.

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<sup>40</sup> Aka, "Timurlular," TDVIA. Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 98-115.

<sup>41</sup> Akbıyık, "Timurluların Bilim ve Sanata Yaklaşımları ve Bazı Son Dönem Sanatkârları," 160-1.

<sup>42</sup> Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 134.

In other words, Timurids achieved to sustain cultural and intellectual patronage despite their struggle with economic problems.<sup>43</sup>

The cultural and intellectual improvement during political decentralization needs explanation.<sup>44</sup> The clarification could be done through '*soyurgal*'; a granted land that exempts from any taxation or administrative control as well as other forms of tax exemptions. The *soyurgal* system was used from the beginning of Shahrukh's rule.<sup>45</sup> The expansion of the *soyurgal* system related to the integration of the political authority in the fifteenth century. For instance, Abu Said gave tax immunities and *soyurgal* lands to his sons, religious figures and ruling elites to strengthen his power. The system of *soyurgal* was not applied only within the borders of the Timurid empire; the Akkoyunlu as well as Karakoyunlu princes and rulers also used the system and other favors to gain support from religious scholars, poets, and the ruling elite. The favors regarding tax exemption and granted lands brought the extended patronage of intellectual and cultural activities instead of the patronage of the state itself as one and only. The foundation of architectural monuments, supporting scholars, poets, artists, and musicians could be possible under the extended patronage system. In that sense, if the number of fiscal exemptions increased, the number of patrons also rose. It should be noted that these patrons lived in cities as 'absentee lords'. In that sense, it is not surprising the cities enjoyed the cultural flourishing brought by these absentee lords.

Another important point is the motivation of Timurid dynasty as a patron of the cultural and intellectual 'renaissance'. The main motivation could be gaining legitimacy of a dynasty that has prestigious Perso-Islamic culture in addition to steppe

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<sup>43</sup> For further information regarding financial problems and centralization attempts please see; Maria E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation In Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill Press, 2007), 74-99.

<sup>44</sup> Regarding the decentralization of the Timurids, it should be underlined that the control of the Timurids changed depend on the region because the administration of the state consisted of the capital like Herat, the major provincial capitals like Samarkand and Shiraz, which were ruled by princely governors and the secondary capitals like Yazd and Kirman that ruled by lesser princes and *emirs*. Besides, all these regional powers had their own court. For further information please see; Beatrice Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 111.

<sup>45</sup> Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 113.

traditions. During the reign of Timur, this motivation was carried out by himself and mostly focusing on the architectural patronage. With the reign of Shahrukh and the decentralization of the empire, the individual patrons like emirs and other member of the royal house also started supporting the architectural projects. During the rule of Sultan Hüseyin Baykara, while the number of soyurgical holders and privileged people increased, the patrons supported architectural activities in a smaller scale, literary activities, calligraphy, miniature painting, book production and metalwork. The role of the system could be seen in the second half of the fifteenth century because the Timurid princes were challenged by the patronage of their elites.<sup>46</sup>

It is accepted that the Timurid rule marked the end of the middle ages in the Middle East and initiated the long intellectual, cultural and religiopolitical processes that paved the way for the establishment of the territorial regional empires of the Safavids, Ottomans, and Mughals.<sup>47</sup>

### **2.1.3. The New Power Holders: Karakoyunlu and Akkoyunlu Dynasties**

The Turkmen dynasties, the Akkoyunlus and Karakoyunlus, came to eastern Anatolia from Transoxiana after Mongol invasion at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the second half of the century, both had achieved to established their rule, the Akkoyunlus in Diyarbakır (a region that contains the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates with the cities of Urfa, Mardin and Amid). The Karakoyunlus were able to capture the north-east part of Lake Van and the region north of Erzurum, and south of Mosul and took the city of Erciş as their center. There were different ethnic groups Armenians, Kurds, Aramaeans, and Arabs, but the Persian elements dominated the region. The rise of these dynasties opened a new phase that comprised of endless struggles between themselves and with their neighbors.<sup>48</sup> H.R. Roemer argues that these Turkmen dynasties represented the Turco-Persian culture. After Turkish groups

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<sup>46</sup> Subtenly, "Socioeconomic Bases of Cultural Patronage under the Later Timurids," 147-90. Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran*, 113-15.

<sup>47</sup> Judith Pfeiffer, "Introduction. From Baghdad to Marāgha, Tabriz, and Beyond: Tabriz and the Multi-Cephalous Cultural, Religious, and Intellectual Landscape of the 13th to 15th Century Nile-to-Oxus Region," in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th - 15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden, New York: Brill, 2013), 3.

<sup>48</sup> Roemer, "The Türkmen Dynasties," in *Cambridge History of Iran Volume 6 The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, 154. Mehmet Ali Çakmak, "Akkoyunlu-Karakoyunlu Mücadeleleri," *Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 3, vol. 25, (2005): 76.



accepted Islam, Persian culture had an influence on them. This influence was not a total adaptation or change. Rather, there emerged something different, Turco-Persian culture, “which is always to be found wherever Turks settled on Persian soil or wherever, after contact with Iranian lands and their cultural emanations, they appeared elsewhere.”<sup>49</sup>

During the reign of Jahan Shah, Karakoyunlus reached its peak point, that could only continue until his death. Besides, the conquests of the Jahan Shah, which indicated the increasing power of the dynasty in his reign, could not be long-lasting. The success of his campaigns came about as a result of the succession struggles among the Timurids after the death of Shahrukh. On the other hand, the long thirty-year reign of Jahan Shah brought the “imperial” vision to his dynasty as an independent power and ruled Khorasan from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. The rule of Jahan Shah brought cultural flourishment together with “the imperial vision.” He was eager to patronize the intellectual and artistic life. He supported many scholars and artists, and he also participated in the intellectual meetings personally.<sup>50</sup>

When it comes to Akkoyunlus, the turning point of their success happened in the reign of Jahangir. At the time, the Akkoyunlus were able to regain the parts of the region from the Karakoyunlus. However, in 1453, his brother Uzun Hasan captured Diyarbakır/ Amid and became the ruler of the dynasty. Uzun Hasan was one of the most successful rulers among the Turkmen rulers both as a military commander and a statesman. His marriage to the Comnenian princess in 1458, known as Despina Hatun, and the marriage of his sister Hatice Begüm Hatun with Şeyh Cüneyd, showed his will to consolidate power in the region through creating alliances with other powers. Besides, he could also aim to give a message to Mehmed II, the ruler of the Ottoman empire after his conquest of Istanbul in 1453 as a competitor. After several successful campaigns, Uzun Hasan started to be seen as a threat to his powerful neighbors: The Mamluks, the Ottomans, and the Karakoyunlus. The first encounter

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<sup>49</sup> Roemer, “The Safavid Period,” in *Cambridge History of Iran Volume 6 The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, 149.

<sup>50</sup> Roemer, “The Safavid Period,” 163-65.

was with the Karakoyunlus in 1467. However, in this campaign, Jahan Shah and his son Muhammed were killed, while his other son Abu Yusuf was blinded. The death of Jahan Shah ended the Karakoyunlu rule and the territory that they had ruled passed to Uzun Hasan.<sup>51</sup>

After the defeat of the Karakoyunlus, the Akkoyunlus started to have a central role in the Persianate lands together with the Timurids. The relationship between the Akkoyunlus and the Timurids was that of alliance since the time of Timur. However, after the defeat of Timurid Sultan Abu Said in 1469, Uzun Hasan decided to move his capital from Amid to Tabriz. This act showed that Uzun Hasan saw himself as the new ruler of Persia after the Ilkhanids, the Jalayirids, and the Karakoyunlus. The flux of the Turkmen population from Anatolia to the Persianate lands after the change of capital was also another important point regarding the Turco-Persian culture. Besides, the imperial capitals, such as Tabriz, became differentiated from other political and cultural centers, since the imperial program augmented the cultural and architectural projects that made intellectual activities possible and attracted learned men from abroad. For instance, during the rule of Uzun Hasan, there was a discussion on *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine by important scholars, some of whom came from other neighboring cities. Al-Nasriyya, a complex that contained a mosque, madrasa, kitchen and market with two gardens, started its foundation during the rule of Uzun Hasan and was completed during the reign of Sultan Yakub. It could be said that al-Nasriyya complex was an indicator of the imperial vision of Uzun Hasan. It is quite possible that the complex contributed to the importance of Tabriz as a center of knowledge.<sup>52</sup> The successor of Uzun Hasan, Sultan Yakub also patronized the famous poets around him; one of them was Molla Cami, an eminent scholar and a poet. Moreover, the miniature painting made progress during the reign of Sultan Yakub.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Roemer, "The Safavid Period," 169-73.

<sup>52</sup> İsmail Ertuğrul Ökten, "Imperial Aqqoyunlu Construction Of Religious Establishments In The Late Fifteenth Century Tabriz," in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in the 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden, Brill Press, 2004), 372, 380.

<sup>52</sup> Roemer, "The Türkmen Dynasties," 184.

<sup>53</sup> Faruk Sümer, 'Akkoyunlular,' TDVIA. For further information about the fall of the Akkoyunlus please see; *History of Iran Volume 6 The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, 183-84.

The flourishing of the intellectual environment under the rule of three Persianate powers, the Timurids, the Akkoyunlus and the Karakoyunlus, was a crucial factor in the context of scholarly mobility. As it is mentioned above, the primary aim of this chapter is setting the historical context of the scholarly mobility during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To achieve this aim, I first focus on the traditional intellectual centers in the Persianate lands that might shape the outgoing mobility from the Lands of Rum. Secondly, I will emphasize the incoming mobility from the Persianate lands, from the end of the fourteenth century to the first half of the fifteenth century. The ultimate purpose is grasping the general tendencies of scholarly mobility.

## **2.2. Intellectual Centers in the Persianate Lands**

The polities that was discussed above had a common feature: the understanding that multiple dynasty members collectively possessed the political realm. This paved the way for decentralization of those states due to succession struggles, it also replaced the idea of a single capital for a single *umma*. As a result, there were often multiple co-existing cities that had political and cultural importance. Under the rule of the Timurids, the Akkoyunlus, the Karakoyunlus, many cities emerged or re-emerged as the center of Islamic intellectual activities and diffusion of Islamic knowledge. Among these cities were Samarqand, Bukhara, Tabriz, Shiraz and Herat.<sup>54</sup> For instance, the tradition and the influence of three Timurid capitals, Samarqand, Herat and Tabriz, continued in the coming centuries under the control of Turkic dynasties, the Mughals, Safavids and Ottomans. For instance, the great Ottoman architect, Mimar Sinan, was probably under the influence of Timurid plans in his Ottoman mosques and tomb projects.<sup>55</sup>

Although the exact number of madrasas built in the Persianate lands in the fourteenth century is unknown, it is possible to say that many madrasas were under construction at the time. According to Hamdullah Mustevfi, there were more than five-hundred madrasa complexes that existed in the Persianate lands during the

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<sup>54</sup> For further information regarding Timurid rule please see, Pfeiffer, *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th - 15th Century Tabriz*, 5.

<sup>55</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 506-508.

fourteenth century. The number of madrasas built during the century were at least eight for Shiraz and four for Yazd. Giv Nassiri compares these statistical data and draws the conclusion that Persianate regions had a superiority in scholarly activities and Anatolia was not an attractive place for scholars in the fourteenth century.<sup>56</sup>

### **2.2.1. Tabriz**

Uzunçarşılı pointed out that Mongol invasion in 1243 caused fluctuations in intellectual, cultural and economic life in the Persianate lands. Yet, he also underlined that intellectual life started to flourish again after 1270s, which could continue from that point on under different political powers.<sup>57</sup> The Mongol Ruler, Abaka (r.1265-1281) made Tabriz his capital city, an administrative and cultural center in 1265. Through this decision of making Tabriz the capital city, Abaka attempted to settle down social and political turmoil that continued in the Persianate lands under the Mongol domination. The importance of Tabriz in regards to cultural and architectural aspects, continued during the age of his successors, especially with the reign of Ghazan (r. 1295-1304), the grandson of Abaka, and his vizier Reşidüddin. Reşidüddin and his successor and son built a quarter with great walls and amazing gardens, which is called Reb'i Reşidi or Şehrstan-ı Reşidi. There was a library, two mosques, a dervish lodge, hospitals and public baths, caravansaries in the quarter. Reşidüddin himself stated that there were around six thousand to seven thousand students and four hundred scholars, whose daily expenses were supported by the state in the quarter. The historian and who was close to the vizier, Vassaf emphasized that the books in the Reşidüddin's library were not just copied for the usage of its inhabitants but also sent to other libraries. The quarter was plundered twice after the death of Reşidüddin in 1318 and that of his son in 1336.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Giv Nassiri, "Turco-Persian Civilization and the Role of Scholars' Travel and Migration in its Elaboration and Continuity" ( PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 306-7.

<sup>57</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1984), 209.

<sup>58</sup> Karl Jahn, "Tebriz Doğu ile Batı Arasında bir Ortaçağ Kültür Merkezi," trans. İsmail Aka, *İTED IV/ 3-4*, (1971): 59, 63,65,67-8.

The importance of the Tabriz as cultural and intellectual center continued in the Jalayirid rule. The magnificent palace, Dawlatkhana, built by Sultan Uvays in the middle of the fourteenth century, was one of the architectural projects that reflected the imperial vision of Jalayirids by creating an astonishing capital. This royal residence and the center of government described by Clavijo, an ambassador of the papacy, as 'a great palace that surrounded by a wall, with a twenty thousand rooms.'<sup>59</sup> There was also the development of miniaturist school that reflected the highest rank in this field. When it comes to the Timurid rule, the imperial architectural projects were continued in the rule of Miran Shah. The madrasa of al-Ghiyathiyya was built by Shahrukh's vizier, Ghiyath al-Din Pir Ahmad in 1444.<sup>60</sup>

After the Timurid age, the cultural and intellectual advancement of Tabriz continued under the Turkmen states. The complex of al-Muzafferiyye and Masjid-i Kabud was part of the imperial project of the Karakoyunlus during the reign of Jahanshah. Jahanshah and his wife Begum Khan built madrasas.<sup>61</sup> He was interested in intellectual matters and patronized a large number of scholars and poets.<sup>62</sup> One of the most prominent scholars of the time, Celaeddin Devvani was a *mudarris* in the madrasa of Jahanshah.<sup>63</sup>

The transfer of Akkoyunlu capital from Amid to Tabriz initiates a new phase in the history of Tabriz. Akkoyunlus built imperial complexes, which contained mosques, madrasas, baths, gardens and also helped the construction of Sufi complexes. In this respect, they continued the tradition of monumental construction and religious patronage of Timurids.<sup>64</sup> The complex of al-Nasriyya was one of the most important of these structures, which started under the patronage of Uzun Hasan and finished

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<sup>59</sup> Patrick Wing, *The Jalayirids Dynastic State Formation In The Mongol Middle East* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 81.

<sup>60</sup> Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, 230. Ökten, "Imperial Aqqoyunlu Construction of Religious Establishments In The Late Fifteenth Century Tabriz," 374-75.

<sup>61</sup> Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, 230.

<sup>62</sup> Roemer, "The Türkmen Dynasties," 165.

<sup>63</sup> Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, 224.

<sup>64</sup> Ökten, "Imperial Aqqoyunlu Construction of Religious Establishments In The Late Fifteenth Century Tabriz," 384.

during the reign of Sultan Yakub. The complex had a mosque and a library and had fifty-eight workers. In conjunction with this generous patronage, there were many scholars around Uzun Hasan; such as Ali Kuşçu, İdris Bitlisi, Mahmud Can, Tahranlı Molla Ebubekir, Kadı Mesihüddin, İsa Savcı.<sup>65</sup>

When the Safavids established their rule in Tabriz, despite their Shiite affiliation, they adapted the Timurid heritage in the western Iran.<sup>66</sup> All in all, it could be said that Tabriz continued its existence as an intellectual center, despite the changes in rulers of the city. According to Judith Pfeiffer, diversity and frictions in opinions and institutions facilitated the advancement in the scholarly milieu in Tabriz.<sup>67</sup>

### **2.2.2. Herat**

As for Herat as an intellectual center, the reign of Shahrukh (d.1447) was an important era for the city. He ruled for forty-two years rather peacefully compared to his father Timur's chaotic age. Shahrukh's political and military success enabled him to change the capital from Samarqand to Herat in 812/ 1409. According to Ertuğrul Ökten, the replacement of the capital during Shahrukh's reign was related to Shahrukh's will for different power base than Timur's capital.<sup>68</sup> Subtelny and Khalidov interprets the change of the capital as Shahrukh's attempt to emphasize Sunni Islam as opposed to the Turco-Mongol customary law and radical Shi'ite groups through choosing a city which had a strong Islamic intellectual tradition and practice. Besides, it is quite possible that Shahrukh's self-perception of being caliph of the whole Islamic world or "the renewer of Islam (*mujaddid*)" played a role in choosing a Khorasani city as the capital. For instance, the coinage that issued during his reign had a statement that "May God perpetuate his caliphate." In a sense, the reign of Shahrukh can be seen as an era of the transformation of the state ideology, as

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<sup>65</sup> Ökten, "Imperial Aqqoyunlu Construction of Religious Establishments In The Late Fifteenth Century Tabriz," 377.

