# A CRITICAL STUDY OF BIRGIVI MEHMED EFENDI'S (D.981/1573) WORKS AND THEIR DISSEMINATION IN MANUSCRIPT FORM

AHMET KAYLI

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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# A CRITICAL STUDY OF BIRGIVI MEHMED EFENDI'S (D.981/1573) WORKS AND THEIR DISSEMINATION IN MANUSCRIPT FORM

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Ahmet Kaylı

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Thesis Abstract

Ahmet Kaylı, "A Critical Study of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's (d.981/1573) Works and their Dissemination in Manuscript Form"

This study examines how one of the most influential and controversial Ottoman scholars of all time, Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (929-981 / 1523-1573), was perceived and received by other Ottoman readers and writers in the centuries following his death. This it accomplishes through a critical analysis of his bibliography on the one hand, and through a study of the historical dissemination of his works on the other. By critically handling the over one-hundred texts that had been attributed to Birgivi, the study identifies many misattributions to him and illustrates that some of these false attributions were directly instrumental in turning Birgivi into an anti-Sufi scholar with an uncompromising selefî persuasion, an image that is still well and alive, if also increasingly questioned, in the present time. The thesis also scrutinizes the inventory of Birgivi's own works in order to establish as accurately as possible the relative significance of each work and the role that each might have played in the formation of the image of the author as well as in the determination of his reception. Finally, by exploring the dissemination of manuscript copies of these works based on the manuscript libraries in Istanbul, the study first proposes a historical map of Birgivi's works in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and then tries to understand and explain the dissemination in the historical context and in relation to the developments of the period.

Tez Özeti

Ahmet Kaylı, "Birgivi Mehmed Efendi'nin (ö.981/1573) Eserleri ve Bunlara Ait Yazma Nüshaların Dağılımı Üzerine Eleştirel Bir Çalışma"

Bu çalışma, Osmanlı ulemasının tüm zamanların en etkili ve tartışmalı isimlerinden birisi olan Birgivi Mehmed Efendi'nin (929-981 / 1523-1573), vefatından sonraki yüzyıllarda diğer Osmanlı okurları ve yazarları tarafından nasıl alımlandığı ve algılandığını inceliyor. Çalışma söz konusu incelemeyi bir yandan Birgivi'nin bibliyografyasının eleştirel bir analizini yaparak, diğer yandan da onun eserlerin dağılımı üzerine çalışarak, gerçekleştiriyor. Birgivi'ye nisbet edilen yüzü aşkın eseri eleştirel bir şekilde ele alan çalışma, kendisine yapılan çok sayıda yanlış nisbeti tesbit edip bu yanlış atıfların bir kısmının Birgivi'yi, şimdilerde artan bir şekilde sorgulansa da hala oldukça yaygın ve genelgeçer olan o imaja, tavizsiz bir selefi çizgiye sahip Sufi-karşıtı bir alime dönüştürmekte nasıl doğrudan bir araçsallık üstlendiğini gösteriyor. Tez ayrıca her birinin görece önemini ve yazarın imajının oluşumu ve alımlanmasının belirlenmesinde oynadığı muhtemel rolü mümkün olduğunca doğru tespit etmek maksadıyla, Birgivi'nin kendi eserlerinin de envanterini tutuyor. Son olarak, İstanbul'daki yazma kütüphanelerini esas alarak bu eserlerin nüshalarının dağılımını inceleyen mevcut çalışma Birgivi'nin eserlerinin önce on yedinci ve on sekizinci yüzyıllara ait tarihsel bir haritasını çıkarıyor, ardından da ortaya çıkan dağılımı tarihsel bağlamda o dönemdeki gelişmelerle ilişkilendirerek anlamaya ve açıklamaya çalışıyor.

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I am also indebted to the long-deceased people who produced the hundreds of manuscripts which constitute the backbone of this research. Without them this study would not have been imagined. Another name deserving mention is that of Katip Çelebi, whose timeless *Keşfu'z-zunûn* was my main reference in the critical identification of the texts and their authors. Of course Birgivi himself deserves good remembering. Finally, I should remember with good memory the one person who occupies a uniquely distinctive place in my own life, M. Şefik Kaylı, my –late- father and my first instructor. It was under his tutelage that I was trained in Islamic and linguistic sciences before my university years, the very credentials which made this research possible. It is therefore to his memory that I dedicate this study.

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# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

Modern social scientists had traditionally maintained different views on the role of ideas and texts in the making of history as well as on their use as explanatory tools. While some, like orthodox Marxists, considered thought, especially philosophy, as 'speculative' and denied it any real power in the moulding of the material conditions of human life[1], others, following Weber and Durkheim, recognized ideas and religion as explanatory categories in the study of social change. In humanities and the more traditional branches of scholarship, however, ideas and texts had been the usual subjects of study. The academia seems to have fostered a kind of division of labor, for which it remained, in much of its history, not only secular, but also 'fragmented', as for a long time the study of religion remained in the confines of Theology faculties, Philosophy departments, and, as far as Islam and Eastern religions are concerned, in Orientalistic departments.

As for departments of History, although intellectual history –as a discipline that studies human thought and ideas as they are expressed in texts- was well established at the beginning of the twentieth century (and in such forms as the history of philosophy and cultural history went back until the renaissance), this new discipline was pushed aside by the rise of social history identified with the Annalles School, especially after the mid-twentieth century. Although some of the early

[1] The position of Marx himself is complex. For a good account of his varying positions on the role of ideas see Philip J. Kain. "Marx's Theory of Ideas," *History and Theory*, vol.20/4 (1981), pp.357-78. For an excellent discussion of the internal contradictions in Marxist discourse between, *inter alia*, materialism and idealism see Etienne Balibar. "The Vacillation of Ideology in Marxism," in Idem. *Masses, Classes, Ideas: Studies on politics and philosophy before and after Marx*. Translated by James Swenson. (NY: Routledge, 1994), pp.87-123.

scholars of this school, such as Lucien Febvre, were open to intellectual history, and although in the 1930s the *Annalles* emphasized the study of intellectual tools (*autillages mentaux*), the socially-oriented and dominantly quantitative methods of the school in the following decades relegated the study of intellectual history to a secondary level. In the last quarter of the century, however, there was a return to intellectual concerns (*l'histoire de mentalités*) in conjunction to new developments in the neighbouring field of literary studies.[2] Within the field of literary study, the rise of reception theory may be considered in relation to such a reaction against the recession of historical study of texts. This in turn seems to have motivated a new interest among the historians in the study of texts in historical context.

In Turkey, departments of history have been unfamiliar with intellectual history and history of ideas; if these had any existence at all, in other departments, it was in the forms of history of philosophy and history of theological or political thought. Only recently have the departments of History in this country begun to accommodate an interest in intellectual, especially religious, studies that deal with ideas and texts, a welcome development considering that studies of this kind that are conducted in the Theology faculties are generally a-historical, if not anti-historical.

## Reception Studies

'Reception Theory', a particular method developed in the field of literary criticism for understanding literary works, was put forward in the late 1960s west Germany by such scholars as Hans Robert Jauss and Wolfgang Iser, the leading figures of the

[2] For a good account of the development of Intellectual history see Roger Chartier. *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993 [1988]); Dominick La Capra. *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*. (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1983).

Konstanz School[3], as an alternative to the formalist and the historicist-positivist methods that had hitherto dominated the field of criticism. Around the same time, a parallel movement, known with the name 'reader-response criticism,' was developing in America, which was represented by such names as Stanley Fish, Jonathan Culler, and David Bleich.[4] Although developed for literary texts, in time the method was expanded to non-literary texts as it was taken up in such fields as cultural studies, sociology, and history.

Unlike the formalist method of New Criticism, which contended that meaning inheres in the literary text itself (the text being considered autonomous, self-contained, and objective), both reception theory and reader-response criticism attacked the idea of textual autonomy and emphasized that texts can not be understood without considering their effects. While reader-response critics designated the response of the reader as the locus of understanding and declared the object of literary study to be the responses of individual readers, reception theory was concerned with a broader question. It emphasized the history of the text and the responses of earlier readers as central to the process of understanding of the literary text. Stress was laid on the relevance of past-meanings, and attention was drawn to canon-formation process as constitutive also of the identity of the text as well as of

[3] For a good introduction to the various strands of the theory of reception in German tradition which also takes note of precursors of the theory see Robert C. Holub. *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* [New Accents] (London: Methuen, 1985); the work also contains a selected bibliography for further readings. Idem, "Reception Theory: School of Constance." In *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, VIII: From Formalism to Poststructuralism*, edited by Raman Selden (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 319-46. For some of the founding texts of the school that are available in English see Hans Robert Jauss. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Idem, "The Identity of the Poetic Text in the Changing Horizon of Understanding." In *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies*, edited by James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein (New York and London: Routledge, 2001). Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[4] For an anthology of representative texts of the American reader-oriented theorists see Jane Tompkins (ed.), *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980). The exellent introduction of Topmkins is a good starting point. She also provides a detailed list for further readings at the end of the volume.

its meaning and value to later recipients. In other words, reception theory invited 'literary history' as a challenge to 'literary theory'. What was called for was neither the German idealist conception of teleological history, nor the Rankean historicist-positivist historiography of the nineteenth century which had emerged as a reaction to the teleological model. Rather what Jauss promoted was a new literary history that would take into account the aesthetic considerations in their historical formation. Jauss called this new method Aesthetics of Reception: *Rezeptionsasthetic*.

The theory had obvious implications also for non-literary texts, and it was not long after that reception studies began to appeal to historians, who applied it also to non-textual field, such as the reception of ideas and technologies. It is also used in biographical studies, such as the reception of a particular historical person. An anthology that appeared in 2000 bears testimony to the fast proliferation of reception studies in the Anglophone world.[5] In Ottoman studies, too, examples were produced, but only of a specific sort, as shall be discussed below.

Reception theory provides insights also for the study of social history of ideas. Since ideas, like texts, are not isolated units produced and transmitted in vacuum, but are historically conditioned, their reception and fate depends as much on the responses of the recipients. Intellectual history may therefore benefit from other branches of history when trying to understand why particular ideas find a following and others do not, and which ideas speak to which social or religious groups.

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[5] James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein (eds), *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001). This is the best (complementary) collection, as it comprises a wide array of essays ranging from reception 'theory' to reception 'study'; from "book history" to "cultural studies" and "mass-communication", ending up with a chapter on 'Limitations and Difficulties of Reception Study.' The book also includes a substantial *enumerative* bibliography of reception studies in English, which is divided into four categories: (1) "General Theories," (2) "Texts and Authors," which is a bibliography of studies dealing with reception of a particular text or author –limited to reception studies of British, American, and continental European literatures, (3) 'History of The Book,' and (4) 'Texts, Genres, and Audiences in Mass and Popular Culture.' The first two categories are complementary to earlier bibliographies as they "emphasize work done since 1990 [to 2001], although important earlier works are also included."

## The Landscape: Ottoman Intellectual History and the Importance of Reception Studies

In Islamic intellectual history, there have been numerous scholars singled out for their specific views or positions on various matters of religious or political interest. What makes such thinkers more interesting and prominent than others is the fact that their works, ideas, or attitudes were generally not simply of their own concern; rather they appealed -generally, though not always- to many others (–learned scholars or common people-) in their own time and after, and elicited significant reaction from the community of believers. Still more significant is the fact that the reactions they elicited were seldom, if at all, uniform. As a result, these scholars found different, and sometimes contradictory, receptions from different circles, and very often became the foci of disputations and polarizations that were not always solely intellectual, but frequently also social, and sometimes even political or schismatic. This is true as much of the scholars of early Islamic history[6], as it is of such later figures as the great scholar and Sufi Muhammed el-Gazzali (d.505/1111), the famous mystic Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi (d.638/1240), and the renowned *selefî* scholar Takiyyuddin Ibn Teymiyye (d.728/1328). What is common to all of these otherwise diverse figures of Islamic history is that, whether or not they evoked controversy in their lifetime, all have posthumously been subject to much debate, as they continue

[6] To mention just a few names, we may refer to Ebu Hanife Numan b. Sabit (d.150/767), the founder of the Hanefî *mezheb* (law-school) and the proponent of the *ehlu'r-re'y* (people of opinion); Ahmed b. Hanbel (d.241/855), the founder of the Hanbeli *mezheb* and the leader of *ehlu'l-hadîs* (people of the tradition), who suffered also from the *mihne* of the 'rationalist' Mu'tazilîs; and Vâsıl b. Atâ (d.131/748), the leader of the Mu'tazilî school of Muslim theology and a strong proponent of 'reason' in interpretation of divine revelation. Then came the philosophers, like el-Farabi (d.339/950) and Ibn Sina (d.428/1037), who not only established the philosophical tradition in the Islamic world, but also left behind a controversial legacy.

to be even today.[7] In other words, the views, writings, and attitudes of each have historically been interpreted by different people in different ways. Each 'way' and each 'interpretation' has found its proponents and opponents. The question of the validity or accuracy of a given interpretation and the degree of its conformity to the 'actual' thoughts or writings of the scholar whom it claims for itself, as well as the comparative value of any given interpretation vis-à-vis other, competing, interpretations may not be irrelevant, but for the historian it is the very existence of such interpretations that is of greater interest. Here lies the use and importance of reception studies, in uncovering and tackling of the divergent appropriations of one and the same person, in following the historical changes that may be traced in the domination of one form of interpretation over the other, and in tracing the effects of these interpretations on the formation of the discourse and the mind-setting of the later intellectual milieu, as well as the strategies that were employed by the future recipients of previous interpretations.

The Ottoman reception of earlier authors and works has generally been ignored, though it is an interesting question. For instance, the reception in the central Ottoman lands of el-Gazzali, especially of his controversial book *Tehâfutu'l-Felâsife* (literally, *The Criticism of the Philosophers*), could be an interesting case, but it has not been studied yet; nor has been the reception of Ibn Arabi in a serious way. A recent article by Derin Terzioğlu has provocatively problematized the reception of

[7] No less controversial, at least from today'y perspective, are Muhammed b. Idris eş-Şafi'î (d.204/820), the founder of the Şâfi'î *mezheb* and of the principles of Islamic Jurisprudence (*usûlu'l-fikh*), whom some academicians nowadays strangely accuse of having 'frozen' Islamic jurisprudence by standardizing it; and Ebu'l-Hasen el-Eş'arî (330/941), the claimed predominance of whose theological school in the Ottoman lands has, with its tenets concerning restrain on free will, some academicians argue, been a major reason for the non-development of rational sciences in the Ottoman world.

Ibn Teymiyye by the Ottomans[8], but the field waits further study. The Ottoman reception of earlier Islamic tradition as a whole, or of specific literatures, such as the literature on political thought, or of specific genres of writing, could be another subject of study. Actually a number of studies have recently addressed such topics. What is less common, however, is the reception of Ottomans by Ottomans themselves. An important exception in this sense is the classical study that Cornell Fleischer made on Mustafa Ali; although some twenty-five years have passed since the publication of this work, no similar studies followed.[9]

## The Subject: What is the Study About?

The present study, more than addressing the Ottoman reception of an earlier scholar, concerns itself with the reception in the Ottoman Empire of an Ottoman scholar who was no less controversial a figure than the names mentioned above. This scholar is Muhammed b. Pîr Ali b. İskender el-Balıkesirî el-Birgivî, commonly known as Birgivî (Birgili) Mehmed Efendi or simply as Imam Birgivî (929-81/1523-73). (We prefer to render his name as "Birgivi Mehmed Efendi", and throughout the study we will generally refer to him simply as "Birgivi"). The study traces –in one of the major chapters- the historical dissemination of the works of this sixteenth century scholar in the centuries following his death by concentrating mainly on the manuscript copies of his works that are preserved in the manuscript libraries in Istanbul. It also problematizes the many works that were falsely attributed to him

[8] Derin Terzioğlu. "Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal Vakası: Ya da İbn Teymiyye'nin *Siyasetü'ş-şer'iyye*'sini Kim(ler) Osmanlıcaya Nasıl Aktardı?" *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları,* 31/II (2007): 247-275.

[9] Cornell H. Fleischer. *Bureaucrat an Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Pres, 1986).

either in the manuscripts or in the literature. Actually the story of this thesis is a bit complicated, as the initial plan of the study was quite different from its present form. It set out to be a "reception study", but ended up being only partly that. Further below the outline of the study will be given in detail, but how and why the shift took place may also be elaborated in some detail, for the process itself was instructive. Before that, however, a few words are in order about the biography of Birgivi.

## Birgivi Mehmed Efendi: A Short Biography

Birgivi was born in 929/1523, two years after the accession to the Ottoman throne of Süleyman I (Kânûnî; r.927-74 /1520-66). Majority of his life was spent under the reign of this sultan; but his last years also covered all but one year of the reign of Selim II (r. 974-82/1566-74), seven years after whose enthronement Birgivi died, at age of 52/50 (lunar/solar calendar). He was born in Balıkesir, a provincial town in western-Anatolia, to a family that was well established both in the Sufi tradition and in religious learning.[10] His father, Pîr Ali, was a medrese professor (*müderris*) and a şeyh of the Bayramî order. Not much is known about Pir Ali's father, İskender. The Bayramî path was introduced to Balıkesir by Pir Ali's grandfather, Şeyh Lütfullah, who personally met and for a time accommodated in his house the founder of the order, Hacı Bayram-ı Velî (833/1429), and was appointed by him şeyh in the city. Şeyh Lütfullah's other son, Bahaeddin Efendi (d.859/1489), was a müderris and a şeyh of the same order. The latter's son, Bahaeddinzade Muhyiddin Mehmed

[10] Birgivi's biography is well treated in a recent book: Huriye Martı. *Birgivi Mehmed Efendi*. (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2008). See also Ahmet Turan Arslan. *Imam Birgivi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Arapça Tedrisatındaki Yeri*. (Istanbul: Seha Neşriyat, 1992). The account given below is based on these books. The Bayramî link and the familial relationship with Bahaeddinzade was first brought into light in M. Hulusi Lekesiz. "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Düzenindeki Değişimin Tasfiyeci (Püritanist) bir Eleştirisi: Birgivi Mehmet Efendi ve Fikirleri", (Ph.D. diss., Ankara: Hacettepe Ün., 2007), pp.28-29

(d.952/1545) –the cousin of Pir Ali- was also a renowned scholar and a famous Bayramî Şeyh. We must note that Birgivi would later pen some glosses on a treatise written by Bahaeddinzade.

After receiving his first training from his father, Pir Ali, in Balıkesir, Birgivi –who would then be simply called Mehmed Efendi- set out for Istanbul, the imperial capital, which was also the center of higher learning in the empire, to advance his learning. There he became student to a number of leading professors, among them Küçük Şemseddin Efendi (d.957/1550-51), Ahizade Mehmed Efendi (d.974/1563-4), and Kızıl Abdurrahman (d.983/1575). It was from the latter that Birgivi received his *icâzet* (diploma) and *mülâzemet* for a time after 949/1542. After a period, he began teaching in medreses until he entered state service as Kassâm-ı Askerî[11] of Edirne sometime after 958/1551, when his teacher Kızıl Abdurrahman became Kazasker (Chief Military Judge) of Rumeli. By this date Birgivi would have been no less than 28 years old. After four years of service, he abandoned the office (ca.964/1556[?]) and returned to Istanbul, seeking the spiritual guidance of a Sufi master.

The Sufi master to whom he was attached was Abdullah el-Karamânî (d.972/1564-5), a şeyh of the Bayramî order who had received his spiritual license from the aforementioned Bahaeddinzade. Karamânî, like Bahaeddinzade, was a learned man and author of several works on religious sciences. Birgivi, under the supervision of this Sufi master and learned man, would devote himself to prayer and live the life of an ascetic. In the meantime, on his master's order, he would go back to Edirne and return the amounts that he had charged from those whose case he had attended; and would serve no more in state office. How long Birgivi stayed with his

[11] The person who would oversee –in the name of the sharî'a- the procedure of the distribution among the heirs of the property left by members of Janissaries. The office was responsible to Kazasker. See Martı, *Ibid*., p. 35.

Sufi master is not clear, but after completing his spiritual training and receiving license, Birgivi returned to teaching and preaching again by orders of his master, who, the sources relate, did not want Birgivi to abandon the path of learning. Indeed, even after he returned to medrese, Birgivi would devote considerable time to prayer and contemplation, and would lead a pious life; this far is clear from a treatise written by one of his students about his daily life.

In his new period of professorship, Birgivi would leave Istanbul for Birgi (now a sub-district of Ödemiş/İzmir), another town in western Anatolia, not too far from his hometown, Balıkesir. While still in Istanbul, probably sometime after he abandoned the state office (ca.964/1556[?]) and entered the Sufi path, Birgivi established friendship with Ataullah Ahmed Efendi, a müderris from Birgi who had been appointed teacher to Şehzade Selim in 957/1550, a position he continued to hold even after Selim became Sultan, and well until Ataullah's death in 979/1571, two years before Birgivi's own death. Ataullah built a medrese (*dâru'l-hadîs*) in Birgi, his hometown, apparently for Mehmed Efendi, and appointed him as professor to this medrese, with a daily income of 60 *akçe*s, the highest amount of its kind, given only to the professors of a few top-ranking medreses in the hierarchy.

Mehmed Efendi moved to this town no later than 970/1562-3. His appellation as Birgivi is by reference to this town, where he spent the rest of his life and composed most of his works, including *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*, his major work, which was completed one year before his death. Nine years after his move to this town, Birgivi would write to Ataullah Efendi a letter (*Mektûb*) where, *inter alia*, he complained about his bad health and weakening of sight. Actually some of the writings that he had composed before moving to this town include similar complaints about his health; but while these included complaints also about the financial

hardships that Birgivi experienced, in a number of the works that he composed in this town (including the *Mektûb*) Birgivi states his gratitude to Ataullah Efendi for the financial support he provided. The two men seem to have kept in touch, as some of Birgivi's works, such as *Cilâu'l-kulûb, Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn*, and the above letter which also refers to a meeting they had in Kütahya, were written, Birgivi states, on the demand of Ataullah, whose name he does not specify. In some of these works Birgivi also gives advice to Ataullah and criticizes him for certain issues in a serious, though polite, language.[12] Birgivi seems also to have paid occasional visits to Istanbul. Towards the end of his life, historical sources inform, he entered the Palace and advised the Grand Vezir Sokullu Mehmed Paşa (v.972-87/1565-79) on the injustices common in the time. At the end of Cumadelula 981 (21 September 1573), two years after Ataullah's death, Birgivi died out of the plague while on another trip to Istanbul.

## The Problem: Why Study Birgivi?

Birgivi was not only a famous professor, but also a prolific writer: other than several books that he wrote on Arabic grammar which became the basics of the field among the Ottomans, he also composed nearly on every branch of the religious sciences. Some of his compositions were polemical writings. Although his criticisms covered a wide range of issues, three major topics of debate which he addressed in his writings are as follows: cash waqfs (*vakfu'l-menkûl*), on which he entered a polemic with the grand mufti Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi (d.982/1574); performing religious duties –such as recitation of Koran- in return for money, a topic on which he wrote several

[12] For an account on his criticisms see Arslan, *ibid*., p. 54ff.; Martı, *ibid*., p.145

treatises; and finally some (Sufi) practices –such as Sufi dances (*devrân*), the practice of vocal zikr (*zikr-i cehrî*), and the recitation of Koran with melody (*teğannî* / *lahn*)- which he considered to be unacceptable innovations, and which he addressed in his *Tarîkat*.

Despite his own Sufi experience, the criticism which Birgivi leveled at certain Sufi practices seems to have played an important role in the formation of the commonplace image of him in the modern literature as a sharia-minded anti-Sufi scholar. Some have drawn a parallelism between him and the famous *selefî* scholar Ibn Teymiyye (d.728/1328)[13]; others have declared him a propagator of the latter's views and as the person who introduced his works to the Ottoman Empire.[14] Still others, taking their departure from the Kadızadeli Movement (a selefî-minded religious movement that appeared half a century after Birgivi's death, on which more shall be said below), have declared Birgivi the leader of a religious movement comparable to the nineteenth-century Selefî/Wahhâbî movement.[15] Some studies have argued that, in his polemics with Ebussuud Efendi, Birgivi was prompted by the imperial teacher Ataullah Efendi who incited Birgivi to write against the fetvâs of the mufti with whom Ataullah had a power struggle over the control of religious

[13] Lekesiz, M. Hulusi. "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Düzenindeki Değişimin Tasfiyeci (Püritanist) bir Eleştirisi: Birgivi Mehmet Efendi ve Fikirleri", (Ph.D., Hacettepe Ün., 2007).

[14] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış: Kadızadeliler Hareketi," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları Prof. Dr. Faruk Kadri Timurtaş'ın Hâtırasına Armağan*. (Ankara, 1983) [XVII-XXI/1-2 (1979-83)]: 208-225; Idem. "İbn Kemal'in Yaşadığı XV ve XVI. Asırlar Türkiye'sinde İlim ve Fikir Hayatı," *Şeyhülislam İbn Kemal Sempozyumu*. (Ankara, TDVY, 1989 [first publ. in 1986]): 29-36. Fahri Unan, "Dinde Tasfiyecilik Yahut Osmanlı Sünniliğine Sünni Muhalefet: Birgivi Mehmed Efendi." *Türk Yurdu,* X/36 (Ağustos 1990): 33-42. ni Muhalefet: Birgivi Mehmed

[15] Semiramis Çavuşoğlu. "The Kadızadeli Movement: An Attempt of Şeri'at-Minded Reform in the Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D diss., Princeton University, 1990). Esp. pp.39-59; Madeline Zilfi. "The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 45, no 4. (Oct. 1986), 251-269; Idem. *The Politics of Piety: The Otoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*. (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988).

matters.[16] Recent studies[17] have seriously questioned most of these interpretations of Birgivi, namely, whether he really was a) anti-Sufi; b) familiar with Ibn Teymiyye's works, c) of the same opinion with the proponents of the Kadızadeli movement, and d) manipulated in his polemics by Ataullah Efendi. The last point is not specifically addressed in the present study[18] because more than dealing with the motivations of Birgivi's writings or with the 'right' way of understanding his works, this study is interested in questions pertaining to his historical reception.

There are two more –apparently contradictory- theories concerning Birgivi which are worth mentioning: While one draws attention to the lasting influence of Birgivi on those who resisted Ottoman modernization[19], the other contains that 'Birgivism' and 'Kadızadeli Islam' "foreshadow trends which are characteristic of modernity in religion: rationality and interiorization, which is why Birgivism or Kadızadeli Islam became one of the most influential strains of Turkish Islam [in modern times]."[20]

Some of these theories are put into question also in this study. But it must be noted that the lack of agreement on the legacy of Birgivi is not specific to modern studies. It was true as much of the Ottoman responses to his works. More than

[16] Cavid Baysun. "Ebüssu'ûd," *IA* 4, pp.92-98; Yusuf Ziya Yörükan. "Bir Fetva Münasebetiyle: Fetva Müessesesi, Ebussuûd Eendi ve Sarı Saltuk," *Ankara Ün. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* I (1953), pp.51-67. kyuik ykaa ylek lkeaylk llkly.

[17] Martı, *ibid*.; Arslan, *ibid*..; Idem. "İmam Birgivi'nin Tasavvuf Anlayışı," *İSLÂM* 74 (Ekim,1989): 43-45; Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and dissident in the Otoman Empire: Niyâzî-i Mısrî (1618-1694)." (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1999), pp. 195-208 and 4-6.

[18] For this the reader is referred to Martı, ibid., p. 140 and 145; Arslan, i*bid*., p.52ff. See also Pehlül Düzenli. "Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi: Bibliyografik Bir Değerlendirme." *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* (Türk Hukuk Tarihi), vol. 3, issue 5, (2005), pp.459-60.

[19] Rudolph Peters, "Religious attitudes towards modernization in the Ottoman Empire. A nineteenth century pious text on steamships, factories and the telegraph," *Welt Des Islams* 26 (1986), pp. 76-105.

[20] Gottfried Hagen. "Afterword" in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 215-256.

theorizing on how Birgivi should be envisioned, therefore, the present study set out to problematize Birgivi's various receptions in the centuries following his death.

Birgivi was a name around whom posthumously different coalitions were formed, particularly in seventeenth-century Istanbul. At the beginnings of this century, ca. 1032/1623, the year of the accession of Murad IV (r.1032-49/1623-40), there emerged in Istanbul a 'puritanical' movement known by the name Kadızadeli – after the leader of the movement, Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d.945/1635)- which claimed to purge religion of all *bid'ats* ('blameworthy innovations', accretions that had developed after *'asr-ı sa'âdet*, the felicitous age of the Prophet Muhammed and the four righteous caliphs), and to restore the uncorrupted religion of the first ages. The proponents of the movement, derived mainly from among the preachers, invoked Birgivi's authority to support their reformist views. Kadızade Mehmed, the leader of the movement, was a preacher from Balıkesir, Birgivi's hometown. Before coming to Istanbul he was educated by Birgivi's students in that town, and after coming to Istanbul, where he gave moving sermons in a number of mosques, he also gave public lectures, in which he taught Birgivi's *Tarîkat*, among others. The topics that the Kadızadelis addressed were diverse, ranging from purely theoretical issues – questions like whether the Hızır was alive[21], whether the Prophet's parents died as believers- to a number of 'innovations' practiced either by the community at large – like visitation of tombs and consumption of coffee, tobacco, and wine- or by certain Sufi groups –like vocal zikr (*zikr-i cehrî*) and the Sufi dances (*devrân*).[22] Their main

[21] Hızır or Hıdır is the archetypal figure of wisdom in Islamic culture who is believed to transfer the esoteric knowledge to the friends of God. The exegetes of Koran have traditionally taken the reference in Koran to the friend of the Prophet Moses be to Hızır (Koran, 18/Kehf, verses 67-77).

[22] For a detailed discussion of the topics of controversy see Katip Çelebi (1067/1657-8). *Mîzanu'l-hakk fî ihtiyâri'l-ehakk*. Edited by Orhan Şaik Gökyay. (İstanbul: MEB, 1972). For the English translation see *The Balance of Truth*. tr. Geoffrey Lewis. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1957).

targets, however, were the Sufis, especially members of the Sivasi branch of the Halveti order.

In the historiography of the Sufi-Kadızadeli controversy the development of the movement is analysed in three stages: The first stage, which extended throughout the reign of Murad IV (1032-49/1623-40), came to an end when the leaders of the two parties, Kadızade and Abdülmecid Sivasi (d.1049/1639), died. The second phase corresponded to the first eight years of the reign of Mehmed IV (r.1058-99/1648-87) when the controversy took momentum under the leadership of Üstüvâni Mehmed (d.1072/1661) and Abdülahad Nuri (d.1061/1650-51); it ended with the banishment of the leaders of the Kadızadelis by action of the newly appointed Grand Vezir Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (v.1066-72/ 1656-61). The third stage was launched when Köprülü was succeeded by his son, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa (v.1072-87/1661-76), and continued under the latter's successor, Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa (v.1087-94/1676-83), both of whom supported the Kadızadeli program. In this period, which lasted until the Vienna debacle of 1094/1683 after which the Kadızadeli clique fell out of favor, the Kadızadelis were led by the imperial preacher Vani Mehmed Efendi (d.1096/1685). One of his major critics was the famous Halveti şeyh Niyazi-i Mısri (d.1105/1694).[23]

## The Method: How to Study?

In the secondary literature Birgivi has generally been associated with the Kadızadelis, while the Sufis in general, and Halvetis in particular, are presented as

[23] On Mısri's life and his criticism see Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire." The study has a chapter also on the development and demise of the Kadızadeli Movement and the responses of the various strands of the Sufis. For further references see below, Chapter IV, p. 185, notes 502 and 503.

the target of this movement and as a group that opposed its precepts. Actually, in the second stage of the controversy, with the encouragement of the Sivasi şeyh Abdülahad Nuri a number of sympathizing medrese professors penned rebuttals to *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*, the major work of Birgivi on which the Kadızadelis based their criticism of innovations. It was not only the Kadızadelis, however, who appropriated Birgivi: he was respected as much by the Sufis in general. This much is clear from the already known fact that a number of prominent Sufi şeyhs of the eighteenth century, especially from the Nakşbendî order, positively devoted voluminous commentaries to Birgivi's *Tarîkat*. These (Nakşî) şeyhs included Abdülğani b. Ismail en-Nablusî (d.1143/1731) of Damascus, Muhammed Emin et-Tokadi (d.1158/1745) of Istanbul, and Ebu Said el-Hadimi (d.1176/1762) of Konya.

How did these eighteenth century Sufi masters interpret Birgivi's works? Did their stance vary from that of the (seventeenth-century) Kadızadelis on the one hand, and the Sivasi-promoted commentators on the other? And in what ways? My plan was to tackle such questions by comparatively analyzing several of the commentaries that were made on Birgivi's works, especially the *Tarîkat*, and to see if there was only one way of interpretation. I needed to find out two things: whether Kadızadelis countered Sivasi rebuttals with their own versions of commentaries; and whether there were commentaries –other than the Sivasi rebuttals- that were made by the Halvetis. Since I found no answer to my questions in the secondary literature, I engaged myself in a thorough research in the Süleymaniye library in hope for finding out what I looked for. A second part of my plan entailed researching the dissemination of Birgivi's own works through the centuries, and the social and religious make-up of his readership. My research was therefore guided by the demand not only to identify all those who commented on Birgivi's works, but also to

see those periods in which Birgivi's own works were copied in greater numbers, and to establish the identity of those people who copied, owned, and read these works.

## The Challenge of the Field: Shift in Orientation and the Coming of the Present Study

When I made a search in the online catalogue of Turkish manuscript libraries[24] for the keyword "Birgi" (-vi/-li) –both for author's name and for book name- there appeared more than 3000 results. Though some of the results had nothing to do with Birgivi, most of them were recorded either as Birgivi's works or as commentaries on his works. Similarly, while the majority of these records pertained to libraries in Istanbul, there were also records which belonged to libraries in Anatolian cities. I limited myself with the results of Istanbul, but it was still a formidable task to decipher all the relevant material and classify it according to the respective works.[25] This was done, and it was now time to make regular checks for the results. In the process, however, my research underwent a major shift in orientation. While my initial plan was, on the one hand, to identify various commentaries made on Birgivi's works, and on the other to check the copying data for Birgivi's own works, in later stages of research I found myself concentrating more and more on identification of Birgivi's own bibliography. This was because at a certain point of my research I realized that some of the works that were attributed to Birgivi in the secondary literature were compositions actually of other authors. At a point where the

[24] The Database for Turkish Libraries (Türkiye Kütüphaneleri Veri Tabanı [TKVT]), available in the webpage of Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi (ISAM): http://ktp.isam.org.tr/ktp/.

[25] My search for the keywords Tarikat and Vasiyet also yielded as much results. These too were deciphered and the relevant material cross-checked with the results for "Birgi".

bibliography of Birgivi was not established with any certainty, it would be futile to make an attempt at understanding his reception based on a dubious bibliography.

To identify Birgivi's own works with precision I adopted a two-partite strategy: 1) to turn to the (contemporary) historical sources and biographical dictionaries that either gave lists of Birgivi's works or mentioned some of them; 2) to identify and check all copies (in Istanbul libraries) of the works for whose Birgivi authorship there was no evidence in the historical sources. (The check of other works, in case they had more than twenty copies, would have to be limited to a representative number). The method was rewarding, as I not only identified an amazingly high amount of misattributions, but also identified new works that were attributed to Birgivi in the manuscripts, which were not known in the literature. (The results are discussed in the three chapters of this study, and a summary statement of the findings is provided at the end of the present chapter).

The study was thus confined only to the works that were attributed to Birgivi, rightly or falsely. Since the task of the commentaries was dropped to be handled in future studies, it meant that an important aspect of the "reception" of Birgivi was abandoned. However, since the dissemination of the copies of Birgivi's own works was retained, the second aspect of "reception" was preserved. Furthermore, the identification of misattributions was not only significant for understanding the historical Birgivi, but also indicative of a different kind of reception: that of a hypothetical, imagined Birgivi, a portrait of which can be grasped from the false attributions.

## Outline of the Study

The present study consists of three chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. In the first chapter I provide a documentation of mis-attributions that were made on various levels. The total number of misattributions discussed in this chapter is more than 45, the source of a good 30 of which is either manuscripts themselves, Ottoman sources, or modern studies; the rest are made in library catalogues (online or published). Only 8 of the 30 misattributions have been recognized as such in the literature; the rest are shown to be misattributions for the first time in this study. Drawing on the findings presented in this chapter, I distinguish between the "imagined" Birgivi of the misattributions, and the real, historical Birgivi as two distinct figures. While in the introductory section of this chapter I theorize on the functioning of the Ottoman manuscript culture by discussing possible reasons and motivations for the high amount of texts that were falsely attributed to Birgivi, in the main body of the chapter I describe the works one by one and discuss their authorship in detail. Some of the misattributions are allocated greater space than others because they are accompanied by an evaluation of how they have affected the way Birgivi was –and still is- envisioned as a selefi scholar who walked in the shoes of Ibn Teymiyye and his students. This is because a number of the works by Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari (Rumi Efendi, d. ca. (d. ca. 1043/1633) and Ali el-Kari (d. 1014/1605), authors who show themselves to be familiar with writings of Ibn Teymiyye's school, have been attributed also to Birgivi, a fact that has obviously been responsible in the formation of the abovementioned commonplace image of Birgivi. In the concluding section of this chapter I draw attention, *inter-alia*, to such systematic misattributions and repeat

the emphasis on how these false attributions have affected Birgivi's reception down to the present.

The second chapter presents and discusses the works that have been attributed to Birgivi, but whose authorship is dubious.

The third chapter deals with works whose Birgivi authorship is certain (or of whose Birgivi authorship there is no reason to be dubious). This chapter is divided to three sections. In the first section I do two things. First I discuss in some detail the strategies that have been employed by this study in deciding whether an attribution was true or false. Following this discussion I give short descriptions of the works that I Identified as Birgivi's own. (The number of such works is 35). I do not go into the contents of the works in any detail because all have already been adequately discussed in the studies made on Birgivi (for these works see below). In the second section I make a number of classifications on Birgivi's works with respect to various considerations that I thought to bear implications for his reception. For instance I classify the works according to their subject, their language, and their popularity, among other things. By doing such classifications I try not only to identify the audience that Birgivi might have targeted, but also to establish as accurately as possible the relative role that each work might have played in the formation of the image of the author and in the determination of his reception in later centuries. I show that some of the works were obviously more determining than others in this respect. I also observe that a good number of Birgivi's own works have been less effective in this regard than some of the works that were falsely attributed to him. In the last section I show the historical dissemination of the manuscript copies of the eighteen works of Birgivi that have more than 20 copies each. Since the total number of the copies for the remaining seventeen works is only 80, which is ignorable

compared to the total amount of manuscript copies of the 35 works (1487 copies) that I have identified in manuscript libraries of Istanbul[26], it was considered appropriate to exclude these works from the map showing the dissemination of the works. I show the dissemination of copies of the 12 works on religious sciences (‘ulûm-i şer‘iyye) separately from those of the 6 works on non-religious, auxiliary, sciences (‘ulûm-i âliyye =âlet ilimleri). For works on the religious sciences, which are of particular interest to this study, I show the dissemination in three ways: first in terms of thirty years, the life span of a generation, then in terms of decades, and finally in terms of varying time periods set with reference to historically significant developments (of political, cultural, or intellectual nature). It has been observed that although in certain periods the production of copies of Birgivi’s works was much higher than in other periods, the popularity of Birgivi’s works continued incessantly for some 170 years, from the third decade of the seventeenth century (1032/1623, fifty years after Birgivi’s death) to the last decade of the eighteenth century (1203/1789). While for the seventeenth century I try to contextualize the dissemination of the manuscripts by reference to the emergence, development, and demise of the Kadızadeli movement, the continuing relevance of Birgivi’s works with an even increased popularity after the demise of the movement, I indicate, could be explained by reference to the rise in the number of medreses and the rise in

[26] Since a study of all the known copies of Birgivi’s works lies outside the research capabilities of a single researcher, the present study has been limited to the copies found in manuscript collections that are preserved in 10 of the manuscript libraries in Istanbul. For the collections that include Birgivi’s works (88 collections) and the respective numbers of copies of Birgivi’s works in each see Table XII at the end of this study. These collections are preserved in the following libraries –in alphabetical order: (1) Atıf Efendi Kütüphanesi, (2) Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, (3) Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi, (4) Köprülü Kütüphanesi, (5) Millet Kütüphanesi, (6) Murat Molla Kütüphanesi, (7) Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, (8) Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi, (9) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, and (10) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (TSMK). The reason these libraries were chosen for research is that the online catalogues of these libraries were incorporated in The Database for Turkish Libraries (Türkiye Kütüphaneleri Veri Tabanı [TKVT]), available in the webpage of Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi (ISAM): http://ktp.isam.org.tr/ktp/. The manuscript collections in the library of Istanbul University, though important, and some other manuscript libraries that may exist in Istanbul, have not been analyzed because it would require another research.

foundation of libraries from the late-seventeenth century onwards, developments that may be considered to indicate an increase in literacy in this period. But since only the religious works of Birgivi display a significant increase in this period, and not his works on grammar, the argument of literacy may not reach too far. On the other hand I also maintain that especially in the eighteenth century, when the social polarization caused by the Kadızadeli-Sufi controversy of the previous century –which determined the conditions of the reception of Birgivi's works- receded in memory, the new neutral atmosphere saw also a rehabilitation of Birgivi's works among the learned establishment in general, as his works began arguably to seem more orthodox than they did previously when they would have been associated with the Kadızadelis. That a number of Sufi commentaries were made on *Tarîkat* in the first half of the eighteenth century may support this observation. Drawing on the literature emphasizing the upsurge of the sharia in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I also contend that the increased interest in Birgivi's works is in line with this new religious sensibility. The question remains as to what extent Birgivi's own works were responsible for bringing about this new receptiveness to sharia, which in turn transformed the conditions for their own reception.

## A Review of the Literature on the Bibliography of Birgivi

The first independent bibliographic study on Birgivi was made by Nihal Atsız[27] in 1966 based on the manuscript libraries in Istanbul. In his study Atsız first classifies the works into two groups according to their language: Turkish and Arabic, and then further classifies the Arabic works into eleven groups with regard to their subject.

[27] Nihal Atsız. *Istanbul Kütüphanelerine Göre Birgili Mehmed Efendi (929-981 = 1523-1573) Bibliyografyası*. (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966).

Atsız attributes a total of 53 texts to Birgivi; but this list has been partly revised by Arslan. Both lists, in turn, are radically revised in the present study (see below). Atsız indicates the basic bibliographic data of all manuscript copies that he identified of the works. He also indicates the Ottoman editions of the works when available. However, neither the print nor the manuscript lists provided by Atsız for individual works are comprehensive. His bibliography covers only one-third of the manuscripts that we identified in Istanbul libraries for the same works; we have also identified many editions not indicated by him. Therefore, the present study also proposes an updated version of Atsız's bibliography.[28]

The second study to partly deal with Birgivi's bibliography was the thesis that Emrullah Yüksel prepared in Sorbonne.[29] Unfortunately we have been unable to consult this study, but other articles of the same author were consulted.[30] The next serious study to deal with the bibliography of Birgivi was made by Ahmet Turan Arslan.[31] Arslan reserved a considerable part of his study to delineation of Birgivi's works, and modified the list of texts that Atsız had ascribed to Birgivi, by adding new items and discarding others. His alternative list consists of 60 works. Arslan also provides detailed description for each work, but does not list copies of the work in question –for this he refers to Atsız. The originality of Arslan's study, and the real

[28] We planned to publish this bibliography as an appendix to the present study, but since the task is still in progress, it was decided to be postponed until it is completed.

[29] Emrullah Yüksel. "Les idees religieuses et politiques de Mehmed al-Birkewi (929-981/1523-1573)," (Ph.D., Universite de Paris-Sorbonne Faculte des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1972).

[30] Idem. "Birgivi Mehmed Efendi," *DIA* 6 (1992), pp.191-194; Idem. "Mehmet Birgivi (929-981/1523-1573)," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İslami İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 2 (Ankara, 1977): 175-185.

[31] Ahmet Turan Arslan. *Imam Birgivi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Arapça Tedrisatındaki Yeri* . (Istanbul: Seha Neşriyat, 1992), based on his dissertation, "İmam Birgivi ve Arapça Tedrisatındaki Yeri." (Ph.D., Marmara University, 1983). I was told by Arslan that in a recently appeared article he has addressed some of the misattributions discussed in this thesis, but the present study was already complete. (Idem. "---", *I. Elyazmaları Sempozyumu, Türbeler Derneği, Nevzat Kaya Anısına*, İstanbul İl Kültür Müdürlüğü, 2009?). I was unable to consult the article.

contribution that it made to the bibliography of Birgivi, is –other than the modifications that he made to Atsız's list- the presentation of the commentaries that have been made on each of Birgivi's works. This laborious task, though not comprehensive, proves to be quite helpful to those interested in the reception of Birgivi in later centuries. However, since Arslan does not give basic biographical information for the authors of the commentaries, the use of the study remains limited. Hulusi Lekesiz and Huriye Martı[32] have, in their studies, modified Arslan's lits in minimum ways. These modifications shall be discussed further below; but it may be said that the only other significant contribution that Lekesiz made regarding the bibliography of Birgivi is some detailed discussion of the *fetvâ* collections of Birgivi, and a table showing the list of sources used in Birgivi's *Tarîkat*. An alternative list is provided by Bernd Radtke.[33] Unlike Lekesiz, Martı re-interprets Birgivi's various views by returning to the texts themselves. She also presents the most detailed description of the texts in Arslan's list. Since the present study does not provide descriptions of Birgivi's works in any important way beyond mere familiarization, the reader is referred to the works of Arslan and Martı on such matters.

## Bibliography of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi: A Summary

Nihal Atsız attributed to Birgivi a total of 53 works, all with extant copies. Ahmet Turan Arslan, however, proved that three of the attributions in Atsız's list were

[32] M. Hulusi Lekesiz. "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Düzenindeki Değişimin Tasfiyeci (Püritanist) bir Eleştirisi: Birgivi Mehmet Efendi ve Fikirleri", (Ph.D. diss., Ankara: Hacettepe Ün., 2007). Huriye Martı. *Birgivi Mehmed Efendi*. (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2008).

[33] Bernd Radtke. "Birgiwîs Tarîqa Muhammadiyya Einige Bemerkungen und Überlegungen," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 26/1 (2002): 159-174.

faulty[34]. He also pointed out a repetition in Atsız's list[35]. Besides these corrections, Arslan also attributed new works to Birgivi (eleven in total). Subtracting 4 items in Atsız's bibliography of 53 works and adding 11 new ones, the extended bibliography put forward by Arslan thus presents a list of 60 works[36]. This is the maximum number of works that have so far been attributed to Birgivi in modern studies made on Birgivi in Turkish. (Later researchers like Hulusi Lekesiz and Huriye Martı modified this list in some ways, but they did not add new attributions). Out of the 11

[34] (1) *Tercumetu ed-durretu'l-multekata er-rumiyye*, (2) *Risâletu nevâfili'l-ibâdât* (= *Duaname= Evrâd-ı Birgivi= Vezâ'ifu'n-nevâfil*), and, (3) Atsız's "[Tevhid Şerhi]"

[35] Atsız has repeated one work (which he holds to be the translation into Arabic by Birgivi himself of his famous *Vasiyetnâme*) under a different title ("Risale-i Tevhîd") after mentioning it first under another title ("ilmihal kitabının Arapça tercümesi"). This treatise, which Arslan calls "er-Risaletu'l-i'tikâdiyye," is actually a misattribution, as this study shall show.

[36] Lekesiz is not exact when he says that Arslan's list consists of 58 works. This is because Lekesiz counts as one work, on the one hand, *Vasiyetnâme* and what Arslan (following Atsız) calls the translation of *Vasiyetname* into Arabic, and on the other hand *Inkâzu'l-hâlikin* and its translation into Turkish (see Lekesiz, *ibid*., pp. 61, 71, and note 1 on p. 53). But Arslan actually counted each of the above works as separate items. On the other hand, while *el-Emsiletu'l-Fazliyye* and its commentary (*Şerhu'l-Emsileti'l-Fazliyye*) occupy different items in Arslan's list, he reserves a single item for *Erba'în* and its commentary (*Şerh-i Erba'în*). If these, too, should be counted different works –as some manuscripts contain *Erba'în* and not the commentary of it- then the list becomes 61. Similarly, Arslan does not count as two different works *Risale-i ferâ'iz* and its commentary –due probably to the fact that there is no copy of this treatise independent of its commentary, as they are together in all manuscripts. We think it is wise to follow the lead of the manuscripts. Arslan also counts in his list of 60 works two *hâşiye*s, one for *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* and the other for *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*. These were also mentioned by Atsız, but as independent treatises and not as hâşiyes. Arslan, however, pointed out that they are not independent works but hâşiyes on *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* and *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*, but he nevertheless counted them in his list as independent items. One would expect that they should not have been counted as independent items in Arslan's list (his list should have shown 58 instead of 60 works –Lekesiz, following Arslan, counts the two *hâşiyes* as independent items; as does Huriye Martı). Actually the *hâşiyes* that Birgivi has penned on one or the other of these two works are far more than just two: we have identified about ten 'long' *hâşiyes* on these works, whose length is not less than half a page (some even comprise 3 to 4 folios), all of them having a mark ("*minhu*") indicating that they were composed by the author himself. Other than these 'long' hâyiyes, there are also numerous minor hâyiyes on *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* and *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*, as there are numerous other such *hâyiye*s on many others of Birgivi's works. Such minor *hâşiyes*, however, need not and should not be counted independently. Neither should the long *hâşiyes* on *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* and *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*. We will not mention these hâşiyes as separate works. However, one of the texts (Sül. K., Serez 3832, ff. 1b-3a) that was mentioned by Atsız and Arslan, and which the latter identified as a "hâşiye" on *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, we consider to be an independent work because it is different from other hâşiyes of *Îkazu'n-nâ'imîn* or *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*. This difference resides not only in the fact that, unlike other hâşiyes, its content and arguments are self-sufficient, but also in that it has an introduction, is preceded by a *besmele*, and comprises a byline, which gives it the structure of an independent work. Therefore we consider this text, which the author called "*Risâle li-isbâti 'ademi cevâzi kırâeti'l-Kur'ân bi'l-ücre*", to be another treatise by Birgivi in parallel with *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* and *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*.

works that he added to Atsız's list, Arslan indicates at least one copy for six works[37]. The remaining five works[38], however, for which he identified no copy, are ascriptions that he made with reference to other sources. Nihal Atsız had already given copies for all works in his list. So, all but five items in Arslan's list of 60 works had known extant copies. Huriye Martı identified a copy for one of the works for which Arslan identified no copy[39]. Therefore, of the 60 works attributed to Birgivi in Arslan's study only four items remain of which no copy is yet known.

On the other hand, Lekesiz has shown that one of the works that Arslan added to Atsız's list is not an independent work, but a section of another work of Birgivi[40]. Except for this, Lekesiz maintains that his own research certifies Arslan's list. Another correction came from Martı, who demonstrated that a work that was attributed to Birgivi by Atsız (and Arslan) does not actually belong to him[41]. So, after Martı and Lekesiz the list of Birgivi's works became 58 instead of 60.

The misattributions that have so far been identified in the modern literature on Birgivi consist in eight items. One was already identified by Atsız. Arslan, in addition to the three misattributions that he identified in Atsız's list, drew attention also to three other misattributions that he identified in other sources[42]. The final

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[37] (1) *Şerhu luğati-i Ferişteoğlu*, (2) *Risaletu sucûdi's-sehv*, (3) *Vesâyâ mute'allika bi'l-muhtadar ve'l-meyyit*, (4) *Ahsenu'l-kases*, (5) *Ğurrenâme*, and (6) *el-Emsiletu'l-Fazliyye*.

[38] (1) *Hâşiye ala şerhi'l-emsileti'l-fazliyye*; (2) *Ta'likât ale'l-İmtihân*, (3) A work in the manner of *emâlî*, (4) *Risale fi şerhi hadisi inneme'l-a'mâlu bi'n-niyât*, (5) *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în ve kâşifetu butlâni'l-mulhidîn*.

[39] *Dâmiğetu'l-mubtedi'în ve kâşifetu butlâni'l-mulhidîn*.

[40] What Arslan calls "Vesâya mute'allika bi'l-muhtadar ve'l-meyyit," is actually a part of Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme* which has been copied several times independent of the rest of the work.

[41] *el-İşrâk ve's-siyer*, or *İşrâku't-târîh*

[42] Atsız identified *el-Sihâh el-'Acemiyye*. Arslan identified the following ones: (1) *Ravdâtu'l-cennât fî usûli'l-i'tikadât*, (2) *Râhatu's-sâlihîn ve savâ'iku'l-munâfikîn*, (3) *Mesleku'l-i'tidâl ilâ fehmi âyeti halki'l-a'mâl*.

misattribution was the one detected by Martı. Following is a summary of the findings of the modern literature on the bibliography of Birgivi: 58 works (4 of which have no extant known copy) + 8 misattributions = 66 attributions in total (The two repetitions are excluded from this computation). It is from this point that the present study takes up. This study reduces the list of actual/certain works of Birgivi from about fifty-eight to thirty-five,[43] by

a) eliminating 10 of the works in this list as outright misattributions[44] (other than the 8 misattributions already identified in the literature),

b) designating 9 of the works in the list as 'doubtful attributions', whose Birgivi authorship is not certain[45],

c) excluding from the list the 4 attributions of which no extant copy is yet known (these, too, shall be counted among those works whose Birgivi authorship is doubtful), and

d) excluding also from the list the *hâşiye* on *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn* which should not be regarded as an independent work; and considering the other "hâşiye" (the one on *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*), to be an independent work.

Other than the works so far discussed in Birgivi studies, this study also identifies 25 new works that were attributed to Birgivi (ten of them in the manuscripts, fifteen in

[43] The same works may be counted as 34, 35 or 36 depending on whether such pairs of works as *Erbâ'în* and its commentary and *Ferâiz* and its commentary are counted as one or two works. Unlike Arslan, we prefer to refer to *Erbâ'în* and its commentary as two different works. *Ferâiz* and its commentary, on the other hand, we count as one work because the manuscripts do not have independent copies of each. (58-10-9-4-1=34; +1=35). Our list of Birgivi's works thus consists of 35 works (see below for details).

[44] These works are: (1) *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr*, (2) *Risâle fi'l-arâzi'l-uşriyye ve'l-harâciyye*, (3) *Risâle fi'l-musâfaha*, (4) *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî* (these belong to Ahmed Rûmî el-Akhisârî), (5) *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* (6) *Risâle fî ahvâli atfâli'l-muslimîn*, (7) *Şerhu şurût-i salât* (these three works belong to Yahya b. Nasûh b. İsrâ'îl), (8) *Risâle fî sucûdi's-sehv*, (9) *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în*; (10) *er-Risâletu'l-i'tikâdiyye* ("Arabic Translation supposedly of *Vasiyetnâme*").

[45] These works are: (1) *Mihakku's-sufiyye*, (2) *el-Makâmât*, (3) *Ahsenu'l-kases*, (4) *Rusûm-i mesâhif-i Osmâniye*, (5) *Nûru'l-ahyâ ve tuhfetu'l-emvât*, (6) *Tuhfetu'l-musterşidîn* (7) *el-Irşâd fi'l-'akâi'd ve'l-'ibâdât*, (8) *Şerhu âmentu*, (9) *Ğurrenâme*.

other sources), proving also that, of the ten that were attributed in the manuscripts 7 are misattributions[46], while finding the attribution of the remaining 3 manuscripts as 'doubtful'[47]. It also demonstrates that of the fifteen attributions made in other sources one is a misattribution[48], while attribution of fourteen of them remain uncertain[49]. (The number of misattributions thus becomes 27, that of 'doubtful attributions' 25, and that of attributions with no extant known copy 4).

The summary of the total attributions is: 35 works + 4 attributions with no copy + 25 doubtful attributions + 27 misattributions = 91. If we add to this the number of repeated countings (5), the total number of attributions becomes 96.

In addition to the attributions above that are grounded on manuscripts or other sources, we have discovered more than 15 misattributions to Birgivi in the online catalogue of İstanbul libraries. Together with these, the total number of works attributed to Birgivi exceeds 110. However, as we have pointed, only one third of them are works whose Birgivi authorship is certain.

Works of Birgivi (35 in total):

1- *ed-Durru'l-yetîm fi't-tecvîd*
2- *Tefsîru sûreteyi'l-Bakara ve'l-Fâtiha*
3- *Risâle fî usûli'l-hadîs*
4- *Erba'în*
5- *Şerhu Erba'în* (commentary on 7 traditions from his *Erbâ'în*)
6- *Kitâbu'l-îmân ve'l-istihsân*
7- *et-Tarîkatu'l-Muhammediyye ve's-sîretu'l-Ahmediyye*
8- *Vasiyetnâme* (= *Risâle-i Birgivi*) (in Turkish)

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[46] (1) *Ahlâk-ı Adudiyye*; (2) *el-Berâhînu'l-maneviyyetu'l-evleviyye*, (3) *Risâle fi'l-işâre bil-müsebbiha*, (4) *Mürşidu'l-müteehhilîn*, (5) *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-küfr*, (6) *Risâle fî te'dîbi's-sıbyân*, (7) *Risâle fî îmâni'l-mukallid*.

[47] (1) *Risâle fî şu'abi'l-îmân*, (2) *Risâle fi'l-îmân*, (3) *Risâle fî iskâti's-salât*.

[48] This is *Risâle fi't-teğannî ve hurmetihi ve vucûbi istimâ'il-hutbe* (attributed in *Keşfu'z-zunûn* and *Hediyyetu'l-ârifîn*).

[49] (1) *Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr*, (2) *Zâdu'l-mütezevvicîn*, (3) *Şerhu'd-Durri'l-yetîm*, (4) *Risale fî mâ şâ' ve dâ'*, (5) *Kitâbu ilm-i hâl-i mu'teber*, (6) *Muhtasaru'l-bidâye*, (7) Risâle-i cihâdiye, (8) Tercüme-i vasiyet-i Ali b. Ebu Talib, (9) er-Redd ale'ş-şî'a, (10); Risâle fi'l-ferâid ve'l-vâcibât, (11) Necâtu'l-ebrâr), (12) *el-Ekmel* and (13) *Risâle fî tefsîr-i kavlihi teâlâ "fa'lem ennehu lâilaheillallâh"*.

