

UNDERSTANDING A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN SCHOLAR-
BUREAUCRAT: ALİ B. BALİ (1527-1584) AND HIS BIOGRAPHICAL
DICTIONARY *AL-'IQD AL-MANZUM Fİ DHİKR AFAZİL AL-RUM*

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İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

AUGUST 2015

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

BY

GÜRZAT KAMİ

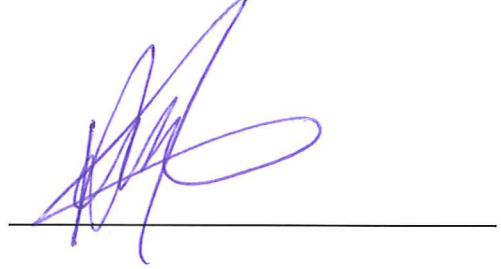
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FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
HISTORY

AUGUST 2015

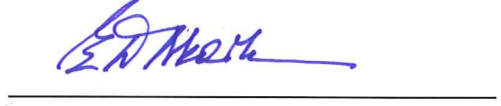
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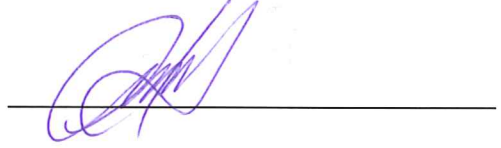
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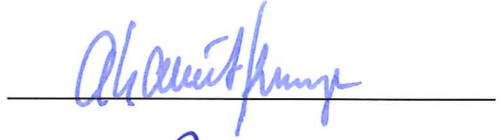
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ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN SCHOLAR-
BUREAUCRAT: ALİ B. BALİ (1527-1584) AND HIS BIOGRAPHICAL
DICTIONARY *AL-'IQD AL-MANZUM Fİ DHİKR AFAZİL AL-RUM*

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August 2015, 151 pages

This thesis examines *al-'Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*, one of the continuations of Ahmed Taşköprizade's (d. 1561) renowned biographical dictionary *al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi 'Ulama al-Dawla al-'Uthmaniyya*, in order to understand the mind of its author Ali b. Bali (d. 1584).

This study presents an authorial context for *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* by constructing Ali b. Bali's biography. Then, it provides a textual context by examining *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as a biographical dictionary in relation with the general trend of biography writing in the sixteenth-century Ottoman world. Ali was well aware that he had two groups of readers, first, the Ottoman scholars in the core lands of the empire (in the lands of Rum), and second, the scholars outside of the core lands, who were speaking Arabic as their mother tongue. Ali tried to show his command of Arabic before his peers as well as to prove the scholarly competence of Rumi scholars before other groups of scholars within the empire.

Last two chapters focus on two themes, respectively Ali's perception of decline in the Ottoman scholarly life and his ideas about Sufism. Ali's bitter experience in scholarly career path had an influence on his perspective of his age and contemporaries. Taking refuge in Sufism, Ali emphasized the conformity of Sufism with sharia and created a powerful image of his own sheikh Cerrahzade as one of the prominent sheikhs of the Bayrami order.

Keywords: Ali b. Bali, Cevheri, *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, *al-Shaqa'iq*, Ottoman scholar, continuation.

ÖZ

BİR 16. YÜZYIL OSMANLI ALİM-BÜROKRATINI ANLAMAK: ALİ B. BALİ
(1527-1584) VE BİYOGRAFİ SÖZLÜĞÜ *EL- 'İKDÜ'L-MANZÛM FÎ ZİKRI*
EFÂZİ'R-RÛM

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Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Abdurrahman Atçıl

Ağustos 2015, 151 sayfa

Tezin amacı Ali b. Bali'nin, Ahmet Taşköprizade (ö. 1561)'nin *eş-Şekâiku'n-Nu'mâniyye fi 'Ulemâi'd-Devleti'l-Osmâniyye* isimli biyografi kitabına zeyl olarak yazdığı *el-İkdü'l-Manzûm fi Zikri Efâzili'r-Rûm* isimli biyografi kitabını tarihsel bağlam içerisinde incelemektir.

Ali b. Bâli müderrislik ve kadılık görevlerinde bulunmuş, görece uzun süren infisal ve azil dönemleri geçirmiş, *Cevheri* mahlasıyla şiirler yazmış, bazı şiirlere ve ilmi eserlere şerhler telif etmiş bir Osmanlı alim-bürokratıdır. Eserine uzun süren bir azil döneminde başlamasının, Bayrami tarikatına gönülden bağlı bir mürid olmasının, Arap dili ve edebiyatına olan ilgisinin ve şair kimliğinin *el-İkdü'l-Mânzûm* üzerinde etkilerini görmek mümkündür.

Eserine Aşık Çelebi'nin yazmış olduğu *eş-Şekâiku'n-Nu'mâniyye* zeylini yeniden inşa etmekle başlayan Ali, önemli ekleme ve çıkarmalar yaparak bir çok yönden özgün bir biyografi kitabı yazmıştır. *El-İkdü'l-Manzûm*'daki ifadeleri Ali'nin iki farklı okuyucuya hitap ettiğini göstermektedir. Bunlardan ilki kendi çağdaşı olan Osmanlı alimleri (*efâzili'r-Rum*), ikincisi Rum olarak isimlendirilen coğrafyanın dışında yaşayan ve anadili Arapça olan Müslüman alimlerdir. Ali eserinde Arapça'ya olan hakimiyetini göstermeye çalışmış ve kendisinin de mensup olduğu Osmanlı alim-bürokrat grubunun ilmi yeterliliğini vurgulamıştır.

Ali dönemindeki ilmî hayat, hâmilik ilişkileri, sanatın ve sanatçının takdir edilmemesi gibi konularda çok karamsar değerlendirmelerde bulunmaktadır. Ancak,

dönemin diğeri bir çok yazarında da görülebileceđi gibi bu Őikayetler ve olumsuz deđerlendirmeler 16. yy. Osmanlı eliti arasında oldukça yaygındır.

Sufi Őeyhlerin biyografilerine de yer veren Ali, biraz da dönemindeki siyasi atmosferin etkisiyle Őeriat ile uyum içinde bir tasavvuf anlayışını desteklemiştir. Kendisi Bayrami tarikatına mensup olduđu için, Bayrami Őeyhlerinin biyografilerine özel bir yer ayırmış, Őeyhi Muslihiddin Cerrahzade'yi tarikatın önde gelen Őeyhlerinden biri olarak resmetmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ali b. Bali, Cevheri, *el-İkdü'l-Manzum*, *eş-Şekaiku'n-Nu'mâniyye*, Osmanlı alimi, zeyl.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my thesis advisor Professor Abdurrahman Atçıl for his invaluable support and encouragement during the writing of this thesis. Without his guidance and advice, it would have been impossible to write this thesis. He never hesitated to help me, patiently answered my endless questions, and encouraged me to develop my own perspective in my study. His comments and criticism were a source of inspiration and brought my arguments into a clearer focus.

I owe special thanks to Professor Engin Deniz Akarlı, who was very generous with his time, knowledge, fruitless reflections and futile efforts. I feel proud as well as lucky of being the student of such a historian like him. He read my thesis and provided perceptive criticism of my study, which clarified my thoughts on numerous points.

I count myself very lucky because I benefited to learn from many exceptional scholars throughout my education at Şehir University, among them Mehmet Genç, Coşkun Çakır, Abdulhamit Kırmızı, Hatice Aynur, and Irvin Cemil Schick. Their courses helped me acquire the necessary skills for a young historian and enriched my graduate experience.

I owe also special debt to Professors Halit Özkan and Berat Açıl, whose corrections and suggestions saved me from some inexcusable mistakes. Vital also have been the help and support of many friends. Among them I should specially mention İmam Rabbani Çelik, Ahmet Tahir Nur, Mehmet Yılmaz Akbulut, Yakoob Ahmed, Fikri Çiçek, and Rana Marcella Özenç, who read, commented and edited different chapters of this study.

I was fortunate enough to participate to the Researcher Assistance and Training Project in the Center for Islamic Studies (İSAM), which supported me both financially and educationally. The seminar series offered by İSAM immensely contributed to my academic development. I owe special thanks to Professors Eyyüb Said Kaya and İbrahim Halil Üçer for their insightful lecture series. I must also mention Professor Tuncay Başoğlu's friendship, support, and guidance.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation for my family. My elder sister Güldem cherished me with continuous and invaluable moral

support. My parents, Celal and Güllü Kami, were unwavering in providing every type of support during my education. Their love and prayers cannot be paid by a few words of thanks. I am forever in their debt. It is to whom I dedicate this thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Al- 'Iqd al-Manzum* Ali b. Bali, *Al- 'Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*, revision by Seyyid Muhammed Tabataba'i (Tehran: 2001)
- ATAYI* Nevizade Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989)
- EP²* *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (online).
- MECDI* Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989)
- SHAQA'IQ* Ahmed Taşköprizade, *Al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi 'Ulama al-Dawla al-'Uthmaniyya* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, 1975)
- TDVIA* *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (online)
- Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq* Aşık Çelebi, *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi 'Ulama al-Dawla al-'Uthmaniyya*, ed. Abdurrezzak Berekat (Kuwait: Dar al-Hidaya, 2007)

TRANSLITERATION AND USAGE

All Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman terms, texts, titles and personal names are fully transliterated into English usage without macrons and diacritics. *Hamza* (ء) (unless at a word's beginning) and *èayn* (ع) are shown with é and è respectively. For the sake of simplicity, however, following exceptions are made from this rule:

As for personal names, if the context is related to Anatolia and the Ottoman dynasty, the modern Turkish rendering is used to the greatest extent possible. For example, Ebussuud is used instead of Abu al-Su'ud. Turkish long vowels (â and î) are used only in cases where confusion may occur, such as Mustafa Âli.

In the footnotes, book names are transliterated as they appear in the published works. In the footnotes, Ottoman Turkish quotations are transliterated in modern Turkish.

Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* are given without italics: ulema, waqf, shah, sunna, hadith, sheikh, sharia, ghazi, fatwa, pasha, and vizier. However, madrasa instead of madrasah is used.

Ottoman Turkish terms are rendered according to modern Turkish orthography with italics: *kanun*, *kadı*, *mevali*, *ilmiye*, and *mülazemet*.

As for the plurals of non-English terms, the English plural suffix (*s*) is used (e.g., *kasabat kadıs*, *kadıaskers*, *mülazıms*, and *vakfiyes*), except for the plural word *afazıl*, the singular form of which (*fazıl*) never appears in this study.

The modern Turkish version of place names are used (e.g., Konya, Ankara, and Manisa) unless there is an established anglicized form, such as Istanbul, Cairo, Damascus, Medina, Mecca, Aleppo, and Baghdad.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

One of the indispensable sources of studies on Ottoman educational history is biographical dictionaries, which provide profound data about a great variety of subjects related to the life of an Ottoman scholar. Thanks to the biographical accounts provided in these works one can learn much about the teachers of a certain scholar, the books he read with them, the madrasas he taught in, his positions and his salary in each position, his scholarly production and so on. There are also many anecdotal stories which shed light on various aspects of the scholarly life during different periods of the Ottoman Empire.

Consisting of biographies of the Ottoman scholars organized according to the reigns of the Ottoman rulers, *al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi 'Ulama al-Dawla al-Uthmaniyya* is the first-known and the most famous example of biographical books in the Ottoman biographical literature. It covers the biographies of prominent Ottoman scholars and sheikhs who lived and died during the time period extending from the foundation of the Ottoman state to the days of its author, Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi (d. 1561). Soon after its completion, *al-Shaqa'iq* gained popularity within the Ottoman learned circles and was translated from Arabic into Turkish several times. A number of scholars kept it updating by writing continuations (*dhayl*) in Arabic as well as in Turkish until the late centuries of the empire.

The most famous Turkish translation of *al-Shaqa'iq* belonged to Edirneli Mecdi (d. 1590), who was a student of Taşköprizade. During the first half of the seventeenth century, Nevizade Atayi (d. 1635) composed a continuation to Mecdi's translation of *al-Shaqa'iq* and covered the period extending from the end of Mecdi's *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq* to his own days. Other scholars continued Atayi's biographical dictionary in subsequent centuries. This, in turn, created a corpus of biographies of Ottoman scholars and sheikhs who lived during the six centuries-long history of the Ottoman Empire.

Abdulkadir Özcan's renowned publication of a facsimile edition of the nineteenth-century printed copy of Mecdi's *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq* and of its successive Turkish continuations made available for modern readers the vast and rich area of Ottoman scholars and sheikhs' biographies.¹ Since Özcan's publication, many biographical and prosopographical studies based particularly on the information provided in these biographical dictionaries have been conducted.²

Although Özcan's publication has opened new horizons and opportunities before the students of Ottoman history it has also affected them negatively to a certain extent by channeling the studies in the field into giving reference to certain continuations of *al-Shaqa'iq*. Over time Mecdi's biographical dictionary and its continuations have established hegemony over other continuations of *al-Shaqa'iq* as the most reliable and satisfying biographical sources of the related periods in Ottoman history. The lack of interest in less popular continuations of *al-Shaqa'iq* was usually justified by the assumption that what existed in these works could also be found in the biographical dictionaries of Mecdi or Atayi. Mecdi and Atayi, after all, included them in their own larger, comprehensive, and exhaustive biographical works.

Do these so-far neglected continuations of *al-Shaqa'iq* really have nothing new to say for students of Ottoman history? Can one really find nothing in them but a repetition of what we have already had in books on our bookshelves? Was it the same inducement that motivated all those who attempted to translate *al-Shaqa'iq* or to compose a continuation? For example, considering the fact that *al-Shaqa'iq* had

¹ Abdulkadir Özcan, *Şakaik-ı Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri* (Çağrı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1989). Özcan's five volumes-publication starts with Mecdi's translation of *al-Shaqa'iq*, namely *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq* (from the foundation of the empire to 1557), and continues with the prominent successive continuations to Mecdi's work, respectively, Nevizade Atayi's *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq fi Taqmilat al-Shaqa'iq* (1557-1634), Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi's *Vakayi al-Fuzalâ* (1634-1730), and Fındıklı İsmet Efendi's *Takmilat al-Shaqa'iq fi ahi al-Hada'iq* (1730-1896).

² To give some examples, see Abdurrahman Atçıl, *The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship (1300-1600)* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010); idem, "The Route to the Top in the Ottoman *İlmiye* Hierarchy of the Sixteenth Century." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72, no. 3 (2009), 489–512.; Aslı Niyazioğlu, *Ottoman Sufi Sheikhs Between This World and the Hereafter: A Study of Nev'izâde 'Atayi's (1583-1635) Biographical Dictionary* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2003); Denise Klein, *Die Osmanischen Ulema des 17 Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2005).

already been translated four times and continued by three different scholars before Mecdi completed his work in 1586, one cannot help asking what could be the reason(s) that led several Ottoman scholars to undertake the same/similar project one after another in thirty years.³ Only in-depth studies on these biographical dictionaries can answer such questions satisfactorily.

1.1. The Limits and Possibilities of a Historical Study on *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*

The present study aims to examine one of the aforementioned continuations of *al-Shaqa’iq*, namely *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum* by Ali b. Bali (d. 1584). Born in 1527, Ali b. Bali was educated in Ottoman madrasas and spent his life as a scholar-bureaucrat in the service of the Ottoman state in various teaching and judgeship positions he received throughout his career. When he died at the age of fifty-seven as the Judge of Maraş he was still writing his biographical dictionary which he had started about ten years ago in the first half of the 1570s. Following his death, his incomplete work entered into circulation within the Ottoman learned circles and gained popularity among Ottoman elites.

We do not know whether Mecdi had read *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* and used it as a source before he finished his *Hada’iq al-Shaqa’iq* in 1586, two years after Ali’s death. However, it is clear that Atayi used *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* extensively as one of his sources when he began to compose a biographical dictionary in 1632, covering the period from the year *al-Shaqa’iq* ended (1558) to his own time.⁴ Atayi’s was a huge project. He used all previous continuations and translations of *al-Shaqa’iq* until his time as sources for his *Hada’iq*. Soon after its completion, Atayi’s biographical dictionary became an authoritative source for the biographies of scholars and sheikhs of the aforementioned period. *Hada’iq* diminished the popularity of the previous continuations dealing with the same period (1558-1632). Ali’s *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* was one of these continuations.

³ For the translations and continuations of *al-Shaqa’iq* see Behçet Gönül, “İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Al-Şakaik al-Nu‘maniya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7–8 (1945), 136–68.

⁴ ATAYI, 350, 352. For other sources of Atayi see 6.

One of the major departure points of this study is that *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* still matters greatly for a historical analysis. A prosopographical study on Ottoman scholars of the period that relies on the biographical information provided in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* may not be appropriate because the same data is already available in Atayi's *Hada'iq*. In comparison with *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Atayi's work is richer and more accurate in terms of information provided about the teaching and judgeship positions of scholars, their salaries, works, family backgrounds, kinship relationships, and so on. Relying on these data provided in Atayi's biographical dictionary, a number of studies has already been prepared in order to highlight various aspects of Ottoman scholarly life such as the hierarchical character of the scholarly career path, the routes of advancement, factors for success, and the transformations that took place within the scholarly path over time. Thus, a similar prosopographical approach towards *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* does not seem to promise a new contribution to the existing literature on the period.

What could be significant about a historical study on *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is that it can shed light on the complex web of relations of its author Ali b. Bali with his contemporaries. Such a study would help us much understand the mind of a sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar-bureaucrat. A careful reader encounters throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* Ali's partial and biased tendencies towards his contemporaries occasionally; and can often feel his anger, expectations, disappointment, resentment and the like within the depths of the text. Ali's narrative and choice of vocabulary in the biographical entries, his presentation of anecdotal stories, interpretations and criticisms reveal much about Ali's perspective towards his age and contemporaries.

Al-'Iqd al-Manzum starts with a biographical account of Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi, the author of *al-Shaqa'iq*, and continues by covering the life stories of seventy-five scholars and twelve sheikhs who died between the years 1561-1582. In the preamble of the book, Ali states that he will write about only the life stories of prominent scholars and sheikhs whom he had accompanied during a particular period of his life or whose face he was honored to see at least once before they died.⁵ From this passage in the preamble, Ali's selective attitude in adding biographical entries to

⁵ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 3.

his biographical dictionary is rather apparent. According to his criteria, Ali did not cover in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* the biographies of those whom

- He did not consider significant enough to mention in his book under a separate entry,
- He did not have the opportunity to know or simply to encounter at least once in his life even though they probably reached high positions,
- He was closely acquainted with and considered important to mention in his book but would outlive Ali.

Despite such shortcomings with regards to its exhaustiveness in mentioning the life stories of the prominent personalities of the period, *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* presents historian a broad picture of the network relations of its author. All of the names mentioned in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* had played a role in Ali’s life at one point or other.

Moreover *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* provides its reader with information about different periods of Ali’s life. This information is not available in any other source. The reader learns about the madrasas he visited during his years as a student, some of his teachers, the books he read with them, the years he passed in seclusion in a Bayrami Sufi lodge in Istanbul, and his personal reminiscences of his sheikh Muslihiddin Cerrahzade. Such information is not available in the biographical entry allotted to Ali in Atayi’s biographical dictionary. *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* also contains some couplets of Ali, who had composed poetry under his penname *Cevheri*. Since he was not given a separate entry in the dictionaries of poets of the period, these exemplary poems in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, together with others provided by Atayi in his *Hada’iq*, are of great importance for an appreciation of Ali’s literary interests.

As a result, an in-depth analysis of *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* could help us write the biography of a sixteenth century Ottoman scholar-bureaucrat and understand his world.

1.2. Literature Review

Although there are studies that refer to *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* for the biographies of certain individuals, the book as a whole has not been at the focus of any academic

study until now. A search for the name of the book on the online database of *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (TDVIA) brings up thirteen results.⁶ All results are encyclopedic entries for certain Ottoman scholars and sheikhs mentioned by Ali b. Bali in his biographical dictionary. Ten of these entries give reference to *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in the bibliography sections.

An entry in TDVIA is devoted to Ali's biography.⁷ In this entry, Abdulkadir Özcan repeats more or less what Franz Babinger wrote about Ali in his *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* without providing any significant additional information. Özcan does not use *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as a source although it contains important information about the life story of its author as mentioned above.

Among studies that refer to *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Aslı Niyazioğlu's dissertation makes an in-depth analysis of certain biographies in it.⁸ As the name of her study suggests, however, the focus of Niyazioğlu is Atayi's biographical dictionary rather than *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. Niyazioğlu examines the biographies of certain sheikhs in Atayi's *Hada'iq*, and compares the narrative choices of Atayi with that of the previous continuers of *al-Shaqa'iq* such as Ali b. Bali and Aşık Çelebi. She deals with *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* only for the biographies of a number of Sufi sheikhs such as the Halveti Sheikh Bali Efendi, the Bayrami Sheikh Cerrahzade, and the Nakşibendi Sheikh Mahmud Efendi.⁹ Thus, Niyazioğlu's use of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is not exhaustive.

⁶ TDVIA, online. <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/>

⁷ Abdulkadir Özcan, "Hısım Ali, Çelebi", TDVIA.

⁸ Niyazioğlu, *Ottoman Sufi Sheikhs Between This World and the Hereafter*.

⁹ Ibid., for Sheikh Bali Efendi, 136-7; for Sheikh Cerrahzade, 202; for Sheikh Mahmud Efendi, 216. Note that in her analysis on Sheikh Bali Efendi's initiation to the Sufi path, Niyazioğlu compares the biographical accounts provided by a number of biographers including Aşık Çelebi. However, Niyazioğlu misses the point that Sheikh Bali Efendi (d. 980/ 1573) outlived Aşık Çelebi (d. 979/ 1572), thus the biography of the Sheikh Bali in Aşık Çelebi's continuation can not have been written by Aşık Çelebi himself - if the latter did not write it before Sheikh Bali died, which is not usually case for biographical dictionaries-. The biographical entry for Sheikh Bali Efendi in the manuscript copy that Niyazioğlu gives reference to (Fatih, 4413) must have been added after the death of its author.

Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum was also translated into German by the German orientalist Oskar Rescher (Osman Reşer) and published in 1934 in Germany.¹⁰ Rescher’s translation, however, does not include any analysis either of the book or of its author. Rescher seems to have translated *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* within his series of Arabic translations in order to be used in future academic studies by German-speaking scholars.¹¹ Hans George Majer refers to German translation of *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* but the main focus of his study is Uşakizade’s continuation to *al-Shaqa’iq* within the context of the seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Ottoman scholarly life.¹² In a more recent study on Ottoman scholars in German academia, Denise Klein does not refer to *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*.¹³ As usually done in the present Turkish literature, she is satisfied with a reference to Özcan’s publication of *Şekaik-ı Nu‘maniye ve Zeyilleri*.

To conclude, although *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* has been used as a reference book in a number of studies until now, a comprehensive analysis of the book has not been attempted before.

1.3. Manuscript Copies of *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* and the Sources of the Study

Today researchers do not have an edited copy of *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* but only published copies of some unedited manuscripts. *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* was first published in the margins of Ibn Khallikan’s *Vafayat al-‘Ayan* in Egypt in 1883. It was republished nearby *Vafayat al-‘Ayan* in Istanbul in 1894.¹⁴ It was translated into German by Oskar Rescher in 1934.¹⁵ It was published in Beirut in 1975 at the end of

¹⁰ Oskar Rescher, *Taşköprüzâde's "Eş-saqâ'iq en-No'mâniye" fortgesetzt von 'Alî Miniq unter dem Titel "el-'Iqd el-Manzûm fî Dîkr Afâdil er-Rûm"*, (Stuttgart: 1934).

¹¹ For much information on Oskar Rescher and his works see Sedat Şensoy, “Reşer, Osman”, *TDVIA*.

¹² Hans Georg Majer, *Vorstudien Zur Geschichte Der İlimiye Im Osmanischen Reich-I:Zu Uşakizade, Seiner Familie und Seinem Zeyl-i Şakayık* (Munich: Rudolf Trofenik, 1978).

¹³ Klein, *Die Osmanischen Ulema des 17th Jahrhunderts*.

¹⁴ *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, see the preface written by the publisher.

¹⁵ Özcan, “Ali Çelebi, Hısım” *TDVIA*.

al-Shaqa'iq but without any critical edition. The last publication of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* took place in Tehran in 2001.¹⁶ This last publication as well was not an edited work but a comparison of the previous publications with some corrections by the publisher. In this study I mainly rely on the Tehran publication of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.

The number of the copies of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in manuscript libraries indicates that the book became very popular soon after the death of its author. In reference to the catalogue of *Mu'jam Tarikh al-Turath al-Islamî fi Maktabat al-'Âlam*, the Tehran publication of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* gives a list of extant copies of the book in the manuscript libraries of Turkey as well as in the Zahiriyye Library of Damascus and the Bankipur Library of Calcutta.¹⁷ This list, which is not exhaustive, contains fourteen copies of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. A search in Turkish Libraries Database provides a list of twenty nine copies of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* available only in Turkish manuscript libraries, most of which are not counted in the list provided in the Tehran edition.¹⁸ This relatively high number of copies suggests that *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* gained much more popularity in Ottoman scholarly circles than it had been estimated until recently.

Apart from *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, this study will make many references to a number of primary sources such as *al-Shaqa'iq*, Aşık Çelebi's continuation, and Atayi's *Hada'iq*. It will also use extensively the existing secondary literature on various aspects of sixteenth-century Ottoman history, including the scholarly life, Sufi life, and the perceptions of a Golden Age.

1.4. The Outline of Chapters

This thesis targets an in-depth analysis of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in order to understand the mind of its author rather than trying to shed light on sixteenth-century Ottoman scholarly life under the guidance of the related information provided in the

¹⁶ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, see the Preface.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ İSAM Turkish Libraries Database : <http://ktp.isam.org.tr/> (access: 05.01.2015) For the list of existing manuscript copies of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in Turkish libraries see Appendix B.

book. The focus of the thesis will be an examination of Ali b. Bali as a sixteenth-century scholar-bureaucrat by analyzing different aspects of his biographical dictionary, *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*.

The following chapter of this study attempts to present an authorial context for the book by constructing Ali b. Bali’s biography. The world of Ali was shaped, to a certain extent, within the sixteenth-century Ottoman scholarly as well as Sufi circles. That means understanding his mind requires understanding the general trends of his time as well as his personal relations. Thus the chapter seeks to shed light on Ali’s network relations as they are reflected in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, and with the aid of relevant information available in works on various aspects of the period.

The third chapter deals with *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* as a biographical dictionary in relation with the general trend of biography writing in the sixteenth-century Ottoman world. Ali did not come up with a new genre. Before he started his work there were many popular biographical dictionaries in circulation within the Ottoman learned circles. Taşköprizade’s *al-Shaqa’iq*, its translations and continuations, and dictionaries of poets are cases in point. Had Ali read some of these works? Why did he attempt to write a continuation to *al-Shaqa’iq* while there had already been two other continuations covering the same period in circulation? What were the sources of *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*? Why did Ali prefer composing his biographical dictionary in Arabic instead of Turkish in a time period when even *al-Shaqa’iq* was translated at least four times into Turkish? The third chapter tries to answer these questions using contemporary sources from the sixteenth century as well as modern studies on the related period.

The fourth chapter examines a prevailing theme, namely the golden age versus the corrupt present, from the perspective of Ali as far as it was reflected in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*. From the very first sentences of *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali’s longing for a golden past is perceivable. While complaining about the problems of his age such as bribery, the low level of scholarship, and the unfair appointments, Ali glorifies past days. He yearns for a past when those deserving were well appreciated due to their knowledge. Ali’s bitter experience in scholarly career path must have had an influence on his perspective of his age and contemporaries but an explanation solely based on Ali’s life story would remain incomplete. In order to understand Ali’s mind one needs to take the decline discourse that prevailed in his time into

consideration as well. Ali was not alone in his complaints about his age. In contrary, a number of scholars and bureaucrats who were his contemporaries complained about the same problems.

Therefore, the fourth chapter firstly provides a brief survey of the ideas about the perceptions of decline among Ali's contemporaries. Secondly, Ali's criticisms in the preamble as well as in the biographical entries are evaluated in relation with the prevailing decline discourse of the period. Thirdly, Ali's concern for Ottoman ideals and practices or his *kanun* consciousness is traced within *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. Ali does not openly take violation of *kanun* responsible for the decline but he seems to be well-aware of the privileges of the Ottoman learned class within the established Ottoman practices. Fourthly, Ali's portrayal of the ideal '*âlim* is dealt with. Ali's interpretations throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* imply that he had in mind Ebussuud Efendi, *şeyhülislam* (the chief jurist) of his time, as the ideal '*âlim*. Lastly, Ali's evaluation of the House of Osman is mentioned. Although there is no separate biographical entry in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* for any particular Ottoman sultan, the reader encounters Ali's interpretations of the members of the ruling family in biographical entries. He also provides a summary of sorts for the reigns of Süleyman and Selim II. His words about the rulers of his time also help explain his pessimistic mood in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.

The fifth chapter of this study aims to shed light upon Ali's perspective on Sufism. Ali was affiliated with the Bayrami order and was a devoted follower of his Sheikh Cerrahzade. In his biographical dictionary, he allotted twelve biographical entries to the life stories of sheikhs from different orders. In these biographical entries he mentions many anecdotes regarding dreams, miracles and prophecies of Sufis. A close reading of these biographies proves very helpful in understanding Ali's attitude toward Sufism. Ali seems to emphasize the conformity of Sufism with sharia. The persecution of Bayrami-Melami beliefs during the second half of the sixteenth century must have been partly responsible for this emphasis.

Moreover, Ali portrays Sufi sheikhs as superior to scholars in many cases. He never attributes corruption to sheikhs as he does in the case of scholars. Considering Sufism as a refuge, he describes Sufis as people of salvation both in this world and hereafter. As regards the Bayrami sheikhs, Ali portrays them as superior to the

sheikhs of other Sufi orders. Lastly, Ali creates a vision of his own sheikh Cerrahzade as one of the prominent sheikhs of the Bayrami order.

The last chapter of this study is the conclusion, which provides a brief summary of each chapter as well as the main contributions of the thesis.

CHAPTER II
THE LIFE STORY OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN
SCHOLAR-BUREAUCRAT: ALİ B. BALİ

2.1. To be a Scholar-Bureaucrat

The term *scholar-bureaucrat* needs to be clarified.¹⁹ After the capture of Constantinople, Mehmed II undertook his great project of re-building the new imperial capital. His Sahn madrasas were a part of this project. Established as the biggest madrasa complex of the empire in terms of its capacity, size, endowment, and funds, education in the Sahn madrasas aimed to provide the nascent empire with the human resource it needed in various bureaucratic positions. The Sahn madrasas were given the top position within the madrasa hierarchy.

Sahn graduates entered different career paths such as teaching in madrasas, giving religious guidance, or taking judgeship positions. The procedure through which they entered the scholarly path, and the way they received positions and promotion was different from those who graduated from the madrasas that were not included within the list of the acknowledged madrasas of the empire. Unlike the latter group, Sahn graduates could reach the top positions in state bureaucracy and judiciary such as the chief judgeships of Anatolia and Rumelia. Although they started their career as professors in low level madrasas they advanced in time and could take financial and scribal positions as well. The career path they followed was largely restricted to them by certain rules which partly guaranteed the non-inclusion of other groups. In time, they became a self-conscious group so that they claimed the absolute exclusion of other groups from their career path.

The entrance to the scholarly career path was not restricted to any particular segment of the society. It was possible for a successful student of poor background to

¹⁹ For much information about the emergence and development of Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats as a separate class see Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Defenders of Faith and Empire* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), ch. II: “The Commencement of the Scholarly-Bureaucratic Hierarchy (1453-1530)”. The information in this part relies on Atçıl’s study.

study in the imperial madrasas and to advance in time due to his endeavors and merits. However, entrance to the higher positions from outside of the hierarchy was restricted, and became more and more restricted over time. This created a particular group of scholars who were affiliated with the imperial government and who spent their lives in the service of sultan. The term *scholar-bureaucrat* denotes the members of this group of Ottoman scholars. Ali and his father Bali Efendi were scholar-bureaucrats in this sense.

2.2. Sources for the Biography

Sources on Ali b. Bali's family are scarce. All that is known about his family is mainly confined to two biographical accounts of his father, which are more or less identical.

The first source is the biographical information provided in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.²⁰ Ali mentions his father's life story very briefly at the end of Mevla Bostan's biography without allocating him a separate biographical entry. In other biographical entries he usually starts with the praise in a highly embellished style for the subject of the biography, and continues by explaining his family, his education years, his teachers, the positions he held throughout his life, his death, and his work. If there is an anecdotal story, or an important document such as *icazetname*, or a literary piece such as the subject's poetry, Ali cites them as well in the related biographical entry. In the case of his father, Bali Efendi (d. 1569), however, the reader does not encounter an organized or separate biographical entry, but gets the impression that Ali has squeezed the biography of his father between the biographies of Mevla Bostan (d. 1569) and Küçük Bostan (d. 1569).

Why did Ali not prefer to write a more detailed biography of his father whom he should have known very well? Why did he not mention anything about his grandfather except for his name, Mehmed? Did he have brothers? If yes, why did he not mention them as Taşköprizade had done before?²¹ Could he have thought to provide more information about his family later in his autobiography, which he may

²⁰ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 70-73.

²¹ Taşköprizade mentions his years as a student with his elder brother, Nizameddin Mehmed, until the latter died after the two had received the basic education from their father and from some local scholars. *SHAQA'IQ*, 326.

have planned to add to the end of *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* as Taşköprizade had done in his book, but was unable to achieve this plan due to his sudden death? Can Ali’s choices in narration about his personal life and family enable the modern researchers to understand the priorities and limitations of a sixteenth century-Ottoman scholar in biographical narration and autobiography?

These and similar questions may never be answered satisfactorily due to the lack of information about Ali and his family in the biographical dictionaries of the period. Besides, such questions require further studies on the period itself. Yet many clues in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, as the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, can help one to form a meaningful, although incomplete, picture of Ali’s life and mindset.

The second source about the life of Bali Efendi is the biographical account provided by Atayi (d. 1635).²² Unlike Ali, Atayi gives a separate biographical entry for the father under his nickname Uzun Bali, Bali the Tall. However, Atayi’s text is more or less a translation of what Ali had written about his father in Arabic into the eloquent Turkish of the seventeenth century with some modifications to the narrative.²³ Thus, Atayi’s text does not provide the reader with much additional information about the life story of Bali Efendi except that he was called *Uzun*, the Tall, thanks to his height.

Atayi’s *Hada’iq*, however, contains what *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* lacks: a separate biographical entry for Ali b. Bali.²⁴ From this, one learns relatively more about Ali’s life. Atayi mentions some of his teachers, positions, as well as certain important dates in his life.

²² ATAYI, 134.

²³ Although it is not within the scope of the current study, Atayi’s modifications in Ali’s narrative seem to be interesting. For example, both Ali and Atayi mention how Bali Efendi received *mülazemet*. However the way they told the story is different. There occurred a tension between Şeyhülislam Kemalpaşazade and young professor Çivizade during the Sahn professorship exam due to the way the latter quotes Kemalpaşazade’s ideas in his risalas. Çivizade quoted Kemalpaşazade’s ideas saying “some people say” instead of “the Şeyhülislam Kemalpaşazade says”. Ali depicts Kemalpaşazade’s reaction to “disrespectful behaviour” of Çivizade in detail. He mentions Kemalpaşazade’s rage and Çivizade’s apology by prostrating himself before the mufti and kissing his shoes in humiliation. On the other hand, Atayi only mentions that Çivizade was forgiven by the intercession of some viziers without any depiction of such a humiliating scene. Atayi must have had a plausible reason for this choice in his narrative.

²⁴ ATAYI, 279-80.

Al-Iqd al-Manzum also contains significant information about different periods of Ali's life. Ali mentions his school years, his reminisces, his dreams, his sheikhs, his works etc. He sometimes quotes some couplets of his own. Ali's expressions in the biographical entries shed light on his relationship with his contemporaries. Ali praises and criticizes their literary and scholarly capabilities. All these help in grasping Ali's inner world as well as his perspective towards the outer world.

2.3. The Problem of Origin and Family Background

Bali Efendi was born in 901/1495-6. Neither Ali himself nor Atayi mentions the birthplace of the father. There is also no nickname suggesting the village or the region to which their ancestors belonged. Neither does Katip Çelebi (d. 1657), who was a contemporary of Atayi, mention a birthplace or a nickname referring to a hometown while giving very brief introductions for Ali's three books mentioned in *Kashf al-Zunun*.²⁵ Katip Çelebi says, "Mevla Ali b. Bali, who is known as *Mınıq*,²⁶ wrote a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*", without mentioning another nickname showing his hometown.

Mehmed Süreyya (d. 1909) follows suit. He does not give information about Bali Efendi's origin in his *Sicill-i Osmani*.²⁷ Interestingly, however, later biographies of Ali b. Bali and his father mention their hometown as Alanya, a.k.a. Alaiya, a town in southern Turkey. Bağdatlı İsmail Pasha (d. 1920), the author of *Hadiyya al-'Arifin*, says in the introductory passage for *al-Iqd al-Manzum*, "Ali b. Bali Alaaddin

²⁵ Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunun 'an Asami al-Kutub wa al-Funun* (Istanbul: 1943), II, 1059, 1766, and 1920.