<sup>66</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 507.

<sup>67</sup> Pfeiffer, "Introduction. From Baghdad to Marāgha, Tabriz, and Beyond: Tabriz and the Multi-Cephalous Cultural, Religious, and Intellectual Landscape of the 13th to 15th Century Nile-to-Oxus Region," 6.

<sup>68</sup> İsmail Ertuğrul Ökten, "Jami (817-898/1414-1492): His Biography and Intellectual Influence in Herat" (Chicago University, Phd diss., 2007), 50.

exemplified by the change of the capital.<sup>69</sup> His rule was referred as the golden age, the last peak point regarding intellectual superiority in Central Asia, that started to decline at the end of the fifteenth century. This cultural advancement was accompanied with the economic development of Herat as an entrepot to India, hence flourishing in Indian trade. Thus, Herat flourished throughout the fifteenth century as the political and cultural center of Central Asia, Iran, the majority of Middle East, and India.<sup>70</sup>

The building of intellectual projects was indicative to understand the scholarly environment in Herat. Shahrukh built a madrasa in his name in 813/ 1410-11. The curriculum of the Shahrukh's madrasa was *ulum-i Islam* (Islamic sciences), including *fiqh*, (jurisprudence), *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis) and *hadith* (Prophetic tradition). The library of madrasa also had books on theoretical and practical jurisprudence (*usul* and *furu'*) as well as rational sciences. The first four professors were Jalal al-Din Yusuf Awbahi (d.833/ 1430), Jalal al-Din Yusuf Hallaj (d.823/ 1420) and Nasir al-Din Lutfullah Kjwaja 'Azizullah (d.823/1420) and Nizam al-Din 'Abd al Rahim-i Yar-Ahmad (d.828/1425).<sup>71</sup>

Another project of madrasa building was undertaken by his wife, Gawharshad in 826/ 1432-33. This madrasa was called Musalla, and served young female students.<sup>72</sup> Another royal member, who contributed to Herat's intellectual and cultural development was the son of Shahrukh, Baysungur. He founded the royal library, which was the first one after the Mongol Era in Central Asia. Together with the library, there was also a center for copying, ornamenting and binding of manuscript books. The *Kitabkhana*, book shop had forty copyists. Starr argues that besides the establishment of intellectual institutions, such as madrasas and libraries, and the reproduction of rare books in exclusive editions, Baysungur did not interest himself

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<sup>69</sup> Maria Eva Subtelny and Anas B. Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shah-Rukh," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no.2 (1995): 211-12.

<sup>70</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 485-87.

<sup>71</sup> Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shah-Rukh," 213

<sup>72</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 487.

with minds or ideas but things as his grandfather, Timur. His intellectual interest was restricted to producing antiquarian books like *Shahname*.<sup>73</sup>

It should be underlined that official higher educational centers could not give the whole picture of the intellectual environment in Timurid Herat. Education could be informally transmitted from teacher to student. However, it did not have to be bound to a certain institution and it could be taken at several places like private homes, shops, and tombs etc. On the other hand, increasing the importance of *ijaza*, the license of transmitting knowledge, the institutional ties became crucial in large intellectual centers like Herat.<sup>74</sup>

“The great ages” of Herat was not restricted to the era of Shahrukh. The material and intellectual advancement, which had begun from the reign of Shahrukh, continued for three decades and achieved its ultimate point under the rule of Hüseyin Baykara, who hosted luminaries such as Ali Şir Nevayi (d. 1501), Abdurrahman Cami (d. 1492) and Hüseyin Vaiz-I Kaşifi (d. 1504/5) in his court. Baykara could sustain sufficient peaceful conditions for Herat. Babur wrote about Baykara as a great warrior, intellectual man, and famous patron of arts.<sup>75</sup>

All in all, the intellectual heritage of Herat was consisted of Islamic thought and artistic tradition. This heritage also passed to Safavids and Ottomans in later centuries.<sup>76</sup>

### **2.2.3. Samarkand**

Timur at the beginning of his rule gave importance to city of Kesh and wanted to make it an intellectual center of Central Asia. He transferred scholars from Khahrezm, Bukhara, and Fergana to Kesh. In time, however, Samarqand took the place of Kesh

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<sup>73</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 490.

<sup>74</sup> Subtelny and Khalidov, “The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shah-Rukh,” 214.

<sup>75</sup> Roemer, “The Successors of Timur,” 121, 125.

<sup>76</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 514.



as Timur's capital.<sup>77</sup> The will of making Kesh the center might be based on the fact that it was Timur's homeland. Yet, according to Babur, the potential of Samarqand was much more than Kesh's.<sup>78</sup> Timur's desire to create a permanent settlement gives insights about his imperial project.<sup>79</sup> Timur also founded a city which is called *Dīmaşk* near Samarqand.<sup>80</sup> The name of the city, which means "big city", indicates that Timur wanted to challenge the important cities around the Islamic world. He created his capital Samarqand by means of architectural projects, art works, and intellectual achievements. This cultural flourishment became possible through the forced migration of scholars, artists, craftsmen, poets from the conquered lands to Samarqand. As a result of this influx to Samarqand, there was a cultural development with the interaction of mostly Persianate, but also Turkish and Mongol elements.<sup>81</sup> Frederick Starr argues that Timur did not show great interest in recruiting scientists, scholars, and men of letters, poets or bards. Instead, he focused his attention on collecting artisans because his main interest was in showing his own power and greatness through monumental buildings. Besides, Timur gave attention to trade activities and made Samarqand the dominant center with Chinese trade.<sup>82</sup> Yet, there is no reason to assume that the improvement of the city stayed only in the material level. The amount of book production in the fifteenth century Samarqand indicates the density of the scholarly activities. For instance, 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Tirmidhī, a copyist, made 714 copies of sixty-eight different books mentioned in his list. In other words, besides the aesthetic features of the books such as calligraphy, binding or ornamentations, the material production of books should have fulfilled the necessity of the market.<sup>83</sup>

Ulugh Beg sustained an intellectual environment of Samarqand for many years. As the grandson of Timur, he grew up under the shadow of his grandfather. He traveled

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<sup>77</sup> Arminius Vambery, *History of Bokhara* (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1979), 204-5.

<sup>78</sup> Akbıyık, "Timurluların Bilim ve Sanata Yaklaşımları ve Bazı Son Dönem Sanatkârları," 154.

<sup>79</sup> Roemer, "Timur in Iran," 46.

<sup>80</sup> Akbıyık, "Timurluların Bilim ve Sanata Yaklaşımları ve Bazı Son Dönem Sanatkârları," 155.

<sup>81</sup> Roemer, "Timur in Iran," 97.

<sup>82</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 481-82, 485.

<sup>83</sup> Mehmet Arıkan, "The Reproduction and Circulation of Knowledge in Islamic Civilization: The Example from Fifteenth Century Samarqand," *Nazariyat: Journal for the History of Islamic Philosophy and Science* 4, (2017), 119.

through Persianate lands due to military campaigns. During these travels, he had a chance to visit the Nasir al-Din Tusi's old observatory at Maragha. Although the observatory was abandoned and in bad condition, he was inspired by it. He is known as "the scholar on the throne" and his studies on astronomy gave him a great reputation, such as *Zij-i Ulugh*. The *Zij* contained three hundred pages of charts with quantitative data and location of nine hundred ninety-two stars.<sup>84</sup> There were reputable scholars, especially astronomers and mathematicians who worked with Ulugh Beg such as Qazizade Rumi, Mas'ud Kashi, Ala' al-Din Qushchi and Mu'in al-Din Kashani.<sup>85</sup> He attended in lectures and engaged in discussions with professors and students.<sup>86</sup>

Ghiyath al-Din Jamshid wrote about the 1420s' Samarqand intellectual atmosphere as follows:

In Samarkand are now to be found the most illustrious scientists and a great many professors teaching all the sciences. Most of them are concerned with mathematics. Four of these people have at present managed to complete only half of a commentary on *Comparisons Regarding Arithmetic*, another has written a treatise on the geometric proof of the question of the two errors. Kadizade Rumi, who is the most knowledgeable among them, has composed a commentary on [the astronomer] Chagmini, and others on *Well-founded Propositions*. Many astronomers and experts in computation have also gathered there.<sup>87</sup>

The construction of madrasa of Ulugh Beg started in 1417 and completed in 1421.<sup>88</sup> In addition, in 1421, the construction of observatory was started. Frederick Starr underlines that in the field of astronomy the age of Ulugh Beg reached its peak point in the Timurid era. Ulugh Beg financially supported ten thousand students at twelve different institutions, and five hundred of these students specialized in mathematics. The curriculum of the madrasa of Ulugh Beg focused on exact sciences, particularly

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<sup>84</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 493,497.

<sup>85</sup> Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 111.

<sup>86</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 495.

<sup>87</sup> Peter Zieme, "The Search for Knowledge through Translation: Translations of Manichean, Christian and Buddhist Literature into Chinese, Turkic, Mongolian, Tibetan and Other Languages," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: the Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century the achievements Part2*, ed. C.E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 2000), 41-2.

<sup>88</sup> Lütfi Göker, *Uluğ Bey: Rasathanesi ve Medresesi* (Ankara: Elif Matbaacılık, 1979), 92-93.

mathematics and astronomy. Frederick Starr also suggests that due to the wide-ranging interests of Ulugh Beg, history, literature, and music could also be in the curriculum in addition to religious courses. The foundation of the library also helped to make all these fields reachable for the scholars in Samarqand.<sup>89</sup> The madrasa became a center of many branches of science until the death of Ulugh Beg in 1451.<sup>90</sup> After his death scholars who were specialized in religious fields, and were upset on the emphasis placed on rational sciences, reorganized the madrasa and attacked the observatory.<sup>91</sup>

#### 2.2.4. Bukhara

Robin Magowan states that, unlike Samarqand, which settled in caravan crossroads, Bukhara has always had to rely on the products of his own hands and brains to survive. Yet, his reputation in learning in the Middle Ages made students come from all over the world.<sup>92</sup> As the great cities of Central Asia, Samarqand, Khiva, and Bukhara were outstanding intellectual centers.<sup>93</sup>

Starr argues that the Mongol invasion between 1219-1222 affected destructively the intellectual environment of Bukhara with a nomadic rupture. The inhabitants of Bukhara did not give the city to Chinggis Khan and fought against him. Due to their opposition, the Mongols killed the inhabitants and destroyed the city.<sup>94</sup> The renovation of the city happened in a long time due to internal debates and lack of professional workers. When the famous traveler, Ibn Battuta mentioned Bukhara after a century of conquest, he wrote that the madrasas, mosques and market places were still in ruin. This destruction also led to the migration of intellectual class. For instance, the father of Ibn Sina had to leave Bukhara for his son's education.<sup>95</sup> Yet,

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<sup>89</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 493.

<sup>90</sup> Göker, *Uluğ Bey: Rasathanesi ve Medresesi*, 104.

<sup>91</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 497.

<sup>92</sup> Robin Magowan, *Fabled Cities of Central Asia: Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva* (London: Cassell and Company, 1990), 99.

<sup>93</sup> C.E. Bosworth, M. S. Asimov, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: the age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century the achievements Part 2*, 6.

<sup>94</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 436,445.

<sup>95</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment* , 465-66.

one might assume that the destruction of the architectural buildings or institutions did not destroy all the intellectual tradition that existed for centuries.

The revival of Bukhara happened with the Sufism. Sheikh Seyfeddin Bakharzi came to Bukhara and founded a madrasa that was based on Sufi thoughts. Later on, Bahauddin Naqshband Bukhari (1318-1389) spread the Sufi thought through the existing of both earthly and after life, 'faith and law'. After his death, his spiritual and intellectual heritage, mosques and schools were continued by the rulers.<sup>96</sup>

It could be said that Bukhara played a relatively unimportant role regarding political power in the reign of Timur.<sup>97</sup> Yet the reign of Ulugh Beg brought another phase to the city with the foundation of madrasas. In the end, Bukhara became famous as a center of mathematics and natural sciences.<sup>98</sup> The traveler Hanikov noted in the nineteenth century, there were eighty rooms in one of the madrasas of Ulugh Beg and still functioned.<sup>99</sup>

After the death of Abu Said, the Timurid lands divided into two power realms; Khorasan and Transoxiana. In Khorasan, the capital was accepted as Herat and the governor was Husein Baiqara. On the other hand, there was not one center in Transoxiana and every town had its own governor and Sultan Ali Mirza (d.1501) was a governor of Bukhara.<sup>100</sup> In that sense, Bukhara can be seen as semi-autonomous city that had its own intellectual environment without having a political role like being a capital.

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<sup>96</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 473-75.

<sup>97</sup> Yuri Bregel, "Bukhara iii. After the Mongol Invasion," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. IV/ 55, 515-521; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bukhara-iii> (accessed online at 18 August 2019).

<sup>98</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 509.

<sup>99</sup> Wilhelm Barthold, *Uluğ Beg ve Zamanı*, trans. İsmail Aka (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015), 123.

<sup>100</sup> V. A. Kapranov, "Texts of Middle Persian (Pahlavi) Lexicography," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: the age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century the achievements Part2*, 354.

### 2.2.5. Shiraz

Shiraz had lost its importance as an intellectual center at the beginning of the twelfth century. Yet, with the long rule of the Salghurids, Shiraz regained its cultural supremacy. Turkish rulers and their Iranian ministers provided both security and patronage to buildings, the arts and scholarship. Hence, Shiraz turned into a flourishing center of Islamic culture. They also had architectural programs that enabled the city to become a center of government and learning.<sup>101</sup> This regaining importance continued with the presence of scholars during the time of the Mongols and later the Timurids.<sup>102</sup>

There were eight madrasa building projects held in between the years of 1303-1397, in the post Ilkhanid period: madrasa of Karduchin (built in 1303), Madrasa of Darb Nukirman (built in 1303), Madrasa of Sadat Tawil, who died in 1323, Madrasa of Amidiya (built in 1331), Madrasa of Shahi (built in 1331), Madrasa of Najibiya (built in 1353), Madrasa of Muzaffariya (built in 1338) and Madrasa of Masudiya (built in 1387).<sup>103</sup>

The intellectual activity in the fourteenth and fifteenth century Shiraz was very high.<sup>104</sup> It can be assumed that the Ilkhanid intellectual heritage might have facilitated these activities in later period.<sup>105</sup> That the two towering figures of the fourteenth century, Taftazani and Cürcani, lived in Shiraz shows the importance of the city at the time. It should also be noted that Cürcani left Samarqand for Shiraz after Timur's death.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> John Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez: The Glory of a Medieval Persian City* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 16-17.

<sup>102</sup> Nassiri, "Turco-Persian Civilization and the Role of Scholars' Travel and Migration in its Elaboration and Continuity," 391-92.

<sup>103</sup> Nassiri, "Turco-Persian Civilization and the Role of Scholars' Travel and Migration in its Elaboration and Continuity," 307.

<sup>104</sup> Nassiri, "Turco-Persian Civilization and the Role of Scholars' Travel and Migration in its Elaboration and Continuity," 392.

<sup>105</sup> Ökten, "Jami (817-898/1414-1492) His Biography and Intellectual Influence in Herat," 252-53.

<sup>106</sup> Ökten, "Jami (817-898/1414-1492) His Biography and Intellectual Influence in Herat," 60-61.

Table 2.1. A list of Important Madrasas in the Persianate Lands During the Fourteenth Fifteenth Centuries

Name of madrasa	City	Date	State/ Patron
Al-Ghiyathiyya	Tebriz	1444	The Timurids/ vizier of Shahrukh
Madrasa of Shahrukh	Herat	1410-1	The Timurids/ Shahrukh
Madrasa of Musalla	Herat	1432-3	The Timurids/ Shahrukh's wife
Madrasa of Ulugh Beg	Samarkand	1421	The Timurids/ Ulugh Beg
Al-Nasriyya	Tabriz	Finished in the reign of Sultan Yakub	The Akkoyunlus/ Uzun Hasan
Madrasa of Jahanshah	Tabriz	1465	The Karakoyunlus/ Jahanshah
Madrasa of Begüm Khan	Tabriz	Finished in the reign of Jahanshah	The Karakoyunlus/ Jahanshah's wife

As it is mentioned above, there were important centers in the Persianate lands and all of them had long intellectual traditions through centuries. The existence of famous scholars and well-established institutions with the support of patrons made these cities attractive places for young students. The outgoing mobility from the lands of Rum as well as other parts of Islamic world was natural consequence. The intellectual weakening of Central Asia happened with the decrease of patronages. Besides, the political instability and decreasing power of rulers as it mentioned above, the demolishment of local and regional royal courts affected the intellectual patronage more adversely.<sup>107</sup> In the next chapter, the influence of increasing of new powers and how they reshaped the intellectual centers and the scholarly mobility will be discussed.