9- *Cilâu'l-kulûb*
10- *Zuhru'l-mute'ehhilîn ve'n-nisâ' fî ta'rîfi'l-athâri ve'd-dimâ'*
11- *Mu'addilu's-salât* (*=Ta'dîl-i erkân*)
12- *Ferâ'iz & its commentary*
13- *Ta'lîkât 'ale'l-'Inâye* (*=Hidâye hâşiyesi*)
14- *Ta'lîkât 'alâ Îzâhi'l-Islâh* (*=Hâşiye alâ Şerhi'l-Vikâye; Talikat ala Sadrişşerîa* [?])
15- *Risâle li-isbâti 'ademi cevâzi kırâeti'l-Kur'ân bi'l-ücre*
16- *Îkâzu'n-nâimîn*
17- *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn ve ifhâmu'l-kâsirîn*
18- *Tercumetu Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* (Turkish Translation of *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*)
19- *es-Seyfu's-sârim fî 'ademi cevâzi vakfi'l-menkûl ve'd-derâhim*
20- *Mektûb-i Birgivi*
21- *Fetvâs* (many in number, collected in one volume or descreete copies)
22- *Izhâru'l-esrâr fi'n-nahv*
23- *el-Avâmilu'l-cedîde fi'n-nahv*
24- *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ' fî şerhi Lubbi'l-elbâb*
25- *Ta'lîkât 'ale'l-Fevâidi'z-Ziyâ'iyye*
26- *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-Maksûd*
27- *Kifâyetu'l-mubtedî fi't-tasrîf*
28- *es-Sarfu'l-cedîd*
29- *el-Emsiletu'l-Fazliyye*
30- *Şerhu'l-Emsileti'l-Fazliyye*
31- *Risâle fî âdâbi'l-bahs ve'l-munâzara*
32- *Luğaz/Elğâz-ı Birgivi (= Risâletu't-tevhîd)*
33- *el-Kavlu'l-vasît beyne'l-ifrâti ve't-tefrît* (*= Risâle fî ihtimâmi emri'd-dîn*)
34- *Zuhru'l-mulûk* (*=Risâle fî medhi's-sultâni'l-'âdil*)
35- *Risâle fî tafdîli'l-ğaniyyi'ş-şâkir ale'l-fakîri's-sâbir*

Uncertain attributions (25+4=29) (the first three are identified for the first time in this study)

1- *Risâle fî iskâti's-salât*
2- *Beyânu şu'abi'l-îmân*
3- *Risâle fi'l-îmân*
4- *Şerhu Âmentü*
5- *Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr*
6- *Nûru'l-ahyâ (ve tuhfetu'l-emvât)*
7- *Kitâbu'l-irşâd (=el-Irşâd fi'l-akâid ve'l-ibâdât)*
8- *Tuhfetu'l-musterşidîn fî beyâni firaki'l-müslimîn*
9- *Ahsenu'l-kases*
10- *Rusûm-i mesâhif-i Osmâniye*
11- *Ğurrenâme*
12- *Mihakku's-sûfiyye* (*Mihakku'l-mutasavvifîn*)
13- *el-Makâmât*
14- *Zâdu'l-mütezevvicîn*
15- *Şerhu'd-Dürri'l-yetîm*
16- *Risâle fi'l-ferâid ve'l-vâcibât*
17- *Kitâbu ilm-i hâl-i mu'teber der 'akâid-i Islâm*
18- *Muhtasaru'l-bidâye*
19- *Risâle-i cihâdiye*

*20- Tercüme-i vasiyet-i Ali b. Ebi Talib*
*21- er-Redd ale'ş-şî'a*
*22- Risâle fîmâ şâ' we dâ' bi-'ilmi'l-Kurân*
*23- Necâtu'l-ebrâr*
24- *el-Ekmel*
*25- Risâle fî tefsîr-i kavlihi teâlâ "fa'lem ennehu lâilaheillallâh"*

Works of which no extant copy is known (4)

*26- Hâşiye ala Şerhi'l-Emsileti'l-Fazliyye*
*27- Ta'likât ale'l-Imtihân*
*28-* A work in the manner of *emâlî,*
*29- Risale fî şerhi hadîsi inneme'l-a'mâlu bi'n-niyât*

Mis-attributions (mostly in manuscripts) (27)

(Eight (the first eight) were already identified as misattributions in the literature; ten (the next ten) are determined in this study to be misattributions, which the literature so far regarded as works of Birgivi; nine (the last nine) are attributions that are newly discovered by this study and are shown to be misattributions)

1- *es-Sihâhu'l-'Acemiyye*
2- *el-Işrâk ve's-siyer (Işrâku't-târîh)*
3- *Tercumetu ed-Durretu'l-multekata*
4- *Risâle fî vezâifi nevâfili'l-'ibâdât (Du'ânâme, Evrâd-ı Birgivi)*
5- *Tevhid Şerhi* (*Şerh-i luğaz-i Birgivi*)
6- *Ravdâtu'l-cennât fî usûli'l-i'tikâdât*
7- *Râhatu's-sâlihîn ve savâ'iku'l-munâfikîn*
8- *Mesleku'l-i'tidâl ilâ fehmi âyeti halki'l-a'mâl*
9- *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr* (*er-Reddu'l-kabriyye*; *Muntehabu Iğâseti'l-lehfân*)
10- *Risâle fi'l-arâzi'l-'uşriyye ve'l-harâciyye*
11- *Risâle fi'l-musâfaha*
12- *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî*
13- *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu*
14- *Risâle fî ahvâli atfâli'l-muslimîn*
15- *Şerhu şurûti's-salât*
16- *Risâle fî sucûdi's-sehv*
17- *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în ve kâşifetu butlâni'l-mulhidîn.*
18- *er-Risâletu'l-i'tikâdiyye* (Arabic Translation of *Vasiyetnâme*)
19- *el-Berâhînu'l-ma 'neviyyetu'l-evleviyye alâ fıski'l-Mevleviyyeti'd-dünyeviyye*
20- *Risâle fi'l-işâre bi'l-müsebbiha hâle't-teşehhüd*
21- *Murşidu'l-mute'ehhilîn*
22- *Zâdu'l-mütezevvicîn fî şerhi Zuhri'l-müteehhilîn*
23- *Elfâzu'l-kufr*
24- *Te'dîbu's-sıbyân*
25- *Ahlâk-ı Adûdiyye*
26- *Risâle fî îmâni'l-mukallid (=Risâle-i taklîdiyye)*
27- *Risâle fi't-teğannî ve hurmetihi ve vucûbi istimâ'il-hutbe*

(91 + over 15 attributions in the catalogue + 5 repetitions > 110)

# CHAPTER II

# WORKS MISATTRIBUTED TO BIRGIVI

## Introduction

More than forty works have been attributed to Birgivi Mehmed Efendi, which, as we shall show in this chapter, were not actually written by him. These mis-attributions shall be presented and discussed in three sections, representing three groups to which they are classified. The first group consists of works that were attributed to Birgivi in the manuscripts themselves –either in the copyists' notes, or, as in three instances, in insertions made to the main text by manipulation on bylines- or that were attributed to him in contemporary or near-contemporary sources, such as *Keşfu'z-zunûn 'an esmâ'i'l-kutub ve'l-funûn*, the famous bibliographical work of Katip Çelebi (d.1067/1657-8). There are 23 works discussed in this group. The second group consists of a few misattributions that have occurred in Ottoman sources of later date or in modern studies. Some repeated enumerations that occurred in Ottoman or modern sources are also considered under this group. The thifrd group consists of works that were attributed to Birgivi in library catalogues: while some of these works are known for sure to be works of other authors, others are works whose author we could not identify, but about whose Birgivi authorship there is no evidence in the manuscripts themselves or in the sources. There are more than 15 works in this group. The combined number of mis-attributions discussed in all groups exceeds 45. Almost all of the works in the third group are being considered for the first time in this study. A few of the misattributions of the first two groups, however, have

already been accounted for in modern studies, but most of them are brought into light for the first time in this study.

## Misattributions in the Manuscripts and Early Sources

### Ottoman Manuscript Culture and the Question of the Identity of Texts

It is acknowledged by anyone who has worked for some time on Ottoman manuscripts, that Ottoman manuscript culture of late sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, presumably not unlike that of other societies, was not always accurate about identity of texts in circulation. A factor behind this looseness was, arguably, the dominant view in Islamic culture that humility, a desired quality pursued by every good believer, requires abandonment of self-promotion and evasion of self-aggrendizement[50]. An author might have considered it improper and involving self-aggrendizement to sign his name to the work that he composed. Therefore, his work would pass on without his name inscribed on it. This would facilitate not only later claims to the text, but also attribution to the author, especially if he is an authoritative figure, of text that he did not compose. But this religio-cultural attitude can only partially explain the situation. Another factor was the peculiarities of the "manuscript culture" which dominated Ottoman literary culture for most of the history of the Empire. In manuscript culture, texts would have circulated under conditions quite

[50] For a discussion of the tension in Islamic culture between autobiographical writing and self-aggrandizement see Dwight F. Reynolds (ed.) *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition* (Berkley, MA and London: University of California Pres, 2001), pp. 1-103.

different from those of print culture[51]. Hand-copied, every manuscript was unique in its production, and bore the intimacy of the copyist or scribe who produced it. This peculiarity of manuscripts has had its effect both on the identity of the circulating text and on how it was received. Any copied text would assume the identity assigned to it by the copyist, as is examplified by many texts that have made their way into modern times as works of Birgivi, but which were not written by him.

As we noted before, modern studies on Birgivi have problematized some of these attributions. Not all misattributions, however, waited for the modern period to be accounted for. Already in the beginning of the twelfth/eighteenth century a curious Ottoman reader who doubted Birgivi's authorship of a text attributed to him in a manuscript, made a gesture of it to future readers. This reader, probably one of the holders of the collective volume --compiled in Medine between 1113-1116 (1701-1705) and comprising, among other writings, a number of texts by Birgivi[52]--, questions Birgivi's authorship of a text on morals in a note that he wrote down on the margins of this text. The text was attributed to Birgivi, probably by the initial compiler, in the handlist preceding the volume[53]. In his discussion, this Ottoman reader quotes from Katip Çelebi's *Keşfu'z-zunûn* to demonstrate why he doubts Birgivi's authorship of the work. (There are other examples of such critical notes in Ottoman manuscripts, some of them, in a similar vein, with reference to *Keşfu'z-*

[51] For concepts of *print culture* and *script culture* see Elisabeth L. Eisenstein. *The Printing Pres as an Agent of Change, Communications and Cultural Tarnsformations in Early-Modern Europe*, (Cambridge University Pres, 1979), pp. 1-159.

[52] This reader is probably es-Seyyid Muhammed b. es-Seyyid Şeref b. es-Seyyid İbrahim who owned the volume in Cumadelula of 1128 (1716) (See the owner's note in MS Sül. K., Esad Efendi 3589, at the end of the handlist on f.9a. The copyist of the volume gives his name in a colophone at the end of a text (f.35a) copied in 1113: Ali b. Süleyman b. Muhammed el-Kayserî then el-Medenî. ff.1-8 of the volume are later additions, as are the ff. 99-106. The original MS comprises ff.9a-98b.

[53] *Risale fi'l-ahlâk*, ff. 95a-98b, no colophon. The note is recorded at the upper and left margins of the same folio on which the text commences (95a). He has also drawn attention to this critical note in a second note he attached to the relevent title in the handlist (9a). See also this handlist for the attribution of the work to Birgivi.

*zunûn* –see, for instance, the discussion on *Şerhu şurûti's-salât* below). Actually the author of *Keşfu'z-zunûn* ascribes the treatise on morals to Adududdin el-Îcî (d.750/1349-50). But our reader suspects this attribution too, when he argues that "By this explanation, it has become clear that the work is not of Birgivi's authorship; as for Îcî's authorship, this too is dubious (*iştibâh*), and needs consultation of the original text (nefsi'l-kitâb)". This is because, he argues, Katip Çelebi neither quoted the words in which the text opens, nor did he describe the proper order of the text. Verily, although it is a habit of Katip Çelebi in his seminal bibliographical work either to quote the beginning of, or sufficiently describe, the text which he handles, he does not quote the opening of this treatise, even if he describes its contents, which the reader found inadequate in determining the identity of the text. The treatise is actually a work by Îcî, as is attested by many other manuscripts[54]. The critical approach of this reader has let him not only to determine a mis-attribution, but also to correctly, if prudently, identify the authorship of the text. He could have well failed, this is not what concerns us here. What interests us is the more general point which this example underscores, namely, that there did exist in the Ottoman literary culture a degree of critical attention to the identity of the circulating text. Or rather, what this qualification underlines is that accurate establishment of the identity of any given text would depend on the literary-intellectual profile of the audience of that text and of its author.

Birgivi was a popular author in both senses of the word: a look at the subjects on which he wrote will show that the readership which this sixteenth century scholar addressed was not only the educated elite, but also the less-literate and the populace at large. He was also popular in the sense that his works were read and copied en-

[54] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/37. For some copies of the work, see Sül. K., Laleli 3719 (275b-277a); Hacı Mahmud Ef. 5851 (111b ff).

masse. Many copies of his works on Arabic grammar, presumably multiplied by initiates, and many copies of *Vasiyetnâme*, the famous catechistical work (ilmihâl) that he penned in ordinary Turkish, obviously copied by readers who were hardly "literate", are in poor conditions. Existence among Birgivi readership of a low profile may account also for some mis-attributions. Actually it has been argued that the Ottomans of "the distinctly unlearned seventeenth century", "from Sultan and Grand Vezir to courtier, scribe and foot soldier", "were often quite ignorant in general terms, and even unschooled in their own posts."[55] This insertion may be questioned, but even if true, it does not explain the misattributions that were made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nor were all mis-attributions made by the illiterate: a copyist, who falsely attributed to Birgivi a text that he copied, as we shall see, was a Kadı of Arabgir[56]. So, if the previous example showed that the abundancy of misattributions to Birgivi in manuscripts can not be explained by a lack of "critical spirit"[57] in the Ottoman learned culture, this example shows that the phenomenon can not be explained by insufficient literacy either. There must be something else.

Birgivi was not only popular, but also polemical. He had many polemics with his contemporaries, notably with Şeyhulislam Ebussuud Efendi (d.982/1574), the head of the religious establishment and the grand mufti of the Süleymanic age[58]. Despite this fact, however, it is dubious whether Birgivi was that controversial scholar which he was posthumously made by the Kadızadelis who, appealing to his works in the search for support to their selefi-minded reform program, made

[55] Madeline Zilfi. *The Politics of Piety: The Otoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800).* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), pp.117 and 228.

[56] See the discussion on *el-Berâhînu'l-ma'neviyye* below.

[57] I borrow the term from Rosenthal, who uses it in another context. Rosenthal, Franz. *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*. (Rome, 1947).

[58] *es-Seyfu's-sârim* and *Mektûb-iBirgivî* are composed as rebuttals to Ebussuud. For these works see Chapter IV.

Birgivi's name a rallying point for their cause. Long after he passed away, this sixteenth sentury scholar was situated in the middle of a fight that, throughout the seventeenth century, went on between the Kadızadelis and the Sufis. Put in the limelight, his name became a subject of disputation on its own right. His authority was challenged by the Sufis, who penned refutations on his works; but Kadızadelis pushed for and succeeded in securing from the mufti a writing to sanction Birgivi as a canonical authority[59]. It is no surprise, then, that new works should be attributed to such a figure.

In summary, the abundancy of misattributions to Birgivi may be explained partly by Islamic emphasis on humility, partly by the peculiarity of manuscript culture where every manuscript was uniquely produced, partly by the "popular" character of Birgivi, and, no doubt, partly by the controversies he was posthumously drawn into and the authoritative position he was subsequently accorded. Determination of the works that were misattributed to Birgivi not only helps develop an understanding of how texts would function in an interesting period of the history of the Ottoman Empire; it also enables us to inquire in how the fate of a controversial Ottoman scholar was affected by such mis-attributions. For, as shall be seen below, at least some of the works that were falsely attributed to Birgivi have profoundly affected the way Birgivi's intellectual portrait was, and still is, envisioned.

1) *el-Sihâh el-'Acemiyye*

In the field of modern studies on Birgivi, it was Nihal Atsız who first drew attention to a faulty attribution. Atsız shows that *el-Sihâh el-'Acemiyye*, which Katib Çelebi

[59] For a detailed account of the event see Na'îma Mustafa Efendi (d.1128/1716). *Tarih-i Na'îma: Ravzatu'l-Hüseyn fi Hulâsati Ahbâri'l-Hâfikayn*. Edited and transliterated by.Mehmet İpşirli. (Ankara: TTK, 2007), pp. 1434 ff.; Katip Çelebi (d.1067/1657-8). *Fezleke-i Tarih* (*Fezleke-i Katib Çelebi*) I-II. (İstanbul, Ceride-i Havadis Mat., 1287 h.); vol. II, p. 383. See also the discussion on the Kadızadeli movement in Chapter IV.

ascribed to Birgivi in *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, cannot be of Birgivi's authorship because one of the copies of this lexicon (Süleymaniye Ktp., MS. İsmihan Sultan 424) is dated 913, sixteen years before Birgivi's birth[60]. Actually, in *Keşfu'z-zunun* Katip Çelebi has opened two successive entries concerning this lexicon, the first being *el-Sihâh el-'Acem*, which he attributes to Hinduşah en-Nahçivânî as well as to Yahya el-Emiri er-Rumi el-Kureşi, and the second being *Sihah el-'Acemiyye*, which he attributes to Birgivi[61]. Katip Çelebi quotes the beginning line of the work that he attributes to Birgivi, which is the same as the words in which MS Ismihan Sultan 424 opens[62]. For the work he attributed to Hinduşah Nahçivânî, however, Çelebi does not provide the beginning words, but, in his description of the work, he does quote, with some paraphrase, the author's words concerning the reason why he composed the work and why he called it like that. This loose quotation makes clear that he is actually speaking, in both entries, about one and the same work. So, Katip Çelebi has ascribed the same work once to Hinduşah Nahçivani and once to Birgivi. The work was also counted among Birgivi's works by Carl Brockelmann[63].

In an article that was published in 1997, O.F. Akimushkin discusses the question of the authorship of *Sihah el-'Acemiyye*, and shows, by evidence of a copy

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[60] Atsız, Nihal. *Istanbul Kütüphanelerine Göre Birgili Mehmed Efendi (929-981 = 1523-1573) Bibliyografyası*. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966), p. 2. This is a verified information: the colophon on the last folio (115a) reveals the mentioned date quite legibly.

[61] Katip Çelebi (1067/1657-8). *Keşfu'z-zunûn 'an esmâi'l-kutub ve'l-funûn* I-II. Edited by Kilisli Rifat Bilge and Şerafettin Yaltkaya. (İstanbul: MEB, 1971 [1941-43/1360-62]): vol. II, p. 1074. Martı reports that *Hediyetü'l-arifin* also repeats the same attribution (Bagdadi, *Hediyetu'l-Arifin*, II, 252). See: Huriye Martı. *Birgivi Mehmed Efendi*. (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2008), p.119.

[62] Çelebi quotes: "*el-hamdu lillâhi'l-lezî elhemena'l-luğâti vel-'ibârâti* ilh." The opening lines of İsmihan Sultan 424 are difficult to read, but from other copies of the work (f.e., Sül. K.,Saliha Hatun 162) we can see that it reads like this: "*elhamdu lillâhi'llezî elhemena'l-luğâti ve'l-'ibârâti… ve ba'du fe-lemmâ re'eytu eksere'l-kutubi'l-mu'tebereti musannefâti'l-meşayihi'l-mehereti mudevveneten bi-luğati'l-fârisiyyi… ve semmeytuhu bi's-Sihâhi'l-'Acemiyyeti li-kevnihi alâ uslûbi's-Sihâhi'l-'arabiyyeti…*".

[63] Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (GAL)* II, (Leiden, E.J.Brill, 1949), p. 585, no 24.

of the work that comprises the colophon by the author, hat the disputation over the authorship of this historical lexicon –which, he says, is "probably one of the oldest surviving Persian-Oğhûz (Azerbaijanian) dictionaries"- has been resolved in favor of Hinduşâh Nahçivânî, who composed it at the end of Zulhicce 677 (May 1279)[64].

2) *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* (or *Firişteoğlu*)

The fact that A. Turan Arslan attributes to Birgivi another lexicographic work, that is, a commentary (*şerh*)[65] made on Ferişteoğlu's Arabic-Turkish lexicon (*Luğat-i Ferişteoğlu*)[66], may lead one to think that Katip Çelebi, who made no mention of *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* in his *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, might have actually had this commentary in mind when he ascribed to Birgivi the work discussed above. But *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* is not of Birgivi's authorship either. There is, indeed, at the beginning of the copy mentioned by Arslan (MS Darulmesnevi 569) a note which

[64] Akimushkin, O.F. "On the date of al-Sihah al-Ajamiyya's composition," *Manuscripta Orietalia* 3/2 (1997), pp. 31-32 (available online in: http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/articles/Akimushkin-1997-MO-03-2-Date-Sihah.PDF).

[65] Arslan mentions a single copy of this work: Sül. K., Darulmesnevi 569. See: Ahmet Turan Arslan. *Imam Birgivi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Arapça Tedrisatındaki Yeri*. (Istanbul: Seha Neşriyat, 1992), p. 84. See also Martı, *ibid*, p. 113-114.

[66] Ferişteoğlu's lexicon, on which the commentary is made, is a rhyming dictionary of Koranic vocabulary, in Turkish, which begins in the following words: *"Hamd sâbittir ol Allaha ki âlemi ulemâ ile bezetdi, inâyet nazarıyla gönüllerin gözetdi, ... bundan sonra Ferişteoğlu Abdullatif ... eydür çün oğlum oğli Abdurrahman ... luğat okumağa yaklaşdi, benden âna yâdigar bir risâle nazm itdüm, müst'amel-i luğâtı cem' idüben Kur'ân luğâtın anda derc kıldum, ..."* (Sül. K., Esad Efendi 3258). The author of this dictionary, who gives his name as Ferişteoğlu Abdullatif, is also known as İbn Melek (the Arabic of the Persian-Turkish compound Ferişteh-oğlu). His full name is Ferişteoğlu İzzeddin Abdullatif b. Abdulaziz, from Tire (d. after 821/1418). Several men from the same family, who seem to have penned lexicographic works, have been confused with each other. For details See Akün, Ömer Faruk. "Firishte-Oghlu", *EI2*, vol. II, pp. 923-924; Aksu, Hüsamettin. "Firişteoğlu, Abdülmecid", *DİA* 13, pp. 134-135; Baktır, Mustafa. "İbn Melek", *DİA* 20, pp. 175-176; Cf. Taşköprüzade (d. 968/1561). *eş-Şekâ'iku'n-Nu'maniye, fî 'ulemâ'i'd-Devleti'l-Osmâniye*. Annotated edition by Ahmed Subhi Furat. (İstanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985); p. 45; Mecdi Mehmed Efendi (d.1000/1591). *Hadâ'iku'ş-şakâ'ik* (translation of *eş-Şekâ'ik*). Edited by Abdülkadir Özcan. (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989); pp.66-67.

attributes the work to Birgivi[67]. However, another manuscript copy of the same work is dated 953, which makes Birgivi's authorship difficult, though not impossible[68]. Although this commentary has been presented as a rare work[69], there are actually numerous other copies of it[70], none of which, however, names an author. A postscript concerning the abbreviations used in the commentary, however, takes place at the end of virtually all copies, which, in all but one copy, is preceded also by a phrase that may be considered to indicate the author. This phrase, which significantly misses from the MS that attributes the work to Birgivi (MS Darulmesnevi 569), reads as follows: "The contemptible slave Yahya b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl said…"[71]. This may simply indicate Yahya b. Nasûh's authorsihp of the postscript, but it is equally legitimate to consider this phrase as a hint to the author also of the commentary –as has been so considered by Schmidt[72].

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[67] Sül. K., Darulmesnevi 569. The note reads (f.1a): "*Ferişteoğlu luğatini Birgili Muhammed Efendi merhum şerh idüp cemî-i müşkilâtı hall idüp ve hatâ olan mahalleri beyân etmişdir, rahmetullâhialeyhi...*"

[68] Sül. K., İzmir 650, *ff*. 2a-64a. The colophon on f. 64a reads: "*târih sene 953, tahrîren fî evâhiri şehri Muharrem*". Whether this colophon belongs to the copyist or to the author is not clear, but, regarding that it misses from other manuscripts, we take it to be the copyist's. In that case, the work must have been written before Muharrem (the first month) of 953. Could it be a work of Birgivi? Chronologically speaking, it is possible, though not likely, if we consider that Birgivi wrote his *İm'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-Maksûd* (which is probably, as Arslan states, his first work) "in 952 when my age was 23". (See Birgivi's colophon at the end of *İm'ânu'l-enzâr* in Sül. K., Erzincan 96, *ff*. 55b-79a –copied by Muhammed b. Ibrahim in 1177).

[69] See: Jan Schmidt. *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, vols. I-III ( Leiden: 2000); vol. II, p. 149-150. Only two copies of the work seem to exist, Schmidt asserts, one being the copy in Leiden (Cod.Or.1561) on which he comments, the other in Cairo. It is clear that Schmidt depends on Brockelmann (*GAL*, S II, p.630) in his contention.

[70] See, f.e.: Sül. K., İzmir 650 and 774, İbrahim Efendi 403, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 5469, Denizli 6, and others.

[71] "*Kâle'l-'abdu'z-zelîl Yahyâ b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl, mâ vaka'a fî hâzihi'r-risâle min zikri m fe'l-murâdu bihi Muhtaru's-sihâh*….". See: Sül. K., İzmir 650 and others. In MS Darulmesnevi 596 the note begins like this: "*Mâ vaka'a fî hâzihi'r-risâle min zikri m fe'l-murâdu bihi*…."

[72] Schmidt, *ibid*, v.II, p. 149.

Brockelmann counts among the works of Yahya b. Nasûh a work titled "*Ad-Durr an-nazîm şarh R. fi'l-luğa li-'abda'l-aziz b. Firişte*"[73], which Schmidt considers as another name for *Şerhu luğati Ferişte*hoğlu. But the indication in Brockelmann of the author of the commented lexicon as Abdülaziz b. Firişte instead of Abdüllatif b. Abdülaziz b. Firişte –the latter being the author of the lexicographic text commented by Yahya b. Nasuh- must cause suspicion about the above identity. This may actually be the reflection of a common confusion resulting from the fact that a number of people of the Ferişte hoğlu family have penned lexicographic works[74]. A similar confusion is reflected in the fact that some of the manuscript copies of the commentary (şerh) that Yahya b. Nasuh made on Ferişte hoğlu Abdüllatif b. Abdülaziz's lexicon are indicated in the online catalogue as a commentary (*Şerh*) on *Kânûni'l-luğati'l-ilâhî*,[75] another lexicon composed by a third Ferişte hoğlu[76].

Evidence supporting Yahya b. Nasûh's authorship of *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* comes from another work of him, that is, a commentary he made on *el-'Avâmilu'l-mi'e* by Abdulkâhir b. Abdurrahmân el-Curcânî (d. 471/1078-79). This commentary[77], like the commentary on Ferişte hoğlu's lexicon, has a long

[73] Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (GAL)*, Supplement II, (Leiden, E.J.Brill, 1938), p. 630.

[74] See footnote 66 above.

[75] See fe.: Sül. K., İzmir 650, and 774; Hacı Mahmud Efendi 5469, and Darulmesnevi 569.
[76] *Kanun-i Lüğat-i İlâhî* is a work by another Ferişte hoğlu, most likely Firişteoğlu Abdülmecid (d.864/1459). See Akün, Ömer Faruk. "Firishte-Oghlu", *EI2*, vol. II, pp. 923-924; Aksu, Hüsamettin. "Firişteoğlu, Abdülmecid", *DİA* 13, pp. 134-135; Baktır, Mustafa. "İbn Melek", *DİA* 20, pp. 175-176.

[77] On Curcânî's *Avâmil* see Katip Çelebi, *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1179. Çelebi mentions among the commentaris of Curcânî's work the one made by Yahyâ b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl, whose beginning he quotes as: "*teveccehnâ ilâ cenâbike* ilh". Manuscript copies of this commentary begin in these very words. (Earliest dated copy identified of the work is: Sül. K., Laleli 3347, ff. 1b-46b, dated on Rebiulahır 1037/1627-28). See also Brockelmann, *GAL*, Supplement II, p. 630. Curcani's *Avâmil* had been the common textbook in Ottoman *medrese*s before Birgivi wrote his own *Avâmil*, which would be known as *Avâmil-i cedîd* or *Avâmil-i Birgivî*. After Birgivi wrote this book, it fell on a par with Curcani's work. It is interesting in this respect that Katip Çelebî (d. 1067/1658) makes no mention of Birgivi's *Avamil* in his *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, which may lead one to think that Birgivi's work had not by that time gained a strong hold in the curricula. But this conclusion is not sound because it contradicts with the fact that *Avâmil-i Birgivi* was commented several times before Katip Çelebi. Indeed, Çelebi

introduction. The remarkable stylistic similarities between the introductions of these two commentaries leave no doubt that they are products of the same pen.[78] The commentary on *'Avâmil* is written in honor of "Sultan Mustafa", son of Sultan Süleyman, who, it is understood, had been student to the author[79]. The author gives

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himself mentions one of these commentaries, but, quite interestingly, recounts it among the commentaries of Curâni's *Avâmil*. This commentary is *Lemhü'l-mesaili'n-nahviye fî şerhi'l-Avâmili'l-Birgiviyye*, a work attributed to Yahya b. Bahşî (or Yahşi), on whose date of death sources vary [The following dates have been proposed as his date of death: 840 (*Hediyyetu'l-Arifîn*, II/530 and *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/200), 900 (*Hediyyetu'l-Arifîn*, II/530), 910/1504 (Baltacı, Cahit. *Osmanlı Medreseleri: XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda*, I-II. (İstanbul: İFAV, 2005), v.I, p. 258) and, the beginning of the tenth century (Taşköprüzade, *Şekâik-i Numaniyye*, p. 333; Mecdî, *Hadâiku'ş-şakâik*, p. 343; Keşfu'z-zunûn, II/2023). But if this Yahya b. Bahşi has commented on a work of Birgivi, who was born in 929 and first produced in 952, then none of the above dates can be true. Or, alternatively, the attribution of *Lemhu'l-mesâ'il* to Yahya b. Bahşi is a mistake]. Katip Çelebi, of course, does not give the full title of the work; he simply states that a commentary on the work was made by Yahya b. Bahşi, and gives te beginning of this commentary, which reads: "*inne ahsene ma yuftetahu bihi'l-kelamu* ilh" (See: *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1179). Manuscript copies of *Lemhu'l-mesâ'il* (f.e., Yazma Bağışlar 6091, ff. 1-24, dated 1117; Yazma Bağışlar 415, dated 1161) begin in these same words. The commentator does not mentino his own name. He mentions, however, the author of the original text: Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi. Actually the author of the commentary explicitly states that he is commenting on Birgivi's work: "*fe lemma kâne kitâbu'l-'Avâmil li'l-imâm el-'âlim el-'âmil … Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgîvi…*". Unlike Çelebi, Bağdatlı does give the full title: *Lemhul-mesailin-nahviyye fi şerhi Avamilil-Birgiviyye* (See *Hediyyetu'l-Arifîn*, II/530). Yahya b. Bahşi and his work should not be confused with Yahya b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl and his work: both authors have a commentary on *Avâmil*, but the former's commentary is on Birgivi's *Avâmil*, while the latter's is on Curcânî's. (Such a confusion has occurred from both sides: Just as Katip Çelebi counted Yahya b. Bahşi's commentary on Birgivi's *Avâmil* among the commentaries of Curcani's *Avâmil*, a manuscript copy of Yahya b. Nasûh's commentary on Curcânî's *Avâmil* (Köprülü K., M.Asım Bey 584, ff. 113-151) has been catalogued as a commentary of Birgivi's *Avâmil* ).

[78] Following are some of the phrases occurring in introduction parts of the two works (the first of the pairs is from *Şerhu luğati Ferişteho*ğlu): "*…ve ba'du fe-inne'ş-şeyh fâdile'z-zamân tağammadahu'llâhu bi'r-rahmeti ve'r-ridwân*" vs. "*kâle'ş-şeyh fâdilu'z-zamân tağammadahu'llâhu bi'r-rahmeti ve'r-ridwân*"; "*ve şara'tu bi'n-nâziri'l-kelîl ve'l-hâtiri'l-'alîl*" vs. "*ve ba'du fe-yekûlul-abduz-zelîl Yahya b. Nasûh b. İsrâ'îl… bil-lisânil-kelîl vel-cinâni'l-alîl*"; "*rahime'llâhu men semi'a hâzâ ve kâle âmîn*" vs. "*rahime'l-lâhu li-men kâle âmîn*"; "*râciyen mimmen cubile tab'uhu ale'l-insâf ve 'usime mine't-ta'assubi ve'l-i'tisâf … fe-inne terke'l-isâ'eti min ihvâni'z-zamân nihâyetu mâ yutemennâ 'indehum mine'l-ihsân*" vs. "*se'eltu mine'l-ezkiyâ'i'l-mutehallîne bi-huliyyi'l-insâf el-mutekhallîne 'an rezâleti'l-bağyi ve'l-i'tisâf, … fe-inne terke'l-isâ'eti min ihvâniz-zamân nihâyetu mâ yutemennâ minel-ihsân*".

[79] "*… hediyyeten minnî ilâ el-mahdûm el-mu'azzam mine't-tullâb, …a'nî bihi es-Sultân ibn es-Sultân es-Sultân Mustafâ b. es-Sultân Süleymân Hân, …*" (Murad Buhari 275, f. 59b). Sultan Mustafa must be Şehzade Mustafa, the eldest son of Süleyman I (r. 927-974 / 1520-1566 ) to survive childhood. Born of Mahidevran Hatun in 1515 (920-21), he was a popular prince with extraordinary talent as statesman and soldier, and much loved by the janissaries and the people. He was considered as heir apparent. Unfortunately for him, however, in 960/1553, at age of 38, he was executed by order of his father on charges of planning a coup. He was strangled in the imperial tent near Konya when he came with his forces, as the Sancakbeyi of Amasya, to join the imperial army which had set for a campaign to the East. Sources blame Hürrem Sultan (Roxelana), Kanuni's younger and favorite wife, and her son-in-law Damad Rüstem Paşa, of conspiring against Mustafa in order to secure the throne for Hürrem's own descent For more information see: Leslie Peirce. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. (NY: Oxford Un. Press, 1994.); pp. 55-56, 79-86; Caroline Finkel. *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*. (NY: Basic Books, 2006); pp. 130-133;

his own name, in the introduction of the work, as Yahya b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl[80]. Irrespective of when Yahya b. Nasûh might have lived[81], there is definitely some point which he shares with Birgivi Mehmed Efendi. This is because he wrote the commentary on *'Avâmil-i Curcani* in the town of Birgi, as he informs in the introduction. It is plausible, therefore, that he too might have been known with the designation "Birgivi", the reason probably why he was confused with Mehmed Birgivi. Again in the introduction of *Şerhu'l-'Avâmili'l-Curcânî* Yahya b. Nasûh praises the town of Birgi citing Koranic verses that describe the beauty of heaven. Interestingly, the words of praise used for Birgi here[82] are the same as the words of praise reserved for the same town at the beginning of *Risâle fî ahvâli etfâli'l-muslimîn*[83], another work that is attributed to Birgivi Mehmed Efendi in the

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139-142; Colin Imber. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power*. (NY: Palgrave, 2002); pp. 89-92; 103-107.

[80] See the byline in the introduction of the following manuscripts: Sül. K., Laleli 3347 (ff. 1b-46b), Hafid Efendi 397, and Murad Buhari 275 (ff. 59b-85b). In one copy of the work, however, the author's name is given as Yahyâ b. Nasûh b. Esvîre, which must be a mistake on the part of the copyist (See: Kılıç Ali Paşa 944).

[81] For a discussion on his identity see below.

[82] "*…ve ibtede'tu hâzihil-evrâke fi mahrûse-i Birgi ellezî huve lâyikun bi'l-iftihâr, kemâ huve'l-muhtâru 'inde'l-ebrâr, ve ke-cennetin tecrî min tahtihe'l-enhâr, hâlidîne fîhâ ebeden fe-ni'me 'ukbe'd-dâr, ve hatemtuhâ fi mahrûse-i Çoka, ellezî huve misâlul-cenneti'n-na'îm, ve beldetun tayyibetun ve makâmun kerîm, inne hâza le-huve'l-fevzu'l-'azîm, ve-lâ yukezzibu bihî illâ kullu mu'tedin esîm, hamâhallâhuteâla el-âfâte ilâ yevmi'l-kıyâm, ve hafîze ehlehâ ani'n-nukebâti ilâ haşri'n-niyâm…*".

[83] For *Risâle fî ahvâli etfâli'l-muslimîn* see below. The words in question are: "*…hattâ enahtu bi-mahrûseti Birgi, elletî hiye lâyikatun bi'l-iftihâr, kemâ huve'l-muhtâru 'inde'l-ebrâr, ve ke-cennetin tecrî min tahtiha'l-enhâr, hâlidîne fîhâ ebeden ve ni'me 'ukbe'd-dâr, hamâhallâhuteâla ani'l-âfâti ilâ yevmi'l-kıyâmeti ve hafize ehlehâ ani'n-nukebâti ilâ haşri'n-niyâm, fe veka'a fîhâ vefâtu ibnî ve kurretu 'aynî Muhammed el-Halîm…*" (See: Sül. K., Pertevniyal 477, *ff*. 409-429). If these two works should not be products of the same pen, then it follows that one of the two Birgivi's had the work of the other before him when writing these words. Whom that was would depend on who wrote first. Unfortunately, however, the exact composition date of neither work is known to us. Nevertheless, of the two Birgivis it would be Mehmed Efendi who took from Yahya b. Nasûh and not vice versa, because the latter's *Şerhu'l-avamil* was written no later than 960/1553 (the year Şehzade Mustafa was strangled), while Birgivi could have written *ahvâlu etfâli'l-muslimîn* –if we say, of course, that it belongs to him- only after his advent to Birgi, which happened around 971/1563 (see: Arslan, *ibid*, pp. 32-33; Martı, *ibid*, pp. 39-40).

literature. There are other common points[84] between the introduction of *Ahvâlu etfâli'l-muslimîn* and the introductions of Yahya b. Nasûh's two works that were

[84] Compare the following statements with those quoted above from *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* and *Şehru avâmili Curcani*: "rahimellâhu li-men kâle âmîn, yâ muhyi'r-ramîm", "ve hediyyeten minnî ile'l-hâtiri'l-'alîli, râciyen mine'l-kâdiri'l-celîli en yuyessire lî kulle 'asîrin ve avîlin".
If the these statements and the words of praise about Birgi which we quoted above are not enough to show that *Ahvâlu etfâli'l-muslimîn* belongs to the same author as *Şerhu luğati ferişteoğlu* and *Şerhu'l-avamili'l-Curcâni*, we will be have shown it sufficiently, though indirectly, if we show first that *Ahvâlu etfâli'l-muslimîn* is by the same pen as *Şerhu şurûti salât* through comparison of statements from both works, and then prove, by evidence of further quotations, that *Şerhu şurûti salât* is by the same pen as *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu*. This is what we shall try to do below.
The following pairs of quotations are from the introductions, respectively, of *Ahvâlu etfâli'l-muslimîn* and *Şerhu şurûti salât*: "elhamdulillâlillezî haleke'l-insâne min salsâlin ke'l-fehhâr, ve haleke'l-cânne min mâricin min nâr," vs. "elhamdulillâhillezâ ce'ale mukîme's-salâti fî cennâtin tecrî min tahtihe'l-enhâru, … ve haleka'l-insâne min salsâlin ke'l-fahhâri, ve haleka'l-cânne min mâricin min nâr"; "ve mâ min ilâhin illallâhu'l-vâhidu'l-kahhâr, elâ lehu'l-hukmu ve huve'l-azîzu'l-ğaffâr" vs. "ve mâ min ilâhin illallâhu'l-vâhidu'l-kahhâru, elâ lehu'l-hukmu ve-huve'l-'azîzu'l-ğaffâr"; "Ve's-salâtu 'ala Muhammedin ellezî huve kâşifu'l-esrâri ve eberru'l-ebrâr ve efdalu'l-enbiyâ'i ve'l-murselîne'l-ahyâr, ve 'alâ âlihi ve ashâbi[hi]'l-lezîne hum eşiddâ'u 'ale'l-kuffâri ve akviyâ'u 'ale'l-mu'ânidîne ve'l-eşrâr, mâ zahare fi'z-zukâ'i el-envâru ve mâ nebete'l-ezhâru, ve mâ esmere'l-eşcâr, allâhumme ic'al lenâ tevfîken rafîkan fî cemî'i'l-atvâri ve kulûbenâ 'alâ mücella'l-ma'ârifi'l-envâri, ve lâ ta'uddenâ fi'n-nâri mine'l-fuccâri ve lâ tec'alnâ mine'l-mu'akebîne bi-'azâbi'n-nâri, ve ba'du fe innî lemmâ ferağtu an tahsîli-ulûmi" vs. "ve's-salâtu 'alâ Muhammedin ellezi huve kâşifu'l-esrâri ve eberru'l-ebrâri ve efdalu'l-enbiyâ'i ve'l-murselîne'l-ahyâri, ve 'alâ âlihi ve ashâbihi ellezîne hum eşiddâ'u 'ale'l-kuffâri ve akviyâ'u 'ale'l-mu'ânidîne vel-eşrâri, mâ zahara fi'z-zukâ'i el-envâru, ve mâ nebete'l-ezhâru ve esmere'l-eşcâru, allahumme'c'al lenâ tevfikake rafîken fî cemî'i'l-atvâri, ve kulubenâ mahalle'l-me'ârifi ve'l-envâri, ve lâ tauddenâ fi'n-nâri [f. 33a] mine'l-fuccâri, ve lâ tec'alnâ mine'l-mu'âkebîne bi-'azâbi'n-nâri, ve ba'du fe-inne'l-musannife lemmâ ellefe risâleten…".
It is now clear that *Ahvâlu etfâli'l-muslimîn* and *Şerhu şurûti salât* are works of the same author. We shall now quote a long block from the introduction of *Şerhu şurût-i salât* and compare it to a section from *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* (parts of this block are comparable also to some of the statements quoted in the note above from *Şerhu'l-avamili'l-Curcâni*). The following is from *Şerhu şurûti salât:*

> "ve ba'du fe-inne'l-musannife lemmâ ellefe risâleten mine'l-'ulûmi'ş-şer'iyyeti'n-nebeviyyeti, ve'l-funûni's-sem'iyyeti'l-Mustafaviyyeti, iltemese minnî ashâbu'l-vedâdi ve erbâbu'l-ittihâdi en eşrahehâ şerhan yeşfî cemî'a ğavîsâtihâ ve yubrizu kinâyâtihâ ve yuşîru ilâ mu'dalâtihâ ve yusahhihu mâ teğayyere min terkîbâtihâ, fe-kultu lehum hâzâ emrun rafî'un ve innî imru'un vadî'un, fe lem yakbelû minnî haze'l-i'tizâre ve kâbelûnî bi-ilhâhin ve isrârin, fe-akhamtu nefsî fîhi ve in kâne 'asîren, li-enne fî incâhir-ricâli hayren kesîren, ve şera'tu bin-nâziri'l-kelîli ve'l-hâtiri'l-'alîli, râciyen minellâhiteâlâ en yec'ale mâ elleftuhu hâlisen li-vechihi'l-kerîmi, mukarreben min rahmetihi fî dâri'n-na'îmi, yevme lâ yenfa'u mâlun velâ benûn, illâ men eta'llâhe bi-kalbin selîm, rahimellahu limen semi'a hâzâ ve kâle âmîn, [f. 33b] yâ rahîm, summe râciyen mimmen cubile tab'uhu 'ale'l-insâfi ve 'usime mine't-te'assubi ve'l-i'tisâfi, en lâ yubâdire ile'r-reddi ve'l-inkâri, ve lâ yetefevvehe illâ ba'de't-te'emmuli vel-iftikâri, fe-lev vakafe zû mirretin (muruvvetin?) 'ale'l-asreti ve'l-haleli, fellayiku bi-halihi en yuslihe mâ yerâhu mine'l-hatâ'i ve'l-hateli, ev ya'fuve 'amma yelzemuhu 'âdeten mine'l-levmi ve'l-'azli, fe-inne terke'l-isâ'eti min ihvâni'z-zamâni nihâyetu mâ yutemennâ mine'l-ihsâni, li-ennî kuntu fî zamânin sâreti'l-fudûlu fîhi fadlen ve'l-fadlu fudûlen, ve'l-ilmu intekeset a'lâmuhu vel-cehlu intesabet akvâmuhu, ve'l-ezkiyâu intameset me'âlimuhum ve 'afet âsâruha, vel-ağbiyâ'u irtefe'at menâziluhum ve ihdarret diyâruha, fe-karubet şumûsu'l-fadli li'l-ğurûbi bel ğarubet, ve ba'udet nucûmu'l-cehli ani'l-ğurûbi bel beheret, e'âzena'llâhu 'an şurûri akvâmi'z-zamâni, lâ siyyemâ el-akvâme'l-letî fî hâze'l-mekâni, fe-innehum kânû kavme sev'in fâsikîn, [34a] ille'l-lezîne âmenû ve 'amilu's-sâlihâti fe-ulâike mine'l-kavmi's-sâlihîn, allahumme'ğfir lî ve livâlideyye ve li-cemî'il-muslimîne bi'l-ğufrâni ilâ yevmi'l-haşri vel-mîzân…" (Beyazıd 1707, *ff*. 32b-34a)

mentioned above. The same thing is valid for *Şerhu şurût-i salât*, another work that is attributed to Birgivi in the literature[85]. (For a discussion on these works see below). Since such resemblances can not be explained by mere coincidence, we conclude that all of these works must have been written by one and the same author, and this author is Yahyâ b. Nasûh b. Israâ'îl who came to Birgi at a certain point of his career.

Who is this Yahy b. Nasûh b. Israâ'îl? *Şerhu luğati Ferişteho*ğ*lu* and *Şerhu'l-'Avâmili'l-Curcânî* are attributed, in the catalogue, sometimes to Yahya b. Nasûh b. Israâ'îl, and sometimes to Yahya b. Şeyh Nasûh b. Ali et-Tosyevi. Our search in the online catalogue for Yahya Tosyevi yielded 26 results, 25 of them being copies of the two works above (*Şerhu luğati Ferişteho*ğ*lu* and *Şerhu'l-'avamili'l-Curcâni*). The remaining one result is for *Hâşiye alâ hâşiyeti'l-Berda'î* (=*Hâşiyetu'l-hâşiye alâ*

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This is from *Şerhu luğati Ferişteho*ğ*lu:*

> "ve ba'du fe-inne'ş-şeyh fâdıle'z-zemâni teğammedehullâhu bi'r-rahmeti ve'r-rıdvâni, lemmâ ellefe risâleten mine'r-resâ'ili'l-luğaviyyeti ve mukaddimeten li-ehadi erkâni'l-'ulûmi'l-'arabiyyeti, iltemese ashâbu'l-vedâdi ve erbâbu'l-ittihâdi en eşrahehâ şerhen yekfî cemî'e ğavîsâtihi ve yubrizu kinâyâtihi, fe-kultu lehum hâzâ emrun refîun ve ene'mri'un vadî'un, fe lem yakbelû minî hazel-itizare, ve kâbelûnî bi'l-ilhâhi ve'l-isrâri, fe-akmahtu nefsî fîhi ve in kâne 'asîren, li-enne fî incâhi'r-ricâli hayren kesîren, ve şera'tu bi'n-nâziri'l-kelîli ve'l-hâtiri'l-'alîli, râciyen minellâhiteâlâ en yec'ale mâ elleftuhu min hâzihi'd-dureri'n-nazîmi hâlisen li-vechihi'l-kerîmi, mukarriben min rahmetihi fî dâri'n-na'îmi, yevme la yenfa 'u mâlun ve-lâ benûn, illâ men ete'llâhe bi-kalbin selîm, rahimellâhu li-men semi'a hâzâ ve kâle âmîn, yâ rahîm, summe râciyen mimmen cubile tab'uhu 'ale'l-insâfi ve 'usime mine't-ta'assubi ve'l-i'tisâfi, en lâ yubâdire ile'r-reddi ve'l-inkâri, ve-lâ yetefevvehe illâ ba 'de't-te'emmuli ve'l-iftikâri, fe-lev vekafe zû muruvvetin 'ale'l-asreti ve'l-haleli ve 'ale'l-hefveti ve'z-zeleli, fe'l-lâyiku bi-hâlihi en yusliha mâ yerâhu mine'l-hata'i ve'l-hateli ev ya'fuve 'ammâ yelzemuhu 'âdeten mine'l-levmi ve'l-azli, fe-inne terke'l-isâ'eti min ihvâni'z-zamâni nihâyet umâ yutemennâ 'indehum mine'l-ihsâni, li-ennî kuntu fî zemânin sâreti'l-fudûlu fîhi fadlen ve'l-fadlu fudûlen, ve'l-'ilmu intekeset a'lâmuhu ve'l-cehlu intesabet akvâmuhu ve'l-ezkiyâ'u intameset me'âlimuhum ve 'afet âsâruhum, ve'l-ağbiyâ'u irtefa'at menâziluhum ve ihdarret diyâruhâ, ve karubet şumûsu'l-fadli li'l-ğurûbi bel ğarubet, ve ba 'udet nucûmu'l-cehli 'ani'l-ğurûbi bel beheret, e'âzenallâhu 'an şurûri akvâmi'z-zamâni, lâ-siyyemâ li'l-akvâmi'l-letî fî hâze'l-mekâni, fe-innehum kânû kavme sev'in fâsikîn, ille'l-lezîne âmenû ve âmilû's-sâlihâti fe-ulâ'ike mine'l-kavmi's-sâlihîn, allahumme'ğfir lî ve li-men de'â li-cemî'i'l-muslimîne bi'l-ğufrâni ilâ yevmi'l-haşri ve'l-mîzâni" (Darulmesnevi 596, 1b-2a)

[85] See the previous note.

*şerhi'l-İsagoci*)[86], an MS that is attributed to "Yahya b. Nasûh" in the contents page of the volume[87]. This attribution is certified also by Katip Çelebi[88] . The author himself gives his name, in the introduction of this *hâşiye*, as "Yahya b. Nasûh b. Israâ'îl", as he did in the introduction of *Şerhu'l-'avamili'l-Curcânî* and in the postscript at the end of *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu*. It is seen that all of the three works that are attributed in the catalogue to Yahya b. Şeyh Nasûh b. Ali et-Tosyevi are actually works of Yahy b. Nasûh b. Israâ'îl (Other copies of *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* and *Şerhu'l-'avamili'l-Curcânî* are catalogued under the latter name). Therefore, those who prepared the catalogue must have considered the author of these works, who gives his own name as Yahya b. Nasuh b. İsrail, to be the person on whom historical sources give some information, namely, Yahya b. Şeyh Nasuh et-Tosyevi. Actually there is reason to believe that they are the same person[89], but we prefer to refer to the author of these works by the name he referred to himself (Yahya b. Nasuh), or by the name by which manuscripts refer to him: "Kara Yahya"[90], and

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[86] *Hâşiyetu'l-hâşiye alâ şerhi'l-İsagoci*, another text that is attributed in the catalogue to Yahya b. Nasuh b. Israil (Balıkesir İli Yazmaları, Balıkesir İl Halk Kütüphanesi 218, 45 *ff*., dated 949/1542), is probably also a copy of *Hâşiye alâ hâşiyeti'l-Berda'î*, because Berdâ'î's work is a *hâşiye* on *Şerhu İsagoci*, a commentary made by Hüsameddin Hasan al-Kâtî (d. 760/1358-59) on Esiruddin el-Ebehrî's famous manual in logic called *İsagogi*. For these works see: *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/206-207.

[87] "*Haşiye ala haşiyeti el-Berda'i li-Yahya b. Nasuh*" reads a note on the first folio of the MS volume (Sül. K., Carullah 1368), folios 78b-118b of which are occupied by the indicated text.

[88] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/206-207.

[89] See Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/113 (Abdülmecid b. Şeyh Nasuh) and I/354 (Abdülmecid b. Nasuh b. İsrafil); where there is reference to Abdülmecid's brother Yahya. Note also that some sources such as this spell the name of Yahya b. Nasuh's grandfather as İsrâfîl instead of İsrâ'îl. On other İsrafilzades (İsrafilzade Fahreddin (d. 943) and İsrafilzade Abdullah (d.959)) see Mecdi, *Hadâiku'ş-şekâik*, pp. 475-476 and 506-507. For the biography of Yahya b. Nasuh's father, who is referred to in the sources as Şeyh Nasuh et-Tosyevi or as Tosyalı Nasuh Halife, see Taşköprüzade, *Şakâik*, p. 429, where his date of death is indicated as 923. See also Mecdi, pp. 424-425. None of these sources give the name of Şeyh Nasuh's father. For other references to Şeyh Nasuh see Mecdi pp. 429 (in the biography of Arifbillah Şeyh Muslihuddin) and 430-31 (in the biography of Arifbillah Emir Ali b. Emir Hasan).

[90] *Şerhu'l-avâmili'l-Curcânî*, Sül. K., Laleli 3347 (ff. 1b-46b), dated Rebiulahir 1037/1627-28. A note on the title page (f.1a) reads: "*Şerhu'l-'Avâmil el-Curcânî li-Yahyâ b. Nasûh el-meşhûr bi-Kara Yahya*." Another note on the same folio reads: "*Kara Yahyâ ma'a Mu'rib* (*Kara Yahya* and *Mu'rib*)", indicating the two texts that the volume comprises –here the name of the author is used for his work.

"Yahya el-Birgivi"[91]. Is there any bound uniting Birgivi Mehmed Efendi and Yahya el-Birgivi other than the fact that both came over Birgi in certain points of their lives? Yes, indeed. There is evidence that they not only knew each other, but also developed intimate friendship. In the letter known as *Mektûb-i Birgivi* which Birgivi wrote to his patron Ataullah Ahmed Efendi (d. 979/1571)[92] towards the end of his life[93], Mehmed Efendi complains of being lonely in the town of Birgi, and regrets the death of his only friend, "the deceased Efendi," after whom he confesses remaining a stranger[94]. Ahmet Turan Arslan suggests that this friend of Birgivi was Müderris İbrahim Efendi who died in 978/1570, and whose grave, he reports, is next to

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Fatih 5437, (1b-34a); on f. 1a a note reads: "Kitâbu Kara Yahya"; and on 34b a note reads: "Şerhu Avamil Kara Yahya". Similarly, in the online catalogue two copies of *Şerhu Avamil-i Cürcani* are recorded under the name of Kara Yahya Efendi (see Konya Akşehir İlçe Halk K. 285; Karaman İl Halk K. 612). Yahya b. Nasuh cannot be identical with the müderris and Kadı of Maraş, Kara Yahya, whose biography is given by Atai (*Zeyl-i Şakaik*, p.748), because this Kara Yahya died in 1042 (1632-33).

[91] *Şerhu şurûti salât*, Beyazıd Devlet K., Beyazıd 1707 (ff.32b-87a), dated Zilhicce 1161/1748. A script on the title page (f. 32b) reads: "*Hâzâ şerhu şurûti's-salât li-Yahyâ el-Birgivî*".

[92] Ataullah was the teacher (*mu'allim-i sultânî*) of Selim II (r. 974-82/1566-74). For his biography see: Ali b. Bali (Ali Çelebi, Hısım, d. 992/1584 ). *el-'İkdu'l-manzûm fî zikri efâdili'r-Rûm*. (Beyrut, 1395/1975); pp. 407-408. For the relation between Ataullah and Birgivi, see Arslan, *ibid*, pp. 31-38, 83-84; Martı, *ibid*, pp. 37-43. Birgivi wrote the letter to Ataullah Efendi (see: *Mektub-i Birgivi*, MS Sül. K., Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1085; the marginal note on f. 5a indicates that the addressee is Ataullah Efendi: "Hitâbun li-ahîhi'l-âhireti Ataullah Çelebi muallimu's-sultân Selim b. Süleyman Han"; see also Arslan, *ibid*, p. 84)

[93] The letter is not dated, but Arslan argues that it must have been written around 980/1572, a conclusion that he reachs because he takes a certain reference in the mentioned letter to be to Birgivi's *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye*, which was completed in Şaban 980 (December 1572) (See: Arslan, *ibid*, p. 83-84). However, a note in one of the copies of the letter (Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1085 f.1b) indicates that this reference is to another work of Birgivi: *İrşadul-mülûk* (*Zuhru'l-mülûk*). The date of composition of *Zuhru'l-mülûk*, on the other hand, is not known either. The reference in the letter can not be to *Tarîkat*, after all, if it was written to Ataullah Efendi, who died in the second month (Safer) of 979 (25 June-23 July 1571) (Ali Çelebi, *el-'İkdu'l-manzûm*, pp. 407-408), that is, some seventeen month before the composition of Tarîkat was complete. The letter must have been written before 979. For more information see the discussion on this work in Chapter IV.

[94] "*Eğer bu fakir halinden istifsâr idersenüz şimdiki halimiz hayli muhteldir. Birgi'ye gelelden dokuz yıldır, nefs-i Birgi'den bir dânişmendimiz yoktur. Olancanın ekseri bizim yerdendür. Bir musahabete kabil kimsecik yokdur. Merhum olan Efendi ile eğlenüb def-i vahşet idüp dertleşirdik. Anlar gidelden beri garîb olduk*." (Arslan's transcription –see Arslan, *ibid*, p. 36).

Birgivi's[95]. However, a marginal note in a newly discovered copy of the letter indicates that this friend of Birgivi was "Şârih-i *Avâmil* (the commentator of *Avâmil*) Kara Yahya Çelebi"[96]. This must be a reference to Yahya b. Nasuh. The online catalogue indicates Yahya b. Nasûh's date of death as 950/1543, which seems to have been taken from Brockelmann. We have not been able to verify this date from other sources, but, regarding composition dates of Yahya b. Nasuh's works, it is not impossible, for his works seem to have already been composed by this date[97]. If he really died in 950/1543, then Kara Yahya can not have been a friend of Birgivi, whose advent to Birgi is estimated to have happened around 970/1562[98]. But we think the person who scribbled the above note must have done so on knowledge.

Two other works that appear in the catalogue under the name of Yahya b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl, namely, *Şerhu'l-binâ*[99] and *Şerhu dîbâceti'l-Misbâh*[100], are in Anatolian libraries and have not been viewed for this study. However, considering that the catalogue attributes to Birgivi a manuscript copy of a certain *Şerhu*

[95] Arslan writes: "Mayıs 1978'de Birgi'ye gidişimde mezarlık bekçisinin anlattığına göre Birgivi'nin kabrinin yakınında medfun olan Müderris İbrahim Efendi (978/1570) Birgivi ile samimi dostmuş ve bu zatın ölümüne Birgivi çok üzülmüş." (Arslan, *ibid*, p. 36, note 109; see also Martı, *ibid*, p. 42.)

[96] Sül. K, Hacı Mahmud Ef.; 1085, 13 ff. in total, 1-7 folios of which are occupied by *Mektûb-i Birgivi*. Birgivi writes (f.6): "*...müsâhabete kâbil kimsecik yokdur. Merhûm olan Efendiyle eglenüp def'-i hâcet edip dertleşirdük, anlar gidelidenberü garîb olduk ...*" A note juts out from the phrase "*Merhum olan Efendi*," which reads: "*Şârih-i Avâmil Kara Yahya Çelebi'dir*. M."

[97] Actually the date of composition of Yahya b. Nasuh's works is not known for certain. But a copy of *Şerhu luğati Ferişteoğlu* is dated 953/1546 (see above), so it must have been written before this date. The catalogue indicates that a copy of *Hâşiyetul-hâşiye alâ şerhi'l-İsagoci* (*=Hâşiye alâ hâşiyeti'l-Berda'î*) is dated 949/1542 (see above). *Şerhu'l-avâmil* does not have an early dated copy (the earliest dated copy of this work that we have identified bears the date 1037 -see above), but considering that it was written in honor of es-Sultân Mustafâ b. es-Sultân Süleymân, the work must have been written sometime after 927/1520, the year of accession of Süleyman I (when Şehzade Mustafa was still 5 years old) and before 960/1553, the year Şehzade was strangled at age of 38 –it is likely to have been written in 930s (1520s).

[98] See: Arslan, *ibid*, pp. 32-33; Martı, *ibid*, pp. 39-40.

[99] The only copy appearing for this MS is Adana İl Halk Kütüphanesi 286 (92-121), dated 1057/1648.

[100] Adana İl Halk Kütüphanesi 487 (ff. 3b-18b), 1583 (ff. 54b-58b), and 236 (ff. 69-73).

*dîbâceti'l-Misbâh* in Süleymaniye Library[101] one may think that this MS is the same as those attributed to Yahya b. Nasuh. If so, and if it really belongs to Yahya b. Nasûh –as is suggested by Brockelmann[102]- then this is a fourth work of his that has been falsely attributed to Birgivi. Whether or not *Şerhu dîbâceti'l-Misbâh* is a work composed by Yahya b. Nasûh, one evidence that it can not belong to Birgivi is that a commentary on this work was composed before Birgivi was born[103].