²⁶ The Arabic letters used for this word allows various different pronunciations in Ottoman Turkish such as *munuk*, *munik*, *manık*, *mank*. Babinger reads the word as *Munuk* and gives its relation with a Greek word meaning in Ottoman Turkish *hadım*, server. See Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1992) (originally published in Leipzig: 1927), 125-6. However, Özcan relies on Atayi to point out that Ali was called *Mınık* because of his silence and tender-mindedness. See Özcan, "Ali Çelebi, Hısım" *TDVIA*.

²⁷ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), II, 357.

al-Rumi al-Adib al-Khanafiyya al-Ma'rif bi-Mıniq, his origin is from Alaiya village".²⁸

The biographical dictionaries of subsequent periods seem to have taken the information about the hometown of Bali Efendi from *Hadiyya al-'Arifin*. For example, Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi (d. 1925), who completed his own biographical dictionary in 1917, mentions İsmail Pasha's work among his sources.²⁹ In the biographical entry for Ali, he repeats the information that Ali's father Bali Efendi is from Alaiya, preferring to use the name of the city as mentioned in *Hadiyya al-'Arifin* instead of Alanya.³⁰

Franz Babinger (d. 1967) repeats the same information about Bali Efendi's origin. In the biographical entry for Ali, Babinger writes that Ali was the son of *Alanyalı* Bali Efendi who died as the Judge of Budin.³¹ Abdulkadir Özcan also repeats the same information in the encyclopedic entry for Ali in *TDVIA*.³²

The origin of Ali's family seems to be difficult to determine in the present situation. While the most reliable seventeenth-century sources such as the works of Atayi and Katip Çelebi are silent on the matter, modern sources mention Alanya as the hometown in reference to İsmail Pasha's account in his *Hadiyya al-'Arifin*. *Al-Iqd al-Manzum* does not provide the slightest clue to reach a decisive conclusion.

Whether from Alanya or not, Bali Efendi's family was most probably an ordinary family.³³ The grandfather probably was not a prominent scholar even if he

²⁸ İsmail Paşa Baghdadî, *Hadiyya al-'Arifin Asma all-Muallifin wa Asar al-Musannafin* (Istanbul: 1951), I, 749.

²⁹ Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, III, 10.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 85.

³¹ Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, 125-6.

³² Özcan "Hıısım Ali, Çelebi" *TDVIA*.

³³ Wüstenfeld gives the whole name of Ali b. Bali as "*Ali Efendi ben Bali ben Muhammed Beg.*" See, Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogische Tabellen der Arabischen Stamme und Familien* (Göttingen: Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1853), II, 83. Interesting thing in this entry is Wüstenfeld's mentioning the grandfather of Ali as *bey*. One may suggest this title shows that the grandfather may have held an official position. However there is no information either within *al-Iqd al-Manzum* or any other sources to support such an interpretation. Brockelman seems to have taken most of the information about Ali from Wüstenfeld, thus he also mentions the grandfather as

had been a scholar. Ali's silence on the occupation of the grandfather seems to support this idea because Ali is always fond of emphasizing scholarly credentials of his family as well as of the families of those whom he mentions in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. He mentions his father Bali Efendi but nearly skips over his qualifications which are not directly related to scholarship. He pays special attention to Bali Efendi's scholarly achievements and capabilities. He carefully draws a picture of his father as one of the best students of Kemalpaşazade, the *şeyhülislam* of the time. He gives the name of two madrasa positions that his father held, although they were low level professorships. However, he does not mention his father's judgeships at all with the exception of that in Budin, which was the highest judgeship position to which Bali Efendi rose.

Ali seems to be very careful in highlighting certain aspects of his deceased father's life while concealing others. He describes his father as zealous for knowledge, and known as such among people. In subsequent sentences of the biography he emphasizes the significance of his father's scholarship. He mentions that his father copied all works of Kemalpaşazade with his own handwriting, and wrote commentaries on Kemalpaşazade's *Sarh al-Fara'id* and *al-Islah wa al-Izah*. Although Ali does not mention any works of his father on theology, geometry and mathematics, he cannot help adding that his father had good command of these sciences as well and took some notes on some of the books on these sciences. Thus, one expects that if the grandfather had been a scholar Ali most probably would have pointed it out.

Neither the contemporary sources nor Atayi mention the occupation of Ali's grandfather Mehmed. This also suggests that the grandfather never entered the scholarly path.

2.4. The Father: Bali Efendi

At the end of Mevla Bostan's biography in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali unexpectedly starts talking about his father "[my] deceased father was his companion during their school years, and he received *mülazemet* (teaching license) from

"*beg*". See, Carl Brockelman, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943), II, 426.

Kemalpaşazade at the end of the tension between the latter and Mevla Çivizade”.³⁴ For Ali the most important event in his father’s scholarly life must have been his receiving *mülazemet*. In the following sentences, he presents an elaborate picture of the quarrel between Kemalpaşazade (d. 1534), *şeyhülislam* of the time, and Muhyiddin Mehmed Çivizade (d. 1547), a prospective Sahn professor. This anecdote covers nearly half of the space allotted to Bali Efendi’s life story in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*.

In 1528/9 there occurred a vacancy for professorship in one of the Sahn madrasas. Among those who were waiting for a position of Sahn degree, İshak Efendi from Darülhadis of Edirne, Çivizade Muhyiddin Mehmed Efendi from Üç Şerefeli Madrasa, and İsrafilzade Mevlana Fahreddin from Bursa Sultaniyesi applied for the exam. The exam took place in the Ayasofya Mosque under the control of the Chief Judge of Rumelia, Muhyiddin Fenari, and the Chief Judge of Anatolia, Kadiri Efendi. The applicants were expected to write three different *risalas* on particular subjects from three different books, namely *Talwih*, *Mawaqif*, and *Hidaya*.³⁵

The jury of the exam appreciated Çivizade’s *risalas*. However, some of his enemies intervened in order to prevent him from receiving the teaching position in the Sahn. In his *risala*, Çivizade had reported the arguments of Kemalpaşazade, who had written a *risala* on the same subject. While referring to the arguments of the *şeyhülislam*, Çivizade had used the passive form, “it is said”. He had not attributed the ideas openly to the *şeyhülislam* by writing “Kemalpaşazade says”. Çivizade’s enemies reported this expression to the *şeyhülislam* as a sign of disrespect to his personality. They did so with an exaggeration that made the *şeyhülislam* come to the presence of Sultan Süleyman in a rage determined to take revenge from this presumptuous young professor. Kemalpaşazade presented the sultan a fatwa, religio-legal opinion, wherein he explained the penalty of those who humiliated the *şeyhülislam*. According to this fatwa, the punishment had to be deposition, beating, and lifelong exile.

³⁴ *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, 72.

³⁵ According to Atayi’s account, the books on which the exam took place were *Talwih*, *Mawaqif*, and *Miftah*.

Süleyman agreed to punish Çivizade but later some scholars of higher positions intervened and tried to dissuade the angry *şeyhülislam* from seeking revenge. After a long and persistent attempt to obtain mercy, Kemalpaşazade pardoned the professor. This pardon pleased Süleyman, who was unwilling to punish a successful professor. In order to appease the *şeyhülislam*, the Sultan endowed him with the right of granting *mülazemet* to three of his students.

In this part of the story, Ali returns to his father and says with great pride that he was one of the best students of the *şeyhülislam*, and thus received *mülazemet* from him. Considering the prestige Kemalpaşazade enjoyed during the sixteenth century, Ali's pride was not meaningless. Among his contemporaries, Kemalpaşazade was known as “*al-mu'allim al-awwal*”, the first teacher.³⁶ No one, with the exception of Ebussuud Efendi, would have enjoyed similar prestige as *şeyhülislam* until the end of the century. In his biographical dictionary on leading Hanafi scholars of every generation, Kınalızade Ali Çelebi started with the life story of Abu Hanifa, the eponym of Hanafi law school, and ended with Kemalpaşazade, whom he mentions as “the peerless of his time and the unique of his era”.³⁷ To be one of the best students of such a great person must have been a source of prestige for Ali. That could be one of the possible reasons why he emphasized the aforementioned anecdote so much.

Bali Efendi was thirty-one when he received *mülazemet* in 1528/9. Ali does not provide information on his father's years as a student. He only writes “[my] deceased father was his [Mevla Bostan's] companion in their school years”. This suggests that Mevla Bostan and Bali Efendi had studied together until the latter received *mülazemet* from Kemalpaşazade. Relying on Ali's account about the teachers of Mevla Bostan, the latter and Bali Efendi most probably studied under Muhyiddin Efendi (d. 1523) in one of the Sahn madrasas during a certain period of time between the years 1513-1519.³⁸

³⁶ Şerefettin Turan, “Kemalpaşazade”, *TDVIA*.

³⁷ Guy Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Hanafi School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 78.

³⁸ Muhyiddin Efendi was teaching in the Sahn madrasa between the years 1513 and 1519. See Mehmet İpşirli, “Fenarizade Muhyiddin Çelebi” *TDVIA*.

The students must have continued their education in the Madrasa of Bayezid II in Edirne with Mevla Şücaeddin İlyas Rumi (d. 1523). The Madrasa of Bayezid II was a higher level madrasa in comparison to the Sahn madrasas from the sixteenth century onwards.³⁹ In Edirne Bali Efendi must have met Kemalpaşazade who would grant him the *mülazemet* afterwards. Kemalpaşazade had recently retired from the Judgeship of Anatolia and started teaching in the Darulhadis of Edirne in 1520. After a while, he was appointed to the Madrasa of Bayezid II in Edirne, where Mevla Bostan and Bali Efendi continued their education with Şücaeddin Efendi.⁴⁰ Then Bali Efendi and Mevla Bostan began to attend Kemalpaşazade's lectures.

The companionship of Mevla Bostan and Bali Efendi seems to have come to an end after they met Kemalpaşazade. Mevla Bostan did not enter Kemalpaşazade's service and left his retinue after some time. Atayi informs us that he received *mülazemet* from Mevla Hayreddin, the tutor of Süleyman the Lawgiver, seven years later in 1526.⁴¹ Mevla Bostan was thirty-one years old when he received his first position in the Molla Yegan Madrasa in Bursa three years after receiving *mülazemet*. This suggests that scholars were not automatically appointed to a position after *mülazemet*. Most probably due to the financial reasons, one witnesses Mevla Bostan's leaving a teaching career after his first professorship in the Molla Yegan Madrasa for a small town-judgeship position (*kasabat kadılık*).

Bali Efendi seems to have encountered similar difficulties during the subsequent years. After receiving *mülazemet* from Kemalpaşazade, he was appointed to the Mahmud Pasha Madrasa in Edirne. Neither Ali nor Atayi provide any date for this appointment. His second appointment was to the Beylerbeyi Madrasa in the same city. Bali Efendi must have taught there until he left teaching for small town judgeship.

³⁹ When constructed by Mehmed the Conqueror, the Sahn Madrasas became the last step in teaching career. In the subsequent decades, however, new madrasas were established by successive Sultans in big cities. The Madrasa of Bayezid II in Edirne was one of them. For much on the transformation in madrasa hierarchy see Atçıl, *Defenders*, Chapter III.

⁴⁰ Turan, "Kemalpaşazade", *TDVIA*.

⁴¹ *ATAYI*, 129.

The number of years Bali Efendi and his family spent in Edirne is unknown. When he received *mülazemet* in 1528/9 his son Ali was about one year old. Ali must have spent significant part of his childhood in Edirne. These were the years he received his first education from his father as mentioned in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. He learned grammar, syntax, and a little *furû al-fiqh* (substantive law) from Bali Efendi.

Ali does not provide information about his father's career after he left teaching. There were great differences between the career path of town judges (*kasabat kadıs*) and high dignitaries (*mevali*). Those choosing the town judgeship during the early years of their career were relatively well paid. However, it was the second group who had the opportunity of obtaining the most prestigious and lucrative positions within the hierarchy provided that they were patient through the many years until their advancement took.⁴² Probably because of financial reasons, Bali Efendi preferred to end his teaching career for a town judgeship.

Although Ali does not mention the names of the towns in which his father served as a judge, one can make some suggestions in the light of the information about the last appointment of Bali Efendi. Bali Efendi was appointed as the Judge of Budin with 130 aspers daily in 1569/70, but he could not hold this position due to his sudden death on his way to Budin. During the sixteenth century, it was obligatory for those who left the teaching career for lower level-judgeships to be recorded in the *defter* (register) of either the Chief Judge of Rumelia or that of Anatolia in order to receive an appointment. This first choice determined the future appointments as well. For example if one was registered within the *defter* of the Chief Judge of Rumelia he was always appointed to judgeship positions within territories under the control of this chief judgeship.⁴³ Transfers between the jurisdictions of the two-judgeships happened rarely.⁴⁴ Bali Efendi must have been registered in the *defter* of the Judgeship of Rumelia because the last position he was appointed to was the Budin Judgeship. In that case, Bali Efendi and his family most probably lived in the

⁴² Atçıl, "The Route to the Top in the Ottoman *İlmiye* Hierarchy of the Sixteenth Century", 490.

⁴³ Mustafa Şentop, *Osmanlı Yargı Sisteminde Kazaskerlik* (Klasik Yayınları, 2005), 89; İlber Ortaylı, "Kadı", *TDVİA*; Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam XVI. Yüzyıl* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 229.

⁴⁴ Şentop, *ibid*; Beyazıt, *ibid*.

Rumelian territories of the empire for years. Maybe this familiarity was the reason why Ali chose to receive his first appointment as a professor in Dimetoka, a city in Rumelia.

Spending more than forty years as a town judge in different cities around the empire, Bali Efendi was approximately seventy-four years old when he died in 1569/70 in Çorlu, a town in the Tekirdağ province. Was the son present at his father's funeral? In 1567, Ali was already dismissed from his position in the Davud Pasha Madrasa in Istanbul. He did not receive an appointment for the next eight years. The biographical entry of Sheikh Ramazan Yezi (d. 1571) in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* suggests that Ali was present in Çorlu for a certain period of time during his life.⁴⁵ These years may have corresponded with the years following the death of his father in Çorlu.

2.5. The Son: Ali b. Bali⁴⁶

2.5.1. School Years

Ali b. Bali was born in 934/1527-8 in Edirne. There is no mention of any sisters or brothers in the sources. At the end of Bali Efendi's biography, Ali mentions that he received his first education from his father. Unlike Taşköprizade's detailed autobiography at the end of *al-Shaqa'iq*⁴⁷, Ali does not provide much information about this first education. His expressions imply that he was alone during the early years of his education, without the accompaniment of a brother.

Ali must have spent a considerable part of his childhood in Edirne due to his father's professorship in the Mahmud Pasha and Beylerbeyi madrasas. During these years, he must have also been in Istanbul for a time when his father attended the Chief Judge of Rumelia while waiting for a new appointment. After his primary

⁴⁵ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 75-6. After his education Sheikh Ramazan accepted neither a teaching nor a judgeship position but entered the Sufi path. He spent the rest of his life as the preacher of Ahmed Pasha Mosque in Çorlu. Ali must have encountered the Sheikh in Çorlu, and his expressions in the related biography suggest that he was present in some of Sheikh Ramazan's lectures.

⁴⁶ For the chronology of Ali's life see Appendix C.

⁴⁷ Taşköprizade mentions his studentship years with his elder brother, Nizameddin Mehmed, until the latter died after the two had received their basic education from their father and some local scholars. *SHAQA'IQ*, 326.

education at the hand of his father, one does not learn anything about the course of Ali's education until he started the Murad Pasha Madrasa in Istanbul.

In the biographical entry for Mevla Muslihiddin Birgivi (Küçük Bostan) (d. 1569) in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali writes that he read some parts of Seyyid Şerif Cürçani's *Sharh al-Miftah* with Küçük Bostan when the latter was a professor at the Murad Pasha Madrasa.⁴⁸ Atayi writes that Küçük Bostan was appointed to the Murad Pasha Madrasa with a daily salary of thirty aspers in 1556-7.⁴⁹ Considering that Ali had already received mülazemet or was about to receive it in 1556/7, this date about Küçük Bostan's presence in the Murad Pasha Madrasa seems incorrect. Ali's expression in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is rather clear. He was present in the Murad Pasha Madrasa as a student when Küçük Bostan was the professor of the madrasa. Thinking that Ali was a student in the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa, a higher level madrasa than the Murad Pasha Madrasa, in about 1554-5, Ali's presence in the Murad Pasha Madrasa must belong to an earlier date than 1554.⁵⁰

In the sixteenth century, Ottoman madrasas were hierarchly ordered according to the daily payment of professors. Professors usually started their teaching career in the twenty-level madrasas, where they received a daily payment of twenty aspers. Then, they were usually promoted to respectively thirty, forty, fifty, and sixty level madrasas.⁵¹ *Sharh al-Miftah* was a book on *ma'ani*, a branch within the science of rhetoric (*'ilm al-balaga*), which was usually read in thirty-level madrasas. According to the testimony of Mustafa Âli, a contemporary of Ali, the madrasas, where students read *Sharh al-Miftah*, was also known as the *Miftah* madrasas. After graduation from one of these madrasas students went to higher-level

⁴⁸ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 73-4.

⁴⁹ ATAYI, 132.

⁵⁰ While mentioning Küçük Bostan's appointments, Atayi says that he was appointed to the Hacı Hatun Madrasa in Istanbul with twenty aspers daily, then he received a promotion of five aspers in the same madrasa, then he was appointed to the Murad Pasha Madrasa with thirty aspers in 964 [1556-7], then to the Efdaliyye Madrasas with forty aspers, then to the Kalenderhane Madrasa with fifty aspers in 965 [1567-8]. See ATAYI, 132. Most probably here Atayi made a mistake in dates. That there is only one year between Küçük Bostan's appointment to the Murad Pasha Madrasa and his appointment to the Kalenderhane Madrasa, and that Atayi did not provide a date for his appointment to the Efdaliyye Madrasa seem to support this idea.

⁵¹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlmiye Teşkilatı* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 42.

madrasas, where they completed *Sharh al-Miftah*, and read *Sharh al-Mawaqif* from theology and *Hidaya* from fiqh. They also read some parts of *Bukhari* and *Muslim*, two collections of the Prophet's hadiths, or another book on hadith. When students reached a higher level in madrasa education they completed *Hidaya*, and read *Talwih* in *usul al-fiqh* (legal theory) literature and *Kashshaf* in *tafsir* (Quranic interpretation) literature.⁵²

Ali seems to have followed a similar path in his years as a student. As far as one can tell from *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, the second stop of the young student was the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa in Üsküdar. In the biographical entry for Mevla Shah Mehmed Karahisari, Ali informs the reader that he studied with Karahisari some part of *Sharh al-Mawaqif* of Cürçani in the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa.⁵³ Considering that Karahisari taught in the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa during the period 1553-5/1555-6⁵⁴, Ali must have been present as a student in that madrasa sometime between these years.

Mehmed Karahisari (d. 1571) had a seemingly successful teaching career when he obtained professorship in the Mihrimah Madrasa. He was in the Rüstem Pasha Madrasa in Kütahya in 1551 with a daily payment of forty aspers. He was transferred to Istanbul with a daily payment of fifty aspers when the Rüstem Pasha Madrasa was built there. The next position he received was in the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa in Üsküdar, which was built by Süleyman the Lawgiver in 1547 in the name of his daughter, who was the wife of the vizier Rüstem Pasha.⁵⁵ The appointments of Mevla Karahisari seem to have followed the madrasas' endowments as well as the patronage relationships he developed with the ruling family. An anecdote in Atayi illuminates this close relationship. When Bağdadizade Hasan Çelebi was appointed to the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa during the Nahcivan campaign in 1553, Rüstem

⁵² Ibid., 25.

⁵³ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 75-7.

⁵⁴ *ATAYI*, 137.

⁵⁵ For more information on the Mihrimah Madrasa in Üsküdar see İsmail Orman, "Mihrimah Sultan Külliyesi", *TDVIA*.

Pasha objected to this appointment saying that the madrasa belonged to Shah Çelebi Karahisari according to the waqf conditions.⁵⁶

The relationship between Ali and his teacher does not seem to have been a close one. Ali thought that Karahisari was a good speaker but arrogant. He followed his emotions and most of his criticisms were unfairly harsh. He persisted in his claims even after he saw the truth. Pointing out his shortcomings, Ali prays for his teacher's soul, "May Allah forgive his sins and increase his good deeds".⁵⁷

In the biographical entry for Karahisari, Ali also mentions an anecdote. In the first lecture on *Sharh al-Mawaqif*, Ali presents to his teacher Karahisari two points from Mevla Hasan Çelebi's commentary on *Sharh al-Mawaqif*. This presentation was appreciated by the teacher who said he had read the same points to his own teacher Çivizade once, and the latter had appreciated Mevla Hasan's commentary as well. Ali seems to have mentioned this first lecture reminisces in order to point out his own scholarly talents. *Sharh al-Mawaqif* of Cürçani was one of the most popular books read in Ottoman madrasas, and Fenarizade Hasan Çelebi (d. 1486) wrote one of the many commentaries on it.⁵⁸ Hasan Çelebi's commentary on the *Sharh al-Mawaqif* must have been very popular as well at the time of Ali. Ali's emphasis on this book and his teacher's appreciation of his understanding seems to be a boasting of his own scholarly talents. One often encounters similar self-praising throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.

In the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa, Ali also read a chapter from *Hidaya* with his teacher Karahisari. Ottoman madrasa education attached great importance to Hanafi *fiqh*, and *Hidaya*, a comprehensive book on Hanafi *fiqh*, was an essential part of this education.⁵⁹ As it is seen in Taşköprizade's autobiography, students must have

⁵⁶ ATAYI, 138. "(...)Padişah-ı cihan Nahcivan seferine revan olub Haleb meştasında iken altmış bir senesi hilalinde silsile-i ulema iktizasıyla Mihr u Mah Sultan payesi Bağdadizade Hasan Çelebi'ye ihsan olunmuş iken sultan-ı vezir bu tevcihden dilgir olub medrese-i mezbure Şah Çelebi'nin meşrutasıdır ahara tevcih olunursa tesmir-i bab ile ta'til yahud zaviye-i meşayihe tebdil ideriz deyu taraf-ı sultana arz-ı me'mul eylediklerinde müedda-yı şart-ı vâkıf karin-i kabul olub (...)”

⁵⁷ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 77.

⁵⁸ For *Sharh al-Mawaqif* and the commentaries written on this book during the Ottoman period see Mustafa Sinanoğlu, "Mevakıf", *TDVIA*.

⁵⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 34.

started reading *Hidaya* when they reached a forty-level madrasa and would continue to read it in subsequent levels until their graduation from the Sahn madrasas or another higher level madrasa.⁶⁰ Taşköprizade's professorship years correspond to Ali's education years. Therefore the latter must have undergone a similar curriculum during his education in the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa and in the madrasa he attended subsequently.

Ali was one of the fourteen students of the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa. According to the endowment of the madrasa he received two aspers per day as stipend.⁶¹ Madrasa students received some extra financial assistance periodically once in every four or six-months during the sixteenth century. This assistance usually was not in cash but in cereals, which students were expected to sell to supplement their stipends.⁶² Whether Ali also received such assistance in addition to his daily stipend is unknown.

Ali was approximately twenty-seven years old when he was a student at the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa. Next, he moved to one of the Sahn madrasas. His moving to Sahn corresponds to his teacher Shah Karahisari's obtaining a position in the Sahn Madrasa in 1556-7. Ali may have transferred to the Sahn with Karahisari's reference. He continued to read *Hidaye* but with Sheikh Taceddin İbrahim el-Hamidi, another Sahn professor.⁶³

During his years as a student in the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa, Ali wrote his first work, which is a commentary on Ebussuud Efendi's *badi'iyyah*. *Badi'iyyah* is a kind of poem where each couplet includes a certain literary art called *badi'*. Appearing in the fourteenth century, there are many examples of *badi'iyyah* poems

⁶⁰ See Mefail Hızlı, *Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Bursa Medreselerinde Eğitim Öğretim* (Emin Yayınları, 2012), 155. Hızlı lists the books Taşköprizade mentions in his autobiography according to the level of madrasas.

⁶¹ See Cahit Baltacı, *XV-XVI yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Medreseleri* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı, 2005), 563-5.

⁶² Hızlı, *Bursa Medreseleri*, 78-9.

⁶³ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 46. Atayi does not mention İbrahim Taceddin among the teachers of Ali. In Taceddin's biographical entry in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, however, Ali clearly states that he read some part of *Hidaya* from him when the latter was in one of the Sahn Madrasas.

usually composed to praise the Prophet.⁶⁴ It seems to have been a way to prove one's command of Arabic. In the Ottoman context, one of those was Ebussuud Efendi who, probably, had already become the *şeyhülislam* (Chief Mufti) when he composed his *badi'iyah*.

At the end of the commentary, Ali states that he wrote it in half a day in 1553.⁶⁵ As a young student at the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa he was twenty-seven when he composed this commentary. In its preamble, he almost begs the *şeyhülislam* for his pardon for any mistakes in view of the fact that it is the work of a student after all. In the subsequent lines of the commentary, Ali explains literary arts included in the twenty-seven couplets of the poem by explaining vague Arabic words as well as the relationship among them. The interesting question is what could be the reason that led a madrasa student to write such a commentary on one of the poems of the *şeyhülislam*? The praises for Ebussuud Efendi in the introduction of the commentary makes one think that Ali most probably composed this commentary with the intention of presenting it to the *şeyhülislam*. Whether he succeeded in doing so or not is unknown because there is no information about the fate of the commentary.

This was not the only commentary Ali wrote on Ebussuud Efendi's poems. Ali mentions another commentary in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, after quoting a number of couplets from Ebussuud Efendi's poetry.⁶⁶ He points out that if it took him half a day to explain these couplets it takes a great poet to compose such a poem in one day. More significantly, Ali attempted to show his good knowledge of Arabic in these commentaries, which may have helped him in his transfer to the Sahn Madrasa or in receiving another position.

The Sahn madrasas were part of a great imperial project. Students who came there would possibly be the great scholar-bureaucrats of the future. The madrasa contained one hundred twenty students, who were grouped into eight different buildings of the complex. Each building had its own professor with fifteen students

⁶⁴ A. Cüneyt Eren and M. Vecih Uzunoğlu, "Hısım Ali Çelebi'nin Ebussu'ud'a Ait Bedi'iyeye Şerhi", *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3-2. (2012): 268.

⁶⁵ Eren and Uzunoğlu provides the edited manuscript of the commentary at appendix of their article. See *ibid*, 280-297.

⁶⁶ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 120.

and one assistant. According to the conditions of endowment, Ali must have continued to receive a daily stipend of two aspers as a Sahn student and his own room in one of the buildings.⁶⁷

Apart from Karahisari and Taceddin Efendi, there were six other teachers in the Sahn madrasas during the period 1553-56. Kadızade Şemseddin Ahmed (d. 1580) who later become the *şeyhülislam*, Muallimzade Ahmed Efendi (d. 1572), Müftizade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1563), Küçük Taceddin Efendi (d. 1566), Kurt Çelebi (d. 1562), Şemseddin Ahmed Konevi (d. 1566), and Yahya Çelebi (d. 1570) were some of the teachers who taught in one of the Sahn madrasas during this period.⁶⁸ They all have a separate biographical entry in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.⁶⁹ This shows Ali was in contact with them at least since his Sahn years.

Ali's comments about them are worth mentioning. For example, he points out that Kadızade Ahmed was very hardworking and vigilant in attending his lectures. He also emphasizes Kadızade's anger and unkind behavior, and mentions the timidity of people before him. Muallimzade Ahmed, on the other hand, is depicted as having good command of *fiqh* to the extent that, according to Ali, he was able to issue legal opinions (fatwa). However, he was too greedy and eager to reach high positions.

2.5.2. Composing Poetry under the Penname *Cevheri*

Another teacher of Ali was Ahizade Mehmed (d. 1566).⁷⁰ Although Ali does not mention where they met, they were most probably together in the Sahn Madrasa. Ahizade Mehmed was in one of the Sahn madrasas during the years 1553-55⁷¹, when probably Ali was a Sahn student.

⁶⁷ Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 611-4.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 611-72.

⁶⁹ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, for the biography of Kadızade Şemseddin Ahmed: 179-81.; Muallimzade Ahmed Efendi: 103-104.; Müftizade Mehmed Efendi: 37-40.; Küçük Taceddin Efendi: 57.; Kurt Çelebi: 28-29.; Şemseddin Ahmed Konevi: 56.; Yahya Çelebi: 78-81.

⁷⁰ See Ali b. Bali's biography in *ATAYI*, 279-80.

⁷¹ Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 795.

Ahizade was an interesting teacher who was fond of poetry. One day in the Sahn, he called fourteen Sahn students for a poetry contest.⁷² Atayi does not mention Ali's name among those who were invited by Ahizade due to their recognized talent in poetry. He only mentions seven names that participated in the contest. Baki, who was eventually acclaimed as *Sultan al-Shu'ara'* (the sultan of poets), Hüsrevzade Hüsrev Çelebi, Mecdi Efendi, who later translated *al-Shaqa'iq*, Karamanî Muhyi Çelebi, Sadeddin Efendi, who became Sultan Murad's tutor, and Üskübi Valihi Çelebi were among the participants. Atayi does not mention the rest of the participants. It is plausible to consider that Ali was among them, or at least that he was among the audience during the competition. Such a competition does not mention in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. Nor is there a biographical entry for the aforementioned participants to find a clue about Ali's evaluation of the contest or participants' talent in composing poetry.

One cannot be sure whether Ali had poems that would entitle him to participate in the aforementioned competition, but it is clear he started composing poetry in a certain period of his life. He chose *Cevheri* as his penname. The reason why he chose this name instead of another is unknown. *Cevheri* already was, or would be, the penname of two other poets as well. Ibn Yemin and Sarhoş Bali Efendi composed poetry under the penname *Cevheri* during the sixteenth century.⁷³ Ali or the latter poets must have been unaware that another poet used the same penname.

Choosing a certain penname was considered as a sign of maturity in composing poetry as well as a step to enter the literary circles of the imperial center.⁷⁴ Literary circles were not merely places where talented poets gathered in order to chat and have a good time. One was expected to prove his command of Persian and Arabic, the desired languages of the time. In these circles people had the opportunity to establish contacts which would be essential in receiving

⁷² For the details of this poetry contest see Ahizade Karamani's biography in *ATAYI*, 57-8.

⁷³ Aşık Çelebi, *Meşai 'irü'ş-Şu'ara'*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), I, 498-503.

⁷⁴ Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton Universtiy Press: 1986), 24.

appointments.⁷⁵ This must have been the reason why most of the poets were from among scholars.⁷⁶ What made them successful poets of their time was not only the high quality of the education they received in their madrasa years but also their hopes, expectations, and concerns for future. The most prominent example was Baki, who owed his rapid advancement in his career much more to his talent in poetry than his scholarly competence.⁷⁷

Sahn years must have been critical for becoming a member of the literary circles for scholar-poets. For example, as Atayi's report on the aforementioned poetry competition suggests, the poem with which Baki participated in the competition played a role in his recognition in literary circles. This poem of Baki was remembered many years to come. Ali, however, was not as successful as Baki was in composing poetry. Ali is not mentioned at all in the contemporary dictionaries of poets although the two other *Cevheris* have biographical entries.

Was Ali's poetry not good enough or did the authors of dictionaries of poets not appreciate his talent in composing poetry? Ali was in his forties when Aşık Çelebi completed his dictionary of poets in 1568.⁷⁸ Unlike Mustafa Âli, whom Aşık Çelebi later apologized for his absence in his compilation⁷⁹, Ali must have already reached a mature shape in his poetry. Ali was nine years older than Mustafa Âli.

⁷⁵ Sooyong Kim, *Minding the Shop : Zati and Making of Ottoman Poetry in the first half of the Sixteenth Century* (Unpublished PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 2005), 34. Sooyong Kim mentions the example of Vasi Çelebi, who presented his translation of *Kalila wa Dimna* to Sultan Süleyman and was promoted to the Judgeship of Bursa, a position that takes one at least seven years to reach according to the regular rules of promotion within the hierarchy. For Vasi Efendi's example see *ibid.*, 34-5.

⁷⁶ Mehmet İpşirli, "Mehmet İpşirli ile Medreseler ve Ulema Üzerine", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi, Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, no. 12. (2008), 451-470. In addition see Kim, *ibid.*, 24.

⁷⁷ For the relation between Baki's talent in poetry and the advance in his career see Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, "Baki", *TDVIA*. For much information on the relation between poetry and patronage see Tüba İsen-Durmuş, "Edebî Hâmîlik İlişkileri: Kaynak Olarak Aşık Çelebi Tezkiresi", *Aşık Çelebi ve Şairler Tezkiresi Üzerine Yazılar*, ed. by Hatice Aynur and Aslı Niyazioğlu, (Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları: 2011) (133-146).

⁷⁸ Günay Kut, "Aşık Çelebi", *TDVIA*.

⁷⁹ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 63. When Aşık Çelebi and Mustafa Âli first met, the former had already completed his dictionary of poets. Aşık Çelebi apologized to Mustafa Ali because of his absence among the poets of the time in his *Masha'ir al-Shu'ara*.

Thus, Ali's absence in Aşık Çelebi's compilation seems to have resulted not from his youth but because of that his contemporaries did not know and appreciate his poems widely. The fact that later compilers omitted his name in their compilations reinforces this impression. Ali never gained fame as a talented poet in literary circles.

2.5.3. Receiving *Mülazemet* and Teaching Positions

Besides his penname *Cevheri*, Ali was also known as *Hısım*, the relative. According to Atayi's report, he was so called due to his marriage to a woman from his teacher Ahizade Mehmed's family. The expression of Atayi, however, is not clear enough to decide the degree of kinship between Ali and Ahizade.⁸⁰ He may have married to Ahizade's daughter, his female slave, or another member of his family.

The date of the marriage is not certain either. It could be before the long unemployment period of Ahizade Efendi following his appointment to the Madrasa of Bayezid II in Edirne after the Sahn professorship. According to Atayi, after Ahizade took his new position in Edirne, the relationship between Ahizade and the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha deteriorated. Ahizade was dismissed from his position. He waited for a new appointment until the grand vizier died in 1561. When Ali Pasha (d. 1565), known as Semiz due to his fatness, held the grand vizierate, Ahizade Efendi's fate turned around.⁸¹

Ali received *mülazemet* from Abdülkerim Salih Molla, another Sahn professor.⁸² During the sixteenth century there were two types of *mülazemet*. The first one was for the entrance to scholarly path after graduation, and the second was the interval waiting for a new appointment in between offices.⁸³ In the latter situation, those who were dismissed from their office came to the center and registered either in the chief judgeship of Rumelia or that of Anatolia according to the administrative domain their post belong to. The dismissed officials attended the chief judge for a

⁸⁰ ATAYI, 279. "Ahizade Efendi hanedanına intisabla meşhur ve Hısım Ali Çelebi dimekle mezkur idi."

⁸¹ ATAYI, 57-8.

⁸² Ibid., 279-80.

⁸³ Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlimiye Mesleğinde İstihdam*, 28.

certain period until they received a new appointment when a convenient position became available.⁸⁴

Mülazemet in the first meaning, however, was for the graduates of advanced levels, who were ready to seek entrance to the scholarly path by taking a license from the chief judges of Rumelia or Anatolia. A student who proved his competence in his studies was reported to the chief judge as a candidate by his professor. The same professor also gave him a document attesting to the qualification of the candidate to enter the path. With this document, the student's name was recorded in the register of the chief judge, initiating the process of *mülazemet*.⁸⁵ All candidates waiting for positions gathered in the periodic meetings of the chief judge in the divan in Istanbul and performed some duties for a certain period of time until they received convenient positions such as the professorship of low level madrasas or judgeship in small towns.

The rules of granting *mülazemet* were strictly regulated during the sixteenth century. Those who could grant their students *mülazemet* were called *mevali*, high dignitaries of the *ilmiyye* career. There were different ways for a student to receive *mülazemet*.

When a scholar received a promotion and was appointed to a higher level madrasa he could grant some of his students *mülazemet*, and this was called *teşrif*.⁸⁶ The *şeyhülislam* and the chief judges could also grant *mülazemet* respectively for their *fetva emini* and *tezkireci* after certain periods of time.⁸⁷ *Fetva emini* and *tezkireci* were assistant officers in the two offices, who mostly arranged necessary procedures to work efficiently. Some successful students could also be granted *mülazemet* separately (*müstakillen*) in exceptional cases.⁸⁸ Another instance of granting *mülazemet* was the time of rotation (*nevbet*). Professors had the opportunity to grant certain number of their students *mülazemet* in certain time intervals.

⁸⁴ Mehmet İpşirli, "Kazasker", *TDVİA*; Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam*, 30.