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<sup>107</sup> Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 528.

## CHAPTER 3

### SCHOLARLY MOBILITY BETWEEN ACEM AND RUM DURING THE EARLY OTTOMAN PERIOD

#### 3.1. Outgoing Scholarly Mobility

An astonishing scholar, Alaeddin Esved is an example of outgoing mobility from Rum to Persianate lands. Alaeddin Esved was born in Afyonkarahisar and received educated in Persianate lands. When he came back to Anatolia during the reign of Orhan Bey, he was appointed as the mudarris of Iznik madrasa. He raised two important students, his son Hasan Pasha and Şemseddin Fenari.<sup>108</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know in which center in the Persianate lands Alaeddin Esved received his education. On the other hand, his appointment after the return from Persianate lands in the madrasa of Iznik, the most prestigious in his time, shows the prestigious feature of his education.

Another scholar, Molla Alaeddin Rumi went to the Persianate lands and became a student of Cürçani and Taftazani. Additionally, it is known that he also went to Cairo for educational purposes. Taşköprizade noted that he had a booklet, where he collected questions from different fields.<sup>109</sup> Although the information about Molla Alaeddin Rumi is limited, it could be assumed that he might have received his education either in Shiraz or Samarqand because both of his teachers, Taftazani and Cürçani taught in these cities.

Another important scholar was Kadızade Rumi, who had received his education in the Persianate lands. His original name was Musa Çelebi or Musa Paşa. He was raised by his grandfather, Kadı Mahmud Çelebi, hence had pseudonym of Kadızade. He first received in education from his grandfather and the famous scholar, Molla Fenari

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<sup>108</sup> Ahmet Özel, "Alaeddin Esved," TDVIA. Ahmed Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi'Ulama al-Dawla al-'Uthmaniyya*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985), 9.

<sup>109</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 47.

(Şemseddin) in Bursa. Then, he went to Konya together with one of his grandfather's student, Bedreddin Simavi to become a student of Müneccim Feyzullah in the field of astronomy. At the beginning of the 1400s, Kadızade decided to go to Khorasan and Transoxiana with the encouragement of his teacher Molla Fenari even facing the opposition from his family. He became a student of Molla Seyyid Şerif el-Cürcani from 814/1411. Kadızade met with Ulugh Beg in Samarkand and continued his career as a tutor of Ulugh Beg. Then he became the head of the madrasa or *başhocalık*, and teacher of Ulugh Beg while being head of the observatory of Samarkand. İhsan Fazlıoğlu argues that Kadızade helped the diffusion of knowledge in his motherland through encouraging his students such as Fethullah Şirvani and Ali Kuşçu. As such, he contributed to the Ottoman intellectual establishment and gained a place in Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi's *Al-Shaqa'iq*.<sup>110</sup>

Molla Alaeddin Koçhisari was went to Persianate lands for his education. He became a student of Cürcani and Taftazani. After completing his education, he returned to lands of Rum and became *mudarris* in one of the madrasas.<sup>111</sup> However, there is no detailed information on Alaeddin Koçhisari. It can be assumed that similar to Alaeddin Rumi, his possible destination for education was either to Shiraz or Samarqand as he studied under Cürcani and Taftazani.

The grandson of Molla Fenari, Molla Alaeddin Ali Çelebi b. Yusuf Bali was one of the famous scholars in the age of Mehmed II. He traveled to Persianate lands in his youth. He first received his education in Herat and then moved to Samarkand and Bukhara for further education. He received the title of *mudarris* from the Persianate scholars. According to Taşköprizade, he returned to the land of Rum due to homesickness. Another narrative of Taşköprizade is that Molla Gürani told Mehmed II, in order to reach the perfection of the sultanate, he should not abstain from patronizing Alaeddin Ali Çelebi, one of the descendants of the family of Molla Fenari. For this reason, immediately after his return from the Persianate lands, Mehmed II gave him Madrasa of Manastır with the salary of fifty *akçes*. Then, he received a position of

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<sup>110</sup> İhsan Fazlıoğlu, 'Kadızade Rumi,' TDVIA. Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 14-5.

<sup>111</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 105-6.



Madrassa of Muradiyye and the judgeship of Bursa in sequence. Lastly, he became a kazasker for ten years. When Beyazid II ascended the throne, he became kazasker of Rumelia for eight years.<sup>112</sup>

Another scholar from the age of Mehmed II was Molla Şemseddin. He was born in Aydın and first went to the Persianate lands and then Arab lands for his education. When he returned to the Ottoman lands, he attended the gatherings of Mehmed II and became close to the sultan. Yet he was dismissed from the palace due to his improper behavior.<sup>113</sup> The bad fortune of Molla Şemseddin caused him to continue his life in poverty. On the other hand, being a part of the palace community indicates that his education produced a prestigious position when he returned to his homeland.

Molla Melihi was another scholar who was educated in Persianate lands. He was also born in Aydın and went to Persianate lands in seeking an education and became classmates with Molla Jamii. He settled in Istanbul upon his return, but became a wine addict.<sup>114</sup> In this case as well, there is a lack of information about his education place. Yet, it is known that Jamii received education firstly in Herat and then Samarqand. It could be said that Molla Melihi could have received an education in either of the cities. Similar to Molla Şemseddin, he could not sustain his prestigious life.

Table 3.1. The List of Outgoing Scholars in the Foundation Period of the Ottoman Empire

Name of the scholar	Birthplace	Place of Education	Last Appointment	The rank of the position
Alaeddin Esved (d.800/1387)	Afyonkarahisar	The Persianate lands	Madrassa of Iznik	High rank
Molla Alaeddin Rumi (jonattan brown)-molla hüsrev semp		The Persianate lands (Shiraz or Samarkand*)	unknown	

<sup>112</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 210-11.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, 216.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, 217.

Table 3.1. (continued)

Kadizade Rumi (after 844/1440)	Bursa*(since his teacher was Molla Fenari )	Maragheh, Samarkand	Madrasa and observatory of Ulugh Beg	
Alaeddin Koçhisari	Aydın	The Persianate lands (Shiraz or Samarkand*)	Unknown Ottoman madrasa	
Molla Alaeddin Ali Çelebi (Fenari Allaeddin) (d.903/1497)	Bursa	Herat, Samarkand, Bukhara	Kadiasker	High rank
Molla Şemseddin	Aydın	The Persianate and Arab lands		
Molla Melihi	Aydın	The Persianate lands (either Herat or Samarkand*)		

As the book Taşköprizade's *Al-Shaqa'iq* is a selection of high ranking scholars, it is not amenable for a statistical analysis of the intellectual life in the Ottoman lands. Yet, the presence of information about outgoing scholars in the source is telling. Taşköprizade's selection of the scholars who received education abroad yet could not achieve the high position in official posts, like Molla Melihi and Molla Şemseddin, produces the question of their value. I think that receiving an education outside the Ottoman lands made scholars distinguished from others. Hence, the presence of these names in the *Al-Shaqa'iq*, highly selective list, should increase our attention to mobility for seeking of knowledge in the Ottoman intellectual history. Secondly, the cases of Alaeddin Esved, Kadizade Rumi, Molla Alaeddin Fenari might indicate that receiving an education in the Persianate lands increased their chance to have an important role in the Ottoman intellectual system. Lastly, the example of Alaeddin Rumi may also show the importance of becoming a student of famous scholars because there was not any information about his career or work. In that sense, his distinguishing feature, which brought about his inclusion in *Al-Shaqa'iq*, was his outgoing mobility for seeking knowledge in the Persianate lands.

### 3.2. Incoming Scholarly Mobility to the Lands of Rum

On basis of the evidence in the Taşköprizade's and Atayi's biographical dictionaries, it is possible to say that the number of incoming scholars was higher than that of outgoing scholars. The Ottomans needed the immigrant scholars for the higher education until the early fifteenth century because the Ottoman territorial domain expanded through non-Muslim lands so that there were not any indigenous scholars there.<sup>115</sup> Hence, the necessity of incoming scholars and their contribution deserves attention. For this kind of analysis, one of the main difficulties is lack of the information on the origin of scholars or their last place of settlement before coming to the lands of Rum.

One of the important scholars coming from the Persianate lands was Meccuddin el-Firuzabadi. He was born in 729/1328-29 in Kazerun. He traveled all over Anatolia , and recieved lessons from different scholars. Eventually, he specialized in the fields of Hadith, Tafsir and linguistics. He went to the Ottoman lands during the time of Sultan Beyazit I. Taşköprizade compared Sultan Beyazid and Timur regarding their attitude towards Firuzabadi. He said that while Beyazit gave him plenty of wealth, Timur gave him five thousand dinar. Taşköprizade also noted that, when he went to any city, the governors coddled him. He died in 817/1415 when he was qadi in Zabid, Yemen. Taşköprizade included him into a group whom he called "reisler (pioneers)," who specialized and became dominant in their respective fields. Firuzabadi specialized in the field of linguistics.<sup>116</sup>

Molla Burhaneddin Herevi was a scholar that came to the Ottoman lands and stayed during the reign of Mehmed I. He was a student of Taftazani..Taşköprizade mentioned that he saw Herevi's hashiyye on the book of Taftazani, *Sharh al-Kashhaf* , which responded the objections of Cürcani to Taftazani.. Aşıkpaşazade refered to him when he wrote about the execution of Sheikh Bedreddin in 823/1420. According to this record, Herevi was one of the scholars that gave fatwa regarding the

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<sup>115</sup> Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* ( Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 32.

<sup>116</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 29.

execution. Some contemporary scholars also argue that Herevi was the head of the judicial process for Bedreddin. Taha Boyalık's recent study on Herevi's *Sharh al-Kashhaf* gives more information about his life. According to Herevi's work, he first went to Serahs and met with Taftazani and became a student of him. Then due to the disorder in the city, both of them left the city and Herevi went first Herat and then Shiraz. Finally he came to Bursa. He died in the 830/1427. From his notes, it is reasonable to say that he found the peaceful and appropriate environment for scholarly studies.<sup>117</sup>

Another scholar coming from the Persianate lands was Molla Abdülvacid b. Mehmed. He was also one of the famous scholars during the time of Sultan Beyazıt I. He became *müdarriş* in Madrasa of Kütahya when he arrived to the Rum. The madrasa was named after him as Madrasa of Vacidiye. He specialized in *Tafsir* and *Hadis*.

From the reign of Mehmed I, Molla Fahreddin Acemi (d.865/1460-61) was one of the dignitary scholars. There was not much information about his early life. It is known that he got his early education in Persianate lands. Taşköprizade said that he was a student of Seyyid Şerif Cürçani. He came to Anatolia in 820/1417 during the reign of Mehmed I. When he came to Anatolia, he first took *Hadith* lessons from Molla Burhaneddin Haydar Herevi, who also came from the Persianate lands, and received *ijaza*. Then he became teaching assistant (*muid*) of Mehmed Shah Fenari in the Madrasa of Sultaniyye. He became the *müfti* of Edirne, the capital city of Ottoman Empire, in 834/1430-31 under the rule of Murad II with the payment of thirty *akçes* (asper). He continued his duty as a *müfti* for more than thirty years. Although his date of death is not known, his position was given to Molla Abdülkerim around 870/1465-66, thus, his death could be close to this date.<sup>118</sup>

Molla Ali Tusi was one of the important scholars who came from Persianate lands to the Ottoman domain. Taşköprizade wrote that he was the master of scholars during

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<sup>117</sup>M. Taha Boyalık, "Haydar el-Herevi'nin I. Mehmed'e İthaf Ettiği *el-Keşşaf Şerhi*'nin Tespiti ve Eserin Literatür, Biyografi ve Tarih Alanlarında Sunduğu Veriler," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 54, (2019): 1-26. Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 59.

<sup>118</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 59. Cahit Baltacı, "Fahreddin-i Acemi," TDVIA.

Murad II reign. He received his education in the Persianate lands and had a good reputation in Samarkand. After that, he came to Anatolia in the late years of Murad II's reign. Murad II showed interest in him and appointed him as the *mudarris* of his father's madrasa in Bursa (Madrasa of Çelebi Mehmed) with a salary of fifty *akçes*. When Mehmed II conquered Constantinople, he converted eight churches to madrasas and one of them was given to Ali Tusi. Moreover, Mehmed II gave him a village close to the city, which is called later as Village of Mudarris (Müderris Köyü). When the construction of Sahn Madrasas finished, Ali Tusi was appointed to one of eight madrasas as *müderris*. His final appointment in the Ottoman lands was Madrasa of Muradiye in Edirne with hundred *akçes* and then he returned to Persianate lands. According to Taşköprizade, the reason for his decision of going back to his motherland resulted from Mehmed II's request from Molla Hocazade Muslihiddin and Molla Ali Tusi each to write a book about *Gazzali's Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers) and to compare the ideas of philosophers and Gazzali. Both scholars wrote their books and received ten thousand *akçes*; from the sultan. Yet, Hocazade's book became more reputable among ulama and Mehmed II additionally gave him a hinny. Ali Tusi first went to Tabriz and then Samarqand and became a follower of Sheikh Ubeydullah Ahrar. He continued his life as a sufi and died in 887/1482.<sup>119</sup>

Molla Seyyidi Ali Acemi was another scholar who came from Persianate lands. According to Taşköprizade, he might have been a student of Cürçani. When Seyyidi Ali Acemi came to Anatolia, he first settled in Kastamonu under the patronage of Ismail Beg. After a while, he went to Edirne and Murad II gave him a post in Madrasa of Yıldırım Beyazid in Bursa. He lived in Bursa until the reign of Mehmed II. It is known that he participated in meetings with other scholars in the presence of Mehmed II and made intellectual discussions.<sup>120</sup>

Molla Fethullah Şirvani was an example of incoming mobility towards the lands of Rum. He was born in Şamahı in Shirvan around in 820/1417. He started his education with his father and continued in Serahs and Tus. He became a student of Seyyid Ebu

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<sup>119</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 97. Mustafa Öz, "Alaeddin Tusi," TDVIA.

<sup>120</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 101-2.

Talib in Meşhed-I İmam Ali er-Rıza in Tus. Although Taşköprizade wrote that he first became the student of Seyyid Şerif Cürçani, Cemil Akpınar opposed this view because the date of his death and birth made it impossible for them to meet. Şirvani went to Samarkand in 839/1435 and received education in the Madrasa of Ulug Beg and became a student of Kadızade Rumi. After five years of his education in Samarqand, he returned to Shirvan in 844/1440. He followed the advice of his teacher, Kadızade Rumi, and went to lands of Rum during the era of Murad II. When he arrived in Kastamonu, Ismail Beg showed him great respect so that Fethullah Şirvani stayed in Kastamonu and gave lessons in the madrasas. Although Taşköpriade wrote that he died at the beginning of Mehmed II reign in Kastamonu, the compilation of his books indicated that he had to die in later years. He wrote a book *Tefsiru Ayeti'l-kürsi*, in 857/1453 in Bursa dedicated to Çandarlı Halil Pasha. Although there is no information about how many years he stayed in Bursa and his intention, it is known that his intention at the beginning of his travel from Transoxiana was to reach the Ottoman lands. He also dedicated another book to *Mecelle fi'l-musiki* to Mehmed II. He started another journey in 870/1465 to go to Hajj and stayed in Vasit, Mecca, and Cairo. Although he came back to Istanbul from Cairo after 880/1475 and he decided to return to his homeland Shirvan in 883/1478.<sup>121</sup>

The common feature of the incoming scholars is that they came to Ottoman lands in search of posts in the ilmiyye system, an Ottoman learned establishment. Neither of the scholars had been educated in the Ottoman lands. Secondly, the positions of the incoming scholars should not directly attribute to the popularity of the Persianate educated scholars. The background of scholars and personal capability are not known exactly. The important point in these cases is that they succeeded in becoming part of the Ottoman intellectual environment. Besides, almost all of them had important positions. The case of Firuzabadi can be interpreted as an example of the intellectual environment and flux of scholars among the Islamic empires. In other words, the shared knowledge of the same texts made it possible for scholars to travel in search

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<sup>121</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 107-8. Cemil Akpınar, "Fetullah eş-Şirvani," TDVIA.

of knowledge or patronage.<sup>122</sup> Another important point regarding the reciprocal mobility among Persianate and Rum lands is the existing personal networks among scholars as in the case of Fethullah Şirvani as well as Ali Kuşçu and their connection with Kadızade Rumi.