In any case, at least three of Yahya b. Nasûh b. Israâ'îl's works have been attributed to Birgivi Mehmed Efendi. One we have already discussed (*Şerhu luğati Ferişte*hoğlu). Others are: *Risâle fî ahvâli etfâli'l-muslimîn* and *Şerhu şurûti's-salât*. Atsız ascribed both works to Birgivi, and other researchers have followed him in this[104].

3) *Risâle fî ahvâli etfâli'l-muslimîn*

We have identified five copies of *Risâle fî ahvâli etfâli'l-muslimîn*, a work tha is variously called *er-Risâletu's-sabriyye*, *Hediyyetu's-sıbyân*, *Etfâlu'l-muslimîn*, *or*

[101] Sül. K., Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa 419, *ff*. 33b-64a. This is a commentary on the introduction (*dîbâce*) of Mutarrizi's *el-Misbâh* in Arabic grammar. The work has been attributed to Birgivi Mehmed Efendi in the online catalogue, but there is no evidence for this in the manuscript itself. Its opening is: "*elhamdulillâhillezî lâ yebluğu kunhehu câddun ve-lâ yuhsî 'adede ni'amihi âddun…*". For other copies see: Çorlulu Ali Paşa 453, *ff*. 95-140; Nafiz Paşa 1419, *ff*. 1b-9a –The last MS attributes the work to Çağmûnî.

[102] Brockelmann mentions among Yahya b. Nasûh's works "*Şarh al-Misbâh fi'n-nahv*". Other works that he ascribes to Yahya b. Nasûh are: "*Şarh al-Âvâmil al-mi'a*" and "*Ad-Durr an-nazîm şarh R. Fi'l-luğa li-'abda'l-aziz b. Firişte*". See: *GAL*, Supplement II, p. 630.

[103] Birgivi Mehmed Efendi was born in 929/1523. But already in 923/1517 a commentary was made on *Şerhu dîbâceti'l-Misbâh* by Yakub b. Seydi Ali el-Acemi el-Bursevi (Seydi Alizade, d. 931/1524). For a copy of the work see Sül. K., İsmihan Sultan 384. The last few folios of this MS are totally illegible because they have been damaged by water, but the catalogue indicates that it is an autograph and that it is dated 923 (1517-18). Another copy of the work is at Sül. K., Carullah 1967 (85 ff.), dated 993/1585. A second version of the work, with a short introduction preceding it, is at Carullah 2040, ff. 68a-122b, dated 958/1551.

[104] See: Atsız, *ibid*, p. 40; Arslan, ibid, p. 92; Martı, *ibid*, p. 75.

*Hediyyetu'l-hâtıril-alîl*. Two of the five copies do not indicate any author[105]; but three of them ascribe it to "Birgivi" or "el-fâdıl el-Birgivi."[106] Two of the last three were the only known copies of the work in the literature[107]. Atsız was probably directed as much by these manuscripts which he thought referred to Birgivi Mehmed Efendi as he was by the Ottoman editions of the work in collective volumes supposedly consisting of Birgivi's treatises[108]. The work was also translated into Turkish and published by Mehmed Emre as a work of Birgivi[109]. Even some biographical facts about Birgivi have been based on his supposed authorship of this work[110]. As we have seen, however, textual evidence shows that it is a work by Yahya b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl, who wrote this treatise because, he tells, he was touched very much by the death of his son Muhammed Halim, and was led by this incident to

[105] Sül. K., Tırnovalı 890, 31 ff., independent vol., nd. A script on the first folio indicates the title: "*Hâzâ risâle etfâlu'l-muslimîn*". Köprülü K., M. Asım Bey 711, *ff* 39-68, dated Receb 1043/1634.

[106] Sül. K., Pertevniyal 477, ff. 409b-429a, nd., but the same hand as other works in the volume that are dated 1180/1766. The title of the work is indicated on f. 409b: "*Hâzihi hediyetu'l-hâtırı'l-alîl râciyen mine'l-kâdiri'l-celîl li'l-fâdıl el-Birgivi rahimehuteala*". Pertev Paşa 604, ff. 5b-29a, dated 1170, title indicated on f. 5b: "*Risâletu's-sabriyye li'l-Birgivi*". Çelebi Abdullah Efendi 404, ff. 1b-33a, nd., title indicated on the contents page (f.1a): "*Hediyyetu's-sıbyân li-fâdıl el-Birgivi*".

[107] Pertevniyal 477; Pertev Paşa 604 (See the previous note).

[108] There are two editions, both undated. One is published in Karahisarlı Ali Rıza Efendi's lithography press, in 253 pages, with *ta'lîk* types (Sül. K., Serez 3809); the other is published by agency of Sahaflar Kethüdası Esad Efedni in 224 pages, with *nesh* types (Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 681mkrr; Tahir Ağa Tekkesi 41). The following note appears at the beginning of both editions: "İmam Birgivi aleyhi rahmetu'l-hâdi hazretlerinin te'lifkerdesi olan mezkûretu'l-esâmî resâil bu defa tab' ve temsîl olundu". Both editions contain the same texts (in order of appearance): *Cilâu'l-kulûb*, *İnkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, *Hâşiyetu Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn* (Haşiye I), *Risâle fî ahvâl-i etfâli'l-muslimîn* (pp. 76-119 in Serez 3809; pp. 68-107 in Şehid Ali Paşa 681); *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*; a second *hâşiye* (Haşiye IV); *Mu'addilu's-salât*; *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn*; Ebussuud Efendi's treatise on cash vakf in response to which Birgivi wrote his *es-Seyfu's-sârim*; *es-Seyfu's-sârim*; and, finally, "*Risâle fi ziyâreti'l-kubûr*, Birgivi" (pp.220-252 in Serez 3809; pp.196-224 in Şehid Ali Paşa 681). Other than Ebussuud's work, all texts in these volumes are attributed to Birgivi. However, *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr* is indeed a work by Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari (see the discussion on this work below), and *Risale fi ahvali etfâli'l-muslimîn* is a work of Yahya b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl, known also as Yahya el-Birgivi, or Kara Yahya (see the discussion on this work above).

[109] *Cennet Bahçeleri-Namazın Doğru Kılınması-Dünya ve Ahirette Müslüman Çocukların Halleri*, transl. Mehmed Emre, (İstanbul: Çile Yay., 1976). See Arslan, *ibid*, p. 92; Martı, *ibid*, p.75.

[110] Arslan, Martı and Lekesiz ground on this work the "fact" that Birgivi had a son called Muhammed Halim, and that he was so shaken by the death of his young child as to write a book to console his soul. See: Arslan, *ibid*, pp. 41-43 and 92; Martı, *ibid*, pp. 47 and 75; Lekesiz, *ibid*, p. 33.

ponder about the situation of children in the afterlife. In this treatise he discusses the conditions, in the other world, of the children of Muslim parents who died before maturity[111].

4) *Şerhu şurûti's-salât*

As for *Şerhu şurûti's-salât*, only three copies of it were known in the literature, all attributing it to Birgivi[112]. Based on one of these copies, the work has also been attributed to Birgivi by Brockelmann, who gives the title of the work as *Risâle fî şurûti's-salât*[113]. We have identified three more copies of the work, one of which attributes it to "Yahya el-Birgivi"[114]. Contrary to Martı's claim[115], the author does not say that he is commenting on one of his own works (*metn*). The *metn* on which this commentary was made is a certain text called *Şurûtu's-salât*, authored most probably by Molla Fenari (d. 834/1430)[116]. (There are other commentaries on this

[111] For a detailed description of this work see Martı, *ibid* p. 75; for translation of a good deal of its introduction see: Arslan, *ibid*, pp. 41-43.

[112] Sül. K., Sül. 1031, ff. 113b-134a, dated 1098/1686; this is the earliest dated copy of the work, a script at the beginning of which reads (f.113b): "*Hâzâ kitâbu şerhi şurûti's-salât min musannefâti Birgili Muhammed Efendi rh*". (Other texts in this volume are: *Mu'addilu's-salât*, *İkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*, *İnkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, and *Cilâ'u'l-kulûb*, all by Birgivi, *Şerhu'l-Fıkhi'l-ekber* by Ali el-Kari, and *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-kufr* by el-Bedru'r-reşîd). Hacı Mahmud Efendi 987, independent vol., dated 1260/1844, copied by Numan Suhtezade; a script on f.1b reads "*Hâzâ kitâb te'lîfu Birgivi rh*". Fatih 1715, nd.; a script on f.1a reads: "*Kitâbu şerh-i şurûti's-salât li'l-imâm el-allâme Muhammed b. Pîr Alî el-Birgivi rh*". There are hâşiyes at the margins, some of them from "*Mu'addilu's-salât li'l-fâdıl el-Birgivi*" (see *ff*. 6-8). See also: Atsız, *ibid*, p. 39; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 88; Brockelmann, *GAL* S II, p. 658, no 28.

[113] GAL, S II, p. 658, nr. 28.

[114] Beyazıd Devlet K., Beyazıd 1707, ff. 32b-87a, dated Zilhicce 1161/1748; a very neat and well-written copy. A script on the title page (f. 32b) reads: "*Hâzâ şerhu şurûti's-salât li-Yahyâ el-Birgivî*". The remaining two copies indicate no author: Sül. K., Laleli 932mkrr, ff. 1-45, nd. Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi 170, ff. 126a-157b, dated 16 Safer 1130/1718, copied by Ali b. Halil; no title (a later note, probably by the cataloguers, on f. 26a, reads: "*Şerhu şurûti's-salât li'l-mevlâ Fenârî*"; but Fenâri is, as shall be discussed, the author of the text on which this commentary is made).

[115] Martı, *ibid*, p. 78.

[116] There are two versions of this commented text, one without introduction, the other with introduction. For the first see: Sül. K., Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1008, ff. 21-30. A later note at the beginning of this MS reads: "*Şurûtu's-salât li'l-imâm Fenârî Şemsuddin*." This version begins with the following words: "*Bâbu şurûti's-salât. Ve hiye semâniyetun, el-evvelu el-vudû'u bi'l-mâ'il-mutlaki*

text of Molla Fenari's[117], as there are other texts with the designation *Şurûtu's-salât*, all somehow related to Molla Fenari, and all with their respective commentaries[118]).

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..."). There are many copies of this version (f.e.: Sül. K., Hacı Beşir Ağa 671, ff. 76-80; Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1151; Laleli 394, 395 and 396). In the second version the above text is preceded by an introduction consisting of a *dîbâce* and a short –one page- section about *şurûtu'l-îman* and *şurûtu'l-islâm*. Its beginning is: "*Elhamdulillâhirabbi'âlimîn..., summe i'lem enne's-salâte minellâhiteâlâ rahmetun…*". We have identified two copies of this version: one (Sül. K., İbrahim Efendi 178, *ff*. 70-79) is recorded in the online catalogue as "Şerhu Şurûti Salât" and is attributed to Birgivi, but there is no evidence for it in the manuscript itself; nor is the work a *şerh*. The other (Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1394, ff. 106-116) is attributed, in the copyist's colophon, to Kemalpaşazade. The sources indicate that Kemalpaşazade too had a work about *şurûtu's-salât*, but the work attributed to him is different from this one (see the next two notes).

[117] We have identified six commentaries: (1) *el-Hayât şerhu şurûti's-salât* by Kuşadalı Mustafa b. Hamza b. İbrahim b. Veliyyuddin er-Rûmi (d. after 1085/1674). The author's colophon at the end of a copy (Hacı Mahmud Ef. 971, copied in 22 Receb 1068/1657) shows that the work was composed in Egypt in Muharrem 1045/1635. The author gives a list of his sources at the end of a fairly long introduction, among which he mentions "*Şerhu şurûti's-salât li'l-Birgili*" and "*Safvetu'l-menkûlât fî şerhi şurûti's-salât*". It seems that Kuşadalı too considered the work to belong to Birgili Mehmed Efendi –Kuşadalı is the author also of a famous commentary on Birgivi's *İzhâr* called *Netâyicu'l-efkâr*, and a *hâşiye* on Birgivi's *İmtihânu'l-ezkiyâ'* (see Chapter IV). (2) *Safvetu'l-menkûlât fî şerhi şurûti's-salât*, the author of which is not known for certain (Sül. K., Çelebi Abdullah 387, ff. 86-96; Atıf Efendi K., Atıf Efendi Eki 1500, ff. 1b-22a). Since Kuşadalı refers to a work of this name we may safely conclude that it was already written in 1045. A copy of this commentary (Hacı Mahmud Ef. 1710, ff. 77-112) is catalogued under the name of Kemalpaşazade, for which we saw no evidence in the manuscript itself. Another manuscript (Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1090, f.1b), however, ascribes it to "Üsküdâri Aziz Mahmud Efendi." (3) Another commentary with the same title (*Safvetu'l-menkûlât*) was composed by Ali b. Hasan b. Osman in 9 Zilkade 1206 (Esad Efendi 755, 45 ff.). (4) *Şerhu şurûti salât* by Ahmed b. Muhammed el-Celveti el-Kastamoni (Halet Efendi 826, ff. 124-158). (5) A commentary composed in 1038 by Halil b. Hüseyin b. İlyas et-Tirevi (Esad Efendi 22, ff. 23-38). (6) *'Umdetu'l-hayrât fî şerhi şurûti's-salât* by Ali b. Hüseyin b. İskender el-Bali (İbrahim Efendi 341, ff. 1-58). Although none of these commentaries indicate the author of the text which they explain, we contend that it belongs to Molla Fenari (d.834/1431). Evidence for this comes from a versed translation of the text made by Şem'i, who states that Molla Fenari wrote the text for his grandchild (*mahdûmzâde*) (see Sül. K., Kasidecizade 698, f. 16b). There is another, prose, translation of the work (M.Murad-M.Arif 173, ff. 88-104), of which one copy has been written with alternating lines of the original text (Düğümlü Baba 145, ff. 1-9, in the margins). The *DİA* article on Molla Fenari lists among his works *Şerhu fikhi'l-Keydânî* (Darülmesnevi 512/22) (CHECK) and *Murşidu'l-musallî* (no copy) (See: Aydın, İ.Hakkı. Molla Fenâri", *DİA* 30, p.246). But, the first of these attributions seems to be a mistake (see the next note).

[118] Two such works are in question: (1) An anonymous text on the subject has been attributed to Fenari in the catalogue (Laleli 932, 9 ff.), but this text is considerably different from the above text of Fenari's (Its beginning is: "*elhamdulillahirabbil-alemîn… bâbu şurûti's-salâti, ve hiye sittetun, el-evvelu* ..."). We have identified two commentaries on this text: one by Abdullah b. Ebubekir (Hacı Mahmud Ef. 1310, ff. 67-86), the other by someone called Hüseyin (Antalya-Tekelioğlu 819, ff. 52-76). (2) Another work, which begins in the following words: "*Elhamdulillâhirabbilâlemîn… va'lem bi-enne'l-'abde mubtelan beyne en yutî'allâhe fe-yusâbe ve beyne en ya'siyehu fe-yu'âkabe…*", has been attributed in the manuscripts to at least three different persons: Kemalpaşazade, Keydani, and Molla Fenari. It has been attributed to Kemalpaşazade in an MS (Sül. K., Laleli 932mkrr, ff. 48-52), where the title of the work is indicated at the contents page as (f. 48b): "*Hâzâ kitâbu Şurûti's-salât li-Ibn Kemal Paşa*". We have identified two commentaries on this text: One is *Hadîkatu's-salât* by Hasan Kafi el-Akhisari (d.1025/1615), who attributes the original text to "*Şemsu'l-milleti ve'd-dîn… ustâdu ustâdî Kemalpaşazade*" (Millet K., Feyzullah Efendi 719). The *DİA* article on Kemalpaşazade mentions no such a work of him (Turan, Şerafettin, Şükrü Özen, İlyas Çelebi, and M. Yekta Saraç. "Kemalpaşazade", *DİA* 25, pp. 238-247). But the DİA article on Akhisari says that *Hadîkatu's-salât* is

We have already shown, by way of textual evidence, that *Şerhu şuruti salât* –which was attributed to Birgivi in the above manuscripts- belongs actually to Yahya b. Nasûh b. Isrâ'îl. This work is a kind of *ilmihâl*, which explains some religious rituals, such as prayer and ablution. The personal style and literary taste pervading the introduction of this work and those of *Şerhu luğati Ferişte*hoğlu and *Ahvâlu etfâli'l-muslimîn* is not visible in works whose Birgivi authorship is certain. Especially the kind of extreme *tevâzû*' displayed[119] in this work and in *Şerhu luğâti Ferişte*hoğlu is something unfamiliar to Birgivi, who does not see it improper to mention his own credentials as a scholar and author[120]. The style common to the introductions of the above works leaves no doubt that it is from Yahyâ b. Nasûs's pen that they all stem.

5) *Risâle fi ziyâretil-kubûr*

This work, which is variously called *Risâle fi ziyâretil-kubûr*, *er-Reddu'l-kabriyye*, *Risâle fî menhiyyâti'l-kubûr*, and *Müntehabu Iğâseti'l-lehfân*, is a treatise that has

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a commentary on Kemalpaşazade's *Muhtasaru's-salât* (Aruçi, Muhammed. "Hasan Kâfî Akhisârî," *DİA* 16, p.328). The second commentary (Sül. K., Carullah 680), however, has a note on title page (f.10a) indicating that the work is a commentary by Şemseddin Muhammed el-Kuhistânî, the mufti of Horasan, on *Şurûtu's-sâlât* by Lutfullah en-Nesefî el-Keydânî (d. 750/1349). Actually the text attributed to Kemalpaşazade has been attributed to Keydani in other manuscripts too (see f.e.: Sül. K., Çelebi Abdullah 404, ff.34b-40a, followed by Kuhistâni's commentary). One of the copies of Kuhistani's commentary (Aşir Efendi 102, ff. 1-44) has a note, on the title page, taken from *Keşfu'z-zunun*, which informs that the authorship of the commented work is a matter of disputation. Actually in *Keşfu'z-zunun* Katip Çelebi summarizes all the views that can be gathered from the manuscripts. In the article on *Mukaddimetu's-salât* –a title generally used by manuscripts that attribute the work to Keydâni- Çelebi tells how the work was attributed to three authors by four commentaries that he mentions of the work. But he supports the view that the work is authored by Şemseddin Muhammed b. Hamza el-Fenari, as, he says, it was attributed to him by Taşköprüzade in his commentary (for copies of this commentary see the article on Taşköprüzade in *İA* (p. 43)). Apart from the commentaries by Taşköprüzede, Kuhistani (d. ca. 950) and Akhisari, Çelebi mentions the commentary made by İbrahim b. Mir Derviş el-Buhari, who, like Kuhistani, attributes the work to Lutfullah en-Nesefi el-Keydani. Çelebi mentions another *Mukaddime* by eş-Şeyh Ebi Şuca, whose beginning he quotes as: "*Elhamdulillahil-vâhidil-kadîmi* ilh." (see *Keşfu'z-zunun*, II/1802).

[119] "…friends of favor … asked me to compose on this work a commentary... I replied that this is a very axalted/lofty (refi') thing and I am a humble/low (vadî') man…, but they accepted not my excuse…"

[120] See f.e. Birgivi's self-assured words in the introduction of *Şerhu Erbaîn* (Atıf Efendi K., Atıf Ef., 2785, f. 12a ff.) for a translation of these words see Arslan, *ibid*., pp.51-52.

been composed by way of selection from Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye's (d. 751/1350) book *Iğâsetu'l-lehfân fi mesâyidi'ş-şeytân*. This much is stated by the author at the beginning of the treatise. The selection is about the manner and rules of visiting graveyards and saints' tombs. It was ascribed to Birgivi by Nihal Atsız, and Ahmet Turan Arslan included it in his list, bu also stated doubt about its Birgivi authorship[121]. Huriye Martı provides convincing proof that this doubt is warranted[122]. In addition, there are in Istanbul libraries at least 16 manuscript copies of this selection, but Atsız mentions only one copy[123] and Arslan adds a second one[124]. We have checked all of the copies, but none displays the name of Birgivi –not even the single copy mentioned by Atsız. Atsız must have ascribed the work to Birgivi simply because the volume containing that copy contains also a number of treatises by Birgivi. But his ascription might also be due to the Ottoman editions of the work in collective volumes supposedly consisting of Birgivi's treatises[125]. We do not know on what basis the publishers attributed this work to Birgivi; but it is probable that they, too, took their clue from the manuscript volumes where the work was copied together with other treatises of Birgivi. The author of this work is, we believe, Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari (d. ca. 1043/1633; of whom more shall be said in the following pages), as one of the manuscripts (Süleymaniye Ktb., Fatih 5387, ff. 71a-

[121] The reasons for his doubt are that early sources do not mention this treatise among Birgivi's works, and that Birgivi does not refer to the work in the chapter on visiting cemeteries in *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* which he wrote short before his death, though he does refer to other risales of his own in relevant chapters of this work. See: Arslan, *ibid*, p. 92-93; Atsız, *ibid*, pp. 40-41.

[122] Martı emphasizes that it is not of Birgivi's habit to rely on a single source and compose a treatise as a summary of that work. She also finds it significant that no reference is made to any of the classical Hanefi sources to which Birgivi amply refers in almost all of his works. See Martı, *ibid*, p. 97-98.

[123] Sül. K, Esad Efendi 3780 (47b-65a).

[124] Hacı Selim Ağa K., Hacı Selim Ağa 1271 (9a-15a).

[125] See footnote 108 above.

86b) openly ascribes it to him[126]. This is the only manuscript copy to specify an author for the work. But there are other reasons to believe Akhisari's authorship of it. For example, some of the copies are in volumes consisting exclusively of Akhisari's works[127]. Despite this fact, however, the catalogue variously attributes it to Birgivi, Akhisari, Sinaneddin Yusuf el-Amasi, and Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye[128].

[126] On f.71a, where the work begins, the title reads: "*Hâzihi risâle fi'r-redd ale'l-mekâbiriyye li-Şeyh Ahmed er-Rûmî sellemehullâhuteâlâ*". The text ends on f.86a, but a haşiye is appended to it which lasts until f.86b, at the end of which is the record "*minhu*", indicating that it is by the author himself. See also the next note.

[127] Sül. K., Harput 429 (ff. 100a-118b +118b-119b), nd., but the same hand as the rest of the texts in the volume (18 in total), all of which, according to our findings, belong to Akhisari. All but one of the texts in this volume have also been attributed to Akhisari in the catalogue. It is clear that the copyist who compiled this volume intended to bring together all of the shorter works of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, but he specified neither his own name, nor the name of the author, nor the title of the works, nor even the date of copying. (Two works by Akhisari which are not included in this volume are: *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr ve masâliku'l-ahyâr*, in Arabic, and *Risâle-i Rûmî*, in Turkish). Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035 (*ff*. 49b-68a + 68b-69a), dated 1036. Other texts in this volume must have been copied between this date and between 1044, as the other dated text in the volume, *er-Risâletu'l-i'tikâdiyye* (a work that is falsely designated in this MS as the Arabic translation of Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme*, but which, as we shall show, has nothing to do with it –see the discussion on this work below) bears the latter date. The volume contains 8 text in total, six of which –including the selection in question- belong to Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari. The other text in the volume that does not belong to Akhisari is *Mevzû'âtu'l-hadîs* (the last text in the volume), a treatise by Radiyyuddin es-Sağânî (d.650/1525), which gives an inventory of the *mevzû*' traditions in Kadi el-Kudâî's (d.454/1062) *Şihâbu'l-ahbâr*. Sağânî's critical work has been refuted in a treatise by Zeynuddin Abdurrahman b. Hüseyn el-Irâkî eş-Şâfi'î. Akhisari, too, penned a refutation on Sağânî's work, stating that his intention was to complement Irâkî's refutation of Sağânî's criticism. These three works have been copied successively in MS Darulmesnevi 258 (ff. 137b-147a). It is probable that Hüseyn b. el-Hac Ahmed from Akhisar, the copyist of MS Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, wanted likewise to copy his townman's refutation of Sağânî's work, which is presumably why he made a copy of Sağani's work first, but for some reason he failed to add Akhisari's refutation. So, there is good reason to believe that MS Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, compiled between 1036 and 1044, was intended to be a collection of Akhisari's shorter works –*er-Risâletu'l-i'tikâdiyye*, allegedly the Arabic translation of Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme*, being an exception.

[128] Köprülü K., M. Asım Bey 718, *ff*. 44b-63b, nd. (attributed to Sinaneddin Yusuf el-Amasi in the catalogue, for which there is no evidence in the manuscript itself). Sül. K., Hafid Efendi 453, *ff*. 90a-116b +116b-117b, nd.; Hacı Mahmud Ef. 1980, the only text in the volume, incomplete; Beyazıd Devlet K., Veliyüddin Ef. 2144, ff. 411b-424b, nd. (The last three have been attributed to İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye in the manuscripts or in the catalogue, but İbn Kayyim is the author not of the selection, but of the text on which the selection is based). Other manuscripts are: Sül. K., Ibrahim Efendi 372, *ff*. 32-52, nd. (the only dated text in this volume bears the date 1046 –see f. 87a); Ibrahim Efendi 416, *ff*. 89a-106a, nd., but the same hand as other texts in the volume that bear dates between 1134 and 1137; Ismihan Sultan 427, *ff*. 1b-30a +30a-33b, nd.; Reşid Efendi 455, *ff*. 1b-15a +15a-17a, nd.; Antalya-Tekelioğlu 913, ff. 1b-21b, nd.; Antalya-Tekelioğlu 827, *ff*. 280b-301b, nd. (the volume comprises three text, two of them bearing the dates 1127 and 1117). The catalogue indicates no author for the above copies.

Further evidence that *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr* was composed by Akhisari comes from Akhisari's *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr ve mesâliku'l-ahyâr*[129], a work in whicih the author comments, in sections (100 in total) called *meclis*, on 100 traditions (*hadîs*) selected from *Mesâbîhu's-sunne*, the famous *hadîs* collection of Hüseyin b. Mes'ûd el-Ferrâ' el-Beğavi eş-Şafi'î (d. 516/1122-23)[130]. Katip Çelebi mentions *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr* in his *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, attributing it to "Şeyh Ahmed er-Rumi"[131]. Each section (*meclis*) of this work deals with a different topic, but, in the introduction, special emphasis is put on the common practice of visiting tombs. In the following passage from the introduction, the author explains the reason for the composition of the work:

> I explain here the correct creeds (itikâdât) and the works of the other world, and refute the appeal to the tombs (kubûr) and other [practices] pertaining to the infidels and to the heretical, perverting and sinful men of innovation (ehli'l-bida'), because I saw that many people in this time have taken some tombs like idols (evsân), praying and butchering sacrificial animals (kurbân) around them and displaying behaviors and utterings that do not befit men of faith (ehli'l-îmân). So I intended to explain that which the *şer'* has preached in this circumstance, so that the truth shall be clear from the untruth for those who intend correcting their faith, escape from the trick of the satan and [want] salvation from the punishment of the fire and enterence to the heaven.

[129] *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr*, or, *el-Mecâlisu'r-Rûmiyye*, as it is commonly known, is definitely the most popular work of Akhisari, as there are more than 40 copies of it in İstanbul libraries (For good specimens, see: Sül. K., Yazma Bağışlar 685, dated 1049; Laleli 1487, nd.; Reşid Efendi 549, dated 1044). Akhisari himself is many times referred to in the manuscripts as "Sâhibu'l-Mecâlis". The work has also been translated into Ottoman Turkish by some Süleyman b. Hayreddin, who reports, in his introduction, that *el-Mecâlis* is not a proper work of Akhisari, but a collection in which Akhisari's students posthumously compiled the papers he prepared for Friday sermons –this is what I understood from the complicated language of the translator (MS Sül. K.,Çelebi Abdullah 220, 840 ff.).

[130] On Beğavi's work, see *Keşfuzzunun*, II/1698-1702. Katip Çelebi devotes a considerable space to this work and its commentaries, stating that "the ulama has given special attention to this work by way of reading (kırâ'e) and commenting (ta'lîk)". He then recounts those who wrote on this work, mentioning first the commentary by el-Kadi Nâsiruddin Abdullah b. Ömer el-Beyzavi (d.685/1286) called *Tuhfetel-ebrar*. But nowhere in this section does Çelebi mention Akhisari's work. He mentions it, however, in an independent entry (see below). Beğavi's work contains about 4500 traditions, with transmission chains omitted.

[131] Keşfuzzunun II/1590.

A specific *meclis* (the seventeenth *meclis*) of this book is about the incorrectness of performing prayer around the tombs ("*fî beyâni 'ademi cevâzi's-salâti 'inde'l-kubûr*"), where the author quotes from Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye's *İğâsetu'l-lehfân* at least three times, always by the formula "*ve kâle Ibnu'l-Kayyim fî Iğâsetihi…*"[132]. Akhisari refers to Ibn Kayyim in other places of the *Mecâlis* as well[133]. It is clear that Ibn Kayyim is one of Akhisari's sources of inspiration, at least on the question of visiting graves and saints' tombs. In the relevant section of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*, the magnum opus of Birgivi which he composed short before he died, however, there is no reference either to Ibn Kayyim's book or to this selection[134], while it is Birgivi's habit in this work of his to refer, in relevant places, to his own treatises[135].

Three conclusions follow:

1- By now it must have been sufficiently clear that the author of this selection (*muntehab*) from *Iğâsetu'l-lehfân* is not Birgivi Mehmed Efendi. The full significance of this fact can be realised if we remember that Birgivi's supposed authorship of this work has been the single significant evidence set forth by some researchers to support their association of Birgivi with the *selefî* path as represented by Ibn Teymiyye (d. 728/1328) and his student Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye (d.

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[132] Sül. K., Yazma Bağışlar 865, *ff*. 57b (53b in original pagination); 58a (54a), 59a (55a). This MS is dated Şevval 1049. The colophon on the last folio reads: "*Cema'ahu el-'âlim el-fâdil el-kâmil es-sâlih ez-zâhid el-'âmil eş-Şeyh Ahmed er-Rûmî el-Akhisârî aleyhi rahmetulbâri, …*".

[133] In the 50th *meclis* on *musâfaha*, on f. 148a (144a).

[134] In *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*, in the last section of the Second *Bâb*, Birgivi recounts the sins (*âfât*) of the body that are not specific to a bodily organ. Among these *âfât*s Birgivi mentions –in three lines- lighting candles at the cemeteries and transforming them into masjids (*ittihâzu'l mesâcidi fi'l-mekâbir*). The only reference cited here is a prophetic tradition. (See: *et-Tarîkatu'l Muhammediyye*, ed. Muhammed Husni Mustafa, (Aleppo: Dâru'l-Kalemi'l-Arabî, 1423/2002), pp.387-388). See also Martı, *ibid*, p. 197.

[135] On the last page (428) of *Tarîkat-i Muhammediyye* Birgivi refers to 4 of his own works: *Cilâu'l-kulûb*, *es-Seyfu's-sârim*, *Îkâzu'n-nâimîn*, *Înkâzu'l-hâlikîn*; on p. 385 he refers to *Mu'addilu's-salât*; on p. 318, he refers to *Dürr-i yetîm* as well as to *Îkâzu'n-nâimîn* and *Înkâzu'l-hâlikîn*. See also: Arslan, *ibid*, p. 92-93.

751/1350)[136]. Contrary to what has been suggested, there is no reference to Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye or his work in Birgivi's *Tarîkat-i Muhammediyye*[137], as, again contrary to what has been claimed, there is no evidence indicating Birgivi's familiarity with Ibn Teymiyye (d. 728/1328) and his students[138]. The willingness to

[136] See: Lekesiz, *ibid*, pp. 68, 114 and 132. Our point is also emphasized by Martı, *ibid*, p. 97; cf. Emrullah Yüksel. "Mehmet Birgivi (929-981/1523-1573)," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İslami İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 2 (Ankara, 1977): 175-185, p. 184.

[137] Lekesiz asserts that Birgivi refers to Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye's *Iğâsetu'l-lehfân* in one place in his *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* (Milli K., Adnan Ötüken Kütüphanesi Yazmalar ks. Nr. 2178, p. 97b). (See: Hulusi Lekesiz, *Birgivi Mehmed Efendi ve Fikirleri*, p. 114, note 1, and p. 132). We have seen the above manuscript and checked it against other manuscripts and editions of the work, and have seen that, corroborating what A.Turan Arslan had already suggested in an oral conversation (on 11 September 2009 in Fatih, Istanbul), that which Lekesiz presents as a reference to Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye is actually a reference to Ibnu'l-Cevzi (Ebu'l-Ferec Ibnu'l-Cevzi, d.597/1201), a Hanbelite scholar from Bağdad who lived long before Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye (b. 691/1292; d.751/1350) and Ibn Teymiyye (b.661/1263, d. 728/1328). Birgivi makes this reference while discussing the thirtieth of "âfâtu'l-kalb (sins of heart)", i.e., "*el-hirs el-mezmûm* (condemned ambition)". His words are: "*ve kâle Ibnu'l-Cevzî metâ sahha'l-kasdu fe-cem'u'l-mâli efdalu min terkihi…*" (*Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye*, p. 196; see also MSS Laleli 1446, f. 80b:3; Kadızade Mehmed 295, f.48b:19). [The above reference is not indicated in Radtke's article where he enumerates the sources quoted in *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*: Bernd Radtke. "Birgiwîs Tarîqa Muhammadiyya Einige Bemerkungen und Überlegungen," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 26/1 (2002), pp. 159-174]. Ebul-Ferec Ibnu'l-Cevzî was a prolific scholar who composed nearly on every branch of Islamic sciences. (See: Yusuf Şevki Yavuz and Casim Avcı. "İbnu'l-Cevzi, Ebü'l-Ferec", *DIA* 20; pp. 543-549). Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye is known with this designation (*Ibnu Kayyimi'l-Cevziyye*: son of the *kayyim* of el-Cevziyye) because his father Ebu Bekir was the *kayyim* of the Cevziyye Medrese built in Damascus by Ebu'l-Ferec el-Cevzi's son Ebu Muhammed Muhyiddin Yusuf. He is also known with the designation el-Züra'î (Zür'î), with reference to Zür', the hometown of his grandfathers in the south of Damascus. (See: Apaydın, H.Yunus. "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye," *DIA*, 20, pp.109-123).

[138] In some of his early works A. Yaşar Ocak maintains that Birgivi recommends and quotes from works by Ibn Teymiyye, his student Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye and other Hanbelite ulema (Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış: Kadızadeliler Hareketi," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları Prof. Dr. Faruk Kadri Timurtaş'ın Hâtırasına Armağan*. (Ankara, 1983) [XVII-XXI/1-2 (1979-83)]: 208-225; pp. 212-213), and that Birgivi refers by name to Ibn Teymiyye and his students (Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. "İbn Kemal'in Yaşadığı XV ve XVI. Asırlar Türkiye'sinde İlim ve Fikir Hayatı," *Şeyhülislam İbn Kemal Sempozyumu*. (Ankara, TDVY, 1989 [first publ. in 1986]): 29-36; p. 36), but nowhere does Ocak specify any work by Birgivi that refers to Ibn Teymiyye and his students. Of the Hanbelite ulema, Birgivi refers to Ebu'l-Ferec Ibnu'l-Cevzî who lived before Ibn Teymiyye (see the previous note). Fahri Unan claims that Birgivi refers to Ibn Teymiyye in various places of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*. What Unan proves to refer to, however, is not *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* itself, but Vedâdî's translation of it called *Tekmile-i Terceme-i Tarîkat-i Muhammediyye* (İstanbul, 1256), for this is the only relevent item in Unan's list of cited works. (See: Fahri Unan, "Dinde Tasfiyecilik Yahut Osmanlı Sünniliğine Sünni Muhalefet: Birgivi Mehmed Efendi." *Türk Yurdu,* X/36 (Ağustos 1990): 33-42, p. 36, note 28; and p. 38, notes 55-58). For references to Ibn Teymiyye, Unan refers to "*Tarîkat*" (that is, *Tekmile*), pp. 412, 419, 436, 449, 450, 465, 466, 467; for views on Ibn Arabi, to p. 272; on *bid'at*s, to pp. 13-25, 64, 70, 247-248, 264, 271, 286, 305, 308. (I have been unable to check the references of Vedâdî, İzmirli İsmail Hakkı 1296; 7+534 s.). See also Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadızadeli Movement," pp. 39 and 41-59. Lekesiz, however, acknowledges, in his unpublished dissertation supervised by Ocak and completed in 1997, that there is no reference to Ibn Teymiyye in any of Birgivi's works. (Lekesiz, *Birgivi Mehmed Efendi ve Fikirleri*, p. 114); see also Emrullah Yüksel, "Mehmed Birgivi," p. 184. The same point is emphasized by Huriye Martı (*ibid*, p.67), who also provides a comparison of the

associate Birgivi with the *selefî* path is not limited to modern studies made on Birgivi in Turkey. It should be noted, in this respect, that *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr* has recently found attraction in the selefî circles: an edition of the work was made in Riyad in 1995 as a work of Birgivi, and a Turkish as well as a Bengali translation was prepared based on this edition[139]. There were actually other Turkish translatins before this one, all ascribing the work to Birgivi[140].

2- It is also significant that the author of this work should be Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari (d. ca.1043/1633), a scholar who, some of the later sources inform, was also a şeyh of the Halvetî order[141]. It is on these sources that Derin Terzioğlu relies when she writes that "Rumi Efendi", whom, she informs, another Halveti şeyh, Niyazi-i Mısri (d.1105/1694), frequently speaks of on a par with Kadızade (d.1045/1635) and Birgivi, was probably Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, "who was both a Halveti şeyh and a scholar of salafi persuasion, an initially surprising, but still not all that uncommon combination"[142]. This is because members of the Halvetî order, and especially the

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views of both scholars on specific issues (*ibid*., pp.65-68). On Ibn Teymiyye see: Ferhat Koca and M.Sait Özervarlı, "İbn Teymiyye, Takiyyüddin", *DIA* 20; pp. 391-413; M. Sait Özervarlı. *İbn Teymiyye'nin Düşünce Metodolojisi ve Kelamcılara Eleştirisi* (Istanbul: ISAM, 2008).

[139] Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi. *Ziyâretu'l-kubûr: eş-şer'iyye ve'ş-şirkiyye*. Ed. Muhammed Humeyyis. (Riyad, İdâretu'l-Buhûsi'l-İlmiyye, 1st ed. İn 1414/1993, 2nd ed. İn 1416/1995). A copy of this work is at ISAM Library (GNL 041006). The Turkish translation is: *Kabir Ziyaretleri: bidat ve müstehab*. Ed. Muhammed Humeyyis, trns. A. Muhammed Beşir. (İstanbul: Guraba Yayınları, 1997). For a copy of this translation see: ISAM GNL 054262. The Bengali translation is mentioned by Huriye Martı. This translation is also published in Riyad in 1995 by el-Mektebetu't-Te'âvunî li'd-Da've ve'l-Irşâd. See Martı, *ibid*, p. 98, note 401; ed-Dehîş, Abdurrahman b. Salih b. Süleyman (ed.). *Mukaddimetul-müfessirîn*, (Medine: Mecelletu'l-hikme, 2004/1425), p. 43.

[140] Muhammed b. Pir Ali Birgivi. *İslam'da Kabir Ziyareti*. Trans. Ahmed Şahin. (İstanbul, Bedir Yayınevi, 1965). For a copy of this see: ISAM YA 108684. *İmam Birgivi, hayatı, eserleri, kabir ziyareti ve adabı*. Ed. Mehmet Hulusi İşler, third ed. (İstanbul: Öz-gür Matbaası, 1969). For a copy of this see: ISAM GNL 084862. The work has also been studied and translated in an MA thesis: Ahmet Emin Sır. "*İmam Birgivi'nin Ziyaretü'l-kubur adlı eserinin tercümesi*." (MA thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi, 1985). See also: Martı, ibid, p. 98, Arslan, *ibid*, p. 93.

[141] Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/26; Bağdatlı, *Hediyyetu'l-Arifîn*, I/157.

[142] Terzioğlu, Derin. "Sufi and dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-1694)." (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1999), p. 58.

Sivâsî branch of it, who generally performed vocal zikr (zikr-i cehrî) and practiced sufi dances (devrân), appeared as the main target of the Kadızadeli reformists of the seventeenth century who wanted to purge the religion of Islam from all accretions that they considered as "innovation" (bid'at), including such Sufi 'malpractices'[143]. It is not certain whether or not Akhisari was a Halveti. But the fact that some Halveti Şeyhs contemporaneous with Akhisari had close familiarity with selefi sources is well-demonstrated by Terzioğlu in a recent article, where the author shows that Kadızade Mehmed [Feyzi] Efendi (d. 1041/1631-2), a Halvetî Şeyh of Bosnian origin who lived in Istanbul, claimed for himself, with the intention of presenting to the Ottoman Sultan, Murad IV (r.1032-49/1623-40), an earlier Ottoman translation of Ibn Teymiyye's *es-Siyâsetu'ş-şer'iyye fî islâhi'r-râ'î ve'r-ra'iyye*. Not surprisingly, this plagiaristic work, entitled *Tâcu'r-resâ'il ve minhâcu'l-vesâil*, which Kadızade forged by making only slight variations on the original translation (*Mi'râcu'l-'iyâle ve minhâcu'l-'adâle*) of Aşık Çelebi (d.1572), was previously considered -in the modern scholarship- as a proper translation of Ibn Teymiyye's work made by a namesake and contemporary of Kadızade Feyzi, who by all means was more popular than him, namely, Kadızade Mehmed b. Doğani Mustafa el-Balıkesiri (d.

[143] On the Halveti position vis-à-vis the sharia see Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident", p.5 and the references indicated therein. For a balanced and well-written account of the Sufi-Kadızadeli conflict that was maintained in the Ottoman central lands in most of the seventeenth century see the third chapter of the same study (pp. 190-276); for the standard reference on the subject see Madeline Zilfi. "The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 45, no 4. (Oct. 1986), 251-269; see also the references in the next note. For similar arguments taken up two centuries later by the Wahhabiyya see Butrus Abu-Manneh. "Salafiyya and the Rise of the Khalidiyya in Baghdad in the Early Ninteenth Century," *Die Welt des Islams* 43/3 (2003): 349-372, esp. pp. 350-361 and 368ff; For a similar but more detailed account of the ideas propagetad in modern times by Selefi/Wahhabi movements see the following article, which also provides an extremely original and non-essentialist interpretation of the conflict between Selefis and Sufis: Alexander Knysh. "Contextualizing the Salafi-Sufi Coflict (From Northern Caucasus to Hadramawt)," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43/4 (2007): 503-530. On the question of semâ' see Semih Ceyhan, "Semâ," *DIA* 36.

1045/1635), the leader of the famous Kadızadeli movement, so called after him[144]. Terzioğlu also informs that, like Akhisari, Kadızade Feyzi referred to Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye's *iğâsetu'l-lehfân* in his other works[145].

Actually there is evidence suggesting Akhisari's affiliation with the Kadızadelis. A note in a manuscript relates that Akhisari was a student of a certain "Kadızade"[146]. This Kadızade is presumably Kadızade Mehmed b. Doğani Mustafa, though they seem more to be contemporaries. But it could also refer to Kadızade Feyzi Efendi, or to some third Kadızade. Actually sources vary on Akhisari's date of death. Terzioğlu suggests that Akhisari died probably after 1035[147]. 1043 has been

[144] Derin Terzioğlu. "Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal Vakası: Ya da İbn Teymiyye'nin *Siyasetü'ş-şer'iyye*'sini Kim(ler) Osmanlıcaya Nasıl Aktardı?" *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*, 31/II (2007), pp. 247-275; cf. Semiramis Çavuşoğlu. "The Kadızadeli Movement: An Attempt of Seri'at-Minded Reform in the Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D diss., Princeton University, 1990); pp. 73 and 93. For Kadızade Mehmed b. Doğani Mustafa see Uşşakizade Ibrahim Hasib Efendi (d.1136/1724), *Zeylü'ş-Şakâ'ik.* Faximile with index published by Hans Joachim Kissling as *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert*, (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1965), pp.44-45; Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi (d.1148/1732). *Vekâyi'u'l-fuzalâ (Zeyl-u zeyl-i şakaiki-i nu'maniye*), ed. Abdülkadir Özcan. (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları,1989), vol. I, pp.59-60; Katip Çelebi, *Mizanul-Hak*, pp.108 and 110-122. See also Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 129ff; Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadızadeli Movement", pp. 68-72.; see also Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri* I/402; compare with the biograpy of Kadızade Küçük Mehmed İlmi Efendi in Bursalı, *ibid*, I/153. See also Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. III, p. 355, where the leader of the Kadızadeli movement is confusingly indicated as Küçük Kadızade. (See also Chapter IV, note 503)

[145] *ibid*, p. 267.

[146] "*Hâzihi risâle ellefehâ el-fâdıl er-Rûmî, sâhibu'l-Mecâlis, tilmîzu'l-Mevla Kâdîzâde rahimehumallahu rahmeten vâs'ia*". This note is recorded on title pages (ff. 78a and 83a) of two of Akhisari's treatises contained in MS volume Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 985. This volume is a very interesting collection that comprises an endless number of texts of various sizes –only the content part of the volume lasts for about 25 folios (the volume is about 260 folios). In a note on f. 29a (1a in original pagination, after the contents) the copyist says that he copied the volume in 1194 (1780) from the *mecmû'a* of his master (*ustâzinâ*) es-Seyyid Muhammed Efendi, and then presents himself in the following words: "*ketebtu hâzihi'r-resaile ve'l-evrâk, ve ene'l-fakîr Hüseyn b. el-Hasan el-İslambolî hicreten vel-Hanefi mezheben ven-Nakşibendi Tarîkaten vel-Maturidi meşreben, .... Vaiz bi-Camii Mahmud Paşa, sene 1194*." The bulk of the texts and *fetvâ*s in the volume are by Kemalpaşazade, Ali el-Kari, Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari and Saçaklızade. There are also one or two works by the following authors: Ebussuud, Birgivi, Vani, Arif Muhammed Hüseyn b. Fazlullah, Darendevi Muhammed b. Ömer b. Osman, Devvani, İbrahim Halebi, Murad Molla, Suyuti, İbnul-Cevzi Abdurrahman b. Ali; İzz b. Abdusselam, İbn Hacer, Seyyid Şerif Cürcani, and Necmuddin el-Feyti.

[147] *Sufi and dissident*, p. 58.

suggested by Katip Çelebi and Bağdatlı, and 1041 by Bursalı[148]. Bursalı also notes that his grave is in Akhisar, in the cemetery called Uzuntaş. A still earlier date has been suggested: in *Keşfu'z-zunûn,* in the article on *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr*, which Katip Çelebi attributes to "Şeyh Ahmed er-Rumi", a note is written -in modern Turkish- about the identity of the author, informing that "Şeyh Ahmed" was a prisoner of war in Cyprus who, after converting to Islam[149], followed the path of learning and settled in Akhisar in Anatolia. The note also informs that he came to İstanbul when Esat Efendi was *mufti* and was given a chair for public lecture (*dersiâmlık*) in Eyüp, and that he later returned to Akhisar and died there around 1020/1611[150]. This date, however, is improbable for the following reasons. The mentioned Esat Efendi must be Hocazade Esad Mehmed Efendi (d. 1625), who occupied the office of Şeyhulislam two times, the first being in the period between 1615-1622, and second between 1623-1625[151]. So, if Akhisari has come to İstanbul during Esad Efendi's tenure, then he can not have died before 1615 (1023-4). It may be assumed that the editors of *Keşfu'z-zunûn* have mistakenly transcribed as 1020 (1611) what was actually 1030 (1620); but this date too is improbable considering that one of

[148] Bursalı Mehmed Tahir (1861-1926). *Osmanlı Müellifleri* I-III. (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333): vol. I, p. 26; Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa (1339/1920). *Hediyyetu'l-arifîn* I-II. Edited by Muallim Kilisli Rifat Bilge and İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal. (İstanbul: MEB, 1951-55); vol. I, p. 157; Katip Çelebi, Keşfu'z-zunûn, I/856.

[149] In another place of *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, Katip Çelebi states that "Ahmed er-Rûmî", author of "Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî …", was known as "Ibnu'l-Müderris," literally, son of a müderris, a remark suggesting that Ahmed Rumi was born to a muslim family, and not a convert. *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî* that Çelebi mentioned, as we shall discuss below, is a work by Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, the author of *el-Mecâlisu'r-rûmiyye*.

[150] I shall quote the footnote concerning Akhisari's identity which the editors of *Keşfu'z-zunûn* have added to the entry on Akhisari's *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr*: "Şeyh Ahmed Kıbrıs sebayasından olup badelislam ilme gûşiş etmiştir ve Anadoluda Akhisarda sakin idi. Esat Efendi müftü iken İstanbula gelip Eyyüpda bir desâmlık [dersiamlık?] tevcih eyledi. Badehu yine Akhisara gidip 1020 hududunda fevt olmuştur – Bu malumâtı ibrisi [sic.; birisi?] imzasız olarak ilave etmiştir." (*Keşfu'z-zunûn* II/1590). Sebâyâ means prisoners of war (See: Ferit Develioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat* (Ankara, Aydın Kitabevi, 1993)).

[151] See Madeline Zilfi. *The Politics of Piety: The Otoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*. (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), p.246.

Akhisari's contemporaries, Nev'îzâde Atâ'î (d. 1045/1635), while giving the biography of some other person who he informs to have died in 1040, also makes mention of "Rumi Efendi" in a manner implying that the latter was still alive. The person whose biography Atai gives is Şeyh İbrahim Lekkani from Egypt. After giving the biography of this Arab scholar, Atai adds a fairly long note concerning the reason he did not include in his biographical work more scholars from Arabic lands; saying that while the ulema of the Arabic lands (diyâr-ı 'Arabın 'ulemâsı) are numberless, he did not mention them in his work because he did not have access to adequate information about their lives and careers, and because some "tabakât" books of some contemporaries have done that service. He nevertheless mentions a few leading figures by name, and then concludes the section by a similar remark about the ulema of Anatolia, which we shall quote verbatim:

> *Vilâyet-i Anadoluda hod kenar erlerinin nihâyeti ve sulahâ ve meşâyihin hadd u ğâyeti yokdur. Cümleden vilâyet-i Saruhanda Akhisarda sâkin Ebussuud Efendi tefsîrine hâşiye ta'lîk eden Rûmî Efendi dedikleri fâzıl-ı nâmdâr gün gibi pür-iştihârdır.*[152]

Although we could not identify a copy of it, the *Hâşiye* on Ebussuud Efendi's *Tefsîr* is mentioned among Akhisari's works also by Bursalı and Bağdatlı, two sources that mention his other works[153]. Atai's remark may be regarded as evidence that, despite living in the provincial town of Akhisar by reference to which he was known, Akhisari was well reputed even in İstanbul. It must also be noted that, if for some period, as suggested by the note in *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, Akhisari has had a chair in one of the important mosques of the imperial capital, Eyüp Mosque, then many Istanbulites

[152] Atai, *Zeyl-i Şakaik*, p. 763. To translate: "In the province of Anadolu there is no end to the men of provinces (kenâr); and the *sulahâ* and the *meşâyih* are numberless. One of their numbers, the prominent virtuous man called Rûmî Efendi, who dwells in Akhisar in the province of Saruhan, and who penned a gloss (hâşiye) on the [Koranic] exegesis of Ebussuud Efendi, is as prominent as the sun."

[153] Bursalı states that Akhisari wrote a *Ta'lika* on Ebussuud's *Tefsîr*, which lasted from the sûra of Rûm to the sûra of Duhân. See Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri* I/26; Bağdadlı, *Hediyyetu'l-Arifîn* I/157.

–Atai not being one of them?- would have close affinity with him. Furthermore, Akhisari's service in this mosque, which was surrounded by a cemetery and, more important for us, also comprised the shrine of the Prophet's friend Ebu Eyyüb el-Ensari -arguably the most revered shrine in the city that would attract many visitors- may also explain the strong criticism of visitation of tombs that we find in his writings –more on this topic shall be said below.

Another piece of information that we think concerns Akhisari is recorded in Katip Çelebi's autobiographical treatise at the end of his *Mîzânu'l-hakk fî ihtiyâri'l-ehakk*, a work he penned to advise the middle way between the Kadızadeli extremism and the Sufi laxity, where he discusses, one by one, the issues that were on the debate in his time. In the autobiographical piece appended to this work Çelebi informs that Ahmed Rumi Akhisari's son Mevlana Mehmed, a brilliant youth who lived near his house, began attending his courses in 1057/1647, studying with him such rational sciences as "riyaziyât", "hendese" and "zîc*"*. The thoughest problems of these sciences, Çelebi says, seemed plain to this young student of extraordinary ability. Çelebi adds that the example of this pupil and that of Çelebi's own son have taught him that excessive intelligence was fatal, since this young man died soon, sharing the fate of his own son[154]. On the other hand, since ten years after this date Katip Çelebi himself died (in 1067/1657), this Mevlana Mehmed can not be "eş-Şeyh Muhammed b. eş-Şeyh Ahmed el-Akhisari", who penned (or, less probably, copied) two works in 1077/1666 and 1081/1670 when he was *müderris* in "Medresetu't-Tekke el-Mağnisiyye"[155]. If Mevlana Mehmed who studied with Katip Çelebi is son

[154] Kâtib Çelebi. *Mîzanu'l-hakk fî ihtiyâri'l-ehakk*. Ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay. (İstanbul: MEB, 1972), p. 117.

[155] See: Sül. K., Kasidecizade 736. These texts in question are: a *ta'lika* on the famous Koranic exegesis of Beyzavi (ff.115b-125b), and a treatise on the subject of loudly reciting *tasliye* and *tarziye*

of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, then eş-Şeyh Mehmed, the author/copyist of the mentioned texts, is son of another Şeyh Ahmed el-Akhisari[156]. We contend, however, that the youngster who studied with Katip Çelebi is son of the şeyh Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, the author of *el-Mecâlis*, with whom Çelebi appears to be well-acquainted, by evidence not only of the records Çelebi made of Akhisari's works in his *Keşfu'z-zunûn*[157], but also of the fact that Çelebi depends presumably on these works (some of which will be discussed in the following pages) in his *Mizânu'l-hakk* while summarizing for his readers the views of the parties on controversial issues. This is more probable especially considering that Katip Çelebi himself was for some time affiliated with the famous Kadızade Mehmed of Balıkesir. Çelebi tells us in the same autobiographical writing that it was thanks to the moving sermons of this preacher (which he listened in the Sultan Mehmed (Fatih) mosque in 1038/1628-9 "when the aforementioned Kadızade was in repute", and which generally "encouraged people to learn the noble knowledge and get rid of ignorance") that he decided to devote himself to the path of learning. He also reports attending Kadızade's courses in that year until his participation in 1039/1629-30 to a campaign to Bağdad, as well as after his return in 1041. Çelebi does not say for how long he continued attending Kadızade's courses, but he does distance himself from his master and implies a fall-away when he writes of Kadızade that "most of his lectures were superficial, as he was unfamiliar with the neighborhood of rational sciences (zîrâ ma'kûlât semtini

(ff 126a-133a +135b); colophons are on f.125b and f.133a. The volume comprises other texts as well, two of them copied in 1141 (see f. 107a) and 1176 (see f. 10b).

[156] That there is another Ahmed Rumi may also be inferred from what Katip Çelebi has to say on a treatise on "zikr-i cehrî", which he attributes to Hüsameddin Hüseyin b. Abdurrahman (d.926/1519) and "Ahmed er-Rûmî, known as Ibn el-Muderris" (*Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/866), as nowhere else Akhisari is referred to with that designation. This remark may indicate that Ahmed Rumi is different from the Halveti Şeyh Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari. However, as we shall show in the following pages, the triatise that was mentioned by Çelebi is actually a work of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, the author of *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr*. It follows that Çelebi is actually referring to the same Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari to whose son he taught rational sciences.

[157] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, volume I, pp. 737, 854, 856, 866; volume II, p. 1590.

bilmezdi)". He also reports attending courses by three other scholars in 1048-1050 (1638-1641), not forgetting to draw a clear contrast between the expertise of these masters and the superficiality of Kadızade[158]. But it must be noted, though Çelebi does not specify it, that Kadızade had already died by the time Çelebi attached himself to these scholars[159].

3- Last but not least, this selection is a work of Akhisari which has falsely been attributed to Birgivi (d. 981/1573). Such a relationship between Akhisari and Birgivi is not specific to this case, as at least four other works by Akhisari have been attributed to Birgivi in some manuscripts. These works are: (1) *Risâle fi'l-musâfaha*, (2) *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî*, (3) *Risâle fi'l-arâzi'l-'uşriyye ve'l-harâciyye* (these three treatises, like *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr*, have until now been considered in the literature as works of Birgivi), and (4) *Risâle fî îmâni'l-mukallid*, known also as *Risâle fi'l-i'tikâd* or *Risâle-i taklîdiye*, another treatise by Akhisari which, we discovered, was attributed to Birgivi in one of the manuscripts. Akhisari has also penned a commentary on Birgivi's *ed-Dürru'l-yetîm fi't-tecvîd* [160], a pedagogic treatise concerning the correct recitation of the Koran.

Although *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr* and the four treatises above were attributed to Birgivi in some manuscripts, there are other copies of each, some

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[158] For a view that considers Katip Çelebi as one of the proto-moderns in the Ottoman Empire whose work, like the Kadızadeli thought with which ha had affinity, "represents another aspect of proto-modernity, even secularization", see Gottfried Hagen, "Afterword" in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: the World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 215-256; esp. 245-246. Hagen also proposes that the Kadızadeli movement represented modernity in religion. For further discussion see Chapter IV.

[159] Kadızade died in 1045/1635. See above, note 144; see also Bağdatlı, *Hediyyetu'l-Ârifîn*, II/277.

[160] For *Dürr-i yetîm* and Akhisari's commentary see *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/737; see also *Osmanlı Müellifleri* I/26; *Hediyyetu'l-Arifîn* I/157. Akhisari's commentary has more than twenty copies in İstanbul libraries (See, f.e.: Sül. K., Harput 429, ff. 1-28; Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, ff. 1-30). For more information see Chapter IV.

explicitly attributed to Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, others in volumes consisting exclusively of Akhisari's works. The most significant case is that of a manuscript volume (Süleymaniye Ktb., Harput 429) in which all of the five treatises have been copied. This volume contains 18 texts in total, and the texts other than the above treatises belong to Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari for sure[161] –all but one of the texts in the volume have been attributed to Akhisari in the catalogue as well. It is clear that the copyist who compiled this volume intended to bring together the shorter works of Akhisari. Nowhere in the volume, however, has he specified his own name, or the name of the author, or the titles of the texts, or the date of copying. But all texts are copied by the same hand. The volume, it must be noted, does not exhaust all works of Akhisari (two works of him that are not included in this volume are: *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr ve masâliku'l-ahyâr*, in Arabic, and *Risâle-i Rûmî*, in Turkish –both of which have numerous copies in İstanbul libraries). (Other volumes that contain an important number of Akhisari's works are: Darulmesnevi 258, Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, Reisülküttab 1181, Reşid Efendi 985 and 271).

We shall now look at the treatises, one by one, that were attributed both to Birgivi and Akhisari, to demonstrate why they must be works of Akhisari. *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr* has already been discussed. Others are below.