⁸⁵ Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam*., 28-9.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

Mülazemet could also be granted due to some extraordinary events such as the ascendance of a new sultan to the throne, a victory, and a circumcision festival for the princes.⁸⁹ Apart from these, a member of the ruling family could sometimes intercede for some people to receive *mülazemet*.⁹⁰

It was about 1557 when Molla Salih was appointed to one of the Sahn madrasas from Süleymaniye Madrasa of Iznik.⁹¹ Ali must have received *mülazemet* during these years. The Chief Judge of Rumelia of the period was Hamid Efendi (d. 1577) since about a year, and he would remain in this position for the next ten years.⁹² After receiving *mülazemet* from Salih Molla, Ali was required to register in the register of the Chief Judgeship in keeping with *mülazemet* procedure. He started attending to the periodic gatherings of Hamid Efendi. Although there were always exceptions, the duration of *mülazemet* was about three years during the sixteenth century.⁹³

Atayi does not provide a date for Ali's first appointment to the Abdulvasi Madrasa in Dimetoka as a professor. The chronology of his life suggests there was not an exceptionally long process of waiting after he received *mülazemet*. By 1562, he had already returned from pilgrimage and held a professorship in Dimetoka.⁹⁴

Within the borders of today's Greece, Dimetoka was a city that had approximately two thousand and five hundred inhabitants in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁹⁵ There were fifteen Muslim and six non-Muslim neighborhoods. Abdulvasi Efendi (d. 1538), a scholar-bureaucrat retired from the Chief Judgeship of

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid. For the proportions of the aforementioned ways within the number of students who received *mülazemet* during different periods of the sixteenth century see, *ibid.*, 44-49.

⁹¹ See Salih Molla's biography in *ATAYI*, 303.

⁹² See Hamid Efendi's biography in *ATAYI*, 242-3.

⁹³ Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlimiye Mesleğinde İstihdam*, 134.

⁹⁴ In Mevla Abdulkaki Halebi's biography, Ali mentions that he was in pilgrimage while the former was the Judge of Mecca. He also gives the exact year for his visit to Mecca in the related passages as 969 (1561-2). See *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 33.

⁹⁵ Ömer Çam, *TD 54 Numaralı Tahrir Defterine (H.976/M.1568) Göre Dimetoka Kazası* (Master Thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi Yeniçağ Tarihi, 2010), 49.

Rumelia, had endowed a mosque, an elementary school, and madrasa in Dimetoka, his hometown, in the 1520s. Perviz Efendi and Cerrahbaşı were other endowers. They endowed madrasas in the same neighborhood of the Abdulvasi Madrasa. The existence of at least six madrasas in Dimetoka during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggests that this Balkan city was a relatively important scholarly center when Ali arrived at it.⁹⁶ He must have been hopeful for his future career.

In the *vakfiye*, Abdulvasi Efendi had stipulated that professorship of his madrasa be given to his own *mülazıms*. Thus, the first professor became Yörük Muslihiddin Efendi (d. 1569), Ali mentions him in a separate biographical entry in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*.⁹⁷ Muslihiddin Efendi was appointed as the tutor of Prince Cihangir, the son of Süleyman the Lawgiver, after teaching for ten years in the Abdulvasi Madrasa. When the prince died in 1552, he retired with a daily payment of seventy aspers. Most probably Muslihiddin Efendi and Ali met in Dimetoka where the former seems to have lived in seclusion after Cihangir’s death.

There were some other eminent people as well in Dimetoka when Ali lived there. One of them was the dismissed vizier Lutfi Pasha (d. 1564), the author of *Asafname*.⁹⁸ He had moved to his farm in Dimetoka following his dismissal from the grand vizierate, and began to write his advice book as guidance for those who would serve as the grand vizier in the future. There is no clear evidence whether Lutfi Pasha and Ali met in any period of their lives but it is likely that Ali heard about the retired grand vizier and the farm in which he had been living in seclusion in the last fifteen years when Ali went to Dimetoka as a young professor.

In the Abdulvasi Madrasa, Ali received twenty aspers daily. This was a normal beginning salary for a young professor. With the exception of the sons of high dignitaries (*mevali*), candidates usually started from the lowest level-madrasas within the madrasa hierarchy during the sixteenth century.⁹⁹ About eight percent of

⁹⁶ Ibid., 24.

⁹⁷ *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, 68.

⁹⁸ Çam, *Dimetoka Kazası*, 27.

⁹⁹ Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlimiye Mesleğinde İstihdam*, 138. Yasemin Beyazıt draws a graph showing the proportions of different amounts of salary professors received in their first appointment. Since one’s position and the amount of aspers he receives are directly proportional, this graph also shows

the twenty asper-level madrasas under the control of the Judgeship of Rumelia were outside of the three big cities of the empire, namely Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa.¹⁰⁰ Thus, young professors usually had to leave the central cities in their first appointments.

In Dimetoka, Ali must have been living with his family. The number of people in his family is difficult to guess at due to the silence of the sources on the matter. There is no clue in *al-Iqd al-Manzum* or in any subsequent biographical dictionary as to his children. But one of his works seems to be dedicated to his son. In the preamble of an Arabic misusage dictionary, which he had completed in 1570, Ali says he dedicated this work to his *mahdum*, without adding his name. Then he prays for his advances in ‘*ulum* and his glory in both worlds.¹⁰¹ This suggests Ali had at least one son when he was in Dimetoka.¹⁰²

2.5.4. Pilgrimage

Ali must have spent about two years as the professor of the Abdulvasi Madrasa in Dimetoka. The tenure of office for professors and town judges was called *müddet-i örfiyye*, which was about two years in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰³ When their term in a madrasa finished, professors left madrasa and returned to the imperial center to receive a new appointment. This period of unemployment was called *infisal*, which usually differed from one month to three years.¹⁰⁴ During this period professors could be present in the Chamber of the Chief

the level of madrasas received as their first appointments. According to the information Beyazıt provides, more than eighty percent of the professors started their career at a twenty asper-level madrasa.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 237. See the graph. 36.

¹⁰¹ Ali b. Bali, *Khayr al-Kalam fi al-Taqassi ‘an Aglat al-Awam*, ed. Hatip Salih al-Zamin (Baghdad: 1981), 15.

¹⁰² Atayi and later biographical dictionaries do not mention any scholar among the descendants of Ali b. Bali. This suggests that either Ali’s son did not enter the scholarly path or he could not become one of those whom Atayi or other biography composers thought worth mentioning in their work. Alternatively, Ali’s son may have died at a young age.

¹⁰³ Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam*, 111.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 122.

Judge or study with prominent professors at the higher ranking madrasas of the center.¹⁰⁵ When a vacancy in a convenient position occurred, those who were eligible for that position could apply for it.¹⁰⁶

Different examples belonging to the sixteenth century suggest that professors could take a long leave for two to four months to visit Mecca for pilgrimage. Leaving an assistant (*naib*) behind, a professor could leave his madrasa for pilgrimage and return to teaching there afterward.¹⁰⁷ However, considering that Ali had already waited during the *mülazemet* process, and that he most probably spent the usual two-year period in his first teaching position in Dimetoka, the year he went to pilgrimage must have corresponded to his waiting (*infisal*) period. According to his own account in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali was in Mecca in 969/1561-2. Most probably he did not take an annual leave from his madrasa by leaving an assistant in his place. Following his dismissal from his professorship in the Abdulvasi Madrasa he must have left Dimetoka for Istanbul in order to be registered in the register of the Chief Judge of Rumelia and began to wait for a new appointment. He appears to have decided to visit Mecca and perform his pilgrimage duty in this interval.

The pilgrims of the sixteenth century most probably used the same roads that the seventeenth century pilgrims did. A record dating from 1647 indicates that one of the main roads that the pilgrims of the western regions of the empire took went from the Balkans to Istanbul. Pilgrims who assembled in the coast of Üsküdar in Istanbul had two options to go to Mecca. The sea road went to Rhodes and then to the Alexandria (İskenderiyye) port from which the pilgrims continued their journey from Cairo to Mecca, using camels mostly. The second road left Üsküdar for Konya, Adana, Damascus, and finally Mecca.¹⁰⁸

Ali does not mention which route he took in his journey to Mecca. There is also no clue in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as to whether he had been to Cairo or Damascus.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 123.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 126.

¹⁰⁷ Hızlı, *Bursa Medreseleri*, 82.

¹⁰⁸ See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (London - New York: I. B. Tauris), chapter II: Caravan Routes, 32-54.

However, he clearly mentions his presence both in Mecca and Medina in 1561. When he arrived at Mecca, Mevla Abdalbaki Halebi (d. 1563) was the judge of Mecca for the second time.¹⁰⁹ As one learns from his biographical account in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali thought he was a knowledgeable man who attached great importance to his lectures. He was also very ambitious to advance to higher positions, and was fond of richness. During his judgeship in Bursa, he had established a public bath, which enabled him to make a good profit every year. He relied on his wealth to convince Rüstem Pasha to help him receive the Chief Judgeship of Rumelia, but this never happened. Stigmatizing Halebî as a greedy man, Ali mentions this flaw of Halebî allusively but quite definitively. He ends Halebî's biography with some couplets implying that his way was the wrong way.

After Mecca, Ali visited Medina too, as pilgrims normally do. The Medina judgeship had been considered a *mevleviyet* position for the last seven years. When Ali visited Medina, it was most probably Nimetullah Ruşenizade (d. 1561), who had held the judgeship of Medina since the beginning of 1559. He was the second *mevali* judge of Medina after Abdurrahman Baldırzade (d. 1569). Ali seems to have spent some time among the Ottoman elite living in Medina as well as the local people. In the biographies of the two judges of Medina included in his *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, he mentions how the people of Medina praise Baldırzade's judgeship in 1555-9.¹¹⁰ Whereas Ruşenizade was always critical of people and the people feared him.¹¹¹

2.5.5. Back to Istanbul

After performing the pilgrimage and visiting Medina in 1561, Ali returned to Istanbul. After a while he managed to receive a new appointment. He was appointed to the Oruç Pasha Madrasa, another madrasa in Dimetoka. With an increase of five aspers, his daily salary became twenty-five aspers. Although it is not known today where the Oruç Pasha Madrasa was exactly within the borders of Dimetoka, it is most likely to have been in the neighborhood carrying the same name with the

¹⁰⁹ For Abdalbaki Halebî's biography see *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 33-4.

¹¹⁰ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 70.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 23-5.

madrasa.¹¹² The Oruç Pasha neighborhood, as other Muslim neighborhoods, was established outside the walls of Dimetoka. According to a register record of 1568, all neighborhoods except one belonged to Bayezid II's endowment.¹¹³

The next position Ali received was a professorship in the Ferruh Kethuda Madrasa in Istanbul sometime before 1566. Now he received thirty aspers daily. Ali must have been one of the first professors of the madrasa. The madrasa was a part of the complex endowed by the *kethüda* of the Grand Vizier Semiz Ali Pasha in Balat. Known as *Ferruh Kethüdası*, the endower built a madrasa, a fountain, a mosque, and a dervish lodge near the Balat pier. According to the inscription on the mosque it was completed in 1562-3. The construction of the madrasa must have been completed at a close date.¹¹⁴

Ali's career seems to have been successful. His income increased by each new position and above all he had a job in the imperial center now. During the sixteenth century, Ottoman madrasas were divided into two main categories, namely *içil* and *kenar* (interior and exterior).¹¹⁵ The first category consisted of madrasas in the three big cities (*bilad-ı thalatha*) of the empire, namely Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa. The second category consisted of the madrasas outside these three cities. Nearly half of the madrasas of the empire in Rumealian territories clustered in the three big cities during the sixteenth century.¹¹⁶ Nearly two thirds of the interior madrasas were in Istanbul.¹¹⁷ Professors of the interior madrasas had the opportunity to reach the highest (*mevali*) positions whereas the professors of exterior madrasas lacked this opportunity.¹¹⁸ Therefore the second group of professors usually was

¹¹² Çam, *Dimetoka Kazası*, 51.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹¹⁴ Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 271.

¹¹⁵ Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam*, 235. Also see Atçıl, *Defenders*, chapter VI: "The Rules and Patterns of Differentiation Among the Scholar-Bureaucrats".

¹¹⁶ Beyazıt, *ibid.*, 236. See the graph 34. Although Beyazıt does not put clearly, the graph she draws shows the madrasas under the control of the Judgeship of Rumelia in sixteenth century. Beyazıt takes the data about the madrasas from Cahit Baltacı's *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, and Baltacı's study is based on mostly archive records of the Judgeship of Rumelia.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* See the graph 35.

more inclined to leave teaching positions for town judgeships than the first group.¹¹⁹ The professors of the interior madrasas were a privileged group. If they wanted they had the opportunity to receive professorship or judgeship positions outside the three big cities with promotion. However, the appointment of those in the exterior cities to positions in interior cities was highly restricted and unlikely.¹²⁰

Considering that Ali was now in an interior madrasa he must have been hopeful for his advancement in the scholarly path. He was now approximately thirty-five years old and resided in the imperial center. He would stay there for the next fifteen years.

Ali returned to Istanbul after fulfilling his pilgrimage duties around 1561, five years before the end of the reign of Süleyman the Lawgiver. Two years before, people had witnessed a fight for the throne between two sons of the sultan, namely Selim and Bayezid, in Konya in 1559. Bayezid had put together a new army made up of people recruited in Anatolia in order to fight his brother Selim, but he was defeated. Even two years after this battle the crisis continued both in Istanbul and Anatolia. The armed soldiers of Bayezid scattered in Anatolia and started revolts, which created an insecure atmosphere in Anatolian towns and villages.¹²¹ Bayezid took refuge in Safavid Iran following his defeat, thus he became a diplomatic issue between the Ottoman and Safavid states. For the next two years Istanbul would negotiate with Safavid Iran for Bayezid's return.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 238.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 240.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 239.

¹²¹ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası "Celali İsyanları"* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 154-162.

¹²² Şerefettin Turan, "Şehzade Bayezid", *TDVİA*. Also see idem, *Kanuni'nin Oğlu Şehzade Bayezid Vak'ası* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1961). For the list of gifts sent by the Imperial Center to Safavid Iran in 3 January 1560 ve 2 June 1562 in order to return Bayezid and his sons back, see Uzunçarşılı, "İran Şahına İltica Etmiş Olan Şehzade Bayezid'in Teslimi için Sultan Süleyman ve Oğlu Selim Taraftarlarından Şah'a Gönderilen Altınlar ve Kıymetli Hediyeler" in *Osmanlı Hanedanı Üstüne İncelemeler Seçme Makaleler II*, (Istanbul, 2012), 319-325.

Ali began to teach in the Kethüda Madrasa when the negotiations between the Ottoman and Safavid states had just ended. Finally the Safavids had agreed to deliver Bayezid to an Ottoman delegation in July 1562. The Ottomans immediately executed him in accordance with Süleyman's order. Bayezid and his sons were buried in Sivas, a central Anatolian city. The tragedy of the prince and his sons would be discussed much among the ordinary people as well as within the elite circles of Istanbul in the following years.

Ali as well mentioned the fight of the princes and the defeat and execution of Bayezid in his *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* with some detail in retrospect.¹²³ He condemned Bayezid for disobeying his father's orders, and characterized the people in his army as a group of deviant people including villainous Turks and malignant Kurds.¹²⁴ Contrary to the truth by historical record, Ali preferred to blame the Safavids for the execution of Bayezid and his sons, by saying that they were already murdered when the Ottoman delegation received them.¹²⁵

Ali's presence in Istanbul also coincided with the preparations of the last military campaign of Süleyman. Before the campaign, Süleyman visited the tomb of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, one of the companions of the Prophet, with a ceremony in order to make supplication for victory. In the first day of May 1566, he departed the imperial center on the back of his horse with a large ceremony. The campaign was against the Habsburgs and aimed to conquer the castles of Sigetvar and Eğri.¹²⁶ Ali mentioned the Sigetvar campaign as the last campaign of Süleyman in his *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* and glorified the sultan's extraordinary success in conquering this well-guarded castle.¹²⁷

In 1566, Ali was appointed to the Davud Pasha Madrasa in Istanbul with a daily salary of forty aspers. Selim's accession to the throne must have already taken place when Ali took his new position. Learning about his father's death in Sigetvar,

¹²³ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 17-20.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹²⁶ Feridun Emecen, "Süleyman I", *TDVIA*.

¹²⁷ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 49.

Selim had come to the imperial center from Kütahya with his own men. The following years were a struggle between the old staff and the new comers within the palace as well as in the top positions of the administrative hierarchy. Hamid Efendi (d. 1577), who had held the Chief Judgeship of Rumelia for the last ten years, was dismissed. His position was given to Ahmed Kadızade (d. 1580).¹²⁸ After a while, however, the relationship between Kadızade and Mevla Ataullah, Selim's tutor, deteriorated, and Kadızade was replaced by Ahmed Muallimzade (d. 1572), who was Ataullah's son-in-law.¹²⁹

In his entry about Hamid Efendi, Ali says that Süleyman trusted Hamid Efendi greatly, and that Hamid Efendi was a candidate for grand vizierate but Selim dismissed him. In his entry on Muallimzade, Ali emphasizes the kinship between Muallimzade and Ataullah as the main reason for the former's advancement. He mentions Muallimzade's dismissal as a result of his enemies' endeavor soon after his father-in-law Ataullah died in 1571.¹³⁰ This suggests Ali was aware of the power struggle in the highest positions.

Whether due to this power struggle or not, Ali was dismissed from his teaching position in the Davud Pasha Madrasa the next year. Atayi does not mention any other position held by Ali between his dismissal from the Davud Pasha Madrasa in 1567 and his appointment to the Hankah Madrasa in 1575. This unusually long period of unemployment lasted until soon after the accession of Murad III to the throne in 1574 and suggests that Ali may have belonged to one of the competing parties in the aforementioned power struggle. He seems to have been unable to receive an appointment until the staff of Selim fell from power following the latter's death.

Even if Ali was not a member of any faction, he certainly did not like some of the people involved in the political power struggle in Istanbul. One of these names was Mevla Ataullah (d. 1571). Ali mentioned him in a separate biographical entry in

¹²⁸ For Hamid Efendi's biography see *ibid.*, 169-70.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 103-4.

al-'Iqd al-Manzum.¹³¹ Ataullah was appointed for the education of prince Selim in 1550, when he was the professor of the Rüstem Pasha Madrasa with a daily payment of fifty aspers. The Prince was the governor of Manisa at that time. When Selim ascended to the throne in 1566, his teacher came with him to the imperial center. Ali says that Selim continued showing great respect for his teacher to the extent that he invited the latter to consult him in state matters once or twice each month. This was the reason for the Ataullah's increasing influence on appointments and dismissals. Ataullah became an intercessor for those who sought employment or promotion during the following years.

Ali presented one of his works to the sultan's tutor but he did not receive an appointment in turn. Ali's perceivable rage for Ataullah in the latter's biography seems to have partly reflecting this personal recollection. His attempt to write a eulogy for Ataullah's *risala* suggests his attitude towards Selim's teacher was not negative initially but changed over time. He may have attempted to take part in the ongoing power struggle on Ataullah's side by praising his work but Ataullah did not welcome him. In any case Ali remained unemployed for the next eight years.

2.5.6. Years of Unemployment and Taking Refuge in the Sufi Lodge

Atayi says nothing about the course of Ali's life during his unemployment years. He only mentions Ali's dismissal from the Davud Pasha Madrasa in 1567. As his attempt to receive a position through the intercession of Ataullah shows, Ali must have been hopeful for a new appointment at first. When his unemployment lasted longer than expected, however, he became desperate. He spent his time in Istanbul, but probably left Istanbul for Çorlu when his father died in 1569.

Most probably in Çorlu, Ali found the opportunity to take care of his son's primary education. As *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* clearly shows, he attached great importance to good knowledge of Arabic for being a good scholar. Thus he composed an Arabic misuse dictionary in August 1570. Completed within three days the booklet was dedicated to his son.¹³²

¹³¹ Ibid., 83-5.

¹³² Ali b. Bali, *Khayr al-Kalam*. In the preamble of the booklet Ali clearly states he dedicated this work to his *mahdum*, without adding his name. Then he prays for his advancement in *ulûm* and

Writing Arabic misuse dictionary seems to have been commonplace among Ottoman scholars in the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the century, there took place a dispute between Kemalpaşazade and Fenarizade on the latter's misuse of the Arabic language. It ended up with consecutive *risalas* on the proper usage of the language written by the two scholars.¹³³ Later Kemalpaşazade composed an Arabic misuse dictionary. Ebussuud also had a similar dictionary.¹³⁴

In the preface of his dictionary, Ali pointed out that he composed it by using previous dictionaries, which were written for those who were uncertain about the usage of some words and ultimately erred in their usage. At first glance Ali seems to have used twenty-four sources while composing his dictionary because he refers to these sources directly. His quotations and examples, however, suggest that he looked at only six of them. These six books had many references to the other eighteen books, which Ali did not hesitate to mention without necessarily consulting them.¹³⁵

Another interesting point about this Arabic dictionary is that although Ali made direct quotations from Kemalpaşazade's aforementioned dictionary he never mentions it among his sources.¹³⁶ When quoting Kemalpaşazade's words Ali prefers to use the expression "some people say". Although it seems to be a conscious choice it is really difficult to guess what Ali had in mind in omitting Kemalpaşazade's name.

Ali's presence in Çorlu must not have lasted long because he was back in Istanbul sometime between the years 1569-75. As far as one learns from *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* Ali stayed at the Sheikh Muhyiddin Lodge for a while near his sheikh Muslihiddin Edirnevi Cerrahzade (d. 1576) who resided in Istanbul for about seven

glory in both worlds. In the end of the book (page 62) he states it was completed within three days before he wrote the completion date.

¹³³ For the details of this dispute see Mehmed Gel, "Kanunî Devrinde Müfti ile Rumeli Kazaskeri Arasında Bir 'Hüccet-i Şeriyye' İhtilafı Yahut Kemalpaşazade-Fenarizade Hesaplaşması", *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLII, (2013), 53-91.

¹³⁴ For both scholars' misuse dictionaries see Hayati Develi, "Kemalpaşazade ve Ebussuud'un Galatat Defterleri", *İlmi Araştırmalar*, IV (1997).

¹³⁵ Ali b. Bali, *Khayr al-Kalam*. See the preface by the editor Salih al-Zamin.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

years during the last years of his life.¹³⁷ Sheikh Muslihiddin was a Bayrami sheikh. He was the son of Sheikh Alaaddin, who was a follower of Sheikh Muslihiddin İskilibi (d. 1514), the father of Şeyhülislam Ebussuud.

The history of Ali's affiliation with the Bayrami order is not clear. Neither Ali nor Atayi mention his father Bali Efendi's affiliation with any Sufi order. Ali's father and his sheikh Muslihiddin were of the same age. Muslihiddin's father, Sheikh Alaaddin, had a Sufi lodge in Edirne. Was Bali Efendi among the visitors of this lodge during his stay in Edirne when he was the professor of the Mahmud Pasha and Beylerbeyi madrasas? Did Ali ever visit Sheikh Alaaddin's lodge during his childhood? Although Ali mentions many miracles attributed to Sheikh Alaaddin,¹³⁸ it is difficult to know whether his affiliation with the Bayrami order extends back to his childhood years.

It is possible that Ali's affiliation with the Bayrami order belongs to a later period. His teacher Abdülkerim Molla Salih (d. 1588), who granted Ali *mülazemet*, was a follower of the Bayrami order. Atayi informs us that when Molla Salih died he was buried with a *hilye-i Bayrami*.¹³⁹ This suggests the deceased teacher was a Bayrami follower. Ali could be affiliated with the Bayrami order under the influence of his teacher. Likewise, Ali's Bayrami connections through his father may have facilitated his affiliation with Molla Salih.

In the sixteenth-century Ottoman world, Sufi sheikhs played significant roles in the society. Their influence was not limited to their own followers in the lodge. It reached a large number of people outside the lodge as well thanks to their preaching at mosques on Fridays. Sufi lodges were visited not only by common people but also by the rich and powerful Ottoman elite. This elite were provided endowments that financially supported the sheikhs, and sustained their lodges. Furthermore, a close relationship existed between scholarly circles and Sufi sheikhs. All those who held

¹³⁷ *Al-İqd al-Manzum*, 137-43. In page 141, Ali says that if it were not showing off I would tell what happened to me as miracles during my stay (*iqâmati*) at the lodge of the Sheikh.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 138-156.

¹³⁹ *ATAYI*, 303.

the position of *şeyhülislam* during the late sixteenth century were affiliated with a Sufi order.¹⁴⁰ Ali's visit to the lodge as a professor was normal in such a milieu.

Ali was a devoted follower of Sheikh Muslihiddin. His longing after the death of his beloved sheikh is easily perceivable in the biographical entry devoted to the sheikh in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. Ali must have found consolation in the circle of his sheikh during the long years of his unemployment.

Ali's expressions in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* suggest he had already started his biographical dictionary in the early 1570s.¹⁴¹ It was a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*, the renowned biographical dictionary of Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi (d. 1561). A few years back, Aşık Çelebi, one of the students of Taşköprizade, had completed another continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*. He also composed a dictionary of poets, which he called *Masha'ir al-Shu'ara'*. Aşık Çelebi presented the former work to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, the grand vizier of the time, and the latter work to Sultan Selim in 1568. Thanks to his works he received the Üsküp Judgeship after a period of unemployment.¹⁴² Ali must have started his biographical dictionary with similar hopes. In all likelihood, he must have thought to dedicate his work to a person of high position in order to receive employment as Aşık Çelebi and others did before him. At first he attempted to re-write Aşık Çelebi's continuation in a better style but later he added new names. He could not complete his work in a short period of time. He continued adding new names for the next twelve years until his death.

Another work that belongs to the unemployment period must be his *Nadirat al-Zaman fi Tarikh al-Yemen*, a book on the history of Yemen. Although there is no existing copy of the manuscript in libraries today, both Atayi and Katip Çelebi mention it among Ali's works. Nothing is known about the book short of its title,

¹⁴⁰ For much on Sufi-ulema relations during the late 16th and 17th centuries see Niyazioğlu, *Ottoman Sufi Sheikhs Between This World and Hereafter*, 3-10.

¹⁴¹ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 104. In the biography of Şemseddin Ahmed Muallimzade (d. 1571) Ali informs the reader that he received the news of Muallimzade's death while he was writing the biography of Mehmed Arabzade (d. 1561). This suggests Ali had already started his dictionary in 1570.

¹⁴² Kut, "Aşık Çelebi", *TDVIA*. For much information on Aşık Çelebi and his dictionary of poets see *Aşık Çelebi ve Şairler Tezkiresi Üzerine Yazılar*, ed. by Hatice Aynur and Aslı Niyazioğlu, (Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011).

which is mentioned in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as well. In the passages Ali summarizes the events that took place during the reign of Selim II, he mentions the Yemen campaign and refers to his manuscript.¹⁴³

The Yemen campaign of 1568 had resulted in a fight for power among different groups in the imperial center. For the subsequent decades the Ottomans fought against the rebellious Zaydi leaders in Yemen, and the re-conquest of Yemen preoccupied the center.¹⁴⁴ Ali may have written a book on history of Yemen in the hope for employment. Maybe he thought to dedicate it to a person of high position among the military who was involved in the Yemen campaign.

2.5.7. Back to Madrasa

About five years after he started *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* Ali received an appointment to a teaching position in the imperial center in November 1575. It was the first year of the reign of Murad, who ascended to the throne in December 1574. The favored leaders of the previous government had started fading away. Although the young sultan did not dismiss Grand Vizier Sokollu the latter's authority

¹⁴³ The existing copies of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library have differences in Ali's expressions on the related page. Of the nine copies of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in the Süleymaniye Library one clearly indicates that the book belongs to Ali by saying "(...) '*ala ma atayna 'alayhi mufassilan fi kitabina al-mavsum bi-Nadirat al-Zaman fi Tarikh al-Yemen (...)*'" (Izmir, nr. 449, fol. 99b). The expression in the other six are not clear enough so that the author of the manuscript could be someone else. There are differences between the six copies as well. The related sentence reads "(...) '*ala ma atayna 'alayhi mufassilan fi kitabihî al-mavsum bi- (...)*'" (Bağdatlı Vehbi, nr. 1065, fol. 83b.) or "(...) '*ala ma atayna mufassilan fi al-kitab al-mavsum bi- (...)*'" (Hekimoğlu, nr. 749, fol. 80b.). These expressions mention the book as "his book" or "the book" as if it is not written by Ali b. Bali. Moreover the words "*atayna 'alayhi*" suggests the author of the *Nadirat al-Zaman* Ali b. Bali himself. Since the mistake during copying process could belong to any of these two parts in the sentence one cannot easily claim whether the real author of the book is Ali b. Bali. For tther copies in which one perceives similar ambiguity about authorship see Esad Efendi, nr. 2444, fol. 75a; Hacı Mahmud Efendi, nr. 4597, fol. 96a; Nuruosmaniye, nr. 3316, fol. 95a-b; Hamidiye, nr. 972, fol. 65b. Two copies, however, imply that the book belongs to another author. "(...) '*ala ma aşara ilayhi fi kitabihî al-musamma bi- (...)*'" (Lala İsmail, nr. 339, fol. 90a), "(...) '*ala ma aşara ilayhi mufassilan fi kitabihî al-musamma (...)*'" (Izmir, nr. 448, fol. 57b). This expression suggests that the book is written by someone else and Ali only mentions it as his source. Another possibility is that the related pages were not written by Ali but added by his son or someone else later, but this seems to be a remote possibility because of the consistency of the writing style and the coherence of the related pages and the rest of the book.

¹⁴⁴ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 45-54. More on the Yemen issue during this period see Mustafa Cezar, *Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi*, III (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), 1206-1210.

decreased over time.¹⁴⁵ The changing balance of power probably benefitted Ali so that he soon managed to end his long unemployment. Abdulkuddüs Efendi (d. 1582), the professor of the Hankah Madrasa, was dismissed from his position on the pretext of his ignorance.¹⁴⁶ Ali was appointed to his madrasa. Abdulkuddüs' group must still have retained some influence, however, for he was appointed to the Judgeship of Konya, which was a *mevleviyet* position.

Ali received fifty aspers daily in the Hankah Madrasa. Throughout his long years of unemployment he had not preferred a town judgeship over his teaching career. Thanks to his patience and determination, he finally reached a relatively high position within the madrasa hierarchy. After about a year he was appointed to the Haseki Sultan (Kariye) Madrasa in August 1576. This madrasa was established as a *hankah*, a dervish lodge, by Süleyman's wife Hürrem in 1553 and later transformed into a madrasa.¹⁴⁷ In the second half of the century it was among the fifty-level madrasas.¹⁴⁸ Thus there was no increase in Ali's daily earning but he, in fact, had received a promotion. The madrasas endowed by the members of the dynasty were above the rest including even the ones established by the grand viziers. The promotion to the top madrasas, which were the endowments of the Sultans, was easier from other royally endowed madrasas than from those endowed by other dignitaries.¹⁴⁹ Although Ali still received the same amount of a daily payment his position within the hierarchy was better now.

It is difficult to know whether Ali continued composing his biographical dictionary or he left it aside after returning to a teaching. There is no clue in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* indicating an interruption in the book. It is clear, however, that Ali was occupied with another book during these years. In 1578 he completed an annotation

¹⁴⁵ Halil İnalçık, "Murad III", *TDVIA*.

¹⁴⁶ *ATAYI*, 271.

¹⁴⁷ Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 457.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 458.

¹⁴⁹ Atçıl, *Defenders*, see chapter IV.

(*haşiye*) to *Miftah*, a renowned book read in the Ottoman madrasa education.¹⁵⁰ He called his annotation *Ifaza al-Fattah fi Hashiya Tagyir al-Miftah*. In Ottoman context such annotations to certain books must have been considered an indication of scholarly competence. Atayi's remark in the biographical entry for Ali in his *Hada'iq* also seems to support this idea. While counting Ali's works Atayi says "among his scholarly works there is an annotation to *Sarh al-Miftah*."¹⁵¹

2.5.8. Last Years

Ali was appointed to one of the Sahn madrasas in September 1580. He replaced Salih Seyfi Efendi who was appointed as the Mufti of Manisa. His presence in Sahn, however, did not last long. After only one month, Seyfi Efendi wanted to return to the center, and Ali was appointed to his position in Manisa. He was also given the professorship of the Manisa Sultaniyesi. His position in Manisa was a *mevleviyet* as it was in Sahn. Since the reign of Süleyman, there were two options before Sahn professors: either to hold a judgeship position in one of the three important provincial centers, namely, Manisa, Diyarbakır, and Belgrade, or to continue their teaching career in one of the sixty-level madrasas.¹⁵² Following his return from Manisa, for example, Salih Seyfi Efendi received a professorship in the Ayasofya Madrasa,¹⁵³ a sixty-level madrasa during the sixteenth century.

Manisa was not one of the three big cities of the empire. Although its professors held a *mevleviyet* position, Manisa Sultaniyesi was an exterior madrasa. In the second half of the sixteenth century, those who left the central cities seem to have had less opportunity to reach the top positions within the hierarchy. The officials, who held one of the top positions (namely those of the *şeyhülislam*, the Chief Judgeships of Rumelia and Anatolia, and the Judgeship of Istanbul) in 1550-1600

¹⁵⁰ Süleymaniye Library, Feyzullah Efendi, nr. 1773. This copy is registered as the copy of the author. The year of the copy is 986/1578.

¹⁵¹ ATAYI, p. 280. "(...) *asar-ı ilmiyesinden Şerh-i Miftah'a haşiyesi vardır (...)*"

¹⁵² Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 290. Here Uzunçarşılı gives the law for those holding *mevleviyet* positions. "*Ve Sahn Müderrisleri fakir olub mansıb ihtiyar ederse Manisa ve Diyarbekir ve Belgrat olurlar ve illâ Altmışlı müderris olurlar*"

¹⁵³ ATAYI, 448-9

had almost always received appointments in the three big cities, of Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa.¹⁵⁴

Ali stayed in Manisa for three years. In April 1583 he was appointed as the Judge of Maraş, an eastern Anatolian city. Atayi's expression in Ali's biography in *Hada'iq* highlights Ali's reluctance about accepting this appointment.¹⁵⁵ The Maraş Judgeship was held by Mevla Abdulkadir (also known as Yılcık), who had been appointed there after his one month-long Sahn professorship.¹⁵⁶ Following Abdulkadir's dismissal, the Maraş Judgeship was offered to those waiting for an appointment. It was a *mevleviyet* position since Abdulkadir's appointment there. One infers from Atayi's expression in the related passage that the Maraş Judgeship was offered to others before Ali but nobody accepted it because an appointment to Maraş meant to stay off the path leading to the top positions. Ali, however, accepted this position. The reason was his timidity according to Atayi.

It was most probably during his years in Maraş that Ali translated a book about *hisbe* institution from Arabic to Turkish.¹⁵⁷ The name of the book was *Nisab al-Ihtisab*, which was written by Sheikh Ömer b. Mehmed al-Shami.¹⁵⁸ Receiving his orders and authorization from the judge of the town, a *muhtesib* oversaw the proper functioning of the marketplace and the adherence to regulations. Thus, he played a

¹⁵⁴ See, Atçıl, "The Route to the Top", 500. Atçıl compares those who held the aforementioned positions in 1453-1550 and those who held the same positions in 1550-1600. His analysis indicates those who left the central cities during the second half of the sixteenth century had little chance to reach the top positions in comparison with the previous generation.

¹⁵⁵ Atayi writes: "991 rabiu'l-ahirinde Yılcık yerine Maraş kazası ile zülfi serkeş gibi hal-i tariki müşevveş olub ahabab-ı hayrhah *dolaşma zülfi yare yılan sokmasın seni* mazmunu üzere kabulden tenfir ederken bir mukteza-yı hilm mülayemet ol sefer-i came ile kanaat etmiş idi." ATAYI, 280.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 320.

¹⁵⁷ For more information of *hisbe* during the Ottoman period see Ziya Kazıcı, "Hisbe (Osmanlı Devleti)", *TDVIA*.

¹⁵⁸ Özcan, "Hısımlı Ali, Çelebi", *TDVIA*. This translation has been studied as a master's study by Shahin Khanjanov. Khanjanov provides a transliteration of the main texts, and analyzes it in relation with the *Hisba* institution during the Ottoman period. Shahin Khanjanov, *Ali Cevheri'nin Tercüme-i Nisabü'l-Ihtisab isimli Eseri: Latinize ve Tahlil* (Istanbul University, 2014). Since it is not opened to the readers yet I could not get access to this recently completed thesis through the Council of Higher Education's Thesis Center.

vital role within the socio-economic life of towns. Since the reign of Süleyman the Lawgiver, the duties of the *muhtesib* increased. For example, in order to reduce migration from the provinces to the imperial capital, the *muhtesib* was authorized to conduct inspections in the neighborhoods of Istanbul, and to return the new immigrants to their homes before they settled in Istanbul.¹⁵⁹ The increasing role of the *hisbe* institution as well as Ali's entrance to judgeship career seems to have motivated him to translate the aforementioned book.