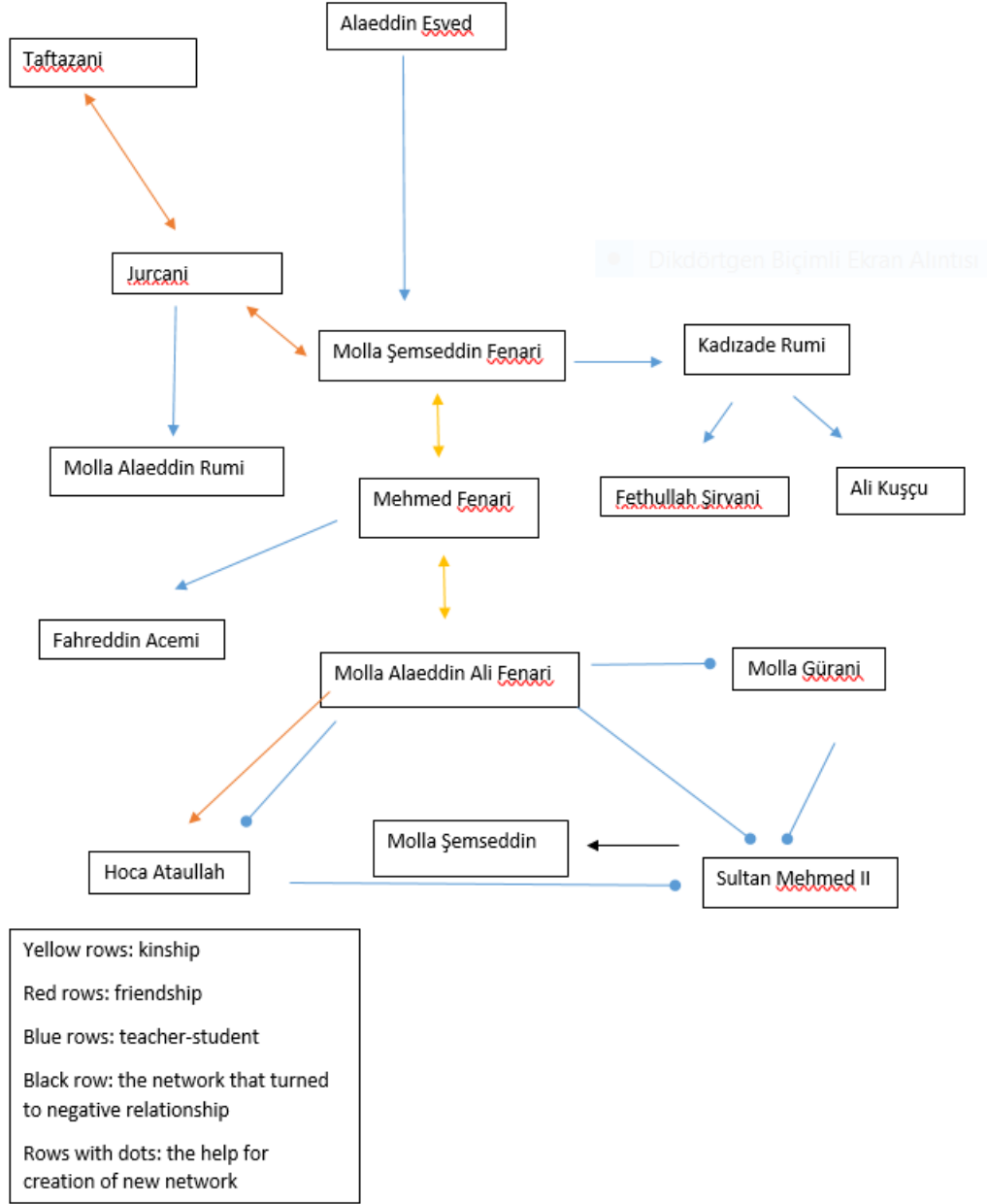
Table 3.2. Incoming Scholarly Mobility in the Foundation Period of the Ottoman Empire

The name of the scholar	Birthplace	Place of education	The last position in the Ottoman lands
Mecduddin el-Firuzabadi (717/1415)	Kazerun	Shiraz, Baghdad, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Cairo, Mecca	Mudarris in Zebid
Molla Burhaneddin Haydar Herevi	Herat	Persianate lands	
Molla Abdülvacid		Persianate lands	Madrasa of Vacidiyye (Kütayhya)
Molla Fahreddin Acemi (865/1460)		Persianate lands	The mufti of Edirne
Ali et-Tusi (887/1482)	Tus		Madrasa of Muradiyye (then he returned the Persianate lands)
Molla Seyyidi Ali el-Acemi		Persianate lands (Shiraz or Samarqand*)	Madrasa of Beyazid
Fethullah Şirvani	Shirvan	Samarqand	Madrasa of Kastamonu

All in all, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, it can be said that both the incoming scholars who taught and worked in the Ottoman lands and the outgoing scholars who acquired education outside the Rum advanced the Ottoman intellectual tradition through sustaining high level education.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Francis Robinson, "Ottoman-Safavid-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective System," *Journal of Islamic Studies* vol.8, no. 2, (1997): 1.

<sup>123</sup> Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 35.



Graph 3.1: Social Network of Scholars



## CHAPTER 4

### THE LANDS OF RUM AS A CENTER OF ATTRACTION

*Bu şehri İstanbul ki bi misl ü behâdir  
Bir sengine yek pâre Acem mülkü fedâdir  
Nedim*

This chapter questions how the Ottoman lands became a center of attractions despite of its newly flourishing intellectual environment and which factors in the Persianate lands encouraged the Persianate scholars to leave their homelands. I think answering these questions is important to see transformation of intellectual centers and its relation with the political developments in the Islamic world.

#### **4.1. Mehmed II's Intellectual Patronage in Constantinople**

Until the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman ideology and political system struggled with the ambiguity and vagueness.<sup>124</sup> After the conquest, the self-perception of Ottomans as well as the legitimization of their rule in the eyes of their rivals changed. The main reason of this change came from the belief of Prophet Muhammad's praise of the conqueror of Constantinople and his victorious army. Hence, after the conquest, Mehmed II represented himself as conqueror and holy warrior for the spread of Islam, *jihad*, in the arena of Islamic world. Additionally, the capture of Constantinople for the Ottomans meant that they were also the carriers of the legacy of the Byzantine Empire and even the Roman Empire. It is clear that with the conquest of the city, the Ottoman polity transformed from a post-Mongol principality to an early-modern empire. One of the main desires of Mehmed II in this new phase was creating a centralized imperial administration under his autocratic rule.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 27.

<sup>125</sup> Abdurrahman Atçıl, "The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship" (Phd diss., The University of Chicago, 2010), 67-69. One of the interesting points regarding the conquest of Istanbul was that the contemporary historians did not mention the conquest with great happiness in their works. Feridun Emecen explains this issue with three possible reasons. The first one is the unadvanced historiography that lack of detailed information even for important events. The second

Additionally, the *fetihnames*, issued after the conquest, to the ruler of Karakoyunlus, Jahan Shah and the ruler of Mamluk Sultanate, İnal, can indicate Mehmed II's message to other Muslim rulers. The reason of conquest mentioned in these *fetihnames* as a continuation of holy war, *gaza* tradition and the necessity of the capturing the city for territorial integrity together with the importance of the conquest from the religious point of view. Besides, the difficulty of the conquest and the consensus of scholars (*ulama*) and ruling class (*vüzerâ*) for conquest were also underlined.<sup>126</sup> It might be said that Mehmed II gave the message to his rivals in the Islamic world that he achieved what others could not and new era just started.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, after the conquest, a new era also started regarding the relationship between Ottoman state and the scholars. This new era can be seen and understood with the imperial program of Mehmed II under architectural and institutional projects. It could be said that the main idea was the foundation of new madrasas, higher educational institutions, in the new capital and creating a new intellectual attraction center. One of the ultimate goals of these madrasas was attracting scholars from all over Islamic lands.<sup>127</sup>

Before the conquest, the madrasa system in the Ottoman Empire emerged as a continuation of Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate and Anatolian principalities. The first madrasa was founded during the reign of Orhan Gazi in İznik in 1331. The foundation of madrasas continued especially during the reign of Beyazid I. He also established first *daru'ş-şifa* and *daru'l-kurra*. The highest number of madrasas were constructed during Beyazid I's reign in his name during the formation period. According to Mustafa Ali, Beyazid I also introduced first student code in the Ottoman Empire.

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possible cause is the works were written during the reign of Beyazid II, which might have brought concerns not to praise the former ruler, Mehmed II. The last reason may have related to the opposition to Mehmed II from the disappointed groups who could not benefit from the conquest. For further information, please see; Feridun M. Emecen, *İstanbul'un Fethi Olayı ve Meseleleri* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), 51-65. For further information, please see; Feridun M. Emecen, *Fetih ve kıyamet: 1453 İstanbul'un fethi ve kıyamet senaryoları* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2012).

<sup>126</sup> Emecen, , *İstanbul'un Fethi Olayı ve Meseleleri*, 53-54.

<sup>127</sup> Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 59.

While the acceleration in terms of foundation of madrasas was interrupted during the era of interregnum, it continued in the rule of Murad II.<sup>128</sup>

Table 4.1 Madrasas constructed in the reign of Orhan Gazi (r. 1326-1359)

Name of the Madrasa	Place
Madrasa of Orhan Gazi	İznik
Madrasa of Süleyman Paşa	İznik
Madrasa of Mevlana Alaaddin	İznik
Madrasa of Orhan Gazi	Bursa
Madrasa of Orhan Gazi (in aşağı şehir)	Bursa
Madrasa of Lala Şahin Paşa	Bursa
Madrasa of Akça Abad	Akçe Ova Nahiyesi
Madrasa of Süleyman Paşa	İzmit

Table 4.2 Madrasas constructed during the reign of Murad I (1359-1389)

Name of the Madrasa	Place
Madrasa of Hayreddin Paşa (Darülhadis)	İznik
Madrasa of Hüdavendigâr	Bursa
Madrasa of Esemiye	Bursa
Madrasa of Hüdavendigâr	Tuzla

Table 4.3 Madrasas constructed during the reign of Beyazid I (1389-1402)

Name of the Madrasa	Place
Madrasa of Ali Pasha	Bursa
Madrasa of Ebu İshak	Bursa
Madrasa of Gülçiçek Hatun	Bursa
Madrasa of Eyne Bey	Bursa
Madrasa of Eyne Bey Subaşı	Bursa
Madrasa of Ferhadiye	Bursa
Madrasa of Molla Fenari	Bursa
Madrasa of Vaiziye	Bursa
Madrasa of Yıldırım	Bursa
Madrasa of Yıldırım	Alaşehir
Madrasa of Beyazid I	Amasya
Madrasa of Yıldırım	Balıkesir
Madrasa of Yıldırım	Bolu
Madrasa of Oruç Paşa	Dimetoka
Madrasa of Timurtaş	Kütahya
Madrasa of Firuz Bey	Milas
Madrasa of Yıldırım Bayezid	Mudurnu
Madrasa of İbn-i Melek	Tire

<sup>128</sup> Cahid Baltacı, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri: teşkilat tarih* (İstanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1976), 71-73.

Table 4.4. Madrasas constructed in the reign of Mehmed I

Name of the Madrasa	Place
Madrasa of Çelebi Mehmed (Eski Cami)	Edirne
Madrasa of Mehmed I	Amasya
Madrasa of Hacı Halil Paşa	Merzifon
Madrasa of Çelebi Mehmed	Merzifon
Madrasa of Hisariye	Tokat

Table 4. 5. Madrasas constructed in the reign of Murad II (1421-1451)

Name of the Madrasa	Place
Madrasa of Rükneddin	İznik
Madrasa of Fazlullah Paşa	Bursa
Madrasa of Hacı İvaz Paşa	Bursa
Madrasa of Kara Hasan Paşa	Bursa
Madrasa of İsa Bey	Bursa
Madrasa of Muradiyye	Bursa
Madrasa of Beylerbeyi	Edirne
Madrasa of Darülhadis	Edirne
Madrasa of Kürd Hoca	Edirne
Madrasa of Şah Melek	Edirne
Madrasa of Üç Şerefeli	Edirne
Madrasa of Şeyh Şüca	Edirne
Madrasa of Oruç Paşa	Edirne
Madrasa of Saruca Paşa	Edirne
Madrasa of Halebiye	Edirne
Madrasa of Umur Bey	Afyonkarahisar
Madrasa of Yörgüç Paşa	Amasya
Madrasa of Hibetullah	Bergama
Madrasa of Umur Bey	Bergama
Madrasa of Murad II	Çorum
Madrasa of Kula Şahin	Filibe
Madrasa of Saruca Paşa	Gelibolu
Madrasa of Balaban Paşa	Gelibolu
Madrasa of İshak Fakih	Kütahya
Madrasa of Kasapzade Ali Bey	Malkara
Madrasa of Kasapzade Mahmud Bey	Malkara
Madrasa of Şeyh Paşa	Mudurnu
Madrasa of Hacı İvaz	Tokar
Madrasa of İshak Bey	Üsküp
Madrasa of Turhan Bey	Larissa

Source: Mustafa Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri*<sup>129</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Mustafa Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1984).

As it can be seen from the charts the number of madrasas could not be underestimated. The foundation of madrasas from the early period was a conscious decision. The necessity of it was appreciated among the Anatolian principalities. Scholars could teach advanced topics and also deal with the administrative tasks as legal experts. These features made scholars valuable because they had the ability and the knowledge to sustain a state. Yet, it should be remembered that scholars did not belong to any group or class. They had the individual authority to choose or find the ruler, who could benefit from their service. Hence, for attracting the scholars and creating better administration, Anatolian principalities made investment to madrasas and patronized scholars under their rule. The construction of madrasas in the Ottoman realm until Mehmed II reign might be evaluated from this perspective. Besides, the madrasas that were founded by the Ottoman sultans and the other member of the family especially in İznik, Bursa and Edirne underlined 'the prestige of the ruling family.'<sup>130</sup> In other words, the patronage for the madrasas was one of the tools for governance.

As it is mentioned in the previous chapter the intellectual centers in the Persianate lands had a great tradition, if one compares it with the fledgling Ottoman madrasas. The turning point in the Ottoman madrasa system happened in the era of Mehmed II with an imperial vision. The first attempts for the foundation of madrasas in Istanbul started with the conversion of the churches. The madrasa of Ayasofya was established after the conversion of church to the mosque and priests room to the madrasa. Additionally, one building was built near the mosque after 1453. The first *mudarris* of the madrasa was Molla Hüsrev, one of the most famous scholars in this era.<sup>131</sup> Another madrasa that was converted from the church was madrasa of Zeyrek. Mehmed II turned Pantokrator Church, with fifty-five rooms into a madrasa in 1453. He appointed Molla Zeyrek as a *mudarris*.<sup>132</sup> The conversion of the Byzantine churches to mosques or madrasas could be understood as the Islamization of the city.

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<sup>130</sup> Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 22-23, 30.

<sup>131</sup> Baltacı, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 752.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*, 746.

When it comes to the architectural projects of Ottomans, the madrasa of Eyup was the first establishment of Mehmed II in 1459. After the conquest of Constantinople, Akşemsettin, a mentor of Mehmed II and a religious man, found Eyup Ensari's grave with spiritual insight. Then the tomb was built around it in 857/1453. Then the construction of madrasa, soup-kitchen, mosque and bath house was completed in 863/1459.<sup>133</sup>

There is no doubt that the foundation of Sahn madrasas was the most astonishing evidence of Mehmed II's imperial project. It can be seen as a turning point in the improvement of the Ottoman intellectual system. The madrasa was founded as a huge complex near the ruins of the Church of Holy Apostles and cemetery of Byzantium emperors. The complex consisted of a mosque, eighty madrasas, hospital (*darü's-şifa*), primarily school, eight *tetimme* (prep-school for higher education), libraries, bathhouses, soup-kitchen and barns. The foundation of madrasa started ten years after the conquest of Constantinople, in 867/1463 and completed in 875/1470. The construction of madrasas started before the other units of the complex. This issue may be evaluated as the construction of madrasas was primary the concern of the sultan. The madrasas were placed in two sides of the mosque. The four of them to the side of the Sea of Marmara called "Akdeniz madrasas," the other four madrasas were placed on the side of the Golden Horn is called "Karadeniz madrasas." There was a classroom and nineteen residential rooms in each madrasa. Fifteen of them were for students, two of them for *muids* and the last two rooms were for servants. According to Cahit Baltacı, if one assumes that each room was reserved for one student, there were one hundred twenty students that were *leyli* category (boarding students) in Sahn madrasas.<sup>134</sup>

The construction of such a huge complex with eight madrasas all at the same time, ten years after the conquest of Constantinople is important point to understand Mehmed II's imperial project. First of all, it may indicate that amelioration of new capital necessitated a certain time. Yet more importantly, as an unprecedented idea

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid, 422.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, 612-13.

of the decision of building eight madrasas at the same time should show Mehmed II's desire to challenge his contemporaries. The sultan provided the highest wages while establishing fruitful intellectual environment to show the charm of the new Ottoman capital. Hence, the foundation of the Sahn madrasas was concrete sign of the wish of the Ottoman sultan to attract scholars around the Islamic world. Furthermore, the sultan also encouraged the dignitaries for charitable works that can help the population increase while sustaining a prosperous city in the long term. Yet, when the political stability was established in their mother lands (Iran, Khorasan, Transoxiana, Syria, Egypt etc.) they chose to go back. The decision of coming to Ottoman lands as a resting place in their career may be related to relative political stability in the Ottoman lands. On the other hand, the Persianate and Arab lands had richer intellectual environment with a long tradition. It could be said that the aspiration of Mehmed II may be explained with the awareness of the inferior position of the Ottoman cities compared to other Islamic intellectual centers such as, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Tabriz, Samarqand, Bukhara, Shiraz and Herat. Hence, the inferiority of the Ottoman cities was tried to overcome with defeating the Roman Empire and having Constantinople as the capital city with a huge investment on the intellectual environment. Mehmed II also believed that incoming scholars from the Persianate lands and from the courts of the Timurids, who were the peak point of the intellectual patronage, could demonstrate the increasing importance of the Ottoman state. The sultan invited the most astonishing scholars from his era to the Ottoman lands, Mahmud Gilani, Abdurrahman Jami, Celaleddin Devvani and Fethullah Şirvani. Even if he could not convince them to settle, he could establish close relationships with them.<sup>135</sup> Such was the case of Celaleddin Devvani; even he did not come to the Ottoman lands, he sent a book to the sultan as a gift.<sup>136</sup>

Also, many others became aware of the rising importance of the Ottoman state. The capture of Constantinople might change their perception of the Ottomans as an "empire". The main reason for this awareness rooted in the fact that Mehmed II

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<sup>135</sup> Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 52, 63-4.