6) *Risâle fi'l-musâfaha*

This is a short treatise arguing against the practice of shaking hands (*musâfaha*) after performing prayers, especially after the friday prayer and the prayers of the two *'îd*s (bayram), a practice that, the author argues, since unprecedented, is an unacceptable innovation (*bid'at*). Atsız mentions only two copies of this work, which until now

[161] One of these texts is the commentary on Birgivi's *ed-Dürru'l-yetîm* (see the previous note).

remained the only known copies in the literature[162]. Both copies attribute the work to Birgivi[163] –one of them being in a volume that comprises several treatises by Birgivi and several others by Akhisari. However, since the only dated one of the two copies is from a considerably later date (1058), their attribution can not be relied on. We have identified three other manuscript copies of the work, all undated, and none mentioning the name of the author. However, two of the newly identified copies are, similarly, in volumes that comprise works by Akhisari and Birgivi[164], while one is in a volume that consists exclusively of Akhisari's works[165]. Looking at these bibliographical facts we can not say much: the work could belong either to Akhisari or to Birgivi. Further indication that the work was authored by Birgivi comes from another treatise written on the same issue. This treatise, which was obviously composed on the basis of the work in question, refers, at the end of a quotation, to the source it has been taken from: "Thus is in the treatise by Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (*kezâ fî risâleti'l-Birgivi Muhammed Efendi*)."[166] However, since this treatise too is of a later date[167], this attribution cannot be trusted either. Another treatise on the

[162] See Atsız, *ibid*, p. 53; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 97; Lekesiz, *ibid* p. 74; Martı, *ibid*, p. 95.

[163] Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 2728, ff. 141b-144a, dated 1058; the colophon reads: "*Temmeti'r-risâletu'ş-şerîfe li'l-mevlâ el-fâdıl el-Birgivi rh.*"; see also contents page (1a). Halet Efendi 815, ff. 40b-41b, nd.; the text begins and ends without any space separating it from the adjoining texts; a note at the end (41b) reads: "*li'ş-şeyh Muhammed el-Birgivi*".

[164] Sül. K., Reisülküttab 1181, ff. 68a-b, nd. (the only dated text in the volume (f.103a) has the date 1038; majority of the works in this volume consist of treatises by Birgivi, Akhisari, and Kemalpaşazade on controversial issues). Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1085, ff. 13a-b, nd. (the volume contains four texts, none with a colophon. (The texts are, respectively: Birgivi's *Mektub*, a *fetvâ* by him, Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari's treatise about *hutbe*, and the text about *musafaha*).

[165] Sül. K., Harput 429, ff. 72a-73a, nd

[166] f.219b in *Risâle fî beyâni sünneti'l-musâfaha*, Sül. K., Esad Efendi 3599, ff. 217-236. The beginning parts of this teratise is composed by some manipulation on the work in question, but the treatise is prolonged by further quotations from other sources.

[167] The treatise is not dated., but, since all texts in the volume are by the same hand, this too must have been copied (or composed) by Osman b. Yusuf around 1198/1783 (see ff. 149a and 193a). There is also reference to such works as Receb Efendi's commentary (comp. in 1087/1676) on Birgivi's

same issue, however, provides us with a clue the follow of whose lead may let us ascertain the question of the authorship of the work. The author of this treatise, es-Seyyid Muhammed b. es-Seyyid Kemaleddin, the "Nakîbu's-Sâdât ve'l-Eşrâf" in Damascus, begins his treatise by telling that he has seen a book, called *el-Mecâlis*, by one of the ulema of the Rum, in which, he says, a *meclis* was reserved to the issue of *musâfaha*. Seyyid Kemaleddin argues that the author of *el-Mecâlis* has gone too far and made unacceptable judgements[168]. He is also kind enough to quote the beginning of the relevant *meclis* of the book that he has seen. Not surprisingly, these are the opening words also of the fiftieth *meclis* of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari's *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr ve mesâliku'l-ahyâr* (known commonly as *el-Mecâlisu'r-Rûmiyye* with reference to the author), which deals with the question of *musâfaha*.

We compared this *meclis* with the treatise that is attributed to Birgivi, only to see that the treatise is an abriged version of the much longer *meclis*. Actually, most paragraps of the treatise are identical, word by word, with the text of the fiftieth *meclis*. Since such paragraphs are far more than can be indicated in this study, we shall only refer to some of the divergences between the two texts. First of all, unulike the *meclis*, the treatise is preceded by a *dîbâce* (introduction), as it is a requirement of the genre. Secondly, there is reference to Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye's *Iğâsetu'l-lehfân* in the *meclis*[169], but this reference is not included in the treatise. On the other hand, there is reference in the treatise[170] to *Tebyînu'l-mehârim*, a work composed by

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*Tarîkat-i Muhammediye* (see f. 222a) and Akkirmani's commentary (comp. in 1157/1744-45) on Birgivi's *Erba'în* (see f.227b).

[168] *Risâle fi'l-musâfaha*, Sül. K., Laleli 3767, ff. 142b-147a, nd

[169] *el-Mecâlisu'r-Rumiyye*, Sül. K., Yazma Bağışlar 865 f. 148b (144b in original pagination).

[170] "*Kale fî Tebyîni'l-mehârim: kâle fi'l-Multekat: yukrehu'l-musafahatu ba'de edâi's-salâti*"

Sinaneddin Yusuf el-Amasi (d.1000/1591)[171] in 4 of Receb 980 (1572)[172], that is, ten months before Birgivi's death in Cumadelula of 981 (1573).

This reference, however, is not existent in the *meclis*. Now we have a question that is two-partite: if we say that both texts belong to Akhisari, then what is the direction of the changes visible in these texts? If they do not belong to him both, then who is responsible for these divergences? Any answer to these questions should depend on which of the two texts was written before. In other words, it depends on whether it is the treatise that was singled out from *el-Mecâlisu'r-Rûmiyye* after some modifications, or it is the relevant *meclis* of this book that was expanded on the basis of the shorter treatise. Süleyman b. Hayreddin, who translated *el-Mecâlisu'r-Rûmiyye* into Ottoman Turkish, argues that this book is not a proper work of Akhisari, but a collection in which Akhisari's students posthumously compiled the papers that their master had prepared for Friday sermons[173]. However, the introduction of *el-Mecâlis*, recorded in some copies, does not support this argument. Nevertheless, in view of Süleyman b. Hayreddin's remark, one could presume that the treatise on musâfaha was written by Akhisari himself, which was then included in the collection by his disciples with some changes (but Akhisari's original version, it must be noted, might be still another text). It is more probable, however, again with view of the above remark, that the reference in the *meclis* to Ibn Kayyim el-Cevziyye

[171] Amasi's date of death is given in Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, (Leiden, 1943-49); Supplement II, pp. 452 and 524. Katip Çelebi says he died ca 1000 (see *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/342). He also indicates that one of Amasi's works (*Menâsiku'ş-şeyh Sinan*) was composed in 991/1583 (see: *Keşufu'z-zunûn*, II, 1832). In the beginning of *Risâle fî tarziyeti'l-mu'ezzinîne ve tasliyetihim fî esnâ'il-hutbe* Amasi says: "And then, when I saw at the beginning of the year one thousand after *hegira*, that…" (Esad Efendi 3780, f.116b). He is also known as Sinan el-Mekkî –See the colophon at the end of another copy of *Risâle fî tarziyeti'l-mu'ezzinîne* (Sül. Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, *ff*. 69b-71a).

[172] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/342.

[173] This is what I understood from the complicated language of the translator. See the introduction of the translator in: Sül. K., Çelebi Abdullah 220 (840 *ff*.).

should have been omitted for some purpose from the treatise –which, in this case, would be the singled-out version intended for wider circulation- to which was added a more "Ottoman" (Hanefite) reference: *Tebyînu'l-mehârim*. It would be interesting to know whether those who made this change[174] are responsible also for the attribution of the work to Birgivi; and, if so, whether they made the change *because* they attributed the work to Birgivi. (The relationship between the treatise and the relevant section of *el-Mecâlisu'r-Rûmiyye* deserves to be analyzed separately).

In any case, even if we disregard all bibliographical facts about the manuscript copies of the treatise on *musâfaha* and the similarities between it and the relevant section of Akhisari's book, the simple fact that it refers to *Tebyînu'l-mehârim*, a work written by a contemporary of Birgivi, Sinaneddin el-Amasi, makes Birgivi's authorship of the treatise improbable. Akhisari, however, has definitely read Amasi, and penned some of his treatises based on others by Amasi[175]. In addition, the text resembles in style to other treatises of Akhisari. For instance, after statements of praise to God and to the Prophet, the treatise begins with a standard formula visible in most treatises of Akhisari[176]: "and then, you brethren shall know that… (*ve ba'du fa'lemû eyyuhe'l-ihvân..*)". Similarly, the text ends with words that are the concluding remarks also of most Akhisari texts[177]: "*nes'elullâhe'l-'ismete 'ani'l-hatâ'i ve'l-hatel; ve't-tevfike bimâ yuhibbuhu ve yardâhu min kavlin ve*

[174] The responsibility for this can not reside in Akhisari if *el-Mecâlis* is a posthumously collected work.

[175] See below, the discussion on *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî.*

[176] Cf. *Risâle fi'z-zikr* (Harput 429, f. 48b; Gelibolulu Tahir Efendi 56, f. 184b), *Risâle fî hakki salâti'r-reğâib ve'l-berât* (Harput 429, f. 148a, Gelibolulu Tahir 56, f. 194b), *Risâle fî tafdîli'n-nubuvveti ale'l-velâyeti* (Harput 429, f. 38a), *Risâle fî beyâni't-tarîk ilâ ma'rifeti's-sâni'* (Harput 429, f. 93b), *Risâle fi'l-i'tikâd* (Harput 429, f. 29a).

[177] Cf. *Şerh-i Dürr-i yetîm* (Harput 429, f.28a; Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, f. 30a), *Risâle fî hakki salâti'r-reğâib ve'l-berât* (Harput 429, f. 157b, Gelibolulu Tahir 56, f. 207b).

*'amel.*" Finally, it is Akhisari's convention to make arguments of the following manner: "The old generations used to be careful about not making an unfailing habit of performing rituals for which there is evidence from the Koran and the prophetic tradition (*sünnet*). What about habitualizing forms of worship for which there is no evidence at all?!" This kind of reasoning we find in this treatise as well as in *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî*, another work of Akhisari that is falsely attributed to Birgivi.

Huriye Martı regrets the strict Hanefî stance that Birgivi deploys in his works, and states that "except for a few sentences where he refers to other ulemâ," all of the sources to which Birgivi refers in his works are Hanefite sources. For the exceptions Martı refers to two works: *Risâle fi'l-musâfahâ* and *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî*.[178] It is interesting that both of these works belong not to Birgivi but to Akhisari (see below). On the other hand, the assertion that Birgivi did not use sources other than the Hanefî books is all too sweeping; for Birgivi referred to a wide range of non-Hanefîte sources as well, at least on non-juridical matters.[179]

*Risâle fi'l-musâfaha* has been edited by Ibrahim Subaşı et-Tokadi and published by Asitane in a small volume that also comprises *el-Makâmât* (another work that is attributed to Birgivi in manuscripts of very late dates[180]), and both were attributed to Birgivi. Turkish translations of these two texts as well as of *Mihakku's-sûfiyye* (another work attributed to Birgivi in some manuscripts[181]) and *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî* have been published online[182], all presented as works of Birgivi.

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[178] Martı, *Ibid*., p.62. Indeed in *Risâle fi'l-musâfahâ* there is reference to Şâfi'î and Mâlikî sources.

[179] Cf. the list of references of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* as given in Radtke. "Birgiwîs Tarîqa Muhammadiyya," and in Lekesiz, *ibid*, p. 132; cf. also Martı, *ibid*., p.164.

[180] See: Sül. K., Erzincan 63, ff. 99b-102a, dated 1239; Kasidecizade 111, ff. 39-45, nd. (an owner's note (f.1a) displays the date 1310. For a discussion on this work see the next chapter in this study).

[181] Hacı Selim Ağa K., Hacı Selim Ağa 1271, ff. 35a-36b; Sül. K., M.Murad-M.Arif 174, f.20 (on margin, incomplete). For a discussion on this work see the next chapter in this study.

[182] http://www.hicretonline.com/tasavvuf/tasavvuf.htm

7-8) *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî* & *Risâle fi't-teğannî ve hurmetihi ve vucûbi istimâ'i-l-hutbe*

A teratise called *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî* has been considered in the literature to be a work of Birgivi. Actually we have identified three treatises about *zikr-i cehrî* (performing vocal *zikr*) that seem to be slightly different versions of the same text. One of these versions (Version I) is attributed to Birgivi in a late manuscript[183], and has therefore been counted in the literature among Birgivi's works[184]. This has so far been the only copy of the work known in Birgivi studies. We have identified another copy of this same version, which attributes the text to "Rumi Ahmed Efendi"[185]. Specimens of versions II and III are recorded in the manuscript volume Harput 429 (ff. 84b-93a and 48b-54b, respectively). This volume, as we noted before, consists exclusively of texts by Akhisari. We have also identified another copy[186] for version II[187], with no attribution. Version III[188], however, has more than two copies, some of

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[183] Sül. K., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 771, ff. 24b-29a; the colophon reads (29a): "*Temmeti'r-risaletuş-şerîfe fi'z-zikr li-Muhammed el-Birgivi fi Belde-i Bursa fi medrese-i İsa Bey, fi sene 1144 (1731)*." The beginning of this version is: "*el-hamdu lillâhillezî ce 'ale'l-'ulemâe veresete'l-enbiyâ'i li-yumeyyizu'l-hakke mine'l-bâtıli inde'l-'ukalâ'i'l-buleğâ'i… fe-yâ eyyuhe's-sâliku't-tâlibu radiyellâhuteala ve rasûluh, i'lem enne mâ zekerehu'l-muhakkikûn yenkasimu ilâ kısmeyni, ehaduhumâ zikru'l-lisâni ve'l-âheru zikrun bi'l-kalbi…*".

[184] See Atsız, *ibid*, p. ; Arslan, *ibid*, p.; Lekesiz, *ibid*, p. ; Martı, *ibid*, p.

[185] Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 271, ff. 113b-118a, no colophon. But in the contents page (f.103a) of the volume the text is indicated by these words: "*ve risâle fî beyâni'z-zikri'l-cehrî ve mâ yeta'allaku bihi ve beyânu'l-bida'i ve ğayriha li'l-fâdıl el-mes 'ûd(?) Rûmî Ahmed Efendi rh*.". The MS is not dated., but the next text in the volume bears the date 1046/1733 (see f. 125a).

[186] Reşid Efendi 985 (116b-120b). this copy is problematic, as the page numbers do not flow regularly: It is interrupted on ff. 125b-126a by another (un-numbered) treatise: Seyyid Şerif el-Curcani's treatise on existence (*vücûd*).

[187] Its beginning is: "*elhamdulillâhirabbilâlemîn…, ve ba'du fa'lem eyyuhe's-sâliku's-sâdiku enne mutlake'z-zikri 'alâ mâ zekerehu'l-muhakkikûne yenkasimu ilâ kısmeyni, ehaduhumâ zikru'l-lisâni ve'l-âheru zikru'l-kalbi…*"

[188] Its beginning is: "*el-hamdu lillâhi 'alâ nevâlihi ve's-salâtu ve's-selâmu alâ nebiyyihi ve âlihi, ve ba'du fa'lemû eyyuhe'l-ihvânu enne mutlake'z-zikri 'alâ mâ zekerehu'l-muhakkikûne yenkasimu ilâ kısmeyni, ehaduhumâ zikru'l-lisâni ve'l-âheru zikru'l-kalbi…*"

which explicitly attribute it to Akhisari[189], while others, though with no attribution, take place in volumes that contain other works of Akhisari[190]. It would be interesting to thoroughly compare all three treatises, but we have no space for it here. We can, however, tangentally touch on some points. First, it is our contention that these treatises were all composed by Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari. There is evidence –other than those of the manuscripts- to maintain Akhisari's authorship of the versions I and III. Katip Çelebi mentions in *Keşfu'z-zunûn* a work called "*Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî*…"[191], which he attributes to "mevlânâ Ahmed er-Rûmî known as Ibn el-Muderris"[192]. The opening words of this work as quoted by Katip Çelebi ("*el-Hamdu lillâhillezî ce'ale'l-'ulemâe veresete'l-enbiyâi* ilh.") are the same as those of Version I, which has been attributed to Birgivi in one of the (two) copies. Katip Çelebi's attribution is supported also by the other copy of the work, which attributes it, as we have seen, to "Rumi Ahmed Efendi". So, the attribution to Birgivi of Version I in

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[189] Şehid Ali Paşa 1189, ff. 12b-18a, a note on title page (f.12a) reads: "*Hâzihi risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî li-mevlânâ el-'ârif billâhiteâlâ Ahmed b. Abdullah er-Rûmî...*". (Bağdatlı gives the name of Akhisari's father as Muhammed; see *Hediyyetu'l-Ârifîn*, I/157); This is the second text in the volume, which contains 4 text in total –the succeeding two are: *Mihakku'l-mutasavvifîn* (18a-22a) and Akhisari's treatise on *hutbe* (22a ff).

[190] Darülmesnevi 258, ff. 99b-104a; nd., but the two texts adjoining from either side are dated 1093/1682, both by Akhisari –the volume has other texts by Akhisari as well. Gelibolulu Tahir Efendi 56, ff. 184b-194b, dated 1051/1641-42 (the volume also contains a number of treatises by Birgivi and a treatise by Akhisari).

[191] The full name of the work as given by Çelebi is: "Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî ve tecvîzihi ve cevâzi'd-devrâni ve'r-reddi 'ale'l-Bezzâziyye" (*Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/866). This title indicates that the work argues for, and not against, *zikr-i cehrî* and sufi dances (*deveran*). But the treatise viewed by us argues against these issues. There must be a mistake on the part of Katip Çelebi resulting probably from the fact that he discussed under one and the same article two different treatises, as he attributes the above work also to another person (see the next note).

[192] "…ve li-Mevlânâ Ahmed er-Rûmî el-ma'rûf bi-Ibn el-Muderris" (*Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/866). This is the only instance where Ahmed Rumi is indicated as "Ibn el-Muderris." The reference may therefore not be to Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, but to another Ahmed Rumi. (For another reason to believe so see the previous note). But the evidence of the manuscripts tells otherwise. It is possible that Katip Çelebi has seen Akhisari's work, but made a mistake by discussing it under the above heading, which is probably the title of the work of the other author to whom Katip Çelebi attributes '*Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî...*": "el-Mevlâ Husameddin Huseyn b. Abdurrahman" (d.926), the mufti of Amasya (*Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/866). Çelebi does not quote the beginning of the work he attributes to this author.

one of the two copies must be a mistake. Furthermore, Birgivi does not mention such a work of his own in his *Tarîkat-i Muhammediyye*, in several places of which he touches on questions of *zikr*, *teğannî* (recitation with melody, or singing) and *lahn* (eliding or mis-spelling of words, especially for the sake of mode and other melodic considerations), while he does refer, in some of these places, to other works of his own[193]. Regarding that *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye* was written only one year before the death of the author, we can say that lack of reference in this work to the text in question is evidence that Birgivi did not compose a work on the subject –unless he should have authored such a work after he composed *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye*, as a certain treatise that is said to be his last work deals with the question[194]. By the same token, he does not have a treatise on *hutbe* either. Actually, in another place of *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, Katip Çelebi attributes both to Birgivi and to "eş-Şeyh Ahmed er-Rûmî" a work called "*Risâle fi't-teğannî ve hurmetihi ve vucûbi istimâ'il-hutbe*"[195] (Bağdatlı, too, attributes to Birgivi a work called *Risâle fî hurmeti't-teğannî ve vucûbi istimâ'il-hutbe*[196]). However, from the beginning words which Çelebi quotes for each we can discern that what he ascribes to Birgivi (the one beginning as "*el-*

[193] F.e., Birgivi argues that if such religious duties as *kıraat* (recitation of Koran), *zikr*, and *duâ* (supplication) are performed with *lahn* and *teğannî*, they become impermissible (*harâm*). "Therefore," he continues, "there is need to *tecvîd*, on which we composed a risâle and called it *Dürr-i yetîm*; you must keep it, because it will suffice you in this subjects (*fî hâze'l-bâb*). [These duties also become *harâm*] if they are performed by payment (*ücret*) and worldly interest, because payment is *harâm* in religious obligations that are purely bodily. On this we have composed *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* and *Îkâzu'n-nâimîn*, you must keep them." (*Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye*, p. 318). See also similar discussions in *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye* on the following subjects, which Birgivi counts among the âfâts of the tongue (âfâtu'l-lisân): *ğinâ'* (singing) (pp. 263-268), speaking while *ezân* or *hutbe* is going on (pp. 287-289), or when Koran is beign recited (p. 290-291). In none of these places does Birgivi refer to any specific work of him on *zikr* or on *hutbe*.

[194] *el-Kavlu'l-vasît beyne'l-ifrât ve't-tefrît*; for this work see Chapter IV.

[195] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/854. Compare Çelebi's words with the following statements from the contents page (f.103a) of MS Reşid Efendi 271: "*...ve risâle fî vucûbi istimâ'i'l-hutbe ve hurmeti't-teğannî li'l-fâdıl el-merhûm Rumi Ahmed Efendi; ve risâle eydan fî vucûbi istimâ'i'l-hutbe ve mâ yete'allaku bihâ li'ş-şeyh Sinan el-Bayındırı rh.; ve risâle fî beyâni'z-zikri'l-cehrî ve mâ yete'allaku bihi ve beyânu'l-bida'i ve ğayrihâ li'l-fâdıl el-mes'ûd (?) Rumi Ahmed Efendi rh...*"

[196] *Hedyyetu'l-ârifîn*, II/252.

*Hamdu lillâhi'l-lezî hedânâ lil-İslâmi* ilh.") is actually a treatise by Akhisari which argues against the practice of loudly reciting *tarziye*, *tasliye* and *te'mîn* at the course of *hutbe*, and that what he ascribes to Şeyh Ahmed Rumi (the one beginning as "*el-Hamdu lillâhi'l-lezî ersale rasûlehu bi'l-hudâ* ilh.") is actually a treatise on the same subject by Şeyh Sinan Efendi (Sinaneddin Yusuf el-Amasi[?], author of *Tebyîn el-mehârim*; d.1000/1591). So, none of the two works on *hutbe* belong to Birgivi[197]. On the contrary, the first belongs to Akhisari, and the second to Şeyh Sinan (Amasi). But Katip Çelebi has confused them. (Akhisari's and Amasi's treatises have been copied together in some manuscripts[198]; actually there are other copies of each[199], as there are similar treatises on the subject warren by other authors[200]). Katip Çelebi's confusion is not very surprising, however, because the two texts have a relationship that is quite complicated: even a cursory comparision of them can demonstrate that Akhisari has considerably drawn upon Amasi's treatise[201]. (A similar situation is true of Akhisari's *Risâle fî hakki'd-duhân*, a treatise on tobacco and coffee, as well as of his *Risâle fî hurmeti'r-raks ve'd-deverân*, a treatise on sufi dances, in both of which he draws upon *er-Rahs ve'l-vaks li-müstahilli'r-raks*, a treatise by Ibrahim el-Halebi

[197] Birgivi does not refer to such a work of him in *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* in the relevant section on *hutbe* (pp. 288-289).

[198] Both are copied successively in MS volume Reşid Efendi 271. (See ff.103b-109a for Akhisari's work, and ff.109b-113a for Amasi's).

[199] For copies of Akhisari's work see: Harput 429 (77b-84b), Reisülküttab 1181 (60b-67a), Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1085 (8b-12a); and Reşid Efendi 000985 (87b-92a) –the last MS is interrupted on folios 88a-b by another text on the same subject, authored by Kuşadalı Mustafa b. Hamza, the commentator of Birgivi's *el-İzhâr*. For copies of Sinan Efendi's work see: Esad Efendi 3780 (116b-120b), Kasidecizade 702 (69b-74b). The work in Laleli 3675 (37b-38b) is a kind of a summary of this work.

[200] For a treatise on the same subject composed in 1079/1668 by Akhisari's son(?) "eş-Şeyh Muhammed b. eş-Şeyh Ahmed el-Akhisari" see: Kasidecizade 736 (126a-135b). For a treatise on the same subject by Minkarizade Yahya Efendi see: Ibrahim Efendi 872 (18b-20b) and Serez 3876 (7b-9a).

[201] The first couple of pages of Akhisari's treatise repeat Amasi's text except for a few omissions and with slight change in statements. In the last pages, however, Akhisari incorporates into the text new arguments that do not exist in Sinan Efendi's treatise, such as the question of *teğannî* and *lahn*. Akhisari has also added a new *dîbâce* to the beginning of the work.

(d.956/1549) arguing against sufi dances)[202]. Neither is Katip Çelebi alone in his confusion: A copyist who shows himself to be familiar with both texts has copied out some part of a treatise on *hutbe*, at the end of which he writes: "From the treatise called *el-Hutbe* by eş-şeyh el-âlim el-fâdıl Sinan el-Mekkî, author of *Tebyînu'l-mehârim*", and adds: "the subject was explained also by fâdıl er-Rûmî…"[203]. However, what he has copied out is actually a part of Akhisari's wok, not Sinan Efendi's.

That Birgivi did not write an independent treatise on the question of Hutbe, however, does not mean that he did not touch upon the issue: on the contrary, the last "fâide" in the commentary he made on his *Erbain* is reserved to this question[204]. It is nevertheless significant to observe that while many independent treatises were written by other authors, both before and after Birgivi, on the debated topics of the time, Birgivi himself, with the exception of two or three cases[205], devoted no special treatise to the debated topics of his time –though he did touch on some of them in his general works.

Returning to the treatises on *zikr*, we have so far demonstrated two things: that Birgivi does not have a treatise on *zikr* or on *hutbe*, and that *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî* (Version I), though attributed to Birgivi in a manuscript, is actually a work of

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[202] For Akhisari's treatise on tobacco, see: Harput 429 (184-189), Reisülküttab 1181 (55b-60a), Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035 (31b-36b), and Darülmesnevi 258 (70b-74b). For his treatise on *raks* see: Harput 429 (65a-72a). For Halebi's treatise see:Reşid Efendi 985 (215b-220b) and Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 771 (116a-118b, incomplete).

[203] Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, ff. 69b-71a.

[204] *Şerhu Erba'în*, Atıf Efendi K., Atıf Ef., 2785, ff. 63a-65b. This section of *Şerh-i Erb'în* is different from Akhisari's and Amasi's treatises.

[205] These are the question of cash-waqf, on which he penned his *es-Seyfu's-sârim* and his *Mektûb*, and the question of taking wage for performing acts that are essentially religious, such as reciting Koran and teaching, on which he wrote *Îkâzu'n-nâimîn* and *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*. Another work by him which touches on the question of Sufi dances and advises the middle way, namely, his *el-Kavlu'l-vasît beyne'l-ifrât ve't-tefrît*, may also be mentioned in this regard.

Akhisari. There is evidence also that Version III of the treatise on *zikr* is a product of Akhisari's pen, because the statement of praise (*hamd*) in which this version opens is a standard Akhisari statement visible in many of his treatises: "*elhamdulillâhi 'alâ nevâlihi ve's-salâtu ve's-selâmu 'alâ nebiyyihi ve âlihi; ve ba'du fa'lemû eyyuhe'l-ihvânu…*"[206]. In addition, it has been composed by way of manipulation on Version I, a convention not unfamiliar to Akhisari: In Version III the author replaced with the above statements the opening words of Version I, but did not totally get rid of them, as these words[207], which state praise to God for making ulema the inheritors of the prophets, re-appear at the end of Version III as an independent discussion, which Version I does not have[208]. Finally, if we disregard the varying statements of *hamd* that precede the three treatises on *zikr*, the introductory sentences –following statements of *hamd*- in all three are by and large identical. What is more, these introductory sentences are the same as those in which a *meclis* (the second *meclis*) of Akhisari's *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr* opens. After emphasizing, in two lines, that *zikr* is the most valuable of all deeds, the author of *el-Mecâlis* writes: "But it [i.e., *zikr*] divides into two: one is *zikr* by tongue, the other is *zikr* by heart. As for *zikr* by tongue, it is pronounced by tongue and heard by ears, and emerges by letters and voice. But *zikr*

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[206] Cf. *Şerh-i Dürr-i yetîm*, (Harput 429, f. 1b; Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, f. 1b), *Risâle f'l-i'tikâd* (*Risâle-i taklîdiyye*) (Harput 429, f. 29a; Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, f.38b), *Risâle fî tafdîli'n-nubuvveti ale'l-velâyeti* (Harput 429, f. 39a), *Risâle fi salâti'r-reğâib ve'l-berât* (Harput 429, f. 148a; Gelibolulu Tahir Ef. 56, f. 194b), and *Risâle fi'l-bid'ati'l-haseneti ve's-seyyi'eti* (Harput 429, f. 158a, Darülmesnevi 258, f. 104a).

[207] "*el-hamdu lillâhillezî ce'ale'l-'ulemâe veresete'l-enbiyâ'i li-yumeyyizu'l-hakke mine'l-bâtıli inde'l-'ukalâi'l-buleğâ'i…*"

[208] At the and of Version III, the author emphasizes that the rank of the ulema is right after that of the prophets, above even the rank of the martyrs, because, he says, the martyrs' blood is poured for one moment of the day and then they head to the heaven, while the ink of the ulema is a mission that lasts for lifetime, day and night, as they continuously encounter questions about new situations, and through their answers to these questions God's verdict becomes manifest, and people obey God's commands and avoid His prohibition; therefore the ulema get credit for every person who worships God and obeys His commands, or abandons a sin or an innovation, because they are prophets' inheritors, who inherited from them the mission of leading the path to God.

with heart is not pronounced by tongue or heard by ears; rather it is by thought (*fikr*) and consideration of the heart; and is the highest among the stages of *zikr*…"[209]. The full relationship between the three risâles and the second *meclis* of *el-Mecâlis* needs to be analyzed in a separate study. But there is no doubt that they are all by Akhisari. We should also note that Bursalı mentions among Akhisari's work a treatise called *Risâle fî zikri'l-lisân ve'l-kalb* (Treatise on the zikr by heart and tongue)[210].

If Akhisari was really a Halveti Şeyh, as Bursalı and Bağdatlı would have us believe, then it is remarkable to see him advocating silent zikr, the more so in view that Halvetî's are known to have been practicing vocal zikr, the reason why they became a prime target of the Kadızadelis. In that case it it would be an indication that Halvetis should not be thought of as a homogenious group. Furthermore, it may also suggest that only the Sivasi branch of this order came to a confrontation with the Kadızadelis.

*Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî* (Version I) has been published in İstanbul in 1988 as a work of Birgivi[211]. A translation of the work has been published online, again presented as a work of Birgivi[212]. *Risâle fi't-teğannî ve hurmetihi ve vucûbi istimâ'il-hutbe*, to our knowledge, does not have en edition.

9) *Risâle fi'l-arâzi'l-öşriyye ve'l-harâciyye*

This treatise explains *öşrî* and *harâcî* lands and their taxation based on Hanefite sources[213]. It has been attributed to Birgivi in a late manuscript, dating probably form

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[209] *Mecâlisu'l-ebrâr ve mesâliku'l-ahyâr*, Yazma Bağışlar 865, f. 4 ff. Another *meclis* (*meclis* 47) of this work is about *teğannî*. (see f. 134 *ff*.)

[210] Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/26.

[211] Muhammed b. Pir Ali Birgivi. *er-Risâle fî zikri'l-cehrî* (İstanbul, Dersaadet, 1988). For a copy see: ISAM GNL (NÇ.) 002896N.

[212] http://www.hicretonline.com/tasavvuf/tasavvuf.htm

[213] For more information on the content of the work see Martı, *ibid*, p. 98; Lekesiz, *ibid*, p. 75.

around 1102 (1690)[214], and researchers have so far counted it among Birgivi's works based on the evidence of this manuscript. However, the treatise is not counted among Birgivi's works in early sources, which alone makes dubious the attribution of the work to him. Birgivi himself does not refer to this work, neither in the relevant section of his *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye*[215], nor in his *Zuhrü'l-mülûk* (known also as *İrşâdu'l-mülûk*), a short 'mirror of princes' work, the third part (*bâb*) of which comprises, among other things, a discussion on treasury and property[216], nor in the discussion of the issue that we find in his letter, known as *Mektûb-i Birgivi*, which he wrote to Ataullah Efendi (d. 979/1571),[217] his patron and the tutor of Selim II (r.974-92/1566-74). The manuscript that attributed the work to Birgivi was until now the only copy of the work known in the literature[218]. We have identified 10 additional copies of the work in İstanbul libraries. Some of these manuscripts indicate no

[214] Sül. K., Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1238, ff. 105a-113b. A note on the title page (105a) reads: "*Te'îifu Birgili li-ardi'l-'uşrî ve'l-harâciyye*". The work is not dated., but another text in the same volume (*Fetâvâ Ebussuud*, ff. 5-40) bears the date 1102/1690. (An owner's note on f.1a is dated 1266/1849).

[215] The third *bâb* of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* is about "things that are thought to be of *takvâ* and *vera'*, but which are not." This *bâb* is divided to three sections (*fasl*). The second *fasl* is about "refrain from the food of those who hold an office in the *vakf*s and in *beytu'l-mâl*" –This is not takva, Birgivi says. In this section there is some discussion on lands (*arâzî*). (See: *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye*, pf. 421 ff.).

[216] This work devides the riches of the treasury into three categories: presents (*hediye*), the property of the public treasury (*mâlu beyti'l-mâl*), and the unrightful acquisitions (*harâm*). For a copy of this work see Sül. K., Yazma Bağışlar 1269, ff. 89a-92b; for other copies see the Chapter IV; see also the next note.

[217] Sül. K., Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1085, ff. 1-7a. In this letter, which begins by a refutation of two *fetva*s of Ebusuud Efendi concerning the testament of Sultan Süleyman endowing some precious goods to be sold and spent to provide water to Cidde for the soul of the Prophet Muhammed, Birgivi does refer to a work of his own ["*…bâb-ı sâlisde iytdik ki padişahın hazinesinde olan ya beytulmâl yahut harâmdır…*" (f.1b); "*…helâl olan bâb-ı sâlisde zikr olunmuşdur*" (5a)], but this work is most probably his *İrşâdu'l-mülûk*, as is indicated by a note jotting out from the phrase "*bâb-ı sâlis*": "*Merhum ve mağfurunleh Sultan Selim b.Sultan Süleyman han hazretlerine İrşâdü'l-mülûk ismiyle müsemma risalesi üç bab üzere olur. Bâb-ı evvel sultan-ı âdilin medhi bayınındadır, bâbı sânî sultân-ı zâlimin zemmi beyânındadır, bâb-ı sâlis nasihatler ve hazîne-i mülûk beyânındadır. Bâb-ı sâlisden murad budur.*" (f.1b)

[218] Atsız, *ibid*, p. 53; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 97; Martı, *ibid*, p. 98; Lekesiz, *ibid*, p. 75.

author, as they also comprise no dateor colophon[219]. Two of the copies, however, though they, too, indicate no author and bear no date, are nevertheless in volumes that consist exclusively or mainly of Akhisari's works –the latter being most probably compiled in Akhisari's lifetime (between 1036/1626 and 1044/1634)[220]. Many of the copies, however, explicitly attribute the work to Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari -two of them dating from the second half of the seventeenth century[221]. The combination of the above evidences not only renders the assumed Birgivi authorship of the work improbable, but also establishes Akhisari's authorship in a satisfactory way.

10) *Risâle fî îmâni'l-mukallid (=Risâle-i taklîdiyye)*

This is a treatise that discusses whether or not imitative faith (i.e., faith that is not supported by proof = *taklîdî îmân*) suffices in making one a true believer. A manuscript copy of the work attributes it to Birgivi, but, for several reasons, we think this attribution is faulty, and that the treatise is actually a work of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari. First of all, the manuscript that attributes the work to Birgivi is of a

[219] Sül. K., Darülmesnevi 258, ff. 130b-137a; Mihrişah Sultan 440, ff. 30b-37b; Hacı Beşir Ağa 304, ff. 70-83; Reşid Efendi 1036, ff. 36b-41a. These copies have also no colophon, date, or title.

[220] Sül. K., Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, ff. 70-79. (On the date of compilation of this volume, and for further information on it see above, note 127). The other copy is Sül. K., Harput 429, ff. 175a-184a. On this volume see above, note 127.

[221] Koca Ragıp Paşa K. 461, ff. 154b-157b, dated 25 Şaban 1066 (1656); the title reads (154b): "*Hâzihi risâle fî beyâni'l-arâzî li-Ahmed er-Rumi*"; a note following the colophon reads (57b): "*Hâzihi'r-risâle min mu'ellefâti'l-merhûm Ahmed el-ma'rûf [bi-]Rumi Efendi rh*." Sül. K., Kasidecizade 682, ff. 45a-57b, dated 4 Cumadelula 1089 (1678); a note on the title page (45a) reads: "*Risâle-i arâzî Ahmed Rumi'nin*"; the colophon reads (57b): "*Temmet er-risâletu'l-müsemmâtu bi'l-Arâzî li'l-'âlim er-rabbânî Ahmed er-Rumi...*". Hacı Beşir Ağa 662, ff. 194b-204b, nd.; the colophon reads (204b): "*Temmet bi-avnillâhiteâlâ er-Risâletu'l-letî fî hukmi'l-arâzî li'ş-Şeyh Ahmed el-Akhisari*". Millet K., Ali Emiri Arabi 4343, ff. 40b-46b, dated 1114/1702-03); the colophon reads (46b): "*Temmet er-risâle el-mute'allika bi'l-arâzî li-Şeyh el-fâdıl Ahmed er-Rumi…*".

considerably late date (1172/1758)[222]. Secondly, we have identified four other copies of the text, and, though none displays the name of the author, all are in volumes that consist exclusively or mainly of treatises by Akhisârî[223]. Thirdly, Katip Çelebi attributes to "Şeyh Ahmed er-Rumi el-Akhisari" a work called "Risaletu't-taklîd", and quotes its beginning words[224], which are identical with the opening words of our treatise. Finally, these opening words are the standard Akhisari words that appear at the beginning of many of his works: "*elhamdulillâhi 'alâ nevâlihi ve's-salâtu ve's-selâmu 'alâ nebiyyihi ve âlihi; ve ba'du fa'lemû eyyuhe'l-ihvânu…*".

As shall be discussed in the next chapter, *Mihakku's-sûfiyye* and *el-Makâmât* too may be works of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari.

11) *Ravdâtu'l-cennât fî usûli'l-i'tikad*

This is a treatise that explains, in eight sections, the basics of Islamic creeds so that, the author says, it would help believers get rid of imitative faith (*taklîd*) and reach certainty (*yakîn*), a task that is compulsory (*vâcib*) for every muslim. The work was ascribed to Birgivi by Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa, Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, and Carl Brockelmann[225]. It is attributed to Birgivi also in some manuscripts[226], as well as in

[222] Beyazıt Devlet K., Veliyüddin Efendi 3227, ff. 216b-224b; copied by Muhammed b. Mustafa in Kasımpaşa in 22 Receb 1172 (23 Noveember 1758); a note on title page (216b) reads: "*Hazihi'r-risâle fî îmâni'l-mukallid min musannefâti'l-'âlim el-fâdıl Birgili Mehmed Efendi*"; the colophon reads (f.224b): "*Temmet er-risâletu'ş-şerîfe li'l-fâdil el-muhakkik eş-şeyh Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi rh…*".

[223] Harput 429 (29a-37a), Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035 (38b-48b), Darülmesnevi 258 (84b-91b), and Reisülküttab 1181 (127a-132b –the beginning is missing).

[224] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/856. Çelebi quotes the beginning words of the work as: "*Elhamdulillahi alâ nevâlihi* ilh."

[225] Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa (1339/1920). *Hediyyetu'l-arifîn* I-II. Edited by Muallim Kilisli Rifat Bilge and İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal. (İstanbul: MEB, 1951-55); vol. II, p. 252; Bursalı Mehmed Tahir (1861-1926). *Osmanlı Müellifleri* I-III. (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1333): vol. I, p. 254; Brockelmann. *GAL* II, p. 585, nr. 19 and S II, p. 658, nr. 36; See also Arslan, *ibid*, p. 128, note 488.

an Ottoman edition published in 1305 (1887) and reprinted by Asitane[227]. The sources indicate that *Râvdât* was translated into Ottoman Turkish –again as a work of Birgivi- by Mahmud Esad b. Emin Seydişehri, which was published several times[228], and M.Aruçi informs that an anonymous commentary was made on this translation[229]. *Ravdât* has twice been translated into modern Turkish, again as a work of Birgivi[230]. Arslan and Martı mention other sources that ascribe the work to Birgivi[231]. One of the manuscript copies of the work ascribes it to Şeyhulislam Minkarizade Yahya Efendi (d. 1088/1678)[232]. However, Arslan has demonstrated[233] that *Ravdâtu'l-cennât* actually belongs to another Akhisari, that is, Hasan Kafi el-

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[226] Yazma Bağışlar 3816 (ff. 1b-91a). This is a commentary on *Ravzâtu'l cennat* made by Kadızade Mehmed el-Esiri, who attributes the original text to Birgivi (see f.1b); the commentary was copied by Osman b. Süleyman in 1235/1819 (see the colophon on f. 91a). Yazma Bağışlar 3524 (ff. 1b-11b – beginning missing; no attribution); Beyazıt Devlet K., Beyazıd 2900, 11 ff).

[227] Published in the printing house of el-Hac Muharem Efeni el-Bosnevi (23 pp.) with annotations in margins. Publisher's note in the front page attributes the work to Birgivi. For copies of this edition see Celal Ökten 705 and İzmirli İsmail Hakkı 946. The reprint is not dated; but the original publishing notes at the beginning and end of the work are preserved.

[228] See: Cunbur, Müjgan, Dursun Kaya [et.al.]. *Türkiye Basmaları Toplu Kataloğu: Arap Harfli Türkçe Eserler (1729-1928)*, I-VI, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Yay., 1990-2004 [not completed yet]), vol. II, p.161-161. According to this catalogue, *Râvdâtu'l-cennât* has been translated and edited by Mahmud Esad b. Emin Seydişehri, for which three editions are recounted: (1) İstanbul, 1305/1889; no publisher's name, 23 pp. (34 İ.Ü.K. 82139, 82140) [This is probably an edition of *Ravdât* itself, not of the translation –see the previous note]; (2) İstanbul, 1307/1891, Hafız Nuri Matb, 151 pp.; (25 Ata.Ü.K. 11387; 34 İ.Ü.K. 82084); (3) 2nd ed., İstanbul 1316/1900, Cemal Efendi Mtb., 91 pp. (06 Milli K. 1961 A 211; 16 HK 1607; 34 İ.Ü.K. 77873). See also M.Seyfettin Özege. *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Katalogu*, I-V. (İstanbul, 1971-80), nr. 16525; Martı, *ibid*, p.119; Bursalı, *ibid*, vol. I, p. 254; Aruçi, Muhammed. "Hasan Kâfî Akhisârî," *DIA*, 16, p.327.

[229] Aruçi, *ibid*, *idem*.

[230] For these see Martı, *ibid*, p.119; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 128. [*Ravzâtu'l-Cennât*, transl. İbrahim Eken, (Ankara: Doğuş Matbaası, 1963); *Cennet Bahçeleri-Namazın Doğru Kılınması-Dünya ve Ahirette Müslüman Çocukların Halleri*, transl. Mehmed Emre, İstanbul: Çile Yay., 1976)].

[231] See Arslan, *ibid*, p. 128; Martı, *ibid*, p. 119.

[232] Reşid Efendi 582, *ff*. 143a-152b (196a-205b), copied in 1116/1704 by Ahmed b. Muhammed el-Amasi, the *kadı* of Arabgir, a *kazâ* in Malatya. There is another mis-attribution by this kadı in this same volume (*ff*. 153a-160b (206a-213b)): he attributes to Birgivi a treatise called *el-Berâhînu'l-ma'neviyyetu'l-evleviyye alâ fiski'l-Mevleviyyeti'd-dünyeviyye*, which does not really belong to him (see below).

[233] See: Arslan, *ibid*, p. 128. See also Martı, *ibid*, p.119.

Akhisari of Bosnia (d. 1024/1615)[234], a scholar famous for his political treatise entitled *Usûlu'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-'âlem*. Stronger evidence for Akhisari's authorship of *Ravdât,* however, comes from Jan Just Witkam. In an article he published in 1989 on Hasan Kafi el-Akhisari's biographical work *Nizâm al-'Ulamâ' ilâ Khâtam al-Anbiyâ'*, Witkam makes the following observation[235]:

> […] MS Bologna No. 3399 is a volume which contains three texts. The third one is a text by Hasan Kâfî al-Aqhisârî (who is referred to by Rosen as 'Hasan Efendi Ak-Hisârî'), entitled *Rawdat al Ğannât fî Usûl al-I'tiqâdât*. The text is also mentioned by Hasan Kâfi in his autobiography (MS Bratislava TF 136, f. 54b). It was copied in 1014/1605-6, and is therefore a contemporary copy, although the work was composed by Hasan Kâfî a few years earlier. It may even have been copied by the author or contain an *iğâza* by him.

In his article Witkam also gives a translation of Akhisari's autobiography, the last of the biographies in *Nizâmu'l-'ulemâ'*, where we read the following lines (Witkam's translation): "By the good fortune of these two men [The Sultan and the Vizier] I compiled this noble, exalted, and lofty treatise [i.e., *Nizâm al-'Ulamâ'*] in the latter part of the year 1008/1600. Then [*f.* 54b] I set out, with the help of God Who fulfills the needs, to make neat copies of some of my drafts, that is, the book entitled *Tamhîs al-Talkhîh* on rhetoric, and the book *Ravdatu'l-Ğannât fî Usûl al-I'tiqâdât*, on theology."[236] Since the copy of *Ravdât* mentioned by Witkam is dated 1014 (1605-

[234] Hasan Kafi was born in 951/1544 in Akhisar (Prusac), Bosnia-Herzegovina. He is known also by the names Bosnevî and Zi'bî. He came to Istanbul in 974/1566 and studied at medrese for nine years. Completing his training, he returned to his homeland in 983/1575. He would return to Istanbul for mülazemet in 996/1588. (M. Aruçi. "Hasan Kâfî Akhisârî," *DIA*, p.326-329).

[235] This observation Witkam makes in course of making a few points on the peculiarities of the MS collection of Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (Bologna, 1658-1730) which is preserved in the University Library of Bologna. See: Witkam, Jan Just. "Hasan Kâfî al-Aqhisârî and his *Nizâm al-'Ulamâ' ilâ Khâtam al-Anbiyâ'*, a facsimile edition of MS Bratislava TF 136, presented with an annotated index", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989); 85-114; p. 88. Available also from: http://janjustwitkam.nl/publications/index.html

[236] Witkam, *ibid*, p. 91. Pp. 89-91 of the article are occupied by the translation of Akhisari's autobiography. The facsimile of the relevant part of *Nizâm al-'Ulamâ'* (*ff*. 43b-54b) is also appended to the article (pp. 103-114).

06) [237], Akhisari must have made a neat copy of his work sometime between 1008 and 1014 (1600-1605-6). In another work of him, which leaves no doubt about his authorship of *Ravdât*, Akhisari gives the exact date when this happened. The detailed and informative colophon which Akhisari appended to the end of the commentary (f.72b) that he made on his *Ravdât*, entitled *Ezhâru'r-ravzât fî şerhi Ravzâti'l-cennât*[238], the author informs that he completed the draft (*tesvîd*) of the original text (*metn =Ravzât*) at the end of Receb of 1006 (1598), and made the finalized neat copy of it (*tebyîz*) at the ends of Cumadelula of 1014 (1605) when he was with the company of the army at the war of the conquest of Estergon, while also busy with consultation and exchange of opinion with the Grand Vizier Gazi Mehmed Paşa about the reasons of victory and conquest and the measures for the state of the army ("*esbâbi'l-feth ve'z-zafer ve tedbîri ahvâli'l-'asker*"). He also informs that he prepared the draft of the commentary after the conquest, at the castle of Ersek, in the beginnings of Receb that same year, and made neat copy of it in the castle of Akhisar at the ends of Şevval of 1015 (1607).

12) *er-Risâletu'l-i'tikâdiyye* ("Arabic Translation of *Vasiyetnâme*")

Atsız mentioned this work in his bibliography, for which he identified two manuscripts. However, as Arslan has shown, Atsız made a repeated mention of this work when he listed it under the title of "Akaid risâlesi" after mentioning it first

[237] A copy of this wok in Sül. Library (Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 1175) is dated 1015. This indicates how fast the manuscripts would travel in the Ottoman world of letters.

[238] Sül. K., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 1175 (72 ff.). At the beginnig of the work Akhisari mentions that since the original text, which he had wretten some time before, proved to be welcome among the ulema, he wanted to make a commentary of it, which is why he wrote the peresent work, titled "Ezharur-ravzât fi şerhi Ravzâtil-cennât" (f.2b: 11). The beginning of the commentary is: "elhamdulillahi kadîmi'z-zâti ve's-sıfâti… ve ba 'du fe-inne efkare'l-halki … el-abd el-ahker Kafi el-Akhisari … yekûlu…". For other copies of this commentary, see Sül. K., Halet Efendi 820, ff. 144-210, Kasidecizade 124. See also Aruçu, *ibid*, p. 327.

under another title ("İlmihal kitabının Arapça tercümesi")[239]. The work was described by Atsız as the translation into Arabic by Birgivi himself of his own *Vasiyetnâme*. Arslan and Martı, however, qualified this description by pointing that the work is not an exact translation of *Vasiyetnâme*; and called the work "*er-Risaletu'l-i'tikâdiyye*". But they too did not question Birgivi's authorship of the work[240]. Actually, in the two copies mentioned by Atsız, the author mentions his own name as "Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Hanefi", and, again in both copies, the copyists' notes at the beginning of the text indicate that the work belongs to Birgivi. The attribution of these manuscripts, however, is unreliable not only because they are of a relatively late date[241], or because one of them is too bad a copy, but also because there is divergence between the text of the two copies on the identification of the work. While, in one of the copies, the author's introductory words about the text define the work as the Arabic translation of a treatise that he had previously written in Turkish (MS H.Hüsnü Paşa 1182, f.93b), in the second copy the work is defined as the Arabic translation of a treatise that he had written in Persian (MS Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035, f. 81a). We do not know if Birgivi knew Persian. Even if he knew, we do not know if he composed any work in that language. The copyist's note in the first MS indicates that the original text referred in this translation is Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme*, an "ilmihâl" book that was written in simple Turkish.

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[239] See Arslan, *ibid*, p. 85; Atsız, pp. 32 and 33.

[240] See Arslan, *ibid*, p. 85; Martı, *ibid*, p.74.

[241] Sül. K., Kılıç Ali Paşa 1035 (81a-101a); the date at the end of the work must be 1044 (1634) ("*Târih sene erba'în erba' elf*"); the volume was probably compiled between this date and 1036/1626, as another text in the volume bears the latter date (see f. 68a –for more information on this volume see note 127 above)); the heading on the title page of our text (81a) indicates the title: "*Hâzâ Risâletun i'tikâdiyye*", a note written on the top of the folio where the text begins (81b) attributes the work to Birgivi: "*Te'lîfu Birgivi rahimehullahuteala rahmeten vasiaten*"; this is a bad copy, with many mistakes; a plenty of corrections have also been made on the text in the margins. Sül. K., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 1182 (93b-102a); not dated, but probably copied around 1055, as two of the texts in the volume bear that date (see the colophons on ff. 19a and 137b). A note at the beginning of the work (93b) reads: "*Birgivi Mehmed Efendi'nin zebân-ı Türkîde meşhûr olan Risâlesinin Arabîcesidir"*. The volume contains 13 other texts, 7 of which are works whose Birgivi authorship is certain.

*Vasiyetnâme* can not be the original of *er-Risâletu'l-i'tikâdiyye* because the two texts are too different from each other. However, we can guess why it was thought to be so. *er-Risâletu'l-i'tikâdiyye,* according to the outline provided by the author, consists of three chapters (bâb), the first of which is about Islâmic creed (i'tikâd), the second on words of blasphemy and apostasy (elfâzu'l-kufr ve kelimâtu'l-irtidâd), and the third on questions to which Muslims frequently need. Although Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme* does not consist of three chapters, it opens, not unlike any ilmihâl book, with a section on *i'tikâd*. Furthermore, it has a fairly long section on *elfâzu'l-kufr* (for more on this genre see the discussion on *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-kufr* below). But it cannot be the original of the Arabic translation discussed here. One may think that the work is the translation of another treatise that Birgivi might have written in Turkish. But other copies of the work lead one to suspect Birgivi's authorship of the work at all. In another copy of the work, which is contained in a volume consisting of this text and six Birgivi texts, the author of the work in question, here titled "*Esîr-i melâhide*", gives his name not as Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Hanefi, but as "Yahya b. Ebu Bekr el-Hanefi", and describes the work as the Arabic translation of a work that he had previously written in Persian[242]. This is not the only copy that specifies the author of the work as Yahya b. Ebu Bekr. There are other copies of the work, contained also in volumes comprising Birgivi's texts, which give the name of the author as Yahya b. Ebu Bekr el-Hanefi, and state that the original work was written in Persian[243]. The online catalogue attributes these MSS,

[242] Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 2888 (78b-96a).

[243] Sül. K., Harput 329 (108a-128a), titled "*Kitâbu Esîr-i melâhî*" on 108a, copied by Osman b. Ali in 3 Şevval 1051, the volume also contains Birgivi's *Zuhru'l-müteehhilîn* (174b-184a) and a commentary written on the latter work by Ishak b. Hasan et-Tokadi (129b-173a). Kılıç Ali Paşa 1043 (55b-78a), not dated, but probably copied around 1140, as two texts in the volume bear that date (see the colophons on ff. 90b and 116a), the volume also contains two works of Birgivi: *Cilâu'l-kulûb* (1b-32b) and *Mu'addilu's-salât* (34b-52a), both undated. See also Esad Efendi 3780 (201b-221a), dated 1087; this volume also comprises 5 works by Birgivi.

which it indicates by varying titles like *Tercüme-i muhtasar fi'l-'akâ'id*, *Tercümetu Muhtasar fi'l-akâid ve'l-ahlâk*; and *Muhtasar fi'l-'akâ'id*, to Yahya b. Ebu Bekr b. Muhammed el-Hanefi el-Yemeni el-Amiri. Actually the catalogue indicates about forty copies of this work in İstanbul libraries, entitled by variations of the above titles, all of them attributed to Yahya el-Amiri[244]. There is no entry for the work in Katip Çelebi's *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, but it is mentioned by Bağdatlı, who also attributes it to Amiri[245]. The *DIA* article on Amiri gives his full name as Ebu Zekeriyya Imaduddin Yahya b. Ebubekr el-Amiri, and informs that he was a scholar from Yemen educated in fıkh, hadîs, history and medicine, and that he died in 893/1488. Here, too, the above treatise is mentioned among Amiri's works[246].

It is clear that the work is a misattribution. The traces of this misattribution are visible in the above manuscripts, as the word "el-Hanefi" designates the author both in the manuscripts that attribute the work to Birgivi and in those which attribute it to Yahya b. Ebu Bekr. It seems that those who attributed Amiri's work to Birgivi have kept that designation also for Birgivi. Birgivi himself, however, does not use that designation when he speaks of himself in some of his works: "Muhammed b. Pir Ali" is the customary way for Birgivi to refer to himself[247]. Nor do manuscripts use

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[244] See f.e.: Antalya Tekelioğlu 887 (100b-123b), dated 1058; no heading; Kadızade Mehmed 559 (135b-163a), no heading, no date. Other titles by which the catalogue indicates the work are: *er-Risaletu'l-i'tikâdiyye*, *Risâle fi'l-i'tikâd, Risâle fî beyâni'l-i'tikâd, Risâle fi'l-kelâm*, *Muhtasaru'l-akâ'id, Tercüme-i Muhtasar fi'l-akâid ve'l-ahlâk, Ta'rîbu'r-risâle fi'l-'akâ'id, Mu'arrebetu'l-muhtasari'l-Farisî fi'l-akâ'id, Risâle fî mesâ'ili'l-i'tikâd ve elfâzi'l-kufr*, *Beyânu'l-i'tikâd vemâ yeksuru ileyhi ihtiyâcu'l-'ibâd*. Some copies of the work in Anatolian libraries, however, indicate the work as *Eser-i Melâhide*, *Kitab Asir-i Melahida*, and *Risâle-i Esir Molla*.

[245] See *Îzâhu'l-meknûn*, 1/204 and *Hediyyetu'l-Ârifîn* II/529; the title mentioned in these works (*Beyânu'l-i'tikâd vemâ yeksuru ileyhi ihtiyâcu'l-'ibâd*) is actually the heading of the third section of the treatise. Brockelmann (*GAL*, Supplement II, p. 225-226), Zirikli (*el-A'lâm*, IX/168), and Kehhale (*Mu'cemu'l-müellifîn*, XIII/187-188) do not mention such a work among Amiri's works.

[246] Abdülkerim Özaydın. "Amiri, Yahya b. Ebu Bekir," *DİA* 3, p. 72.

[247] Birgivi mentions his name in five of his compositions: (1) in *Vasiyetnâme*; (2) in one of the two versions of the treatise known as *Tercumetu Inkazi'l-halikîn*; (3) in the treatise that we shortly call

that designation to refer to Birgivi. (Manuscripts generally refer to him simply as "Birgivi", or "Muhammed el-Birgivi" or "Birgili Muhammed Efendi"; and sometimes as "el-imâm/eş-şeyh Takiyyuddin el-Birgivi", or as "el-imam el-allâme Muhammed el-Birgivi". "Muhammed Çelebi el-Balıkesiri/el-Aydını" and "Muhammed Çelebi b. Pir Ali el-Balıkesiri" are other designations by which manuscripts refer to Birgivi). Ottoman sources, too, do not use the designation "el-Hanefi" for Birgivi (Perhaps the only exception is the entry in Katip Çelebi's *Keşfu'z-zunûn* for Birgivi's *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*, where Birgivi is referred to as "Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgili el-Hanefi"[248]. This, however, is only one of the 16 entries for Birgivi's works that we find in Katip Çelebi's magnum opus; nowher else does Çelebi refer to Birgivi as "el-Hanefi". For another exception see Bağdatlı's *Hediyyetu'l-Ârifîn* where Birgivi is referred to as "Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivî Takiyyuddin er-Rûmî el-fakîh es-sûfî el-Hanefi"[249]).

13) *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-kufr* (also as *el-Bedru'l-munîr*)

This is a work exposing and cautioning against words of blasphemy which, when uttered, lead one to disbelief. The work has been ascribed in manuscripts to at least three different people. One manuscript ascribes it to Kasım Ibn Kutluboğa (d.

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*Ücret* (*Risâle li-isbâti 'ademi cevâzi kırâeti'l-Kur'ân bi'l-ücre*), which seems to be the original of *Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn* -in these three works the author mentions his name in the byline in the introduction of the texts; (4) in *Im'ânu'l-enzâr* (in the colophon); and (5) in *Risâle fî tafdîli'l-ğaniyyi'ş-şâkir* (in the beginning of his own addition to the quotation he makes from el-Kurtubi). In all of the five works the author refers to himself with the words: "Muhammed b. Pir Ali", preceded also by variations of the adjectives "el-hakîr el-fakîr" (the humble/low, the poor), except for the treatise on ücret, where his name is preceded by the phrase "el-mutevekkil 'alellâhi'l-veliyy". When he does not give his name, however, it is Birgivi's habit to refer to himself as "el-'abdu'd-da'îf" (the weak slave).

[248] See volume I, p. 214, the discussion on *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*.

[249] Volume II, p. 252.