Since his position in Manisa Ali found the opportunity to add new names to his biographical dictionary. The latest biography in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* belongs to a person who died in 1582. This suggests that Ali added this biographical entry either during his stay in Manisa or Maraş. His biographical dictionary, however, remained incomplete when Ali died in July 1584.

Ali was fifty-seven years old when he died. He studied in the Ottoman madrasas of the imperial center as other Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats. He participated in literary circles and composed poetry under his penname *Cevherî*. Like many others he also became affiliated with Sufi orders, and a devoted follower of his Bayrami Sheikh. He spent nearly thirty years of his life in teaching and bureaucratic positions by serving the Ottoman state. Soon after his death, Ali's incomplete biographical dictionary gained popularity among the Ottoman elite. The subsequent generations came to know him, mainly, thanks to his biographical dictionary.

¹⁵⁹ Kazıcı, "Hisbe (Osmanlı Devleti)", *TDVIA*.

CHAPTER III

AL-'IQD AL-MANZUM AS A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will examine *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as a biographical dictionary in conjunction with other biographical works of the sixteenth century. *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*'s sources, style, form, and language will be compared with some prominent biographical dictionaries of the period.

Was *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* really a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*? Unlike Aşık Çelebi, Ali did not clearly state that he composed his work as a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*. However, his choices in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* indicate that he, in fact, intended a continuation.

Another important question is about the sources of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. In his *Kashf al-Zunun*, Katip Çelebi states that Ali attempted to re-write Aşık Çelebi's continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq* with an eloquent style. Was *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* then a reworked version of Aşık Çelebi's dictionary? The comparison between the biographical entries in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* and Aşık Çelebi's biographical dictionary shows there are certain similarities as well as many differences between two works. Ali seems to have started his biographical dictionary by re-writing Aşık Çelebi's work but he made significant additions and omissions as well in the process.

Ali's choice in language and form in his biographical dictionary is also worth considering. Before he started *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq* the latter work had already been translated into Turkish at least four times. Still Ali preferred to compose his work in Arabic instead of Turkish. There were certain reasons for that. First, the language of the original work, *al-Shaqa'iq*, was Arabic. Secondly Ali started his work by re-writing Aşık Çelebi's continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*. Furthermore, Ali attached great importance to Arabic as an essential requirement of being an '*âlim*. He wanted to prove the command of the scholars of Rum of Arabic before the Arab world. The name of his book as well as his interest in

exemplary Arabic poetry and prose of the Ottoman scholars throughout the biographical entries seem to support this idea.

3.2. Biography Writing in an Ottoman Context in the Sixteenth-Century

Biographical dictionaries began to emerge in the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁰ Although the pre-sixteenth century hagiographies and chronicles also contained biographical accounts, the focus of these early works was not specific groups within the society but rather certain important individuals such as saints, sultans and other prominent statesmen.¹⁶¹ The first works deserved to be named as biographical dictionary date back to approximately the middle of the sixteenth century. What could be the reason for the emergence of biographical dictionaries at such a late date?

Focusing particularly on the emergence and development of biographical dictionaries within the Islamic civilization, Wadad Qadi provides an insight to the question above. She deals with the biographical dictionaries of the classical Islamic period as a cultural and intellectual phenomenon, and claims that biography cannot be considered a preliminary genre. The fact that biographical dictionaries did not emerge until the beginning of the third/ninth century suggests that biographical dictionaries are the product of a time when a clear self-image had already developed within the Islamic civilization.¹⁶² According to Qadi, for example, biographies of judges started to be written only after this profession became sufficiently clearly defined, and those engaging in it became a specialized group within the society.¹⁶³

According to Qadi, the first biographical dictionaries on the lives of Muslim scholars differed from chronicles in two basic ways. First, they took the history of the Muslim community as the history of its scholars rather than the history of great leaders. This stemmed from the belief that “knowledge is true achievements of

¹⁶⁰ Özcan, “Tabakat”, *TDVIA*.

¹⁶¹ For much information on biographical accounts in pre-sixteenth-century chronicles and hagiographies see Feridun Emecen, “Osmanlı Kronikleri ve Biyografi”, *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3, 1999: (83-90).

¹⁶² Wadad Qadi, “Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance” in *The Book in the Islamic World*, ed. George N. Atiyeh, (New York: State University, 1995), 97-101.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 113.

Muslim community”.¹⁶⁴ Second, the biographers gave importance to the individuals, instead of institutions, as the true producers and transmitters of knowledge.¹⁶⁵ Unlike the chronicles which divided society into two units as rulers and ruled, biographical dictionaries on Muslim scholars implemented a division of carriers versus non-carriers of knowledge.¹⁶⁶

Qadi’s arguments seem to have applicability in the Ottoman context as well. The first biographical dictionaries in the Ottoman Empire did not emerge until there emerged certain identities such as “the Ottoman ulema”. The period 1300-1600 witnessed the emergence of a certain group of scholars who were strongly affiliated with the Ottoman Sultanate and the Ottoman cause and enjoyed special privileges.¹⁶⁷ The first biographical dictionary on scholars in the Ottoman context was, in fact, the history of this group of scholars for the most part. In his *al-Shaqa’iq*, Taşköprizade intended to write the life stories of scholars whom he called “the Ottoman ulema”.

The sixteenth century did not only witness the emergence of the Ottoman ulema as a particular group. Ottoman identity had reached a certain level of maturity. The earliest dictionaries of poets also belong to this period. In these compilations the poets of Rum were distinguished from the poets of Arab and Persian territories. The second half of the century witnessed the flourishing of the genre of biography which covered various groups. For example, Mustafa Âli wrote his *Hunarvaran* and became the first person to write the biographies of calligraphers in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Wadad Qadi, “Biographical Dictionaries as the Scholars’ Alternative History of the Muslim Community”, *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World* (2006) (23-75), 11.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ For the emergence and transformation of Ottoman scholars see Atçıl, *The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship (1300-1600)*.

¹⁶⁸ Özcan, “Tabakat”, *TDVIA*.

3.2.1. *Al-Shaqa'iq*, Its Translations and Continuations

Taşköprizade's *al-Shaqa'iq* was the first biographical dictionary on the lives of ulema in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶⁹ He had written another biographical work, *Nawadir al-Akhbar*, previously. However, this work did not arouse much interest among his contemporaries.¹⁷⁰ Years later he composed his renowned *al-Shaqa'iq* during his retirement as he approached the end of his life.

The interesting thing in *al-Shaqa'iq* was its content and organization. The book contained the biographies of scholars and Sufis from the very beginning of the empire until the days of its author. Providing the life stories of scholars and Sufis side-by-side Taşköprizade underlined a shared common identity between the two groups. This common identity could be read from the title of the work as well. *Shaqa'iq* literally means “brothers” and *al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya* is in fact the name of a flower. Taşköprizade must have intended to point out the brotherhood between the two groups while at the same time drawing attention to the fact that the same soil nourished both. This soil was the Ottoman land, which is implied in the last part of the title as well: *fi 'Ulama al-Dawla al-Uthmaniyya*.

Nu'man b. Sabit, who is also known as Abu Hanifa (d. 767), was the founder of the Hanafi School of Law (*madhhab*) in Islamic jurisprudence. By the name he chose for his biographical dictionary, Taşköprizade seems to imply another common identity for the Ottoman ulema and sheikhs most of whom belonged to the Hanafi School.¹⁷¹ They were all brothers in their school of law. Aşık Çelebi's expressions in the preamble of his dictionary of poets seem to support this interpretation. While mentioning Abu Hanafi's prominent students Abu Yusuf (d. 798) and Imam Muhammed (d. 805), Aşık Çelebi describes them as “*imam-ı thani shaqiq-i shaqa'iq-i nu'mani wa imam-ı thalith İmam Muhammad*”.¹⁷² Here Abu Yusuf is called as the brother of the *Nu'mani* brothers. This suggests that the expression “*al-Shaqa'iq al-*

¹⁶⁹ Özcan, “Şekaiku'n-Nu'maniye”, *TDVIA*.

¹⁷⁰ Özcan, “Tabakat”, *TDVIA*.

¹⁷¹ Özcan, “Şekaiku'n-Nu'maniyye”, *TDVIA*.

¹⁷² Aşık Çelebi, *Meş'a'irü's-Şu'ara'*, 161.

Nu'maniyya” is a direct reference to the eponym of the Hanafi School among the Ottoman elites, at least during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Taşköprizade attempted not only to underline the common identity and brotherhood of scholars and Sufis as he saw it, but also to read the history of the empire retrospectively as if this shared identity and brotherhood had always been in operation since the very beginning. Although “the Ottoman ulema” in the sense defined above was the product of later periods, Taşköprizade presented the famous names of the empire’s formative period as representatives of this identity.

Moreover, Taşköprizade organized the biographies of scholars and sheikhs by the reigns of the ten Ottoman sultans from Osman Bey to Süleyman the Lawgiver. The categorization of scholars and Sufis in accordance with the political leaders suggests that not only the rulers but also the scholars and Sufis were integral parts of the same entity defined by the Ottoman Empire, and that they cooperated since its very foundation.¹⁷³

Soon after its completion *al-Shaqa’iq* became very popular within the Ottoman learned circles. The number of copies of *al-Shaqa’iq* in manuscript libraries testifies to this popularity.¹⁷⁴ Atayi mentions that some copiers earned their living by selling only the copies of *al-Shaqa’iq*.¹⁷⁵ Clearly, the book was well received by the Ottoman readers.

Another indication of the popularity of *al-Shaqa’iq* is the number of its translations and continuations within three decades following its completion. Ali b. Bali died in 1584 without completing his own continuation, *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*. Five translations and two continuations of *al-Shaqa’iq* were in circulation among the Ottoman elite circles already. While no one attempted to cover the same period (from the foundation through the reign of Süleyman) again, many seem to have endeavored to write the best Turkish translation of *al-Shaqa’iq* as well as to update it with the best continuation. As Wadad Qadi points out, the phenomenon of continuing a work

¹⁷³ Atçıl, *The Formation of the Ottoman Learned Class and Legal Scholarship (1300-1600)*, 12.

¹⁷⁴ Özcan, “Şekaiku’n-Nu’maniyye” *TDVIA*.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

can be taken as an indicator of “the confidence that this genre gained over time”.¹⁷⁶ This means the genre represented by *al-Shaqa’iq* was well received in Ottoman learned circles. Basic features of the original work were not discussed. All continuations until the last centuries of the empire shared similar characteristics with the original work such as containing the lives of Sufis and ulema side-by-side and the organization of biographical entries according to the reigns of the Ottoman sultans.

Al-Shaqa’iq was translated for the first time by Belgradlı Muhtesibzade Muhammed Haki in 1560, three years after its completion.¹⁷⁷ Haki Efendi started his translation with the permission of Taşköprizade, and named it *Hada’iq al-Rayhan*.¹⁷⁸ Around same years, Aşık Çelebi must have begun his translation. According to Atayi’s account, Aşık Çelebi translated *al-Shaqa’iq* and presented it to his teacher Taşköprizade, who, in turn, appreciated his student’s endeavor but also pointed out that the Arabic he used was already simple and understandable.¹⁷⁹

Another translation was completed in 1564 by Derviş Ahmed Efendi.¹⁸⁰ Muhammed Sinaneddin Yusuf is also said to have translated *al-Shaqa’iq* under the title of *Manaqib al-Ulama* during the same years.¹⁸¹ Another translation belonged to Seyyid Mustafa, who started translating *al-Shaqa’iq* most probably after 1574. His work, *Haqa’iq al-Bayan fi Tarjuma Shaqa’iq al-Nu‘man*, can also be considered as a

¹⁷⁶ Qadi, “Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance”, 103.

¹⁷⁷ Gönül, “İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Al-Şakaik al-Nu‘maniya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri”, 146.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Atayi mentions that Taşköprizade said his student Aşık Çelebi: “*Mevlana biz de türkî gibi yazmış idik, bihûde zahmet ihtiyar etmişsiniz.*”

¹⁸⁰ Gönül, “İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Al-Şakaik al-Nu‘maniya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri”, 149.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. Gönül takes this information from E. Blochet who gives reference to a manuscript in Paris National Library as a translation of *al-Shaqa’iq*. Gönül also points out that he did not encounter any copy of such a translation in manuscript libraries of Istanbul and adds that other sources do not mention the content of Sinaneddin Yusuf’s *Manaqib al-Ulama*. We cannot tell whether it was a translation of *al-Shaqa’iq*, a continuation or a separate work. However, its name, *Manaqib al-Ulama*, suggests that it must have been a biographical dictionary in the sense of sixteenth-century biographical dictionaries. Thus, this book is another evidence that indicates the flourishing of *ulema* biographies even if there is no relation between it and *al-Shaqa’iq*.

continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq* because it contains additional biographical entries from the reign of Selim II.¹⁸²

The same period also witnessed Mecdi Efendi's efforts to translate *al-Shaqa'iq* but he did not finish it until after Ali's death. Edirneli Mecdi's translation was called *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq*. It covered few additional biographies for those who died during the period of 1557-1586. Thus this work can also be considered a translation as well as a continuation.¹⁸³

Apart from the aforementioned translations one can count two continuations to *al-Shaqa'iq* written before Ali started composing his. The first was Aşık Çelebi's continuation. Aşık Çelebi composed a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq* about eight years after his translation of the same book. He dedicated his continuation to the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the late 1560s.¹⁸⁴ The second continuation belonged to İştibli Hüseyin. It covered the period from the end of *al-Shaqa'iq* to 1582.¹⁸⁵ Not much is known regarding this latter continuation beyond its name.

The completion dates of some of the aforementioned translations and continuations suggest that Ali could not have seen them. For example, it is clear that he did not see Mecdi Efendi's *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq* because Mecdi completed his work after Ali passed away. It is quite unlikely that Ali saw İştibli Hüseyin's continuation either because it was completed rather late and at a date when Ali was either in Manisa or Maraş. Some clues in the *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* clearly indicate that Ali had already read *al-Shaqa'iq* and Aşık Çelebi's continuation before he started his own biographical dictionary. However, evidence at hand does not allow us to decide whether Ali read any of the other translations and continuations or not.

Al-Shaqa'iq seems to have been discussed frequently within the learned circles of the second half of the sixteenth century. Even if Ali never read the aforementioned works he must have heard of them. For example, although it was not possible for him to read Mecdi Efendi's *Hada'iq al-Shaqa'iq* due to his death before

¹⁸² Ibid., 150.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 151.

¹⁸⁴ For much on Aşık Çelebi's continuation see Kut, "Aşık Çelebi" *TDVIA*; Gönül, *ibid.*, 151.

¹⁸⁵ Gönül, *ibid.*, 158.

the completion of this work, Ali most probably heard that Mecdi Efendi (because he and Mecdi Efendi were probably companions in the Sahn madrasas) had undertaken such a project. One can think similarly, regarding other translations and continuations of *al-Shaqa'iq* as well. What is significant is not whether Ali had really read them or not but rather that Ali lived in a period when he heard much of *al-Shaqa'iq* and of those who attempted to translate or continue it.

3.2.2. Dictionaries of Poets

Apart from *al-Shaqa'iq* and its continuations, biographical dictionaries of poets as well flourished since the second quarter of the sixteenth century. When Ali started working on *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, there were a number of dictionaries of poets in circulation among the Ottoman elites.

Sehi Bey (d. 1548) completed his *Hasht Bihisht* (Eight Paradises) in 1538, when Ali was still a boy of eleven-years. He divided his work into eight parts (*tabaqa*), and allotted the first part to Süleyman the Lawgiver, who composed poetry under his penname *Muhibbi*. In other parts of his dictionary Sehi mentioned poets from among the previous sultans, princes, statesmen, scholars, and other dignitaries. He did not put the biographies of poets in an alphabetic order. Sehi's work included the biographies of some women appreciated for their talents in composing poetry.¹⁸⁶

Sehi's biographical dictionary was followed by Latifi (d. 1582). The latter presented his dictionary of poets to Süleyman the Lawgiver in 1546, and he was rewarded with a scribal position in the Eyüp endowment.¹⁸⁷ Latif's dictionary was organized alphabetically and consisted of three main parts where he covered the biographies of more than three hundred poets along with certain sheikhs and sultans who composed poetry.

When Ali was in his thirties, Ahdî (d. 1593) dedicated his dictionary of poets, *Gulshan-i Shu'ara*, to Prince Selim. Unlike Sehi and Latifi, Ahdî preferred to cover only the biographies of contemporaneous poets in his work. Years after his dedication to Selim II, Ahdî added new biographies to his book and made some changes. The first version of his dictionary of poets covered only poets of the reign

¹⁸⁶ Günay Kut, "Heşt Bihîşt" *TDVIA*; Haluk İpekten, *Şair Tezkireleri*, (Ankara: 2002), 29.

¹⁸⁷ Ahmet Sevgi, "Latifi", *TDVIA*; Haluk İpekten, *ibid.*, 36.

of Süleyman the Lawgiver. Later versions included the biographies of poets who had lived during the reigns of Selim II and Murad III as well. When Ahdi presented his dictionary of poets to Selim II, it consisted of three parts, respectively for Süleyman the Lawgiver and his four princes, scholar-poets, and other poets. In later versions, however, Ahdi opened a new section for the life stories of certain provincial governors and treasurers who composed poetry.¹⁸⁸

Aşık Çelebi (d. 1572) dedicated his *Masha'ir al-Shu'ara'* to Selim II in 1568, two years after his ascension. While writing his dictionary of poets, Aşık Çelebi was well aware of the previous dictionaries of poets compiled by his contemporaries. In the entry for Latifi in *Masha'ir al-Shu'ara'*, Aşık Çelebi mentions how he decided to compose a dictionary of poets after Sehi's dictionary gained popularity among the elite of the sixteenth century. Aşık Çelebi and Latifi had decided to compose two dictionaries of poets, one in alphabetical order and the other in chronological order. Later Latifi changed his mind and organized his dictionary alphabetically. Thereupon, Aşık Çelebi organized the biographies in his work according to *abjad*, reckoning based on the numerical values of Arabic letters. Including the biographies of contemporaneous poets, he also penned a long preamble in which he mentioned the Ottoman Sultans until Selim II, and quoted their exemplary poems.¹⁸⁹

This series of dictionaries of poets would continue by Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi (d. 1604) who completed his work in 1585, two years after Ali's death. Covering more than six hundred names, Kınalızade's dictionary consists of three parts, respectively for the Ottoman sultans, Princes, and other poets. Criticizing the simple language used by Latifi, Kınalızade wrote his book in a more eloquent style.¹⁹⁰

The aforementioned dictionaries indicate composing dictionary of poets was popular during the sixteenth century. The number of existent copies of these dictionaries of poets in manuscript libraries in Turkey as well as abroad suggests they

¹⁸⁸ Ömer Faruk Akün "Ahdî" *TDVIA*; Haluk İpekten, *ibid.*, 43.

¹⁸⁹ Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Meşâirü'ş-Şuarâ", *TDVIA*; Haluk İpekten, *ibid.*, 50.

¹⁹⁰ Mustafa İsen, "Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi", *TDVIA*; Haluk İpekten, *ibid.*, 57.

were well received by the Ottoman elite.¹⁹¹ While Ali wrote his biographical dictionary there were many dictionaries of poets in circulation in his milieu. Since he also composed poetry with his penname *Cevheri*, Ali must have had a special interest in dictionaries of poets. He must have been well-aware of this flourishing genre of his time. His own biographical dictionary was also to include many exemplary poetry of his contemporaries.

3.3. A Continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*: *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

Was *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* written as a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*? Although Atayi and Katip Çelebi describe it as a continuation, Ali does not articulate such an intention in any place in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, unlike Aşık Çelebi, who expressed his intent to continue Taşköprizade's renowned book.¹⁹² In this regard Ali only says that he is going to write the biographies of prominent scholars and sheikhs who died during his life time.¹⁹³ He mentions the title of his book but does not establish a tie between it and *al-Shaqa'iq*. He only writes the title of his book and asks forgiveness for his mistakes from the readers.¹⁹⁴

In his entry on Taşköprizade Ahmed Efendi, Ali counts *al-Shaqa'iq* among other works of Taşköprizade but again does not establish a connection between his own work and *al-Shaqa'iq*. He writes, “there is a book he [Taşköprizade] named *al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi 'Ulama al-Dawla al-'Utmaniyya*, he composed it after becoming blind and he was the first one who had attempted to write such a work”.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ The number of the existing copies of sixteenth-century dictionaries of poets in manuscript libraries in Turkey as well as abroad is mentioned in the related encyclopedic entries in *TDVIA*. The total number of the existing manuscripts of Sehi's *Hasht Bihisht* is eighteen; Latifi's dictionary of poets is about one hundred; Ahdi's *Gulshan-i Shu'ara'* is fifteen; Aşık Çelebi's *Masha'ir al-Shu'ara'* is thirty three; and Kınalızade's dictionary of poets is about sixty (only in Istanbul libraries).

¹⁹² In the preamble of his work, Aşık Çelebi clearly states that he wrote his work as a continuation. See *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*, 39, 42.

¹⁹³ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 3.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

Although Ali does not mention it explicitly, some clues in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* indicate that Ali had in mind a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*. It seems composing a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq* had become a trend during the years Ali started his biographical dictionary. Thus, he may not have felt any need to clearly state that his work was a continuation, but some important points suggests that Ali aimed to continue *al-Shaqa'iq*.

First, Ali starts his dictionary with the biography of Taşköprizade (d. 1561). Although he knows well that there is a more detailed autobiography of Taşköprizade at the end of *al-Shaqa'iq*, Ali prefers to begin his work with the life story of Taşköprizade at the expense of repeating same information. He summarizes most of the information that have already existed in Taşköprizade's autobiography such as his education years, positions, and works. The only new information Ali provides is Taşköprizade's testament on his deathbed. Ali quotes this testament in full.¹⁹⁶

Ali does not seem to have written Taşköprizade's biography for the sake of additional information about his testament. His preference to start with the biography of the author of *al-Shaqa'iq* must have been symbolic. In this way, Ali establishes a tie between his work and *al-Shaqa'iq*. The first sentence with which he starts Taşköprizade's biography seems significant in this regard. Ali states, “*the head of those dignitaries and the centerpiece of this necklace Mevla Isameddin Abu al-Khayr Ahmed bin Mevla Muslihiddin el-mushtahir bi-Taşköprizade*”.¹⁹⁷ The expression “the head of those dignitaries” implies Taşköprizade's special place among the Ottoman elite as well as his prominence. On the other hand, the expression “the centerpiece of this necklace” suggests that Ali considers Taşköprizade's *al-Shaqa'iq* as the centerpiece around which his work *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* (strong necklace) is aligned.

Another interesting point is that Ali says in the preamble of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* that he will cover the biographies of people who died during his days. What he actually does, however, is to cover the biographies of people who died after Taşköprizade, i.e. 1561. Ali was a thirty-four year old professor in 1561, and he must

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁹⁷ و مقدم هؤلاء السادة و واسطة هذه القلادة المولى عصام الدين أبو الخير أحمد بن المولى مصلح الدين المشتهر بطاشكبريزاده

Ibid., 6.

have known many people who died before this date and whose biographies were not included in *al-Shaqa'iq*. In spite of this, he did not include them in his biographical dictionary in order to continue from the year *al-Shaqa'iq* ended.

In his biographical dictionary, Ali followed the basic features of *al-Shaqa'iq* in terms of structure of the book and the content of the biographies. Like Taşköprizade, he organized biographical entries by the reigns of Ottoman sultans although unlike Taşköprizade he did not present them in two groups as scholars and sheikhs. Instead he mentioned them in a chronological order. Similar to Taşköprizade, Ali paid special attention to mentioning the positions received by the subject of the entry as well as his works. Unlike Taşköprizade, however, Ali provided many samples of the poetry and prose of the individual covered in the dictionary.

3.3.1. The Sources of the Book: Merely a Copy of Aşık Çelebi's Continuation?

As mentioned above, Ali started composing *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in the early 1570s. He stated he would mention the deceased people he had seen and known during their life in the preamble of his book. This expression implies that the main source of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* was the personal recollections of its author. However, Ali used Aşık Çelebi's continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq* as well, although he never mentions it. Aşık Çelebi had completed this continuation few years ago, and presented it to Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Most probably Ali did not like Aşık Çelebi's style in Arabic, and he thought of composing a better biographical dictionary. Ali re-wrote most parts of Aşık Çelebi's continuation in more eloquent Arabic. Meanwhile, he made significant additions and omissions. Thus, despite many similarities between the two works, *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* cannot be considered as a simple copy of Aşık Çelebi's work in its content.

Ottoman authors were well-aware of that Ali used Aşık Çelebi's biographical dictionary as his main source and partly re-wrote it. In his *Kashf al-Zunun*, Katip Çelebi clearly states Ali b. Bali wrote a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq* by including Aşık Çelebi's continuation to the same book. Ali added names which Aşık Çelebi forgot while covering the reigns of Süleyman and Selim II. He also added new

biographies from the reign of Murad III. He also successfully embellished Aşık Çelebi's work in terms of its style in Arabic.¹⁹⁸

Atayi's expressions for Aşık Çelebi's continuation and *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in *Hada'iq* are also illuminating. Atayi introduces Aşık Çelebi's work by merely saying "his Arabic continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*".¹⁹⁹ However, while introducing *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* Atayi specifies it as "*arabane inşā*", literally, composition in Arabic.²⁰⁰ The word *inşā* (composition) seems to be of importance to understand the nuance between the two works. This word indicates literary pieces written in accordance with the rules of rhetoric.²⁰¹ In *Kashf al-Zunun*, Katip Çelebi defines *inşā* as finding the proper expression for the situation, subject, and the goal.²⁰² Thus Atayi's expression for *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as "*arabane inşā*" implies that people considered Ali's biographical dictionary to be in stylistic Arabic.

Comparisons of the biographies included in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* and Aşık Çelebi's *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq* show that Ali attempted to embellish Aşık Çelebi's plain Arabic. The three tables below compare similar expressions from three examples of biographical entries that exist in both works.

¹⁹⁸ Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunun*, II, 1059.

و ذئله أفضا المولى على بن بالي المعروف بمنق مع ما في ذئل العاشق الى أوائل الدولة المرادفة الثالثة و ذكر ما غفل عنه المؤلف فأحسن في انشاءه و أجاد و توفي سنة الثنتين و تسعين و تسعمائة و هذا الذئل مسمى بالعقد المنظوم في ذكر أفاضل الروم.

¹⁹⁹ ATAYI, 163: "*Arabî zeyl-i Şeka'iki ve Tezkiretü's-Şu'ara'sı eşbah asarıdır.*"

²⁰⁰ ATAYI, 280: "*Şekaik-ı Numaniye'yi tebdil idüb ed-Dürri'l-Manzum fi Ahvali 'Ulemai'r-Rum tesmiye itmişdir arabane inşadır.*"

²⁰¹ İsmail Durmuş, "İnşā", *TDVIA*.

²⁰² Mustafa Uzun, "İnşā (in Turkish Literature)", *TDVIA*; Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunun*, I, 181:

علم الانشاء اي انشاء النثر و هو علم يبحث فيه عن المنثور من حيث انه بليغ و فصيح و مشتمل على الآداب المعتبرة عندهم في العبرات المستحسنة و اللائقة بالمقام و موضوعه و غرضه و غايته

Table 3-1: Comparison of the biographical entries for Emin Kösesi in Aşık Çelebi's continuation and *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

Passages from the biography of Emin Kösesi (d. 1561) in two books	
Aşık Çelebi (pp. 42-4)	Ali b. Bali (pp. 11-2)
من قصبة نيكسار	كان رحمه الله من قصبة نيكسار
طلب العلم بعد وصوله الى سن البلوغ	فخرج بعد بلوغه الى سن البلوغ طالبا للعلم
وسار البلاد و دار المدرسين و استفاد و اشتغل في خدمة المولى محيي الدين الفناري	فدار البلاد و اشتغل و استفاد حتى انتظم في سلك أرباب الاستعداد و وصل الى خدمة المولى محيي الدين الفناري
ثم صار قاضيا ببغداد و عين له ألف دينار و خمسمائة دينار من بيت المال و استقر قاضيا بها ثم مفتيا بديار بغداد	وأي قضاء ببغداد و فوض اليه الفتوى بهذه الديار و عين له من بيت المال كل سنة ألف و خمسمائة دينار
و هو أول قاضٍ من الموالى ببغداد	و هو أول متولٍ بقضاء بغداد من قبل سلاطين آل عثمان
فحصل ثروة عظيمة و مالا كثيرا	فقال فيها ما نال من صنوف الأمتعة و الأموال
أعطى له قضاء حلب فلم يمكث فيه شهرين حتى أعطى له قضاء بروسة	اذ قلد قضاء حلب و لم يمكث شهرين في حلب المحروسة حتى جاءت له البشرى بقضاء بروسة
كان المولى المرحوم معروفا بالعلم و الصلاح	و كان رحمه الله معروفا بالعلم و الصلاح
كان مهيب المنظر حسن المناظرة يتكلم بال نوادر و الأمثال متقشف اللباس متخشع الأخلاق	متقشفا في اللباس متخشعا في معاملة الناس و كان مهيب المنظر و لطيف المخبر حسن المناظرة طيب المعاشرة و كان رحمه الله لذيد الصحبة حسن النوادر
و أناف عمره على تسعين رحمه الله تعالى مع العلماء الصالحين	و قد أناف عمره على تسعين بعثه الله في زمرة الصالحين

Table 3-2: Comparison of the biographical entries for Hoca Kaynı in Aşık Çelebi's continuation and *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

Passages from the biography of Hoca Kaynı (d. 1561) in two works	
Aşık Çelebi (pp. 45-6)	Ali b. Bali (p. 12)
كان أبوه من كبار القضاة	كان أبوه من كبار القضاة الحاكمين في القصبات
فلما وصل الى اسكدار معبر قسطنطينية و مكث فيه مقدار شهر أدركته منيته فمات	فقبل وصوله الى منزله أدركته منيته و انقطعت أمنيته بقصبة اسكدار
و كان رحمه الله خلوقا سليم النفس حسن المعاشرة ليس في صحبته كلاله و ملالة لا يتأذ منه أحد	و كان المرحوم خلوقا بشوشا حلیم النفس لا يتأذى منه أحد رحمه الله الصمد

Table 3-3: Comparison of the biographical entries for Ebussuudzade Mehmed in Aşık Çelebi's continuation and *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

Passages from the biography of Ebussuudzade Mehmed (d. 1563) in two works	
Aşık Çelebi (pp. 72-3)	Ali b. Bali (pp. 37-8)
ثم تقلد قضاء دمشق فباشر بكمال الصرامة و مزيد الشهامة و حسنت سيرته في القضاء	ثم قلّد قضاء دمشق الشام من أطف بلاد الاسلام فلما وصل اليها باشر القضاء بما يليق به من الصرامة و الشهامة و كمال الاستقامة و تواتر الأخبار بشكر أهل هذه الديار
كان المرحوم من محاسن الدنيا و نواذر الزمان في السؤود و السماحة و الحزم	كان المرحوم من محاسن العصر و نواذر الدهر في شدة ذكائه و صفاء ذهنه و نقائه
تتلاها أنوار الترف و العلو في وجاته	يتلألا من جبينه آثار النجابة و يلوح من وجاته أنوار السيادة
و يكتب الخط بغاية اللطافة	و كان يكتب خطا مليحا للغاية
فما أظن أنه اناف على أربعين سنة	و ما أناف عمره على أربعين سنة

As shown in the tables, Ali replaced some words with others, changed the structures of the sentences, added new words and expressions in order to create a

rhythm within the sentence and to embellish it. Although the contents of the sentences are same, Ali's sentences are usually longer than Aşık Çelebi's.

Although there are many such similarities between *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* and Aşık Çelebi's *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*, it would be wrong to conclude that *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is merely a copy of the latter. There are many differences between the two works. *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq* contains forty-two biographical entries, and it covers the period from 1561 to 1568.²⁰³ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum* includes eighty-seven biographical entries and covers the period from 1561 to 1582. In this respect, *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is twice as large as *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*.

For the period of 1561-1568, there are twenty-nine names common in both works.²⁰⁴ In fact, Ali used these twenty-nine biographical entries in Aşık Çelebi's work as his source while composing *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. As the tables above show, there are many similarities between the biographies of these twenty-nine names as regards to wording, expressions, and narrative because Ali attempted to re-write these entries. However, there are sixteen biographical entries in Aşık Çelebi's continuation that Ali did not include in his work. Ali either did not know them or he did not consider them sufficiently prominent to be mentioned in his dictionary. However, Ali included in his work two additional biographies that Aşık Çelebi did not mention in his continuation. He must have known these people and considered them worth mentioning.

For the period of 1568-1582 there is no common biographical entry in two books. Aşık Çelebi completed his work in about 1568, and few years later he died. Therefore his continuation does not cover the biographies of people who died between 1568 and 1582. On the other hand, Ali continued his *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* during the period of 1568-1582 as well and included fifty-six new biographies.

²⁰³ Kut, "Aşık Çelebi", *TDVIA*. The edited publication of Aşık Çelebi's continuation includes seventy one names but, as pointed out by the editor, the last twenty-seven biographies could not have been written by Aşık Çelebi himself. These biographies must have been written in a later date because all of them outlived Aşık Çelebi.

²⁰⁴ For a list of the common and different names in both biographical dictionaries see the table in Appendix A.

These numbers tell that Ali could not be seen merely as a copier of Aşık Çelebi's continuation because he included new names and excluded some in his biographical dictionary.

One also encounters some additions and omissions within the twenty-nine biographical entries shared by *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* and *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*. Ali did not merely embellish the Arabic in these biographies but also excluded some anecdotes while adding new ones. In these biographies, Ali also gave considerable space to samples of the poetry and prose of the subjects to illustrate their literary talents.

For example, in the biography of Emin Kösesi (see table 3-1.) Aşık Çelebi mentions an anecdote about the extra payments made to professors in Edirne by Süleyman's order before his campaign. Emin Kösesi was not pleased with his share, and expressed his discontent in a couplet, which is quoted by Aşık Çelebi in the related entry.²⁰⁵ Ali did not mention this anecdote in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* perhaps because he had not heard this story before and he was not sure about its authenticity. In other biographical entries, there are a number of similar anecdotes that Aşık Çelebi mentions but Ali prefers not to include in his book.²⁰⁶ Apart from anecdotes, there is some information which Ali does not repeat in his work.²⁰⁷

There are also anecdotes that Aşık Çelebi did not mention but Ali included in the entries shared by the two works. For example, in the biography of Nimetullah Ruşenî (d. 1562), Ali mentions a miraculous story about the discovery of the tomb of a holy person in Baghdad during Ruşenî's judgeship.²⁰⁸ Another example can be seen

²⁰⁵ *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*, 43-4.

²⁰⁶ For some examples see *ibid.*, 64: Çelebi mentions his recollection of Ahmed b. Ebussuud; 98-99: Çelebi mentions a fire in the mosque of Neccarzade's grandfather before Neccarzade passed away; 125: Çelebi shares his memory of the beautiful books of Leyszade Ahmed and some of the names of these books.

²⁰⁷ See *ibid.*, 49: Muslihiddin Sururi lectures on Mesnevi when he returns to the Kasım Pasha Madrasa; 61: Ahmed b. Ebussuud becomes sick before his professorship; 63: Ahmed .b Ebussuud memorizes seven to ten couplets upon hearing them once; 74: Rüstem Pasha patronizes Mimarzade and helps him out.; 76: A certain Ali Dede, a hypocrite, becomes the administrator of Sheikh Nakşibendi Buhari's endowment.; 78: İmamzade Mehmed Efendi composes poetry in Turkish; 79: the close relationship between Hekim Çelebi and Rüstem Pasha; 85-6: the brief life story of Ahmed Konevi's brother.

²⁰⁸ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 24.

in the biography of Taceddin İbrahim (d. 1567). Ali provides the details of a long debate between Kemalpaşazade and Taceddin, who wrote a *risala* to criticize Kemalpaşazade's views on certain subjects.²⁰⁹ Aşık Çelebi does not mention these two anecdotes in the related biographies in his continuation.²¹⁰ There are many similar anecdotes²¹¹ and additional information²¹² which Ali added to the related biographical entries although Aşık Çelebi had not mentioned them in his work.

Unlike Aşık Çelebi, Ali also provided long quotations of poetry and prose in the related biographical entries. For example, in Arabzade Mehmed's biography Ali says that he found out some great couplets of Arabzade, and he quoted them.²¹³ In the biography of Ahmed b. Ebussuud, Ali quoted Ahmed's commentary on the poems of his father Ebussuud.²¹⁴

Apart from Aşık Çelebi's continuation, Ali used his own reminiscences as well as a number of oral and written sources while composing his biographical dictionary. For example, he mentions his own dreams²¹⁵ and his dialog with the subject of the biography.²¹⁶ Ali also had some oral sources. He reports some

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 44.

²¹⁰ For Nimetullah Ruşeni's biography in *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq* see page 54. For Taceddin İbrahim's biography, see page 87.