<sup>136</sup> Harun Anay, "Devvani", TDVIA.

achieved a goal that previous Muslim rules had failed: the conquest of Istanbul.<sup>137</sup> The example of Ali Kuşçu is indicative in that sense. He came to Ottoman lands by rejecting the patronage of Timurid and Akkoyunlu state. In the Ottoman lands, he received fame and reputation, and was appointed to highest madrasas. In fact, he could achieve these same opportunities in the Timurid and Akkoyunlu states. The Ottoman patronage under Mehmed II for the high-ranking famous scholars was highly welcoming. However, how much it could differentiate the Ottoman lands from other Islamic lands is a crucial as well as an arguable question.

Can we say that Ali Kuşçu was a prudent man and had the courage to take risks? Or his decision can be explained through the socio-political changes in the Islamic world in fifteenth century. Although the personal character of the Ali Kuşcu remains a very interesting question, I believe that the turmoil in the Persianate lands in political, religious and social sphere should be investigated.

#### **4.2. The Socio-political Environment in the Persianate Lands**

The age of successors of Timur have been mentioned in previous chapter. The main characteristic of their era can be defined as the disintegration of the territorial units under Timur's sons and grandsons and being powerful rulers in their separate territories. This relatively political stability under Timur's successors has begun to change after the death of Ulugh Beg in 1449. A great-grandson of Timur, from the lineage of Miran Shah, Abu Said b. Muhammed (b.1424) was proclaimed as a new ruler. Abu Said became successful in internal political stability by defeating his competitors in 1451. On the other hand, his success was also restricted to area of Khorasan, Mazandaran and some parts of today's Afghanistan. In other words, the territorial disintegration had continued and the restitution of the Timurid Empire remained impossible.

Besides, Roemer argues that the new political actors in the geography changed the destiny of Timurids as it was mentioned in the previous chapter. First, the conflicts

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<sup>137</sup> Fahri Unan, "Official Ottoman Ideology and Its Science Institutions in the XV and XVIth Centuries: Fatih Medreses," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 29, (1963), 207.



between Babur of the Mughal Empire and Jahan Shah of the Karakoyunlus, threatened the viability of Timurid rule. There were also continued disputes among successor of Timur. For instance, when Abu Said conquered Balkh, Babur replied to this with the invasion of Transoxiana in 858/1454 from Herat to the siege of Samarqand. So, the control over the Persianate lands was shaken by new power holders and the domination of Timurids over for almost all Persianate lands in 856/1452.<sup>138</sup>

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the political and religious authority in the Persianate lands were distributed as Karakoyunlus (1378-1469) in Tabriz and Timurids in Herat and Samarqand. Yet, after that period the Akkoyunlus (1378-1502) started to increase their power and created a sedentary state with a Perso-Islamic administration in Diyarbekir region. In 1467, Uzun Hasan, the leader of the Akkoyunlu state, defeated the Karakoyunlus and killed the ruler Jahan Shah in Sanjaqin Chapakchur region.<sup>139</sup> Jahan Shah's death meant an end to the political power of the Karakoyunlu.<sup>140</sup>

Uzun Hasan also conquered the area in Georgia, eastern Anatolia and northwestern and central Iran through displacing Timurids from the west of Herat. It is important to note that, Uzun Hasan and Akkoyunlu state was Sunni Muslim, similar to their descendants and contemporary Muslim empires. Hence, they also supported the Sunni Muslim institutions and religious orders in their territorial domain. This support can be seen as the result of the Uzun Hasan's imperial ideology that argued superiority of the Akkoyunlus over the Islamic states as the descendant of Timur.<sup>141</sup> Around the time of the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the new political and religious actor, Safavid dynasty started to emerge in eastern Anatolia and northwestern Iran. Safavids had their origins in a religious order, established by

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<sup>138</sup> Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 111-113. For further information please see; John E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu Clan, Confederation, Empire* ( Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press: 1999).

<sup>139</sup> Stephan Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 63-65

<sup>140</sup> Roemer, "The Successors of Timur," 173.

<sup>141</sup> Vural Genç, "Timur'u Geçmek: Akkoyunluların Osmanlılara Karşı Üstünlük İddiaları," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 54, (2019), 27-55.

Sheikh Safi al-Din (1252-1334) near Ardebil.<sup>142</sup> The transformation from a religious order to militant religio-political movement happened during the rule of Sheikh Junayd (r.1447-1460).

The political and religious power of the Safavids could be seen as a threat to the Akkoyunlu ruler, Yakub. Due to this reason, Yakub imprisoned two sons of Haydar and later killed one of them. The second son, Ismail had a chance to escape and became a refugee in a small Shi'i area in northern Iran. As a young man (14 or 16 years old), Ismail could gather enough followers around him as the leader of the Safavids.<sup>143</sup> It is essential to underline that Ismail was not promoted by his descent of Akkoyunlu to gather supporters. His main message was Shi'i messianic ideology and his family's Sufi lineage.<sup>144</sup>

While the Akkoyunlu started to lose power due to throne disputes after the death of Sultan Yakub in 1490, the Timurid power in the Persianate lands was also interrupted and dissolved with the fall of Abu Said.<sup>145</sup>

Ismail's religious belief became clearer when he together with his followers sieged the Akkoyunlus' capital of Tabriz in 1501.<sup>146</sup> After this victory, Ismail ascended the throne and took the title of Shah. Then, he advertised Shi'a creed as a state religion. This was the beginning of the Shi'i Muslim empire in the Persianate lands which lasted until 1736. The foundation of Safavids was important for the Persianate lands because political stability that was sustained by Karakoyunlus and Akkoyunlus lasted for a short period. In that sense, with the Safavid era the western part of the Persianate lands acquired a stability which was comparable with the Ottoman empire or Mamluk empire.<sup>147</sup> On the other hand, the state religion of Shi'i creed was

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<sup>142</sup> Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*, 63-65.

<sup>143</sup> Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization vol. 3 The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 22.

<sup>144</sup> Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*, 6-7.

<sup>145</sup> Roemer, "The Safavid Period," 210.

<sup>146</sup> Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*, 69

<sup>147</sup> Roemer, "The Safavid Period," 189, 193.

important character of the Safavid dynasty and changed the political, religious and cultural traditions of the Persianate lands as well as the Islamic world. Although the Ottomans became a major empire and the Uzbeks established power in Oxus basin, they were not able to intervene in the Persianate lands.<sup>148</sup> When it comes to the Mamluks, it lived through political fragmentation due to rapid changes in the throne after the death of Sultan Qayitbay in 1496. In the end, it is seen that the political environment in the beginning of the sixteenth century was suitable for the rise of the Safavids.

The success of Ismail to sustain political power over the Akkoyunlu territory and rest of the Persianate lands gave rise to the question of attitude toward the native Sunni population. Although there were cities like Kashan and Qum with Shi'i population who accepted the new ruler positively; in other parts of his domain he faced challenges to his rule. The tradition of folk-Islam and the reputation of Ismail as a charismatic ruler with messianic belief and continuous propaganda of Shi'ism created more favorable environment but there was no reason to think that conversion of the population from Sunni creed to Shi'i creed happened overnight. In Baghdad and Herat Ismail suppressed the population who refused to convert with brutality through executing theologians, scholars and poets. Even long after the formation of the Safavid rule, the Sunni population practiced their creed in secret.<sup>149</sup>

From Ismail I, the force for the conversion of inhabitants to Shi'ism was handled as a state program. Shah Ismail ordered the people under his rule to display their conversion to Shi'i creed and their loyalty to the new rule publicly through ritual of cursing first three caliphs. This ritual of cursing, *tabarra*, started to be made in mosques and public places with long lists that included ninety people (such as Sunni caliph Harun al-Rashid and Naqshbandi sufi Abd al-Rahman Jami).

This attitude towards the Sunni population increased the tension between the Ottomans and the Safavids. While the hostile position of Ismail I towards the

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<sup>148</sup> Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam vol. 3*, 6-17. Roemer, , "The Safavid Period," 210

<sup>149</sup> Roemer, , "The Safavid Period," 210, 218.

Ottoman Empire started from the beginning of 1500s, Beyazid II did not prefer an armed struggle. Instead, he sent letters to warn Ismail I to stop the persecution of Sunnis in order for the relation between two states to flourish.<sup>150</sup> Yet, Şahkulu Rebellion changed the Ottomans' position in 1511. The war ended with the suppression of the rebellion and the death of the leader, Şahkulu. On the other hand, the rebellion increased the will of armed struggle for both states, especially after the accession of Selim I in 1512. The rebellions that were caused by Safavids, the rebellion of Nur Ali Halife and the Şehzade Ahmed, might explain this attitude. The fatwas, which were given by Hamza Saru Görez and Kemal Paşazade, about the Safavids gave idea about Ottoman notion regarding Safavids. In both fatwas, the status of the Safavids were accepted as heretics and nonbelievers and underlined that the men of the Safavids should be killed as well as their properties, wives and children were considered a war booty. The tension ended with the battle of Çaldıran in August 22, 1514. The Ottomans were able to secure the territory in eastern Anatolia with the help of capturing Diyarbakır and Erzincan. Hence, the conquest of Tabriz became possible. The city surrendered peacefully in September 5 in 1514. The Safavids recaptured the city only a month later from the Ottomans. Yet, the Safavids had to take defensive position towards the Ottomans after 1514. The defensive position was also related to the failure in struggle against the Uzbeks for the lands of Transoxiana.<sup>151</sup>

The foundation of the Safavids might be seen as a Turkmen rule of the western Persianate lands, which led to the great interruptions due to violent introduction of the Shi'ism as state religion in a messianic form under the power of Shah Ismail. The disruption affected the Sunni population through obligations of cursing the first three caliphs. The destruction of Sunni tombs and mosques underlined the change and the disengagement from the earlier traditions and intellectual connection. In the end, the Shi'i rule of the Safavids could be established with the immigrant Shi'a scholars from the Arab lands and the military power of Turkmen. After this establishment, the

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<sup>150</sup> Adel Allouche, *Osmanlı-Safevi İlişkileri*, trans. Ahmet Emin Dağ (Istanbul: Anka Yayınları, 2001), 96.

<sup>151</sup> Allouche, *Osmanlı-Safevi İlişkileri*, 111-133.

discontinuity between the eastern and western parts of the Islamic world also began.<sup>152</sup>

In the treaty of Amasya in 1555, the Ottoman rule in Iraq, including Baghdad and Kurdistan, as well as the replacement of capital of Safavid Empire from Tabriz to Qazvin concluded. Yet, during the reign of Tahmasp , Shi 'i establishment gained strength in Iran.<sup>153</sup> Tahmasp himself made pilgrimage to Imam Riza's tomb at Mashhad in Khorasan, ordered the restoration of other Shi'i tombs, organized Ashura ceremonies for the anniversaries of martyrdom of Prophet Muhammed's grandson Husayn and commissioned a writing of Şahname with an impression of Shi'ism.<sup>154</sup> He also took precautions like forbidding poetry and music which did not praise Ali and Twelve imams. Extortion, intimidation and harassment against the Sunni population and in other ways promoting Shi'i creed in daily life was another regulation. The massive execution of Sunnis took place in 1608, during the reign of Shah Abbas. The execution of Sunni people in a relatively late period shows that existence of Sunni Islam continued in the Safavid domain and conversion was a gradual process.<sup>155</sup>

The struggle between two powers, the Ottomans and Safavids, was not shaped only by the Sunni versus Shi'i contradiction. According to Kevserani, this dichotomy was only one of the layers of their fight. As in the case of other international relations, there were other concerns. There were concerns related to protection of territorial domain, economic concerns regarding the reciprocal trade and trade routes after the exploration of Cape of Good Hope and the new continent, as well as the worldwide economic crisis in the sixteenth century. Besides, the fight for grasping strategical locations also constituted their rivalry. The cities, like Erzurum, Tabriz, Musul, Baghdad were the focal points of the wars between the Ottomans and the

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<sup>152</sup> Hamid Algar, "Some Observations on Religion in Safavid Persia," *Iranian Studies* 7, (1974): 290-92.

<sup>153</sup> Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 28. Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* , 90.

<sup>154</sup> Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* , 90-91.

<sup>155</sup> Rosemary Stanfield Johnson, "Sunni Survival in Safavid Iran: Anti-Sunni Activities during the Reign of Tahmasap I," *Iranian Studies* 27: 1-4, (1994): 123, 126, 131.

Safavids.<sup>156</sup> Besides, the supporters of Ismail I in the Anatolian lands was a big threat for the Ottoman rule in their homeland.<sup>157</sup>

The account of Mirza Mahdum Şerifi (d. 995/1587), a religious scholar and vizier of Tahmasp from 1568-69 to 1576 and *sadr* during the reign of Ismail II, is interesting to understand the conversion of Persianate lands. He defined himself as a Sunni Muslim and had fled to the Ottoman lands after the death of Ismail II in 1577. He completed his work on events during Tahmasp reign in Qazvin and Safavid court, *al-Nawaqid li-bunyan al-rawafid* in 1580 and dedicated it to the Ottoman Sultan, Murad III. He wrote that in Sunni cities like Qazvin, Shiraz and Hamadan, there was a significant and growing Shi'i population. Similarly, in the Shi'i cities like Qazvin, Sunni population continued to exist. Besides, Mirza Mahdum Sharifi mentioned the challenges Sunni population encountered in the Shi'i state. However, as his own case indicates, there could be different attitudes towards wealthy and poor Sunnis. According to Stanfield Johnson, Tahmasp could consider that challenging the Sunni people who had wealth and prestige was politically unreasonable movement.<sup>158</sup> This showed that during the sixteenth century the religious orientation of inhabitants of Persianate lands was still changing.

From the point of social fluctuations regarding the religious orientation together with the state program, the role and the place of Shi'i scholars should have a great importance for the Safavids. The major Shi'i centers were in Arabic lands, particularly Lebanon and cities of Iraq, Najaf and Karbala as well as the Eastern coast of Arabian Peninsula, Bahrayn.<sup>159</sup> Due to this reason, shahs of the Safavid dynasty invited Shi'i ulama from these Arabic speaking territories. The religious scholars of Jabal Amil had appreciable place in this mobility of Shi'i scholars to the Safavid domain. There is a notion in current historiography that there should be a deficiency of Shi'i scholars in

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<sup>156</sup> Vecih Kevserani, *Fakih ve Sultan: Osmanlı ve Safeviler'de Din-Devlet İlişkisi*, trans. Ramazan Yıldırım (Istanbul: Yeni Zamanlar, 2006), 67-69.

<sup>157</sup> Allouche, *Osmanlı-Safevi İlişkileri*, 76.

<sup>158</sup> Stanfield Johnson, "Sunni Survival in Safavid Iran: Anti-Sunni Activities during the Reign of Tahmasp I," 124-26, 131-2.