879/1474-75)[250]. Two manuscripts (Gelibolulu Tahir Efendi 56, *ff*. 88b-105a; Hamidiye 1459, *ff*. 66a-74b) ascribe it to Brigivi. But the work most probably belongs, as is specified by most manuscripts, to Muhammed b. Ismail b. Mahmud b. Muhammed, better known by the designation el-Bedr er-Reşîdî, or, as the manuscripts generally spell it, el-Bedru'r-reşîd (d.768/1366[?]). There are about 40 manuscripts of this work in Istanbul libraries, one of which is copied in 939/532, a time when Birgivi Mehmed was just ten years old[251]. This is evidence enough that the work can not belong to Birgivi. So, the two copyists who ascribed this treatise to Birgivi did so presumably because they confused Muhammed b. Pir Ali for Muhammed b. İsmail b. Mahmud b. Muhammed –there is evidence in the two manuscripts supporting this possibility[252]. Even if so, their mistake is not totally

[250] Beyazıt Devlet K. Veliyüddin Efendi 1447, ff. 176a-189b; the title page reads (f.176): "*Risâle Kasım b. Kutluboğa fî elfâzi'l-kufr*"; This is the same work as ascribed to Birgivi, but here its opening words are slightly different, and the byline gives the name of Kasım Ibn Kutluboğa: "*Elhamdulillâhillezi zeyyene kulûbe evliyâihi bi-envâri'l-vifâki … ve ba'du yekûlu'l-abdu'l-fakîr … Kâsım b. Kutluboğa el-Hanefî, inne'n-nâse lemmâ fesedet kulûbuhum…*" The work ends in the same words as the copies ascribed to Birgivi (f. 189b): "*…fe leyse lehu en yekûdehumâ ile'l-bey'ati ve lehu en yekûdehumâ mine'l-bey'ati ile'l-menzili, intehâ, vellahu a'lem*."

[251] Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 207, *ff*. 64a-74a, copied in Muharrem of 939 by Mustafa b. el-Hac Muhammed (see the colophon on f.76a). The opening of the work, which comprises also the byline, reads (f. 64b): "*Kâle'l-imâm el-'allame Muhammed b. İsmail b. Mahmûd b. Muhammed el-ma'ruf bi-Bedr er-Reşîdî* ["*sıfatun nisbiyyun*", reads an interlinear gloss, which means that the word must be read as Reşîdî, not Reşîd] *rahmetullâhialeyh, emmâ ba'du fe-inne'n-nâse lemmâ fesedet kulûbuhum …*". On top of f.64a is a note of *hibe*, from which it is understood that the copyist is the grandfather of Abdülhadi b. Muhammed Remzizade, the person who made the *hibe*. The title of the work is also given in a script right below the *hibe* note: "*Hâzihir-risâle elletî ceme'ahâ el-imâm el-hümâm Bedr er-Reşîd fî beyâni elfâzi'l-kufr, el-'iyâzubillâh*".

[252] The copy of *Elfazu'l-kufr* at Gelibolulu Tahir Efendi 56 (f. 88b-105a) begins, after a phrase in red which indicates the title of the work ("*Hâzihi risâle fi beyânil-elfâz vel-ef'âl [el-letî] yelzemu fîha el-kufru bih, el-hâfizûn*"), with the following words: "*Elhamdulillâhirabbilâlemîn vel-'âkibetu lilmuttakîn ve lâ-'udvâne illa alez-zâlimîn,...Kâle eş-şeyh el-imâm el-allâme Muhammed b. Pîr Alî* [the phrase "Pir Ali" has been scored out, instead of which is written "İsmail"] *b. Mahmud b. Muhammed es-Sa'îd el-ma'rûf bi-Birgili er-Reşîd* [a note juts out from here to the magrin, which reads: "Bedr er-Reşid, nsh"] *rahimehumullâhuteâlâ: emmâ ba'du fe-inne'n-nâse lemmâ fesedet kulûbuhum…*". This risale begins on f. 88b in the middle of the second line with no space spareting its text from the excerpt preceding it. (this excerpt, also about *elfâzu'l-kufr*, is from *Fetâvâ Bezzaziyye*). The second copy (Hamidiye 1459, ff. 66a-74b) is more interesting, as a script on the title page (f.66a) reads: "*Hâzâ kitâbu Bedr er-reşîd li-merhûm Muhammed Efendi el-Birgivi*." This is not all: the colophon on f. 74b reads: "*Temmeti'l-kitâb [el-müsemmâ(?)] bi-Bedr er-Reşîd li-mevlânâ Muhammed el-Birgivi ğaferellâhu lehu ve li-kâtibihi el-hakîr Muhammed b. Mustafa b. Muhammed…*". So, what we see in the colophon is not a confusion of the name of the actual author (el-Bedru'r-Reşid) for Birgivi's name. Rather, the copyist (Muhammed b. Mustafa b. Muhemmed) seems to have considered

without foundation, as there is in Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme* a chapter, and a considerably long one, on the subject of *elfâzu'l-kufr*[253]. This section of *Vasiyetnâme* is not a reproduction of Bedr-i Reşid's work. However, it refers frequently, though indirectly, to the literature produced in this genre, with such phrases as: "If someone says …, they say he has become an infidel"[254]. Birgivi may have had in mind Bedr-i Reşid's work. But his words such as above may equally be referring to other texts written on the subject before him, which he may have had in his disposal. The following are what we have identified of such works, which were written before Birgivi: *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-kufr* by Kutbuddinzade Ebu Ali (d.?), son of Muhyiddin Muhammed b. Kutbuddin el-Izniki (d. 885/1480)[255]; *Hediyyetu'l-mühtedîn fi elfâzi'l-kufr* by Yusuf b. Cüneyd et-Tokadi Ahizade (d. 905/1499)[256]; and *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-*

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"el-Bedru'r-Reşid" to be the name for the text itself which he ascribed to Birgivi. He would not fall into such a mistake had he been attentive to the byline at the beginning of the text (f. 66b): "*Kaleş-şeyh el-imam el-allame Muhammed b. İsmail b. Mahmud el-ma'ruf bi-Bedr er-Reşid rh …*". Actually this copyist has made similar mistakes concerning Birgivi's authorship of other texts in this same collective volume (see the discussion on *Risâle fî te'dîbi's-sıbyân* below).

[253] Laleli 2479, *ff*. 28a-33b. The relevent section begins with these words (f. 28a): "*elfâzu'l-kufr*. Ey tanrı rahmetin benden dirîğ tutma dimek küfürdür demişler. Bir kimse Allahın hükmü böylecedir dise bir aher kişi dahi ben Allahın hükmün ne bileyin dise Allahın emrini istihfâfdır küfürdür demişler. Bir kimse…". The section ends with these words (f.33b): "Kur'an-ı kerimi muhâverede vulâğ arasında isti'mâl küfürdür demişler. Mesela bir Yahya adlu kimseye "*Yâ Yahya huzi'l-kitâbe*" dise kafir olur demişler."

[254] For instance, "Bir kimse haram taam yedikde bismillah derse kafir olur, demişler" (Laleli 2479, f. 30a)

[255] Sül. K.,Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 312, *ff*. 238a-248; nd, but the same hand as the preceding text which is dated 1050/1640 (see the next note). Its beginning is: "*Elhamdulilahillezi erşedenâ ve hedâna, … fe-hazihi risaletun tubeyyinu elfâze'l-kufri cemaaha muntesibu'l-ulemai'r-rabbiyyîn Ebu Ali b. Muhammed b. Mevlana Kutbuddin …*". Katip Çelebi attributes to Ebu Ali b. Muhammed b. Kutbuddin a work titled *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-kufr*" and gives its beginning, which fits the beginning of the above MS (see *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/848. But there is another copy attributed to Ebu Ali in the catalogue (Ayasofya 2263, 30 ff, nd.), which is different from this one: "*elhamdulillahi vessalatu ala rasulillahi … ve ba'du fe-inne haze'd-daife'n-nahife lemma alime ennel-imane …*". Reşat Öngören, however, counts both manuscripts as the same work, which he attributes to Ebu Ali Çelebi (Kutbuddinzade), and which he says has been composed for Şehzade Korkud. (See: Öngören, Reşat. "Kutbuddinzade İzniki", *DİA*, 26, p. 490. For Ebu Ali's father Mehmed b. Kutbettin el-İzniki see the discussion on *Murşidu'l-müte'ehhilîn*.

[256] Sül. K.,Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 312, *ff*. 199-237b, dated 1050/1640, copied in the Tekke-i Erdebili. Its beginning is: "*Elhamdulillahillezi ceale'l-ulume'ş-şer'iyyete mîrâsen l'il-ulemâi mine'l-enbiyai….*" The work must have been presented to one of the viziers, as it begins by a long praise for Vezir Seyfeddin Ali Paşa. The work has 2 chapters (kısm), the first is about akaid-i ehlil-iman; the second is

*kufr* by Kemalpaşazade Şemseddin Ahmed b. Süleyman (d. 940/1533)[257]. All these works and the treatise by Bedr-i Reşid –not to mention relevant chapters in *ilmihâl* and '*akâid* books or the relevant contents of *fetvâ* collections- stood before Birgivi as examples of the genre. Among these works, the treatise by Bedr-i Reşid is not only the oldest, but also the most widely read one –to judge by the copies in libraries of Istanbul. It has also commentaries and translations: Ali el-Kari (d. 1014/1605) has composed a commentary[258] on this treatise, which in turn was translated[259] into Turkish by *Tarîkat*çı Emir Mustafa b. Abdullah el-Osmancıki (d. 1143/1730?)[260], a preacher reputed for his courses on Birgivi's *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye*, who also

about furû'ât, which in turn is divided into 5 subsections (*nev'*) [1- fîma yekûnu bihi'l-kâfiru muslimen; 2- fîma yekûnu sebben li-Rasulillahi s.a.v. –minel-muslimîn ve'l-kâfirîn, ve ahkâmihim ve fîhi selâsetu fusûlin; 3- fîma yekûnu bihi'l-muslimu kâfiren, ve fihi hamsetu fusûlin; 4- fi'l-kazf; 5- fi beyânil-mekrûhat]. For this work see also *Keşfu'z-zunun*, II/2043.

[257] Sül. K.,Kasidecizade 677, ff. 169-173, nd. Its beginning is: "*va'lem enne men telaffeze kelimete'l-kufri min itikadin…*" A note at end says that this is a work of the son of the Vizier Kemal Paşa.

[258] See Bağdatlı, *Hediyyetu'l-Arifin*, I/752. The catalogue displays 18 copies of Ali Kari's commentary in Istanbul libraries. One is Sül. K.,H.Hüsnü Paşa 1170, *ff*. 98-118, dated 22 Receb 1149/1737. This work seems to be an appendix to the *şerh* that Ali Kari made on Ebu Hanife's *Fıkh-ı ekber*, which comprises ff. 1-98 of the volume. This is because the first text ends and the second one begins on the sixth line of f. 98b, without any space sparating them; and without any remark indicating that the first text has ended. The commentary on *Elfâz-ı kufr* begins with the words: "S*umme i'lem enne'ş-şeyh el-allâme el-ma'rûf bi-Bedr er-Reşid rh mine'l-eimmeti'l-hanefiyyeti rh cemaa eksere'l-kelimâti'l-kufriyyeti bi'l-işârati'l-îmâ'iyyeti, fe hâ ene ubeyyinu rumûzeha ve u'ayyinu kunûzeha …*". Another copy of this commentary is at Esad Efendi 552, 33 ff., dated 1140/1728, copied by Ahmed b.Hacı Osman el-Eyyubi. This copy too begins like the previous one "Summe i'lem…"; and there is no text preceding it but a fragment from a *fetva* collection which lasts for 3 pages. The online catalogue indicates that there is a second commentary (other than Ali Kari's commentary) on Bedr-i Reşid's *Elfazu'l-kufr*, by Hatim Ahmed b. Osman Akovalızade (d. 1168/1754), a copy of which is shown in Nuruosmaniye K. 2152, 19 ff., dated 1148.

[259] We have identified four copies of this translation, one of them (Sül. K., Fatih 3168) comprising the translator's colophon. On the first folio of this MS there is a note which reads: "*Kitabu Bedr er-Reşid ve'ş-Şerh li's-sultan Ali el-Kari maa't-tercüme bi't-Türkiyye li-mevlâna es-Seyyid Mustafa eş-şehîr bi-Tarîkatçi Efendi, Sene 1125 (1713).*" The last two folios of the volume comprise *Tarîkat*çı Emir's colophon (where he mentions his own name, and gives the date of composition: 15 Receb 1111/1700, Wednesday) as well as the colophon by the copyist who copied the work in 1175/1761. Other copies of the translation are: Sül. K., Düğümlü Baba 449, *ff*. 346-439, dated 27 Receb 1156/1743; Darülmesnevi 147, nd.; Esad Efendi 746, nd. In these copies the name of the translator is not specified and the translator's colophon is omitted.

[260] The sources give different dates for his death. Şerafettin Yaltkaya and Rifat Bilge give this date as 1160 (see: *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/1112); Bağdadi gives it as 1186 (see: *Hediyyetü'l-arifin*, II/452); Bursalı gives it as 1143 (see: *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/349 –cf. *ibid*, I/254, note 1). Arslan (*ibid*, p.119) follows Bursalı. This date is also what appears in the catalogue.

made an incomplete translation of the latter. Nevertheless, Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme*, which comprises a long section on the subject of *elfâzu'l-kufr*, is far more popular than Bedr-i Reşid's treatise in all respects.

What Brockelmann calls "R. al-Badr al-munîr" and attributes to Birgivi[261] is actually a copy of Bedr-i Reşid's *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-kufr*, as the manuscript he refers to (Süleymaniye 1031/3) comprises a copy of this work, dated 1110 (1698)[262].

14) *el-Berâhînu'l-ma'neviyyetu'l-evleviyye alâ fiski'l-Mevleviyyeti'd-dünyeviyye*

This work argues that it is religiously prohibited (*harâm*) to listen to the sound of such instruments as *ney*, *nukâre* and *def* which Mevlevi dervishes use. We have identified two manuscript copies of this work, one of which mentions no author[263]. The other copy was copied by el-Hac Ahmed b. Muhammed el-Amasi in 1116/1705 when he was kadı of Arabgir. In a note of him on the title page and in the colophon at the end of the work Kadı Ahmed claims that the work he has copied belongs to Birgili Mehmed Efendi[264]. But what the author of the work says in the introduction makes Birgivi's authorship impossible. The author says that he had previously written a treatise upon his seeing two works by "Şeyh İsmail el-Mevlevi el-

[261] *GAL* S II, p. 658, nr. 27.

[262] The volume comprising this work contains seven text in total, four of them (the last four) by Birgivi, three (the first three) by others. One of the three texts (the one following Bedr-i Reşid's treatise) has been falsely attributed to Birgivi in the manuscript: *Şerhu şurûti's-salât*. The work has also been attributed to Birgivi by Brockelmann for which he refers to this copy –see the discussion on this text above.

[263] Sül. K., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, 2918, 10 *ff*. No colophon. The first folio has two phrases: "*Tasavvuf*" and "*Huccetu's-semâ'* ". The title page has a note indicating the subject of the work.

[264] Sül. K., Reşad Efendi 582, *ff*. 206a-213b (153a-160b), dated 20 Zilkade 1116 (16 March 1705). The note on title page (206a/153a) reads: "L*i'l-mevlâ Birgili Mehmed Efendi rahimehullâh* [this far in red]; *Hâzihir-risale fi beyâni hurmeti istimâ'i savti'l-mizmâr ellezî yukâlu lehu bi'l-Fârisiyyeti nây…, nemekahu el-fakîr … el-hac Ahmed b. Muhammed el-Amasi el-kâdi yevme'izin bi-mahmiye-i Arapgir ğufirelehuma*." The work begins in the reverse folio with the following words: "*Elhamdulillâh ellezi beyyene'l-helâle vel-harâm… emma ba'du fe-kad semi'tu enne'ş-şeyh İsmail el-Mevlevi el-Ankaravi ketebe risâleten …*".

Ankaravi" (İsmail Rusuhi el-Ankaravi, d.1041/1631)[265], one of them called *Huccetu's-semâ'*, and that to answer his criticism Ankaravî wrote another treatise, called *er-Risâletu't-tenzîhiyye fî şe'ni'l-Mevleviyye*; and that it is to answer this treatise that he is writing the present work. So, the work cannot belong to Birgivi, who died long before Ankaravi. Then who is the author of this work? The answer comes from *Keşfu'z-zunûn* in the entry on Ankaravi's *er-Risâletu't-tenzîhiyye fî şe'ni'l-Mevleviyye*[266]: Katip Çelebi informs (a) that Ankaravi made a summary of a treatise by Şeyh Ahmed el-Gazali (d.520/1126)[267] (this work must be one of the two initial risales of Ankaravi), (b) that this this work was then refuted by "eş-Şeyh İbrahim", (c) that Ankaravi answered the refutation (this must be *er-Risâletu't-tenzîhiyye*), and (d) that the mentioned Şeyh İbrahim "rebutted this risâle" in a treatise he called "*el-Berâhînu'l-ma'neviyyetu'l-evleviyye fî reddi fusûki'l-mevleviyyeti'd-dünyeviyye*". Çelebi also adds: "we did not hear that eş-Şeyh İsmail [Ankaravi] replied to İbrahim after this work"[268]. So, the author of the treatise is

[265] Mevlevî şeyh and commentator of *el-Mesnevî*. He was born in Ankara, had medrese education, learned Arabic and Persian. He became attached to the Bayrami order, and got to the position of *şeyh*. He took *icazet* also from the Halveti order. He went to Konya to cure his eyes, where he met Bostan Çelebi, a şeyh of Mevlevi Dergah, who introduced him to the Mevlevi order. After completing his *sülûk* he went to İstanbul, and became a respected figure among ulema and sufis. He became *şeyh* of Galata Mevlevihanesi in 1610, a position that he kept until his death in 1631. Among his works are three risales on the question of semâ': *Semâ' risâlesi, er-risâletu't-tenzîhiyye fî şe'ni'l-mevleviyye*, and *hadis-i erbain şerhi*, in which he commented traditions on *semâ'*, *raks* and *teğanni*. (See: Yetik, Erhan. "Ankaravi İsmail Rusuhi," *DİA*, 3, pp. 211-213.)

[266] Its beginning is given as "*Elhamdulillâhillezî ce'alenâ min ehli'l-vecdi ve'l-hâl* ilh." (*Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/856).

[267] For a study on this work with faximile and Turkish translation see Dülger, Yusuf. "Ahmed b. Muhammed et-Tûsî el-Gazzali ve Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Sema Risaleleri," MA Thesis, (Marmara Un., İstanbul, 1998).

[268] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/856. In another place of *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, Katib Çelebi mentions Ankaravi's "*Risale fi'd- deverâni's-sofiyye*": "He composed it in answer to the opposition of Mehmed Efendi el-muftî and the latter's denial of raks and deveran". Çelebi gives Ankaravi's arguments and makes a personal evaluation of them. He also gives the beginning of the work: "*Allâhumme iyyâke na'budu ve iyyâke nesta'în*". (*Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/864).

some Şeyh İbrahim who initiated a prolonged polemic with the Mevlevî şeyh İsmail el-Ankaravi.

15) *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în*

Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa lists among Birgivi's works *Dâmiğetu'l-mubtedi'în ve kâşifetu butlâni'l-mulhidîn*, which, he notes, is about theology (*fi'l-kelam*). A work with the same title is mentioned by Brockelmann among Birgivi's works. Hayreddin Zirikli, too, mentions among Birgivi's works what he shortly calls *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în*, and, after a mark indicating that the work is unpublished, adds that it is a refutation to the unbelievers (*fi'r-redd ale'l-mulhidîn*)[269]. The variety with which sources refer to this work, it must be noted, has caused some confusion[270]. Depending on Bağdatlı and others, Arslan listed *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în ve kâşifetu butlâni'l-mulhidîn* among Birgivi's works, though with caution, noting also that he found no copy of the work[271]. Fortunately, Martı has discovered a copy of this work in Konya Bölge Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi (no 198). She informs that the copy she has identified, which is entitled *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în fi's-sulûki ilâ tarîki'l-müteşerri'în*, attributes the work to Birgivi[272]. Katip Çelebi, however, mentions in *Keşfu'z-zunûn* a work entitled *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în ve nâsıratu'l-muhtedîn* and attributes it to

[269] Bağdatlı, *Hediyetu'l-arifîn* II/252; *idem*, *İdâhu'l-meknûn* I/442; Brockelmann, *GAL* II, p. 584, no 7; Zirikli, Hayreddin. *el-A'lâm (Kâmûs-i Terâcim li-Eşheri'r-Ricâl ve'n-Nisâ' mine'l-Arab ve'l-Musta'rebîn ve'l-Müsteşrikîn)*. I-VI. (Beyrut, Dâru'l-'İlm li'l-Melâyîn, 1992; 10th ed.); vol. 6, p. 61.

[270] Abdurrahman ed-Dehîş counts among Birgivi's work *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în fi'r-redd ale'l-mulhidîn*, for which he refers to Zirikli's *el-A'lâm*. Two pages later, however, he repeats as a separate work what he calls: "*Kâşifetu butlâni'l-mulhidîn fi'l-kelâm*", for which he refers to *Hediyyetul-arifin*. But this is actually a misreading of what is written in *Hediyyetul-ârifîn* ("*Dâmiğetu'l-mubtedi'în ve kâşifetu butlâni'l-mulhidîn fi'l-kelâm*"). See: Muhammed b. Pir Ali Birgivi. *Mukaddimetü'l-müfessirin*. Published with a critical edition by Abdurrahman b. Salih b. Süleyman ed-Dehiş. (Medine: Mecelletü'l-Hikme, 2004/1425), pp. 42 and 44.

[271] Arslan, *ibid*, p.124.

[272] See Martı, *ibid*, p.112, note 449.

Hüsameddin Hasan b. Şeref et-Tebrîzî (d. ca. 790), but also reports that others have attributed the work to a writer called es-Suğnakî[273]. Çelebi describes it as a short work consisting of two parts, the first being about the matters of the Sufi orders (*meşayihu't-tarîka*) and the second being devoted to demonstrating that the deeds of this group are contrary to the sharia. He also gives the beginning line of the work ("*el-hamdu lillâhillezî teferrede bi-kibriyâihi* ilh."), and mentions that some have put the work in verse. Martı states that despite incompatibility in the titles, the copy that she has analyzed fits completely Çelebi's description of the work, whereby she concludes that Birgivi's authorship of this work is uncertain[274]. In our research in İstanbul libraries we came accros no copy of the original, prose version of the work, but we have identified two manuscript copies of the versified version[275] which Katip Çelebi mentions, as well as a commentary made on this versified work[276], which was either composed or copied by Muhammed b. Ahî (or Ahmed) in the beginnings of Rebiulahir 946/1539, when Birgivi was seventeen years old. We know for certain

[273] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/729. see Martı, *ibid*, p. 112.

[274] See Martı, *ibid*, p. 112.

[275] Sül. K., Fatih 5347, *ff*. 170a-178a, nd. The title is indicated on title page (f. 170a): "*Dâmiğetu'l-mubtedi'în*". Below this is another note, of much later date, probably by those who prepared the catalogue: "*Nazmu Dâmiğetu'l-mubtedi'în ve nâsiretu'l-muhtedîn li-Hüsameddin Hüseyn b. Ali es-Suğnaki. Nâzımı ?*". Sül. K., Laleli 3648, *ff*. 96b-104a, nd. Title is indicated on f. 96b: "*Hâze'l-kitâb Dâmiğetu'l-mubtedi'în nâsıru'l-muhtedîn*." This versified version begins like this: "*Elâ inne'l-mehâmide bi't-tevâlî / ilellâhil-kerîmi lehu't-te'âlî…*" After 5 introductory verses, there is the subtitle -in prose: "*Fasl fi zikri ahvâli'l-mutasavvifeti'l-kabîhati, kuddime zikruhâ ihtimâmen lizecrihim 'an ef'âlihim ed-dhâlleti'l-mudhille*." Other subtitles are (in order): "*Fasl fi zikri ahvâlils-sûfiyyeti'l-hasene*"; "*Fasl fî ahvâlihim eydhan*"; "*Fasl fî beyâni muhâfazatihimu'ş-şerî'a*"; "*Fasl fî beyâni sıfati'ş-şeyh*"; "*Fasl fî beyâni şerâ'iti'l-murîd*"; "*Fasl fî hisâsil-etkiyâ'i min kısasi'l-enbiyâ*"; "*Fasl fi'l-halveti vel-uzle*"; "*Fasl fî beyâni hurmeti's-sucûdi li-ğayrillâhiteala ve i'tirâzât 'aleyha*" … "*Fasl fî beyâni hurmeti'd-deffi ve'r-raksi ve ğayrihima*."

[276] Damad İbrahim Paşa 718, *ff*. 155a-175a. A note in the the title page indicates the name of the work (f. 155a): "*Hâzihi kasîde el-müsemmâ bi-dâmiğati'l-mubtedi'în*". The colophon on f. 175a reads: "*Temmet hazihi'n-nüshatu'l-mübâreke, ketebehu el-fakîr Muhammed b. Ahî (or Ahmed) ğaferellahu lehu… fî evâyili Rebiulahir li-sene sitt ve erba'îne ve tis'amie (946)*".

that Birgivi would write his first work only six years later, in 952/1545 at age of twenty-three[277]. So, *Dâmiğatu'l-mubtedi'în* can not be a work of Birigivi.

16) *Risale fi'l-işâre bi'l-musebbiha hâle't-teşehhud*

This is a treatise which argues that the index finger should be pointed when reading *teşahhüd* in the *tahiyyât* (in the prayer). It has been attributed to Birgivi in a manuscript copy[278]. We have identified three other manuscript copies of the same work, two of which attribute it to Ali Kari el-Herevi (d. 1014/1605)[279]. The third copy does not specify an author, but the volume in which it takes place consists exclusively of the treatises of Ali Kari[280]. One of the manuscripts that attribute the work to Ali Kari indicates the title of the treatise as *Zeylu tezyîni'l-'ibâde*. The *DİA* article on Ali Kari lists among his works a work called *Tezyînu'l-ibâde fî ref'i's-sebbâbe*, published in Lahor in 1872 in the margins of another work[281]. All these are evidence that this treatise belongs not to Birgivi, but to Ali Kari. Furthermore, although there is evidence that Birgivi is of the same opinion on the issue of pointing

[277] See Birgivi's colophon at the end of *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-maksûd*, Sül. K., Erzincan 96, ff. 55b-79a. This MS was copied by Muhammed b. Ibrahim in 1177.

[278] Sül. K., Erzincan 152, *ff*. 88-90, dated 1100/1688-89. A script on the title page reads: "*Hâzihi risâletu'l-fâdıl Muhammed el-Birgivi ale'l-işâre bi'l-müsebbiha fi's-salâti hâle'ş-şehâdeti fi'l-ka'de*." The volume contains eight text, all copied between 1092 and 1100 (1681-1689), in Mekka, Medina, and Erzincan.

[279] Sül. K., Hafid Efendi 453, *ff*. 218b-220b, dated 1096/1684-85. no title or colophon, but ascribed to Ali Kari in the contents page (f. 1a): "*Resâil fi tahkîki mes'eleti'l-işâre bi'l-müsebbiha fi'l-ka'de li-Ali el-Kari*". The text preceding it in the volume is also a work of Ali Kari ("*Resâil niyyetu'l-mu'min hayrun min amelih li-Ali el-Kari*" –contents p.), as is the text following it (a risale on the *hadîs* about love for cats (*hubbu'l-hirre*)). Yazma Bağışlar 1977, *ff*. 1b-5b; the title reads: "*Zeylu tezyîni'l-'ibâdeti lil-Molla Ali el-Kari*". The text is followed by another *risale* of Ali Kari, again on the *hadîs* about love for cats.

[280] Sül. K.,Yazma Bağışlar 4086, *ff*. 1b-4b, no title. In the colophon on f. 4b the copyist Mustafa b. Muhammed records that he copied the text in Rebiulahır of 1131/1719 from the author's copy. The volume is 140 folios comprising 12 texts, all by Ali Kari.

[281] Özel, Ahmet. "Ali el-Kari", *DİA*, 2, p. 404.

the index finger as the author of this treatise[282] the broader content of the work does not reflect Birgivi's views, especially his views on the value of the literature produced in the Hanefi School. More specifically, the author's understanding and definition of *selef* and *halef* does not fit Birgivi's understanding of them. To see this we need some description of the work. The author informs that he had previously written a treasise where he argued for the issue, and that he is rehandling it here because some(one) of the ulema and meşâyih of his time found his argument contradictory to what is written in the books of the authorities of the Hanefi School, and asked him to re-consider his views. The author then summarizes the arguments of the mentioned şeyh. Reportedly, the şeyh said I have examined your treatise and benefited from it, but a doubt has apparently caught me which I want cleared from the mind, which is that you have leaned too much upon Keydânî for his opinion that pointing the index finger is *harâm*, despite the fact that Keydânî is among men of learning and wisdom ("*min erbâbil-'ilm ve'l-hikme*"). The şeyh then cites concurring views from Hanefi *fıkh* books such as *Vâki'ât*, *Tecnîs*, *Muhtârâtu'n-nevâzil*, *Mudmerât*, *Velvâlci*(?), *el-Fetâva'l-kubrâ*, *Şerhu'l-kenz*, *el-Hulâsa*, *Şumnî*, *Îdâhu'l-islâh*, *Zeyla'î*, *Munyetu'l-muftî*, *Zahîr*, *el-Kifâye fî şerhi'l-hidâye*, *el-Usûl*, *Cevâhiru'l-Ahlâtî*, and *el-'İtâbiyye*, and asks the author to think on this topic and explain the preferable view (*el-mureccah*). The author replies by saying that the bulk of what has been transmitted from the mentioned authorities ("*meşâyih*") contradicts both *rivâyet* and *dirâyet*, because pro-pointing opinion has been reported from the three imams (i.e., Ebû Hanîfe and his disciples, Imam Muhammed eş-Şeybâni and

[282] In *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*, at the last section of the second *Bâb*, Birgivi recounts the *âfât* of the body that are not specific to a bodily organ, first among which he mentions the sufi dances (*raks*). Birgivi writes: "But moving the head to the right and the left to support the sense of refutation and affirmation in *lâ ilâhe illâllâh*, the strong opinion (*ez-zannu'l ğâlib*) is that it is religiously permissible (*câiz*), even recommended (*müstehab*), … The basis for this is the lifting of the index finger in the prayer when saying *eşhedu en lâ ilâhe illâllâh*." See: *et-Tarîkatu'l Muhammediyye*, ed. Muhammed Husni Mustafa, (Syria, Aleppo: Dâru'l-kalemi'l-Arabî, 1423/2002), p. 364.

Ebû Yusuf), and because what others have said is contrary to the *rivâye* of the forerunning *selef* (*hilâfu rivâyeti's-selefi'l-mutekaddimîn*) and is "no more than the preference of some of the lagging *halef* (*min ihtiyârâti ba'zi'l-halefi'l-mute'ahhirîn*)". Then he goes into detail, but we shall quote only the finishing words of the treatise: "… you must conform to the *sunna* and follow the *rivâye* from the imams. Beware you of looking at the renegement (or lag) of the posterior (*hulfi'l-halef*) given their opposition to the selef."

The author openly disregarded a considerable portion of the literature produced in the Hanefi School that had already become part of the common tradition, and advised strict adherence to the opinion of the early founders of the School. Birgivi would not do that. He would rather defend the tradition against the assault of the contemporaries. This he did in his[283] *Hâşiye 'alâ Îzâhi'l-islâh*, a work penned to refute Kemalpaşazade's *Îzâhu'l-islâh*. [Kemalpaşazade (d. 940/1533) had written a work called *Islâhu'l-vikâye*, where he tried to make corrections concerning *Vikâyetu'r-rivâye fî mesâ'ili'l-Hidâye* by Burhanuşşerîa Mahmud b. Sadruşşerîa el-Evvel (d. after 673/1274) and the commentary (*Şerhu'l-Vikâye*) made on it by Burhanuşşerîa's maternal grandson Sadruşşerîa es-Sânî Ubeydullah b. Mes'ûd b.

[283] Four out of five manuscript copies of the work that we have identified in İstanbul libraries attribute it to Birgivi. The fifth copy (Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 2720, *ff*. 21-40) (discovered for the first time in this study), however, indicates that it is a work by Bahaeddinzade, and that Birgivi has penned marginal notes on the work (visible in the manuscript), where, it is stated, he acts as an arbitrator between Bahaaeddinzade and Kemalpaşazade. This information also takes place in *Keşfu'z-zunûn* in the entry on *Vikâyetu'r-rivâye* (II/2022). But in another place of *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, in the entry on Kemalpaşazade's *Islâhu'l-vikâye* (I/109), Katip Çelebi mentions that Birgivi penned a *ta'lîk* on *kitâbu't-tahâret* of Kemalpaşazade's work, and quotes the beginning of it, which exactly fits the beginning of the texts in the above manuscripts. (For more detail see the discussion on the work in Chapter III). Even if the work does not belong to Birgivi, he is nonetheless on the side of Bahaeddinzade as, according to the computation made by the son of Bahaeddinzade which is noted at the beginning of the above manuscript (f.21a), the number of mistakes Birgivi attributes to Kemalpaşazade is 89, while he attributes only 17 mistakes to Bahaeddinzade, 4 to Sadruşşerîa, and 5 to Tacuşşerîa (i.e., Burhanuşşerîa). Therefore, even if the following words are not from Birgivi's pen, they are from someone whom he finds more accurate compared to Kemalpaşazade.

Tâcuşşerîa Ömer b. Sadruşşerîa el-Evvel (d. 747/1346)[284]. Kemalpaşazade then commented on his own work and called it *Îzâhu'l-islâh*[285].] Birgivi (d. 981/1573) [or Bahaeddinzade (d. 953/1546-47)] criticizes Kemalpaşazade -without giving his name- in a strong and brutal language for daring to defame works on the basis of which "ulema had unanimously given fatvas for a long time" and which "the believers had agreed on acting upon them in their worship." "The situation," he continues, "lasted like this until now, and objection came from nobody on this, but now a strange occurrence has occurred, and a bewildering *fitne* has appeared, as some(one) of the ulema of our age[286] has accused them with mistake and deviance…". He even draws an analogy between Kemalpaşazade's writing a work after *Vikâye* and *Şerhu'l-Vikâye* and between the Mescid-i Dırâr[287] which pseudo-

[284] Burhanuşşerîa, the author of *Vikâyetu'r-rivâye,* is the maternal grandfather of Sadruşşerîa es-Sâni. Katip Çelebi says that Burhanuşşeria composed *Vikâyetu'r-rivâye* for the son of his daughter, Sadruşşeria es-Sâni (Keşfuzzunun, II/2020). Şükrü Özen verifies this information (See: Şükrü Özen, "Sadruşşerîa", *DİA* 35, pp. 427-431). Birgivi (or, rather, Bahaeddinzade), however, says that the author of *Vikâyetu'r-rivâye* is Tâcuşşerîa. But this is a mistake, because, as Şükrü Özen demonstrates, the author of the mentioned work is not Tacuşşerîa Ömer b. Sadruşşerîa el-Evvel, but his brother Burhânuşşerîa Mahmud b. Sadruşşerîa el-Evvel (d. after 673/1274). (The two brothers, Tâcuşşerîa and Burhanuşşerîa, moved from Buhara to Kirman in 673/1274 upon the İlhânid invasion of Buhara in 67191273. The children of these two brothers married one another, and Sadruşşerîa es-Sâni was born from this marriage. So, both brothers are Sadruşşerîa's grandfathers, and have therefore been confused with one another. For more information, see: Şükrü Özen, "Sadruşşerîa", *DİA* 35, pp. 427-431). Birgivi (indeed, Bahaeddinzade) must have followed Kemalpaşazade in this mistake, as Kemalpaşazade attributes the work –according to the report of Özen- to Tâcuşşerîa in his *Îzâhu'l-ıslâh*.

[285] On Kemalpaşazade's work see Keşfuzzunun, I/109. For a manuscript copy of the work see Sül. K., Carullah 582 (243 ff.), dated 939/1523-24. For more information on the debate around this work see the discussion on *Hâşiye 'alâ İzâhi'l-islâh* in Chapter IV.

[286] This phrase may be evidence that the author of the work is Bahaeddinzade(d.953), and not Birgivi (929-981), as the former is a contemporary of Kemalpaşazade (d.940).

[287] The prophet built two *mescid*s in his life: the first was Mescid-i Kubâ outside Medîna, which the prophet built upon his stay there for a time before entering the city of Medîna; the second was Mescid-i Nebevî which he built in Medîna after he moved into the city (12 Rebiulevvel, 1, Friday / 24 of September, 622). The prophet would sometimes go to pray in Mescid-i Kubâ even after Mescid-i Nebevî was built. The false-believers (*munâfik*) built a mescid opposite Mescid-i Kubâ and then asked the prophet, who was on the expedition to Tebûk, to authorize the new mescid by leading the first prayer. The prophet agreed to pray on his return, but, as the ill-intentions of the munâfıks were revealed to him (*Koran,* et-Tevbe 9/107) he orderd destruction of the mescid and Muslims destroyed it at night by setting a fire. (See: Hüseyin Algül, "Mescdi-i Dırâr," *DIA* 29, pp. 272-273; "Mescid-i Kubâ", *ibid,* pp. 279-280; Nebi Bozkurt and Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, "Mescid-i Nebevî," *ibid,* pp. 281-290).

believers (*munâfik*) built in Kubâ (near Medîna) after Mescid-i Nebevi: "the example of this is the example of those who built a mescid after the mescid of the Prophet, to cause harm (dirâran) and discord (tefrîkan) among the Muslims and to support those who habitually rebelled against the selef and waged war on the men of truth (ehl-i hak)."

Birgivi (or rather, the author of *Hâşiye 'alâ Îzâhu'l-islâh*) does defend the *selef* against the *halef*, but, it is important to note, he envisions selef in such a wider sense as to include such later ulema as Burhânuşşerîa and Sadruşşerîa (seventh-eighth / thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), and shows no tendency to criticize them. His understanding of halef, on the other hand, is his own age. Ocak is not right when he maintains that Birgivi Mehmed Efendi "refuses all kinds of Islamic tradition other than Koran and Sunnah"[288]. On the contrary, we find Birgivi vehemently defending the tradition against the contemporaries, as most of his works are full of references to the tradition. This is an important point that differentiates Birgivi (and Bahaeddinzade) from what is commonly referred to as the *selefi* path identified with Ibn Teymiyye and his followers, as well as from the modern continuations of it as exemplified by the Vahhâbî movement. Whether or not the commonplace image of Ibn Teymiyye as a puritanist reformer denouncing the entire body of the mediating Islamic tradition does justice to him is a question that has recently found some attention. The need has been stressed to re-consider Ibn Teymiyye's thought and re-evaluate the complicated relationship between this thought and Ottoman Sunnism[289].

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[288] Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. "Kadızadeliler Hareketi", p. 210.

[289] For a good attempt to re-configure Ibn Teymiyye's thougt by scrutinizing critiques that he directed to Muslim theologists see: Özervarlı, M.Sait. *İbn Teymiyye'nin Düşünce Metodolojisi ve Kelamcılara eleştirisi*. (İstanbul: ISAM, 2008). For a stimulating study of the adventures of a sixteenth-century Ottoman translation of Ibn Teymiyye's *es-Siyâsetu'ş-şer'iyye*, see Derin Terzioğlu, "Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal Vakası": Ya da İbn Teymiyye'nin *Siyasetü'ş-şer'iyye*'sini Kim(ler) Osmanlıcaya Nasıl Aktardı?" *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 31/II (2007), pp. 247-275.

It is generally maintained that the followers of the *selefî* path by-pass the entire tradition mediating between its own time and the time of the first generations of Muslims –modern "selefî"s, paradoxically, can not by-pass Ibn Teymiyye and his followers.

The contrast drawn between *Risâle fi'l-işâre bi'l-müsebbiha* and *Hâşiye 'alâ Îzâhi'l-islâh* is not intended to imply that Ali el-Kâri is a *selefî* who refuses the tradition altogether, or that Birgivi and Bahaaeddinzâde unquestionably accept all that is known as tradition. Nor do we mean that Birgivi and Bahaeddinzade are more Hanefî-minded than Ali Kari. We know that Ali Kari, a Hanefite from Heart who settled himself in Mekka and advanced his learning there, has responded fiercely to the Şâfiite *fukahâ* who criticized the Hanefites, and has penned an important commentary on Sadruşşeria's *en-Nukâye*[290]. We also know that Birgivi tirelessly challenged and criticized religious authorities of his time for certain legal questions. In this they are not different. They are comparable also in the dedicated fight they launched against what they considered to be innovation (*bid'at*). This explains why Ali el-Kârî has composed a versed eulogy in praise of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye*, Birgivi's magnum opus[291]. There is, however, an important difference between them. While Birgivi is not familiar with the writings of Ibn Teymiyye and his followers, Ali Kari appreciated Ibn Teymiyye and Ibn Kayyim and defended them. Following Ibn Teymiyye, he also accused Ibn Arabi with blasphemy[292].

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[290] Özel, Ahmet. "Ali el-Kari", *DİA*, 2, pp. 403-404. Ali Kari also drew extensively on the Şâfi'i fukahâ on some matters, and also on Hanbali sources. (see MichaelCook. *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.317-18.

[291] For a copy of this eulogy see the un-numbered folio at the beginning of Esad Efendi 615.
[292] *Ibid*, *idem*.

17) *Risâle fî sucûdi's-sehv*

This is a treatise about stipulations of *secde-i sehv*, a *secde* that is performed at the end of the prayer if a mis-performance occurred during the prayer. Arslan counts this treatise among Birgivi's works depending on the fact that it has been attributed to Birgivi in a late manuscript (dated 1173/1759)[293], the only copy mentioned by Arslan. The work was ascribed to Birgivi also by Brockelmann[294]. There are actually about twenty other copies of this work, which is also known as *Risâle câmi'a li-cemî'i sucûdi's-sehv*. One of these copies (dated 977/1569) also attributes the work to Birgivi in the title page and in an informative note at the end of the text, but the writer who inscribed this note is not quite sure about his report, and advises that the reader ask someone who has the knowledge ("*fe's'el bihî habîren*")[295]. In other manuscripts, however, the work has been attributed to Kemalpaşazade (d. 940/1533)[296]. Still other copies of the work are in volumes that consist exclusively of the works of Kemalpaşazade[297]. Katip Çelebi, too, attributes the work to "Ibn

[293] See: Arslan, *ibid*, p. 90, Martı, *ibid,* p. 79. MS M.Murad-M.Arif 174 ff. 23b-33a. At the beginning of the work there is a note that reads: "hâzihi risâle fî sucûdi's-sehv lil-imâm el-Muhammed el-Birgivi rh". The colophon on 33a shows that it has been copied by Ali b. el-Hac Mustafa b. Abdülkerim et-Tophanevi in 1173. No ascription in the colophon.

[294] *GAL* S II, p. 658, no.37.

[295] MS Sül. K., Yozgat 622, ff. 70a-97a. In the title page (70a) there is a note that reads: "hazihirrisale min müellefatil-fadıl Muhammed Efendi eş-şehir bi-Birgili". The text begins on 70b, bearing the title –written in red: "haza kitabu sucudiyye". The colophon at the end of the text reads (the sentences ore not quite regular): "temme telifuhu, Hâcî Hasan, evâsiti et-târîh fî şehri Receb el-murecceb fi yevmil-cumua sene 977". In the left magrin of th same folio (97a) there is the note i n question (some parts are not legible at all): "Bu risâle-i şerîfeyi m[ezkur?] târihde Câmi-i Atîk-i Edirne'de imâm olan kimesneye Edirne (?) … [not legible] imtihân tarîkiyle sehv … [not legible] bir mes'ele suâl eyledikde ol dahî cevâb olmak üzere cem' ve te'lîf ve tahrîr edüp götürüp verir deyu 'âlim-i merhûm nakl ider …. [not legible] mesmû'umuz oldi ki Birgili merhûmun olmak üzere meşhûr imiş, *fes'el bihî habîren*."

[296] See, for instance: Sül. K., Aşir Efendi 430, ff. 173-177, nd The text bears the followin title (written in red): "hâzihi risâle fî beyâni sucûdi's-sehv li-Kemalpaşazade" (The volume nearly consists of risales by Kemalpaşazade); Şehid Ali Paşa 942, ff. 123-125, nd This copy bears the title: "hâzihi risâle ma'mûle fî beyâni sucûdi's-sehv li'l-allâme eş-şehîr bi-İbn Kemal el-Vezir rh." (The volume nearly consists of risales by Kemalpaşazade).

[297] İzmirli İsmail Hakkı 3672, ff. 132-143, nd. (the volume consists exclusively of Kemalpaşazade's works); İbrahim Efendi 860, ff. 78-83, dated 1005, copied by Mustafa b. İskender el-Mostari (the

Kemalpaşa and others", and the beginning line given by him is evidence that he is talking about the same work as ours[298]. The most critical testimony that this is not a work of Birgivi, however, comes from a manuscript copied by el-Hac Kerimzade Abdulğani in Safer of 1203/1788 when he temporarily held the position of the *kâdî* of Oruscuk (Rusye?). This Abdulğani also copied out the colophon by the author, which reads: "The composition of the work was completed in Zulhicce in the night of Arefe in the year 931 (1525)"[299]. Birgivi was born in 929/1523. So, this risale cannot be of Birgivi's authorship. Huriye Martı, who followed Arslan in counting the work among Birgivi's works, has significantly noted that in this treatise Birgivi has gone beyond his usual custom by adopting a different practice, that of enumerating, at the end of the text, the names of all the sources that he used in the work[300]. Nowhere, indeed, in his works does Birgivi give a list of his sources.

18) *Murşidu'l-müte'ehhilîn*

This is an Arabic treatise written as a guide for the married. It is composed by Muhyiddin Muhammed b. Kutbuddin el-İzniki (d.885/1480), a scholar and sufi,

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majority of the works in the volume belong to Kemalpaşazade); Carullah 2086, ff. 1-6, no date (nearly all of the text in the volume belong to Kemalpaşazade). For other copies of the work, see: Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 459, ff. 93b-108b, dated 1005; Halet Efendi 782, ff. 73b-78b, nd.; Hamidiye 390, ff. 214b-220a, nd.; Kılıç Ali Paşa 1025, ff. 126b-130b, nd.; Kılıç Ali Paşa 1014, ff. 99-108, nd.; Laleli 3687, 23b-20b, nd.; Reşid Efendi 1053, ff. 66-73, nd.; Amcazade Hüseyin 454, ff. 156-159, nd.; Bağdatlı Vehbi 33, ff. 36-48, copied by Seyyid Muhammed b. Mahmud in 22 Zilhicce 1083; Damad İbrahim 297, ff. 215-222, nd.; Atıf Efendi K., Atıf Efendi 2790, ff. 127a-190a, nd. (the colophon on f. 190a reads: "temme te'lîfuhu bi-avnillâhi alâ yedi Muhammed b. İbrahim", this must be the copyist).

[298] "Risale fi sucudis-sehv –li-İbn Kemalpaşa ve li-ğayrihi. Evveluha: *allâhumme minke nestehdî ve leke nestekînu* ilh." (Keşfuzzunun, I/871).

[299] MS Sül. K., Esad Efendi 3763, ff. 59a-65b. the colophon on 65b reads: "temme te'lîfuhâ fî şehri Zilhicce fî leyletil-'arefe fî sene ihdâ ve selâsîn ve tis'amie [**931**], harrerehu'l-fakir el-Hâc Abdulğani el-kâdî bi-Oruscuk muvakkaten sene selâs ve mi'eteyn ve elf [**1203**] fî evâsiti şehri Safer el-hayr". The copyist has a special interest collecting examples of special writings (takrîzs, tebrîks, etc.) by poets and leading writers of his time, as the folios 132-192 of this volume comprise endless notes of this kind.

[300] Martı, *ibid*, p. 79.

probably of the Zeyniyye order, who, at the same time, following his master Molla Fenâri, played an important role in the perpetuation of the Ekberiyye School in Anatolia[301]. The catalogue shows about 25 copies of this treatise in Istanbul libraries[302]. It has been translated[303] into Ottoman Turkish by Müstakimzâde Süleyman Sadeddin (d. 1202/1788), a prolific man of letters attached to the Nakşibendi-Müceddidî order with also Melami-Bayrami affiliations, who was reputed for his biographical works and translation activities[304]. Izniki's text has been ascribed to Birgivi in a late copy (dated 1142/1729)[305]. Actually Birgivi does have a risale of the same character, titled *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn ve'n-nisâ' fî ta'rîfi'l-ethâr ve'd-dimâ'*, which he wrote as a guide for the married and women; but this work of Birgivi is different from the text ascribed to him at the above manuscript. İzniki's treatise begins, after praising God and the Prophet, with statements of complaint, in a

[301] On his life and works see: Öngören, Reşat. "Kutbüddinzade İzniki", *DİA*, 26, pp. 489-490. See also *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1656.

[302] See, f.e.: Sül. K.,Laleli 930 (30 ff.). There are also about 20 copies in libraries of Anatolian cities.

[303] The translation begins with the same words as the Arabic original: "*Elhamdulillahillezi halaka'l-insane minel-mâi beşera*…" (after praise to God and the Prophet, it continues: "*…bu nüsha-i nefisenin aslı Murşidu'l-müteehhilîn dimekle arîf bir kitâb-ı kemyâb ve latîf, Kutb İzniki-zade Muhyiddin Muhammed Efendinin eser-i mu'teber-i münîfi olup…*"). For copies of the translation see: Sül. K.,Halet Efendi 405, *ff*. 65-98; the volume contains other texts by Müstakimzade, among them a *tâlîk* on *Tarîkat-i Muhammediyye*: "*fi ihtimami'n-nezâfe*" (ff. 99-101). Pertev Paşa 625, *ff*. 255b-281 (original pagination: 524-575); this volume contains more than thirty works by Müstakimzade. For copies of the translation in other libraries see: Öngören, Reşat. "Kutbüddinzade İzniki", *DİA* 26, p. 490; Karatay, Fehmi Edhem. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*. 2 vols. (Istanbul: TSM, 1961); p. 312.

[304] For a portrait of Müstakimzade and his various activities as biographer and hagiography writer see: Erken, Ali. "A Historical Analysis of Melami-Bayrami Hagiographies", MA Thesis (Boğaziçi Un., 2009); pp. 35-44. For a comparative analysis of his hagiograpy of the Melami-Bayramî *şeyh*s see *ibid*, pp. 45-74.

[305] Sül. K., Yazma Bağışlar 1701, *ff*. 1b-35b. Two titles are shown on top of f.1a: "*Zuhru'lmüte'ehhilîn li-Birgivi*" and "*Murşidu'l-müte'ehhilîn li-Birgivi*". *Zuhru'l-müteehhilin* no longer exists in the volume, but *Murşidu'l-mute'ehhilîn* begins on f.1b, bearing the title: "*Hâzâ kitâbu murşidu'l-müte'ehhilîn li'l-Birgivi*". The text opens with the following words: "*elhamdulillâhillezî halaka mine'lmâ'i beşeren ve ce'alehu neseben ve sihra…*". The work was copied by Muhammed b. İbrahim el-Bolevi in Rebiulahir of 1142 in İstanbul (see the colophon on f. 35b).

long and interesting account, about the dressing and behavior of the women of the time[306].

19) *Risâle fî te'dîbi's-sıbyân*

This is a text containing instructions about rearing children. We have identified two manuscript copies of this text. In one of the copies it has been attributed to Birgivi in the title page and in the colophon. But the colophon clearly shows that the copyist Muhammed b. Mustafa has confused Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi with Muhammed b. İsma'il el-Bedr er-Reşid[307]. His confusion has also misled those who prepared the catalogue, since this MS is ascribed to Birgivi in the catalogue as well. A similar confusion, we have already seen, was experienced by this same copyist about *Risâle fî el-fâzi'l-kufr*, but this time his mistake is more misleading because the work in question belongs neither to Birgivi nor to Bedr-i Reşid. We learn the author of the work from the second copy. This copy bears no title; the beginning of the text, however, implies that it is not an independent work, but a part copied out from a larger whole[308]. Furthermore, the colophon at the end of this piece explicitly mentions the source from which the excerpt was taken: "*nukile min Tebyîn el-Mehârim bi-'aynih* (taken from *Tebyînu'l-mehârim* itself)". *Tebyînu'l-mehârim*, of

[306] "…When I saw that the women of the time doll up in the manner of the prostitutes and walk in the markets looking like the women of the infidels (*harbiyyât*), and un-cover their legs in front of the people so that the hand of the toucher should lean to them, and play [or "meet" –Laleli 930] with the youngster (*şebâb*) in the wedding ceremonies (*velâyim*) and deserve the wrath of God, go to the *hamâm* publicly, …"

[307] Sül. K., Hamidiye 1459, *ff*. 63a-65b; The title page (f.63a) has a script that reads: "*hâzâ risâle fî te'dîbi's-sıbyân li-merhûm Birgivî Efendi rh*." The colophon on f. 65b reads: "*Temmet terbiyetu'l-vâlid li-veledih li'l-'âlim el-'âmil şeyh Muhammed el-Birgivi b. Ismail, ğaferellâhulehuma ve li-kâtibihi el-hakîr Muhammed b. Mustafa b. Muhammed ufiyeanhuma…*".

[308] Sül. K. Esad Efendi 3780, *ff*. 190b-191b. The text begins in the following words: "*Fasl fî terbiyeti'l-evlâd alâ kânûni'ş-şerî'a. Va'lem enne's-sabiyye emânetun 'inde vâlideyhi ve kalbuhu't-tâhiretu cevheretun nefîsetun sâzicetun…*".

which about thirty copies seem to exist in İstanbul libraries[309], is a work by Sinâneddîn Yusuf b. el-Vaiz el-Amâsî (d. 1000/1591)[310] which he composed in 4 of Receb 980 (1572)[311].

Now that we identified the author of the text about *te'dîbu's-sıbyân*, it is appropriate to see if there are reasons, other than the copyist's simple confusion of the names, which may explain ascription of this text to Birgivi. The only thing that comes to mind is that the copyist confused this text with *Risâle fî ahvâli etfali'l-muslimîn*, a work that is commonly attributed to Birgivi but which actually belongs, as we tried to show, to Yahya b. Nasûh b. İsrâ'îl (Yahya el-Birgivi). The author of *Risâle fî ahvâli etfâli'l-muslimîn* discusses the conditions, in the other world, of the children of muslim parents who died before maturity. We may speculate that our copyist heard about this treatise which the tratidion attributed to Birgivi, and, upon seing Sinân Efendi's text, thought it to be that work, but, since he habitually confuses Birgivi with Bedr-i Reşîd, ascribed it to "Muhammed Birgivi b. Ismail".

20) *Ahlâk-ı Adudiye* (See the introduction at the beginning of this section).

21) *el-İşrâk ve's-siyer* (*İşrâku't-târîh*)

This work was attributed to Birgivi in a seemingly late manuscript copy, and was therefore counted by Atsız among Birgivi's works.[312] Researchers had since accepted

[309] See, f.e.: Sül. K.,Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 364, 116 ff., dated 980 ; Kılıç Ali Paşa 776, 330 ff., dated 1000; Hamidiye 449, 240 ff., dated 1051.

[310] Amasi's date of death is given in GAL S II 452 and 524. *Keşufu'z-zunûn* indicates that one of his works ("*Menâsiku'ş-Şeyh Sinan*") was composed in 991. (see: *Keşufu'z-zunûn*, II, 1832).

[311] Keşfuzzunun, I, 342.

[312] Sül. K, Aşir Efendi 436 (103a-159a [113a-169a]). One of the two owners' notes on f.103a [113a] is dated 1150 /1737-38. The text begins on f.103b [113b], and a heading by the same hand as the text reads: "Hâza İşrâk ve's-siyer li'ş-Şeyh Muhammed el-Birgili." The text gives the name of the author,

this attribution[313] until Martı showed that the author of the work, which has many other copies, is actually Kara Ya'kub b. Idrîs Karamânî (d. 833/1429)[314]. The work is a hagiographic-historical text about the lifestories of famous prophets, the Prophet Muhammed and his family and friends, the founding fathers of the *mezheb*s and the leading Muslim figures until Gazali[315].

22) *Tercumetu ed-Durretu'l-multekata*

This is Turkish translation of a work that scomprises *fetvâ*s on *furû'* fikh, compiled from different *fetvâ* collections[316]. In the only known copy of the work, the name of the translator is professed as "Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi" in the introduction, and as "Muhammed b. Pir Muhammed" at the end of the work[317]. So, the first record must be a mistake on the part of the copyist. The work was included by Atsız into his bibliography. Arslan, however, has demonstrated that the work cannot be of Birgivi's authorship because it refers to works that were composed only after Birgivi's death[318].

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as its beginning reads: "Elhamdulillâhillezî hedânâ li-hâzâ…, emma ba'du fe-yekûlu'l-fakîr ilâ rahmetillâhi'l-kadîr, Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi, lemma ahbere Rasûlullah…". The title of the work too is mentioned in the text (f.104b:13-14): "İşrâku't-tarîh".

[313] See Atsız, *ibid*, p. 90; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 125-126; Lekesiz, *ibid*, p.

[314] For details see Martı, *ibid*, p. 119. For Kara Ya'kub see Taşköprüzade (968/1561), *eş-Şekâ'iku'n-Nu'maniye,* p. 63. Taşköprüzade does not mention such a work of him, but Mecdî Mehmed Efendi, who translated eş-Şekâik into Ottoman Turkish, adds a "tezyîl" to the information given by the author, where he states that Kara Yakub penned a book called *İşrâku't-tevârîh*, and gives a descripton of the book. See: Mecdi (d.1591), *Hadâ'iku'ş-şakâ'ik*, pp. 84-85. So does Katip Çelebi (d.1658) in his *Keşfu'z-zunûn* (I/103). Çelebi also gives the beginning of the work: "*el-hamdu lillâhillezî hedânâ li-hâza* ilh". Bursalı gives the contents of the work as well. (*Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/397.

[315] For more information see: Martı, *ibid*, p. 119; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 126.

[316] For further information see: Martı, *ibid*, p. 119; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 128; Atsız, *ibid*, p. 13.

[317] Sül. K., Sül. 651, ff. 1a-343b, dated 1102/1691; see the colophon on 343b.

[318] Arslan's words imply that what Atsız attributed to Birgivi was *ed-Dürretu'l-mültekata* itself; but what Atsız actually attributes to Birgivi is the translation of *ed-Dürretu'l-mültekata*, as the The text

23) *Risâle fî vezâifi'n-nevâfil* (*Du'ânâme-i Birgivi, Vezâifu'l-yevm ve'l-leyle*)

This is a short piece in Arabic that recounts, in third person, Birgivi's daily habits and prayers[319]. We have identified eleven copies of the work, most of which ascribe it to Birgivi[320]. However, as Arslan has stated[321], the treatise is actually authored by one of Birgivi's students, Hocazâde Abdunnasîr (d. 990/1582)[322], who also made a commentary on Birgivi's *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*[323]. The treatise has been translated into Turkish by Kuşadalı Ahmed Efendi[324], who clearly states Hocazade's authorship of the work[325].

## Misattributions in Later Ottoman Sources and Modern Studies

1) *Şerhu Luğaz-i Birgivi* (*Tevhid Şerhi*)

Arslan demonstrates that what Atsız has called "*Tevhid Şerhi*" (Süleymaniye Ktb., Bağdatlı Vehbi Efendi 2165, *ff.* 126-130) is not a work of Birgivi but a commentary

itself professes (f.1a). Even if so, the evidence on which Arslan refused Birgivi's authorship is evidence also against Birgivi's agency as translator. (See: Arslan, *ibid*, p. 128; Atsız, *ibid*, p. 13)

[319] For a detailed description of this work, see: Huriye Martı, p.

[320] The ascriptions are made by varying wordings, generally at the beginning of the work. To give a few examples: "*fe-hâzihi vezâifu nevâfili'l-ibâdâti elleti ihtârehâ ve rettebehâ Muhammed b. Pir Ali b. İskender*" (Sül. K., Hürsev Paşa 98, f. 48b); "*câmi'uhu Muhammed Çelebi*" (Sül. K., Reisülküttab 1181 f. 73b).

[321] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 129.

[322] A note at the end of a copy (Yazma Bağışlar 1269, f. 233a) reads: "*Min nushat-i Hocazâde el-muharrir li-Tarîkat-i Muhammediyye*", but the same copy has a note at the beginning of it which reads: "*Hâzihi'l-evrâku tasnîfu'l-Birgivi, el-musemmâ bi'd-Du'ânâme-i Birgivi*".