²¹¹ For some examples, see *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 27: Ahmed b. Ebussuud's trip to Bursa and the lecture he gave to scholars there; 34: Abdulbaki Halebi bribes Rüstem Pasha for a position; 39: the reason why Mimarzade Mehmed preferred the way through Cairo in his last journey; 58-64: a number of anecdotes showing the generosity of Abdulkерimzade Efendi; 65: Muslihiddin Niksari is offered a bribe during his Mecca Judgeship but he refused it; 84: A dream of Mevla Ataullah before his death.

²¹² For some examples, see *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 17: the details of the fight between Bayezid and Selim, two princes of Süleyman; 20: the long description of the last hours of Muhyiddin Mehmed Arabzade, who died in sinking ship as well as the list of Arabzade's works; 40: the list of Mimarzade Mehmed's works; 42: the couplets Şeyh Gurseddin composed for Celazade Salih's appointment to Haleb.

²¹³ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 23. For other samples of poetry provided by Ali but not Aşık Çelebi see 25, 38, 42, 58-64, 65-66, 69.

²¹⁴ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 27-8. For other samples of prose provided by Ali but not Aşık Çelebi see 40, and 77.

²¹⁵ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 116.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 106.

anecdotes which “some reliable people (*siqat*)”²¹⁷, “some prominent people”,²¹⁸ or “one of his students told” him.²¹⁹ He sometimes used a passive form to give a report, such as “it is said” (*yuqal*)²²⁰ and “it is narrated” (*yuhka*).²²¹

Apart from oral sources, Ali refers to a number of books such as the biographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikan,²²² *al-Shaqa’iq*,²²³ a *manaqibnama*,²²⁴ and some other books he encountered in libraries.²²⁵

3.3.2. The Title of the Book: Why *Afazil al-Rum*?

The full title of Ali’s biographical dictionary is *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*. One can encounter in manuscript libraries some copies that are registered as *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr ‘Ulama al-Rum*. Atayi mentions its title as *al-Durr al-Manzum fi Ahvali ‘Ulama al-Rum*.²²⁶ Katip Çelebi, however, gives the title of the book as we know it today: *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*.²²⁷ The latter title is repeated in later biographical and bibliographical works, such as *Hadiyya al-‘Arifin*²²⁸ and *Osmanlı Müellifleri*.²²⁹ However, Mehmed Süreyya, the

²¹⁷ For some examples, see *ibid.*, 24, 34, 82, 141, 149, 151.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²²⁰ For some examples see *ibid.*, 24, 34, 157.

²²¹ For some examples see *ibid.*, 13, 22, 25, 67, 103, 104, 105, 143.

²²² *Ibid.*, 24.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 103, 108, 186.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 77, 86.

²²⁶ “(...) Şeka’ik-i Nu‘maniyeyi tezyil edüp ed-Dürrü’l-Manzum fi Ahvali Ulemâi’r-Rum tesmiye etmişdir, arabane inşadır (...)”, ATAYI, 280.

²²⁷ Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunun*, 1059.

²²⁸ Bağdatlı İsmail Pasha, *Hadiyya al-‘Arifin*, I, 749.

²²⁹ Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 11.

author of *Sicill-i Osmani*, seems to have copied the title of the book from Atayi and mentions it briefly as *al-Durr al-Manzum* without its second part.²³⁰

Despite such differences in sources regarding the title of the book, the existing manuscript copies allow one to conclude that the name of the book was *al-'Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*. At the end of the preamble of his book, Ali clearly states “I called this catalogue *al-'Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*”.²³¹ As a result, even if the existing manuscripts have different names on their cover page, comparison of the related parts in the preamble allows one to reach a decisive conclusion about the original title of the book. I found the opportunity to compare the related parts of the preamble in nine different copies of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library. All copies repeat the title of the book in the words of its author as *al-'Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum* unanimously.²³²

As mentioned before, the title Taşköprizade chose for his biographical dictionary, *al-Shaqa'iq*, alluded to an idea. Seemingly, he implied a brotherhood as well as a common fate between the ulema and sheikhs in the Ottoman land. A similar message can be perceived in the title of Ali's work. “*Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*” literally means “the beads in order on the thread”. Choosing these words, Ali seems to have pointed out a common identity or at least a common element among the people mentioned in his book. He resembles each person to a bead among other beads, which are equal in size. Though each apart from one another, all beads are in order side-by-side. There is one certain thread that holds them together and prevents each bead from scattering. Ali must have had in mind the Ottoman identity or cause as the thread that held the beads together.

The following part of the title is “*fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*”, about the dignitaries of Rum. Unlike Taşköprizade, Ali does not use the words “ulema” or “sheikhs” in the title of his book. Instead he prefers an encompassing word, *afazil*,

²³⁰ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, 397.

²³¹ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 6.

²³² “*Sammaytu hazihi al-jarida bi al-Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*”. İzmir, 449 (fol.4a); Bağdatlı Vehbi, 1065 (fol. 4a); Hekimoğlu, 749 (fol. 3b); Esad Efendi, 2444 (fol. 2b); Hacı Mahmud Efendi, 4597 (fol. 3b); Nuruosmaniye, 3316 (fol. 2b); Hamidiye 972 (fol. 2b); Lala İsmail, 339 (fol. 5a); İzmir 448 (fol. 3a).

for both groups. Furthermore, he prefers “al-Rum” and not “al-Dawla al-‘Uthmaniyya” as Taşköprizade did.

As Cemal Kafadar points out, the word “Rum” or “*diyar-ı Rum*” as a cultural as well as a physical space underwent transformations throughout history. While it was referring to the lands of Rome in earlier Arab-Persian usage the word started to be used for the zone inhabited and governed by Turkish speakers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²³³ For example, Ibn Battuta mentioned the region as “*barr al-Turkiyya al-Ma‘ruf bi-Bilad al-Rum*” i.e., the Turkish land known as the lands of Rum.²³⁴

“Rum” was firstly used by outsiders in the region, and later also by the locals as well.²³⁵ Mevlana Celaleddin, for example, was called *Rumi* in a Persian history book while he is not known to have been called as such in the region in his lifetime.²³⁶ Naturally, the word was not adopted by people from the region overnight. There was a period of transition during which *Rumi* had also been used by Anatolian Muslims to refer to the Byzantine or ex-Byzantine Christians.²³⁷

Although Rum was not used in official documents to denote the “Ottoman lands” as a whole, there were some regions and cities which had been known as such since the Turkish speaking conquerors and settlers named them due to their location on Roman lands in the past.²³⁸ Erzurum, the province of Rum (former Danismendid lands), and Rumelia were names used to refer to these regions that underwent such a process of conquest and settlement over the centuries. By the fourteenth century, “the lands of Rum” denoted “what is now Anatolia and what used to be Rumelia” in

²³³ Cemal Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum,” *Muqarnas*, 24 (2007): 9.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

Ottoman usage.²³⁹ Although the boundaries were vague, the lands of Rum were distinct from the lands of Arabs, which began in Syria.²⁴⁰

Kafadar's discussion of Rum illuminates the social and cultural designations of the word as well as its geographical implications. He states that "Rum was a cultural space inhabited by a community that shared a literary language, Turkish."²⁴¹ Dictionaries of poet are especially helpful in understanding the limits of this cultural space. For example, a poet from Diyarbakır, a southeastern city of modern Turkey, was mentioned among the poets of Rum, due to the geographical as well as linguistic criteria.²⁴² In the Ottoman cultural discourse "*Acem*" was the binary of "Rum", thus it was possible to compare the poets of *Acem* and Rum lands.²⁴³

Kafadar's arguments are enlightening in terms of understanding why Ali named the group of ulema and sheikhs in his book as "*afazil al-Rum*". Similar to his contemporaries, Ali seems to have taken geographical as well as cultural criteria into consideration. In what Kafadar calls linguistic criteria, however, he seems to have had a different position because he did not prefer to write in Turkish as the dictionaries of poets of his time did.

In *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, "*bilad al-Rum*" represents a geographical area. This area is distinct from the lands of Arab as well as that of *Acem*. While mentioning the life story of Sheikh Muhyiddin Īskilibi, Ali states that the sheikh spent time in the lands of the *Acem*, of the Arabs, and of the Rum, and met many virtuous people in these lands.²⁴⁴ This suggests that these geographical designations were rather mutually exclusive in Ali's mind. It is difficult to draw the borders clearly, however, and to know what Ali exactly had in mind when he referred to the lands of Rum. In the biography of Sheikh Gurseddin Ahmed Halebi, he mentions sheikh's return to

²³⁹ Ibid., 18.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 17.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 15.

²⁴² Ibid., 15.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 143.

“*diyar al-Rum*” after leaving Egypt.²⁴⁵ This indicates that the lands of Rum did not include Egypt. In the biography of Nazırzade Ramazan Efendi, Ali states “the deceased was born in Sofia from the *bilad al-Rum*”.²⁴⁶ Today, Sofia is within the borders of modern Bulgaria.²⁴⁷ This suggests that the Balkans were included within the lands of Rum in Ali’s mind. In the biography of Sheikh Abu Said, Ali writes that the Sheikh left Tebriz for *bilad al-Akrad* (the land of Kurds) and stayed in Bitlis, a city in the Eastern Anatolian region of modern Turkey.²⁴⁸ The land of Kurds seems to be zone of transition between the lands of Rum and that of *Acem*.

Kafadar points out that “the lands of Rum were regularly differentiated from the Arab lands even after the incorporation of the latter into the Ottoman Empire, as well as from the lands of *Acem*.”²⁴⁹ One can see examples of this differentiation in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*. For example, Ali mentions Mevla Ahmed Samsuni’s appointment to investigation in “*diyar al-Arab wa al-Rum*”.²⁵⁰ Although both were under Ottoman administration, Arab and Rum lands were still different entities. Ali seems to have considered Arab lands merely as lands which were taken over whereas the lands of Rum were the homeland of Ottomans. Maybe because of this, for Ali, the Ottoman sultan was “*sultan al-Rum*”²⁵¹, and the Ottoman soldiers were “*luyuth al-Arwam*” (the lions of Rums)²⁵² and “*suqur al-Arwam*” (the falcons of Rums).²⁵³

For Ali, Rum denotes not merely a geographical region but also the people living there. He writes that the wars between the Arabs and Rum in the Yemen lands

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 30.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 167-8.

²⁴⁷ Tahir Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2006), 453.

²⁴⁸ *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, 100-103.

²⁴⁹ Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own”, 16.

²⁵⁰ *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, 81.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 29.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid., 102.

came to an end during the reign of Selim II.²⁵⁴ Here Rum is apparently not a geographical region but the people living in that region, namely the Ottomans.

Apart from geographical designation, Ali uses Rum as part of a cultural discourse. As it is common in Ottoman usage²⁵⁵, *Rumi* is juxtaposed to *Acem* and ‘*Arabi* in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, and it constitutes an identity distinct from the last two. This cultural discourse and grouping is rather clear in dictionaries of poets which distinguish poets of the land of Rum (not the Ottoman Empire) from those of *Acem* and Arab, and compare their literary accomplishments.²⁵⁶ The language of Rum was Turkish, and those who composed poetry in Turkish were the poets of Rum.²⁵⁷

Although *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* was not a dictionary of poets it contained considerable amount of sample poetry and prose of *afazil al-Rum*. However, unlike dictionaries of poets where literary achievements in Turkish is compared with that in Arabic and Persian, Ali paid special attention to the literary pieces in Arabic, which were produced within the lands of Rum by the *afazil al-Rum*. Ali almost never quoted Turkish poems in his work. Instead, he allotted a considerable space to poems and prose in Arabic, and occasionally, in Persian. He never hesitated to call the people he included in his book “*afazil al-Rum*” while, at the same time, he quoted numerous examples from their literary pieces in Arabic and Persian instead of Turkish, the literary language of the Rum. The question why Ali composed his work in Arabic and gave importance to Arabic literary achievements of the dignitaries of Rum is worth asking.

3.3.3 The Language of the Book: Why in Arabic?

When Ali started composing his biographical dictionary as a continuation to *al-Shaqa’iq*, there were a number of Turkish translations of the latter work in circulation. Why did he not prefer to compose his work in Turkish instead of Arabic as Atayi did half a century later? Why did Ali emphasize on Ottoman scholars’

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 134.

²⁵⁵ Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own”, 15.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

Arabic literary achievements while neither Aşık Çelebi nor Taşköprizade had done this in their works or, at least, to that degree?

There are several reasons why Ali preferred Arabic. First, the original work, *al-Shaqa'iq*, was in Arabic. Aşık Çelebi and İştibli Hüseyin composed their continuations in Arabic. When Ali began to compose his work as a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*, the genre represented by the latter had already been established. Ali and the later continuers had to maintain the basic features of the original work in their continuations, such as the language, the organization of the biographical entries by the reigns of Ottoman sultans, and the special emphasis put on the scholarly and bureaucratic positions held by the subject of the entry.

As Douglas Howard aptly puts it, however, “genres are not immutable, but exist in a perpetual state of development and are continually being redefined by new contributions.”²⁵⁸ Thus, the continuers relied on the structure of the *al-Shaqa'iq* not as closely in some aspects as they did in others. Neither Aşık Çelebi nor Ali, for example, preferred to present the biographies of scholars and sheikhs of each reign in two separate groups. Unlike Taşköprizade, they both followed a chronological order, and mixed the biographies of scholars and sheikhs. Moreover, Ali allotted considerable space to Arabic literary examples unlike the two previous biographers.

As mentioned previously, Ali used Aşık Çelebi's *Dhayl al-Shaqai'iq* as one of his sources, and attempted to embellish its style in Arabic. By this way Ali wanted to prove his mastery of Arabic. The authority of the original book as well as the competition between the continuers in composing the best continuation seems to be one of the reasons for Ali's choice in Arabic. In this regard, it is also illuminating that when Atayi composed his Turkish continuation half a century later, he did not attribute his work directly to *al-Shaqa'iq* but composed it as a continuation to Mecdi Efendi's translation of *al-Shaqa'iq*. It seems Atayi was also bound by the basic features of the original work, thus when he preferred to write in Turkish instead of Arabic he composed his work as a continuation to a Turkish work (Mecdi's biographical dictionary) rather than an Arabic one (*al-Shaqa'iq* itself).

²⁵⁸ Douglas A. Howard, “Genre and Myth in the Ottoman Advice for Kings Literature” in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge University Press: 2007), 140.

The preferences of authors in writing in Arabic or Turkish were also related to the readers they targeted. The sixteenth century witnessed the takeover of Arab lands. Unlike the lands of Rumelia, which lacked an Islamic past and background, Arab lands had a long Islamic past in all areas such as education, jurisdiction, and literature. There were living traditions represented by well-known poets as well as respected scholars and sheikhs in Arab geography. The realities of the expanding Ottoman Empire forced the members of its nascent learned hierarchy to defend their positions.²⁵⁹ Like the poets of Rum who composed dictionaries of poets in order to challenge the literary traditions of Arab and Acem lands,²⁶⁰ Ottoman scholars, who were mostly Hanafi jurists, authored works to secure their own position within the Ottoman dynastic project.²⁶¹ As expressed previously, *al-Shaqa'iq* mentioned the lives of a group of scholars who deserved to be characterized as “Ottoman”. This group of scholars was part of the Ottoman project and was all of the Hanafi School as the word “*Nu'man*” -the name of the founder of the Hanafi School- in title of the book implied.

Before Taşköprizade, Kemalpaşazade had composed his *Risala fi Tabaqat al-Mujtahidin*. In this book, he mentioned a new genealogy of the Hanafi School, where the Rumi-Hanafi scholars of the lands of Rum had their distinct place.²⁶² Kinalizade followed this new narrative of the history of the Hanafi School in his *Tabaqat al-Hanafiyya*, which concluded with the biography of Kemalpaşazade, the Ottoman *şeyhülislam*, as the last jurisprudential authority after covering the biographies of 274 Hanafi jurists organized in twenty-one generations.²⁶³ Another Ottoman scholar who

²⁵⁹ Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law*, 98.

²⁶⁰ Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own”, 15.

²⁶¹ Burak, *ibid.*, 98. In addition see Helen Pfeifer, “Encounter After the Conquest: Scholarly Gatherings in the 16th-Century Ottoman Damascus” in *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 47 (2015), 222. Pfeifer mentions the travels of two elite groups between the new provinces and the imperial center after the takeover of Arab lands. She mentions that after the takeover Arab scholars’ attention shifted from Cairo, where they had once sought patronage and protection, to Istanbul, where they now met with the high ranking Rumi ulema in scholarly gatherings to prove their knowledge and worthiness for office.

²⁶² Burak, *ibid.*, 67.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 74, 78.

attempted a similar genealogy was Mahmud Süleyman Kefevi (d. 1582). Kefevi devoted a section to Hanafi jurists in his *tabaqat* and covered biographies of 674 jurists in twenty-two generations. He integrated the biographies of the leading Ottoman scholars with the Hanafi jurists.²⁶⁴

Ottoman scholars such as Taşköprizade and Kemalpaşazade authored their works in Arabic partly because they wanted to get across to the scholars of newly-conquered Arab lands the message that the Ottoman scholars cooperated in building the empire since its very beginning and that they had their own genealogies within the Hanafi School. The second half of the century witnessed this idea to flourish in a number of works written in Arabic. The target was the Ottoman dynasty as well as their peers and fellow jurists.²⁶⁵

The books were in circulation thanks to the mobility of the ulema within the empire. Especially the Rumi scholars who visited Arab lands returned to the center with huge amount of books from earlier times as well as by contemporary authors. For example it is reported that Kınalızade Ali acquired approximately five thousand books in his travels in Arab lands as the chief judge and brought them to Istanbul.²⁶⁶ Although there is no report about any Arab scholar bringing back books on such a large scale from the central cities of the empire to Arab lands,²⁶⁷ it is still plausible to think that Rumi scholars brought with themselves to the Arab lands the scholarly and literary works of their peers in the imperial center. By this way, new works reached to distant readers in Arab and Rumi lands.

The literary salons in the great cities also played an important role. These salons, which were called *majalis* (lit. where one sits), made social and intellectual exchange across the Islamic world possible. In these gatherings, the books were discussed and criticized by the elite of the city.²⁶⁸ When an Ottoman scholar arrived

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 81.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 102.

²⁶⁶ Pfeifer, *ibid.*, 224.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 221.

at a new city he met with the elites of the city in such literary salons.²⁶⁹ Most probably, Ottoman scholars joining such gatherings introduced the Arab scholars the new works composed by the Rumi scholars and took pride of the scholarly and literary achievements of their peers.

By the time Ali started his biographical dictionary the Arab lands had already been integrated with the empire. In a number of biographies in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali mentions subject of the biography as the first judge appointed to certain cities in Arab lands.²⁷⁰ He seems to have been well-aware of that he was a member of the Ottoman learned hierarchy and there was a competition between the Rumi scholars and the scholars of Arab lands.²⁷¹ He preferred to compose his work in Arabic partly because he also aimed his work to be read by scholars outside of the Ottoman learned hierarchy in recently conquered Arab provinces. That must be the reason why he felt the need to emphasize in the title of his book a shared identity by saying *afazil al-Rum*. Ali pointed out the distinguished identity of *afazil al-Rum* and its special place vis-à-vis the other groups of scholars, who had also tried to cooperate with the dynasty since the integration of their lands into the empire. Ali wanted to introduce the scholars of Rum to the scholars who spoke Arabic as their native language.

Although Rumi judges appointed to Arab provinces were well respected in the lands of Rum as the most qualified scholars of the empire, they did not enjoy the same respect in Arab lands. They were usually challenged in scholarly gatherings of Arab cities, where eloquent Arabic and Arabic-Islamic scholarly tradition were

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ See *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 13: the first judge appointed by Ottoman Sultan to Baghdad; 124: the first judge among *mevali* appointed to Jerusalem; 171: the first judge among *mevali* appointed to Trablus.

²⁷¹ Helen Pfeifer mentions the debate between Kinalızade Ali, the Ottoman judge of Damascus in 1562-66, and Badr al-Din Ghazzi, the well-respected Shafi'i Mufti of Damascus. The two scholars engaged in a discussion about the inflectional endings (*i'râb*) of certain words in the Qur'an. The long discussion led up treatises that each scholar wrote to prove his arguments. See Pfeifer, *ibid.*, 227. At the end of the biography of Kinalızade in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali says that Kinalızade wrote a long treatise about *tafsir* after the debate that took place between him and Sheikh Badr al-Ghazzi. See *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 94. These expressions suggest that the news on this debate between an Ottoman scholar and an Arab scholar in a distant province reached the imperial center as well. Ali does not comment on the success or failure of Kinalızade's treatise but his mentioning of the debate between the two scholars suggests that the debate was well-known among the learned circles of the empire to the extent that Ali felt no need to explain its detail.

attached great importance for being a true scholar.²⁷² Therefore one of the purposes of Ali was to prove that the scholars of Rum knew Arabic as well as Arab scholars did. To achieve this goal Ali emphasized Arabic literary pieces of *afazil al-Rum*. Similar to the authors of dictionaries of poets which aimed at demonstrating the high level of Turkish literary works, Ali attempted to prove the high level of the Arabic literary production of the scholars of Rum.

The table below shows the list of those biographies in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* that provide quotations from the literary pieces of the subject of the biography. The total number of the biographical entries in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is eighty-seven. Ali quotes from the literary pieces of twenty of these individuals. His emphasis on examples in Arabic is clear.

²⁷² Helen Pfeifer, *ibid.*, 221.

Table 03-4: Examples of prose and poetry quoted in three languages in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

The Name of the Person	TURKISH		PERSIAN		ARABIC		Pages of the Biograp hy in <i>al- Iqd al- Manzu m</i> pp.
	Prose	Poetry	Prose	Poetry	Prose	Poetry	
Ahmed Taşköprizade					Testament on his deathbed	12 couplets	6.Eki
Muhyiddin Arabzade						7 couplets	20-23
Ahmed b. Ebussuud					Commentary on a poem		25-28
Gurseddin Ahmed Halebi					Sermon	31 couplets	29-33
Mehmed b. Ebussuud				10 couplets			37-38
Mustafa Mimarzade					Comments on Arabic grammar		38-40
Taceddin İbrahim					<i>Risala</i> against Kemalpaşazade's views		44-47
Mehmed b. Abdulvehhab		5 couplets		17 couplets		64 couplets	58-64
Neccarzade						5 couplets	69
Şah Karahisari					Comments on Arabic grammar		75-77
Ahmed Fevri					<i>Risala</i> on the science of calligraphy		77-78
Ramazan Yezi					Comments on Arabic grammar		85-86
Kınalızade Ali				15 couplets	Kalemiyye, Seyfiyye	18 couplets	88-94
Muslihiddin Lari						39 couplets	97-100
Ümmüveledzade					Kalemiyye, Seyfiyye, <i>Risala</i> on Candle	82 couplets	108-114
Ebussuud Efendi				5 couplets	Fatwa	174 couplets	118-134
Şemseddin Ahmed Serai					Kalemiyye, Seyfiyye		159-162
Muidzade						22 couplets	163-166
Nişancızade						8 couplets	173-174
Sarıgürzoğluzade					Kalemiyye, Seyfiyye		184-186

In fifteen biographical entries in the table, Ali only quotes couplets or prose in Arabic but not in Persian and Turkish to illustrate the author's literary achievements. Ali mentions that Neccarzade, Ahmed Fevri, and Ramazan Yezi had Turkish poems and that Yezi composed poetry in Turkish with his penname *Bihîştî*. However, Ali does not provide examples from their poems in Turkish. Instead, he quotes Arabic couplets of Neccarzade and some paragraphs from two *risalas* by Ahmed Fevri and Ramazan Yezi respectively in Arabic.

In the biographies of Kınalızade Ali and Ebussuud Efendi, Ali gives literary pieces in Arabic and Persian but he allots poetry and prose in Arabic a rather larger place than those in Persian. In the biography of Kınalızade Ali, he mentions that Kınalızade had a prose compilation (*münşeât*) in Turkish²⁷³ but he does not quote anything from that book.

As seen in the table, there is only one biographical entry in which Arabic, Persian, and Turkish exemplary literary pieces are quoted side-by-side but again the space allotted to Arabic examples is notably larger.

Ali quotes ten couplets in Persian only in the biography of Mehmed b. Ebussuud. He points out that Mehmed had a good knowledge of Persian language to the extent that *Acems* could not compose poetry like his poems. In this contest with Persian poets, he quotes ten couplets of Mehmed in Persian. Interestingly, Ali does not mention the level of Mehmed's knowledge of Arabic although he was known for composing poetry in Arabic as well.²⁷⁴ One of the reasons can be that Mehmed's command of Arabic was not appreciated as much and thus Ali attempted to hide this weakness by emphasizing Mehmed's good knowledge of Persian. This idea seems to be supported by an anecdote. During Mehmed's judgeship in Damascus in 1557, the Meccan scholar Qutb al-Din al-Nahrawali (d. 1582) visited him, and praised him in a poem at first but later faulted him for the inadequacy of his knowledge of Arabic literature and the ineloquence of his Arabic. Whether or not al-Nahrawali's opinion stemmed from his disappointment for not receiving help from Mehmed to obtain an

²⁷³ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 94.

²⁷⁴ Atayi says that Mehmed composed poetry in three languages. See the biography of Mehmed in *ATAYI*, 42-3.

office, there may be some basis to it.²⁷⁵ Ali's silence on Mehmed's Arabic poems probably results from a similar impression.

Another interesting point in the table is that there is no example of Persian and Turkish proses. Ali only quotes literary prose in Arabic. The table indicates that Ali quotes from *kalemiyye risalesi* and *seyfiyye risalesi* of the subjects of biographies in four entries. *Kalemiyye risalesi* is a sort of prose where the author describes the features of pen in an embellished style to show his command of Arabic. In *seyfiyye risalesi*, the author does the same thing for sword. Similar proses could be composed on different things such as candle as seen in the biography of Ümmüveledzade. In three biographies, Ali quotes from commentaries on topics in Arabic grammar such as the proper use of numbers.

The table and Ali's expressions throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* suggest that Ali had certain criteria in selecting quotations. He gives priority to what was composed in Arabic over Persian, whether it is a prose or verse, and what was composed in Persian over Turkish. In some cases Turkish works are never mentioned. For example, in the biography of Ahmed Azmi, Ali points out that Azmi had good poems in Turkish but he does not quote them.²⁷⁶ In Celalzade Salih's biography, Ali mentions that Celalzade had proses and verses in Turkish but he quotes neither.²⁷⁷ In Kinalzade's biography, Ali says that Kinalzade composed poetry in three languages. He quotes couplets in Arabic and Persian but not those in Turkish. Ali explains that he avoids giving examples from Turkish poems due to his criteria in his book.²⁷⁸

Apart from the quoted examples of poetry of individuals shown in the table above, there are many couplets as well as long poems by other people throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. For example, after the biography of Dede Halife, Ali summarizes the events of the reign of Süleyman. In this section he mentions that Süleyman

²⁷⁵ Pfeifer, *ibid.*, 225. For this anecdote, see Richard Blackburn's *Journey to the Sublime Porte: The Arabic Memoir of a Sharifian Agent's Diplomatic Mission to the Ottoman Imperial Court in the Era of Suleyman the Magnificent* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2005), 49.

²⁷⁶ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 184.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 94. وله أشعار تركية أضربنا عن ذكرها بناء على مقتضى عادتنا.

composed poetry in Persian and Turkish, and he gives fourteen Persian couplets of Süleyman.²⁷⁹ In the subsequent paragraphs Ali mentions the elegies composed for Süleyman's funeral ceremony and the eulogies composed for Selim's ascension to the throne. He quotes seventy-five Arabic couplets by three poet-scholars.²⁸⁰ Ali quotes thirty couplets from another elegy in Arabic in the biography of Ebussuud Efendi.²⁸¹

Ali's emphasis on Arabic throughout his book suggests that he wanted to prove the Ottoman scholars' good knowledge of Arabic. They not only knew Arabic grammar but also produced literary pieces in Arabic. In a number of biographical entries, Ali praises the subject of the biography for his command of Arabic.²⁸² He seems to consider good knowledge of Arabic as one of the essential characteristics of a scholar. In the aforementioned section about Süleyman's funeral, Ali states that the poets of [Süleyman's] time composed elegies in Turkish and Persian, while the scholars composed eulogies in Arabic.²⁸³ These remarks imply that Ali considers Arabic as essentially the language of scholars and Turkish and Persian as the languages of poets.

In *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali not only praises the high qualities of the scholars of Rum but also refers to the testaments of native speakers of Arabic to support his views. Sheikh Gurseddin Ahmed Halebi is a good example of these scholars who appreciated the qualities of Rumi scholars.²⁸⁴ Ali allots a separate biographical entry for Halebi. Unlike the subjects of other biographies in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, however, Halebi was not originally from the lands of Rum. As his name suggests, he was born and raised in *Haleb* (Aleppo). He was educated in Damascus and Cairo in various

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 50-51.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 50-54.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 133-34.

²⁸² For some examples see *ibid.*, 59: "He was better than Abu Ubayda in Arabic"; 70: "He was fluent in Arabic"; 162: "He knew the details of Arabic"; 164: "He had a good command in Arabic literature"; 174: "He had a good command of Arabic sciences".

²⁸³ Ibid., 51.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 29-33.

sciences until he was called upon by the Mamluk Sultan to be the tutor of his young prince. When the war between the Ottomans and Mamluks broke out, Halebi was brought to Istanbul, where he lived without holding a position or receiving salary until his death in 1563.

Halebi cannot be treated as an Ottoman scholar-bureaucrat as defined in this study. While other names in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* share more or less common experience in their educational lives as well as scholarly and bureaucratic careers, Halebi was never integrated into the Ottoman system. Despite his stay in the imperial center for a period of time, Halebi remained distant to the representatives of imperial authority. Then, why did Ali mention a scholar of Aleppo in his biographical dictionary of scholars of Rum? Why did he include the biography of a scholar who was neither educated in the lands of Rum nor was a holder of any scholarly or bureaucratic position within the Ottoman hierarchy, and hence not one of the *afazil al-Rum*?

A good reason that comes to mind is the good relations between Halebi and Ali as well as other scholars of Rum. Ali mentions that he was honored with his conversation with Halebi during the latter's presence in Istanbul. Ali seems to have been impressed by Halebi's modesty and Sufi way of life, which he mentions with praise. Beside this positive impression, however, Ali must have considered Halebi as a good example of an outsider scholar, who appreciated the qualities Rumi scholars. In the biographical entry for Halebi, Ali mentions how Halebi praised Mevla Celalzade Salih in a poem while the latter was the Judge of Aleppo. Ali quoted twenty-three couplets from this poem where Halebi praised Celalzade Salih for his knowledge, virtues, generosity as well as eloquent Arabic. In one of the couplets, Halebi compares Celalzade Salih with Arabs and Egyptians in eloquence of language, and accepts his superiority over them.²⁸⁵ By this way, Ali proves Rumi scholars' good knowledge of Arabic through the words of a prominent scholar whose mother tongue is Arabic.

Another anecdote in the same biographical entry is about how Halebi was impressed by Ebussuud's *mimiyye kasidesi* (an eulogy where the rhyme ends with the Arabic letter *mim* in each couplet) when he heard it for the first time. Halebi

²⁸⁵ علوت الى أن جئت بالشهب منطفا
فسارت به الأمثال و العرب والقبط

immediately sent to the *şeyhülislam* a letter of praise and some couplets, which Ali quotes as well in the related pages. In these couplets, Halebi describes Ebussuud as the unique scholar of the age while describing himself as his slave. At the end of the biography, Ali mentions that Halebi came to Ebussuud to present his commentary on *mimiyye kasidesi* and was given many gifts by Ebussuud, who appreciated the commentary.

These and similar anecdotes seem to have mentioned in order to show that the scholarly and literary capabilities of Rumi scholars are appreciated even by such a leading scholar as Halebi.

3.4. Conclusion

Al-'Iqd al-Manzum was written in a time when biographical dictionary flourished as a genre in the Ottoman Empire. While composing his biographical dictionary as a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*, Ali was influenced by earlier continuations as well as by the dictionaries of poets in circulation. Although he followed the basic characteristics of *al-Shaqa'iq*, he emphasized the literary achievements of the individuals covered in his work.

Ali targeted two groups of readers. The first group was the Ottoman literary elite. He started his work by re-writing Aşık Çelebi's continuation in order to show to his contemporaries his good command of Arabic. In the preamble of his biographical dictionary, he faulted his contemporaries for their inadequate concern for literature.

The second group was the scholars, who were in relation with the imperial center since the inclusion of the Arab lands in the Ottoman Empire. Ali tried to get across the message that the prominent sheikhs and scholars of Rum had as good knowledge of Arabic as scholars who spoke Arabic as their mother tongue. Such comparisons were common in dictionaries of poets, where poets of Rum were compared to those from Arab and Iranian lands. There were also books on the genealogies of Hanafi jurists, which aimed to show the link between the Ottoman scholars and the founders of the Hanafi School. These books aimed to justify the Ottoman scholars' position vis-à-vis the scholars of older Arab traditions in the newly conquered lands. Ali's choices in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* suggest he also had

similar purposes, and targeted native speakers of Arabic as his second group of readers.

CHAPTER IV THE GOLDEN AGE VERSUS THE CORRUPT PRESENT

خبا مصباح كل فتى ذكي
و في مشكاتهم لم ألق نورا
و جل الناس في الاعراض عنهم
قليل من يكون لهم ظهيرا
و هذا ما التجارب علمتني
فإن تك غافلا فاسأل خبيراً²⁸⁶

4.1. Introduction

Longing for a golden past and uneasiness with the present situation are perceivable from the very beginning of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. In the preamble of the book, Ali states that his biographical dictionary will cover the life stories of prominent scholars and Sufis. Then he laments their passing away, figuratively saying “how did these oceans fit into the nacles of graves, and how were these mountains covered by pearls so that nothing remained of them but their image and shadow.”²⁸⁷ This praise for the previous generation is immediately followed by his criticism of his contemporaries. Ali points out that he has attempted to use the best expressions in his book, and he criticizes his generation stating that “I reached a time [people are] taking literature with disgrace, and considering expertise in arts as a sin so I seek refuge in God.”²⁸⁸ The rest of the preamble maintains this theme, namely corruptness of the present situation. Though not as clear as in the preamble, similar longing for the virtues of the past generations and similar criticism of the corrupt contemporaries are encountered throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, sometimes rather openly but usually allusively in between the lines.

²⁸⁶ The couplets belong to Ali b. Bâli. They mean “the candle of all young smart people deflated/ Everybody let them down except a few/ This is what taught me my own experiences, if you do not know then ask who knows better.” For the couplets see the preface of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.

²⁸⁷ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 3.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

It would be a mistake, however, to hasten to take the complaints and criticism of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as solely reflecting the personal point of view of a sixteenth century scholar-bureaucrat. Ali was not the only person writing in such a pessimistic tone. Many of his contemporaries expressed similar discontents about their “corrupt” age and contemporaries while lamenting for a “golden” past. Ali’s pessimism has roots in his personal experience to a certain extent but one must take the general trend of his time into consideration as well in order to draw a full picture.

This chapter aims to present Ali’s perspective towards his age and contemporaries within the framework of the perceptions of a golden age that prevailed among the sixteenth-century Ottoman elites. This chapter does not attempt to prove that Ali merely repeated what he had heard from his contemporaries nor does it suggest that Ali was the one who influenced some well-known figures of the sixteenth century by his pessimistic stance. Such claims require comparative studies, which are out of the scope of the present study. What this chapter aims to do is to evaluate Ali’s ideas in relation with the general discourse of his time in order to avoid a reductionist approach such as explaining Ali’s criticism solely in reference to his disrupted career or to his personality. Ali must have already expressed some criticism of his age among his friends, and he must have heard much from them in social gatherings. In other words, while influencing his contemporaries he was also influenced by them so that his ideas gained through personal experiences came into line with the common discourse of his time. While writing his pessimistic ideas in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali was after all articulating his own ideas but with the knowledge that these ideas were shared by some of his contemporaries.

This chapter provides a brief survey of the ideas about decline that were in circulation during the late sixteenth century. A discussion of Ali’s perspective of decline follows. The preamble of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali’s criticism of his age and perspective towards *kanun*, his comments on the House of Osman, and his portrayal of the ideal scholar are examined as well.

4.2. The Decline Discourse in the Sixteenth Century

In 1630, Koçi Bey depicted the last sixty years of the Ottoman Empire as neglectful sleep of the Ottoman Dynasty. He prescribed remedies pointing out that “now they [the Ottoman House] are awake, and have begun to make good the

shortcomings of the past days.”²⁸⁹ The first decade of this sixty year-long period mentioned by Koçi Bey corresponds to the years when Ali began to compose his biographical dictionary, namely the early 1570s. The diagnoses of Koçi Bey about the social and economic destructions of this period include bribery, neglect of meritocracy, the advance of the favorites of high officials and similar situations. For Koçi Bey, the old order of perfection could still be restored if the sultan took resolute action.