<sup>159</sup> Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, 24.

the formation period of the Safavid rule because their domain was in previously Sunni dynasties' territories. On the other hand, Abisaab underlines from the contemporary chronicles that there were sufficient number of qualified religious scholars at the time of Ismail I, yet they were not among the highest-ranking jurists of Twelver Shi'ism.<sup>160</sup> This deficiency fulfilled with the attempts of Safavid rulers to attract Amili scholars who were renowned in legalistic Shi'ism. In the end, several Amili families from scholarly backgrounds who suffered a threat of execution from the Mamluk and Ottoman rule had tendency to move to Safavid domain during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.<sup>161</sup> The Karaki family played a crucial role during this stage. They had a family-based tradition of learning and regional networks.<sup>162</sup> Ali Karaki had special authority to appoint prayer leaders who were in charge of spreading Shi'ism in every town. His grandson became the chief jurist in original Safavid shrine in Ardebil and also continued his duty in Qazvin in 1563.<sup>163</sup>

Persianate lands experienced different rule of political powers from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century. Yet, these political changes created transitions among different Muslim empires, rather than great ruptures. It is obvious that the declaration of Shi'i Islam as a state religion in the Safavid rule started a new era in the Persianate lands. Yet, the interaction with previous and contemporary Muslim empires continued even in the form of an opposition or a challenge. For instance, the book production in traditional centers of Tabriz, Shiraz and Herat continued with a twist in style of Safavid era. Ismail commissioned a manuscript of *Khamsa* of Nizami (d.1202). The book was commissioned at first by Timurid Babur, then continued with Uzun Hasan's son Yakub, who was known with his opposition to Safavids. When the book was also ordered by Ismail I, it was prepared with additional illustrations that had Shi'i symbols such as Safavids' twelve-pleaded taj.<sup>164</sup> In that sense, the Safavid

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<sup>160</sup> Rula Jurdi Abisaab, "The Ulama of Jabal 'Amil in Safavid Iran, 1501-1736: Marginality, Migration and Social Change," *Iranian Studies* 27:1-4, (1994): 113.

<sup>161</sup> Abisaab, "The Ulama of Jabal 'Amil in Safavid Iran, 1501-1736: Marginality, Migration and Social Change," 110,121.

<sup>162</sup> Rula Jurdi Abisaab "Karaki," *Encyclopedia of Iranica*, XV/ 5, 544-47; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karaki>.

<sup>163</sup> Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*, 90.

<sup>164</sup> Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, 28.

era should be studied with the awareness of the coexistence of disengagement and continuation in the cultural life.

### 4.3. Incoming Mobility from the Persianate Lands After the Foundation of Sahn Madrasas

During the fifteen century, the movement of scholars from different parts of the Islamic world continued similar to the previous centuries and perhaps even increased in respect to the fourteenth century.<sup>165</sup> Moreover, after the second half of the fifteenth century, the availability of jobs in the Ottoman administration increased.<sup>166</sup> Here, I would like to thoroughly examine incoming mobility from the last years of the reign of Mehmed II and until the end of the Süleyman the Magnificent's reign.

Table 4.6. Incoming scholars in the late period reign of Mehmed II

Name of the scholar	Birthplace	Place of Education	Last Appointment	The rank of the position
Ali Kuşçu	Samarkand	Samarkand	Madrasa of Ayasofya	High rank
Molla Musannifek	Herat	Persianate lands		High rank
Molla Sirac		Persianate lands	Hatip in the mosque of Fatih	High rank
Molla Ataullah				

A prominent scholar regarding scholarly mobility is Alaeddin Ali Kuşçu. He was the son of royal falconer of Ulug Beg. He was most probably born in Samarqand. He became a student of Kadızade Rumi, Gıyaseddin Cemşid, and Ulug Bey, in addition to other scholars in Samarkand in the fields of mathematics and astronomy. Then, he traveled from Samarkand to Kirman due to his desire to receive further education. He wrote a commentary on *Tecridü'l-kelam* of Nasirüddin Tusi, called *Şerhu'l-Tecrid*, and dedicated it to Sultan Abu Said. When he turned back to Samarkand, he gave his

<sup>165</sup> For further information please see; Abdurrahman Atçıl, "Mobility of Scholars and Formation of a Self-Sustaining Scholarly Sytem in the Lands of Rum during the Fifteenth Century".

<sup>166</sup> Atçıl, "Mobility of Scholars and Formation of a Self-Sustaining Scholarly Sytem in the Lands of Rum during the Fifteenth Century," 36.



book of *Hallü eşkali'l-kamer/ Explanations of the Periods of the Moon* to Ulugh Beg as a gift from distant lands. The supervision on the construction of Observatory of Ulugh Beg passed to Ali Kuşçu after the deaths of his predecessors Giyaseddin Cemşid and Kadızade Rumi. After the death of Ulugh Beg in 1449, his observatory as well as the madrasa were attacked. It is reasonable to argue that the intellectual environment of the Samarkand was shaken after all these. Due to the depreciation of Samarkand, Ali Kuşçu first went to Herat. Yet, he realized that Herat was not much different than Samarkand regarding intellectual flourishing. The next decision of him was going to hajj. When, Ali Kuşçu left for Mecca, he had the chance to visit Tabriz. Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Akkoyunlus, showed him a great reverence and asked him to go to Istanbul as his ambassador. When he met with Mehmed II, the Ottoman sultan also showed his respect and insisted him to come to Ottoman lands. After the completion of his duty as an ambassador, Ali Kuşçu came to Ottoman lands and was met with gifts. Mehmed II took Ali Kuşçu with him on the way to the Battle of Otlukbeli in 1473. After they came back from the war, Ali Kuşçu was appointed to the madrasa of Ayasofya with two hundred *akçes*. It is also narrated that Ali Kuşçu was responsible with the preparation of curriculum together with Molla Hüsrev for Sahn madrasas. He died in Istanbul in 879/1474. There is no doubt that the existence of Ali Kuşçu in the Ottoman capital, revived the studies on mathematics and astronomy.<sup>167</sup> Besides Ali Kuşçu was an example of successful scholar, he was also an indicative case concerning scholarly mobility. Maybe Ali Kuşçu first aimed to go to Mecca, yet his journey could be evaluated as a search for a patronage and an appropriate place for his studies since his departure. It is obvious that he chose the patronage of the Ottomans instead of the Akkoyunlus. Additionally, he stayed in the Ottoman lands till the end of his life and did not search another patronage or turn back to his homeland. All these are highly reasonable point to argue that the Ottoman state experienced a new era as a rising star of Islamic intellectual world.

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<sup>167</sup> Cengiz Aydın, "Ali Kuşçu," TDVIA. Starr, *The Lost Enlightenment*, 498. Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa`iq*, 159-62.

Molla Musannifek was one of the prominent scholars from the age of Mehmed II. His ancestry went back to the famous scholar, Fahreddin Razi, and many other scholars. Molla Musannifek was born in 803/1401. He left Herat with his brother for his education while he was nine years old. He eventually returned Herat in 839/1436. His stay in Herat ended in 848/ 1445 and he came to Anatolia. Musannifek's first stop in this journey was Konya. While he worked as *mudarris* in Konya, Vizier Mahmud Pasha insisted him to come to Istanbul. He accepted this offer and met with Mehmed II through Mahmud Pasha. After this acquaintance, the sultan gave him eighty-*akçe* daily wage. While his intense intellectual production continued all these years, he wrote a book in Persian for Vizier Mahmud Pasha. The book, *Kitabu'l-Tuhfeti'l-Mahmudiyye*, was about the advices for vizier. Taşköprizade noted that the information that he gives about Musannifek was taken from this book. Musannifek also had a *tafsir* book in Persian. He noted in the beginning that, "I wrote this book with the order of Mehmed II and those under the command are excused." Taşköprizade related that Molla Hasan Fenari mentioned about Musannifek while both of them at the same gathering with vizier Mahmud Pasha. As Hasan Fenari had not seen him before, he criticized Musannifek's works before Mahmud Pasha. When Mahmud Pasha introduced him to Molla Musannifek, Hasan Fenari felt regret for what he said before about him. The consolation of the vizier was made this story interesting. Mahmud Pasha told that Musannifek had a hearing problem and there was not any reason for shy. I think that the opinion of Molla Fenari about Musannifek as a successful scholar is an important point that deserves attention because it might show the perception of the Ottoman scholars regarding the Persianate scholars. Lastly, Taşköprizade noted that Musannifek died in 875/1471 and buried in the tomb of Eyyüb Ensari.<sup>168</sup> Molla Sirac came to the Ottoman lands during the reign of Mehmed II. Taşköprizade told his story that he had to run away from Persianate lands within Turkmen clothes as a disguise. When he arrived at the Ottoman domain, Molla Alaeddin Fenari was the qadi of Bursa and they knew each other from their student years in the Persianate lands. Since the Allaeddin Fenari was educated in Samarqand, Bukhara and Herat are possible options where Molla Sirac also received his education. Due to their close

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<sup>168</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 162-67.

relation, Molla Sirac directly went to Bursa. Molla Alaeddin Fenari met his old friend with great respect and sent him to Mehmed II with a reference letter. His arrival in Istanbul coincided with the completion of Fatih Mosque and he became the preacher, *hatip* of the mosque with 50 dirhem salary.<sup>169</sup> Although Molla Sirac was not involved in the Ottoman intellectual system as scholar, his position in the mosque of Fatih should have had an importance. The relationship between Molla Sirac and Alaeddin Fenari also has importance because it gives idea that the importance of networks among scholars regarding mobility, and how their friendship affected their professional career in coming years.

Another example of incoming mobility was Hoca Ataullah. Although information about him is limited, his arrival from the Persianate lands occurred during the reign of Mehmed II and he died in the age of Beyazid II; it is known that he was a master in mathematics, horoscope (*zayıçe*), and making of calendar in addition to *tafsir*, Arabic language and all other rational (akli) sciences.<sup>170</sup> The lack of information about him makes difficult to evaluate his case. Yet, the topics that he professionalized in gives an idea about the intellectual tradition of the Persianate lands during his time.

Table 4.7. Incoming scholars in the reign of Bayezid II

Name of the scholar	Birthplace	Place of Education	Last Appointment	The rank of the position
Molla Muhyiddin Acemi		Ottoman lands	Kadi of Edirne	High rank
Molla Sinaneddin Yusuf Acemi	Gence	Persianate lands	Mufti of Bursa	High rank
Molla Kadı Bağdadi	Shiraz		The Sahn madrasas	High rank
Molla İdris Bitlisi		Tabriz, Diyarbakır	Kadiasker of Arab and Acem	Hign rank
Molla Hekim Şah Mehmed				
Molla İsmail				

<sup>169</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 218-19.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, 221.

Taşköprizade provided names of several who lived during the reign of Beyazid II. There were seven scholars; Molla Muhyiddin Acemi, Molla Sinaneddin Yusuf Acemi, Molla Kadı Bağdadi, Molla İdris Bitlisi, Molla Şeyh Muzafferuddin, Molla Hekim Şah Mehmed and Molla İsmail. Except for the Molla İsmail, who went to Mecca after the death of his sheikh Ubeydullah Semarkandi, each scholar received a high position in the Ottoman *ilmiyye* system.

Molla Muhyiddin Acemi was a student of Molla Gürani. There is not a concrete information about his arrival in Ottoman lands. It can be deduced from the information available that he was a student of Molla Gürani, and he came to Rum lands in his young age after his primary education. He received position as *mudarris* in one of Sahn madrasas and later became a judge of Edirne in his professional career.<sup>171</sup> Completing his advanced education under the initiation of Molla Gürani, one of the most powerful scholars as a judge of Istanbul for eight years, may have had a positive effect on his career.

As for Molla Sinanüddin Yusuf Acemi, he was born in Gence. After receiving his education in his homeland, he came to the lands of Rum. He became *mudarris* in Madrasa of Molla Hüsrev, Madrasa of İznik, Madrasa of Bursa Sultaniyesi. He was a müfti of Bursa during the last years of his life.<sup>172</sup> Although Molla Sinaneddin Yusuf Acemi could not have appointment for Sahn madrasas, his last positions can be assumed as higher than Sahn. The information about his birthplace also showed that scholars who were from the northern part of the Persianate lands also came to the Ottoman lands and achieved to enter the Ottoman intellectual system.

Another scholar, Molla Kadı Bağdadi was born in Shiraz. While he was the kadi of Baghdad, he had to move to the lands of Rum due to Safavid territorial expansion. He first settled in Mardin. When he arrived in Istanbul, Beyazid II gave him a position in Madrasa of Bursa Sultaniyesi. Then, he became a *mudarris* in Sahn Madrasa and died

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid, 304.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, 304-5.

on duty in the beginning of Selim I's reign.<sup>173</sup> Molla Kadi Bağdadi's life is a good example to understand how the rise of the Safavid Empire affected the lives of Sunni scholars. Bağdadi's first settlement of Mardin was also an interesting point because it gives an idea about the routes of scholars while they were in search for patronage. In that sense, Mardin can be accepted as an important stop beside it was one of the intellectual centers, especially under the rule of Akkoyunlus. It should also be remembered that Kadi Bağdadi probably lived in the peak of his career as a judge of Baghdad when he had to leave Persianate lands. The capture of Baghdad by the Safavids was in 1508<sup>174</sup>, he might have migrated after this date. Yet after his departure and his position shows that the important scholars who came from the Persianate lands were noticed both by scholars and rulers in the Ottoman lands. His appointment to Bursa Sultaniyyesi and Sahn madrasas after his meeting with Beyazid II may be seen as another case of the welcoming attitude of Ottoman state to incoming scholars.

When it comes to Molla İdris, his career in the Ottoman realm was different from all others. He was born in Bitlis around the middle of the fifteenth century. He was the son of Hüsameddin Ali, who worked under Uzun Hasan as *münşi*, clerk. Hüsameddin Ali went to Tabriz after the capture of the city by the Akkoyunlus. So, his son İdris completed his education in Tabriz and Diyarbakır. İdris Bitlisi, similar to his father, gave service to Akkoyunlus as a *münşi* and additionally worked as a tutor of young princes during the reigns of Sultan Yakub. Molla İdris continued his duties even after the death of Uzun Hasan with his successors, Rüstem and Elvend Beg, however, his career was interrupted after the defeat of Akkoyunlus by the Safavids. After Tabriz's capture by Safavids, Molla İdris refused the Shah Ismail's offer and fled to Ottoman lands. Fortunately, he was known by the Ottomans through one of his letters written in 1485 in the name of Sultan Yakub. This recognition helped him to be involved in the palace circle. Sultan Beyazid II personally ordered him to write an Ottoman history in Persian. When he finished his work entitled *Heşt Behişt* in 911/ 1506, he was awarded 50,000 akçes. Yet, he thought that his work did not get the attention

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid, 313.

<sup>174</sup> Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, 20.

that it deserved and wanted to go to Hajj. His decision to leave the Ottoman lands might be related to his negative relationship with the ruling class such as the grand vizier, Atik Ali Pasha. With his recovery from an illness, he departed for Mecca in 1511. He visited the Mamluk ruler, Kansu Gavri and Egyptian scholars in Cairo during his travels. His next stop was Mecca and he wrote a letter from there after a year. He explained that his decision to leave the Ottoman lands was related to not getting enough attention and he asked for transmission of his family to Hijaz because he did not want to return to the Ottoman lands. It should be noted that Taşköprizade did not mention about his departure from the Ottoman lands and just referenced to his well-being under the patronage of Beyazid II. Yet, İdris Bitlisi's thought about not coming back to the Ottoman lands could last until the reign of Selim I. He returned to the Ottoman capital in 1512. His second career in Istanbul was different. He was able to make close relationship with the new sultan and became more than an intellectual in the palace. He became an advisor to Selim I on the newly conquered eastern parts of the empire. He participated in the campaign of Çaldıran with the sultan in 1514. He stayed in Tabriz for a while to encourage the population to accept the Ottoman rule. Then, he went to Diyarbakır to capture city. After these territorial gains, he was appointed to a new post, the *kadi* of Arab and Acem. He spent his last years in Istanbul with an interest in intellectual issues and died in 926/1520.<sup>175</sup>

Molla Seyyid İbrahim was another figure that can be evaluated in the second generation category in the context of incoming mobility from the Persianate lands. His father, who was a dervish, came from the Persianate lands and settled in Yenice village of Amasya. He had a close relationship with Beyazid II. According to Taşköprizade, during his time of principedom, Beyazid II visited him and called him *baba* (father). His son Molla Seyyid İbrahim started his education with him, then went to Bursa and became a student of Şeyh Sinanuddin, who was the maternal grandfather of Taşköprizade. After finishing his education, he studied under the scholars of Molla Hasan Samsuni and Molla Hocazade in the madrasa of Iznik. He

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<sup>175</sup> Abdülkadir Özcan, "İdris-i Bitlisi," TDVIA. Taşköprizade, *Osmanlı Bilginleri*, 247. For further information, please see; Vural Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a Bir Bürokrat ve Tarihçi İdris-i Bitlisi (1457-1520)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2019). ) Vural Genç, "İdris-i Bidlîsî'nin II. Bayezid ve I. Selim'e Mektupları," *Journal of Ottoman Studies In Honour of Halil İnalcık's 100th Birthday* (2016): 147-209.

became a *mudarris* in madrasas of Merzifon, Karahisar, Vezir Kara Mustafa Paşa. His last position was as a *mudarris* and *müfti* in madrasa of Sultan Beyazid in Amasya with 80 akçes. In his retirement, Selim I gave him a house at Eyüp in Istanbul. He had a good relationship with the new sultan Selim I and lived in this house until end of his life. He died in his late nineties.<sup>176</sup> It seems that Molla Seyyid İbrahim should be at most a child when he came to the lands of Rum with his father. Their close relation as family with the Ottoman dynasty is obvious. On the other hand, he could not achieve to reach the highest positions in the system. This strengthens our belief that having an education in Persianate lands was an advantage in the first half of the sixteenth century. The close and direct relationship with Ottoman dynasty members was not the sole reason in acquiring the most prestigious positions. In that sense, since Molla Seyyid İbrahim received his education in Ottoman lands, his career path was comparable with Rumi scholars.