[323] For two MSS of his *Şerh-i Tarîkat-i Muhammediyye*, see: Hacı Selim Ağa 485; Kılıç Ali Paşa 585.

[324] The exact date of Kuşadalı Ahmed's death is unknown. He was a student of Adalı (or Kuşadalı) Mustafa b. Hamza (d. after 1085/1674-75), who wrote in 1085, a commentary on Birgivi's *İzharu'l-esrar* called *Netâicu'l-efkâr* and a *hâşiye* on Birgivi's *İmtihânu'l-ezkiyâ*. Following his master, Kuşadalı Ahmed wrote two commentaries on two works of Birgivi (other than the translation of *Evrâd-ı Birgivi* by Hocazâde): *'İnâyetu'l-mubtağî* is a commentary on Birgivi's *kifâyetu'l-mübtedî* about *sarf*, and *Şerhu'l-avâmili'l-cedîd* is a commentary on Birgivi's *Avâmil* in *nahv*.

[325] See: Yazma Bağışlar 1269, *ff.* 233b-236a; Düğümlü Baba 449, *ff.*148b-149b, dated 1116.

on a work that is commonly attributed to Birgivi, which explains the monotheistic formula (*kelime-i tevhîd*) in the form of a conundrum (*lüğaz*). [326] This short enigmatic treatise, which is known as "*Elğâz*" or "*Luğaz-ı Birgivi*"[327], has attracted attention of many commentators, as about 10 commentaries have been made on it[328]. Actually the author of the above commentary explicitly states that he is commenting some of Birgivi's words. Arslan says nothing as to whom the commentary belongs, nor does the manuscript explicate an author. However, in other manuscripts[329] it is attributed to Ebû Said el-Hadimi (1176/1762), the famous Nakşibendi şeyh and scholar, whose commentary on Birgivi's *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye*, entitled *el-Berîkatu'l-Mahmudiyye fî Şerhi et-Tarîkatu'l-Muhammediyye*, is one of the most famous commentaries of the work[330]. Hadimi's commentary on *Luğaz-i Birgivi* has also been attributed to Birgivi by Witkam[331].

2) *Zâdu'l-mütezevvicîn fî şerhi Zuhri'l-müteehhilîn*

Witkam suggests that this is a commentary by Birgivi on his own *Zuhru'l-müteehhilîn*, a work that Birgivi has penned to serve as a guide for the married and

[326] See Arslan, *ibid*, p. 87; Atsız, *ibid*, pp. 34. Atsız also mentioned (p. 91) *Lüğaz* as another article in his bibliograpy, which is the last item in his list. (cf. *ibid*, p. 34).

[327] For a copy of this piece see Sül. K., Aşir Efendi 463, f. 51a. Arslan calls this work "Risaletu't-tevhîd". See Arslan, *ibid*, p. 87.

[328] For some of the commentaries see Arslan, *ibid*, pp. 87-88.

[329] See: Yazma Bağışlar 2712, ff. 3a-4b; Esad Efendi 1115, ff.71a-b.

[330] For commentaries and translations made on *Tarîkat*-i Muhammediye see Arslan, *ibid*, p. 115-122. For a good study on Hadimi see Sarıkaya, Yaşar. *Ebu Said el-Hadimi: Merkez ile Taşra arasında bir Osmanlı Alimi*. (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008).

[331] While describing MS Or.11.766 (7), ff.147a-148b, Witkam writes: "*Risala* (?) by Muhammad b. Pir 'Ali al-Birkawi (d. 981/1573)... Divided into two chapters (*Matlab*). Beginning: *al-Hamdu lillah Hamd al-Muwahhidin al-Wasilin…*". This is the beginning of Hadimi's commentary. See: Witkam, Jan Just. *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*. (Leiden: Ter Lugut Press, 2007), vol. 12, p. 206. Volumes I-VII, XII-XV, XX, XXII-XXV are downloadable as PDF files from the following web page: http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html

women[332]. Witkam reached this conclusion presumably because he considered the following words of the commentator to be self-referential, which is obviously an over interpretation:

> […] this treatise by eş-şeyh el-imâm el-hümâm el-evhadî Takiyyuddin Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi, may god forgive his sins and cover his faults, … since it comprised valuable information… but needed a commentary to explain its difficulties … and until now there was no commentary [on it]…, I started it despite insufficiency of [my] disposal, and named it *Zâdu'l-mütezevvicîn fî şerhi Zuhil-müteehhilîn*.

No copy of the text attribute it to Birgivi[333].

3) *Râhatu's-sâlihîn ve savâ'iku'l-munâfikîn*.

This treatise was attributed to Birgivi in some sources[334], but Arslan has demonstrated in multiple ways that it cannot be a work of him[335]. Rather, he states, it belongs to Ahmed el-Husûnî (d.1003/1594-95), who composed it the year he died[336]. We have analysed a copy of the work[337] preceded by a handlist showing that the work consists of eight sections (*bâb*): the first *bâb* is about commanding right and forbidding wrong (*el-emr bi'l-ma'rûf ve'n-nehy ani'l-münker*), the second to the seventh *bâb*s are about various, detailed topics (secrets) concerning the correct manner to perform prayers, and the last *bâb* is about ablution and purity (*istincâ'*). A note at the end of the work relates that the author, after seeing 240 books, wrote the following four books: *Râhatu's-sâlihîn ve savâ'iku'l-munâfikîn*, *Mu'allimu ikâmi's-*

[332] Witkam, *Invertory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, vol. 13, p. 8 [Or.12.001 (1)].

[333] For the above quotation, see Sül. K., Antalya Tekelioğlu 902, f. 119. For other copies of the work, see H.Hüsnü Paşa 788, ff. 1-57; TSM, Emanet Hazinesi 970.

[334] Brockelmann, *GAL* II, p. 584, no 13; Zirikli, *el-A'lâm*, p. 61. See also ed-Dehiş, *Mukaddimetu'l-müfessirîn*, p. 16. For other attributions see Arslan, *ibid*, p.128-129.

[335] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 128-129. See also Martı, *ibid*, p. 120.

[336] For detailed information see: Arslan, *ibid*, p. 129.

[337] Nuruosmaniye 5005, ff. 85b-171. For Other copies see Arslan, *ibid*, p. 129.

*salât ve mu'arrifu ta'dîli erkâni's-salât, Keşfu'l-ğuyûb min allâmi'l-ğuyûb,* and *Kitâbu riyâzi't-tâlibîn ve savâ'iku'l-munâfikîn*. The note also relates that he who wants to read them should read not just from anyone, but from a knowlegable man (*'âlim*) who also practices according to his knowledge (*'âmil*).

4) *Mesleku'l-i'tidâl ilâ fehmi âyeti halki'l-a'mâl*

This is a work by Burhaneddin İbrahim b. Hasan b. Şihabuddin el-Kürdi el-Gürani (d. 1101/1697)[338]. Arslan informs that this work was attributed to Birgivi in a catalogue[339], but refuses this attribution by reference to Bağdadi. We have identified two manuscript copies of the work, both of which attribute it to eş-Şeyh İbrahim el-Medeni el-Kürdi[340].

Repetitions

5) Hulusi Lekesiz points to one article that Arslan has mistakenly deemed an independent work, but which is actually a chapter of *Vasiyetnâme*[341]. This article is Arslan's "*Vesâya mute'allika bi'l-muhtadar ve'l-meyyit*," which is indeed a part of *Vasiyetnâme* with the same title. This section of *Vasiyetnâme* has been copied several times independent of the rest of the risale.[342]

[338] Bağdadi, *İdahu'l-meknun*, vol. II, p. 479.

[339] see Arslan, *ibid*, p.129, note 499.

[340] Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 2722, ff. 162a-174a; the title of the work is indicat in the heading preceding the text: "*Mesleku'l-i 'tidal ilâ fehmi âyeti halki'l-a'mâl*". The work begins in the same words quoted by Bağdadi. The date of composition is indicated as 1075 (see f.74a). The volume, copied in 1091 (see the colophon on f.356), consists of about seventeen texts by the same author (see the contents page on f.1a). Another copy is at Köprülü K., F.Ahmed Paşa 720, ff. 81-90.

[341] Lekesiz, *ibid*, p. 53, note 1.

[342] See the following manuscripts in Sül. Library: Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1042 (1b-3a); Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1458 (37b-39b) –these two copies are actually mentinoed in Atsız's bibliography, in both cases it is indicated that the copy is incomplete ("parça"); Yazma Bağışlar 2528 (10b-13b).

A similar point was made by Arslan about one of the works that he added to Atsız's list, that is, "*Risâle fi şerhi hadîsi inneme'l-a'mâlu bi'n-niyât*". Arslan states that although mention is made[343] of a work of Birgivi of this name, it is possible that this work be the commentary on the first hadîs from Birgivi's *Şerh-i hadîs-i erba'în*[344]. However, since no copy of the work has been identified, we can not speak about it conclusively. Therefore, it is more pertinent to count this work among those of which no copy has yet been identified (see the last section in the next chapter).

6) Some sources have mentioned *Şerhu'l-Lubb* and *Şerhu muhtasari'l-Kâfiye* as different works by Birgivi, but actually both indicate the same work, that is: *İmtihânu'l-ezkiyâ fi şerhi'l-Lübb*. The reason this work has been differently described is that *Lübbü'l-elbâb*, on which Birgivi wrote a commentary called *İmtihânu'l-ezkiyâ*, is a work by Kadı el-Beyzavi (d.685/1286) which he wrote as a summary of *el-Kâfiye* by İbnü'l-Hacib (d.646/1249)[345]. Birgivi's work, therefore, is effectively a commentary on both texts. This explains why Atai described *İmtihânu'l-ezkiyâ* as "*Şerh-i Lübb* and *Şerh-i muhtasar-i Kâfiye*."[346] It is presumably because they mis-understood Atai's words that some of the later sources have

[343] Arslan refers to Sadık Cihan. "Osmanlı devrinde Türk hadisçileri tarafından, kırk hadis dışında muayyen sayıda derlenen hadis mecmuaları ve bir hadis üzerine yazılan risaleler," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İslami İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, no: 2, p. 168. See: Arslan, *ibid*, p. 105, note 378.

[344] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 105.

[345] On these works see: Yavuz, Yusuf Şevki. "Beyzavi", *DİA* 6, pp. 100-103; Kılıç, Hulusi. "İbnü'l-Hacib", *DİA* 21, pp. 55-58; Kılıç, Hulusi. "el-Kafiye", *DİA* 24, pp. 153-154. See also Atsız, *ibid*, p. 75; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 151.

[346] "…ilm-i nahivde Şerh-i Lübb ve Şerh-i muhtasar-i Kâfiye ki İmtihânu'l-ezkiyâ ezkiyâ tesmiye etmişdir, eşher-i eşher-i musannefâtıdır. " Atâî, Nev'izade (1635 ). *Hadâ'iku'l-hakâ'ik fî tekmileti'ş-şakâ'ik*, (İstanbul, 1269 [reprint by Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları,1989)], p. 180.

mentioned *Şerhu'l-Lubb* and *Şerhu muhtasari'l-Kâfiye* as separate works by Birgivi[347].

7-8) Two other repeated mentions have been made by Brockelmann. In the Supplemen, he mentions among Birgivi's works "*R.ma'mûla li-ibtâl waqf an-nuqûd bidûn al-wasîya wal-idâfa ila'l-maut al-mahdûd*" and describes it as a commentary on Ebussuud[348]; but the above title is actually part of the opening sentence of Birgivi's *es-Seyfu's-sârim fi 'ademi cevâzi vakfi'l-menkûl ve'd-derâhim*, which Brockelmann mentioned in the second main volume of his work[349]. Again in the Supplement, Brockelmann mentions "*R.fî mas'alat 'ahd al-ağr min qirâ'at al-Qor'ân*"[350], which must either be *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, or *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*, both of which works he mentioned in his main work[351].

## Misattributions of the Catalogue

In this part we shall recount those works that have been attributed to Birgivi in the online catalogue, which do not actually belong to him. There are more than fifteen works in this group. We shall handle these works under three sub-headings : I) Misattributions with identified authorship, II) Misattributions with unidentified authorship, and III) Other misattributions (Commentaries on Birgivi's works mistaken for his own works)

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[347] Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*. (İstanbul, 1308-15); vol. IV, p. 121; *Zirikli, el-A'lâm*, vol.6, p. 61; Şemseddin Sami. *Kâmûsu'l-A'lâm*. (İstanbul, Mihran Matb., 1316), vol. II, p. 1284-85. Şemseddin Sami's words are equivocal: "…ve *Şerh-i Lübb* ve *İmtihanul-ezkiya* unvanıyla bir Kâfiye şerhi…"

[348] *GAL* S II, p. 658, nr.33.

[349] *GAL* II, p. 584, nr. 12.

[350] *GAL* S II, p. 658, nr. 38.

[351] For the first see *GAL* II, p. 584, nr. 1; for the second see *ibid*, p. 585, nr. 16.

## I) Misattributions with Identified Authorship

1) *Hâşiye alâ hâşiyeti'l-Lârî.*

This is a work in logic, a copy of which has been ascribed to Birgivi in the catalogue[352]. But the work actually belongs to Birgivi's grandson Riyâzî Mehmed Efendi (d.1054/1644), the son of Birgivizade Mustafa (d. 995/1586) -the eldest son of Birgivi.[353] The author mentions his name in the introduction: "Muhammed b. Mustafa el-Birgî." The work was presented to "es-Sultân el-Ğâzi Mustafa Han". This must be Mustafa I (r.1617-18 and 1622-23).

2) *el-Maksûd fi's-sarf*

This is a classical work on Arabic Language (*sarf*), on which Birgivi himself wrote a commentary called *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-Maksûd*, where he attributed the work to Imam-ı Azam Ebu Hanife (d. 150/767), the founder of the Hanefi law school (*mezheb*)[354]. About forty copies of *el-Maksûd* are recorded in the online catalogue under the name of Birgivi, sometimes paired with the name Ebu Hanife. Arslan reports disagreement on the authorship of *el-Maksud*, but gives no detail. Witkam suggests that despite ascription to Ebu Hanife, the work is anonymous[355]. It may be

[352] Beyazıt Devlet K., Beyazıd 3993, (10 ff.), no date.

[353] Riyazi Mehmed was born in 980/1572 in Mecca where his father had been for one or two years to accompany his father in law Samsunizade Mahmud Efendi (d.983/1575) who had been appointed Kadı of Mecca. Riyazi began his education in İstanbul upon their return from Mekka one year later, and became *mülâzım* to Şeyhulislam Müeyyedzade Abdulkadir Efendi (d.1002/1593). He became *müderris* at Sahn-ı Semân, and took the offices of Kadı of Şam, Kudüs and Kahire. He retired in 1034/1624 upon his deafness, and took no office until his death twenty years later. (See Martı, *ibid*, pp. 47-48.)

[354] See Birgivi's colophon at the end of *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-maksûd*, in Sül. K., Erzincan 96, ff. 55b-79a, dated 1177, copied by Muhammed b. Ibrahim.

[355] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 174. (On Birgivi's commentary see *ibid*, p. 140). Witkam, Jan Just. *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*. (Leiden: Ter Lugut Press, 2007), vol. 13, p. 209 (Or. 12.493).

argued that Birgivi's ascription of the work to Ebu Hanife must be for *teberruk*, or the follow of the tradition.

3) *Rûhu'ş-şurûh*

This is another commentary on *el-Maksûd*, made by 'Ayşî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1016/1607)[356] from Tîre (or Sîre, as it is alternatively spelled), a small town near Birgi famous for its medreses and the scholarly families that it accomodated. By reference to this town and omission of his name, the author is also referred to as Ayşî et-Tîrevî. This explains why his name is sometimes mis-spelled as 'Îsâ es-Sîrevî[357]. Mehmed Ayşi was a prolific writer and *müderris* who began his career as a *mülâzım* of Birgivi's patron Ataullah Efendi (d.979/1571)[358]. He also made a summary of Birgivi's *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye*, entitled *Telhîsu't-Tarîka*. *Ruhu'ş-şurûh*, the commentary that he made on *el-Maksûd*, was published several times together with Birgivi's own commentary on the same work. A copy of Ayşi's commentary has mistakenly been attributed to Birgivi in the catalogue[359].

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[356] For his biography see Atai, *Hadâ'iku'l-hakâ'ik fî tekmileti'ş-şakâ'ik*, p. 523; see also K.Çelebi, *Keşfu'z-zunun* II/1111; Cahid Baltacı, Osmanlı Medreseleri, p. 277. These sources give Mehmed Ayşi's date of death as 1016(1607). Bursalı, however, gives it as 1061(1650) (see *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/359). But this date is impossible, because Atai himself died in 1635/1044-45.)

[357] Brockelmann has twice mentioned *Rûhu'ş-şurûh* among commentaries of el-Maksûd, once attributing it to Mehmed Efendi el-'Ayşî [see *GAL*, Supplement II, p. 657, no 25, andre commentre (-b)], and once to 'Îsâ Efendi es-Sîrevî [see *ibid*, p. 658, (-f)]. The latter being, apparently, a misreading of Ayşi Efendi et-Tîrevî. Probably relying on Brockelmann, the online catalogue sometimes records the work under the name İsa es-Sirevi.

[358] For his life and works see: Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/359. See also Balltacı, pp. 276-277.

[359] Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 1365, *ff*. 42-131. The work has about 10 manuscript copies in İstanbul libraries. See, f.e.: Sül. K., Pertevniyal 704 and 705; Yazma Bağışlar 1758 and 1759. For a printed version (Matbaa-i Amire, 1253) see Yazma Bağışlar 37, pp. 42-131.

4) *Zahîretu'l-'ukbâ*

This is a work of sermons. The above title is indicated in the heading that precedes the text, and the author gives his own name as Abdulvehhab b. Mehmed[360]. The online catalogue, however, has strangely attributed it to Birgivi with the title *Muhtasar fi'l-fıkh*.

5-6-7) A number of other works have been ascribed to Birgivi due to mis-reading of the cataloguers. There are three such works. The first is *el-Lâmi'u's-sabîh fî şerhi'l-Câmi'i's-sahîh* by Ebu Abdullah Şemseddin Muhammed b. Abduddâim b. Musa el-Birmâvî (or Bermâvî) eş-Şâfi'î (d. 831/1428). This work, which is a commentary on the hadis collection of el-Buhârî, has about 15 copies in İstanbul libraries. But in one of the copies the name of the author is written as el-Berqâvî (or Birqâvî), which in turn was read by the cataloguers, it seems, as el-Birgivi, and was so recorded in the catalogue[361].

The second work is *Reyhânu'l-kulûb*, known also as *er-Risâletu'l-Kübreviyye* with reference to its author Necmeddin el-Kübra Ebu'l-Cenâb Ahmed b. Ömer (d. 618/1221), the founder of the Kübreviyye Order[362]. The cataloguers must have read *er-Risâletu'l-Kübreviyye* as *er-Risâletu'l-Birgiviyye*, which is why a copy of

[360] Hacı Selim Ağa K., Hüdai Efendi 743. For the byline see f.1b:7; the heading on f.1b reads: "Hâzâ kitâbu zahîretu'l-'ukbâ".

[361] MS Sül. K., Laleli 552, 250 ff. The colophon at the end of the work shows that it has been copied in 11 of Şaban 952. A note on the first folio reads: "kit'a ahîre min şerhi'l-Buhârî, te'lîfu'l-merhûm eş-şeyh el-imâm el-allâme Şemsuddin 'umdetu'l-müteahhirîn Ebu Abudllah Muhammed el-Burqâvî (or el-Berqâvî) eş-şâfi'î rahimehullâh". This is the second of the two volumes, as the note indicates. The two volumes are present at Pertevniyal 131 (156 *ff*.) and 132 (320 *ff*.). A copy of the at Sül. K., Ayasofya 804 (254 ff.) is dated 885.

[362] For short information about the order see: Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf: Anadolu'da Sufiler, Devlet ve Ulema* (XVI. Yüzyıl). (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2003); p.219-220. For Necmeddin el-Kübra and his order, see: Knysh, Alexander. *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History*. (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 234-239.

*Reyhânu'l-kulûb* is ascribed to Birgivi in in the online catalogue manuscript[363]. It is a short treatise which recounts seventeen traits that the Sufi should have.

The third case is a little different from the other two. Here it is a question of misunderstanding rather than misreading. Several copies of *el-Cevheretu'n-neyyire*, an abridgement of a commentary made on Kudûrî's (d.428/1036) *el-Muhtasar* in Hanefi *fikh*, have been catalogued under the name of Birgivi[364], not because any word on the MS was misread, but because, so it seems, the account given by Katip Çelebi on this work has been mis-understood by the cataloguers. In *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, the entry on *Muhtasaru'l-Kudûrî* counts among the commentaries made on it a work by Ebu Bekir b. Ali el-Haddâdî el-Bağdâdî (d.ca. 800/1397) entitled *es-Sirâcu'l-vehhâc el-muvaddîh li-kulli tâlibin muhtâc*, and says that this work was considered by "el-mevlâ Birgili" to be one of the circulating weak and unreliable books[365]. Immediately after this report, Çelebi continues his account with the following words: "He then summarized this commentary and called it el-Cevheretu'n-neyyire." This phrase seems to have been taken to refer to Birgivi, which is the manifest meaning; but what is more pertinent with the style of Katip Çelebi is to refer it to the author of the commentary, as it is not uncommon in *Keşfu'z-zunûn* that Çelebi should return, with the conjunction "*summe*" (then), to the original point after a report has interrupted the course of the narrative. *el-Cevheretu'n-neyyire* can not belong to Birgivi, after all, because a copy of it is dated 950/1543, a date when Birgivi was only 21 years old[366].

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[363] MS Sül. K., Yazma Bağışlar 3917, *ff.* 61a-65b. The title page of this MS displays the title of the work as: "hâza kitabu'r-risâleti'l-Kübreviyye el-mevsume bi-reyhânul-kulub".

[364] See, for instance: Sül. K., Fatih 1784, second vol. (dated 1078).

[365] " ve 'addehû el-mevlâ el-ma'rûf bi-Birgili min cumleti'l-kutubi'l-mutedâvileti'd-da'îfeti [el-]ğayril-mu'tebereti." *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1631.

[366] Köprülü K., F.Ahmed Paşa 590 (243 ff.), dated 950. For other copies of the work see:

It must be noted that although for evaluation of certain works Katip Çelebi invokes the authority of Birgivi, almost always by the formula "*ve 'addehu el-mevlâ Birgili mine'l-kutubi'l-…*", no where does he indicate where he took the information from. There are five such references to Birgivi in Katip Çlebi's work[367]. In his account of one of these works, el-*Fetâva's-sufiyye fî tarîki'l-Bahâ'iyye* by Fazlullah Muhammed b. Eyyub from Mâcû (d.666/1267-8), Çelebi informs, immediately after his mention of the title and the author, that "el-Mevla Birgili related that this is not among the trusted works and it is not permissible therefore to act upon what it contains unless its compatibility with the fundamental works (usûl) is ascertained"[368]. The source of this quotation appears to be a fetvâ of Birgivi. Hulusi Lekesiz indicates that in a fetvâ collection (Çelebi Abdullah Efendi 401) that comprises about 75 fetvâs by Birgivi, one of the fetvâs relate that the fetvâs of the Sufis are not reliable ("fetâvâ-yı sûfiyyeye i'timâd yoktur")[369]. In the light of the above remark, however, it is more pertinent to construe this phrase as referring to a specific work (*el-Fetâva's-sûfiyye*) instead of taking it as a general remark about the fetvâs given by the Sufis. Katip Çelebi's other invocations are, it could be assumed, likewise grounded on Birgivi's fetvâs and other less-known works. This makes him a good reader of Birgivi, though he also confused one of Birgivi's well-known works – *Avâmil-i cedîd*- for a similar work by Abdulkâhir b. Abdurrahmân el-Curcânî (d. 471/1078-79) when he listed, as we noted before, a commentary on the former work

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[367] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/621; II/1225, 1551, 1692, 1916. See also the index at the end of the Turkish edition of the work: Katip Çelebi. *Keşfu'z-zunûn 'an esmâi'l-kutub ve'l-funûn* I-VI. trns. Rüştü Balcı. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007) (related pages are: 978, 1237, 1301, 1350, and 1533).

[368] "Kâle el-mevlâ Birgili leyset mine'l-kutubi'l-mu 'tebereti fe-lâ yecûzu'l-amelu bimâ fîhâ illâ izâ 'ulime muvâfakatuhâ li'l-usûl". *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1225.

[369] Lekesiz, "Birgivi Mehmed Efendi ve Fikirleri", p. 88.

among the commentaries made on the latter.[370] Nor did he open an entry for Birgivi's *Avâmil-i cedîd* in his *Keşfu'z-zunûn*.

II) Misattributions with Unidentified Authorship (8-16)

There is another group of works that have been attributed to Birgivi in the catalogue, and, although we could not clarify their authorship, there is no evidence in the manuscripts themselves to support Birgivi's authorship of these works. Such works include: (8) *Risâle fî îmâni'l-muteyakkin*, which is a treatise about the way of *nazar* to reach the intimate knowledge of the Creator, the beginning of which is comparable to Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari's *Risâle fi ma'rifeti's-sâni'* [371]; (9) *Risâle fî mes'eleti's-sebbi*, a treatise about the state of he who uses blasphemous words about the Prophet[372]; (10-11-12) three pieces of commentary on some Koranic verses, contained in a manuscript volume compiled between 978/1570-1 and 986/1578-9, that comprises also two texts by Birgivi, one of which (*Zuhru'l-müteehhilîn*) was copied in Medine on 8 Ramazan 981 (1 January 1574), only 2 years after the work was composed (979/1571-2) and four months after Birgivi died (Cumadelula 981/ August-September 1573). The first of the commentaries on the Koranic verses is dated 980, but has no colophon; the second one has no date or colophon, but the third one was composed, according to the author's colophon at the end of the text, by some İsmail b. en-Nablusi, who is presumably the great grandfather of Abdülğani b.

[370] Katip Çelebi, *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1179. For details ee the discussion on *Şerhu lüğat-i Ferişteoğlu* above.

[371] Risâle fî îmâni'l-müteyakkin, Sül. K., 1502, ff.111b-113a; no attribution. Compare with Akhisari's treatise (Harput 429, ff. 93b-100a).

[372] Atıf Efendi K., Atıf E. 2785, ff. 201a-201b;

İsmail en-Nablusi, the famous commentator on Birgivi's *Tarîkat*.[373] This text has also the copyist's colophon, informing that it was copied from the autograph copy on 10 Ramazan 986 (1578) in Damascus[374]. The first two texts were composed probably by Yusuf b. Yakub el-Halveti, the compiler of the volume.[375] (13) *Risâle fi'l-vuzû' ve't-teyemmüm*, a treatise on methods of ritual purity, contained in the above volume[376]; (14) *Sirâcu'l-musallî*, a work compiled from *fetva* collections as a guide book about the prayers, which was ascribed to Birgivi presumably because some of the volumes comprising this text contain also texts by Birgivi[377]; (15) *Şerhu dîbâceti'l-Misbâh*, an anonymous commentary on the introduction of Mutarrizî's *el-Misbâh*, a work on Arabic grammar[378]; and (16) *el-Lefâha li-Mollâ Câmî*, a short piece of writing about Arabic grammar[379].

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[373] On Nablusi see also Chapter IV, pp. 205-207.

[374] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1606; for the commentaries on Koranic verses see ff. 12b-24b, 26b-36b, and 40b-41b; for Birgivi's texts see ff. 48a-52b (*Dürr-i yetîm*) and 155a-167a (*Zuhru'l-müteehhilîn*). For further information on this volume and the texts it contains see Chapter IV, p.202 ff.

[375] On Yusuf b. Yakub see Chapter IV, pp. 202 ff.

[376] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1606; ff.107b-110b. The text has no title; and consists of short glosses penned on a chapter (*bâbu't-tahâret*) of an unidentified jurisprudence work.

[377] We could not identify the author of this work. In *Keşfu'z-zunûn* there is an entry on "Sirâcu'l-musallî", and, to judge by Katip Çelebi's description of the work as compiled from fetva collections, and by the opening words he quotes ("*El-hamdu lillahi rabbil-alemin* ilh."), it is the same text as ours. But no author is specified (*Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/984). The following copies have been ascribed to Birgivi in the online catalogue: Sül. K., Antalya-Tekelioğlu 914, ff. 85b-105b; the volume contains *Muaddilu's-salât* (ff. 107-123) and a partial translation of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* (ff. 31-50); Hacı Beşir Ağa 671, ff. 56b-76b. See also Martı, *ibid*, p. 119-120. What Witkam has described as an unidentified work by Birgivi could be a copy of *Sirâcu'l-musallî*, as the opening words quoted by him ("*al-Hamdu lillah… wa-ba'du As 'adaka Allah fil-Darayn*…") are comparable to the opening of *Sirâcu'l-musallî* ("Elhamdulillahirabbilalemin… i'lem es'adekellâhu fi'd-dâreyn, ve zekere fil-fetavel-kubra…"). Most probably, however, the work mentioned by Witkam is a copy of *el-Makâmât*, the beginning of which reads: "Elhamdulillahirabbilalemin… emmâ ba'du es'adekellâhu fi'd-dâreyn, fe-inne't-turuka ilellâhi…" (*el-Makamât*. Edited by İbrahim Subaşı et-Tokadi and attributed to Birgivi (Dersaadet Yayınları, nd), p. I); for details see the discussion of this work in Chapter III. (Witkam, *Invertory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, vol. 12, p.213 (Or.11.781)).

[378] Sül. K., Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa 419, ff. 33b-64a; other copies of this work are: Çorlulu Ali Paşa 453 (ff. 94-140), Nafiz Paşa 1419 (ff. 1-9).

[379] Sül. K., Fatih 4550, ff. 62-64. This text is different from *Ta'lika ale'l-fevâidi'z-ziyâiyye*, a short piece by Birgivi on Molla Cami's *el-Fevâidu'z-ziyâiyye* (Düğümlü Baba 446, ff. 100-101).

## III) Other Misattributions

Other than these works, some of the commentaries made on this or that work of Birgivi have also been recorded in the online catalogue under Birgivi's name. Such are the many copies of the short commentaries made on *Elğâzu'l-Birgivi*. These commentaries, sometimes even the different copies of the same commentary, are catalogued with different titles, often under Birgivi's name, especially when the commentator is not specified in the manuscript itself[380]. A number of other short treatises that were penned to explain some problematic clauses in *Tarîkat-i Muhammediyye* or *Vasiyyetnâme* have also been recorded under the name of Birgivi[381]. There are other such records. For instance, *Ğulâlet şâfiye* is a commentary

[380] These commentaries include those made by Hadimî (Sül. K., Bağdadlı Vehbi Efendi 2165, ff. 126-130; Esad Efendi 1115, ff. 71a-b –the first MS was mentioned in Atsız's bibliography as "[Tevhid Şerhi]" and was mistakenly attributed to Birgivi (see above, cf: Atsız pp. 31 and 91); but the author explicitly says that he is commenting some words of Birgivi), İbrahim el-İznikmidi (Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 985, ff, 202b-203b), Maksud Efendi el-Erzurumi (Millet K., Ali Emiri Arabi 4354, f. 194a), and Kefevi Muhammed b. el-Hac Hamid (Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 1026, ff. 212a-212b). These risales have been recorded with such titles as: "risale fî kelimeti't-tevhîd", "şerhu risaleti kelimeti't-tevhîd," "risale fi teşrîhi kelimeti't-tevhîd nefyun ve isbâtun."

[381] These are some examples: (1) an anonymous risale called *Risâle fi şerhi bahsi'l-irâdeti'l-cuz'iyye el-vâki'ati fi't-Tarîkati'l-Muhammediyye* (Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 1026, ff. 212b-213b, nd.). The author does not give his name, but gives short biographic information about himself in the beginning of the work. Accordingly, he wrote the risale in İznikmid where he had to reside for some time when he was prevented from entering İstanbul for reasons he does not tell us. (2) *Risâle fî hakki suâl fî tecdîdi'l-îmân* by Alim Muhammed Efendi [who is probably identical with Alim Muhammed b. Hamza el-Aydını el-Güzelhisari, who actively wrote between 1090 and 1106 –see Chapter IV, pp. 226] (Sül. K., Nafiz Paşa 1502, pp. 116b-117b; Kasidecizade 672, ff. 76a-77b). The author begins by saying that he has heard that some ignorant people who claim knowledge have refuted Birgivi's words in his Turkish treatise (i.e., *Vasiyetnâme*): "Eğer benden küfür sâdır olduysa tevbe ettim rücû' ettim dîn-i İslâma girdim", claiming that these words entail doubt in one's belief, which is *kufr*. Alim Muhammed concludes that he who says that the above statement implies doubt shall repent, or the judges must prevent him from his insistence; if he does not restrain, then the laws of apostacy (*mürted*) should be applied to him, because "to accuse this virtuous man with doubt (*şekk*) in faith is to deem him infidel (*tekfîrun*); and deeming a muslim, especially this earnest 'âlim, an infidel (*tekfîr*) is itself an act of disbelief (*kufr*), as is insulting him (*tahkîruhu*)". (3) *Risâle fî hakki tecdîdi'l-îmân* by Seyyid Muhammed Kefevi (Sül. K., Kasidecizade 672, ff. 69b-76a). The work does not mention Birgivi's name, but it explains the same phrase ("eğer benden küfür sâdır olduysa tövbe eyledim"); (4) *Risâle fî tecdîdi'l-îmân* (Kasidecizade 672, ff. 77b-79a), no author specified, the work deliberately refers to Birgivi's phrase "Yâ Rabbi eğer benden küfür sâdır olduysa rücû itdim dîn-i islâma girdim" and discusses whether or not this phrase implies doubt in belief so as to require disbelief.

on Birgivi's *Avâmil*; but a copy of it has been catalogued under Birgivi's name[382]. Similarly, *risâle fî te'vîli'l-müfred* is a work by Mustafa b. Halil on some phrases from Birgivi's *Izhâru'l-esrâr*; but a printed version of it has been catalogued under Birgivi's name[383].

## Conclusion

Like many of the prolific writers who had a popular readership, Birgivi Mehmed Efendi was subject to many mis-attributions. While some of the works that were falsely attributed to Birgivi are about lexicography and history, others are on morals and pedagogy. The majority of them, however, are on religious topics (fıkh-ilmihâl-mev'ize; kelâm/'akâ'id), prominent among which are works that were composed as refutations against "people of innovation." This is not coincidental, of course, rgarding that Birgivi was posthumously situated in a fight that kept going between the Kadızadelis and the Sufis throughout the eleventh/seventeenth century.

On the other hand, while some of the mis-attributions obviously resulted from a confusion of names, others seem to have been more systematic attributions, as is the case with those attributed to him which were actually written by Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari (d. ca. 1043/1633) and Ali el-Kârî (d. 1014/1605), two scholars who were obviously influenced by the writings of the famous Hanbeli scholar Ibn Teymiyye (d. 728/1328) and his students. Attribution to Birgivi of a number of works composed by these two scholars has resulted in Birgivi's reception, in modern studies, as a follower of Ibn Teymiyye, that is, as a salafi scholar who, in favor of a turn to the

[382] Millet K., Ali Emiri Arabî 3881, ff. 31-87, dated 1157.

[383] Millet K., Ali Emiri Kvd. 110; pp. 97-103., published by agency of Sahaf Hafız Ahmed in 1298 in Esad Efendi Matbaası.

first age of Islam, refused the scholarly tradition and the voluminous body of the religious literature that had historically been produced by Muslims, and who was therefore preoccupied with the fight he set against all those things which he considered to be "innovations" (bid'at). It is hardly possible to maintain the same thing for Birgivi, whose understanding of *selef* was, as we discussed, not limited to the first age of Islam, but comprised the bulk of the Muslim scholarly production, especially that of the Hanefite school. He even defended this tradition against criticism of some of his contemporaries. His works, after all, are full of authoritative quotations from the common tradition.

Both Akhisari and Ali Kari lived after Birgivi, though not very far from his time. So did Şeyh İbrahim, the author of *el-Berâhînu'l-ma'neviyye*. However, not all works that were falsely attributed to Birgivi were works of scholars living after him. Sinaneddin el-Amasi was a contemporary of Birgivi, but one of his texts was attributed to Birgivi. Some of the works attributed to him were works of authors before him, works which Birgivi himself had presumably used as a source in his writings. Such is the treatise about *elfâzu'l-kufr* by el-Bedru'r-Reşîd, and the treatise of Yahya b. Ebu Bekr el-Amiri. Kemalpaşazade and Kutbuddinzade el-İzniki are other scholars who lived before Birgivi but whose works were attributed to him. If a motivation behind mis-attributions was invokation of a stronger authority, then Birgivi was regarded, at least by some, as a greater authority than these authors, some of whom may even have been a source to him.

Contrary to the impression one may get from the mis-attributions, it seems that virtually none of the controversial topics that underpinned the social confrontations of the time, and on which many authors were keen to pen treatises, have received Birgivi's authorial attention. With two or three exceptions, he did not

compose independent treatises on such controversial issues. For instance, he did not write independent treatises addressing certain sufi practices, or the practice of visiting tombs, or the collective performance of supererogatory prayers, though he did touch upon some of the issues within his more general works. It must be emphasized that, with regard to the controversial issues of the time, the misattributions give a picture of Birgivi which is very different from the picture one may get of him from the works whose Birgivi authorship is certain (seven of the misattributions directly address the Sufis or the "innovations" -such as the practice of visitations of tombs and that of *musâfaha* after prayers. Other than these writings, such works as the treatise on *elfâzu'l-kufr* and the treatise on pointing the index finger in the prayer are other examples of the extreme conservationist vogue. Attribution to him of such works has also shadowed the arguably more balanced attitude of Birgivi as can be discerned from his own works. To substantiate this observation, that is, to fully appreciate the extent of the lag between the profiles of the "imagined" and the "historical" Birgivi, a thorough and comparative study has to be made of his works and the works misattributed to him. What is certain, however, is that these mis-attributions have definitely left their stamp on later visions made of Birgivi, as a considerable number of these works were accepted as his even in modern studies. But suhc a vision of Birgivi needs not only be the effect of the misattributions; a similar vision must have been around prior the attributions, which made the attributions possible in the first place. Those who made the attributions, after all, must have considered Birgivi a suiting author for those texts to be attributed to him.

It should also be noted that the works that were misattributed to Birgivi do not include any work that could be regarded as defending Sufis against the charges of

heresy and innovation. This is interesting because Sufis, by attributing to him more nuanced works, could have laid counter claims to Birgivi in order to balance the Kadızadeli appeal to him. In this regard, one can not but suspect if the treatise known as *el-Kavlu'l-vasît beyne'l-ifrâti ve't-tefrît* (=*Risâle fi ihtimâmi emri'd-dîn*), a work attributed to Birgivi, but not discussed above, is an example of such counter-claim, as is implied in a note on the margin of a manuscript copy of the work. (we discuss the work in Chapter III, among Birgivi's works).

# CHAPTER III

# WORKS WHOSE BIRGIVI AUTHORSHIP IS UNCERTAIN

## Introduction

As noted earlier, more than one hundred works have been attributed to Birgivi. Some of the attributions (one-third of them), as we have shown in the previous chapter, are actually misattributions. Others, however, consist of works that, although we do not have definitive evidence as to their being misattributions, are nevertheless works whose Birgivi authorship is uncertain. In deciding what is certain and what is not we consider a multiple of criteria, basic among which are testimony or otherwise of the author, existence or otherwise of early manuscript copies of the works, lists of Birgivi' works recorded in some manuscripts, records of early biographical / bibliographical sources (such as Katip Çelebi's *Keşfu'z-zunûn* and Atâî's *Zeyl-i Şakâik*); and existence or otherwise of (early) commentaries on the works (–for a more detailed discussion of the criteria followed in this study see the opening section of the next chapter). Relying on such criteria, we find dubious Birgivi's authorship of nine manuscript works that have until now been considered as his works. Other than these works that were regarded as works of Birgivi in the literature, we discuss also among uncertain attributions three of the manuscript works that have newly been identified by this study. These works, which were attributed to Birgivi in the manuscripts, and about which more shall be said below, are: *Beyânu şu'abi'l-îmân*, *Risâle fi'l-îmân*, and *Risâle fî iskâti's-salât*. None of the twelve works above match any of the above criteria, and, unlike the majority of Birgivi's works, most of them have only one copy or two. This un-popularity, combined with the unmatching of

other criteria, is a further reason to suspect Birgivi's authorship of these works. To the works above we must add those works (four in number) that have been attributed to Birgivi in the sources, but of which no copy has yet been identified. Added also must be a number of other works that were attributed to Birgivi in library catalogues and reference works, which, being outside Istanbul, have not been viewed for this study. Together with these, the total number of uncertain attributions discussed in this chapter amounts to 29. However, not all doubtful attributions stand on an equal scale of suspicion. While some of them are likely to have been authored by Birgivi, others are strongly suspected to be mis-attributions. Actually, as we shall see, in Birgivi studies caution has already been accorded to some of these attributions. Upon new evidence some of the works discussed in this chapter may be transferred to the group of mis-attributions or to that of the works whose Birgivi authorship is certain. (Similarly, though less likely, some of the works that have, despite the fact that there was very weak or no testimony at all as to their Birgivi authorship, nevertheless been discussed in the next chapter –among Birgivi's works- on grounds that no reason was identified also to be dubious of their Birgivi authorship, may some day be added to this group, should new evidence be found to the contrary. But the works in the previous chapter are not likely to change position).

## Newly Identified Works that Were Attributed to Birgivi in the MSS

1) *Risâle fî iskâti's-salât*

This is a short treatise, written in Turkish, which contains instructions concerning estimation of the amount of alms that should be given by the inheritors of a deceased person as compensation for the prayers that the deceased failed to perform in his life

(*iskât-ı salât*)[384]. We have identified two copies of this work. One of the copies is incomplete and indicates no author[385]. But the other copy ascribes the work to Birgivi. The latter copy is contained in a manuscript volume that contains also a copy of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*: both texts were copied in 1161/1748 by Molla Ömer b. Bekr b. Baba Yusuf, who recorded the treatise at the beginning of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*, and ascribed it to Birgivi[386]. We may or may not trust Molla Ömer in his ascription, but Birgivi did write about *iskât-ı salât*, to be sure, as there is a section on this topic in his *Vasiyetnâme*[387]. Actually the practice of iskât has been a controversial issue among the *fukahâ*[388], but Birgivi Efendi is of the opinion that iskât should be given by the family of the deceased after his or her death. In *Vasiyetnâme* he advises that his own children pay his iskât when he dies, and that, in case he does not leave enough money, they should borrow 300 akçes from someone

[384] The treatise begins with the following words: "*hazihir-risâle iskât-ı salât hesâbı beyân ider. Evvelâ ma'lûm ola ki bir vakit namaz için beşyüzyirmi dirhem buğdayın kıymeti hesop olur; kefâret-i savm ve kefâret-i yemîn dahî böyledir. Kefâret-i savm altmış fakîr ve kefâret-i yemîn yüz fakîr işbâ' lâzımdır. Bundan sonra bu risâle iki bâb üzere tertîb olunmuştur. Bâb-ı evvel vukyesi yirmi olmak üzere bir ölçek buğdayın kıymetini ve iki aylık namâzın akçesini beyân eder; hâzel-bâb yirmi fasldır. El-bâbu's-sânî meyyitin on iki yaşını tarhından sonra bâki kalan yaşını ve iki aylık devri beyan eder; ve hâzel-bâb yüz fasldır.*" Tthen the first bâb begins, and the risale goes on like this: "*[el-Bâbu'l-evvel] [Fasl] Bir ölçek buğdayın kıymeti on beş buçuk akçe olsa beşyüzyirmi dirhem buğdayın kıymeti bir akçe olur. Bu suretle iki aylık namazın akçesi üç yüz altmış akçe olur. Fasl. Bir ölçek buğdayın kıymeti otuz akçe olsa kıymeti iki akçe, bu surette iki aylık namazın akçesi yediyüzyirmi akçe olur. Fasl bir ölçek buğdayın kıymeti kırk altı akçe olsa…*[the enumeration goes on until this last fasl]: *Fasl bir ölçek buğday ikiyüzdoksandört akçe olsa beşyüz yirmi dirhem buğday yirmi akçe eder. bu surette iki aylık namaz bin ikiyüz akçe eder. el-Babus-sani ba'det-tarh meyyitin yaşı bir olsa iki aylıkdan altı olur. Fasl meyyitin yaşı üç olsa devri on sekiz olur. Fasl meyyitin yaşı dört olsa devri yirmi dört olur. Fasl meyyitin yaşı beş olsa… [the enumeration goes on until 99]: Fasl meyyitin yaşı doksan dokuz olsa devri altıyüz olur*." This is the end of the risale.

[385] Kasidecizade 745, ff. 35b-39b, incomplete

[386] MS Süleymaniye Ktb. Laleli 1446 (*ff.* 1-5). The colophon at the end of *Risale fî iskâti's-salât* reads (f. 5): "*Temmeti'r-risâle; sannefehu Muhammed Çelebi el-mensûb ile'l-Birgivî, sene 1161; kâtibuhu Molla Ömer, ğufire leh*." The colophon at the end of *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* (the last folio of the volume) shows extra details about the production of the manuscript: accordingly, it is copied in the kasaba of Taman (or Zaman), the mahalle of Tatar in the Zilhicce of 1161/1748. The volume comprises no owner's note or waqf note. There is a seal on the inside cover, but it is not legible.

[387] Laleli 2479 *ff.* 43a-44a

[388] For a comprehensive account of the various views and approaches to the practice of *iskât* see: Ali Bardakoğlu, "Iskat," *DİA* 19, pp. 137-143, esp. "İbadetlerde Iskât" pp. 140-143.

who has a *helâl* earning, and then summon two *fakirs* who are not avaricious (*tamahkâr*), and carry out the *devr*, not only for the iskât of prayers (*namaz*), but also for what he may have failed to perform from other religious duties such as *zekât, sadaka-i fitr, kurbân, adâk,* and the rights of other people on him. The alm for every 'vakt' of prayer, he says, they should estimate as 520 *dirhem* of wheat[389]. This is the same as the amount designated in the treatise in question. Comparison of this short piece with the relevant section of *Vasiyetnâme* shows that, despite variation in wording -one important difference is that the treatise has tables arranged to indicate the amount of alms to be given according to the age of the deceased- the two texts are completely in parallel. So the treatise is likely to have been written by Birgivi, but the tables in the treatise could also have been derived from the relevant section of *Vasiyetnâme* by someone else.

2) *Beyânu şu'abi'l-îmân*

This is a short treatise about the seventy and so branches/divisions (*şu'ab*, s. *şu'be*) of *îmân* (faith), enumerating them one by one, from *tevhîd* to removing a stone from the road. We have identified two manuscript copies for this treatise, one of which attributes the work to "Muhammed Çelebi"[390], by whom Birgivi should be understood, since manuscripts often refer to him by that designation[391]. The second

[389] Laleli 2479 [f. 43a]:

[390] Sül. K., Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi 1181, *ff*. 75b-76b (incomplete). A script on the contents page indicates the work: "*Beyânu şu'abil-îmân Muhammed Çelebi*". The heading on f.75b where the text begins reads: "Câmi'uhu Muhammed Çelebi". Below this note the title of the work is written: "*Beyânu şu'abi'l-îmân, zikru'l-bid'i ve's-seb'în*". The work interrupts at the end of f.76b (191b in old pagination), and the next sheet does not continue the text. The old pagination implies that two sheets have fallen, as it leaps from 191 to 194. In the new pagination f.194 is re-numbered as 77; on this page we see *Mu'addilu's-salat* with its first page missing.

[391] See, for instance: Murad Molla 806, f. 1: "Muhammed Çelebi el-Balıkesirî";

manuscript, however, reveals no author's name[392]. What both copies have in common, however, is that both are preceded by the same text, namely, Hocazâde's *Vezâ'ifu nevâfili'l-ibâdât* which outlines daily practices of Birgivi (there is no space separating the second copy from the preceding text[393]), and that both are followed by different works of Birgivi[394]. These environmental conditions support the possibility that the second copy, too, was considered to be a work of Birgivi.

3) *Risâle fi'l-îmân*

This is a short piece of writing that comprises prophetic traditions and other narratives about *îmân* and the value of *'ilm*. The only copy we identified of the work attributes it to Birgivi[395].

## Attributions Already Known in the Literature which We Find Dubious

4) *Şerhu Âmentü*

This work, which is a short commentary on the basics of Islamic creed, has been attributed to "Birgivi" in three manuscripts. Relying on these manuscripts, modern

[392] Sül. K., Hüsrev Paşa 98, *ff*. 52a-55b. It begins on f.52a, one line before the bottom of the page. The work begins by these words: "*Beyânu şu'abil-îmân. Zikru'l-bid'i ve's-seb'îne, ve hiye el-îmân billâhiteâlâ ve melâiketihi…*", and ends on f. 55b with these words: "*…ve kullu emrin ve nehyin min evâmirillâhiteâlâ ve nevâhîhi fîma zekerna fehuve mundericun fî hazihil-a'dâdi*". No copyist's name, or date or place of copying.

[393] Sül. K., Hüsrev Paşa 98, *ff*. 52a-55b. The preceding text ends on f.52a, one line before the bottom of the page, without any mark indicating that the work has ended, and "beyanu şu'abil-iman" begins in the same line.

[394] The first copy is followed by *Mu'addilu's-salât* (see above); the second copy is followed by the translation by Birgivi himself of his *İnkâzu'l-hâlikîn*.

[395] MS Süleymaniye Ktb., Hamidiye 1459, ff. 60b-62b, not dated. At the beginning of the risale it writes: "hâzâ risâle fî hakki'l-îmân li-merhûm Birgivi Muhammed Efendi." The work opens by prophetic traditions about *îmân* and the value of *'ilm*.

studies have counted the text among Birgivi's works[396]. However, since these manuscripts are of a late date and since none of the Ottoman sources indicate such a work of Birgivi, his authorship of the work remains doubtful.

5) *Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr* (See the discussion on *Nûru'l-ahyâ'* below)

6) *Nûru'l-ahyâ'*

Early sources, as Arslan has noted, do not mention such a work among Birgivi's works[397]. Strangely, however, some of the later sources imply that what they call *Nûru'l-ahyâ'* has been one of the most popular works of Birgivi[398]. It is not clear whether this is the same work as *Nûru'l-ahyâ' ve tuhfetu'l-emvât*, a work so titled in a manuscript and attributed to Birgivi in the heading preceding the text[399]. Atsız has listed this work in his bibliography of Birgivi, for which he mentioned solely the above manuscript, the only copy known of the work in the literature[400]. We did not come across a second copy either. But the attribution of the above manuscript is not

[396] Nuruosmaniye K. 4362, ff. 71b-73b, not dated, the work has no title or heading, and begins right after the preceding text, with no space separating them, at the end is written "temmet, Birgivi"; Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 1051, ff. 76-79, no heading, the colophon reads: "temmet risâletu Birgivi fî 6 Rebiulevvel sene 1159 (1746)"; Süleymaniye 1071, ff,1-4; no title or heading, the colophon reads: "temmet risâletu Birgivi li-sene 1159 (1746-47)". For detailed description of the work see Arslan, *ibid*, p. 86; Martı, *ibid*, p. 74. See also Atsız, *ibid*, p. 34.

[397] Neither Ali b. Bâlî's *el-ikdu'l-manzûm fî zikri efâdili'r-Rûm*, nor Atâî's *Hadâ'iku'l-hakâik*, nor Katib Çelebi's *Keşfu'z-zunûn* mention such a work among Birgivi's works. There is no mention at all of a work entitled "Nûru'l-ahyâ" in *Keşfu'z-zunûn* and its *zeyl*, Bağdatlı's *Îzâhu'l-meknûn zeylu Keşfi'z-zunûn*.

[398] Ahmed Rıfat Efendi. *Lüğat-ı Tarihiye ve Coğrafiye*. (İstanbul, Mahmud Bey Matb., 1299); vol. II. pp. 93-94; Şemseddin Sami. *Kâmûsu'l-A'lâm*. (İstanbul, Mihran Matb., 1316), vol. II, p. 1284-85. The work is also mentioned by Bursalı without the above implication (*Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/255).

[399] Millet K., Ali Emiri Arabi 786, 70 pp. The heading on f.1a reads: "Hâzâ kitâbu Nûru'l-ahyâ ve tuhfetu'l-emvât min te'lîfi muellifihi Bilgivi [sic.] Muhammed Efendi muellifu *et-Tarîkati'l-Muhammediyye ve's-sîreti'l-Ahmediyye* rh." Next to the heading is a note that reads: "he had began the book in Receb of 1196 (*ve kâne ibtede'e kitâbehu fî evâhiri şehri Receb el-ferd sene 1196*)".

[400] See Atsız, *ibid*, p. 41; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 93; Martı, *ibid*, p. 77; Lekesiz, *ibid*, p. 69.

reliable because a note on the same folio as the heading contains chronologically impossible information[401]. The work is a kind of *ilmihal*, mainly dealing with questions of canonical ritual[402]. While Martı describes this work as a classical example of Birgivi style of writing, Arslan implies that its Birgivi authorship is doubtful[403]. On the other hand, Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa, in the course of recounting Birgivi's works in his *Hediyyetu'l-ârifîn*, writes: "... *Mihakku'l-mutasavvifîn*. *Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr*. *Nûru'l-ahyâr* [sic]. *Vasiyyetnâme*…"[404] It is not clear whether by what he calls *Nûru'l ahyâr* is meant *Nûru'l-ahyâ' ve tuhfetu'l-emvât*; it is also unclear what he means by *Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr*, and whether it is a separate article in the list. It may be that both phrases are parts of the same title, such as: *Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr ve Nûru'l-ahyâr*. The fact that modern researchers who used *Hediyyetu'l-arifîn* among their sources have not mentioned *Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr* among works attributed to Birgivi indicates these researchers too considered both entries in Bağdatlı's work as indicative of one and the same work. This work, however, they thought to be *Nûru'l-ahyâ ve tuhfetu'l-emvât*.[405] But Bağdatlı's words could equally –if not less problematically- be indicative of another work as well, as his words (*Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr*. *Nûru'l-ahyâr*) remind of *Nevâdiru'l-ahbâr fî menâkıbi'l-ahyâr*, a biographical

[401] "He [i.e., Birgivi] had begun the book in Receb of 1196 (1782)". Actually The colophon implies that this is the date of copying: "ve kad temme'l-kitâbu … fî 9 Ş[aban] sene 1196 alâ yedi'l-fakîr … es-seyyid Abdulmutî b. el-Hac Muhammed Mataraci, ğaferellahu lehu".

[402] For a detailed description of the work see: Martı, ibid, p. 77-78.

[403] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 93; Martı, *ibid*, p. 77.

[404] Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa (1339/1920). *Hediyyetu'l-arifin*. Edidet by Muallim Kilisli Rifat Bilge and İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal. (İstanbul: MEB, 1951-55); vol.II, p.252.

[405] See Arslan, *ibid*, p. 93.

work composed by Taşköprüzade Ahmed Efendi (d.968/1561)[406]. If this is the case, then Taşköprüzade's work is another work that have been mis-attributed to Birgivi.

7) *Kitabu'l-irşâd* (= *el-İrşâd fi'l-akâid ve'l-ibâdât*)

None of the Ottoman sources, early and later ones alike, mention such a work among Birgivi's works. Atsız mentions two manuscript copies of this work in İstanbul libraries, and, though both attribute the work to Birgivi, their attribution is not that reliable[407]. Brockelmann too counts among Birgivi's work what he variously calls *al-Irşâd* and *K. ar-Irşâd*[408]. Similarly, Schmidt and Witkam ascribe to Birgivi a work called *el-Irşâd*, for which they indicate two copies in Leiden -one of them dated on 1084- but they do not make it clear whether the manuscript itself makes the attribution –it is possible that they just rely on Brockelmann to whom they refer[409]. (Witkam's description of the work fits the manuscripts in Süleymaniye library). This work, too, is a kind of "ilmihâl", comprising matters of Islamic creed and explanations of forms of Muslim worships, and was obviously intended for the

[406] See Katip Çelebi, *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1978. Çelebi informs that the work alphabetically re-orders the biographical data contained in such early sources as İbn Hallikan's *Vefeyâtu'l-a'yân* and Şehristani's *Târihu'l-hukemâ*. For an early copy of the work that completely fits Çelebi's description see: Beyazıt K., Veliyüddin Ef., 2458; the work is attributed to Taşköprüzade in the heading preceding the handlist at the beginning of the volume (1b): "Hâzâ fihristu Nevâdiri'l-Ahbâr li-Taşköprüzade rh"; the colophon (on the last folio) is evidence that the work cannot be of Birgivi's authorship: it was copied or composed in Üsküb in 938. For another copy see Koca Ragıp Paşa K., 1054.

[407] Sül. K., M.Murad-M.Arif 174, ff. 4b-22a, a note on f.4b reads: "Hâzâ Kitâbu'l-irşâd li'l-Birgivi", the text was copied by Ali b. el-Hac Mustafa b. Abdülkerim et-Tophanevi in Safer of 1173/1759, a considerably late date; the copyist, who has copied in this volume about fifteen works by Birgivi (among them *Risâle fi sucûdi's-sehv*, a work that, as we have shown in the previous chapter, belongs to Kemalpaşazade), may have mis-attributed *Kitâbu'l-irşâd* too; Laleli 3706, ff. 296b-316, a heading in red reads: "el-İrşâd", to which is added the following phrase, in a different hand with black ink: "fi'l-akâid ve'l-ibâdât", no colophon. See also Atsız, *ibid*, p. 33.

[408] *GAL* II, p. 585, no 18; *GAL* S II, p. 658, no 26, respectively; both records refer to the same MSS: Gotha 712, Leid. 1910.

[409] Witkam, *Invertory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p.357 (Or.843); vol. 12, p.243 (Or.11.882); Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University*, vol. I, p. 294 (Cod. Or. 843).

public[410]. It is unlikely that Birgivi should write several works of similar character, especially after his *Vasiyetnâme*, an ilmihâl book written in plain Turkish that was very popular among the folk. This work would render un-necessary composition of similar works intended for the public.

8) *Tuhfetu'l-müsterşidîn fî beyâni firaki'l-müslimîn*

Bağdatlı mentions among Birgivi's works a work with this title[411]. It is probably because he relied on this record that Atsız counted the same work in his bibliography of Birgivi, as the only copy that he identified of the work contains no evidence as to whom the work belongs[412]. Arslan mentions a second copy in Tunisian National Library[413]. But we have identified five more manuscripts of the work in İstanbul libraries, none displaying the name of an author. Morover, all of these copies are either of a considerably late date, or not-dated[414]. Another copy of the work is at the library of Tokyo University[415]. *Keşfu'z-zunûn* has an entry for "Tuhfetu'l-

[410] For more information on the content of the work see Martı, *ibid*, p. 76-77. See also Arslan, *ibid*, p. 86

[411] *Hediyyetu'l-ârifîn*, II/252. See also Abdurrahman ed-Dehiş, *Mukaddimetu'l-müfessirîn*, p. 41.

[412] Sül. K., Damat İbrahim Paşa 297, ff. 377b-384a, no colophon. A note on 377b reads: "*Hâzâ risâletu firak-ı dâlle Tuhfetu'l-müsterşidîn*". The only evidence supporting Birgivi authorship is an obviously later note written in black lead on the top-right corner, which reads: "*li'l-Birgivi*". See also Atsız, *ibid*, p.90.

[413] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 124.

[414] Sül. K., Fatih 5344, ff.51b-57b, dated 1118; this volume contains no other work by Birgivi; Antalya Tekelioğlu 824, ff. 93a-99, dated 29 Safer 1263; Denizli 230, ff. 81b-89b, no colophon, but the preceding text is dated 1224 (see f.80b); Beyazıt K., 1463, 81a-90a, not dated; Atıf Efendi K., Atıf Efendi Eki 1500, ff. 149b-157a, dated on Muharrem 1199; the title on 149b reads: "*Hâzihi Tuhfetul-müsterşidin li-Muhammed Efendi el-Birgivi rh*."; not a good copy; full of mis-spellings; followed by another text on the same issue, titled *Risâle fî beyâni'l-firaki'd-dâlleti'l-mudille* (f. 157b-162b); the volume also contains two texs by Birgivi (*Cilaul-kulub* and *Muaddilussalat*, on ff. 95b-129b and 131b-148a, respectively), and a copy of *Siracu'l-musalli* (163b-174a).