Similarities between Ali and Koçi Bey’s diagnoses of the problem and prescriptions for its solution become even more interesting if one notes that Koçi Bey’s model period of perfect order (or the period before the sixty year-long sleep) corresponds to Ali’s period, which he criticized in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* pessimistically. The period of perfection, which Koçi Bey wanted to restore by various prescriptions, was in fact the period that Ali condemned as corrupt. In other words, although Ali and Koçi Bey made similar criticism of their respective eras, their “golden ages” differed. Thus, we can say that these criticisms inform us of their author’s perceptions rather than the historical reality.

Similarities between the complaints of authors can, to a certain extent, be encountered in any time period during Ottoman history. To give an example, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Korkud, an Ottoman prince, mentioned decadence of the empire in his letter to Sultan Bayezid II. He attributed what he saw as decline to “the willful neglect of the holy law.”²⁹⁰ Authors later in the same century complained about divergence from the high standards of Ottoman institutional and cultural development.²⁹¹ Their departure points were different but both Korkud and later authors were complaining about the same problems.²⁹² At the

²⁸⁹ Bernard Lewis, “Ottoman Observes of Ottoman Decline”, *Islamic Studies*, I, no. 1 (March 1962), 78. For much on Koçi Bey and his criticisms see Ömer Dinçer, “Koçibey Risalesi” in *Osmanlı Medeniyeti*, (Klasik Yayınları, 2012), (259-277).

²⁹⁰ Cornell H. Fleischer, “From Şeyhzade Korkud to Mustafa Âli: Cultural Origins of the Ottoman *Nasihatname*” in *IIIrd Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey*, ed. by Heath W. Lowry and Ralph S. Hattox (Princeton University 24-26 August 1983), 73.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

end of the fifteenth century, the advice literature in Persian and Arabic had already been translated, and the advice books such as *Qabusnama* of Keykavus b. Iskender (d. 1082),²⁹³ *Siyasatnama* of Nizamülmülk (d. 1092)²⁹⁴, and *Nasihât al-Muluk* of Gazzali (d. 1111)²⁹⁵ were available in Turkish.²⁹⁶ This suggests that ideas about decline, corruption, and a golden age had entered Ottoman discourse by the early sixteenth century, even before Korkud's letter.

Another name criticizing the period that Koçi Bey would yearn for a century later was Celalzade Mustafa. He composed his *Selimname* during the reign of Süleyman the Lawgiver. Depicting the reign of Selim I as a period of meritocracy, Celalzade Mustafa criticized Süleyman's reign allusively.²⁹⁷ Latifi, who composed his dictionary of poets on the eve of the second half of the century, concluded his book with complaining remarks on the lack of appreciation of good poems and prose by his contemporaries, who were ambitious for worldly whims.²⁹⁸ During the same years, Lütfi Pasha, the retired vizier of Süleyman, wrote his *Asafname*, an early example of Ottoman advice literature. Retired in 1541, Lütfi Pasha took up residence in his farm in Dimetoka, and set about writing his book of Asaf, where he diagnoses the roots of the state's existing problems. Lütfi Pasha prescribed practical as well as ethical solutions for the problems by using a Biblical figure Asaf, the wise vizier of Solomon.²⁹⁹

When Ali began to compose his biographical dictionary at the end of the century, the perception of disorder and decline had prevailed among his

²⁹³ For more information on *Qabusnama* and its author see Rıza Kurtuluş, "Keykavus b. İskender", *TDVIA*.

²⁹⁴ For more information on *Siyasatnama* and its author see Abdülkerim Özyayın, "Nizamülmülk", *TDVIA*.

²⁹⁵ For more information on *Nasihât al-Muluk* and its author see Casim Avcı, "Nasihâtü'l-Mülük", *TDVIA*.

²⁹⁶ Howard, *Genre and Myth*, 138-9.

²⁹⁷ Kaya Şahin, *Kanuni Devrinde İmparatorlu ve İktidar: Celalzade Mustafa ve 16.yy Osmanlı Tarihçisi* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014), 211-213.

²⁹⁸ Howard, *Genre and Myth*, 153.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

contemporaries. In other words, as Cemal Kafadar aptly puts it, “in those fortunate days’ versus ‘our time of corruption’ became the major axis of thought during the post-Süleymanic era” in the sixteenth century.³⁰⁰ There was a polarity of order and disorder in minds.³⁰¹ Considering that the Muslim calendar was approaching the millennium, the supposition that they were the last generation on earth before the day of judgement became widespread.³⁰²

Ideas about a golden age seem to have been in circulation during the post-Süleymanic period of the sixteenth century. Although the authors of the period had different golden ages in mind, they agreed on “the corrupt present”. As Fleischer states, this advice literature was, in fact, expression of some sort of a political criticism which targeted the present rather than the past.³⁰³ The contemporaries of Ali such as Mustafa Âli (d. 1600), Selaniki Mustafa Efendi (d. 1600), Hasan Kafi Akhisari (d. 1615), and the author of the anonymous *Hirz al-Muluk* were well-known authors obsessive with the idea of decline during the second part of the sixteenth century. Some of these names wrote and died in the first part of the seventeenth century but they had spent a significant part of their lives in the second half of the sixteenth century, as Ali did. Mustafa Âli was only eight years younger than Ali. When Ali was in his fifties Akhisari was a judge in his thirties. Selaniki also received bureaucratic positions since the reign of Süleyman as Ali did. As regards the author of *Hirz al-Muluk*, he presented his work to Murad III in the 1580s, thus he and Ali must have been composing their works during the same years.

Mustafa Âli’s criticisms of his age were mostly related to his *kanun* concept. *Kanun*, the Ottoman dynastic law(s), was “a symbol of the Ottoman commitment to

³⁰⁰ Cemal Kafadar, “The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post Süleymanic Era” in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, ed. by Halil İnalçık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul: 1993), 46.

³⁰¹ Howard, *Genre and Myth*, 140.

³⁰² For the apocalyptic character of this generation see Cornell H. Fleischer, “The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman,” in *Soliman Le Magnifique et son Temps: Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais 7–10 mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, 166–67 (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992).

³⁰³ Fleischer, “From Şeyhzade Korkud to Mustafa Âli”, 77.

justice, a corpus of secular legislation, and accepted customary practices.”³⁰⁴ The concept of *kanun* in Âli’s mind was largely based on the *Kanunname* of Mehmed II,³⁰⁵ which arranged the rules of promotions in the highest positions within the main career paths in the service of the state. For Mustafa Âli, the roots of the perceived decline could be found in the decreasing concern for this dynastic law. The neglect of the *kanun* led to corruption in appointments and promotions so that those who were not qualified reached high positions. For Âli such practices were illegal because they were contrary to the institutionalized Ottoman practice.³⁰⁶

Another name interested in the *Kanunname* of Mehmed II was Selaniki. Like Mustafa Âli, Selaniki was also critical of diversions from established Ottoman practices in appointments and promotions.³⁰⁷ While speaking of the violation of *kanun* as law or established practice, both Selaniki and Âli reflected “a yearning for an order that existed in theory in their own times, but not in actuality”.³⁰⁸ The middle years of Süleyman’s reign seemed to them to be a period of meritocracy in promotions within the bureaucracy. During that golden period *kanun* was “the primary legitimate ordering mechanism for political life.”³⁰⁹

Hasan Kafi Akhisari presented his advice book, *Usul al-Hikam fi Nizam al-‘Alam*, to Mehmed III in 1596.³¹⁰ Consisting of a preamble, four chapters, and an epilogue, his booklet was written to present a prescription for the continuing disasters since 1572. The corruption in justice, unfair appointments, bribery, and abuses in administrative mechanism were among the problems mentioned in the booklet. The most threatening problem, however, was the Ottoman defeat in the Rumelian border lands in the eyes of Akhisari. Therefore, he emphasized the shortcomings in effective

³⁰⁴ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 192.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 197.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 192

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 208.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 226.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ Muhammed Aruçi, “Hasan Kafi Akhisari”, *TDVIA*.

use of war instruments among his criticisms.³¹¹ Akhisari was a town judge in Akhisar, a town nearby the Rumelian borders.³¹² Thus his interest in Rumelian border lands seems to have stemmed largely from his own experience and observations.

The anonymous author of *Hırz al-Muluk* composed his work by similar concerns.³¹³ Unlike Mustafa Âli and Selaniki, the author of *Hırz al-Muluk* mentioned the reign of Mehmed II and Selim I as the golden eras. These sultans took scholars' advices seriously, thus promotions were conducted according to the rules of meritocracy, and corruption was immediately punished.³¹⁴ The author of *Hırz al-Muluk* also complained about corruption in scholarly career paths. He distinguished the true scholars from false ones, who advanced within four to five years by either bribery or the nepotism of viziers and others³¹⁵ without knowing even the grammar and syntax.³¹⁶

The authors mentioned above spoke of similar discontentment about their age. Of course, there were some significant differences in terms of their approach to the problems they identified. They were in different career paths, thus their priorities were different to a certain extent. For example, Mustafa Âli was disappointed due to his failure to find a life-long patron. He did not receive the positions he wanted and finally started criticizing his age, which, he thought, failed to appreciate his literary as well as administrative skills. Akhisari, however, held a judgeship position near Rumelian borders where he was exposed to the social as well as economic hardships of every war and defeat.

³¹¹ Hasan Kafi Akhisari, *Usul al-Hikam fi Nizam al-'Alam*, ed. N.R.Al-Hmoud (Amman: 1986), 37.

³¹² Aruçi, "Hasan Kafi Akhisari", *TDVIA*.

³¹³ "bazı erkân-ı devletten....tezelzül ve ihtilaline say-ı beliğ işar eden bazı nâşâyeste evzâ ve etvâr müşahade etmeğle...", see "Hırz al-Muluk", *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, (Istanbul: Fey Vakfi, 1990), ed. Ahmet Akgündüz, vol.8, 32.

³¹⁴ *Hırz al-Muluk*, 33.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 50, 56.

Despite their differences, they were influenced by each other. They read one another's works. For example, the influence of Lütfi Pasha's *Asafname* and Kinalızade Ali's *Ahlak-ı 'Ala'i* can be perceived in Mustafa Ali's works.³¹⁷

When Ali started *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, he was also aware of the writings of his contemporaries and their complaints. He must have read some of them, and influenced by their ideas. Furthermore, his failures in the scholarly career path, such political crises as the fight between Selim and Bayezid, economic and social crises such as the Jalali rebellions, the approaching Muslim millennium and the consequent apocalyptic expectations all influenced Ali. Thus, his personal experiences, the ideas of his contemporaries, and the socio-political environment around him strengthened his sense of decline.

4.3. Perceptions of a Golden Age in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

Although it is not an advice book but a biographical dictionary, *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* contains Ali's criticisms of his time and contemporaries to a significant extent. Ali's pessimistic mood can be perceived from the very beginning of the preamble of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.

Ali starts his book by praying God, who determines the times of death. Considering that his book deals with deceased people, this introductory prayer seems to be apt. Then, he praises the Prophet as the most honest and sagacious person ever as well as for his elocution. He emphasized elocution as a desired and distinctive trait from the very beginning of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* and in most of the biographical entries throughout the book. Then, Ali mentions the scope of his biographical dictionary that he covers the life stories of the great ulama and prominent sheikhs whom he had accompanied for a while or was honored to see at least once before they died.

Ali's criticisms of his time follow these introductory passages and continue until the last sentences of the preamble, covering about four fifth of the preamble. He criticizes unfair appointments, nepotism, and incompetence of scholars. He quotes couplets from poets and verses from the Qur'an in order to support his observations and criticism of corruption. Sometimes he praises himself between the lines. He employs metaphors such as the guidance of blind person and the contamination of

³¹⁷ Fleischer, "From Şeyhzade Korkud to Mustafa Âli", 69.

rivers at their source. Such metaphors are common in advice books.³¹⁸ Similar criticisms are also encountered in the biographical entries throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.

4.3.1. Ali's Criticisms of His Age

Ali's criticisms in the preamble and the biographical entries are mainly related to scholarly life during his time. He complains about the advancement of unworthy people in the scholarly career path due to unfair appointments while competent scholars are not appreciated. This situation, in turn, leads to the deterioration of scholarship. Ali holds the high-ranking officials responsible for this corruption in the scholarly path because they do not seek the advice of true scholars.

In the preamble of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali justifies his continuation by its style. He says he attempted to find the most convenient expressions and the most favorable connotations in his book by implying that the previous continuations of *al-Shaqa'iq* that cover the same period, lacked the high standards of his literary style. Then he starts criticizing his contemporaries for their attitude towards those who have competence in literature and sciences. His contemporaries not only fail to appreciate literary talents and scholarly endeavors but also become hostile to the presence of such talented people. He describes his contemporaries as an enemy, who draws his sword of hostility and outrage against those who are adorned with virtues and precedes his peers. Apparently Ali includes himself in this group of virtuous people.

Virtuous dignitaries of the past generations had already passed away. Ali likens them to flies going away behind the fog so that nothing remains from them. The disappearance of the great scholars was the disaster of learning. Ali employs metaphors to picture the prevailing situation. He states that the foundation of sciences was shattered, and its fire was deflated to the extent that *'ilm* almost disappeared. As he usually does, Ali comes up here with some couplets to support his opinion of the age. The couplets are from Şeyhülislam Ebussuud's famous *mimiyye kasidesi*, which Ali often quotes throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. In the quoted couplets Ebussuud Efendi compares the current scholarly activities with those

³¹⁸ Howard, *Genre and Myth*, 152.

of the past. He uses the analogy of a palace, which once had a great dome near to the heavens but became demolished completely so that no trace of it remained.³¹⁹

Ali complains about the deterioration of personal relations as well. He complains about the lack of trust, friendship, honesty, sincerity, and loyalty. Affection for the sake of God disappeared forever. Here he quotes some couplets from the famous Arab poet Abu Firas al-Hamdani (d. 968), where the poet complains about the betrayal and ruthlessness of his friends.

Ali criticizes as well the routes followed to success in the scholarly path. He clearly states that those who are the favorites of the people in high positions are welcomed and respected even if they are foolish. However, those who are deprived of patrons are never favored even if they are more eloquent than Sahban b. Wa'il and Qus b. Iyad, two famous orators in Arabic language.³²⁰ Ali seems to consider a good knowledge of Arabic among the indispensable quality of a scholar as well as an adequate one for appreciation and promotion. Here he quotes some couplets, where the poet mentions how worthless people were honored while people of understanding were disrespected.

Ali complains not only about the prevailing of fools over the competent but also that of slaves over free people, and that of the young over the old. Although Ali does not clarify whom he means by slaves, he seems to imply the slaves of the sultan, who played a significant role in appointments by their interventions and manipulations. By young ones, on the other hand, he must have criticized the privileged children of high dignitaries. Since the Süleyman's reign the children of the *mevali* were favored in their first appointments within the scholarly path. Thanks to Mevla Hayreddin, Süleyman's tutor, a law was enacted that allowed the children of *mevali* to receive teaching positions at a higher level of the madrasas than other candidates, which facilitated their quick advancement. Those coming from ordinary families, however, had to wait for years in order to receive the same promotions. Ali

³¹⁹ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 4.

³²⁰ Sahban b. Wa'il and Qus b. Sa'ida b. 'Amr al-'Iyadi are two orators and poets during the Jahiliyya period and the dawn of Islam. "More eloquent than Sahban b. Wa'il and Qus b. Iyad" became an Arabic idiom used to describe people who spoke eloquently. For more information on Sahban b. Wa'il see İsmail Durmuş and Mustafa Öz, "Sahbân b. el-Vâilî", *TDVIA*. For Quss b. 'Iyad see Mehmet Ali Kapar, "Kus b. Saide", *TDVIA*.

was from an ordinary family, the son of a town judge. Therefore he started his career from the lowest level of madrasas, and advanced in time due to his merit and endeavors. He composed his biographical dictionary during his unemployment years. Ali must have been angry with the young children of *mevali*, who were favored while he was waiting for an appointment.

Similar criticisms directed at the children of *mevali* can be found in the biographical entries as well. In the biography of Abdulvasi Efendi, the grandson of Şeyhülislam Ebussuud, Ali clearly states that Abdulvasi received the professorship of the Mahmud Pasha Madrasa not due to his merit or competence but thanks to his grandfather's fame. In the biography of Mevla Ataullah, Selim II's tutor, his intervention in favor of his young students are mentioned with a perceivable anger.

In the following sentences of the preamble Ali repeats the same theme hopelessly saying that there remained nobody for young scholars to take refuge in his gate. Then he quoted some couplets from Asma'i (d. 831), an expert of literature and language, to introduce the idea of lack of the good patrons.³²¹ Here and in the earlier passages of the preamble Ali often praises himself between the lines. When he mentions those who are more eloquent than Sahban b. Wa'il, he, in fact, implies himself. While complaining that the young prevailed over the old, he, in fact, complains about his own career. This becomes clearer when Ali begins to mention his own experience. He criticizes those whose help and intercessions he had asked without mentioning a name. Employing the metaphor of cloud, Ali mentions that he had asked them to drop their rain but alas to no avail. Then, he quoted some couplets from Jahza al-Barmaki (d. 936), an Arab philologist, musician, and poet, where the same topic is treated.³²²

Ali continues with three of his own couplets, where he talks about the situation of smart young men who are in need of helpers but cannot find them. He likens the young scholar to an oil-candle whose light is fading. Everybody turns his back to him except a few. Again, Ali seems to be talking about himself. He was in

³²¹ Asma'i is one the leading scholars of Basra School of language and literature. For more information see Süleyman Tülücü, "Asma'i", *TDVIA*.

³²² His full name is Abu al-Hasan Ahmad b. Dja'far b. Musa b. Yahya al-Baramaki al-Nadim. See Ch. Pellat, "Djahza", *EP*.

his forties when he was dismissed from his teaching position in the Davud Pasha Madrasa. As far as one learns from Ataullah's biography in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali hoped for Ataullah's intercession. The latter had written a *risala* covering five different branches of learning, namely hadith, fiqh, rhetoric, theology, and philosophy. For this *risala*, Ali wrote a eulogium, the beginning of which he quoted in his entry on Ataullah.³²³ Ali's attempt to win Ataullah's support failed. He did not receive an appointment via the intercession of the sultan's tutor. His disappointment as well as rage can easily be perceived in his biographical entry on Ataullah. Ali writes, "after reading what I had written for his *risala* he behaved as if he would favor me but nothing happened". Then he criticizes Ataullah indirectly by saying "[my] this disappointment may be due to exaggerating the praise of one who did not deserve it." He ends the related biography with these words without praying for Ataullah's soul.

Ali's personal anger shows in other ways as well in his biographical entry on Ataullah. Instead of the accustomed praises at the beginning of the entry as it is the case in most of the other biographies in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali introduces Ataullah emphasizing his fortune, instead of scholarly capabilities, for his rapid advance. He says for Ataullah "to whom the honors came unexpectedly thanks to his luck, and who advanced in an unusual manner, and whom the fate ultimately transformed to nothing as if he had never happened."

Ali accused Ataullah of helping his relatives as well as appointing his own students to high positions in short periods of time. The young got ahead of the mature and experienced individuals. Ali blames the sultan's tutor "for the autumn in the garden of virtues, and for the waning of the star of learning, and for the setting of the sun of learning." Ataullah's death is interpreted as a response from God to the supplication of people who witnessed this corruption in sciences. Ataullah's fate became a good lesson and advice for later generations. Ali does not forget to add a couplet at the end of Ataullah's biography, which summarizes the idea that everyone, no matter how high his position is, is doomed to death.

Ali must have had in mind his relation with Ataullah Efendi while condemning those who do not help young scholars. Through the end of the preamble

³²³ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 85.

Ali points out the root of the problems briefly. Employing a metaphor, he asks: do not the rivers become muddy when their spring became muddy? As if he answers to this question, Ali comes up with a Qur'anic verse in the chapter Anbiya, the Prophets, meaning “so ask the people of the reminder (*ahl al-dhikr*) if you do not know.” Although Ali does not explicitly say it, he seems to take those holding the highest positions responsible for this corruption. For Ali, they went astray because of their arrogance and pride. When they became corrupted those below them followed in their footsteps. Ali seems to consider himself among the people of message whose consultation is necessary to overcome the present problem. Then he employs the metaphor of blind people guided by a blind guide. He states that they all will fall into the well at the end. Then, he adorns this metaphor by two couplets, which cover the same theme.

In the last passages of the preamble, Ali directly addresses himself advising to come to the point. However he again points out that it is the fate of noblemen to complain about their age, implying that he is himself one of them. He quotes some couplets from al-Shafi'i (d. 820), the eponym of the Shafi' School, and Hamduni (d. 9th century), another Arab poet.³²⁴ The preamble ends up with Ali's statement about the name of the book and his request from the readers to forgive his shortcomings. He says that his words belong to someone tested by fate and calamities many times. Then he quotes again a couplet of another poet to get across what he has in mind, and ends the preamble with this couplet without any supplication to God for success.

4.3.2. *Kanun* Consciousness

Ali does not mention the Ottoman dynastic law (*kanun*) in the preamble of his book but he uses the concept many times throughout the biographies. Although he does not clearly explain the present corruption by the neglect of *kanun*, his expressions suggest that he also had a *kanun* consciousness similar to that of his contemporaries Mustafa Âli and Selaniki.

Ali makes a distinction between those graduated from the Ottoman madrasas and received *mülazemet*, as opposed to those who did not, or outsiders (*ecanib*). In

³²⁴ His full name is Abu 'Ali Isma'il b. Ibrahim b. Hamdawayhi, better known as al-Hamduni. He is a minor poet from Basra. For more information see A. Arazi, “al-Hamdawî”, *EP*.

the biography of Muslihiddin Sururi,³²⁵ Ali says he was Muhyiddin Fenari's student. When the latter became the Judge of Istanbul he employed Sururi as his *naib*, regent. Thus, Sururi became the first *naib* from among the students of *mevali* because the latter had used to employ outsiders before.³²⁶ The distinction between the students of *mevali* and "outsiders" was essential for the Ottoman scholarly elite of the late sixteenth century. They opposed to the entrance to scholarly career path people from outside of the hierarchy.

Ali uses the word *kanun* in a number of instances. In the biography of Muhyiddin İmamzade, he writes that when İmamzade was dismissed from the Judgeship of Aleppo he was assigned a daily payment of eighty aspers according to custom and the law (*al-âdât wa al-qanun*).³²⁷ In other biographies as well, he mentions retirement assignments as a requirement of *kanun*.³²⁸ In the biography of Ahmed Muallimzade, Ali writes that he was assigned a daily payment of two hundred aspers, following his dismissal from the Judgeship of Rumelia, although he ought to have received one hundred and fifty aspers according to custom and the law.³²⁹

Custom (*âdat*) and law (*kanun*) seem to be synonymous in Ali's mind. In many biographical entries, he uses custom without law. For example, he repeats the expression "he moved in keeping with custom" (*'ala al-wajhi al-mu'tad*).³³⁰ In the biography of Mehmed Arabzade, he accuses Arabzade of arrogance because he granted one of the students of Şeyhülislam Ebussuud *mülazemet*. Ali reprimands Arabzade's practice as being opposite to the custom (*khilaf al-âdat*).³³¹ Ali

³²⁵ Ibid., 13-16.

³²⁶ Ibid., 14.

³²⁷ Ibid., 43.

³²⁸ For examples, *ibid.*, 46, 48,.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 48, 68, 87, 164, 166.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

maintains that when the *şeyhülislam* heard of this disrespect became angry, and Arabzade was dismissed by Sultan's order.³³²

Ali seems to be conscious of the established Ottoman practices. Although he was not as obsessed with *kanun* as Mustafa Âli and Selaniki were, he was aware of the privileges of the group to which he belonged. For example, in the biography of Abdulfettah Kayseri, Ali mentions Kayseri's endeavor to gain for his madrasa the status of interior madrasa (*dahil* madrasa) in order to enjoy the privilege of granting *mülazemet* as it was the custom in the case of interior madrasas.³³³

4.3.3. Portrayal of the Ideal 'Âlim

“We are like candles among our people, they are illuminated by the candle and benefit from it while it gutters and melts away steadily”.³³⁴ These are the words Ali quotes from Muslihiddin Niksari in the latter's biographical entry. Although Ali cannot help adding that these words seem to have been copied from great Muslim scholar al-Gazzali's maxim, he apparently agrees with the meaning that the quoted expression conveys. This nostalgic description of the true 'âlim, together with Ali's critical observations throughout the biographical entries in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, helps one understand the main characteristics of the ideal scholar from Ali's perspective. His praises of Ebussuud Efendi suggest that Ali sees the *şeyhülislam* as the best example of this ideal scholar.

In Taşköprizade's biography Ali praises Taşköprizade for not being arrogant and stubborn.³³⁵ Moreover, he criticizes his teacher Mevla Karahisari for his arrogance. Although there are many similarities between the biographical entries for Karahisari in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* and Aşık Çelebi's *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*, it is rather meaningful that the latter does not include comments about the arrogance of Karahisari. It seems Ali felt a need to point out this feature of his teacher. Ali may have included this comment due to a personal resentment. However, the important

³³² Ibid., 20-21.

³³³ Ibid., 167.

³³⁴ Ibid., 13.

³³⁵ Ibid., 8.

point here is Ali's choice of words to express the desired qualities of a scholar rather than whether these words reflected Karahisari's personality truthfully or not. In other words, Ali chooses the words "arrogant" and "stubborn" in order to criticize a scholar.

According to Ali, a true scholar must be indifferent to worldly desires and praises. He must be unwilling to ask for positions. In Taşköprizade's biography, he reports an anecdote about Taşköprizade. Taşköprizade points to his tongue and says, "this tongue has erred many times but it has never spoken to ask for a position."³³⁶ On the other hand, Abdalbaki Halebi is allusively criticized for his soliciting to reach higher positions. Ali alluded to Halebi's failure to receive chief judgeship, despite the huge amount of money he spent for this cause. The related passages in the biography is followed by some couplets where Ali implies that Halebi was not on the right path, thus he was devoid of God's help in his cause. As for his own soliciting of higher positions, however, Ali seems to consider himself deserving them due to his distinguished scholarly and literary competence. As seen in the preamble of his work, he does not conceal that he solicited many patrons' help and became despaired at the end. In Ataullah's biography, he clearly mentions how he asked Ataullah's help and quoted his words of praise for Ataullah's *risala* but received nothing in turn. However, he prefers to interpret his misfortune not as God's punishment but as the common fate of the nobles in all times saying that "this is the habit of the fate, and no doubt complain the nobles in all times about their fate."³³⁷

For Ali, what made Halebi go astray from the right path was his giving bribes. Ali's attitude towards bribery is encountered in other biographical entries as well. In Muslihiddin Niksari's biography, Ali mentions an anecdotal story that does not exist in Aşık Çelebi's account. In this anecdote, someone offers a bribe to Niksari during his Mecca judgeship years but he responds very angrily and reprimands the man. Ali praises Niksari for his righteousness and refusal of bribes.

Scholarly competence is another criterion for the ideal '*âlim*. Although scholarly competence includes expertise in the so-called religious sciences such as

³³⁶ Ibid., 8.

³³⁷ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 6.

theology and Islamic law, Ali seems to have had in mind a good command of Arabic as a primary factor. A scholar must have a good knowledge of Arabic to the extent that he should be able to compose poetry in that language. In many biographical entries in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, the scholars are praised for the beauty of their Arabic poetry.

Ali's expressions in Ebussuud Efendi's biography suggest that Ebussuud represents the ideal scholar for Ali. Ebussuud is not only praised in the biographical entry allotted to him but also in other biographical entries as well. In the preamble, Ali quotes Ebussuud's couplets to support his ideas on the deterioration of the conditions of his age. Ebussuud's *mimiyye kasidesi* is often quoted on different occasions throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as an indicator of the good command of the *afazil al-Rum* of Arabic.

Ali starts the biographical entry for Ebussuud with a long panegyric sentence and writes one of the longest biographies in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, where he provides a long life story, and cites poems and fatwas of Ebussuud in Arabic and Persian as well as elegies written upon his death.³³⁸ Ebussuud is described as the unique mind of his age, and appreciated for the scholarly competence of his Qur'anic exegesis. Ali mentions in detail how Süleyman the Lawgiver was impressed by the Qur'an exegesis of the *şeyhülislam*, and bestowed on him salary, gifts, and positions as a reward for his scholarly accomplishments. In the eyes of Ali, Ebussuud's exegesis must have represented the scholarly competence of the *afazil al-Rum* before the Arab world.

Ebussuud is also praised for his ability to effectively administer the scholarly affairs after receiving the chief judgeship of Rumelia, following the dismissal of Muhyiddin Fenari. According to Ali, Ebussuud brings the spring back to the garden of learning and literature.

Ali says that when Şeyhülislam Sa'd b. İsa died the position of chief mufti (*şeyhülislam*) had entered into a crisis. Nobody was able to successfully replace the deceased *şeyhülislam* until Ebussuud was appointed to this position in 1537. Ebussuud occupied this position for thirty years. Ali portrays him as having good command of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian to the extent that he answered the fatwas

³³⁸ Ibid., 118-134.

in the language of the question asked. Ali quotes two of these questions related to the penance of a vow not to get married and melodic *dhikr*. Ebussuud answers to the first question in an Arabic prose, and the second in Persian verse.³³⁹

One encounters the praises of Ebussuud in other biographical entries as well. In his son Ahmed's biography, Ali praises the latter saying that the son is the mystery of his father (*al-walad sirru abihi*).³⁴⁰ Ahmed is likened to the moon taking his light from the sun, which is his father. In the biography of Mehmed b. Ebussuud, similar praises are repeated.³⁴¹ Ali faults those who oppose Ebussuud Efendi. He reports that someone saw Mevla Ataullah in his dream after the latter passed away.³⁴² In the dream, Ataullah is reprimanded in a council of Sufis led by Mevla İskilibi, Ebussuud's father, and forced to leave the council. Ali interprets this dream as an indicator of Ataullah's mistake in opposing the *şeyhülislam*.

In the biography of Mevla Arabzade, Ali mentions Arabzade granted one of the students of Ebussuud *mülazemet* in a way contrary to the established custom. This created a crisis between the *şeyhülislam* and Arabzade, who was at that time a Sahn professor. The crisis ended up with the dismissal of Arabzade.³⁴³ The interesting point in the biographical entry for Arabzade in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is Ali's perceivable gloat over Arabzade's misfortune. Aşık Çelebi mentions the quarrel between Ebussuud and Arabzade briefly and without taking sides,³⁴⁴ Ali allots a considerable space to Arabzade's humiliation and punishment and he implied that Arabzade had already deserved such a treatment due to his inappropriate behavior toward the *şeyhülislam*. Although the same story can be interpreted as an indicator of Ebussuud's arrogance as well, Ali prefers not to look at it from this angle. He seems to have avoided disproving the portrait he drew for the *şeyhülislam*.

³³⁹ Ibid., 120-121.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 25-6.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 37-8.

³⁴² Ibid., 83-5.

³⁴³ Ibid., 20-1.

³⁴⁴ For Aşık Çelebi's account see, *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*, 52-3.

4.3.4. The House of Osman in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

There is no separate biographical entry for members of the Ottoman dynasty in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. Still, Ali provides brief summaries of the reigns of Süleyman and Selim. He also mentions Ottoman princes, sultans' wives and daughters on different occasions. Some prominent statesmen are also mentioned throughout the biographies.

At the end of the biography of Dede Halife Sunusi, Ali writes that this is the last biography from the reign of Süleyman.³⁴⁵ Then he mentions Süleyman's military achievements and conquests, his last campaign to Sigetvar, his funeral, some of his endowments, and his literary talent. Ali also quotes some exemplary couplets from Süleyman's poems in Persian as well as from the elegies composed upon his death. Ali also quotes Ebussuud's words written upon the inscription of the aqueduct built by Süleyman.

In the related passage, Süleyman is described as the conqueror of the lands of Iran and Baghdad as well as the castle of Boğdan-ı Belgrad. He is pictured as the warrior of Islam against the infidels and polytheists. The sultans of the East and the West bend before Süleyman, who is the sultan of the seven climates. Süleyman is depicted as the honest observer of the holy law, as well as a generous endower. The Süleymaniye Complex is praised for its capaciousness and greatness. The aqueduct built by Süleyman in Istanbul is called as one of the wonders of the world.

At the end of Ebussuud Efendi's biography, Ali gives a brief summary of the reign of Selim II.³⁴⁶ Selim's reign is depicted as the period when the wars in Yemen came to an end. He is praised for the conquest of Cyprus. Thanks to the campaign led by Selim's fourth vizier Mustafa Pasha, the practices opposite to Islam were abolished in Cyprus. Selim sent an army to Tunisia and conquered it, too. Although Selim is depicted as the warrior of Islam against the infidels, Ali cannot help saying that he was fond of such pleasures as drinking. Selim repents under the influence of the Halveti Sheikh Süleyman Amedi and gives up worldly pleasures before his death.

³⁴⁵ For the summary of Süleyman's reign see *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 48-54.

³⁴⁶ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 134-5.

Ali's endeavor to depict the Ottoman sultans as pious Muslim leaders is evident. He depicts especially the Safavids as infidels who threaten not only the Ottomans but also Islam. He describes the relations between the Ottomans and the Safavids in black and white. This helps Ali to depict the Ottoman sultans as warriors of Islam because of their campaigns against the Safavid Empire. While praising the Ottoman sultans, he satirizes the Safavid leaders such as İsmail and Tahmasb. İsmail is called as the leader of a vile group of people (*al-taifa al-tagiya*).³⁴⁷ Tahmasb is depicted as a cruel leader, who persecutes people with torture. Ali mentions that Sheikh Abu Said was tortured by Tahmasb's order and his flesh was cut and fed to dogs during this torture.³⁴⁸

In the fight between Selim and Bayezid, Ali accuses the latter of going astray because of his ambition for power.³⁴⁹ Bayezid is not depicted as one of the parties fighting for the throne but as one who rioted against the will of his father. His rise against legitimate authority makes his claim to the throne lose all its legitimacy. Because of this lack of legitimacy Ali often accuses him of *bagy* and describes Bayezid's men as *ashab al-bagy wa al-fasad*.³⁵⁰ *Bagy* is a term used in fiqh terminology in order to describe rebellious action against legitimate authority, which require the execution of rebels.³⁵¹ Ali emphasizes that Bayezid did not accept advice and insisted on rebellion and hostility (*bagy wa al-'udvan*). Thus, he implies that Bayezid himself was responsible for the fight between himself and his brother Selim.

Upon Bayezid's taking refuge in Safavid lands, however, Ali's voice against Bayezid changes totally. He starts accusing Tahmasb of his bad intentions against the Ottoman prince. Although he accused Bayezid's men of being rebellious at the beginning of the story, his attitude towards them as well changes after they were taken prisoner by the Safavids. After mentioning the execution of some of Bayezid's

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 101.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ For the fight between the two princes see *ibid.*, 17-20.

³⁵⁰ In the related pages, Ali uses a number of description for Bayezid's men such as *arbab al-bagy wa al-dalal*, *arbab al-fasad*, *al-fi'at al-bagiyya*, *firqat al-tagiya*, and *ashrar*.

³⁵¹ For much on the *bagy* in Islamic terminology see Ali Şafak, "Bağy", *TDVIA*.

men under Tahmasb's order and the conversion of the rest to Tahmasb's false belief (*mazhabihim al-batil*) to save their lives, Ali starts cursing Tahmasb and his men, and prays for the safety of the Muslim community from their evil as well as for Bayezid and his men's revenge. It seems that Ali treats Bayezid and his men as "our" rebels, and prefers them over Safavids, which is the ultimate enemy. Probably for that reason, Ali prefers to hold Tahmasb responsible for the tragic end of the prince and his sons. Although it is known that Bayezid was executed by Süleyman's order, Ali writes that they had been already executed when delivered to the Ottoman delegation.

Ali's attempts to portray the Ottoman Sultans as innocent of allegations can also be observed in his brief mention of the executed Ottoman prince Mustafa. Ali nearly skips over the execution of the prince by Süleyman the Lawgiver. Ali does not provide details about this event, he only writes that his father became angry of Mustafa and ordered his execution.³⁵² Prince Mustafa's murder, in fact, led to discontent among common people as well as the military because he was considered as the best heir to the throne. Ali seems to have avoided touching the execution of the young prince because, unlike Bayezid, Mustafa had committed no crime to justify his execution. Mentioning the innocence of the prince would have implicated Süleyman with cruelty and injustice. This seems to be the reason why Ali skips over the execution of the prince in only a few words.

Rüstem Pasha is another name mentioned in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. He was Süleyman's grand vizier and son-in-law. He was married with the princess Mihrimah Sultan, and thus affiliated with the Ottoman dynasty. In the decline literature, Rüstem Pasha is generally treated as a scapegoat to criticize Süleyman's policies. Süleyman's failures are attributed to the influence of the faction of Hürrem and Rüstem Pasha.³⁵³ Rüstem is accused of "transforming hard-won state lands into private or waqf holdings" as well as "being the first to open the gates of bribery."³⁵⁴ Though not openly, Rüstem Pasha is criticized by Ali as well. In Abdalbaki Halebi's biography,

³⁵² *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 15.