The common feature of incoming scholars from the Persianate lands in the reign of Beyazid II was the welcoming attitude of Ottoman administrative establishment. As it was mentioned earlier, the formation of the Safavid Empire encouraged the Persianate Sunni scholars to move to the Ottoman lands. This political change obviously affected intellectual activities in long-established centers. I believe that there is not any reason to argue that the flow of the scholars from the Persianate lands decreased after the Murad II's reign.<sup>177</sup> More importantly, almost all scholars received the highest positions in the Ottoman intellectual and bureaucratic system, especially a position in Sahn madrasas, which is explained above as the most prestigious institution in that time. The role of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman as a student of Devvani and Ottoman the chief judge, (*kadiasker*) was important to understand how the scholarly connections between lands of Rum and Acem had reciprocal and alternate features. In the end it can be said that, the reign of Beyazid II can be evaluated as a positive duration in terms of incoming mobility, paralleling the formation of Safavid Empire.

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<sup>176</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 305-9. Mecdi, *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 319-23.

<sup>177</sup> Ökten, "Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of al-Shaqa'iq al-Numaniyya," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 41, (2003): 55-70.

In the section of Selim I, there was not any Persianate scholars. The reason for the lack of Persianate scholars most probably were due to the categorization of the book regarding the death dates of the scholars and the short reign of Selim I. Yet, it can also be an important question to ask how the campaigns to the Safavids affected the scholarly mobility? There were some scholars who came to the Ottoman lands after the campaign of Tabriz that will be mentioned below.

The scholars from the Persianate lands who lived and died in the reign of Süleyman I had a significant place in the Taşköprizade's account. More importantly, they were important examples to show how the Persianate scholars could involve the Ottoman system. Their relationship with the Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman shows the concrete way of involvement.



**CHAPTER 5**  
**THE SOCIAL NETWORKS AMONG SCHOLARS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON**  
**PROFESSIONAL CAREERS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE NETWORKS OF MOLLA**  
**CELALEDDIN DEVVANI (D.908/1502-3) AND MÜEYYEDZADE ABDURRAHMAN**  
**(D.922/1526)**

From the 1980s, social network analysis (SNA) has become one of the foremost analytical tools for the studies of social sciences. It should be noted that as Kurzman said: “Networks are not new: ancient institutions can be studied through network lens as easily as contemporary ones.”<sup>178</sup> Yet, historians still have concerns about social network analysis. The biggest concern probably among historians caused by the necessity of extensive information that SNA requires. In order to use SNA for a specific social group, researchers should know all social interactions and networks. In other words, extensive amount of recording in terms of place, time, and activities should be gathered. However, historical data, regardless of time and place, is insufficient and imperfect in this respect. In the end, historical social network analysis (HSNA) stays as an inappropriate tool for historians despite of its high potential.<sup>179</sup> Almost forty years after SNA started to be used, historians can apply alternative methods and approaches while using HSNA. Study of social ties like friendship, kinship, and neighborhood can help us comprehend pre-modern societies and structures.

Studying social networks among scholars in the Ottoman intellectual system is one way of benefiting from HSNA. It should be remembered that “scholarship takes place in the context of human interactive networks...” These interactive networks shaped the Islamic intellectual life. Besides, traveling was an important practice regarding the formation of networks in pre-modern period. In the case of Islamic lands, the individual decisions for traveling among borders had more importance due to the fact

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<sup>178</sup> John O. Voll, “Scholars in Network: Abd al- Ghani Nabulisi and His Travels,” 342.

<sup>179</sup> Charles Wetherell, “Historical Social Network Analysis,” *International Review of Social History* 43, (1998), 125.

that there was not any “church-like” institutional organization in the Islamic world. In the case of Muslim scholars, according to Vincent Cornell, the fourteenth century ulama saw themselves as “corporately organized professionals.” This made the networks more flexible, which were composed of personal interactions. For instance, this kind of mobility happened among Muslim scholars in the borders of their networks as peers. It should also be underlined, these networks could emerge among scholars, who had different backgrounds and ideologies. Yet, the overarching concept for these individuals was *umma*, which could be understood as the global Muslim community.<sup>180</sup> As a final point, the network studies for Muslim scholars deserve attention because these informal connections shaped the Muslim intellectual life.

When it comes to the sources for HSNA concerning the Ottoman intellectual life, *Tabaqat* literature from the Ottoman period, which contains information about scholars’ biographies, provides an opportunity for this kind of analysis. Although the information in the biographies is partial and can be different from person to person, most of the time, date of birth and death, origin, area of specialization, place of education, teachers, career paths as well as personal anecdotes can be found. The obstacle for historians in this case is not caused by mainly lack of information. As it is mentioned above, there is a plenty of expedient information. The main difficulty emerges from the subjective decisions of authors in *tafaqat* genre. After the author finishes the selection of scholars, the content of biography changes depending on either author’s opinion about the scholar or author’s accessibility of information about him. It means that at least there were two subjective phases in the writing process. Yet, the awareness of problematic sides of the sources then dealing with them is a convention in historiography. Besides, it is almost impossible to have completely objective information in any kind of historical source. The main issue is being aware of the fact that historical networks were not stable or insensible to changing world around them.<sup>181</sup> In that sense, pursuing the networks through time is challenging aspect of the HSNA.

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<sup>180</sup> Voll, “Scholars in Network: Abd al- Ghani Nabulisi and His Travels,” 342,334, 339-40.

<sup>181</sup> Hasan Karataş, “Onbeşinci Yüzyılda Karamani Ulema ve Meşayih İlişki Ağları Üzerine Tespitler,” in *Osmanlı’da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası*, ed. Ömer Mahir Alper, Mustakim Arıcı (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları,2015), 296.

In the Islamic education, the relation between student and teacher was one of the most important elements. The importance came from the fact that while students graduated from a certain institution or madrasa, particular teacher had great influence on his education. So, their relationship became a lifetime bond and the teacher supported his student after the graduation. Besides the relation between teacher and student, the socialization among students helped students to create or strengthen personal networks.<sup>182</sup>

I would like to examine a social network, which is centered on Molla Celaledin Devvani (d. 908/1502) and Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman (d. 922/ 1516). The aim is to clarify two questions concerning scholarly mobility by studying it through social network analysis. The first is how Persianate scholars ventured to leave their homelands and come to Ottoman lands. The latter is how newcomers/ Persianate scholars got involved in the Ottoman *ilmiyye* system. The questions arise from the assumption that social networks should be effective in these processes, otherwise, how would an unknown person get involved in the Ottoman intellectual system. I hope that the case study below can illustrate this issue in a more concrete framework.

### **5.1. The Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman Centered Network and the Persianate Scholars**

Celededdin Devvani, who was famous even during his lifetime, was born in the village of Devvan in Kazerun around the years of 827/1424 to 830/1427. He started his education under his father's care in Kazerun. Then, Celaledin Devvani went to Shiraz for further education on the religious and rational sciences. Most of his teachers<sup>183</sup> in Shiraz were also former students of Seyyid Şerif Cürçani, like his father Esad b. Muhammed Devvani. He started to gain reputation during his studentship due to his superior intelligence and knowledge. After completing his education, he was appointed to position of *sadaret* by the Karakoyunlu ruler, Ebu Yusuf. He continued

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<sup>182</sup> Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 22.

<sup>183</sup> Some of his teacher were as in the following; Safiyyüddin el-Îcî, Ebü'l-Mecd Abdullah el-Geylî, Mazharüddin Muhammed el-Kâzerûnî, Rükneddin Rûzbihân eş-Şîrâzî, Muhyiddin Muhammed el-Gûşekenârî, Hümâmeddin Gülbârî, Hasan Şah Bakkal ve Muhyevî Lârî. Harun Anay. "Devvânî," TDVIA.

his career as professor in Gökmedrese in Tabriz. His life in Tabriz was interrupted with Akkoyunlu capture of the city. Even Devvani escaped to Iraq due to capture of Tabriz, he turned back to Shiraz after a while. The relationship between Celaleddin Devvani and the rulers should have been decent, because Devvani dedicated some of his works to Uzun Hasan and Sultan Halil. The more explicit evidence of the decent relationship was the appointment of Devvani as a *kadilkudat* (chief jurist) of Shiraz and Fars provinces. The bright career of Devvani was interrupted by the death of Göde Ahmed Bey in 1497. The political instability and authority gap led to confiscation of properties and imprisonment of Devvani by the governor of Fars, Purnek Kasım Bey. Although, he was freed eventually from jail and stayed in Cerun islands for a while, he died in 9 Rebiülahir 908/ October 12, 1502 due to an illness during the trip to his hometown, Devvan. He specialized in different branches of Islamic thought, especially the disciplines of *kalam*, philosophy and Islamic mysticism (*tasavvuf*).<sup>184</sup> Aside from his philosophical works, his studies on logic and rational theology were also well known. With all his efforts, Devvani was able to become probably one of the most notable Islamic philosophers in the fifteenth century. His heritage was maintained in Ottoman and Mughal scholarship.<sup>185</sup>

Students from different places sought Devvani as teacher, due to his fame in Islamic world. One of these students was Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman (d.922/1516), who later held chief judgeship of Anatolia and Rumeli. His father was a sheikh of Yakut Paşa Zawiya in Amasya. Aşık Çelebi stated that the maternal grandfather of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman was that sheikh. They were originally from Acem lands. Another information about his lineage comes from Kınalızade. He argues that Müeyyedzade's lineage goes back to Ebu İshak Kazeruni, who found Kazeruniyye order.<sup>186</sup> The origin of Müeyyedzade is not underlined to define him as a "foreigner" or as a distinctive feature in the sources. Yet, his origin from the perspective of mobility is important to evaluate his later connections with Persianate lands and Persianate scholars.

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<sup>184</sup> Harun Anay. "Devvânî," TDVIA.

<sup>185</sup> Khaled El-Rouayhep, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 30-31.

<sup>186</sup> Hasan Aksoy, "Müeyyedzâde Abdurrahman," TDVIA.

When it comes to the professional life of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman, he became *nişancı* of Prince/Şehzade Beyazid (II) in 865/1461 in Amasya. Under the favor of his position, Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman was able to have close relationship with Beyazid II when they were young. Yet, the close relationship between them could continue until a complaint was made to Mehmed II. According to this complaint, Şehzade Bayezid was introduced to drinking and enjoyment by Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman. Mehmed II decided to give a death penalty to Hızırpaşazade Hacı Mahmud, who was Haseki of Beyazid, and Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman. Before the imperial degree (*ferman*) arrived in Amasya, Müeyyedzade was able to escape with the help of Şehzade Bayezid. He first went to Aleppo, which was under the rule of Mamluks. His second journey was to Shiraz to become a student of Devvani. After his arrival, Müeyyedzade received his education from Devvani graduating after seven years. He decided to turn back to the Ottoman lands after Beyazid II ascended the throne in 1481. In his return, he first visited Amasya and went to Istanbul.<sup>187</sup> The complaint about the bad influence of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman on Prince Bayezid and the role of Bayezid regarding the escape of Müeyyedzade from imperial degree is an arguable issue as an historical fact in order to understand their relationship. Yet, his verdict to turn back to Anatolia after Beyazid II became the sultan confirms that their relationship should have been strong enough to make Ottoman lands safe and hopeful place again for Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman.

Apparently Müeyyedzade's connections with Persianate scholars continued after his return to Istanbul. It could be said that he had a role as "gatekeeper" for newcomers from the Persianate lands. For instance, Molla Saçlı Emir (Molla Muhyiddin Mehmed) the son of Abdülevvel Tebrizi, the judge of Tabriz came to Ottoman lands, while his father was still alive during the reign of Beyazid II.<sup>188</sup> Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman introduced Saçlı Emir to Sultan Beyazid II due to Müeyyedzade's close friendship with

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<sup>187</sup> Aksoy, "Müeyyedzâde Abdurrahman," 486. Judith Pfeiffer, "Teaching the Learned: Jalâl al-Dîn al-Dawânî's Ijâza to Mu'ayyadzâda 'Abd al-Raḥmân Efendi and the Circulation of Knowledge between Fârs and the Ottoman Empire at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," in *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, ed. Maurice A. Pomerantz and Aram A. Shahin (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 284–332.

<sup>188</sup> Yusuf Kaplan, "Saçlı Emir (EMÎR-İ GÎSÛDÂR), Muhyiddin Mehmed Efendi", *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, (2004); available online at [turkedebiyat isimlersozlugu.com](http://turkedebiyat isimlersozlugu.com).

Saçlı Emir's father, Abdülevvel Tebrizi. After that, the career of Molla Saçlı Emir started from professorship in the madrasa of Vezir Mustafa Paşa and ended with judgeship of Istanbul.<sup>189</sup> It is obvious that the friendship of his father and Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman provided an advantageous starting point and successful professional life for Saçlı Emir. Yet the decision of Saçlı Emir to travel to Ottoman lands might have also strengthened other issues. First, as the son of the *qadi* of Tabriz, he should have been able to find important connections and networks in the Persianate lands. So, he would not start from scratch. This point underlines the argument that Ottoman domain became a rising star and grasped the attention of Muslim scholars around the world, while their homelands struggled with political instability.

Another important example concerning the social network between Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman and the Persianate scholars is Molla Şeyh Muzafferuddin Ali Şirazi. While he was classmate of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman in Shiraz, most importantly he was the son-in-law of Devvani. Muzafferuddin Ali Şirazi was introduced to Sultan Beyazid II, when Müeyyedzade was a chief judge. He started his professional life in the madrasa of Mustafa Paşa and then passed to the madrasa of Sahn. He had to retire with 60 aspers, due to the problem in his eyes.<sup>190</sup> As in the case of Saçlı Emir, Şeyh Muzafferuddin Ali Şirazi should have critical connection in the intellectual environment of Shiraz. Yet, he also decided to come to the Ottoman lands. Taşköprizade noted that he gave lectures in the important madrasas when Devvani was sick in Shiraz. Muzafferuddin Ali Şirazi's sickness and probably the old age prevented him from the success that was immensely possible in his career as a son in law of Devvani. From this aspect, his coming to the Ottoman lands emphasized the role of Ottoman intellectual atmosphere.

These two example above, Saçlı Emir and Şeyh Muzaferruddin Ali Şirazi, were distinct examples. The main reason of this distinctness is due to their successful families. These examples enable to make some assumptions. First, Müeyyedzade

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<sup>189</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 488.

<sup>190</sup> Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq*, 329-30.

Abdurrahman achieved to make connections with important people around Devvani's circle and this network continued after his coming to Ottoman lands. Secondly, the Ottoman attitude towards the Persianate scholars was welcoming and gave them the opportunity to reach high-ranking positions in the *ilmiyye* system.<sup>191</sup> The brothers, Hafız-ı Acem and Kukla Acem, also benefited from the network of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman. The brothers came to Ottoman lands just after Shah Ismail ascended the throne in 907/1501. Hafız-ı Acem (Hafuzüddin Muhammed b. Adil Paşa) was born in Berdaa, a city in Caucasia. He received his high education in Tabriz, from a famous scholar, Mevlana Mezid. After his departure from Tabriz, he and his brother Kukla Acem first settled in Amasya and was involved in the circle of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman.<sup>192</sup> Their decision to come to Amasya first strengthened the assumption of their acquaintance with Müeyyedzade from Tabriz. When the brothers were in Amasya, Müeyyedzade was in the position of chief judge of Anatolia. Hafız-ı Acem wrote that when they came to the Ottoman lands, they outshined with their reputation. His career started with the recommendation of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman to Beyazid II. He became a professor in the madrasa of Ankara. His second appointment happened with his dedication of his book to Beyazid II and moved to the madrasa of Çelebi Mehmed in Merzifon. There are two assumptions about his next appointment to the madrasa of Atik Ali Paşa. According to Taşköprizade, Hafız-ı Acem was appointed thanks to the appreciation of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman to his annotation on *Şerhu'l Miftah* while Müeyyedzade was a chief judge of Rumelia. In the second assumption, his appointment was related to Selim I's visit to Merzifon in his return from the Çaldıran campaign. While Hafız-ı Acem welcomed the sultan with the other prominent people in the city, the sultan appreciated his poem and gave him the professorship in the madrasa of Atik Ali Paşa. It is unknown which argument is true, yet for both cases it can be assumed that Hafız-ı Acem had enough connections in an exclusive circle in addition to his competence to rise in his career. His career continued with the positions in the madrasa of Orhan

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<sup>191</sup> The professorship in the madrasa of Sahn important indication to see the success of scholars. For further information, please see; Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans In the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*.

<sup>192</sup> Another important person in the career of Hafız-ı Acem was Şeyh Hamdullah (d.1519), a famous calligrapher.