[415] A very well-prepared two-volume catalogue of the MSS in Tokyo University Library is available online at http://www.ibnalarabi.com/manuscripts. For the work see v.1 (Tokyoc1), MS 32, ff. 30v-35r, text number 1136.
The text is not dated, but the volume was compiled in 1260/1844, 1182/1768-9, and in 1160/1747. See also Brockelmann, *GAL* II, p. 584, nr.4.

müsterşidîn", but no information is provided –it is left empty[416]. Martı gives a detailed description of the work, for which she refers to the copy mentioned by Atsız. Martı also states that Avni İlhan has prepared a critical edition and translation of the work based on three manuscripts, who, she informs, concludes that the work is a badly managed summary of *el-Firaku'l-müteferrika* by Abdullah el-Iraki[417]. Given this information, it is difficult to maintain Birgivi's authorship of such a work.

9) *Ahsenu'l-kases* (*Tefsîru Sûreti Yusuf*)

This is one of the works whose ascription to Birgivi has been found doubtful in the literature. Arslan unconfirmingly reports that this work was attributed to Birgivi by Emrullah Yüksel[418], stating also that the work, of which he mentions only one copy (İstanbul University Library Ay. 4139, 176 ff.), is an exegesis (*tefsîr*) of the *sûre* of Yusuf, and that it is dated 1155/1742, which is quite late a date. As Lekesiz and Martı have stated, there is no information in early sources verifying this ascription[419]. Abdurrahman b. Salih b. Süleyman ed-Dehîş, who recently made a critical edition of Birgivi's *Tefsîr* on the first two sûres of Koran, lists among Birgivi's works what he calls "*Ahsenu'l-kases* or *Tefsîru Sûreti Yusuf*", for which he refers to a catalogue[420]. We have not examined the copy that is said to be at the library of İstanbul Üniversitesi, nor have we been able to identify a second copy of the work. In this

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[416] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/374.

[417] Martı also mentions that a translation of the work was made in Bosnia. See: Martı, *ibid*, p. 76.

[418] Emrullah Yüksel. *Les Idees religious*…, p. 57. See, Arslan, *ibid*, p. 101.

[419] Lekesiz, *ibid*, p. 77, note 5; Martı, *ibid*, p. 81. Neither Ali b. Bâlî's *el-ikdu'l-manzûm fî zikri efâdili'r-Rûm*, nor Atâî's *Hadâ'iku'l-hakâik*, nor Katib Çelebi's *Keşfu'z-zunûn* mention such a work among Birgivi's works.

[420] *Mukaddimetü'l-müfessirin* / Muhammed b. Pir Ali Birgivi; dirase ve tahkik Abdurrahman b. Salih b. Süleyman ed-Dehiş. (Medine: Mecelletü'l-Hikme, 2004/1425), p.40. The source ed-Dehiş refers to is *el-Mecma' el-Melikî li-Buhûs el-Hadâre el-Islâmiyye* (no. 617/1).

regard we are not in a position to comment on the work. But considering that it is not mentioned among Birgivi's works in the early sources, and that Birgivi has a *tefsîr* (exegesis) on the first two *sûre*s of the Koran, it is safe to doubt Birgivi's authorship of this piece.

10) *Rüsûm-i mesâhif-i Osmâniye*

This is a short work that describes Koranic orthography (*resm*) according to the six *mushaf*s (copies of Koran) that were prepared by order of the third Caliph, Osman b. Affan. Atsız mentioned the work among Birgivi's works in his bibliography; other researchers followed him in this attribution[421]. Interestingly, neither early nor late sources attribute to Birgivi such a work. Katip Çelebi, who opens an entry on "ilmu resmi'l-mushaf" in his *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, attributes no such work to Birgivi[422]. The only evidence for Birgivi authorship of this work comes from the four manuscript copies of the work that were identified by Atsız, all of which attribute the work to Birgivi. Despite effort on our part to identify other copies of the work, only one copy has been detected, which, being outside İstanbul, could not be viewed for this study[423]. However, to attribute this work to Birgivi based solely on evidence of the four manuscripts above is problematic, because all of them are of considerably late dates, and because some of them are obviously copied based on each other[424]. On the other

[421] Atsız, *ibid*, p. 83; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 102; Martı, *ibid*, p. 81.

[422] Keşfu'z-zunûn I/902.

[423] The online catalogue indicates a copy of the work in Kütahya Vahid Paşa İl Halk K. 2332 (21 ff).

[424] Sül. K., Laleli 250, ff. 1b-15b; this is the earliest dated copy of the work, as the colophon on 15b is dated 1179/1765; the colophon reads: "temmet er-risâletu'l-ma'mûle li-Muhammed Çelebi nevverellâhu medca'ahu…, sene 1179"; the heading (f.1b) in red reads: "Hâzihi risâle fî resmi'l-hatti fi'l-mushafi'ş-şerîfi li-Birgivi Muhammed Efendi". The volume contains two other texts, both of them attributed to Ali el-Kari in the online catalogue: *Risâle fî ziyâdeti'l-elif* (15b-17b); and an unidentified text (17b-19b). Sül. K., Hacı Mahmud Efendi 299, ff. 1b-8a; dated 1190/1776 (see the colophon on f. 8b), the heading on f. 1b and the colophon on 8a are the same as those in the volume above (except for the date); it also comprises the same two texts as above; and has presumably been copied on its basis.

hand, regarding that most copies of the work are in volumes that comprise similar texts on the subject of rüsum-i mesâhif which were attributed to Ali el-Kari in the catalogue, we may speculate that this work too is composed by the same author[425]. Our research shows that many other works have been penned on the subject of *rüsûm-i mesâhif*, as there are many manuscripts in İstanbul libraries that comprise texts on the issue[426].

11) *Mihakku's-sûfiyye* (*Mihakku'l-mutasavvifîn*)

This is a work in which the author, by way of his advices to those who follow the path of tasavvuf, emphasizes the necessity of abiding by sharia in all stages of one's spiritual development[427]. Despite many indications that the work belongs to Birgivi, its authorship remains uncertain. It was attributed to Birgivi in an undated manuscript -the only copy of the work known in the literature-, as well as in another, incomplete, copy, which dates most probably from 1173 (1759)[428]. It has also been published in

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Sül. K., Saliha Hatun 2/mkrr, ff. 15b-29b; no title; the colophon reads (29b): "Temmet er-risâletu'l-ma'mûle li-Muhammed Çelebi, nevverellâhu medca'ahu, sene 1201 (1786)"; the preceding text is also a work on the same subject. Sül. K., Hacı Mahmud Efendi 390 (22 ff), independent volume, the heading reads (1b): "Hâzihi risâle fî resmi'l-mesâhifi'l-Osmâni li-Birgivi Mehmed Efendi…"; the colophon reads (22b): "Temmet bihamdillâhi ve hüsni tevfîkihi, nushatu'l-Birgivi Muhammed Efendi…", no date.

[425] The designation "el-Kârî" is due to his fame in the science of Koranic recitation (*kıraat*). Despite his reputation as a scholar, he accepted no official post, and earned his life by making copies of the Holy Koran, whose margins he decorated with glosses concerning *tefsîr* and *kıraat*. He was excellent in *sülüs* and *nesh* scripts. (Özel, Ahmet. "Ali el-Kari", *DİA*, 2, pp. 403-404).

[426] For works on the subject see also Katip Çelebi, *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/902.

[427] For a detailed description of the work see Martı, *ibid*, pp. 109-110.

[428] The incomplete copy consists only of a few lines written on the margin of a manuscript volume (Sül. K., M.Murad-M.Arif 174), compiled between 1173-1176, which consists of works attributed to Birgivi, some of which we have identified as misattributions. The work on whose margins the beginning of this work has been written (*Risâle fî sucudi's-sehv*, f.23b) is dated 1173. The first copy is Hacı Selim Ağa K. 1271, ff. 35a-36b; no colophon; the work is attributed to Birgivi in the handlist on the first folio ("*Risale mehakku's-sûfiyye tahrîru Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi*") and in the heading on f. 35b written in the same hand as the main text ("*Mihakku's-sûfiyye min tahrîr Muhammed b. Pir Ali el-Birgivi rh…*"). The undated volume contains sixteen texts, including two by Birgivi (*Dürr-i yetîm* [ff.1b-1a]; and *Cilau'l-kulub* [f. 2b-8b]), and *Muntehabu iğâseti'l-lehfân* (f. 9a-

1988 as a work of Birgivi[429]. Furthermore, a commentary has been penned on the work, a copy of which (dated 1119/1707) was attributed to Birgivi[430]. The testimony of these sources, however, is far from securing a conviction as to Birgivi's authorship of this work, because almost all attributions belong to dates that are considerably late. Actually we have identified a third copy of *Mihakku'l-mutasavvifîn*, which, though with no attribution, is contained in a volume that comprises four texts, two of which belong to Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari[431]. This may suggest that *Mihakk* is a work of Akhisari.

12) *el-Makâmât*

This is a short work that recounts the forty stages (*makâm*) in tasavvuf, which are reducable to four: *şerî'at*, *tarîkat*, *ma'rifet*, *hakîkat*. Here too the author emphasizes the centrality of *şerî'at* to the mystical experience as the foundation on which other stages rise: since *şerî'at* is the first stage, other stages can not be attained or maintained without careful observance of *şerî'at*[432]. The literature has considered this as a work of Birgivi because it was attributed to him in a manuscript copy dating

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15a) of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari. See Atsız, *ibid*, p. 59; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 123; Martı, *ibid*, p. 109; Brockelmann, *GAL*, S II, p. 658 no.2.

[429] İstanbul, Dersaadet Yayınları, 1988, 29 pp.

[430] Sül. K., Mihrişah 220, ff. 36a-50b, dated Ramazan of 1119; in the handlist preceding the volume the work is indicated as "Mihakku's-sufiyye li-Birgivi"; other copies are: Çelebi Abdullah 393, incomplete; Hacı Mahmud Ef. 2503, 15 ff. Arslan suggests that the work belongs to Gümülcineli Ahmed Sünbül; actually the colophon at the end of the last copy indicates that the work was written by Gümülcineli Ahmed Monla(?); but it is not clear whether this indicates the author or the copyist. On the other hand, although Arslan mentions a second commentary on the work, we could not see the text in the indicated manuscript (Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 1025, ff. 173b-191b) because the relevant page-interval is missing (the pages leap from 172 to 192). The work is indicated also in the manual catalogue in Süleymaniye Library. Arslan indicates that this commentary was composed by someone called Ali in 1145/1732-33 (Arslan, *ibid*, p.. 123).

[431] Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 1189, f. 18a-22a. The work is enjoined from both sides by Akhisari's works: *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî* [Version III] (ff. 12a-18a) and *Risâle fi'l-hutbe* (22a-ff).

[432] For detailed description of the work see Martı, *ibid*, pp. 110-11.

presumably from around 1310/1892, the only copy known in the literature[433]. We have identified a second copy of the work, dated on 1239/1823, which also attributes the work to Birgivi[434]. Brockelmann adds two more copies[435]. What Witkam has described as an unidentified work by Birgivi is probably a copy of *el-Makâmât*, to judge by the opening words he quotes[436]. The work has also been edited by Ibrahim Subaşı et-Tokadi and published by Asitane in a small volume that also comprises *Risâle fi'l-musâfaha*, a treatise of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari that has falsely been attributed to Birgivi, as we discussed in the previous chapter. Turkish translations of these two works as well as of *Mihakku's-sûfiyye* (discussed above) and *Risâle fi'z-zikri'l-cehrî*, which is another work by Akhisari that has been attributed to Birgivi (see the first chapter), have been published online, all presented as works of Birgivi [437]. Other than the online translations, two Turkish editions of *el-Makâmât* have recently been published, both attributing the work to Birgivi[438]. Considering, however, that the manuscripts which attribute the work to Birgivi are of considerably late dates, and that early sources do not mention such a treatise among Birgivi's works, his authorship of this work remains uncertain.

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[433] Sül. K., Kasidecizade 111, ff. 39-43; not dated, attributed to Birgivi in the heading on title page (39): "*Hâzâ kitâbu'l-makâmât li'l-fâdıl el-Birgivi*"; copied by el-Hac Feyzullah b. Musa Kazım (see the colophon on the last folio); A note on f.1a indicates that the other text in the volume was written by Kasidecizade Süleyman Sırrı in 1310; a vakf note on the same folio is dated 1321. See also Atsız, *ibid*, p. 59; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 123; Martı, *ibid*, pp. 110-11.

[434] Sül. K., Erzincan 63, ff. 99b-102a; copied by el-Hac Muhammed Hamid Fındıkçızade in 1239 (see the colophon on 102a); the heading on f.99b reads: "Kitâbu'l-Makâmât lil-fâdıl el-Birgivi rh."

[435] *GAL* S II, p. 658, no.39.

[436] Witkam, *Invertory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, vol. 12, p.213 (Or.11.781). The work mentioned by Witkam could also be a copy of *Sirâcu'l-musallî* (see the discussion on this work in Chapter II).

[437] *el-Makâmât*. Edited by İbrahim Subaşı et-Tokadi (İstanbul: Dersaadet Yayınları, 1988); for the online publications, see the following link: http://www.hicretonline.com/tasavvuf/tasavvuf.htm .

[438] *el-Makâmât: Kulun Allahu Teala (c.c.) Yolunda Kat'ettiği Mertebeler*. Trns. M.Fatih Güneş, ed. Faruk Beşikçi. (İstanbul: Kalem Yayınevi, 2004); *Tasavvufta Kırk Makam*. Trns Muhlis Akar. (İstanbul: Yasin Yayınevi, 1999).

13) *Ğurrenâne*

This is a short treatise with tables for determining the weekday of the first of each lunar month (*ğurre*). Arslan mentions two copies of the work, one of them being in his personal library, the other in Süleymaniye Library (Antalya-Tekelioğlu 842)[439]. We have identified another treatise in Süleymaniye Library (Esad Efendi 3399), which, even if not attributed to Birgivi, is similar to, but not identical with, the above manuscript[440]. Schmidt mentions two copies of Birgivi's *Ğurrenâme* in the Library of Leiden University, and provides a facsimile copy for one of them, which deliberately attributes the work to Birgivi[441]. After comparing this facsimile with the manuscripts in Süleymaniye Library, it has become clear that no two of them are identical. It must be noted that while establishing the first day of the lunar month, each of the above manuscripts depart from a different date, which are presumably the dates on which the respective manuscripts were written down. This may at best be an indication that the copyists have adapted the original work to their own time[442]. The variations are not limited to dates alone, as the three manuscripts viewed by us diverge also in wording. This much variety can not but invoke doubt about their being the work of one and the same author. Furthermore, early sources do not verify

[439] Sül. K., Antalya-Tekelioğlu 842, f. 88b, not dated; on f. 89b there is a birth record at 1223/1808; on f.90a there is another birth record at Ramazan of 1125; a note of vakf on f.1b indicates the date of 1211. Arslan, mentions the copy, but mistakes the folio numbers for the MS code (see Arslan, *ibid*, pp. 126-127; cf. Martı, *ibid*, p. 117, note 480).

[440] Sül. K., Esad Efendi 3399, ff.96-99. To judge by the date taken as reference point, the work is copied or composed in 1021/1612.

[441] Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University*, vol. II, p. 570 (Cod. Or. 11741) and vol. II, pp. 730-32 (Cod. Or. 12.113). Schmidt informs that the latter copy, of which the facsimile is provided, was found in a late seventeenth century copy of an Arabic work on arithmetic.

[442] While MS Or. 12.113 sets out counting from "ninety, ninety-one..", MS Antalya-Tekelioğlu 841 sets out from "forty-one, forty-two…", and MS Esad Efendi 3399 from "one thousand and twenty-one, …". If these numbers refer to dates, as we presume, then "forty-one" must be 1041, and not 941 if it is going to be viewed as a work of Birgivi, who was born in 929 and was only twelve years old in 941. On the other hand, since Birgivi died in 981, 1041 must be a later adaptation. So must be other dates.

Birgivi authorship of this treatise. Martı mentions three more copies of the work, two in Anatolian libraries, one in Vienna.[443]

## Attributions that Were Made in the Catalogues, which Are either Unwarranted or Could Not Be Certified by This Study

### 14) *Zâdu'l-mütezevvicîn (şerhu Zuhri'l-müte'ehhilîn)*

This is a commentary on Birgivi's *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn ve'n-nisâ'*, a guidebook for the married and women. According to Witkam, the commentary is also by Birgivi[444]. Three copies of the work have also been catalogued under Birgivi's name, though two of them which we have consulted do not indicate the name of the author –the third copy, being in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, could not be viewed. We could not identify who the commentator is; but it is not likely to be Birgivi himself. (One of the copies of the work is bound in the same volume with *Ziyâ'u'l-kulûb*, the commentary made by Ishak b. Hasan et-Tokadi (d. ca.1100/1688) on Birgivi's *Cilâu'l-kulûb*)[445].

### 15) *Şerhu'd-Dürri'l-yetîm*

Brockelmann counts among Birgivi's works a commentary on his own *ed-Dürru'l-yetîm*. But this is probably a copy of Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari's commentary on that

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[443] Martı, *ibid*, p. 117.

[444] Witkam, *Invertory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, vol. 13, p. 8 [Or.12.001 (1), ff.1b-40a]. Witkam informs that the text was copied by el-Hac Muhammed el-Rahusi in Mekka on 8 of Receb 1152.

[445] Sül. K., Antalya-Tekelioğlu 902, *Zâdu'l-mütezevvicîn*: (ff. 119-203), not dated; *Ziyâu'l-kulûb* (ff. 1-117), dated 1119. The other copy is at Sül. K., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 788, ff. 1-57, not dated. The online catalogue indicates a third copy in Topkapı Sarayı (Emanet Hazinesi 970). For Tokadi see Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri* I/231; Bağdatlı, *Hediyyetu'l-Arifîn* I/201. Both sources mention among Tokadi's works the commentary on *Cilâu'l-kulûb*; but none mention *Zâdu'l-mütezevvicîn*. Tokadi has also a commentary on *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn*, entitled *Zehâ'iru'l-âhire*, to which he refers at the end of his above commentary on *Cilâu'l-kulûb* (*Ziyâu'l-kulûb*). For copies of *Zehâ'iru'l-âhire* see Sül. K., Kasidecizade 233 (63 ff).; Harput 329 (ff.129b-173a). See also Arslan, *ibid*, p.100.

work of Birgivi, as sources do not mention a commentary by Birgivi on his own work[446].

16) *Risâle fi'l-Farâ'id wal-wâgibât*

Brockelmann mentions this title among Birgivi's works, for which he refers to "Harput 26". There must be a mistake in this record, however, because the Harput collection in Süleymaniye library has in nr. 26 only a printed copy of a *hâşiye* by Abdülhamid el-Hamdi el-Harputi b. Ömer en-Naimi on *Tuhfetu'l-avâmil*, a commentary by Mustafa b. İbrahim en-Nakşibendi el-Geliboli (d. 1176/1762-3) on Birgivi's *Avâmil*[447]. Either this *haşiye* was mis-catalogued as *Risâle fi'l-farâ'id ve'l-vâcibât*, or a work with that name was mistakenly indicated to be at Harput 26.

17) *Kitâbu ilm-i hâl-i mu'teber der 'akâid-i Islâm*

Witkam mentions a text with that name, which, he informs, was copied after 1190/1776 and which is "apparently an excerpt from a work by Birgeli (al-Birkawi)". He also mentions that there is an edition of this text published in 1241[448]. However, since he does not inform us about the content of the work, we are not apt to make any qualifications.

18) *Muhtasaru'l-bidâye*

Karatay mentions a work of that name, copied in 1062/1651 and preserved in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (Koğuşlar K. 703, f.1b-ff), which he describes as a work by

[446] Brockelmann, *GAL* S II, p. 658, no. 34. For Akhisari's commentary see *Keşfu'z-zunûn* I/737; *Osmanlı Müellifleri* I/26; *Hediyyetu'l-Arifîn*, I/57; Arslan, *ibid*, p. 102. For *ed-Dürru'l-yetîm* see Chapter IV.

[447] Brockelmann, *GAL* S II, p. 658, no 29.

[448] Witkam, *Invertory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, vol. 2, p. 177 (Or.1559 (1)).

Birgivi that comprises issues of *akâid* and *fikh* in summary. Karatay also informs that the manuscript volume comprising this text also contains on f. 71b Noktazade Mehmed Efendi (Bahti?)'s versification of Birgivi's famous *Risâle* (*Vasiyetnâme*), which is dated 1052/1642 . This may lead one to think that the first text is Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme*, but the beginning of it as quoted by Karatay is different from the beginning of the latter[449]. Since Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi is closed to researchers, we have not been able to check out the MS.

## Attributions Based on MSS in Libraries outside Istanbul (19-25)

There are other works that have been attributed to Birgivi in catalogues, online and published, which, being in libraries outside İstanbul, could not be checked fort his study. (19) *Risâle-i Cihâdiye* and (20) *Tercüme-i Vasiyet-i Ali b. Ebu Talib* are two works, in Anatolian libraries, that in the online catalogue were recorded under Birgivi's name[450]. A number of other works were attributed to Birgivi by Brockelman: (21) *er-Radd 'ala'ş-Şî'a* (*GAL* II, p. 584, no 3), (22) *Risâle fimâ şâ' wa dâ' bi 'ilm al-Qor'ân al-'azîm* (*ibid*, p. 585, no 14), and, finally, (23) *Nağât al-abrâr* (*ibid*, p. 658, no 34). (24) Abdurrahman ed-Dehîş attributes to Birgivi a work called *el-Ekmel*, but, since he does not provide any description of the work, it is not known whether this is a reference to a new work or to one of Birgivi's well-known works[451]. We found no work with this title neither in *Keşfu'z-zunûn* nor in Bağdadi's

[449] "*Elhamdu lillahi ellezi halekani huve yehdini…"*. Karatay, Fehmi Edhem. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*. (İstanbul: TSM, 1961), vol. I, p. 33. *Muhtasaru'l-bidâye* is also catalogued under Birgivi's name in the online catalogue.

[450] Konya Yazma Eserler K. 278, ff.118-129; Antalya Elmalı İlçe Halk K. 2642, ff. 52a-74a.

[451] Abdurrahman b. Salih b. Süleyman ed-Dehiş (ed.). *Mukaddimetü'l-müfessirin* (critical edition of Birgivi's tefsîr) (Medine: Mecelletü'l-Hikme, 2004/1425), p.40.

supplement. Although the online catalogue indicates a work titled *el-Ekmel* in Süleymaniye Library (Yazma Bağışlar 93) which it ascribes to Mahmud b. Mansur ibn Ebi'l-Fazl, in that number is recorded a totally irrelevant work: *Muhtasaru'l-me'ânî*, a well-known work on rethoric by Sadettin et-Taftazani. (25) *Risâle fî tefsîri kavlihi te'âlâ "fa'lem ennehu lâilâheillallâh"* is another work that Abdurrahman ed-Dehîş attributes to Birgivi[452].

## Attributions of which No Copy Has Been Identified (26-29)

There are also some works that have been attributed to Birgivi, but of which no copy is yet identified. (26) One of these works is a treatise, first mentioned by one of Birgivi's biographers, Atai, and then repeated by all later biographers of Birgivi[453]. Atai lists among Birgivi's works what he calls "a treatise in the manner of *emâlî*". Not considering the possibility that Atai's words may refer to one of Birgivi's well-known treatises, modern studies have taken his words to indicate a work of which no copy is yet identified[454]. Atai's words could possibly be a reference to Birgivi's famous treatise, known as *Risâle-i Birgivi* or as *Vasiyetnâme*, as Atai also indicates that the work is about different topics in religious sciences (fünûn-i 'âliye), a description well fitting *Vasiyetnâme,* an *ilmihâl* comprising a variegated number of religious topics. This possibility is further suggested by the fact that Katip Çelebi describes the term *emâlî* as any work that is composed when a professor speaks out

[452] *Ibid,* p.42. The commented Koranic verse is the *sûra* of Muhammed, verse 19.

[453] The work is not mentioned by Ali b. Bali (d.992/1584), Birgivi's first biographer and contemporary, in his *el-'Ikdu'l-Manzûm fî Zikr-i Efâdili'r-Rûm* (pp. 436-37); cf. Atâî, *Zeyl-i Şekâik*, p. 180; M.Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, IV/121; Şemseddin Sami, *Kamusul-A'lam*, II/1285; Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/256.

[454] See Arslan, *ibid*, p. 85-86; Martı, *ibid*, p. 118.

and the students surrounding him write down on sheets of paper (*karâtîs*) what he utters[455]. The dictational character of *Vasiyetnâme* is betrayed by the fact that some copies of this treatise do not have the last few sections of the work which take place in other copies under the general heading of *Zeyl* (supplement), an evidence that the work was dictated in different periods of time[456]. A point similar to what we made about "*emâlî*" was made by Arslan about another work that has been attributed to Birgivi, but of which no copy has been identified: (27) "*Risâle fi şerhi hadîsi inneme'l-a'mâlu bi'n-niyât*". Arslan states that although mention is made of a work of Birgivi of this name, it is possible that this work be the commentary on the first hadîs in Birgivi's *Şerh-i hadîs-i erba'în*[457]. Arslan has identified two more attributions to Birgivi in Ottoman sources, of which no copy is yet identified: (28) *Hâşiye 'ale'l-Emsileti'l-Fazliyye*[458], a gloss penned by Birgivi on his own *el-Emsiletu'l-Fazliyye*, which is a work about grammar which Birgivi penned for his son Fazlullah, and (29) *Ta'lîkât 'ale'l-Imtihân*[459], another gloss by Birgivi on his own *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ*, a famous commentary he made on Kadı Beyzavi's *Lübbu'l-elbâb* on Arabic grammar –more about these works of Birgivi shall be said in the next chapter.

[455] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, I/161. See also Arslan, *ibid*, p. p. 85, note 283.

[456] Note also that, unlike modern studies, none of the Ottoman sources (mentioned above) that list *emâlî* among Birgivi's works mention also *Vasiyetnâme* –the only exception is Bursalı. For more information on *Vasiyetname* see the next chapter.

[457] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 105.

[458] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 150.

[459] Arslan, *ibid*, p. 152.

# CHAPTER IV

# BIRGIVI'S WORKS: DESCRIPTION, CLASSIFICATION AND RECEPTION (TRANSMISSION AND HISTORICAL DISSEMINATION)

## Introduction

We already pointed that more than one hundred works were attributed to Birgivi, and that the source of a good deal of these attributions was manuscripts themselves. We also showed that some of the works that were ascribed to Birgivi in the manuscripts were obvious misattributions on the part of the copyists, while others were works whose Birgivi authorship should be met with doubt. Discussion of these two groups of works constituted the content of the previous two chapters of this study. There are also, of course, works whose Birgivi authorship is beyond doubt. In this chapter we will discuss Birgivi's own works; or better, we will discuss works whose Birgivi authorship is certain and those of whose Birgivi authorship there is no serious reason to be dubious. The total number of such works is 35 (or 36, depending on whether one counts as one work or two the treatise that Birgivi has written on *ferâ'iz* and the commentary he then composed on it). It must be noted that all of the works discussed in this chapter have known extant copi(es), and that there is evidence in the manuscripts for Birgivi authorship of each of them –not all manuscript copies of a given text, however, necessarily indicate the author of the work.

The previous chapters have in a sense problematized, by a documentation of works that were falsely attributed to Birgivi, specific ways in which Birgivi has been imagined throughout the centuries. In other words, the previous chapters depicted the

various profiles of the 'imagined' Birgivi as they might appear from the misattributions. The aim of the present chapter, in turn, is two-partite. On the one hand it attempts, by introducing and describing his works, to present the 'historical' Birgivi and then contrast the resultant profile to the 'imagined' Birgivi of the subsequent centuries. On the other hand, this chapter evaluates the reception of Birgivi's own works by tracing the distribution of the manuscript copies of his works over time. However, since a study of all the known copies of Birgivi's works lies outside the research capabilities of a single researcher, the present study has been limited to the copies found in manuscript collections that are preserved in 10 of the manuscript libraries in Istanbul[460]. In these libraries, we have identified 1487 MSS for Birgivi's 35 works. (The copies of Birgivi's works in libraries of Anatolian cities, therefore, though in considerable numbers, have not been incorporated into this study[461]; nor have been the copies in the Oriental collections of European libraries – though some published catalogues of these libraries have been consulted for specific works[462]). We began the task by first deciphering the relevant contents of the online

[460] For the collections that include Birgivi's works (88 collections) and the respective numbers of copies of Birgivi's works in each see Table XII at the end of this study. These collections are preserved in the following libraries –in alphabetical order: (1) Atıf Efendi Kütüphanesi, (2) Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, (3) Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi, (4) Köprülü Kütüphanesi, (5) Millet Kütüphanesi, (6) Murat Molla Kütüphanesi, (7) Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, (8) Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi, (9) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, and (10) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (TSMK). The reason these libraries were chosen for research is that the online catalogues of these libraries were incorporated in The Database for Turkish Libraries (Türkiye Kütüphaneleri Veri Tabanı [TKVT]), available in the webpage of Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi (ISAM): http://ktp.isam.org.tr/ktp/. The manuscript collections in the library of Istanbul University, though important, and some other manuscript libraries that may exist in Istanbul, have not been analyzed because it would require another research.

[461] There is a considerable number of copies of Birgivi's works in the public libraries of the following cities: Adana, Amasya, Antalya, Balıkesir, Burdur, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir Kayseri, Konya, Kütahya, Isparta, and Manisa. These can be followed through the above link.

[462] For instance the following catalogues were referred to in this study only for works with rare copies in case they had relevant information; but we did not take into account the copies of those works of Birgivi that have more than ten copies in Istanbul libraries. These catalogues are: Jan Schmidt. Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands, vols. I-III (Leiden, Legatum Warrenarium in Leiden University Library, 2000); Jan Just Witkam. Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden. vols. I-VII,

catalogues of the 10 libraries in Istanbul, after which we started consulting a representative number of manuscripts for works with more than ten copies. As for the works with less than ten copies, we have continuously tried to see all copies that exist in the above libraries[463]. In short, within the limits of the present study, and based on the manuscript libraries of Istanbul, we tried to provide as reliable a map of historical dissemination of Birgivi texts as possible. Historically, this map will cover the manuscripts that were made of Birgivi's works in a period of three and a half centuries, which roughly extends from the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth/twentieth century (952/1545 - 1326/1908). The first of the pairs signifies the date Birgivi composed his first work; and the second signifies the latest dated manuscript copy among all Birgivi texts that we have identified in Istanbul libraries. Incidentally, this date also signifies the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period (Meşrûtiyet) in the Ottoman Empire. Although the main concern of this study is the manuscripts, we have also tried to determine all printed editions that were made of Birgivi's works up to 1908. One could instead have chosen 1928, the year of the declaration of the alphabet revolution, as the limit for Ottoman editions; but it was not preferred because we did not come across any edition of Birgivi texts published between 1908 and 1928. Editions of dates later than 1928 have intentionally been left out.

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XII-XV, XX, XXII-XXV, (Leiden: Ter Lugut Press, 2007), the above volumes being available from the following link in PDF format:
(http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html). We have also consulted the Tokyo University Catalogue for Islamic manuscripts, available online in the following links: http://www.ibnalarabi.com/manuscripts/tokyoc1.asp, (Tokyo 1) and http://www.ibnalarabi.com/manuscripts/tokyoc2.asp, (Tokyo 2).

[463] Except for those in TSMK, which was closed at the time this research was conducted. To compensate, we have cross-checked the information in the online catalogue with the following catalogues of this library: Fehmi Edhem Karatay. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*. 2 vols. (İstanbul: TSM, 1961) and Idem, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*. 4 vols. (İstanbul: TSM, 1962).

The present chapter consists of three major sections. After enumerating and individually describing Birgivi's works in the first section, in the second section we will classify these works with respect to various considerations. The second section will also inquire into the measures of popularity, by which we refer to the number of manuscript copies of Birgivi's works, as well as to the number of printed editions that were made of these works, and the re-productional activity (commentation, translation, rebuttal, etc.) that was invested in each of them in the centuries following Birgivi's death. The third section, on the other hand, dwells on the historical dissemination of the dated manuscripts of those works of Birgivi (18 in number) which have more than 10 copies (and, partly, the historical distribution of printed editions that were made of some of these works in the Ottoman lands –more precisely, in the territories that are now within the boundaries of modern Turkey). The purpose of this section is to find out the rises and falls in the reading and copying of Birgivi's works over time. The section will provide not only a map of the historical distribution of the texts as a whole, but also a comparative view of the pattern of circulation specific to each text.

## Defining Texts: Enumeration and Description of Birgivi's Works

Since this section will discuss Birgivi's own works as distinguished from the works that were falsely attributed to him, it is necessary to make a few methodical statements about the strategies of inclusion and exclusion pursued throughout this study before we proceed to the discussion of Birgivi's works in detail. Below are the criteria employed in this study to distinguish the authentic attributions from the inauthentic ones.

## Criteria for Inclusion and Exclusion of the Works

For any given text, we look at existence or otherwise of the following criteria: (a) the testimony of Birgivi himself in works that are definitely known to be his. For instance, if a work is mentioned in *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye*, a book whose Birgivi authorship is beyond question, Birgivi authorship of that work too becomes certain. (There are references to 7 works of Birgivi in this book. Similarly, we also take into consideration references to other works of Birgivi in works of his that were mentioned in *Tarîkat*: there are two such references in two of the works mentioned in *Tarîkat*. So, Birgivi authorship of nine works can be ascertained through cross-references in his own works that finally rest on his given authorship of *Tarîkat* –see Table I). (b) The autograph copy. As we shall see below, Birgivi's handwriting has been identified in at least three works (see Table I). Though the literature mentions two more autographs, we have not been able to view them[464]. (c) The author's colophon. As we shall see below, ten of Birgivi's works comprise the author's colophon, which makes his authorship of these works certain. (see Table I). (d) The byline. In five works Birgivi's name[465] is mentioned within the main text as the author of the text –either in the introduction, or in the postscript (see Table I). (e) Other autobiographical references in the text, such as the specification of his exact birth-date in the *Vasiyetnâme*. (f) Early (contemporary or near-contemporary) copies of the work –those especially which make an attribution. For instance, as Table I shows, four works have copies made in Birgivi's lifetime (before 981/1573), and five other works have copies that were made in 981, the year Birgivi died (one was dated

[464] These works are *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* and *Vasiyetnâme* –see the discussion on these works below.

[465] See footnote 247 in Chapter II (p.87).

four months after Birgivi died; but it is not clear whether the remaining four were copied before or after the author's death). Three other works have copies made within the next twenty years (between 981 and 1000/1591) –the autograph copy of one of these works survives. In the next thirty-eight years (until 1038/1628) copies of eight other works were produced. Four works have no dated copy at all. The remaining eleven works have copies produced between 1066-1192 (1656-1778 ) – again, one of these works has the autograph available.

We also consider among the criteria: (g) Lists of Birgivi's works recorded in some manuscripts –for instance, the undated list in MS Sül. K., Bağdatlı Vehbi 601 [f.1a] enumerates 18 works of Birgivi (see Table I); (h) Records of early biographical and bibliographical sources, such as *el-'Ikdu'l-manzûm fî zikri efâdili'r-Rûm* by Birgivi's contemporary and biographer Ali b. Bali (d.992/1584), *Zeyl-i Şakâ'ik* of Nev'îzâde Atâ'î (d. 1045/1635), and *Keşfu'z-zunûn* of Katip Çelebi (d.1067/1657-8) (–see Table I); and (i) Existence or otherwise of (early) commentaries on the work (see Table I).

Table I presents a combined view of the above criteria as applied to the 35 works discussed in this chapter. Apart from the criteria indicated in this table, which positively signify Birgivi's authorship of the texts attributed to him, attention has also been paid to whether a given work has been attributed to other authors, and whether antedating copies of a given text exist that make Birgivi's authorship chronologically impossible. In addition, the content of the works and the views proposed therein are also taken into consideration; as are textual evidences based on stylistic considerations. Finally, the existence or otherwise in the texts of anachronistic references (to texts composed after Birgivi's death, or to authors who lived after him) have also been considered. The last few items constitute the bulk of

the evidence on which we relied in identifying the misattributions as well as the uncertain attributions discussed in the preceding chapters.

As Table I shows, not even all the works discussed in the present chapter stand on an equal degree of certainty. While some have strong evidence as to their Birgivi authorship, others have more modest testimonies for the same matter. Some of the works, however, have no other testimony than the attributions in the mostly limited number of MSS. But we have nevertheless discussed them in this chapter because we have seen no counter-evidence. Similarly, although we mentioned in the second chapter –among the works whose Birgivi authorship is uncertain- a number of works that were attributed to Birgivi in one or two manuscripts, but against whose Birgivi authorship we found no evidence, these could well be discussed in this chapter. But this we did not do, however, because they were not known in Birgivi studies before we identified them. Therefore we preferred to subsume these 'new' attributions[466] under the works whose Birgivi authorship is uncertain. Otherwise their authorship is no less certain than a number of the works that we discuss in this chapter (see Table I).

There are also some anomalies. For instance, although Birgivi's biographer and contemporary Ali b. Bali (d. 992/1584), the author of *el-'Ikdu'l-manzûm*, mentions some of Birgivi's works, it is interesting to observe that *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*, the most popular among all Birgivi works, which he composed one year before his death, is not indicated by Ali b. Bali, as the works mentioned by him appear to be the early compositions of Birgivi. This may be considered as indication that the popularity of *Tarîkat* was still in the making at the time Ali b. Bali wrote

[466] These works include *Risâle fî iskâti's-salât*, *Beyânu şu'abi'l-îmân*, and *Risâle fi'l-îmân*. For the rest of the works discussed in the third chapter, however, there are reasons to be dubious of their Birgivi athorship.

Birgivi's biography less than a decade after the latter's death[467]. But, as shall be discussed below, there is evidence also that *Tarîkat* would disperse throughout the Ottoman geography within thirty or fourty years after its composition.

## Classifying Texts: Grouping Birgivi's Works with Respect to Various Considerations

It is possible to divide Birgivi's works according to various criteria. In this section we will classify Birgivi's works according to six issues: (1) the subject-matter, (2) date of composition, (3) medium of expression, (4) type of writing (independent composition or commentary on another work), (5) length of the work, and (6) measures of popularity.

With respect to the subject-matter, Birgivi's works may be divided into two groups: (a) works about the religious sciences ('Ulûm-i Şer'iyye/Dîniyye) and (b) works about the non-religious, "auxiliary" sciences ('Ulûm-i Âliyye =âlet ilimleri). Although this classification does not tell much about the circulation and reception of Birgivi's works, it is important to make not only because it indicates the author's field of scholarly activity, but also because it may suggest the audiences of the works –not only those intended by the author, but also the actual historical audiences who showed interest in his works. The majority of Birgivi's works belong to the first group, as 25 out of 35 works deal with subjects that are essentially religious – including the letter to Ataullah Efendi and the treatise of advice to the Sultan (see Table I). The remaining 10 works are on the auxiliary sciences -one on logic (*Risâle fî âdâbi'l-bahs ve'l-münâzara*), and nine on Arabic grammar (*el-Emsiletu'l-Fazliyye*,

[467] Ali b. Bali, *el-Ikdu'l-manzûm*, pp.436-37.

*Şerhu'l-emsileti'l-Fazliyye*, *es-Sarfu'l-cedîd*, *Kifâyetu'l-mübtedî*, and *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-Maksûd* on sarf; *el-Avâmilu'l-cedîd*, *Izhâru'l-esrâr*, *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ'* and *Ta'lîkât 'ale'l-Fevâidi'z-ziyâ'iyye* on nahv). The works on religious subjects may likewise be divided into sub-classes, such as mev'ize-nesâyih, ilmihâl, akâ'id, furû' fıkh, tefsîr, hadîs, and usûl[468]. They may also be classified according to whether or not they are polemical, or according to whether they address matters of debate that were common in the time of the author. Actually, although only a few of Birgivi's compositions directly tackled matters of debate, most of his works on religious subjects have a highly critical, if not polemical, aspect. This would be true both of such seemingly neutral compositions as *Cilâ'u'l-kulûb*, *Şerhu Erba'în*, *Mektûb*, *Mu'addilu's-salât*, and *ed-Dürru'l-yetîm fi't-tecvîd*, as well as the openly polemical works like *es-Seyfu's-sârim fî 'ademi cevâzi vakfi'l-menkûli ve'd-derâhim*, *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*, *Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn* and *el-Kavlu'l-vasît*, and, last but not least, *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye*, his magnum-opus.

Another classification, which has a parallelism with the above classification, is to divide Birgivi's works according to the date of composition. Although the composition date of every work is not known, we know those of a good number of them thanks to the author's colophons. The composition date of a number of other works by Birgivi can be approximately identified with the help of references that we find to these works in other works of his. With respect to the date of composition, Birgivi's works may be classified to two groups.

A) Early works –those written before 970/1562. The majority of works that Birgivi wrote on Arabic grammar are estimated to have been written between 952/1545, when he composed his first work, and his advent to Birgi around 970 –in

[468] For such classifications see the studies by Atsız, Arslan, and Martı.

other words, they were written at the beginning of his career as a müderris when he would have taught Arabic; a few of his works on religious subjects, especially those on fıkh, were also written in this period.[469] Below are works that are known for sure to have been composed in this period: *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-Maksûd* (952/1545, author's colophon); *Avâmil-i cedîd* (before 959/1551, as a copy of the work is dated 959); *Erba'în* and *Şerhu Erba'în* (both before 967/1599, because the author refers to *Şerhu Erba'în* in a work that was composed in 967 –i.e., *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*); *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* (967, author's colophon); *Ta'lîkât ale'l-inâye* (before 966/1558 [or 976/1567], because a copy of it was produced on that date). The following works, too, were most probably written before 970: *Izhâru'l-esrâr*, *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ*, *Kifâyetu'l-mübtedî*, and *es-Sarfu'l-cedîd* from 'Ulûm-i Âliyye; *Ferâ'iz* and its commentary from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye –this work must have been written when Birgivi served as Kassâm-ı askerî some four years between 958-964 (1551-1557)[470].

B) Later works –those written between 970 and the death of the author in 981/1573. This group comprises most of Birgivi's works, those especially that he wrote on the religious sciences. The following are works whose date of composition is known for sure (unless otherwise indicated, all are based on author's colophons): *Vasiyetnâme* (ca. 970/1562); *Cilâu'l-kulûb* (971/1564); *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn* (972/1565); *ed-Dürru'l-yetîm* (974/1566); *Mu'addilu's-salât* (975/1567-68); *Ta'lîkât ale'l-inâye* (before 976 [or 966], because a copy of it was produced on that date); *el-Emsiletu'l-Fazliyye* (ca.978/1570 [?], when his son Fazlullah, for whom he wrote the work, reached the age of instruction); *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn* (979/1571-72); *es-Seyfu's-sârim* (979/1572); and *et-Tarîkatu'l-Muhammediyye* (980/1572). The work titled *el-*

[469] See Martı, *ibid.*, pp. 34-35 and 70.

[470] Arslan, *ibid.*, p.49; Martı, *ibid.*, p. 98-99.

*Kavlu'l-vasît beyne'l-ifrât ve't-tefrît*, though it bears no author's colophon, is said to be his last composition[471]. *Risâle fî Usûli'l-hadîs*, a treatise on the method of analyzing prophetic traditions, and *Kitâbu'l-îmân ve'l-istihsân*, the large collection of prophetic traditions, was more than likely written while he taught in the *dâru'l-hadîs* of Birgi.[472] The remaining works were probably written sometime after 970. Of these, the letter (*Mektûb*) to Ataullah must have been written before the second month (Safer) of 979 (25 June-23 July 1571), when the recipient died.

Another classification could be made according to the languages in which the works were written. Birgivi wrote in Turkish and Arabic; whether or not he knew Persian[473], no work of his was written in this language. While one of his works, *Vasiyetnâme*, is completely in Turkish, three of the works are of a composite nature, as they were written partly in Arabic and partly in Turkish. These are Birgivi's *Mektûb*, a number of his *Fetâvâ*, and *Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn*, the translation of what is referred to in the literature as *Hâşiyetu inkâzi'l-hâlikîn* (the translation also comprises the Arabic original). *Vasiyetnâme*, a catechistical work (ilmihâl) teaching the basics of the Islamic creed and the fundamentals of religious obligations, was openly intended for the lay Muslim: the author himself states at the beginning of this work that he composed it in Turkish so that its benefit should be common. *Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn* was prepared for the same purpose. The *Mektûb* to Ataullah Efendi, however, which begins with a reply concerning a fetvâ of Ebussuud Efendi on the endowment of cash, was written in Turkish, the author says, despite Ataullah Efendi's demand that it be written in Arabic, because the author's sight was too weak. In addition, Birgivi says, if he were to write in Arabic it would have to be

[471] See the discussion on this work in the previous section.

[472] Arslan, *ibid*., p.49;

[473] Cf. Arslan, *ibid*., p. 50.

complete and properly detailed. But he nevertheless quotes verbatim –in Arabic- the citations he made from books of jurisprudence, while writing the main text in Turkish. The *Fetvâs*, depending on the queries posed, were written generally in Turkish. The rest of the works are in Arabic –some of them penned to teach Arabic.

Another classification would be to divide the works according to whether they are independent compositions or commentaries on other works. A commonplace view in Islamic studies maintains that Ottoman ulema made no genuine contribution to the Muslim scholarship, and that they only made commentaries on the works produced in the Muslim "classical age". Although this study is about the reception of Birgivi, and not about estimation of his scholarly achievements or the nature of his relation to the earlier Muslim tradition, it will not be totally irrelevant, insofar as it also indicates Birgivi's significance to the posteriority, if one indicates the amount of independent writing that Birgivi, as a sixteenth century Ottaman scholar, produced as opposed to the compositions in which he relied on the authority of the scholars of the previous ages. Such a classification, of course, may as well show specific textual relations between Birgivi's works and the works produced earlier in time. (For instance, the kind of tradition Birgivi was drawing on, and the portion of the Muslim scholarship which he appropriated in his authorial activity).

Birgivi wrote three commentaries on three of his own works: (1) *Şerhu'l-emsileti'l-Fazliyye* on his *el-Emsiletu'l-Fazliyye*; (2) *Şerhu'l-Ferâ'iz*, on his text on *ferâ'iz*; and (3) *Şerhu'l-erba'în* on his hadîs compilation *el-Erba'în*. He also made a Turkish translation of one of his works: *Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn*, which, though so-called in the literature, is the translation not of *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, but of the treatise that is known in the literature as *Hâşiyetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn* (-this treatise, which is

more properly called *Risâle li-isbâti 'ademi cevâzi kırâeti'l-Kur'ân bi'l-ücre*, we regard as an independent work in parallel with *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, and not as a *hâşiye* on the latter, as the literature has it[474]). Birgivi made no other translation. But he made several other commentaries (şerh, hâşiye, ta'lîk) on compositions of other authors. These works are: (1) *Ta'lîkât 'ale'l-'Inâye*, a commentary on *el-'Inâye*, which is a commentary by Ekmeleddin el-Baberti (d.786/1384-5) on Burhaneddin el-Mergınânî (d.593/1196-7)'s *el-Hidâye*, the famous juridical book of the Hanefî school which Mergınânî wrote as a commentary on his own *el-Bidâye* (=*Bidâyetu'l-mübtedî*).[475] (2) *Ta'lîkât 'alâ Îzâhi'l-islâh*. As already indicated in the first section, this work consists of small notes that Birgivi penned on marjins of a rebuttal composed by his great cousin Bahaaeddinzade (d. 953/1546-7) to *Îzâhu'l-islâh* of Şeyhülislam Kemalpaşazade (d. 940/1533), which in turn was written as a critique not only of *Vikâyetu'r-rivâye fî mesâ'ili'l-Hidâye* of Burhanuşşerîa Mahmud b. Sadruşşerîa el-Evvel (d. after 673/1274), but also of the commentary that was made on the latter by Burhanu'ş-şerîa's grandson Sadruşşerîa es-Sânî Ubeydullah b. Mes'ûd (d. 747/1346). (3) *es-Seyfu's-sârim*, which Birgivi wrote, by way of commentation, to rebut the treatise by Ebussuud Efendi (d. 982/1574-5) on cash-waqf –for details see the discussion of the work in the previous section. These were from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye; as for 'Ulûm-i Âliyye: (4) *Ta'lîkât 'ale'l-Fevâ'idi'z-ziyâiyye*, a short (one-page) gloss on *el-Fevâ'idu'z-ziyâiyye* (=*Mollâ Câmî*), the famous commentary by Abdurrahman el-Câmî (d. 898/1492-3) on *el-Kâfiye*, which is a famous grammar book of Ibn Hacib (d. 646/1248-9)[476]. (5) *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-*

[474] See note 35 in Chapter I.

[475] Katip Çelebi, *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/2032, 2035-6.

[476] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1370-76.

*Maksûd*, a commentary on the classical anonymous sarf book *el-Maksûd fi't-tasrîf*, which Birgivi attributes to the founder of the Hanefite law-school Ebû Hanîfe Nu'mân b. Sâbit (d.150/767). (6) *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ' fî şerhi Lubbi'l-elbâb*, a commentary on *Lubbu'l-elbâb*, a classical grammar text by el-Kadi Nâsiruddin Abdullah b. Ömer el-Beyzavi (d.685/1286) which was composed by way of summarizing *el-Kâfiye* of Ibn Hacib[477].

The rest of Birgivi's works (25) are independent compositions. One of these works is a Koranic exegesis (*Tefsîru sûreteyi'l-Fâtiha ve'l-Bakara*) and two are hadîs compilations (*el-Erba'în* and *Kitâbu'l-îmân ve'l-istihsân*). These works also include his *Fetâvâ*. A number of Birgivi's works, though independent in form, were penned as reactions to some scholarly debates of his time. Such are the treatises of *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* and *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*, which were written against the practice of taking money in return for the teaching of Koran and other religious duties, the letter (*Mektûb*) Birgivi wrote to Ataullah Efendi which comprises a response to Ebussuud Efendi's fetvâ permitting the cash-waqf, and the treatise entitled *el-Kavlu'l-vasît* which Birgivi penned as a response to some colleague who had sent him a treatise of his own condemning such Sufi practices as vocal zikr and devrân.

Another division would be that of classifying the works according to their length. By giving an idea about the physical dimension of the works, i.e., their length, it is intended to rescue them from being mere titles, and help the reader make discrimination among the works based on this criterion. In this respect, Birgivi's works may be divided to five groups:

A) Works that comprise 1 to 2 folios. There are 8 works in this group: *Risâle fî usûli'l-hadîs*, *Risâle li-isbâti 'ademi cevâzi kırâeti'l-Kur'ân bi'l-ücre* (*=Haşiyetu*

[477] *Keşfu'z-zunûn*, II/1373; II/1546.

*Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn*), *Fetâvâ* (for each *fetvâ*), *Erba'în*, *Lüğaz*, and *Risâle fî tafdîli'l-ğaniyyi'ş-şâkir* from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye; *Ta'lîkât ale'l-fevâ'idi'z-Ziyâ'iyye* and *Risâle fî âdâbi'l-bahs ve'l-münâzara* from 'Ulûm-i Âliye.

B) Works that occupy 3 to 9 folios. There are 9 works in this group: *Dürr-i yetîm*, *Ta'lîkât 'ale'l-Îzâh*, *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*, *Tercümetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn*, *Mektûb*, *Kavl-i vasît*, and *Zuhru'l-mülûk* from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye; *Avâmil* and *Sarf-ı cedîd* from 'Ulûm-i Âliye.

C) Works that occupy 10 to 30 folios in average. There are 9 works in this group: *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn*, *Mu'addilu's-salât*, *Ferâiz şerhi*, *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, and *es-Seyfu's-sârim* from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye; *Emsile*, *Şerh-i emsile*, and *Im'ânu'l-enzâr* from 'Ulûm-i Âliye.

D) Works that occupy 30 to 70 folios in average. There are 5 works in this group: *Şerhu erba'în*, *Cilâu'l-kulûb*, *Vasiyetnâme*, and *Ta'lîkât ale'l-'inâye* from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye; and *Izhâru'l-esrâr* from 'Ulûm-i Âliyye.

E) Works that occupy more than 70 folios. There are 4 works in this group: *Kitâbu'l-îmân ve'l-istihsân* (450 ff. av., sometimes in two volumes), *Tarîkat-i Muhammediye* (200 ff. av.), and *Tefsîr* (100 ff. av.) from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye; and *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ'* (100 ff. av.) from 'Ulûm-i Âliye.

## Measures of Popularity

A more interesting classification, which cuts across all of the above classifications, would be to divide the works according to measures of popularity. By measures of popularity we mean not only the number of manuscript copies that each work has, but also whether or not a given work has been printed, and, if so, for how many

times. Measures of popularity also refers to the amount of authorial attention that a given work has received from other writers; namely, to the amount of such reproductional activity as translation (tercüme), commentary (şerh), summarizing (ihtisâr/telhîs), and annotation/glossing (hâşiye/ta'lîk) as well as criticism and rebutting (reddiye).

With respect to measures of popularity, it is possible to divide Birgivi's works into two main groups, which roughly correspond to two halves of the total of his works. The first group consists of works that have more than ten MS copies. There are 18 works in this group –actually, as we shall see below, with the exception of one work (*Risâle fî usûli'l hadîs*, which has seventeen copies only) all of the 18 works in this group have more than twenty copies. The second group consists of works that have less than ten MS copies. There are 17 works in this group.

The first group of works is distinguished from the second not only because each of the works in the first has a considerably large number of manuscripts, but also because the works in the first group are also the only works of Birgivi that were printed in the period concerning this study –indeed, with the exception of one work (*Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn*, which has no edition for the period), all of the 18 works in the first group have been printed. Furthermore, with disregard to two works that, though in the second group, have been commented by other authors[478], the works in the first group are also the only works of Birgivi that have been subject to commentaries or translations or refutations in the period concerning this study. Indeed, all of the 18 works in the first group have been printed or translated with the exception again of *Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn* and with two more exceptions that are

[478] These works are *Lüğaz*, which has been commented several times, and *Tefsîr*, which has one *hâşiye*.

themselves commentaries on other works: *es-Seyfu's-sârim fî 'ademi cevâzi vakfi'l-menkuli ve'd-derâhim*, and *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-Maksûd*.

We shall look at the measures of popularity more closely and consider independently its three components (number of manuscripts, number of editions, and the amount of reproductional activity for each work); but before going over this task in detail we would like to underscore a point concerning the above classification. It is observed that there is an obvious correlation between the high number of manuscript copies of a work and the likelihood of that work to be subject to printing and commentation. The works in the first group, with their unmatched popularity in all respects, were obviously those which best contributed to the making of the image of their author. Indeed, of the 17 works in the second group, which have less than 10 copies each, none was published in the period under this study. Nor was any of them commented upon except for one work (*Lüğaz*). Interestingly, this observation does not hold for works that were mis-attributed to Birgivi, or for works whose Birgivi authorship is uncertain, as some of the misattributed works (*Ravdâtu'l-cennât fî usûli'l-i'tikâd*, *Risâle fî ahvâl-i etfâli'l-müslimîn*, *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr*), despite the relatively small number of manuscripts which they have (3, 5, and 16, respectively)[479], were not only printed but also commented upon or translated as works of Birgivi in the period under this study[480]. Similarly, *Mihakku'l-mutasavvifîn* and *el-Makâmât*, two of the works whose Birgivi authorship is doubtful, have been printed and translated in the modern period as works of Birgivi despite the limited number of manuscripts which they have (both have two copies only) –The first of

[479] Actually, *Ravzâtu'l-cennât* has about 30 MS copies in İstanbul libraries, but only three of them were attributed to Birgivi in the catalogue (one of them also in the MS); the rest are catalogued under the name of the actual author, Hasan Kafi el-Akhisâri. For more information see the discussion on this work in Chapter II.

[480] See the discussion on these works in Chapter II.

these works was also commented upon several times as a work of Birgivi in the period concerning this study.

From another point of view, the above observation also implies that some of the works that were misattributed to Birgivi have contributed to the formation of the image of this sixteenth century scholar and the determination of his reception in later centuries more effectively than one half of his own works did –that is, the seventeen works in the second group. The relative marginality or unpopularity of these works, however, does not mean that their Birgivi authorship is in doubt. There are, indeed, a number of criteria that we have employed in establishing authenticity or otherwise of attributions, popularity being one of them. But unpopularity does not by itself indicate inauthenticity –it needs to be supported by other criteria discussed at the beginning of this chapter. As can be followed from Table I, ten of the relatively unpopular seventeen works have testimonies supporting their Birgivi authorship suggested in the MSS. The remaining seven works, however, have no testimony about their Birgivi authorship other than the attribution of the MSS, except for *Lüğaz* which has also a considerable number of commentaries (eleven in total). In short, despite the fact that some of them have no evidence for Birgivi authorship other than the attribution of the manuscripts, all of the seventeen works in the second group are regarded to be Birgivi's compositions because no counter-evidence has been detected that may render suspicious the attributions of the MSS.

We may now look into the measures of popularity more closely. To begin with the number of manuscripts, *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* is by far the most popular work of Birgivi with its 296 copies. This work is followed by the *Vasiyetnâme*, which has 164 manuscripts. Then comes *Mu'addilu's-salât* with 143 manuscripts. Following these three works on the religious sciences come two works on Arabic

grammar (nahv): *Avâmil-i cedîd* (131) and *Izhâru'l-esrâr* (120). Manuscript copies of none of the remaining works of Birgivi reach the limit of 100. Below are the works whose manuscript copies fall between 10 to 100: *Cilâ'u'l-kulûb* (91), *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn* (61), *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn* (64), *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* (54), *Tercümetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn* (21), *es-Seyfu's-sârim* (21), *Dürr-i yetîm* (36), *Şerhu erba'în* (40; Birgivi's commentary alone is 13, Birgivi's commentary with Akkirmani's complement is 27), *Risâle fî usûli'l hadîs* (17) from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye; *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ* (57), *Im'ânu'l-enzâr* (34), *Kifâyetu'l-mubtedî* (32), *Risâle fî âdâbi'l-bahs ve'l-munâzara* (26) from 'Ulûm-i Âliyye. These are 18 works of Birgivi (12 from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye and 6 from 'Ulûm-i Âliyye) that have more than ten copies (see Table III).

The remaining (17) works of Birgivi have copies between one and ten[481]. These works and the number of copies per each are as follows: *Fetâvâ* (11), *Erba'în* (9), *Zuhru'l-mülûk* (9), *el-Kavlu'l vasît beyne'l-ifrât ve't-tefrît* (8), *Tefsîr* (7), *Kitâbu'l-îmân ve'l-istihsân* (5), *Ferâ'iz* and its commentary (4), *Mektûb-i Birgivi* (3), *Ta 'lîkât 'ale'l-inâye* (2), *Lüğaz* (2), *Risâle fî tafdîli'l-ğanî* (2), *Ta'lîkât alâ Îzâhi'l-islâh* (1), and *Ücret* (1) from 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye; *Emsile-i Fazliyye* (8), *Şerhu'l-Emsile* (6), *Ta'lîkât ale'l-Fevâidi'z-ziyâ'iyye* (1) and *es-Sarfu'l-cedîd* (1) from 'Ulûm-i Âliyye (see Table II). The total number of copies for these 17 works is 79 (see Table IV).