³⁵³ Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age", 55.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

Ali mentions that Halebi had spent large sums to please the grand vizier in order to receive the position he wanted but he failed. Implying that Rüstem Pasha usually takes bribery, Ali pretends to be surprised that Halebi could not achieve his goal although he bribed to Rüstem Pasha.

4.4. Conclusion

Ali started his biographical dictionary during his unemployment years. His disrupted scholarly career as well as the prevalent discourse of his time led him to articulate the problems repeated by many of his contemporaries. Although *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is not an advice book but a biographical dictionary, Ali's complaints and criticisms are often encountered throughout the biographical entries. The preamble of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* is different from Aşık Çelebi's *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq* by its content and its author's pessimistic tone. Ali hopelessly describes his time as corrupt. Similar to the contemporary advice authors, he criticizes various developments such as bribery, unfair appointments, nepotism, and indifference for scholarly achievements and literary talents. He seems to have been thinking that he was not appreciated despite his distinctive capabilities.

Ali sometimes contradicts himself in his criticisms. He praises some scholars for their unwillingness to ask for positions and sometimes he allusively condemns some of his colleagues for their soliciting of higher positions. At the same time, however, he does not hesitate to mention that he himself also asked for positions. While interpreting other scholars' failure in reaching higher positions as God's punishment for their worldly desires, he interprets his own misfortune as the fate of nobles who are never appreciated by their contemporaries, although they deserve the highest positions.

Like advice books, *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* deals with these problems by employing metaphors. However, Ali does not prescribe solutions to the existing problems. His expressions imply that he was aware of the Ottoman dynastic custom and law, and that he attached importance to the proper observance of these established practices. However, one cannot claim that he is obsessed with the Ottoman *kanun* as some of contemporary advice authors such as Mustafa Âli and Selaniki.

Ali seems to consider Ebussuud Efendi as the ideal scholar of his time. Şeyhülislam Ebussuud is praised for his scholarly and literary competence, and he is presented as the representative of the scholars of the lands of Rum. Ebussuud is especially praised for his deep knowledge of Arabic along with Persian, and Turkish. However, one can notice Ali's contradictions in his attitude towards the *şeyhülislam* as well. Although he often complains about the prevailing of the young over the old, he abstain from criticizing Ebussuud's sons, who advanced very quickly in their scholarly career thanks to their father's fame and influence. In some cases, he prefers to interpret events in Ebussuud's favor in order to absolve his ideal *'âlim* from accusations such as arrogance. Instead of criticizing Ebussuud in his confrontation with other scholars, Ali prefers to make the latter group scapegoat. He accuses them of being disrespectful for the *şeyhülislam*, and thinks that they deserve punishment.

Ali seems to very careful in his criticisms for the members of the House of Osman. He pictures the Ottoman sultans as pious Muslims. Although he mentions Selim's transgressions of sharia such as drinking, he emphasizes that the sultan later repented and gave up worldly pleasures. As for Süleyman, Ali avoids criticizing him for his injustice to prince Mustafa. He nearly skips over the execution of the prince without making slightest comment, although the execution of Mustafa brought repercussions among the Ottoman elite as well as the common people. Instead of criticizing members of the House of Osman, Ali made scapegoats. In the fight between Bayezid and Selim, he firstly condemns Beyazıd's men, who deceived the prince. After Bayezid is taken prisoner by Safavids, Ali directs his accusations to the Safavids, whom he describes as deviant people on all occasions, and absolves the Ottoman prince.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE EYES OF A MÜRİD

5.1. Introduction

As mentioned in previous chapters, Ali b. Bali was a devoted follower of his Bayrami sheikh Muslihiddin Cerrahzade. He spent a period of time in the sheikh's lodge in Istanbul most probably during his unemployment years in 1567-1575. According to his own report in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, he witnessed some miracles of his sheikh during this period. Although he does not mention these personal experiences not to appear pretentious, he gives considerable space to mentioning the reports about his sheikh's miracles from the mouth of other followers in the related biography.

The Sufi path no doubt constituted another aspect of Ali's life. While mentioning Muslihiddin Sururi's initiation to the Sufi path, Ali describes it as a narrow and difficult path, which nobody except truly devout men can walk along.³⁵⁵ Unlike Sururi, however, Ali does not seem to have ever decided to give up his scholarly career to become fully committed to the Sufi way of life. At least, there is no mentioning of such a decision in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. Nevertheless he met with sheikhs from different orders, recognized their spiritual status and respected them.

Ali wrote the life story of twenty-two sheikhs in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* under separate biographical entries. This number constitutes one-seventh of the total number of biographies in his biographical dictionary. He mentions the names of some other sheikhs as well, but he does not allot to them separate biographical entries. He mentioned their miracles in anecdotal stories. There could be many possible reasons why Ali did not mention these sheikhs in separate biographical entries. Some of them had already been mentioned in *al-Shaqa'iq*. Some of them were probably still alive, and outlived Ali. There could also be some sheikhs whom Ali did not meet in person, although he heard about them. Thus, according to the

³⁵⁵ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 14.

criteria he follows in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, he did not devote separate entries to them.³⁵⁶

The sheikhs who have a separate biographical entry in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, and their orders are shown in the table below.

Table 05-1: The list of the sheikhs who have separate biographical entries in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

Nu.	Name of the Sheikh	Sufi Order	Pages of the biography in <i>al-'Iqd al-Manzum</i>, pp.
1	Sheikh Gurseddin Ahmed Halebi (d. 971/1564)	-	29-33
2	Sheikh Abdurrahman Merzifoni Şeyhzade (d. 971/1564)	-	34-37
3	Sheikh Abdullatif Nakşibendi Buhari (d. 971/1564)	Nakşibendi	41
4	Sheikh Taceddin İbrahimi Hamidi (d. 973/1566)	-	44-47
5	Sheikh Muhyiddin Ezenkemendi- Hekim Çelebi (d. 974/1567)	Bayrami	54-55
6	Sheikh Ramazan Yezi (d. 979/1571)	Halveti-Sünbülü	85-86
7	Sheikh Yakup Germiyani (d. 979/1571)	Halveti-Sünbülü	94-96
8	Sheikh Ebu Said Tebrizi (d. 980/1572)	Nakşibendi	100-3
9	Sheikh Bali Halveti (d. 980/1572)	Halveti	104-7
10	Sheikh Muhyiddin Birgivi (d. 981/1573)	Bayrami	114-6
11	Sheikh Muslihiddin Edirnevi Cerrahzade (d. 983/1575)	Bayrami	137-156
12	Sheikh Muharrem Kastamoni (d. 983/1575)	Bayrami	158-9

³⁵⁶ For much about Ali's criteria in inclusion of names in his book see the Introduction of this study.

5.2. Who were the Masha'ikh al-Rum?

For Ali, there were not only ulema of Rum but also sheikhs of Rum. In the biography of Hekim Çelebi, Ali writes that he was among the great sheikhs of Rum (*min ajillat masha'ikh al-Rum*).³⁵⁷ However, the term “the sheikhs of Rum” is not encountered as often as “the ulema of Rum” in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. Actually, the only case Ali employs this term is the biography of Hekim Çelebi within the entire book. Ali does not seem to be interested in promoting an identity signifying the “sheikhs of Rum” vis-à-vis “the ulema of Rum”. He does not advertise a group of sheikhs as he does ulema of Rum. As we have discussed, Ali promotes ulema of Rum in the contest with the ulema of the Arab lands in various areas such as their knowledge of Arabic and Islamic sciences.

One of the reasons for this could be the fact that the group of sheikhs he knew was less homogeneous than Rumi scholars. While the term ulema of Rum refers to those scholar-bureaucrats who, as a distinct group, shared similar privileges in their service to the Ottoman state, it was difficult to mention a group of sheikhs, who constituted a privileged homogenous group. Of course, as seen in *al-Shaqa'iq*, there were some individual sheikhs who were in cooperation with the dynasty since the very foundation of the empire. These sheikhs enjoyed many privileges thanks to the sympathy of the sultans for them. However, they never constituted a group which monopolized certain positions and privileges, and regulated the rules of entrance to their group, and guaranteed its future.

While there were strict mechanisms to control the entrance to scholarly path such as granting *mülazemet*, Sufi path was open to all without any discrimination. While promotion of scholars was regulated within the hierarchy of madrasas and judgeship positions there was no boundary in theory for advancement in the Sufi path except one's own spiritual capacity and experience. This allowed anyone to enter the Sufi path and achieve a spiritual state, and in turn, to advance within the order without facing any restrictions such as the one *ecanib* used to face in their entrance to the scholarly path from outside the hierarchy. As long as they did not pose any threat to the dynasty, sheikhs were often respected and had their own followers.

³⁵⁷ *Al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 55.

Due to such differences, Sufi sheikhs were not members of such a group like scholar-bureaucrats. Sheikhs whom Ali mentions in his biographical dictionary were almost always Turkish-speaking. With the exception of Sheikh Gurseddin, they all were born and educated and entered the Sufi path in the core lands of the empire. They had relations with the members of the ruling elite, and their lodges were financed by revenue sources endowed by them. Still they were less dependent on the state to survive in comparison with the scholar-bureaucrats. Most probably because of this, the content of the biographical entries for sheikhs and scholars in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* shows some differences. For example, the scholarly and bureaucratic positions held by the subject of the biography take considerable space in the biographical entries on scholars. On the other hand, paid-positions usually cover relatively smaller space or no place in the biographies of sheikhs.

Another important difference is the emphasis on knowledge of Arabic. As mentioned in previous chapters, Ali gives considerable space to the Arabic literary achievements of Rumi scholars in order to demonstrate that they knew the language of Islam as well as scholars who were native speakers of Arabic. In the biographies of sheikhs, however, such an emphasis on Arabic knowledge is pronounced less. For example, with the exception of the biography of Sheikh Gurseddin, Ali does not quote more than three or four couplets in the biographies of sheikhs in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. After all, the contest in Arabic was between the scholars of Rum and Arab lands, and there was no challenge directed to the sheikhs in the core lands of the empire in terms of their knowledge of Arabic and Islamic sciences.

Instead of literary pieces in Arabic, one encounters many anecdotes about miracles and prophecies as well as many dream narratives in the biographical entries of sheikhs. However, it seems rather difficult to believe that Ali mentioned these anecdotes about the spiritual levels of what he called the “sheikhs of Rum” in order to show their superiority over the sheikhs of Arab or *Acem* lands. A competition between the sheikhs of Rum and sheikhs of *Acem* or Arab lands seems to be less likely. In fact, these anecdotes were very part of Ali’s and his peers’ lives, and targeted Ali’s near readers in his immediate cultural world in the core lands of the empire and not the distant readers outside of it. Ali was aware that his book would be read by his peers who were affiliated with a Sufi order as himself.

In the following pages *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* will be analyzed in order to highlight another dimension of Ali's life, namely his relation with Sufism, for Ali himself became a devoted *mürid* (follower), and as he confesses, he underwent spiritual experiences. In one biography, he mentions his own dream, which brought news from the hereafter. The stories and dreams that Ali included in the biographies of sheikhs as well as the way he preferred to narrate them are of great importance to understand his mind and perspective on Sufism.

5.3. How to Deal With Dream Narratives

Dreams and waking visions have an important place in the Sufi experience. They play three basic roles.³⁵⁸ First, they provide hints for personal guidance for the *mürid*, who recounts his/her dreams to his sheikh to for the implications of these hints for his/her spiritual development.³⁵⁹ Second, dreams and waking vision help Sufis receive news from the hereafter and communicate with deceased sheikhs and the Prophet. One encounters such dreams in *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* as well.³⁶⁰ Third, dreams and waking visions provide the Sufi with personal experience for another ontological reality. Though not revelation, dreams are considered as a divine inspiration of sorts. Due to these reasons, dreams were not something unreal for Ali and his contemporaries but a part of the real life. They spoke about the dreams of

³⁵⁸ Jonathan G. Katz, "Dreams and Their Interpretation in Sufi Thought and Practice" in *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Society*, ed. by Özgen Felek and Alexander D. Knysh (State University of New York, 2012) (181-197), 183. Katz mentions the three points indicated here.. For additional information on dreams in Islamic tradition see Annemarie Schimmel, *Halifenin Rüyaları: İslam'da Rüya ve Rüya Tabiri* (Istanbul: Kabaıcı Yayınları, 2005), especially 201-219 for dreams in Sufi tradition.

³⁵⁹ For an example, see *Kitabu'l-Menamat, Sultan III. Murad'ın Rüya Mektupları*, ed. by Özgen Felek (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012). This work provides the letters Sultan Murad III routinely sent to his sheikh in order to identify his personal mystical experience and development. For another example of such dream letters, see Cemal Kafadar, "Mütereddit Bir Mutasavvıf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri 1641-1643" in *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken: Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun* (Metis Yayınları, 2009), 123-191.

³⁶⁰ For examples, see *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, 79: Mehmed Karahisari learns his promotion to Istanbul Judgeship from his deceased teacher Çivizade; 84: Mevla Ataullah meets with the famous deceased sheikh Muhyiddin İskilibi in his dream; 87: someone sees the deceased Mevla Sinan Akhisari in his dream and asks him about the fate of some people in the hereafter; 95: Sheikh Yakup Germiyani sees the Prophet in his dream; 116: Ali b. Bali himself sees the deceased Mevla Muhyiddin Niksari in his dream and asks him about the hereafter.

others, sought for the true interpretation of their own dreams, and took important decisions upon these interpretations.³⁶¹ As seen in many biographical dictionaries, they also wrote down these dreams.

In Ottoman historiography dreams had a significant place. They “were taken for real by the actors in the narrative, by author of the account, and finally by his audience.”³⁶² Taking its factuality aside, every dream is a construction even once it is remembered, and it sometimes functions as a historical device to bring the hidden understandings of particular events to light at the hand of the author.³⁶³ Dreams are sometimes used to project certain images for others, and sometimes for self-representation.³⁶⁴

Ali also employs dreams and waking visions to create certain images in *al-Iqd al-Manzum*. His narrative and vocabulary in the biographical entries of sheikhs as well as many anecdotes on the confrontation of Sufis and scholars give clues about his approach to Sufism. First, Ali seems to be cautious not to draw a picture of Sufism that contradicts sharia. . As will be mentioned in the following pages, the relation between the Sufi orders and the political power during the sixteenth century explains, to some extent, Ali’s insistence on sharia-minded Sufism. Second, throughout *al-Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali depicts Sufis superior to scholars. Although he sometimes draws a negative picture of some scholars, he never openly criticizes any sheikh. Among his criticisms of his age in the preamble of his book, for example, there is no criticism directed to Sufi life. Ali seems to consider Sufism a refuge from his corrupt age.

³⁶¹ For example, Latifi, a sixteenth-century biographer, mentions Nihai’s dream, which makes him quit his judgeship career. For the details and an analysis of this dream see Aslı Niyazioğlu, “On Altıncı Yüzyıl Sonunda Osmanlı’da Kadılık Kâbusu ve Nihani’nin Rüyası” in *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 31/1 (In Memoriam Şinasi Tekin II) (133-143).

³⁶² Gottfried Hagen, “Dreaming Osmons: of History and Meaning” in *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Society* (99-122), 99. In this article, Hagen compares different accounts of Osman II’s dream in order to show how dream narration, intentionally or implicitly, plays an important role in authors’ history writing.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 100.

³⁶⁴ For much on the role of dreams for projecting image and self-representation see Özgen Felek, “(Re)creating Image and Identity: Dreams and Visions as a Means of Murad III’s Self-Fashioning” in *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Society* (249-272).

5.4. Sufism in Conformity with Sharia

Throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali pictures a Sufism that takes sharia seriously. For example, none of the sheikhs he includes in his book have *shathiyya*, a sort of Sufi poetry in which the Sufi articulates ideas apparently contrary to sharia in a moment of ecstasy.³⁶⁵ Even if they have such poems, Ali prefers not to quote them in his biographical dictionary.

Ali was a follower of the Bayrami order. The Bayrami order, along with the Halveti order, was one of the most persecuted orders in Ottoman history.³⁶⁶ The Bayrami order was established by the Sufi-sheikh Hacı Bayram Veli (d. 1429) in Central Anatolia. Its history goes back to the Safavid order, which emerged in the first half of the fourteenth century in Erdebil, and evolved into the Safavid rule that was established in Iran at the turn of the sixteenth century.³⁶⁷ Hacı Bayram Veli's sheikh Hamidüddin Aksarayi had completed his mystical training in the Erdebil Lodge.³⁶⁸ Thus the Ottoman authorities suspected him from the beginning. When the followers of Hacı Bayram increased in Anatolia, Murad II called him to the imperial center in Edirne for investigation in 1421. During that time, the Ottoman government was busy quelling the revolts of the followers of Sheikh Bedreddin, who had close relations with Hacı Bayram's sheikh. Hacı Bayram as well was suspected of revolting against the central government. During his residence in Edirne, however, he proved his loyalty to the sultan, and gained his trust. He returned to Ankara and continued training dervishes in his lodge.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁵ For much on *shathiyya* see Süleyman Uludağ, "Şathiyye", *TDVIA*.

³⁶⁶ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler 15.-17. Yüzyıllar*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013), 146. For much on the Bayrami order see, Fuat Bayramoğlu and Nihat Azamat, "Bayramiyye", *TDVIA*; Haşim Şahin, "Bayramiyye" in *Türkiye'de Tarikatlar: Tarih ve Kültür*, ed. Semih Ceyhan, (ISAM Yayınları, 2015) (781-847); Mustafa Kara, "Osmanlı Topraklarında Yaygın Olan Tarikatlar" in *Osmanlı Medeniyeti*, (Klasik Yayınları, 2005), (225-242).

³⁶⁷ For much on Safavid order see Reşat Öngören, "Safeviyye", *TDVIA*.

³⁶⁸ Şahin, "Bayramiyye", 785.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 789-790.

After Hacı Bayram Veli passed away, his order split into two main branches under his two successors, namely Akşemseddin (d. 1459) and Dede Ömer Sikkini (d. 1475). As seen in the table below, both branches survived into the sixteenth century. The two sheikhs had different approaches. Akşemseddin followed a strict orthodox Islam, and established good relations with political authority. On the other hand, Dede Ömer Sikkini had a tendency to the philosophy of *vahdet-i vücud* (unity of being) in a way that kept him away from central authority.³⁷⁰ The latter branch was marginalized in time, and emerged as Bayrami Melamiliği, which emphasized pantheism, and was accused of messianic beliefs. They believed that God inspired their sheikh, who was the *qutb*. *Qutb* in Bayrami-Melâmi tradition had not only spiritual authority but also material authority in this world.³⁷¹ As a result, they considered the authority of the Ottoman sultans as suspect, and believed that the *qutb*'s authority should prevail over the sultan's.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 146.

³⁷¹ For the beliefs of Bayrami-Melâmis see *ibid.*, 305-316. For much on *qutb* in Sufi tradition see Süleyman Ateş, "Kutub", *TDVİA*.

³⁷² Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler.*, 312.

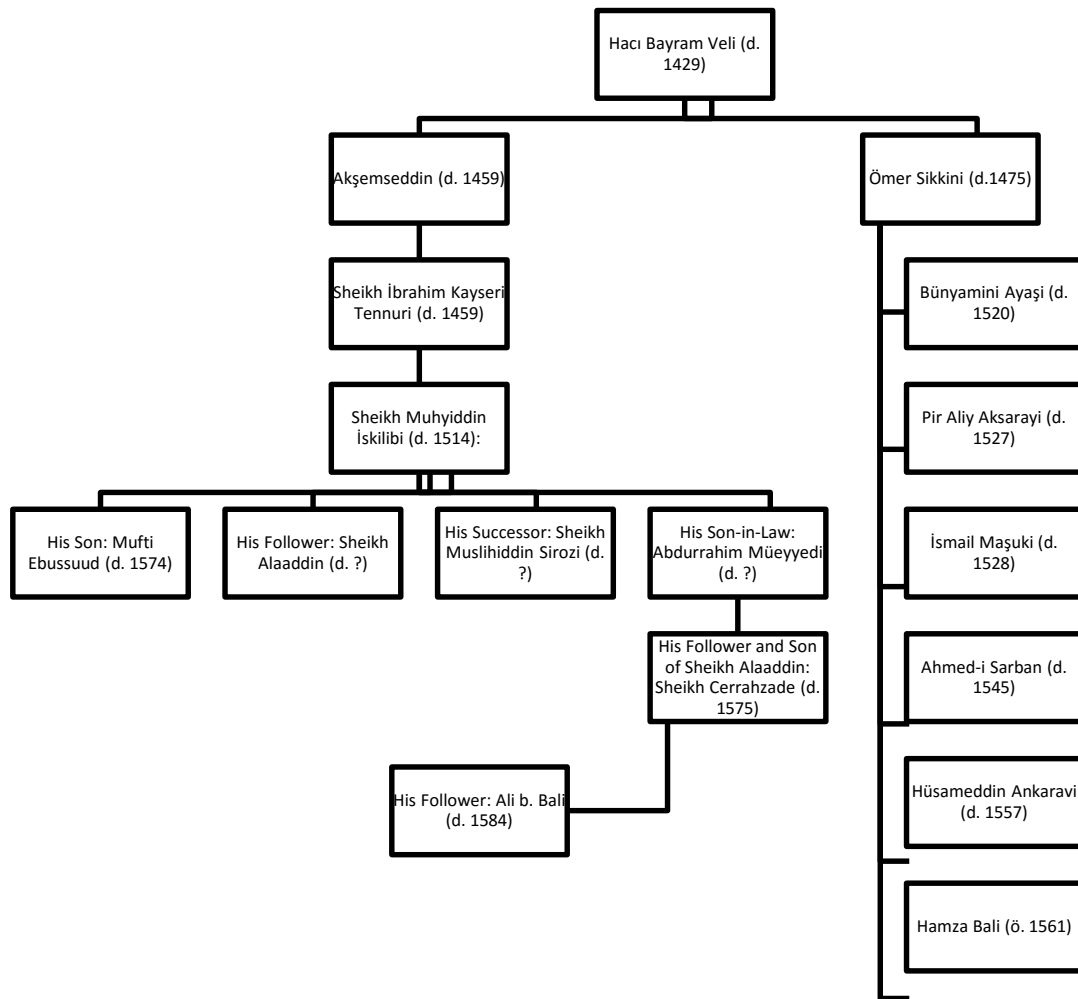


Figure 5. 1: Some prominent Bayrami sheikhs from the emergence of Bayrami order to the sixteenth century

Due to their beliefs Bayrami-Melamis were marginalized by the scholars and other Sufi orders in time. Since the fifteenth century their activities were considered contrary to the sharia. In the sixteenth century, these condemnations increased due to the Sheikh İsmail Maşuki (d. 1528), and after him, Hamza Bali (d. 1561). Many Sufi orders repudiated Bayrami-Melâmis due to their interpretations of the idea of *vahdet-i vücud* and their association of it with their political/spiritual concept of *qutb*.³⁷³

³⁷³ Ibid., 315. For the biographies and ideas of İsmail Maşuki and Hamza Bali see ibid., 327-341, and 341-357.

In 1561, when Ali returned from pilgrimage to Istanbul, the imperial center was talking about the execution of Melâmi Sheikh Hamza Bali, who spread Melami ideas and beliefs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. When the number of his followers increased in the region, Hamza Bali was arrested and sent to Istanbul, where he was executed based on the fatwa of Şeyhülislam Ebussuud.³⁷⁴ During the execution of Hamza Bali, one of his followers committed suicide by cutting his throat immediately upon the execution of his sheikh.³⁷⁵ The execution of the Sheikh did not end the Melami movement. It continued at least for half a century after Bali's death while mainstream scholars condemned it for holding beliefs contrary to sharia.³⁷⁶

Ali composed his biographical dictionary in such an atmosphere. He was a professor and a follower of the Bayrami order at the same time. While being loyal to the sultan as a scholar-bureaucrat, he was loyal to his sheikh as a follower. He was also an author who had witnessed the persecution of Sufi groups accused of heresy. He was also well aware that his immediate readers had various ideas about Sufism and heresy. These all seem to have had an effect in his choices that shaped his narrative on Sufis in *al- 'Iqd al-Manzum*.

At the end of the biographical entry of his sheikh Cerrahzade, Ali starts mentioning the life stories of the previous Bayrami sheikhs, Sheikh Muhyiddin İskilibi, Sheikh Alaaddin, and Sheikh Abdurrahim Müeyyedi respectively. Ali did not meet Sheikh Muhyiddin İskilibi in person, but he still prefers to mention his initiation to the Sufi path as well as a number of the miracles attributed to him. In the same pages, Ali also gives the genealogy of Sheikh Muhyiddin within the Bayrami order as seen in the table above. He reaches Hacı Bayram Veli through the channel of Sheikh İbrahim Tennuri and Akşemseddin. He never utters a word on the second branch continued by Ömer Sikkini and his successors, most of whom were executed by charges of heresy. It seems that Ali wanted to highlight the Bayrami genealogy to

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 345-6.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 350.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 350-51. Atayi would describe the sheikh's beliefs as contrary to the Sharia. He writes for the sheikh that "*şer'-i şerife nâ-mülâyi ahvâli zuhur eylediği*", and describes his followers as "*perde-i şeriatı kaldırub dahil-i daire-i vüs'at-i ibâhat olmuşlar*." See *ibid.*, 346.

which he adhered while ignoring other offshoots of the order initiated by Hacı Bayram Veli.

Ömer Sikkini and his successors were accused of extreme ideas on *vahdet-i vücud*. Ali seems to have felt a need to absolve his own sheikh and his Bayrami branch from such accusations. In the related biographical entry, he quotes a long *risala* of his sheikh, in which the latter explains their attitude towards *vahdet-i vücud*. Ali's special emphasis on the genealogy of his sheikh and the latter's understanding of *vahdet-i vücud* must have partly stemmed from the socio-political atmosphere in which he composed his biographical dictionary. He clarifies his sheikh's stand vis-à-vis other Sufi interpretations in terms of the philosophy of *vahdet-i vücud*.

Ali accepts the miracles and prophecies of the sheikhs but he also keeps away from a Sufism that contravenes sharia. Considering the atmosphere he lived in, it seems plausible for a Bayrami follower to emphasize sharia in order to distance himself and his sheikhs from Sufi groups considered to be heretical and associated with the Bayrami order such as the Bayrami-Melamis. A few decades later, Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi (d. 1623), a Bayrami sheikh, would emphasize the importance of sharia and establish the Celveti branch within the Bayrami order. Celvetis try to interpret *vahdet-i vücud* in evident and explicit conformity with sharia.³⁷⁷ Ali also seems to have felt such a need to emphasize sharia whether consciously or not. He talks about the spiritual state and miracles of Sufi sheikhs but he does not portray them as challenging sharia whether with their deeds or with their words.

In the biography of Sheikh Yakup Germiyani, Ali mentions that the sheikh hesitated to accept the authority of Sheikh Muslihiddin Merkez as the sheikh of his order after the death of his beloved sheikh Sünbül Efendi. Upon this hesitation, he has a dream, in which he meets with the Prophet and a group of people around him. In the dream, Sheikh Merkez stands up in this group and begins to explain them the chapter Taha from the Qur'an in the presence of the Prophet. Sheikh Merkez has a turban on his head, whose color continuously changes from green to black and back. When Sheikh Yakup asks about the meaning of these two colors, he is told that green indicates that Sheikh Merkez has walked the way defined by sharia, and black indicates that he has walked the path set by Sufi path (*tariqah*). Upon this dream,

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 151.

Sheikh Yakup understands that Sheikh Merkez is a true Sufi sheikh, and accepts his authority.

Whether the dream mentioned above is true or fiction, it provides clues about Ali's perspective on Sufism. First, Ali prefers to allot a space to this dream story in his book, and without making any negative comments on it. The way he narrates the dream suggests that Ali, as Sheikh Yakup, takes this dream seriously and as a clear proof of Sheikh Merkez's sincerity in the Sufi path. Second, according to the dream, the sincerity of Sheikh Merkez is proved by his devotion to sharia as well as *tariqah*. Thus, the conformity with sharia is presented as an indispensable part of true Sufism. In other words, a Sufi is a true Sufi insofar as he follows the rules of sharia along with that of Sufi path.

Ali speaks about sharia as it is understood in orthodox Sunnism or by *ahl al-sunna*. There are some clues suggesting this. For example, in the biography of Muhyiddin Niksari, Ali mentions his own dream, in which he meets with the deceased Niksari. Niksari mentions to Ali what he went through in the hereafter upon his death. According to Niksari's report in the dream, he arrives at an assembly, where the Prophet sits with a number of prominent saints. When Niksari is astonished by this assembly, he is asked about his faith in the world, and upon which belief he has lived and died. He cannot answer, and his hand reaches out one of his father's *risalas*, in which the latter explains the beliefs of *ahl al-sunna*. Niksari answers to the questions according to what is written in this *risala*, and he saves himself.

The emphasis on the belief of *ahl al-sunna* is evident in the following part of the dream as well. Niksari tells that the assembly was very merciful, and they forgave a lot of people. He adds that especially the intercession of the four righteous caliphs saved a lot of people. The devotion to the four righteous caliphs is one of the distinctive characteristics of the *ahl al-sunna* while Shi'a usually do not accept the legitimacy of the first three caliphs.

Ali's *ahl al-sunna*, however, is not necessarily the opposite of Shi'a in a broad sense. He seems to put it rather as opposite to Safavid beliefs. Safavid order is

described as a baseless order throughout *al-Iqd al-Manzum*.³⁷⁸ İsmail is condemned on the ground that he makes people prostrate before himself.³⁷⁹ Tahmasb is called as the leader of heretics.³⁸⁰ However, Ali does not use the word Shi‘a in the entire book except once, where he seems to distinguish Shi‘a from the Safavids and does not consider it a threat. In the biography of Ruşenizade, Ali mentions the miraculous story of the discovery of the hidden grave of a Shi‘i sheikh in Baghdad.³⁸¹ This sheikh’s body was found as if he died yesterday. Pointing out that the sheikh is one of the descendants of ‘Ali b. Abu Talib, the fourth righteous caliph, Ali praises the sheikh for his knowledge in theology and literature, and does not hesitate to mention that the sheikh had works on the Shi‘a creed. Ali’s neutral attitude towards the sheikh and his indifference in pointing out his Shi‘i beliefs suggest that Ali did not treat Shi‘a in the same category with the Safavids.

5.5. Portraying Sufi Sheikhs

When he is a student in pursuit of sciences, Yakup Germiyani has a dream, in which he witnesses horror scenes from the Day of Judgement. While he is very anxious about himself, he notices a group of people, who seem to be in peace under the shadow of a tree. The fear of the Day does not touch them, and they are neither fearful nor worried. Thereupon, he is told that if he wants to secure himself he should join this group of people. When Yakup Germiyani wakes up, he immediately decides to leave the scholarly career for the Sufi path, and becomes a Sufi sheikh after many years of mystical training.³⁸²

The important part in Sheikh Yakup’s dream is that Sufis are described as a group of people who will feel secure in the hereafter. Scholars as a group are never described as such throughout *al-Iqd al-Manzum*. For Ali Sufism is the right path. Although he is a Bayrami follower, Ali considers all Sufi orders that are in

³⁷⁸ *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, 19.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 101.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 95.

conformity with sharia in a similar vain. For example, he describes Sheikh Mahmud Nakşibendi and Sheikh Cemaleddin Halveti as companions of truth and men of the path (*arbab al-haqiqā wa rijal al-tariqa*).³⁸³

Throughout *al-Iqd al-Manzum*, Ali attributes to Sufi sheikhs roles different from the ones scholars usually play. He sometimes narrates stories in which Sufis and scholars confront each other in disagreement, and the winner of the tension is usually the Sufis. Among the Sufi sheikhs, however, Ali favors Bayrami sheikhs, and creates a powerful image of his own sheikh Cerrahzade.

5.5.1. Sufi Sheikhs as Organizers of Worldly Affairs

As a follower of the Sufi path, Ali believes that Sufi sheikhs had superior powers. According to him, for example, his sheikh was aware of every state of his followers.³⁸⁴ Ali mentions that he himself also underwent similar experience and felt his sheikh's spiritual power over him. However, he keeps away from mentioning the details of this personal experience stating that he fears of being pretentious. Yet, he cannot help mentioning a story he heard from some reliable people. According to the story, one of the followers of Sheikh Cerrahzade sits in the mosque after the morning prayers while the sheikh is present in the same mosque facing *qibla* and contemplating but at the same time watching his follower behind him silently. During these moments, the follower experiences a mystical journey, which is impossible to describe, and it continues as long as his sheikh maintains looking at him.³⁸⁵

By narrating certain dreams, Ali pictures deceased sheikhs as influential characters over worldly affairs of their followers. In a dream attributed to Mevla Ataullah, the tutor of Selim II, Ataullah meets a group of Sufis in contemplation.³⁸⁶ Ataullah sits among them but a sheikh comes and drives him out of the gathering. When Ataullah insists on staying among them, the latter starts beating him until he is obliged to leave the gathering. He is later told that the sheikh beating him was

³⁸³ Ibid., 25.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 141. و ظني به كونه محيطاً بجميع أحوال من استرشد به و تشييت بسببه.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 84.

Muhyiddin İskilibi. Ali adds that few days after this dream, Ataullah passed away. Ali cannot help but interpret the dream as a response to Ataullah's disrespect for Şeyhülislam Ebussuud. Sheikh Muhyiddin was the father of the *şeyhülislam*. Ali implies that the deceased sheikh punished the misconduct of the sultan's tutor towards his son, who was a great scholar.

As mentioned in previous chapters Ali had personal anger towards Mevla Ataullah. He often accuses him of initiating the corruption that afflicted the scholarly career path. The significant point here is, however, that Ali prefers to use a dream to castigate Ataullah. He mentions the aforementioned dream in a way that makes the reader consider Ataullah's death as a consequence of the successive events started in the aforementioned dream. In the dream, Ataullah is punished at the hand of a Bayrami sheikh for what he had committed, and his death comes upon this dream.

Another intervention of the deceased sheikh Muhyiddin İskilibi into the affairs of this world is seen through Ebussuud's dream.³⁸⁷ According to Ebussuud's own account, he sees himself sitting in his dreams. Each time he attempts to stand, Sheikh Abdurrahim comes and prevents him from this. One day, Ebussuud sees the same dream but this time when Sheikh Abdurrahim prevents him from standing Sheikh Muhyiddin İskilibi appears before Sheikh Abdurrahim, and then, the latter goes away. Thus, Ebussuud is able to stand up on his feet. Ali puts this dream as a proof of Sheikh Abdurrahim's prophecy, who says to his relative Muhyiddin Fenari, the Chief Judge of Rumelia at the time, that he will hold this position until his death. It happens as the Sheikh told. Two days after Sheikh Abdurrahim's death, Muhyiddin Fenari is dismissed, and his position is given to Ebussuud. Ebussuud's promotion is presented as the consequence of a Sufi sheikh's intervention through a dream.

5.5.2. Sufi Sheikh-Scholar Confrontations

In a number of stories about the initiation of some scholars to the Sufi path, we are told that these scholars had negative attitude towards Sufism initially. Later, however, they see that the Sufi path is the right path, and enter it. In the case of Cerrahzade's initiation, for example, he confesses that he was totally against the Sufi

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 150-51.

path. One day, he witnessed a miraculous event while sitting among his friends, but he continued to deny Sufism. He told what happened to him to his father Sheikh Alaaddin, who invited him to the Sufi path, but Cerrahzade refused again. Then, Cerrahzade saw the situation of dead bodies inside their graves. Some of them were tortured. However, this was not sufficient either for Cerrahzade to accept Sufism. After a while, he was taken to a spiritual journey, and put inside fire. After these mystical experiences he became inclined towards Sufism and gave up his persistent denial. In this story, Ali continuously repeats from the mouth of Cerrahzade that the latter insisted on denying Sufism. This denial continued until his heart was opened to Sufism.

According to Ali, what prevented Cerrahzade from entering the Sufi path immediately was his trust of exoteric knowledge. In Ali's narration of Sufi stories, exoteric knowledge is often condemned as a barrier before the inner truth. In Muhyiddin Iskilibi's initiation to Sufism, he enters the Sufi path only when he abandons exoteric knowledge for esoteric knowledge.³⁸⁸ Those who are interested in sciences dealing with exoteric meanings and evidences (*al-ulum al-zahiriyya*) cannot achieve much success in spiritual development. In another dream, Sheikh Bahaddinzade is seen away from the assembly of major Bayrami sheikhs. When the dreamer asks the reason for Bahaddinzade's exclusion, he is told that Bahaddinzade is occupied with exoteric sciences too much, and this has prevented his advancement.³⁸⁹ In Sheikh Bali's biography, Bali has a dream during his years as a student. In this dream he is invited to enter the Sufi path but he refuses it saying that he wants to learn exoteric sciences and meet with some scholars. His love for exoteric knowledge delays Bali's entrance to the Sufi path for years.³⁹⁰

Sufi sheikhs seem to have superiority over scholars due to their esoteric knowledge. This knowledge allows them to come up with news from the unseen. In some stories on relations between sheikhs and scholars, the Sufi informs about a future event but the scholar denies it only to regret his denial and to accept the

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 143. ثم صرف عنان العزيمة عن العلوم الرسمية الى المعارف الالهية السمية

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 152.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 105.

prophecy of the sheikh by the end of the story. These stories usually end with the same expression “it happened exactly as the sheikh told it.”³⁹¹

For example, one day a poor Sufi visits Mevla Muhyiddin Ahizade, who is the professor of the Cami Atik Madrasa in Edirne. The Sufi tells that he will be promoted to the Rüstem Pasha Madrasa in Istanbul in a certain date, and asks his help in return for this good news. Ahizade tends to deny this news at first but then asks the Sufi how he received this information about the future. When the Sufi mentions his sheikh Cerrahzade’s dream, where the sheikh is informed by the Prophet about the promotion of Ahizade, Ahizade becomes half-convinced, and gives the Sufi money. Waiting between hope and fear, he realizes that the Sufi has spoken truthfully when he receives the news about his promotion exactly on the date told by the Sufi.