Gazi, Sahn-ı Seman and finally in the madrasa of Ayasofya. It should also be noted that he was a versatile intellectual, a poet, a calligrapher and a professor.<sup>193</sup>

Besides the scholars mentioned above, there were others who did not belong to the Müeyyetzade's network but came from the Persianate lands and were able to be involved in the Ottoman intellectual system. One of them is Abdulcebbar Acemi who was born in Karabagh, Gence. He received *mülazemet* from Zeyrekzade Efendi and appointed to the madrasa of Bursa Hamza Beg around 930/1524. After his positions as professor in the madrasa of Agras and Mustafa Paşa and as *mufti* of Ankara, he was finally appointed to Sahn madrasas in 949/1543. He was appointed to the madrasa of Muradiyye in 958/1551. His next duty was differentiated from others. In 965/1558 he became the tutor of Şehzade Bayezid. He died in 966/ 1559 in Amasya.<sup>194</sup> The coming date of the Abdulcebbar Acemi is not known but his taking of *mülazemet* in the Ottoman lands might be interpreted as he came in his early age and had education in the Ottoman lands. Yet, this interpretation can be just an assumption. On the other hand, his success in his career line is crystal-clear fact. He became a dignitary scholar as well as a mentor of prince. In that sense, it can be argued that in the sixteenth century, being a Persianate scholar was not a disadvantage, if one was able to acquire the status of novice.

Muslihuddin Lari was a scholar who was born in 916/1510 in Lar. He was descendant of Sa'd b. Ubade Ensari, a companion of Prophet Muhammed. After having education in his homeland, he went to India in 1530. He lived under the patronage of Hüseyin Shah Argun and became a teacher of Hümayun, the ruler of Mughal Empire. He had to leave India due to the unrest after Hümayun's death in 963/1556. He chose as a next stop was Aleppo than Istanbul. When he came to the Ottoman capital, he proved his qualification in front of Ebussuud, the chief jurist and other professors. After that, he became *mudarris* with 50 akçes. On the other hand, Lari could not find the reputation in the Ottoman lands. Due to this disappointment, he left Istanbul and

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<sup>193</sup> Ömer Faruk Akün, "Hafız-ı Acem," *TDVIA*.

<sup>194</sup> Nevizade Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, trans. Suat Donuk (Istanbul : Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2017), 261.



went to Diyarbakr. The governor, Iskender Pasha showed him great respect and asked him to become teacher of his children. In 967/1560, Lari was appointed to the madrasa of Hüsrev Paşa, the most prestigious madrasa in Diyarbakr and also became a mufti. He continued these duties until his death in 979/1572.<sup>195</sup> The life story of Lari is a good example to see the institutional changes in the second half of the sixteenth century Ottoman intellectual system. It is reasonable to argue that Muslihiddin Lari was one of the prominent scholars in the Mughal India. His appointment with 50 akçes also showed that Ottoman intellectual circles found him a precious scholar for a certain extent. I think that his disappointment resulted from the awareness that he could not achieve the highest positions in the Ottoman intellectual system. The reasons of this belief and changing attitude towards the incoming scholars will be discussed in the conclusion.

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<sup>195</sup> Hulusi Kılıç, "Muslihiddin Lari," *TDVIA. Taşköprizade, Osmanlı Bilginleri*, 103-104.

## CHAPTER 6

### **CONCLUSION: BECOMING A SELF-SUFFICIENT SYSTEM: THE EVOLUTION OF THE OTTOMAN SCHOLARLY SYSTEM FROM THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY ONWARDS**

In this thesis, my primary aim was approaching the scholarly mobility to understand the Ottoman intellectual system with a wider perspective. The diffusion of knowledge, exchange of ideas, interactions among intellectual traditions can be passed from theoretical level to concrete base through an analysis of the scholarly mobility. The decision of scholars to leave their homelands and search an educational institution, a new patronage or a job and their planned destination place were indicative points regarding the intellectual and political environment in the Islamic world.

In the case of the Ottoman empire, the scholarly mobility can tell the history of the Ottoman intellectual system. In the early Ottoman period, i.e. before the capture of Constantinople, the attitude of the Ottomans towards the incoming scholars from the Persianate lands was highly welcoming. The newly established Ottoman intellectual system benefitted from the experience of the incoming scholars. On the other hand, in this period the perception of incoming scholars about the Ottoman lands was like a temporary place that they could stay until the problems in their homelands solved. It could be assumed that this perception started to change after the conquest of Constantinople and the foundation of several prestigious madrasas. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the attitude of the Ottomans regarding Persianate scholars was still positive and the incoming mobility constantly continued. Besides, the incoming scholars started to see the Ottoman realm as their terminal destination point. Their high rank positions and stay in the Ottoman lands until their deaths can be interpreted as the rising importance of the Ottoman intellectual environment and how it attracted the scholars. The political changes in the Persianate lands, the demolishment of Timurids, the failing of Turkmen states and finally the foundation of Shi'a Safavid state, made the changing attitude of the

incoming scholars more reasonable. This propensity started to change from the mid-sixteenth century with the new aspiration of the empire.

The desire of Ottomans to create more centralized rule all over the empire increased especially after the 1530s. This desire also led to increasing will for training its own personal and creating new systems. As a result, all these aspirations changed the nature of intellectual system and the capacity of scholar-bureaucrats. The centralization attempts were also related to the transformation from “a conquest enterprise” to “a revenue-raising bureaucratic machine.” Becoming “a revenue-raising bureaucratic machine” strengthened the role of scholar-bureaucrats in the governance. The imperial administration was able to control appointments and collect taxes through scholar-bureaucrats who were trained and recruited in the center.

The defeat of the Mamluks and struggle between the Safavids created a new sphere in the Islamic world. The Ottomans became the important Sunni political power in the western part of Islamic world. The centralization attempts of the Ottomans were part of the universal claim of sovereignty with the Sunni official ideology.<sup>196</sup> Besides, the conquests from the reign of Mehmed II to Süleyman I, created great amount of tax revenues. The flux of this income with the help of sophisticated bureaucratization created an “imperial ecology.”<sup>197</sup>

In the end, the transformation of ideology brought the change regarding “status, duties, numbers and self-perception of the Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats.” The madrasa system became advanced through the foundation of the *altmışlı* madrasa in addition to *hariç*, *dahil* and the *Sahn* in the end of the Süleyman I’s reign.<sup>198</sup> In the consolidation period, the number of scholars who were trained for new official posts increased. This growing number of posts and scholars led to the creation of two

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<sup>196</sup> Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 119, 126-29.

<sup>197</sup> Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman*, 218.

<sup>198</sup> Richard C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul : A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy*(London : Ithaca Press, 1986), 49.

different career paths as: the *kalemiye* (financial and scribal offices) and the *ilmiyye* (educational and judicial offices).

For instance, in the financial and scribal offices, the secretaries, *katipler*, became more efficient instruments for the centralized governance and became part of bureaucracy. Besides, the secretaries were chosen from the madrasa graduates, unlike the situation in the fifteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the secretary position was used in more pragmatic ways. The personal came from the different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. In the sixteenth century, these new secretary bureaucrats were trained in the center and they were “more Ottoman.” Another scribal office that gained importance during the reign of Süleyman I was the chancellor’s office, *nişancı*. They had extended duties such as “correspondence, preparing official copies of the imperial council, revising and correcting land survey registers and issuing *kanun* in the name of the sultan.”<sup>199</sup>

The new phase of professionalization and bureaucratization in the Ottoman intellectual system in the mid-sixteenth century could not be controlled through the Mehmed II’s laws. So, the new regulations emerged to increase efficiency of the system. The new phase of Ottoman intellectual system was based on the “self-reproducing” scholar-bureaucrats in the center. The self-producing or self-sustaining system could be established and controlled through the novitiate status, *mülazemet* in the second half of the sixteenth century. This system also enforced the role of the chief jurist, chief judges, and some prominent scholars.<sup>200</sup> The question of why *mülazemet* system emerged might be more crucial question than how the system was ran. Mehmet İpşirli explains the emergence of *mülazemet* system with the increasing number of graduate students from the madrasas and their obligation for waiting a certain period for an appointment. İpşirli also argues that *mülazemet* enabled a fair system for appointments.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman*, 214-16, 222.

<sup>200</sup> Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans*, 130-33.

<sup>201</sup> Mehmet İpşirli, “Osmanlı İlimiye Teşkilatında Mülazemet Sisteminin Önemi ve Rumeli Kadaskeri Mehmed Efendi Zamanına Ait Mülazemet Kayıtları,” *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10-11 (1982), 222.

The dictionary definition of *mülazemet* means either strong affiliation to someone of somewhere or inoccupation with something consistently. As a concept, it was used to define two process in the *ilmiyye* system. One of them was defining the period of waiting between the appointments. The latter was used to define the procedure for the entrance to the system. According to Yasemin Beyazıt, *mülazemet* system came to scene with the desire to control recruitment concerning the numbers as well as the mentality.<sup>202</sup> She also argues that *mülazemet* system aimed that the period a graduate student passed until an appointment, he would not detach from the profession and improve his abilities. *Mülazemet* system created an environment in which madrasa students have obligation to become student or assistant of advanced senior scholars. This obligation created more competitive and selective intellectual system because being student of a dignitary scholar was not an opportunity for everyone.

The discussions about *mülazemet* system based on the information that given in the biography of Ebussuud in the Atayi's account. Atayi noted that until Ebussuud became a chief judge, the novice records were not taken carefully. This information can be interpreted as the revision of the existing system. Due to the fact that Yasemin Beyazıt argues that the *mülazemet* system emerged in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. According to Unan, *mülazemet* system became an obligation in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, while Mehmed İpşirli argues that the *mülazemet* applied in the reign of Mehmed II due to necessity.<sup>203</sup> While the application of the system became more compulsory through years, it can be said that the system gained its original form in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Yasemin Beyazıt worked on two *ruznamçe* records to analyze the number of students who wait entrance to the system. According to these records, there were 510 graduate students, *danişmend*, from the 952 Ramazan to 958 Şaban (1545/46-1551/52) and 494 of them achieved to enter the system. The second *ruznamçe*

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<sup>202</sup> Yasemin Beyazıt, "Osmanlı İlmîyye Bürokrasisinde Şeyhülislamlığın Değişen Rolü ve Mülazemet Sistemi (XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllar)", *Belleten* 267, (2009): 425.

<sup>203</sup> Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmîyye Mesleğinde İstihdam (XV. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 32-35.

record, which consisted of the period between 995 Rebiülevvel- 997 Cemaziye'l-evvel (1587-1589), 389 students entered to the *ilmiye* system in two years. It is obvious that there was a great amount of increase, 177% in the number of people who enter the system per year in thirty-five-year period. Moreover, the students who waited the death of existing scholars for entering the system increased from 2 to 137. It is reasonable to argue that in the end of the sixteenth century, the number of people who entered the system increased as well as there were also many others who still awaited. This problem was tried to be overcome through new regulations in the 1598. The main aim of the *kanunname* was strict control for the entrance to the *ilmiye* system regarding, control of the number of novices, giving the authority to dignitary scholars, creating more centralized system, increasing the quality of novices, preventing nepotism and fraud, protecting right of the scholars' children and strengthening the institutional formation of the *ilmiye* system.<sup>204</sup> It is obvious that the novice status became the key factor for entrance into the intellectual system. Hence, *mülazemet* system also shaped the system. The status of incoming scholars who came to the Ottoman lands after the mid-sixteenth century should be interpreted as being aware of the new rules of the system.

For instance, in the article of '*A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mirza Mahdum Sharifi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the İlmiye Hierarchy*' Kioumars Ghereghlou makes an analysis on a Persianate scholar, Mirza Mahdum (d. 1587). Mirza Mahdum (d.991/1583) had a remarkable background. He was a member of a notable family in Shiraz. He had education on Neo-Platonic philosophy, mathematics, natural sciences as well as theology, hadith and Arabic grammar and syntax. He had a successful but short career in the Safavids during the reign of Tahmasp and Ismail II. Yet the dethroning of Ismail II affected Mirza Mahdum's life and he was imprisoned. In 1578, he was released. He decided to go to the Ottoman lands. After his arrival, he achieved to create important contacts with queen mother Afife Nur Banu, the chief jurist Çivizade Muhyiddin Mehmed and royal tutor Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. All these networks also helped him to enter the circle of Sultan

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<sup>204</sup> Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiyye Mesleğinde İstihdam (XV. Yüzyıl)*, 37-41.

Murad III. His professional life in the Ottoman empire can be summarized as judicial positions in Diyarbakır, Bilad al-Sham and Baghdad. In the mid-1580s he decided to quit his career in the *ilmiye* system and became *nakibü'l-eşraf* the head of sayyid notables in Mecca. After this duty, he started to benefit from the patronage of ruler of Mecca Şerif Hasan. He died in 1587.

According to Ghereghlou the newcomer scholars from the Persianate lands could achieve to enter the system smoothly as notable bureaucrats in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, this situation started to change from the end of the sixteenth century. Ghereghlou underlines the competitive and restricted nature of the both *ilmiye* and *kalemiye* career paths. The scarcity in the job market affected the position of the incoming scholars in the Ottoman lands. According to the writer, there was a concern among the Ottomans regarding the usage of resources by outsiders, which could be seen in the *nasihatname* literature. So, under these circumstances, Mirza Mahdum had concerns about entering the system and find a position, “where corruption in the form of institutionalized cronyism and nepotism soared amid an influx of new recruits from the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire.”<sup>205</sup>

The disappointment of incoming scholars such as Mirza Mahdum, Muslihiddin Lari and many others resulted from the changing attitude of the *ilmiye* system in general, which could not be categorized as nepotism or negative attitude towards the Persianate scholars. As it mentioned above, the status of novice became the crucial point for entering the system more than others. In that sense, the segregation of the incoming scholars or any scholar without the status of novice happened especially after the 1540s. For the entrance of the system and achieving the high rank positions, starting their education in the Ottoman realm or coming in their early ages started to become more important than ever after that point.

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<sup>205</sup> Kiourmars Ghereghlou, “A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mirza Mahk dum Sharifi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the *ilmiye* Hierarchy,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/ The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 53, (2019).

Another crucial factor that affected the destiny of incoming scholars was evolution of the Ottoman intellectual system into self-sufficient system, which is partly mentioned above. For instance, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the rational sciences were studied intensely by Ottoman scholars. This was a transformation because the topics on philosophy, logic, dialectics, rational theology, semantics, rhetoric, and grammar were worked in the Ottoman lands but they were specialties of Persianate scholars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hence, the Ottoman intellectuals started to have the capability to “study and teach” Persianate works. Khaled El-Rouayheb approaches that this ability is related to their mentality concerning “having critical spirit with which they had originally written.” For instance, in *Kashf al-zunun*, it was seen that the works of Devvani and Isfarayini were widely studied by Ottoman scholars. That is for sure that Devvani’s work was known in the Ottoman lands before the seventeenth century but after that his works were studied in madrasas. It means that inner side of the system evolved from reading and knowing the Persianate works to be able to study and teach in formal education regularly.<sup>206</sup> These examples might be evaluated as that the system became a self-sustaining system.

Having a self-sustaining cultural as well as intellectual tradition can be traced in other fields. I believe that the deductions of Cem Behar regarding the classical/Turk music tradition are very enlightening. Cem Behar writes that since the second of the sixteenth century Istanbul became a center of music and old traditional centers like Herat, Damascus, Tabriz and Baghdad lost their importance. The musicians of the age were born in the Ottoman lands and became professionals in Istanbul, Edirne or Bursa. While the Persianate musicians came to the Ottoman realm during the reign of Selim I and Süleyman I could enter the Ottoman intellectual circle easily and formed ‘*acemane*’ style, the Persianate musicians who brought to the capital by Murad IV was not welcomed as in the previous centuries. From that point Ottomans excluded from the impact of Persianate music. Their works were seen different from the Ottoman style and named with an emphasis on their belongingness as

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<sup>206</sup> Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 13, 32,34,38.



'*acemiyan*'. In that sense I think that with a further focus on the Ottoman intellectual and cultural history in the early modern period, the concept of self-sufficiency and the attitude towards the new incomers will be analyzed and understood more appropriate.

Richard Repp argues that by the seventeenth century, the definition of success for scholars changed. While the fifteenth century scholar focused on the intellectual production and knowledge through learning and teaching, the seventeenth century scholar concerned about the high level positions and salary.<sup>207</sup> I think that the systemization of the *ilmiye* hierarchy from the age of Mehmed II changed the definition of the success. In other words, the high positions began to be seen as the guarantee of high intellectual production and qualified learning and teaching. As I mentioned above, these questions or some presuppositions can be handled more studies.

All in all, I am aware of the fact that this thesis can be only a preamble regarding this topic. I believe that the study on autobiographical writings of scholars' will make these kinds of studies more concrete and valuable in terms of scholarly mobility. Besides, a study on the professionalization of Persianate scholars will bring wider picture for the diffusion knowledge. Travelers accounts might give important insights about the physical aspects of the mobility. On the other hand, I have to admit that the topic of scholarly mobility does not explored to much in the literature. In that sense, I hope to contribute the field through encourage for asking new questions.

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<sup>207</sup> Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy*, 28.

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