Apart from those who accept the authority of sheikhs, there are also some people who insist on denying the sheikhs and are inflicted with calamities because of their denial of the truth. According to one such story, Sheikh Abdurrahim Müeyyedi, Şeyhülislam Kemalpaşazade, and the treasurer of the time Iskender Çelebi are present in a gathering. Sheikh Abdurrahim has a mystical journey during the meeting. After a while, he raises his head and informs the *şeyhülislam* and the treasurer that he has met with the Prophet. The Prophet warns the *şeyhülislam* about his mistaken fetwas contravening Sharia, and warns the treasurer for the sultan’s anger due to his misconduct in handling the affairs of Muslims. Upon this warning, Kemalpaşazade humbly accepts the sheikh’s miracle and confesses that he made mistake in some of his fetwas. The treasurer, however, does not take heed of the warning, and he is executed by sultan’s order after a while.³⁹²

Ali not only disapproves of denying the spiritual state of sheikhs, he also praises scholars who have good intentions towards Sufism. For example, in the biography of Mevla Sinan Akhisari, Ali praises him for his real love for Sufi sheikhs

³⁹¹ Ibid., 142.

³⁹² Ibid., 149-150.

and regular visits to them.³⁹³ Similar praises are found in the biographies of Mehmed Hemşirezade³⁹⁴ and Mehmed Ahizade.³⁹⁵

When there is a criticism about a Sufi sheikh, Ali avoids commenting on him. For example, in the dispute between Sheikh Bali and Sheikh Nureddin, Ali does not take side with any of them. Instead he accepts both sheikhs' authority. In the biography of Sheikh Bali Halveti, Ali mentions the reason for the quarrel between the two sheikhs. Sheikh Bâli has attended funerals of some people and spoken with the deceased. Sheikh Nureddinzade, on the other hand, condemns this behavior on the ground that it is against sharia because nobody has done such a thing before. Bali's response to this accusation is that the spiritual level of sheikhs are not the same, thus their miracles are different. Sheikh Nureddin continues to criticize Sheikh Bali because of his frequent visits to statesmen. Bali defends himself claiming that these visits are for their regeneration and hence for the sake of the Muslim nation. As Ali mentions, the people were divided into two groups between the two sheikhs. As for Ali, however, he prefers to remain neutral without making any comment on the spiritual level of either sheikh, and ends the biography by praising both.³⁹⁶

The same Sheikh Bali left behind a huge wealth although people had known him as a poor man. Upon this, rumors about the sheikh's sincerity spread. Some people condemned Sheikh Bali of hypocrisy. One of them was renowned bureaucrat Mustafa Âli. Mustafa Âli narrated his dream about the deceased sheikh. In this dream Mustafa Âli enters the sheikh's house but finds nothing in it. He interprets this dream implying that the sheikh's miracles were in fact baseless.³⁹⁷ Ali, on the other hand, does not criticize Sheikh Bali because of the wealth he left behind. He mentions that although the Sheikh was famous for refusing alms he left eight thousand dinars behind him, and the people were surprised by this huge sum. He does not make further comments on the sheikh's sincerity as Mustafa Âli does.

³⁹³ Ibid., 87.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 175.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 183.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 104-7.

³⁹⁷ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 57.

5.5.3. Bayrami Sheikhs in *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*

Although they appear to be superior to scholars, the Sufi sheikhs do not enjoy the same level of mystical power in Ali’s account. Some of them are portrayed as superior to others. As a follower of the Bayrami order, Ali generally highlights the spiritual success of the Bayrami sheikhs.

In the biography of Sheikh Muharrem Kastamoni, Ali mentions that Muharrem was first attached to the Halveti Sheikhs such as Sheikh Sünbül. However, he later became attached to some Bayrami sheikhs, and was able to reach the level he reached in the Sufi path, thanks to this attachment.³⁹⁸ Here Ali seems to prefer the Bayrami sheikhs over the Halveti ones.

Another clue that suggests Ali gives precedence to the Bayrami order over the Halveti order can be found in his entry on sheikh Cerrahzade. At the end of Cerrahzade’s biography, Ali quotes a long *risala*, where Cerrahzade deals with many difficult issues such as *vahdet-i vucud* (unity of being) and *fena fi allah* (annihilation in God).³⁹⁹ At the end of this *risala*, Cerrahzade criticizes Halveti sheikhs on their ideas about the Miraj (Night Journey to Heavens) of the Prophet. Although Cerrahzade does not mention the name of the sheikh, he clearly states that he heard these ideas from the present leader of the Halveti order.⁴⁰⁰ After outlining these ideas, Cerrahzade criticizes the Halveti sheikh allusively and asks how can he be a true guide if he is so ignorant of the notion of the annihilation in God.⁴⁰¹ Cerrahzade adds that he himself adhered to the path of Halvetis for seven years but has experienced nothing meaningful in return although the sheikh had told him that he completed the path. Cerrahzade says that upon this disappointment he became upset and abandoned the Halveti path.

Ali does not put forward this criticism above as if it were his own but rather he makes his sheikh speak. There must be a reason why he quotes these sentences in the related passage. Ali probably does not see himself adequately mature to compare

³⁹⁸ *Al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*, 158.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 153-6.

⁴⁰⁰ “*Wa sami‘tu min reis al-Halvatiyya fi haza al-asr*” see *ibid.*, 155.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 157.

the Bayrami and Halveti orders. Instead, he refers to the testimony of his sheikh Cerrahzade, who, as Ali eagerly mentions throughout the biography, has many miracles to his credit and is a true sheikh. Ali does not take side with any of the parties openly but he seems to be speaking through his sheikh. He quotes Cerrahzade's *risala*, which attempts to prove the superiority of the Bayrami order over the Halveti order in mystical training.

As for the Bayrami sheikhs, they too were on different spiritual levels. Ali mentions that one day he asked his sheikh about the spiritual states of his father Aladdin and his sheikh Abdurrahim, who were also Bayrami sheikhs. Upon this, Cerrahzade mentions a dream of himself, where he meets with the great Sufi sheikh Ebu Yezid Bistami. In the dream, Cerrahzade is given two wings and he starts a journey with Sheikh Bistami to different layers of the heavens. During this journey Cerrahzade asks Bistami about the spiritual levels of the aforementioned Bayrami sheikhs. Upon this question, Bistami points to the earth, where four Bayrami sheikhs are sitting in order and watching the God's light. Cerrahzade is told that they are sitting according to their levels. When he looks at them he sees Sheikh İskilibi is in the front. After him, there comes respectively Sheikh Muslihiddin Sirozi, Sheikh Alaaddin, and Sheikh Abdurrahim. Cerrahzade also sees sheikh Bahaddinzade sitting far from the assembly. When he asks the reason for his distance Sheikh Bistami tells that Bahaddinzade was held back by his interest in exoteric sciences and fallen behind.

In the following part of the dream, Cerrahzade is thrown into the assembly of the Bayrami sheikhs by Bistami, and he falls behind Sheikh İskilibi. When Sheikh Abdurrahim sees this, he complains about Cerrahzade's disrespect by surpassing his level. Upon this, Cerrahzade explains that he has not come on his own but thrown by Sheikh Bistami. When Abdurrahim sees Bistami flying above the assembly, he accepts Cerrahzade's authority.

Ali seems to mention this dream in order to show that his sheikh Cerrahzade was among the highest-level sheikhs of the Bayrami order. He was spiritually in a better position than some well-known Bayrami sheikhs. He was only second to Sheikh İskilibi, the father of Ebussuud and a famous Bayrami sheikh. Cerrahzade's spiritual authority is proven by the testimony of Sheikh Bistami, a great figure in Sufi history.

5.6. Conclusion

One-seventh of the biographical entries in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* are devoted to the life stories of sheikhs. With many dream narratives, miraculous stories, and anecdotes, these biographical entries contain rich information that helps us assess Ali’s understanding of Sufism and his attitude towards it. An examination of Ali’s vocabulary and narrative in the related passages in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum* sheds light on different aspects of Sufism in his mindset.

Above all, there was a distinctive group of sheikhs in Rum according to Ali. This group does not appear to have been as clear as the scholars of Rum in *al-‘Iqd al-Manzum*. Nevertheless, Ali employs the term. Although he does not clearly describe this group of sheikhs, he apparently attributes to them some distinctive characteristics such as being closer to the political authorities, which their counterparts in Arab and *Acem* lands usually lack.

Ali does not talk about the Sufi sheikhs who have been accused of heresy. Most probably, he encountered such sheikhs and witnessed or knew about the execution of some of them. The period he lived in has witnessed the persecution of groups accused of heresy in Istanbul as well as in the Balkans and Anatolia. In his biographical dictionary, Ali does not make any reference to them, either positively or negatively. However, a close reading of the sheikhs’ biographical entries suggests that Ali must have been partly influenced by the atmosphere around him in his choices of narrative. For example, while mentioning Sufism, Ali emphasizes its conformity with sharia. In addition, he quotes a long *risala* of his sheikh Cerrahzade on *vahdet-i vücud* in order to shed light to his sheikh’s stand on this fiercely debated issue.

Ali pictures Sufis as respectful for the rules of sharia. However, Sufis have not only exoteric knowledge but also esoteric knowledge, and the latter allows them to show miracles and prophesize the future. For this intuition they are superior to scholars. Without being openly contrary to sharia, Sufis are depicted as organizers of worldly affairs, which are usually related with the careers of scholars such as their appointment, promotion, and dismissal. As two distinct groups, sheikhs and scholars are usually confronted in anecdotal stories, and the former is pictured as the winner over the latter in many cases.

Since he is a follower of the Bayrami order, Ali gives special place to Bayrami sheikhs. First, he clarifies his sheikh's Sufi genealogy most probably in order to distinguish him from other groups considered to be heretical such as the Bayrami-Melamis. Unlike his custom in other biographical entries, Ali mentions the life stories of Bayrami sheikhs, whom he has not met personally. As to his own sheikh Cerrahzade, Ali creates a powerful image of his sheikh. Cerrahzade is put as second to Sheikh İskilibi, one of the most prominent Bayrami sheikhs and the father of Şeyhülislam Ebussuud.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

This study contributes to the existing literature on the Ottoman scholarly life in the second half of the sixteenth century. First, it provides a detailed biography of a sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar-bureaucrat, elaborating on the scattered pieces of information we had about him so far. Second, it examines the sources, style, language, and targeted-readers of a biographical dictionary of the period, which has been neglected as a primary source until now because it remained in the shadow of such leading biographical dictionaries as Atayi's *Hada'iq*. Third, the present study offers insights about the mind of a sixteenth-century Ottoman biographer by shedding light on his network relations with his contemporaries as well as his frustrations, expectations, disappointments, and resentments throughout his career.

This thesis became the first in-depth analysis of Ali b. Bali's biographical dictionary *al-Iqd al-Manzum fi Dhikr Afazil al-Rum*. I attempted to understand the mind of the author through an examination of his work. The four main chapters of this study provide close examinations of the authorial context (chapter 2: construction of Ali's biography), the textual context (chapter 3: examination of *al-Iqd al-Manzum* as a biographical dictionary), and the content (chapter 4 and 5: examination of Ali's ideas on decline and Sufism).

Ali b. Bali (1527-1584) completed his education in the Ottoman madrasas in Istanbul, the imperial center. After receiving *mülazemet*, he held a number of teaching positions in the imperial madrasas of Dimetoka, Istanbul, and Manisa. In the final years of his life, he received positions as the Mufti of Manisa and the Judge of Maraş. He spent his thirty year-long professional life in the service of the Ottoman sultanate within the hierarchically ordered teaching and juridical positions. In this sense, he was a scholar-bureaucrat like so many of his contemporaries whom he mentioned and wrote about in his biographical dictionary.

Ali became unemployed eight years from 1567 to 1575. When this unemployment lasted more than he expected, he despaired of his age and contemporaries, who, he thought, failed to appreciate his scholarly competence. During these years, he sought refuge in the congregation of the Bayrami sheikh

Cerrahzade. He also began to compose his biographical dictionary as a continuation to Ahmed Taşköprizade's renowned biographical dictionary *al-Shaqa'iq*, which had been in circulation within the Ottoman learned circles since the last fifteen years.

Ali was not the first person who attempted to write a continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq*. Ottoman intellectuals had welcomed *al-Shaqa'iq* enthusiastically. Several translations and continuations became available soon after its completion. Still, Ali wanted to prove the strength of his pen by composing a better continuation to *al-Shaqa'iq* than the ones that existed. He took Aşık Çelebi's *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*, and began to re-write it in more eloquent Arabic. His immediate target readers were his contemporaries, whom he criticized bitterly in the preamble of his work because of their scholarly inadequacies, disloyalty, and poor literary taste. Ali's bitter criticisms seem to have been mostly stemmed from his belief that he was not appreciated by them although he deserved. He believed that he was ahead of many of his peers in scholarly as well as literary talent.

After a while, Ali received employment with promotion in his teaching career. He did not give up writing *al-Iqd al-Manzum*. Apart from merely embellishing the Arabic style of *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*, he included many new names, anecdotes, literary examples and information while excluding others in his biographical dictionary. Probably influenced by the dictionaries of poets that flourished at the time, Ali included in his work many examples of poems and proses. Unlike dictionaries of poets, however, he preferred Arabic poetry and prose over those in Persian or Turkish. There were a number of reasons for this preference. First, Ali considered Arabic as the language of scholars while the latter two were the languages of poets. For Ali, a good command of Arabic was an indispensable quality of a true scholar. While trying to embellish Aşık Çelebi's *Dhayl al-Shaqa'iq*, he wanted to show his scholarly caliber through his command of Arabic.

Second, Ali was well aware that he had another group of readers apart from his immediate readers in the core lands of the empire. This second group consisted of scholars outside of the core lands. For Ali, those whose native tongue is Arabic had a special place among them. Since the inclusion of the Arab lands into the Ottoman domain in the first half of the century, scholars of Arab lands and the Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats were in an intimate contact as well as in competition for the lucrative positions that had been reserved for the latter group until then since 1450s.

Scholars of Arab lands visited the imperial center in order to prove their scholarly capabilities and receive positions. Those who were speaking Arabic as their mother tongue must have considered themselves as the real owner of the Islamic tradition. Unlike the core lands of the empire in Anatolia and Rumelia, the Arab lands had a long history with Islam. Furthermore, Arabic was their mother tongue, and Islamic heritage was transferred and re-produced mostly in Arabic. As Ali himself believed, they considered Arabic as the language of scholarship and indispensable for scholarly competence. But still their entrance to highest positions from outside the hierarchy was strictly restricted by the established rules of career paths. According to a number of anecdotes in biographical narrations, there took place debates between the leading local scholars of Arab lands and Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats both in the imperial center and the Arab provinces. The debate was sometimes about such a minor issue as the use of a grammatical rule while, in fact, it reflected the competition of two groups of scholars.

Ali was aware of the aforementioned competition. He knew well that his book would be read outside of the core lands of the empire as well. Many of his colleagues visited outside of the core lands with their own libraries, and brought back to the imperial center considerable number of books that they collected during their stay in Arab lands. Ali himself made such a journey during his pilgrimage. Thus, he preferred to put in the title of his biographical dictionary the expression “*fi Dhikr afazil al-Rum*” and distinguished those whom he mentioned in his book from other groups of scholars. After all, his work was about the life stories of Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats. Since he considered Arabic as essential requirement of a scholar, he must have felt disadvantaged before those who used Arabic as their mother tongue. Ali tried to show that the group he belonged to had as good knowledge of Arabic language as the native speakers of Arabic. In order to prove *afazil al-Rum*'s command of Arabic, Ali quoted a considerable number of their Arabic poems and prose in his biographical entries. He praised many Ottoman scholars for their excellent knowledge of Arabic, which allowed them to produce literary pieces in this language. He sometimes put this praise in the mouth of native speakers of Arabic to give evidence to his claim.

Ali spent about twelve years writing *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. He included in his work many names, which had been absent in Aşık Çelebi's continuation. He kept

adding new biographical entries upon the death of people around him one after another until his own death. Though not as clear as it is in the preamble, his pessimistic mood is perceivable in the biographical entries, too. Ali criticized the instances of corruption involving his contemporaries in the scholarly path, sometimes openly but usually implicitly between the lines. One may think of two main reasons behind Ali's deepening sense of decline.

First, Ali's career was not as successful as he hoped for and thought he deserved. His teaching career was interrupted for a longer than usual period of unemployment. After he managed to receive employment he advanced to a Sahn professorship but could hold this position only for a month. Then, he was appointed to Manisa as a professor and mufti, and thereby he was obliged to leave the central cities of the empire. His last appointment was to the Judgeship of Maraş. This appointment totally disrupted his career. He wanted to decline this last position as several other candidates had done, but he finally accepted it. According to Atayi, it was because of his timidity and quiet personality, which made him known among his colleagues as *minik*, tenderminded. Whether this was the true reason for this appointment or not, Ali became isolated in a far away province, thus lost his hope to return to the imperial center and advance there in his career. He composed poetry under the penname *Cevheri* but he was not appreciated much by his contemporaries. Compilers of dictionaries of poets did not mention him in their works. These personal experiences led Ali to believe that his age was corrupt. He dreamt of a golden past, where those who deserved appreciation due to their scholarly and literary competence were indeed acknowledged.

Second, Ali was not alone in his complaints. A number of his contemporaries such as Mustafa Âli, Selaniki, and Kafi Akhisari had similar criticism about the prevalent corruption in their days and dreamt about a golden past. Ali must have heard much about these criticisms in literary gatherings, witnessed and participated in his contemporaries' discussion of issues, and developed similar complaints. Ali's contemporaries complained about the violation of the established Ottoman practices or *kanun* and nepotism, which prevented the advancement on the basis of meritocracy, and, in turn, led to the corruption of the system that was believed to be just. These criticisms articulated in various works were promoted by the socio-political events in the second half of the century such as the fight between Selim and

Bayezid, Jalali rebels in many Anatolian towns, the approaching Muslim millennium and the consequent apocalyptic expectations. This environment may have reinforced Ali's sense of decline.

Ali's despair led him take refuge in Sufism, or strengthened his affiliation with the Sufi path that he already had initiated. He stayed at a Bayrami lodge in Istanbul for a while during his unemployment period, and drew inspiration from accompany of his Sheikh Cerrahzade. Unlike scholarly path he did not consider the Sufi path as corrupt. He rather considered it as the right path that led one to salvation in this world as well as the hereafter. He believed by heart that Sufi sheikhs in general deserved respect no matter which order they belonged to. However, he was careful about distancing himself from the Sufi orders whose doctrines were not in conformity with sharia. The contemporary events he witnessed seem to have played a role in Ali's caution. He witnessed and heard about the execution of the Bayrami-Melami sheikhs and their followers. To absolve his own sheikhs and beliefs from similar accusations, Ali drew a picture of Sufism in conformity with sharia throughout *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*. He also provided a clear genealogy of his sheikhs within the Bayrami order as well as their perspective on certain fiercely debated philosophical issues such as *vahdet-i vücud*. Telling many dream and miracle stories, he also created a powerful image of his sheikh Cerrahzade as one of the leading figures of the Bayrami order.

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APPENDIX A

Biographical entries in Aşık Çelebi's continuation and *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*

The reign period of	Nu	Name of the Person	Death	Aşık Çelebi's continuation	<i>Al-'Iqd al-Manzum</i>
Süleyman (1520-1566)	1	Ahmed Taşköprizade	1561	✓	✓
	2	Yahya b. Nureddin Hamza Emin	1561	✓	✓
	3	Muslihiddin Mustafa Niksari	1562	✓	✓
	4	Muhyiddin bin Mahmud (Hoca Kaynı)	1561	✓	✓
	5	Mahmud Şah Nikalî	1562	✓	-
	6	Muslihiddin Mustafa Sururî	1562	✓	✓
	7	Muhyiddin Mehmed Cürcan	1562	✓	✓
	8	Muhyiddin Mehmed Arabzade	1562	✓	✓
	9	Muhyiddin Mehmed Dönbekzade	1562	✓	-
	10	Nimetullah b. Ruşeni	1562	✓	✓
	11	Şah Ali Çelebi b. Kasım Bey	?	✓	✓
	12	Mehmed Çelebi b. Safiyüddin Bursevî	?	✓	-
	13	Abdulvehhab Çelebi b. Abdurrahman Müeyyedi	1563	✓	-
	14	Ahmed Çelebi b. Ebussuud Efendi	1563	✓	✓
	15	Korkud Ahmed b. Hayreddin	1563	✓	✓
	16	Abdulkaki b. Alaaddin Arabi	1564	✓	✓
	17	Garsüddin Ahmed	1564		✓
	18	Abdulkaki Çelebi b. Mehmed Şah Fenari	?	✓	-
	19	Yusuf Çelebi Fenari	?	✓	-
	20	Şeyh Abdurrahman Merzifoni	1564	✓	✓
	21	Muhyiddin Mehmed b. Ebussuud Efendi	1564	✓	✓
	22	Muslihiddin Mustafa Çelebi-Mimarzade	1565	✓	✓
	23	Darib Muhyiddin	?	✓	-
	24	Abdullatif en-Nakşibendi	1564	✓	✓
	25	Küçük Taceddin	1566	✓	✓
	26	İmamzade Muhyiddin	1566	✓	✓
	27	Hakim Çelebi Muhyiddin	1567	✓	✓
	28	Dede Halife Sunusi	1567	-	✓
	29	Sinaneddin Yusuf- Hızırkulu	1566	✓	-
	30	Salih b. Celaleddin- Celalzade	1566	✓	✓
	31	Mehmed Çelebi - ibn Eğri	1566	✓	-

		Abdi			
Selim II (1566-1574)	32	Muhyiddin Mehmed Çelebi – Ahaveyn	?	✓	-
	33	Alaaddin Ali Çelebi Manavgadi	1567	✓	✓
	34	Ahmed Çelebi	?	✓	-
	35	Taceddin İbrahim Manavgadi (Zırva Taceddin)	1567	✓	✓
	36	Celalzade Mustafa	1568	✓	-
	37	Çalık Yakub	1568	✓	✓
	38	Muhyiddin Mehmed b. Şeyh Turde	1568	✓	-
	39	Mehmed b. Abdulvehhab	1568	✓	✓
	40	Emir Hasan b. Sinan Niksarî	1568	✓	✓
	41	Muslihiddin Mustafa Çelebi	?	✓	✓
	42	Mahmud b. Kusunî? Mısri	1569	✓	-
	43	Kutbuddin Şirvanî Acemî	1569	✓	-
	44	Lutfi Çelebi	1569	✓	-
	45	Abdurrahman Esved	1569	✓	-
	46	Yörük Muslihiddin	1569	✓	✓
	47	Mahmud Serai Çelebi	1569	✓	✓
	48	Dülgerzade Efendi	1570	-	✓
	49	Abdurrahman b. Ali-Baldırzade	1570	-	✓
	50	Bostan Efendi	1570	-	✓
	51	Küçük Bostan	1570	-	✓
	52	Gazzalizade-Abdullah b. Abdulkadir	1570	-	✓
	53	Cafer Efendi-İskilibi-ibn Abdunnebi	1571	-	✓
	54	Şah Mehmed b. Hurrem	1571	-	✓
	55	Fevri Efendi	1571	-	✓
	56	Beşiktaşî Yahya Efendi b. Ömer	1571	-	✓
	57	Samsunizade Ahmed Efendi	1572	-	✓
	58	Ataullah Ahmed	1572	-	✓
	59	Bihîştî Efendi	1572	-	✓
	60	Leysizade Pir Ahmed Çelebi	1572	-	✓
	61	Sinan-ı Akhisari	1572	-	✓
	62	Alaaddin Kınalızade	1572	-	✓
	63	Yakub el-Germiyani	?	-	✓
64	Hacı Hasanzade-Kadı-i Harameyn	1572	-	✓	
65	Muslihiddin el-Lari	?	-	✓	
66	Ebu Said b. Sun'ullah	1573	-	✓	
67	Muallimzade Efendi	1573	-	✓	
68	Sarhoş Bali Efendi	1573	-	✓	
69	Ali b. Ümmüveledzade	1574	-	✓	
70	Mehmed b. Ali el-Birgivi	1574	-	✓	
71	Niksarizade Mehmed	1574	-	✓	
72	Abdulkerim b. Mehmed Çelebi	1574	-	✓	

	73	Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi	1574	-	✓
Murad III (1574-1595)	74	Şücaeddin İlyas el-Karamani	1575	-	✓
	75	Cerrahzade Muslihiddin b. Alaaddin	1576	-	✓
	76	Abdurrahman Efendi	1576	-	✓
	77	Muharrem b. Mehmed	1576	-	✓
	78	Ahmed-i Bosnavi	1576	-	✓
	79	Bezenzade Mahmud b. Ahmed	1576	-	✓
	80	Mahmud Samsuni	1576	-	✓
	81	Muidzade Mehmed Çelebi	1576	-	✓
	82	Katib Mahmud	1576	-	✓
	83	İbad Çelebi	1577	-	✓
	84	Abdulfettah Efendi	1577	-	✓
	85	Nazırzade Ramazan Efendi	1577	-	✓
	86	Mevla Hasan Ğulam	?	-	✓
	87	Hamid Efendi	1578	-	✓
	88	Buharizade Ahmed	1579	-	✓
	89	Muhaşşi Sinan Efendi	1579	-	✓
	90	Nişancızade Ahmed	1579	-	✓
	91	Hemşerizade Efendi	?	-	✓
	92	Sinan Efendizade Mehmed	1580	-	✓
	93	Mesnevihan Oğlu Ahmed-i Kami	1580	-	✓
	94	Muallimzade Mahmud Çelebi	1580	-	✓
	95	Baba Efendi (Mahmud Baba)	1580	-	✓
	96	Kadıızade Ahmed Şemseddin	1581	-	✓
	97	Ahmed Çelebi (Mazlum Melek)	1581	-	✓
	98	Abdulvasi Efendi (Ebussuudzade)	1582	-	✓
	99	Ahizade Mehmed b. Nurullah	1581	-	✓
	100	Azmi Efendi	1582	-	✓
	101	Sarı Gürüzade Mehmed	1582	-	✓
	102	Kadı Abdulkerim oğlu Hızır Bey	1582	-	✓
	103	Zülf-i Niğar	?	-	✓

Note: The notches show that the related biographical entry exists while the minuses show the contrary.

APPENDIX B

The List of Existing Registered Manuscripts of *al-'Iqd al-Manzum* in Turkish Manuscript Libraries

Nu.	Library and Place	The Manuscript Copy and Its Features as It Appears in the Catalogue of the Library
1	005051 BYZ. DEVLET Beyazıd	Ali Çelebi, Hisim Manik Çelebi Ali b. Bali, 922/1584 el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efadili'r-Rum. / Hisim Manik Çelebi Ali b. Bali Ali Çelebi ; müst. Sunullah b. el-Hac Muharrem. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, 1049 . 122 vr. 1. Tabakat
2	002419 BYZ. DEVLET Veliyüddin Efendi	Ali Cevheri Efendi, Ali b. Bali-Minik, 992 el-İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efadili'r-Rum (zeylü's-şakayik). / Ali b. Bali-Minik Ali Cevheri Efendi. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 59 vr. 1. Nadir Kitaplar
3	002421 BYZ. DEVLET Veliyüddin Efendi	Ali Cevheri Efendi, Ali b. Bali Minik, 992 el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efadili'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali Minik Ali Cevheri Efendi. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 114 vr. 1. Nadir Kitaplar
4	002435 BYZ. DEVLET Veliyüddin Efendi	Ali Cevheri Efendi, Ali b. Bali Minik, 992 el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efadili'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali Minik Ali Cevheri Efendi ; müst. Mahmud b. Mehmed. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, 1017 . 89 vr. 1. Nadir Kitaplar
5	002439 BYZ. DEVLET Veliyüddin Efendi	Ali Cevheri Efendi Ali b. Bali Minik, 992 el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efadili'r-Rum. / Ali Cevheri Efendi Ali b. Bali Minik. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, 964 . 176 vr. 1. Nadir Kitaplar
6	001065 SÜLEYMANİYE Bağdatlı Vehbi	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri-, 992/1584 el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efadili'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, 1011 . 120 vr. 1. Biyografya
7	002444 SÜLEYMANİYE Esad Efendi	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri-, 992/1584 İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Ulemai'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik ; müst. Mustafa b. Hasan. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 8+106 vr. 1. Biyografya
8	004597 SÜLEYMANİYE Hacı Mahmud Ef.	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri-, 992 İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efadili'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik ; müst. Musa b. Mustafa. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, 1029 . 143 vr. 1. Biyografya
9	000972 SÜLEYMANİYE Hamidiye	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efadili'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 91 vr. 1. Biyografya
10	000749 SÜLEYMANİYE Hekimoğlu	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri-, 992 İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efadili'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 111 vr. 1. Biyografya

11	000449 SÜLEYMANİYE İzmir	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efzali'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 140 vr.
12	000448 SÜLEYMANİYE İzmir	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- el-İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efazi'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 1-90 vr. 1. Biyografya
13	001004 SÜLEYMANİYE İzmir	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efazlı'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- [y.y., t.y.] 91-42 s. 1. Tarih
14	002198 SÜLEYMANİYE İzmirli İ. Hakkı	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efadılı'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- Kahire : [y.y.], [t.y.] 91-424 s. 1. Biyografya
15	000753 SÜLEYMANİYE Kılıç Ali Paşa	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr-i Efazlı'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 162-271 vr. 1. Arap Edebiyatı
16	000339 SÜLEYMANİYE Lala İsmail	Minik Ali Cevheri b. Bali İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efazlı'r-Rum. / Minik Ali Cevheri b. Bali. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 124 vr. 1. Mantık
17	000063 SÜLEYMANİYE Tırnova	Minik, Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr-i Efazlı'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali b. Muhammed el-Alani-Cevheri- Minik. -- [y.y., t.y.] 91, 424 s. 1. Biyografya
18	001901 ATIF EFENDİ Atıf Efendi	Ali Çelebizade Muhammed b. Ali el-Edirnevi, 992 el-İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efazlı'r-Rum. / Ali Çelebizade Muhammed b. Ali el-Edirnevi ; müst. Müderriszade Muhammed Efendi. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 2+154-233 vr. 1. Biyografya
19	003316 NUROSMANİYE	Ali Çelebi, Hısım Mınık Çelebi Ali b. Bali, 922/1584 el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efadılı'r-Rum. / Hısım Mınık Çelebi Ali b. Bali Ali Çelebi. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 1 c. (133yp vr.) 1. Biyografya
20	000976 RAGIP PAŞA	Ali Minik er-Rumi b. Bali İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efadılı'r-Rum. / Ali Minik er-Rumi b. Bali ; müst. Nuh b. Muhammed. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, 1061. 206-311 vr.
21	001453 MİLLET Feyzullah Efend	Minik Ali b. Bali el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Afadılı'r-Rum. / Minik Ali b. Bali. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 112 vr. 1. Biyografya
22	000898 KAYSERİ RŞD. Raşid Efendi	Ahizade Alaeddin Ali b. Bali er-Rumi, 992 el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr-i Efadılı'r-Rum. / Ahizade Alaeddin Ali b. Bali er-Rumi. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, 990. 3+141+6 vr.
23	001548 EDİRNE SEL.	Ali Çelebi, Hisim Manik Çelebi Ali b. Bali, 922/1584 el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Zikri Efadılı'r-Rum. / Hisim Manik Çelebi Ali b. Bali Ali Çelebi. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 1. Biyografya
24	000684 ZEYTİNOĞLU	Ali b. Bali, 992 el-İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr Efazılı'r-Rum. / Ali b. Bali. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, 994. 107 vr. 1. Biyografya

25	001347/1 MANİSA İL H.	Ahizade Ali Çelebi el-ikdü'l-Manzum fi Tika-i Afadili'l-Rum. / Ahizade Ali Çelebi. - - [y.y.] : Yazma, 1651/1062. 1 c. (3-138 vr.) 19satr;212x132;160x60
26	001348 MANİSA İL H.	Ahizade Ali Çelebi İkdü'l-Manzum fi Zikr-i Afadili'l-Rum. / Ahizade Ali Çelebi. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 1 c. (149 vr.) 23satr;220x145;163x80 1. Tefsir
27	000231 BURDUR İL H.	Ali b. Bali Mınık, 9992/1585 el-Ikdü'l-manzum fi zikri efazili'r-rum. / Ali b. Bali Mınık ; Müstensih Muhammed Rıfki el-Haşimi. -- [y.y. : y.y.], 1083/1672. 89 y. ; 22 st., 180x105, 150x75 Talik; birleşik harf filigranlı kağıt. Sözbaşları kırmızıdır. Sırtı ve sertabı meşin, miklebli, kapakları ebru kağıt kaplı, mukavva bir cilt içerisinde.
28	000817 VAHİT PAŞA	Ahizade Ali b. Bali el-Akdü'l-Menzum fi Zikr-i Efadülü'r-Rum -Zeyl-i Şakayık. / Ahizade Ali b. Bali. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 100 vr. 1. Nadir Kitaplar
29	000818 VAHİT PAŞA	Ahizade Ali b. Bali el-Akdü'l-Menzum fi Zikr-i Efadülü'r-Rum -Zeyl-i Şakayık. / Ahizade Ali b. Bali. -- [y.y.] : Yazma, [t.y.] 110 vr. 1. Nadir Kitaplar

APPENDIX C

Chronology of Ali B. Bali's Life

901 (1495-6): His father Bali Efendi was born.

934 (1527-8): Ali b. Bali was born.

Sometime before **961 (1553-4):** He was a student in the Murad Pasha Madrasa, and read *Sharh al-Mawaqif* under Küçük Bostan.

961 (1553-4): He wrote a commentary on Ebussuud's *badi'iyah*.

Sometime between the years **961-3 (1553-4 / 1555-6):** He was a student in the Mihrimah Sultan Madrasa in Üsküdar. He read *Sharh al-Mawaqif* and *Hidaya* under Mevla Shah Muhammed Karahisari.

Sometime between the years **962-4 (1554-5 / 1556-7):** He was a student in the Sahn madrasas, and read *Hidaya* under Sheikh Taceddin İbrahim Hamidi from.

Sometime after **964 (1556-7):** He received *mülazemet* from Molla Salih Efendi.

Sometime between the years **964-969 (1556-7 / 1561-2):** He took teaching position in the Dimetoka Madrasa with a daily payment of twenty aspers.

Zilhijja 969 (August 1562): He went to pilgrimage at the end of 969, and visited Medina at the beginning of 970.

Sometime between the years **970-974 (1562-3 / 1566-7):** He was appointed to the Oruç Pasha Madrasa in Dimetoka with a daily payment of twenty-five aspers. Then he was appointed to the Ferruh Kethüda Madrasa in Istanbul with a daily payment of thirty aspers.

974 (1566-7): He was appointed to the Davud Pasha Madrasa with a daily payment of forty aspers.

975 Jumada al-Akhir (1567 November/December): He was dismissed from his position in the Davud Pasha Madrasa.

Sometime between the years **975-983 (1566-7 / 1575-6):** He stayed at the Sheikh Muhyiddin lodge near his sheikh Muslihiddin Edirnevî Cerrahzade.

977 Rajab (1569-70 December/January): His father Bali Efendi died in Çorlu.

978 Rabi' al-Awwal (1570 August/September): He completed an Arabic misusage dictionary for his son.

The late **970s (the early 1570s):** He started writing *al-'Iqd al-Manzum*.

983 Sha'ban (1575 November/December): He was appointed to the Hankah Madrasa.

984 Jamada al-Akhir (1576 August/September): He was appointed to the Haseki Sultan Madrasa with 50 aspers daily.

986 (1578-9): He wrote a commentary on *Sharh al-Miftah*

988 Sha‘ban (1580 September/October): He was appointed to Sahn, but remained there for only one month.

988 Ramadan (1580 October/November): He was appointed as the Manisa Mufti and professor to Manisa Sultaniyesi.

991 Rabi‘ al-Akhir (1583 April/May): He was appointed to the Maraş Judgeship.

992 Rajab (1584 July/August): He died and was buried in the cemetery of the Alaüddeve Mosque in Maraş.