As for the editions; from the establishment of the Müteferrika press in 1141/1729 to the end of the period concerning this study (1326/1908), 17 works of Birgivi were printed by Ottoman publishers -eleven from the 'Ulûm-i Şer'iyye, and

[481] Although *Fetâva* has more than ten manuscript copies (it has 11 MSS), we consider it in the first group instead of the second because *fetâva* is a generic name under which are subsumed various fetvâs, each of which can also be regarded as independent compositions.

six from the ‘Ulûm-i Âliyye. These works and the number of editions that we have identified of each are as follows:

A) ‘Ulûm-i Şer‘iyye: *Vasiyetnâme* (21), *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* (14), *Usûl-i hadîs* (8), *Şerhu Erba‘în* (2), *Dürr-i yetîm* (2). Other than these works, *Mu‘addilu’s-salât*, *Cilâ’u’l-kulûb*, *Zuhru’l-müte’ehhilîn*, *Îkâzu’n-nâ’imîn*, *Inkâzu’l-hâlikîn*, and *es-Seyfu’s-sârim* have twice been printed, always in the same collective volume, and together with a number of other works that were falsely attributed to Birgivi[482] (see Table IV). We found no edition of *Tercumetu Inkâzi’l-hâlikîn*, which makes it the only non-printed work among the works that had more than ten copies (see Table I)

B) ‘Ulûm-i Âliyye: *Izhâru’l-esrâr* (69), *Avâmil-i cedîd* (58), *Im‘ânu’l-enzâr* (15), *Imtihânu’l-ezkiyâ* (6), *Kifâyetu’l-mübtedî* (4), and *Âdâbu’l-munâzara* (1) (see Table IV). For a combined view of the numbers of Manuscripts and editions for Birgivi’s works see Table II.

As for reproductional activity, lists of commentaries and translations made on Birgivi’s works were indicated in the first section of this chapter while individually describing every work. Here we shall confine ourselves to a summary indication of the works that were subject to reproductional activity in the period concerning this study, and the number of commentaries or translations made on each of them in the same period.

A) ‘Ulûm-i Şer‘iyye: *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* (13 translations, 28 commentaries –şerh, hâşiye, ta‘lîk, ihtisâr- and a number of eulogies); *Vasiyetnâme* (15 commentaries); *Lüğaz* (11 commentaries); *Mu‘addilu’s-salât* (2 translations and 6 commentaries); *Zuhru’l-müte’ehhilîn* (6 commentaries); *Cilâ’u’l-kulûb* (4 commentaries); *Risâle fî usûli’l-hadîs* (3 commentaries and 2 hâşiyes on one of the

[482] See footnote 108 in Chapter II.

commentaries); *Dürr-i yetîm* (1 translation and 1 commentary); *Şerhu Erba'în* (1 translation and 1 complementary commentary); *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* (1 translation and at least 1 refutation); *Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn* (1 refutation); and *Tefsîr* (1 *hâşiye*).

B) 'Ulûm-i Âliyye: *Avâmil-i cedîd* (at least 37 translatons, commentaries, *mu'rib*s, summaries, and versifications, and 2 hâşiyes on one of the commentaries); *Izhâru'l-esrâr* (at least 27 translations, commentaries, *mu'rib*s, summaries, and versifications; and 12 hâşiyes on the commentary by Kuşadalı Mustafa b. Hamza); *Risâle fî âdâbi'l-münâzara* (15 commentaries); Kifâyetu'l-mübtedî (9 commentaries and several summaries); *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ* (5 commentaries). For a digested view of these commentaries see Table I.

The above figures do not include commentaries and translations made by Birgivi on his own works; nor do they include translations and commentaries made on his works in the modern period (after 1326/1908)[483]. Detailed analysis of the reproductional activity would be the subject of another study. But basic information on majority of the above commentaries can be found in Arslan's book[484].

## Mapping Texts: The Historical Dissemination of Manuscript Copies of Birgivi's Works

In this section we will look at the historical distribution of manuscript copies of Birgivi's works –those, actually, that take place in the first group according to the measures of popularity. While showing the distribution of the works, we will evaluate those on the religious and non-religious sciences separately. First we will

[483] For these works the reader is referred to Huriye Martı's book, where modern translations and editions of Birgivi's works are often indicated.

[484] A.Turan Arslan. *İmam Birgivi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Arapça Tedrisatındaki Yeri.* (Seha Neşriyat, 1991).

very shortly discuss the distribution of MSS of the non-religious works, as the dissemination of these works concerns this study only indirectly, insofar as it provides a comparison for the dissemination of the religious works, which will be given next in a more detailed fashion. But before that a few remarks are in order about the works that have been chosen for this purpose and the strategies used in showing the dissemination of the manuscripts.

## Works Chosen for Dissemination

To repeat, only 18 works of Birgivi have more than 10 copies which we identified in the libraries of Istanbul –actually, as we noted before, with one exception, each of the 18 works has more than 20 copies (see Table III). It is on the copies of these 18 works that we will rely in our attempt to sketch the historical map of Birgivi texts. However, since the determination of the historical distribution of manuscripts depends on the exposition of the date of copying specific to each copy, our analysis of the historical distribution of manuscripts will have to be confined to those which bear a date. The ratio of dated manuscripts to the total number of copies for each of the 18 works is as follows:

A) ʻUlûm-i Şerʻiyye: *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* (=*Tarîkat, TM*) 157/296; *Vasiyetnâme* (=*Vasiyet*) 55/164; *Muʻaddilu's-salât* (=*Muaddil*) 55/143; *Cilâu'l-kulûb* (=*Cilâ*) 42/91; *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn* (=*Zuhr*) 29/61; *Îkazu'n-nâ'imîn* (=*Îkâz*) 27/64; *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn* (=*Inkâz*) 26/54; *Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn* (=*Ink.trc*) 14/21; *es-Seyfu's-sârim* (=*Seyf*) 9/21; *Şerhu Erbaʻîn* (=*Erb.şrh*) 28/40; *Dürr-i yetîm* (=*Dürr*) 12/36; *Usûlu'l-hadîs* (=*Usûl*) 7/17. The overall ratio is: 461/1008.

B) ‘Ulûm-i âliyye: *Avâmil-i cedîd* (=*Avâmil*) 44/131; *Izhâru’l-esrâr* (=*Izhâr*) 41/120; *Imtihânu’l-ezkiyâ* (=*Imtihân*) 25/57; *Kifâyetu’l-mübtedî* (=*Kifâye*) 14/32; *Im‘ânu’l-enzâr* (=*Enzâr*) 19/34; *Risâle fi âdabi’l-bahs* (=*Âdâb*) 5/26. The overall ratio is: 148/400.

The general ratio, for the 18 works, of dated copies to the total number of manuscripts is: 609/1408 (See Table III). As it is seen, more than half of the total manuscripts of the 18 works are without date[485]. Such undated copies are not represented in the map that shows the historical distribution of the texts. These copies may simply be assumed to be equally distributed as others. Alternatively, they may be used as a corrective.

Note also that only one-third of the manuscript copies of 35 works of Birgivi have been systematically checked for this study (which is about 500 out of 1487). For the rest of the copies we rely on the catalogue information. But we nevertheless checked the information of the online catalogue against the -now outdated- bibliography of Atsız, which covers about 1000 copies of Birgivi’s works, and consulted the manuscripts in case there was inconsistency between the online catalogue and Atsız’s bibliography. The cross-checking of these catalogues and the checks we regularly made of one-third of the total copies has shown that, despite some deficiencies of the online catalogue[486], it nevertheless gives an approximate

[485] As for the remaining 17 works –those in the second group- that have less than ten copies, although the date of copying is indicated in 44 copies out of the total of 79 copies that we have identified of these works (see Table IV), they were nevertheless not included in the graphs for reasons stated above. But in the following pages, while trying to explain the specific patterns of dissemination of MSS in more detail, we will indicate these copies when the appropriate place comes.

[486] One typical error that may be found in the catalogue is the recording of the date of composition as the date of copying; or taking the author’s colophon as an indication that the copy is an autograph. All such mis-calculations have been easy to correct. What is more troubling is the omission of some dates while they actually exist in the MSS. This can only be found out by the systematic check of the MSS. Such skippings, however, are not too many, to judge by experience. A similar case is that of indicating the copying date of one single text in a collective volume for all texts in the volume despite the existence of more than one date. One specific strategy that has been adopted in this study while checking the collective volumes was to take the identity of hand-writings used in the various texts in a

picture of what the manuscripts contain. Though not ultimate, therefore, the following figures can safely reflect the situation.

## Strategies for the Historical Distribution of Manuscripts

The historical distribution of MS copies of the 18 works cover a period of roughly three centuries and a half, extending from the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth/twentieth century. The period begins on 952/1545, the date on which Birgivi wrote, when his age was 23, his *Im'ânu'l-enzâr fî şerhi'l-maksud* (which is presumably his first work)[487], and ends on 1326/1908, the date on which the latest dated manuscript among all Birgivi works was copied –according to our identification, of course. Incidentally, the latter date signifies also the year of the declaration of the Second Costitutional Era (Meşrûtiyet) in the Ottoman Empire. To show the historical distribution of manuscripts over this long period of 374 lunar years we follow three successive strategies.

First, we give the distribution of the works in a number of graphs, which will in turn be described in the text. In preparing the graphs we divided the period of 374 years into units of thirty years according to the lunar calendar, because thirty years reflect the span of a generation in the life of a society. Each of the units (11 in total) consists of exactly thirty lunar years except for the first one, which consists of 28 years, and the last one, which consists of 76 years. The first unit, having begun on 952 A.H., ends on 980/1572 instead of 982/1574 because it was intended to comprise

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given volume as an evidence of contemporaneity of the texts. Therefore, though not dated, some Birgivi texts in collective volumes have been deemed to be of the same date as other dated texts in the volume based on the identity of the handwritings. Such cases will be explicitly indicated.

[487] Cf. Arslan, *ibid.*, p. 140; Martı, *ibid.*, p. 113.

only those copies that were produced in the lifetime of Birgivi, who died on the fifth month (Cumadelula) of 981 (September 1573)[488]. The last unit, which begins on 1251/1835, is prolonged up to 1326/1908 because there are very few MSS dating from this period, and because we wanted to avoid inflating the graphs for no good reason. This dissemination is provided both for religious and non-religious works.

Secondly, to provide a more precise picture of distribution of works, we re-present the dissemination of the manuscripts, now in tables arranged according to decades. We will also indicate, for each decade, the average number of manuscripts produced of the works in the relevant period, so that the course of dissemination can be followed in a comparative manner. This dissemination too is provided both for religious and non-religious works.

Finally, a third, more detailed, analysis of dissemination will be provided which is arranged according to historically significant developments. This last analysis will be confined only to the religious works (Ulûm-i Şer'iyye). This is because while the dissemination of these works is of particular interest to this study, that of the non-religious works (Ulûm-i Âliyye) is not, and because the latter would require a study of the changing strategies of teaching and curricula in the Ottoman medreses, as most of Birgivi's works on Arabic grammar were textbooks[489].

## (I) Non-religious Works

Of the ten works that Birgivi composed on the non-religious sciences only six have more than ten manuscript copies: *Avâmil*, *Izhâr*, *Imtihân*, *Kifâye*, *Enzâr*, and *Âdâb*.

[488] Martı, *ibid*., p. 45-46; Atai, *Zeyl-i Şekâ'ik*, p. 180; Katip Çelebi, *Mîzânu'l-hakk*, p. 104.

[489] See Arslan, *Ibid*, pp. 130-186; Cevat İzgi. *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*. I-II. (İstanbul, İz Yayınları, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 67-127; Cahid Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, vol.1, pp.87-105.

As noted before, the ratio of the dated copies of these works to the total number of copies of the same works is 148/400 (see Table III). As can be seen from the table, 252 copies are not dated. It may be assumed that these copies are equally distributed as others.

To see a comparative view of the dissemination of MSS of each of the 6 works of Ulûm-i Âliyye according to units of 30 years see Graph 1. As can be seen from the graph, in the first unit of thirty years (952-80/1545-72), that is, in Birgivi's lifetime, only two of the six works (*Avâmil* and *Enzâr*) were copied, each with a single copy. In each of the remaining ten units no less than four works are represented, except in the fourth unit (1041-1070/1631-59), where only three works are represented. It is also observed that while in the first four units, that is, until 1071/1660, each of the represented works has only one or two copies (only *Imtihân* has three copies in two of the units), from the fifth unit onwards at least some of the works have four or more copies. (For a combined view of the six works see Graph 7; for a comparison with Ulûm-i Şer'iyye see Graph 8; for a general view of the distribution of MSS of each of the 18 works of Ulûm-i Şer'iyye and Ulûm-i Âliyye see Graph 3; for a combined view of the same picture see Graph 9).

As for the dissemination of the works according to decades, there are not clear-cut periods and significant fluctuations over time. The distribution of the works, in this regard, is more or less even. A slight increase is observed as of 1080/1669 that lasts until 1200/1785 (See Table VII; for comparison with religious works see Table VIII). The only significantly high increase pertains to the period between 1170/1756 and 1200/1785. From 1200/1785 to 1290/1873 the figures are similar to those of the period before 1080/1669. No copies are produced after 1290/1873, which is obviously due to the editions that began to be made beginning

from 1234/1818 (see Table IX and Table XI; compare with the pattern of the religious works as shown in Table X).

## (II) Religious Works

### (a) Distribution in Intervals of Thirty Years (Graphs)

We should now see the distribution of the MSS of the 12 works on the religious sciences (‘Ulûm-i Şer‘iyye). The second graph (Graph 2 –see the appendix) provides a comparative view of dissemination of MSS for each of the 12 works in a single picture (for a combined view, see Graph 6). As can be seen from Graph 2, out of the MSS of Birgivi’s works on the religious sciences only one was copied in Birgivi’s lifetime. In the second unit there are a total of twelve MSS for seven works. The graph also indicates that in the following units there was a steady increase not only in the number of works that were copied, but, generally speaking, also in the number of copies made of each work. The most remarkable increase, however, belongs to *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* (TM), as it steadily rises throughout the four units that follow the second one, reaching a peak of 49 copies in the sixth unit (1101-1130 /1689-1717), after which it experiences a sharp decrease, falling to 23 copies in the next unit (1131-1160 /1718-1747). The decreasing trend in the MSS of *Tarîkât* continues in the four periods to follow, as the figure hits the bottom with only one copy in the final but long unit of 76 years –this MS, which is dated 1270/1853, is actually the only copy of TM produced after 1232/1816. The high number of MSS is not the only factor that distinguishes TM from the rest of the works: as can be seen from the graph, the dramatic increase and decrease in the career of this work is

another peculiarity that differentiates it from other works, which, generally speaking, have a more stable course from the third up to the eighth unit, after which there is a significant decrease in the number of copies of these works. The situation can better be grasped if we disregard TM, and, despite varieties between the respective courses of the remaining eleven works, look –for the sake of brevity- at the distribution of the combined totals of their MSS in a new graph (see Graph 4 for the distribution of combination of these works; and Graph 5 for a comparison of this combination with TM). Actually, as Graph 2 shows, though the figures vary for each of the eleven works, by and large all have in common the upward tendency up to the eighth unit. Perhaps the only anomaly is that of the *Şerhu Erba'în* (Erb. şrh) which, though virtually non-existent in the first six units –during which it has only three copies- finds 7 copies in the seventh unit (1131-1160 /1718-1747) and 15 copies in the eighth (1161-1190 /1748-1776); after which it almost disappears, as it is represented with only one copy in each of the following three units. This situation, as mentioned before, can be explained by the fact that Birgivi's commentary on the first seven traditions of his *Erba'în* (collection of 40 traditions) was complemented by Akkirmani in 1157/1760, a development that has obviously brought the work to new focus. This anomaly in turn accounts for the dis-cord observed in the seventh and eighth units between the tendencies of TM and that of the combination of eleven works (see Graph 5). Another anomaly is that of *Usûl-i hadîs* (Usul), which appears for the first time in the eighth unit with a single copy, and is represented by one to three copies in each of the following three units (See Graph 2). So, disregarding the lacks accounted for by these two works (*Şerhu Erba'în* and *Usûl*), all of Birgivi's works on religious sciences are represented in every unit between the third and the ninth units –except for the fact that *Dürr-i yetîm* (Dürr) has no copy in the fourth

unit, and *es-Seyfu's-sârim* (Seyf) has no copy in the ninth. In sheer contrast to these six units, the first two units, as well as the last two ones, have a scarce number of works represented. While this suggests, on the one hand, that Birgivi's works on religious sciences began to be widely read and copied only in the third generation (as of 1010/1601, thirty years after the author's death), on the other hand it implies that the interest in producing manuscript copies of Birgivi's religious works was dying out after 1220/1805. So, it may be concluded that the heyday of production of MSS of Birgivi's religious works lasted for about 200 years throughout eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries. This time can be further narrowed if we regard that even in the third units from both sides, despite the fact that nearly every work is represented, the numbers of copies for the represented works are, with two notable exceptions (*Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* and *Vasiyetnâme*), considerably low, as the number for each of the works is less than four –only Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn has 4 copies in one of the units (see Graph 2). Then, regarding his religious works, the real age of Birgivi lasted for 5 units, that is to say, for 5 generations, that is, 150 years (approximately from 1600 to 1800).

The fact that after 1220/1805 the interest in copying Birgivi's works was almost nonexistent may partly be explained by another fact, namely, that his works began to be multiplied by means of the print as of 1218/1803, the date when *Vasiyetnâme* was printed as the first published work of Birgivi[490]. This explanation is

[490] For an incomplete list of works published in Mühendishane and Üsküdar press see Kemal Beydilli. *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane, Mühendishane Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi: 1776-1826*. (İstanbul: Eren, 1995), pp. 253-261. For another list/catalogue see Turgut Kut-Fatma Türe. *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar.* (İstanbul, 1997), pp. 90-108 [Mühendishâne] and 109-147 [Üsküdar]. For a harsh criticism of the latter catalogue and an updated version of the former list see Kemal Beydilli. *Mühendishane ve Üsküdar Matbaalarında Basılan Kitapların Listesi ve Bir Katalog*, (İstanbul: Eren, 1997), 15-24 [list]. For a copy of the first edition of *Vasiyetnâme* see Sül. K., Kılıç Ali Paşa 534. Cunbur indicates that an edition of Risâle-i Birgivi was made by Darut-Tıbaatil-Cedidetil-Mamure in 1210/1795, but this must be a mistake, because Daruttıbaatil-cedîde is the name used for Üsküdar press, which would be established eight years later. See Müjgan Cunbur, Dursun Kaya [ve öte.]. *Türkiye Basmaları Toplu Kataloğu: Arap Harfli Türkçe*

partial, however, because it does not account for the fading interest in works other than *Vasiyetnâme*. For, according to our identifications, *Vasiyetnâme* remained the only printed one among Birgivi's religious works until an edition of *Tarîkat* appeared for the first time in 1260/1844. So, although no work other than *Vasiyet* was printed during the tenth unit (1221-1250 /1806-1834), only a total of 12 MS copies were made of seven works in this period –three of them pertaining to *Vasiyet*. On the other hand, although the first edition of *Tarîkat* appeared in 1260/1844, the production of manuscript copies of this work had already come to a virtual halt by 1221/1806, as only four copies were produced after this date. Production of MSS of works other than *Tarîkat* and *Vasiyet* had diminished at a still earlier date: during the ninth unit (1191-1220 /1777-1805) only 1 to 3 copies were made of each, making up a total of 16 MSS for 10 works (see Graph 2). Whatever the reason, it appears that there was a regress in the production of Birgivi's religious works after the ninth unit.

(b) Distribution in Intervals of Ten Years (Tables)

It is not meaningless to ask why Birgivi's works stopped being copied after a certain time; or why they were not copied very much for a good time after they were first composed. This point is all the more important because even *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* seems to have been unknown to some of Birgivi's contemporaries: we already noted that Birgivi's biographer and contemporary Ali b. Bali (d.992/1584) mentioned a number of Birgivi's works, but *TM* was not among them, which may be considered as an indication that the popularity of this work was still in the making at the time Ali b. Bali wrote Birgivi's biography, namely, less than a

*Eserler (1729-1928)*, I-VI, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Yay., 1990-2004 [incomplete]), vol. 2, p.161, nr. 6531.

decade after the latter's death.[491] But there is evidence also that *Tarîkat* would disperse all over the Ottoman geography within thirty or fourty years after its composition, as Martı has shown by pointing to the eulogies that were penned on *Tarîkat* by such scholars as Ali el-Kari (d.1014/1605) of Medine, Muhammed el-Meymûn (d.1023/1614) of Egypt, and Abdurraûf el-Münâvî (d.1031/1621) of Cairo[492]. The more significant question, however, is to ask why Birgivi's works suddenly attracted attention in a certain point of time at the beginnings of the seventeenth century and why they continued to be read and copied with an even increased interest throughout the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. We can analyze this by looking at the distribution of the manuscripts in a new table.

As Table VI shows, the year 1030/1620 is a turning point in the reception of Birgivi's religious works, because in ten years from this date 24 manuscripts were produced of the 12 works of Birgivi, to which must be added two more copies –not represented in the table- that were made of two other religious works of Birgivi. The table shows that while in the eight decades preceding 1030/1620 (back to 952/1545) only a total of 18 copies were made of the 12 works of Birgivi, making up an average of 2.25 copies per decade; the number of copies produced for the 12 works in each of the six decades after this date (i.e., in 1030s, 1040s 1050s, 1060s, 1070s and 1080s) is 24, 10, 22, 9, 13, and 21 respectively, making up a total of 85 copies in 60 years. With the average of 14.2 copies per decade, this period (from 1030/1620 to 1089/1678) marks a rising trend in the production of MSS of religious works of Birgivi. But the trend goes even higher in the following nine decades, as the number of MSS are 25, 43, 26, 33, 25, 23, 33, 27, and 42 for the decades 1090s, 1100s, 1110s, 1120s, 1130s, 1140s, 1150s, 1160s, and 1170s respectively. With the average

[491] Ali b. Bali, *el-Ikdu'l-manzûm*, pp.436-37.

[492] Martı, *ibid*., pp.183-185.

of 30.7 copies per decade, this period of ninety years (from 1090/1679 to 1179/1765) represents the times of maximum popularity for Birgivi's religious works. The next two decades (1180s and 1190s), however, signify a turn-back in this popularity, as the figures for these decades are 13 and 18, with an average (15.5) comparable to that of the decades when the trend was first on the rise. In the next seven decades (from 1200/1785 to 1270/1853) the downward movement continues in greater accent, as the total number of MSS produced of the 12 religious works in this period of seventy years is 36, making up an average of 5.14 per decade. After 1271/1854 the production of MSS stops completely, as only one MS is produced in the five decades following this date –which was produced in the penultimate year (1325/1907) of the period covered by this study.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: "Enlightenment"? "New-Worldliness"? or "Turn to Piety"?

So, as Table VI shows, 1030/1620 and 1200/1785 are two turning points in the development of the production of manuscripts for the 12 works on religious sciences. While the production of MSS was very low before and after the period signified by the above dates, in the middling seventeen decades Birgivi's religious works were on a high level of popularity. The question is: what accounts for this popularity? Was there a general vogue among the Ottomans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the production of manuscripts of all kinds? Or was the trend specific to Birgivi's works? İsmail Erünsal has shown that following the establishment of the Köprülü library in the second half of the seventeenth century (1089/1678) libraries began to be established in the central Ottoman lands on a wide scale, a trend that

continued with an even increased pace throughout the eighteenth century.[493] This may be regarded an indication that readership increased in this period, but it does not necessarily follow that the production of manuscripts increased as well, since libraries could also be established by collecting previously produced manuscripts. The final answer to the above question, therefore, will have to wait until similar studies are made for other authors and works. But considering that the course of production of manuscripts of Birgivi's works on grammar (–which shall be discussed further below) is different from that of his religious works, it may be inferred that there was not a general rise in the production of all kinds of works –not even for all compositions of the same author. The high trend seems to have been valid specifically for Birgivi's religious works.

It is tempting in this connection to ask if the trend can be related to Reinhard Schulze's provocative hypothesis about an "Islamic Enlightenment" in the eighteenth century. But Schulze's conceptualization does not refer to a general, unqualified increase in literacy or production of books. Rather it refers, like the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, to a process of the secularization of ideas and transformation form theological to anthropocentric world-view. Schulze proposes that there was an indigenous Enlightenment in the Islamic Near-East in the eighteenth century that prepared for the later reception of the European ideas in the Muslim world in the nineteenth century. This 'autochthonous' Islamic Enlightenment, he contends, even if it was later displaced or subverted by the incoming European Enlightenment, is nevertheless important in view that it points to

[493] İsmail E. Erünsal. *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi: Kuruluştan Tanzimata Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*. (Ankara, 1988); pp. 61-134.

the roots and local dynamics of Islamic modernity[494]. In short, Scuhze's hypothesis of Islamic enlightenment concerns the existence of a nascent secularization in the eighteenth century. It is therefore difficult to think that the interest in a scholar like Birgivi would be related to such an "Enlightenment". Schulze's hypothesis has been severely criticized[495], but there nevertheless seems a kind of consensus on some of his points, as Reichmuth has noted:

> Yet, beneath all justified and sometimes enraged refutation, a paradoxical, and perhaps unnoticed, consensus still seems to operate: whenever Schulze's critics, after having done with 'Islamic Enlightenment', set out to develop their own ideas about Islamic cultural and intellectual development in the eighteenth century, they can be seen as keeping remarkably close to Schulze's own concepts or to other ingredients of Enlightenment in a European context. This holds for Hagen and Seidensticker who refer to the 'new-worldliness' of the Ottomans in the Tulip Era, to their historiographical endeavors and to the significant increase in Ottoman library foundations during the eighteenth century. But it can also be found with Radtke who ascribes an 'anthropocentric tendency' and a 'rejection of "Supra-personal" authority' to 18th-century Sufism, thus confirming Schulze's concept of a prevailing 'anthropocentric world-view' despite other reservations.[496]

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[494] Reinhard Schulze: "Das islamische achtzehnte Jahrhundert: Versuch einer historiographischen Kritik", *Die Welt Des Islams*, 30 (1990), pp.140-159; id, "Was ist die islamische Aufklarung?" *Die Welt Des Islams* 36 (1996), pp. 276-325. These are the papers where Schulze proposed his controversial thesis about the "Islamic eighteenth century", but, being in German, they could not be consulted by us. For schulze's theses we have benefited from the following works: Rudolf Peters, "Reinhard Schulze's quest for an Islamic Enlightenment", in *Die Welt des Islams*, 30 (1990), pp.160-162; Albercht Hofheinz. "Illumination and Enlightenment Revisited, or: Pietism and the Roots of Islamic Modernity", pp. 1-19 [unpublished paper, available online under the following link: *http://195.37.93.199/hofheinz/HOFHEINZ.htm*].

[495] For an evaluation of the criticisms see Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Literature and Islamic Scholarship in the 17th/18th Centuury: Topics and Biographies: Introduction," *Die Welt Des Islams*, 42/3 (2002), pp. 281-88, esp. footnote 1. The foremost criticisms are as follows: Gottfried Hagen and Tilman Seidensticker, "Reinhard Schulze's Hypothese einer islamischen Aufklarung", *ZDMG* 148 (1998), 83-110; Bernd Radtke, "Erleuchtung und Aufklarung" *Die Welt des Islams*, 34/1 (1994); Berdn Radtke. *Autochtone islamische Aufklarung im 18. Jahrhundert: Theoretische und filologische Bemerkungen. Fortführung einer Debatte*. (Utrecht: M.Th. Houtsma Stichting, 2000). Although the latter work has also a section on Birgivi, these works could not be consulted for this study due to linguistic restrictions of the writer of these words. But two reviews of the latter work have been consulted: one by Rudolf Peters, in *Die Welt Des Islammms* 42/1 (2002), pp.135-137; and the other an anonymous review in *Sudanic Africa*, 11 (2000), 160-161.

[496] Reichmuth, "Arabic Literature", p. 282.

Indeed. Gottfried Hagen, despite criticizing Schulze's theory, himself seeks the roots of Ottoman modernity in not far-away places when he proposes to look for this root in the geographical, historical and bibliographical writings of the "middle class intellectuals" like Katip Çelebi and Hezarfen Hüseyin. Hagen thus takes the sources of Ottoman modernity from the eighteenth to the seventeenth century. However, what is interesting is that –strange though it may seem- Hagen also relates "Birgivism" to modernity in religion, and sees the Kadızadelis who appealed to Birgivi's works for their reformist agenda as proto-moderns. Hagen argued: "[The Kadızadelis'] protest against sufi rituals, their objections against the institutions of sufi orders while appreciating the mystical experience, foreshadow trends which are characteristic of modernity in religion: rationality and interiorization, which is why Birgivism or Kadızadeli Islam became one of the most influential strains of Turkish Islam [in modern times]."[497] Hagen further clarifies what he means by modernity in religion: "Throughout [in the seventeenth century], a growing discrepancy between religion as a social practice and religion as a system of beliefs made itself felt, as the latter was more individualized and 'privatized'" (p.248). This implies that he regarded Birgivism or Kadızadeli thought to be indicative of secularization in the above sense. But this suggestion is not in place, in my view, because Kadızadeli activism in the name of forbidding wrong, which they regarded as a social obligation, is at odds with the privatization of religion. The analogy is precluded also by the issues on the list of the Kadızadeli program. This is because the social practices to which the Kadızadelis objected were not simply communal-institutional congregations and other rituals that were practiced in the Ottoman society as forms

[497] Hagen, Gottfried. "Afterword" in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, pp 245-246. Hagen adds (p.246): "It is interesting to note that Katib Çelebi had an affinity for Kadızadeli thought, since his work represents another aspect of proto-modernity, even secularization".

of religiosity which the Kadızadelis saw as accretions (-rituals such as vocal zikr, Sufi dances, supererogatory prayers, and other ceremonial/congregational 'innovations'). On the contrary, they also objected, in the name of religion, to other social-cultural practices that had nothing to do with religious rituals (-practices such as smoking, consumption of wine and coffee), which is counter to the secularist privatization of religion. Actually, as we shall discuss further below, it has been proposed that the Kadızadeli movement should be considered in the context of a "new turn to piety" that characterized the seventeenth century. Furthermore, as Hagen himself noted, some studies have already documented the lasting influence of Birgivi on the anti-modernization currents of the nineteenth century[498]. On the other hand, making a modernist-secularist judgment about Kadızadeli movement on the basis that they rejected rituals and institutions of Sufi orders while appreciating the mystical experience is inadequate; for, these characteristics are true also of many earlier, "puritanical" discourses, which were neither modern nor secularist –such as the discourse of Ibn Teymiyye[499].

This discussion brings us to what is going to be our main point. The seventeenth and eighteenth century interest in Birgivi may not be indicative of a secularization of ideas or privatization of religion; it may also not indicate a general increase in literacy or manuscript production, but it definitely points to a vitalization in the religious literature, at least a specific part of that literature, the one produced by Birgivi. As for the motivations for this interest, we contend that it had to do with

[498] Rudolph Peters, "Religious attitudes towards modernization in the Ottoman Empire. A nineteenth century pious text on steamships, factories and the telegraph," *Welt Des Islams* 26 (1986), 76-105.

[499] Hagen himself would admit it, who wrote: "The historical sources do not offer a ready answer why a movement which basically propagated the centuries-old ideas of righteous behavior was so successful in the mid-seventeen century" (*ibid.,* p.245).

other historical facts specific to the social and intellectual environment of the Ottoman world in the seventeenth century and afterwards.

(c) Distribution according to historically significant developments (periodization)

The high popularity of Birgivi's religious works between 1030/1620 and 1200/1785 must be understood in the context of the historical facts of the period. The beginning of the trend, however, is easier to relate to historical phenomena than its later development. A number of factors may be pointed out which, building on each other, have possibly come to stimulate an interest in Birgivi's works as of the first decades of the eleventh/seventeenth century, half a century after Birgivi died (981/1573).

Seventeenth Century: The High Crises

By 1032/1622, there was a severe political crisis in the Ottoman capital, which was in effect only one of the many instances of a series of misfortunes that haunted the Empire in the period between 1000-1066 (1591-1656) and which deeply shook Ottoman society, especially the elites[500]. Beginning from the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman army had to fight simultaneously on three fronts and with no good progress. Beside the wars with the Habsburgs in the west (1593-1606) and the Safavids in the east (1603-1606), the government had also to contend with a series of Celali rebellions that broke in Anatolia and Syria, the first wave of which lasted from 1593 to 1609, under the leadership of a number of incumbent or ex-governors (Kara Yazıcı, Deli Hasan, Kalenderoğlu, and Ali Canbulad). The rebels not only caused terror and fear, but also, by sacking the towns and levying the

[500] For depictions of these crises see Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 66-86; Caroline Finkel. *Osman's Dream*, pp. 196-222 and 223-252; for later developments see Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 39-61; Finkel, *ibid*., p. 253-288.

population with extra taxes, badly affected the economy both of the state and of the population at large. The agrarian population, in turn, which fled before the Celalis, not only left the lands uncultivated, but, rushing for the safety of the capital, caused population pressure in their new destination. Although in about 1610 the Grand Vezir Kuyucu Murat Paşa managed to smash the rebels with unmeasured bloodshed and made a fiscal restoration, another period of political instability marked by factions, coups, depositions, and even sultanic execution followed when Ahmed I died in 1026/1617. It was during these turbulent years that a sudden interest in Birgivi surfaced. The crises are generally held to have been resulting from problematic dynastic successions (immature, ineffective, or mentally impeded sultans). The causes my be questioned, but what is certain is that involved in the ensuing power struggles were everyone but the dynastic members: military men, palace servants, imperial women, mentors, and even some top-ranking ulema.

The major developments in the turbulent five years following the death of Ahmed I (r.1012-1026/1603-1617) can be summarized as follows: Ahmed died very young without leaving a mature son, and his mentally deficient brother Mustafa I was enthroned in his place, only to be deposed three months later by a palace coup, and replaced in return by Ahmed's eldest son Osman (II), who was only fourteen. In 1031/1622, after return from an unsuccessful campaign to Khotin, the janissaries and cavalrymen, fearing that Osman II was preparing to recruit a new army to their own abolition, executed the sultan and a number of his advisers and reenthroned Mustafa, who ruled for another sixteen months, to be deposed once more in 1032/1623 and replaced by Ahmed's 12-year-old son Murad (IV). Osman's execution did not only cause troubles in the capital. In Anatolia, the governor of Erzurum, Abaza Mehmed Paşa, demanded revenge for the blood of Osman, and, allying with the governor of

Diyarbekir Hafız Ahmed Paşa, expelled from his province the janissary garrisons, whom he blamed for the murder of Osman, and began marching towards Istanbul. The government dismissed him from the office, but he went on as a new Celali and besieged Ankara for seven months, also depriving the government from tax-revenues. The news would soon be received from the East that the Safavids took Baghdad, and the west, that the Cossacks were raiding the Ottoman coasts in the Black Sea. In Istanbul, the janissaries called for the dismissal of the Grand Vezir Hadım Mehmed Paşa and appointment of another one, but dissent came from members of the religious hierarchy when the new Grand Vezir assaulted one of their members. In protest they gathered in the mosque of Mehmed II demanding the Vezir's dismissal; but were attacked by his men: many were murdered and their bodies thrown in the sea[501]. The ensuing crisis, paired with the financial shortage and the threat of the Anatolian rebellion brought about the deposition of the sultan. In 1032/1623, the ulema petition was accepted when they suggested to Mustafa's mother that her son should be deposed and replaced by her grandson Murad.

## Tthe Kadızadeli Movement: Its Emergence, Development, and Demise

It has been customary in modern literature to consider it as a response to the prevailing political and economic crises of the time that a call for return to pure religion was being made at the turn of the century, a call that proved to find wide echo. This development culminated in the formation of what was to be known as the "Kadızadeli" movement, a revivalist movement whose proponents were inspired by Birgivi's ideas and who made his works, so it seems, something of a handbook to

[501] Finkel, *Osman's dream*, p. 203.

them[502]. The first visible signs of both developments (the formation of the Kadızadeli movement and its appropriation of Birgivi's works) coincided with the high times of the turmoil during execution of Osman II in 1031/1622 and later the accession of Murad IV in 1032/1623.

In 1032/1622, about fifty years after Birgivi's death, his son Şeyh Fazlullah Efendi died in Istanbul and his corpse was taken to Birgi and buried there next to his father's grave. Fazlullah Efendi was taught by his father in Birgi. He came to Istanbul around 1020/1611-12 and after a while became a Friday preacher in Sultan Selim Mosque. Later he was promoted to Beyazıd mosque, and the vacant position in Sultan Selim was given to Kadızade Mehmed b. Doğani Mustafa. Kadızade would succeed Fazlullah also in Beyazıd mosque after the latter's death.[503] Kadızade was a native of Balıkesir, Birgivi's hometown, and was trained by Birgivi's students in this Anatolian town, where they are known to be numerous (–Birgivi complained in his Mektub to Ataullah Efendi, which he penned in Birgi, the hometown of Ataullah,

[502] For a concise overview of the historical development and demise of the Kadızadeli movements see Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," pp. 195-208; see also *ibid*., p.4-6. For further information see Madeline Zilfi. "The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 45, no 4. (Oct. 1986), 251-269; Idem, *The Politics of Piety: The Otoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*. (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), pp. 129-173; Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, pp. 39-61; Semiramis Çavuşoğlu. "The Kadızadeli Movement: An Attempt of Seri'at-Minded Reform in the Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D diss., Princeton University, 1990). Çavuşoğlu argues that the Kadızadelis proposed an alternative solution to the seventeenth century crisis by advocating a turn to the original Islam of the first ages. Theirs, Çavuşoğlu suggests, was one among the many solutions proposed in the nasihatnâmes that proliferated in this age. For similar arguments see Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 201ff. For an Ottoman perspectives see Katip Çelebi, *Mîzânu'l-hakk fî ihtiyâri'l-ehakk.*

[503] For Kadızade's biography see the sources cited in the note 144 in Chapter II. [Uşşakizade Ibrahim Hasib Efendi (d.1136/1724), *Zeylü'ş-Şakâ'ik.* Faximile with index published by Hans Joachim Kissling as *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert*, (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1965), pp.44-45; Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi (d.1148/1732). *Vekâyi'u'l-fuzalâ (Zeyl-u zeyl-i şakaiki-i nu'maniye*), ed. Abdülkadir Özcan. (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları,1989), vol. I, pp.59-60; Katip Çelebi, *Mizanul-Hak*, pp.108 and 110-122. See also Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 129ff; Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadızadeli Movement", pp. 68-72.]. For Fazlullah Efendi see, beside the above sources, Atai, *Zeyl-i şakâik*, p. 675; Martı, *Birgivi Mehmed Efendi*, pp.47-48; Arslan, *İmam Birgivi*, pp.43-44. Atai informs that Fazlullah died towards the end of Mustafa's reign. So, he must have died sometime before Mustafa's deposition (14 Zilkade 1032 / 9 September 1623).

that he had no students from this town despite being there for nine years, adding that most of his students were from his own hometown, meaning Balıkesir)[504]. Like Fazlullah before him, Kadızade later came to Istanbul sometime before 1031/1622, and pursued a career as a mosque preacher. Initially he aspired for the Sufi path by encouragement from Ömer Efendi, the Halveti şeyh of the Tercüman Tekkesi (d.1034/1624)[505], but soon abandoned this path for his *vâ'iz* career, like Birgivi before him, who had sought the guidance of a Bayrami şeyh, Abdullah Karamani el-Akşehri (d.972/1564)[506], and, after a while, returned to his career as medrese teacher (*müderris*). Different views have been advanced about whether Kadızade left the sufi path because "it soon became clear that Kadızade and the sufi way were incompatible"[507], or whether he returned to the path of va'z upon the death of his Sufi master[508]. Similar views have been proposed for Birgivi as well. The proposition that Birgivi returned to teaching because he "soon became disenchanted with his Sufi venture"[509] is shown to be unsubstantiated in recent studies. Terzioğlu, relying on Birgivi's biography as given by Atai, proposes that "Birgivi wanted to give up all his professional duties to devote himself to the Sufi path, failing to do so only because his master would not permit him to give up his scholarly pursuits."[510] Huriye Martı

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[504] "Birgi'ye gelelden dokuz yıldır nefs-i Birgi'de bir danişmendimiz yokdur, oalncanın ekseri bizim yerdendir". (MS Sül. K., Yazma Bağışlar 1269, f. 230b). See also Martı, *ibid*, pp. 166-167.

[505] Actually neither Uşşakizade, nor Şeyhi, nor the author of *Mîzânu'l-hak* specify any information about Ömer Efendi's being a Halveti; but the following sources say that he was so: Zilfi, "Discordant Revivalism", p. 252; Idem, *Politics of Piety*, p. 131; Martı, *ibid*, p.167.

[506] Martı, *ibid*, p. 143; Arslan, *ibid.*, p. 63.

[507] Zilfi,*The politics of Piety*, p. 131. This is also what has been indicated by Uşşakizade and Şeyhi.

[508] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident", p. 212.

[509] Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*, p. 143. See also A. Yaşar Ocak. "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış: Kadızadeliler Hareketi", p. 214ff.

[510] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 210.

draws stronger contrast between the cases of Birgivi and Kadızade by emphasizing especially the fact that the former was not only a member of a well established sufi family, but also was a sufi himself who completed his spiritual sojourn under Abdurrahman Karamani and received icâzet from this master.[511]

Kadızade's succession to Fazlullah Efendi's position was symbolic. As a modern historian put it, he must have taken the connection seriously[512]. Incidentally, the year of his second succession (1032/1622-3) marks a turning point also in the career of Birgivi's works. In this year, two copies were made of Birgivi's works after four years of silence. What is more remarkable, however, is that within eight years after Kadızade's new position a total of 26 copies were made of Birgivi's works on religious sciences, compared to only 17 copies that had been produced in some 41 years since Birgivi's death. In Birgivi's own lifetime, only two copies were produced; but these are, of course, what we could identify. (There must have been other copies made in Birgivi's lifetime, but these either did not survive, or were not dated –But the same thing should hold for later periods as well). There is evidence also to indicate that around the same years was forming, along with Birgivi's works, a division that was discursive as well as social:

> One of the earliest sources to mention the contentions of "Birgivi followers" (Birgivi hulefâsı) in Istanbul is the fatwa collection of the chief mufti Es'ad Efendi (m.1615-22, 1623-25). Several fatwas in his collection are concerned with the objections of "Birgivi followers" to the communal performance of supererogatory prayers on the nights of Regâ'ib and Kadir, another popular practice they deemed a "blameworthy innovation", and one with the objections made by others to Birgivi and his teachings[513].

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[511] Martı, *Birgivi Mehmed Efendi*, pp. 167-169; for Birgivi's spiritual career see *ibid*., pp. 43-45.

[512] Zilfi,*The politics of Piety*, p. 132.

[513] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and dissident", p. 200.

Kadızade, one of the "Birgivi followers", no doubt, had began developing warm relationships with the palace beginning from the time of Osman II (r.1027-31/1618-22), but increasingly so in the times of Murad IV (r.1032-49/1623-40).[514] The sources inform that Kadızade gave sermons in the Murad Paşa mosque for a long time before he succeeded to Fazlullah Efendi's position in the first place. However, after his position at Sultan Selim, he climbed to the top of his career within ten years. After serving as preacher in the imperial mosque of Sultan Bayezid, he was appointed to the Sultan Mehmed (Fatih) mosque. Katip Çelebi informs that it was Kadızade's years of renown when he listened to his sermons at that mosque around 1038/1628-9. Çelebi also informs that Kadızade's sermons generally "encouraged people to learn the noble knowledge and get rid of ignorance", and that he taught Birgivi's *Tarîkat* among other works[515]. Kadızade was next appointed to Süleymaniye (1041/1631), and, at the end of the year 1040/1632 became preacher in Ayasofya mosque, the top-most position of its kind. By 1043/1633, he had also attracted the attention of Murad IV.

Kadızade's connection to these reformist sultans is telling. Murad IV had inherited a political and military crisis, and, though he ultimately managed to re-establish political stability, a certain period of his rule was nevertheless marked by factions and Janissary rebellions. Abaza Mehmed, despite being granted pardon, continued causing problems until he was co-opted by appointment to governorship of Bosnia in 1038/1628. But a more serious crisis was only to arise: Sultan's regiments mutinied in 1040/1631-2 when the Grand Vezir Hüsrev Paşa was first dismissed and then executed and replaced by Hafız Ahmed Paşa, Murad IV's brother-in-law and a

[514] Terzioğlu, "Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal Vakası," p. 265.

[515] Katip Çelebi, *Mîzânu'l-Hak*, p. 111; see also the discussion on *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr* in Chapter II of this study; Çavuşoğlu, "The Kadızadeli Movement," p. 69.

favorite of the queen mother Kösem Sultan. In the ensuing mutiny Hafız Ahmed was murdered in front of the sultan; a number of other high officers were also executed by the troops in the following days, including the Sultan's favorite Musa Çelebi. After a while, however, Murad IV executed the new Grand Vezir Receb Paşa, whom he considered responsible for the mutiny. No longer a child, and having done away with the clique of his mother as well as that of the opposing party, Murad IV was now in full control of the politics, and wanted to launch a reform program to restore the larger order[516]. His encounter with Kadızade around 1043/1633 provided him with a new opportunity.

Murad listened to Kadızade's sermon in Sultan Ahmed mosque on the occasion of commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet. Before Kadızade stepped to the pulpit, another sermon was delivered by his opponent, the Halveti-Sivasi şeyh Abdülmecid Sivasi (d.1049/1639), who, it is argued, anticipating Kadızade's remarks, ridiculed his ideas. But –in the words of a modern historian- "Kadızade Mehmed's dramatic denunciation of all innovations in religious practice and belief and in social behavior struck a chord with a congregation worn down by the disturbances of recent years."[517] Following the celebration, the dispersing crowd attacked the taverns of the city, and the sultan made no move to stop them. It was also around the time of this confrontation that he ordered the closing-down and destruction of coffee-houses across the empire.[518] In this sense, Murad IV's interest in Kadızade and his followers was at least in part informed by political motivations, as Terzioğlu has noted: "Now, coffeehouses and smoking, which were being targeted by Birgivi disciples like Kadızade, were favorite pastimes of Istanbul's largely

[516] Finkel, *Osman's Dream.*, pp. 208-209.
[517] Finkel, *ibid.*, p.213.

[518] Finkel, *ibid.*, p.213.

civilianized military, and their prohibition in 1043/1633 at once satisfied the demands of the puritanical preachers and provided the central government with a pretext to move against the unruly soldiery"[519]. On the other hand, while Murad IV remained silent when the taverns were attacked by the Kadızadelis and invited Kadızade to the palace, he also protected the Halveti and Celveti şeyhs against the assaults, and personally assured Sivasi that they would not receive any harm[520]. This is indication that he was selective in his alliance with this group.

As for the dissemination of the manuscript copies that were made of Birgivi's works in this period: as we noted before, within eight years from Kadızade's succession to Fazlullah's position, that is, between 1032 and 1040, at least 24 copies were made of the 12 works of Birgivi, to which must be added a copy *el-Kavlu'l-vasît*, a treatise advising middle-way on the debate over sufi practices, and a copy of *Zuhru'l-mülûk*, a treatise of advice to the sultan. Again as we noted, ever since their composition, only 18 copies of the 12 works and 1 copy of another work of Birgivi on religious sciences (*Ta'lîkat'ale'l-inâye*) were made which we could identify –the latest one, a copy of *Vasiyet*, dates from 1028/1618.

The dissemination of the manuscripts dating from before 1032 is as follows: 978 (*Mu'addilu's-salât*), 981 (*Mu'addil, Tercumetu Inkâzi'l-hâlikîn, Tarîkat, Vasiyet* –all in the same manuscript collection; *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn, Dürr-i Yetîm* –both in the same collection)[521], 983 (*TM*), 987 (*TM, Vasiyet*), 995 (*Cilâ'u'l-kulûb*), 998

[519] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and dissident," p. 201.

[520] Zilfi, "Discordant revivalism," p. 257-58.

[521] Sül. K., Kadızade Mehmed 295 and Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1606, respectively. The first volume, endowed by Kadızade Mehmed to the Şehzade mosque in 1068 (see the vakf note on f.1a and the seal on f 1b.), consists exclusively of Birgivi's works. The first text in the volume, *Tarîkat*, was copied by Muslihuddin Osman in Aydın. Other text only specify the date of copying. The second volume, about which more shall be said in the last section of this chapter, comprises many text, including two by Birgivi, which anly bear the date of copying.

(*TM*), 1004 (*TM*), 1011 (*Şerhu Erba'în*), 1018 (*TM*), 1020 (*Mu'addil*), 1027 (*Dürr*), and finally 1028 (*Vasiyet*). It appears that no copy was made until 1032 when two copies (*TM* and *Vasiyet*) were produced independently of each other. One year later, in 1033/1623-4, five of Birgivi's works were copied in a manuscript collection that comprised about ten texts, all written by the same hand, Salih b. Cafer, who informs in the colophons at the end of Birgivi's texts that he is son of Birgivi's student, Cafer[522]. Another copy was made in the same year by an unidentified copyist, and two copies were produced in 1034. In the year 1035 eight copies were produced of Birgivi's religious works, seven of them pertaining to the 12 works, and one to *Zuhru'l-mülûk*. The latter work, together with six other works of Birgivi that pertain to the 12 works, were copied in a collective volume that comprised about fifteen texts in total. The colophon at the end of one of Birgivi texts (*Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn*) in this volume informs that the text was copied in 1035/1625-6 by someone called Mustafa b. Mirhan el-Bosnevi. The volume also comprises a treatise on the collective performance of supererogatory prayers of reğâ'ib and berât, composed probably by the same "el-fakîr Şeyh Mehmed el-ma'rûf bi-Kâdîzâde" who copied two fatwâs of Ebussuud in the same volume concerning the burial of the dead, to which he added another piece of writing, presumably of his own[523]. I have been unable to identify who this Kadızade is, but it is not unlikely that he be Kadızade Mehmed b. Doğani Mustafa. In 1036 one copy was produced; but no copy dates from 1037. In 1038, however, another collective manuscript was compiled which comprised, among

[522] Sül. K., Kılıç Ali Paşa 1037. Birgivi's works copied here are: Cilâu'l-kulûb, Îkâzu'n-nâ'imîn, ed-Dürru'l-yetîm, Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn, and es-Seyfu's sârim, successively and respectively recorded between ff. 79b-125b.

[523] Sül. K., Hacı Beşir Ağa 672. Birgivi texts in this volume are: *Cilâ*, *Mu'addil*, *Inkâz*, *Îkâz*, *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn*, *Zuhru'l-mülûk*, and *Tercumetu Îkaz*, respectively. Other texts in the volume are: Vasiyyet-i Imâm A'zam; *Eyyuhe'l-veled* by Gazzâlî; and the Turkish treatise on the prayers of reğâ'ib and berât. *Îkâz* is the only dated text in the volume (see f.53a); other texts are assumed to be of the same date. For Kadızade's colophon see f. 56a. On Hacı Beşir Ağa see below, Chapter IV, p. 244 ff.

others, six works of Birgivi on religious sciences –five of them pertaining to the 12 works- as well as two polemical treatises by some Bedreddin el-Müderris which he composed –in 972 and 978, that is, in Birgivi's lifetime- as rebuttals to two of Birgivi's works (*Îkâz* and *Inkâz*). The collection also comprises two more treatises which it attributes to Birgivi, as well as five treatises by Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari (d.ca.1043/1633) and seven treatises by Kemalpaşazade (d. 940/1533).[524] In 1039/1629-30 only one copy was produced.

Kadızade Mehmed died in 1045/1635, but the movement continued until the end of Murad's reign. Concurringly, between 1040/1630 and the death of Murad IV in 1049/1640, nine more copies were produced of Birgivi's religious works, all pertaining to 6 of the 12 works[525] –three of them in a collective manuscript[526].

On the other hand, as part of the fierce measures that he took to establish the order and prevent dynastic rivalries, Murad IV committed several incidents of fratricide, which raised fears of dynastic extinction after his unexpected and premature death in 1049/1640. [527] Murad died in his late twenties without leaving a male heir, and was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim, the only surviving male

[524] Sül. K., Reisülküttab 1181. Birgivi's works in this volume are: *Inkâz*, *Tercumetu Inkâz*, *Zuhr*, *Mu'addil*, *Îkâz*, and *el-Kavlu'l-vasît* (=Risâle fî ihtimâmi emri'd-dîn). The volume also comprises *Risâle fî beyâni şu'abi'l-îmân*, and *Vezâ'ifu'n-nevâfil*, both of which are attributed to Birgivi -we discussed the first in Chapter II, and the second in Chapter III. Only one of the 25 texts in the volume bears a date (1038) –see the colophon at the end of Kemalpaşazade's *Risâle fî hurmeti'r-raks ve'd-deverân* (ff.101b-103a). Other texts are assumed to have been copied around the same year.

[525] *Tarîkat* (3), *Vasiyet* (2), *Cilâ* (1), *Mu'addil* (1), *Îkâz* (1), and *Inkâz* (1).

[526] Sül. K., Ibrahim Efendi 372. The volume comprises 12 texts in total, three of them by Birgivi (*Cilâ*, *Mu'addil* and *Îkâz*), and two of them identical copies of Akhisari's *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr*, which in other manuscripts was falsely attributed to Birgivi (see Chapter II). One of the texts in the volume is a copy of Ebussuud's treatise on cash waqf, as a refutation to which Birgivi penned his *es-Seyfu's-sârim*. Only one of the texts in the volume bares a date (1046); the rest are assumed to be of the same date.

[527] During the celebrations marking the Yerevan campaign of 1635 Murad IV killed Bayezid and Süleyman, half brothers to him and full brothers to Osman II. On his return from Baghdad, his full brother Kasım was killed. (Finkel, *ibid*, p. 223).

member of the dynasty, whom Murad had spared on account presumably of his mental deficiency.

Ibrahim's reign was marked by stability for the first several years (until 1054/1644) when the important offices were occupied by Murad's appointees. Apart from inheriting a restored order, Ibrahim also enjoyed lack of dynastic rivals; but he could not escape deposition (and execution) 8 years later when the inconsequential war that was launched against Venetians in Crete (1054/1644) finally drew the empire back into military and economic hardship, worsened further by the Venetians' blockade of the Dardanelles in 1058/1648, which not only barred the supplies to the Ottoman garrisons at Crete, but also prevented supplies for Istanbul. In Anatolia new Celali coalitions had formed around Varvar Ali Paşa; and in the capital, to benefit from the fortunes of the state, factions vied with each other over winning the favor of the 'feeble-minded' sultan. Capitalizing on the developments, a coalition of the sultan's regiments, who won also the support of Şeyhülislam, demanded Ibrahim's deposition and execution from his mother Kösem Sultan, and managed in bringing about it (1058/1648). Ibrahim left behind his eldest son Mehmed (IV), aged only seven, to succeed him.

Terzioğlu indicates that although the contemporary sources are silent about the activities of Birgivi followers in the reign of Ibrahim (1049-1058/1640-1648), which, she notes, gives the impression that the movement was in recession, the Kadızadeli preachers did not, however, suddenly disappear from the scene. In a book written around 1056/1646, Terzioğlu notes, there is a curious reference to "Birgivi followers (Birgivîler)," indicating that by then Birgivi followers had become an identifiable social group in the Balkans as well as in Istanbul[528]. Corroborating this

[528] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 202.

observation, we have noted that his works continued to be copied in this period: within the eight years of Ibrahim's rule 20 copies were produced of Birgivi's religious works, pertaining to 9 of the 12 works[529] –five of the copies being in one collective volume[530], and six of them in another one which also comprises a Birgivi text on grammar (*Im'ânu'l-Enzâr*) and a work that was falsely attributed to him[531].

Ibrahim's successor to the throne, Mehmed IV (r.1058-1099/1648-1687), ruled about 40 years before he was deposed, but during his minority years, especially the first eight years, when the power resided in two successive regents --his grandmother, Kösem Sultan, and his mother Turhan Sultan-- there was a total chaos in the imperial center, which had begun during the last years of Ibrahim. Change of sultan had not put an end to factionalism, or to the provincial dissent; and frequent changes in the post of the Grand Vezirate brought no avail. A rebellion within Istanbul initiated by the educated but frustrated youths expecting service in the palace (*'acemî oğlan*s) grew with the support of the cavalrymen, but was ruthlessly crashed by the janissaries in the Hippodrome. New Celalis led by Gürcü Abdülnebi in protest for this incident marched towards the capital shadowing near Üsküdar. The rebels were dispelled, but soon another uprising came from Istanbul tradesmen when

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[529] *Tarîkat* (4), *Zuhr* (4), *Mu'addil* (3), *Cilâ* (2), *Îkâz* (2), *Inkâz* (2), *Tercumetu Inkâz* (1), *Vasiyet* (1), and *Seyf* (1).

[530] Sül. K., Gelibolulu Tahir 56, which comprises about 15 texts, 5 of them by Birgivi (*Inkâz*, *Mu'addil*, *Îkâz*, *Cilâ*, *Zuhr*), two by Akhisâri (*Risâle fi'z-zikr*, and *Risâle fî salâti'l-berâ'eti ve'r-rağâ'ib*; the first of them was falsely attributed to Birgivi in other manuscripts), a copy of *Risâle fî elfâzi'l-küfr* by el-Bedr er-Reşîd, which has been falsely attributed to Birgivi; two treatises against sufi dances (one of them by Kemalpaşazade); and a number of other texts. Except for one, all texts in the volume are by the same hand: Osman b. Hasan el-Eskişehrî, who copied them in 1051.

[531] Sül. K., Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 1182; the volume comprises 14 treatises and a good number of quotations from el-Suyûtî's various works. 7 of the treatises are by Birgivi, one of them on grammar (*Seyf*, *Cilâ*, *Enzâr*, *Dürr*, *Îkâz*, *Zuhr*, and *Inkâz*, respectively), one by Yahyâ el-Yemeni, which is here falsely identified as the translation of *Vasiyetnâme* and attributed to Birgivi; one by Ebussuud on cash waqf on which Birgivi's *Seyf* is written, one by el-Bedru'r-Reşîd on *elfâzu'l-kufr*, and a number of other treatises. Only three of the texts in the volume are dated, two of them (*Inkâz* a text by Senusi) being copied in 1055 (see ff. 137b and 9a respectively), and one (*Dürr*) in 127 [1027(?) 1127(?)] –see f. 105a. We assume all texts to be written around 1055.

they were forced to change debased coins for gold coins in order for the Janissary salaries to be paid. This uprising ended with the execution of Kösem Sultan in 1061/1050 and regency of Turhan Sultan and her allies, the palace ağas. War over Crete was going bad as a number of Ottoman navies were defeated in the Dardanells; Lemnos and Bozcaada were lost to Venetians who also blockaded the Dardanells for one more time, causing serious shortage of food and goods in the capital. Still worse days were to come. Payment of Janissary salaries in debased coin would mount another uprising in 1066/1656, which ended with the execution of numbers of palace ağas and women servants around Turhan Sultan and the hanging of their bodies on a plane tree (whence it became known as Çınar Vak'ası)[532].

On the other hand the Kadızadelis became emboldened in this period, and initiated a second phase of controversies and public confrontations, especially after the artisans rebellion of 1061/1650, thanks to the support they derived from Turhan Sultan and palace ağas whom the incident brought to power. While Kösem Sultan used to patronize Sufis, Turhan patronized the Kadızadelis, whose leader Üstüvâni Mehmed Efendi (d.1072/1661) was introduced to her by palace ağas[533]. Already before the assassination of Kösem, the Kadızadelis had prevailed over the Grand Vezir Melek Ahmed Paşa to have him demolish a Halveti lodge in Demirkapı. In fear of similar attacks, some of the Halvetis enlisted support of prominent janissary officers[534]. Upon regency of Turhan, Üstüvani was appointed preacher to the imperial Has Oda. The Kadızadelis also prevailed over Şeyhülislam Bahai Efendi,

[532] For the events in the minority years of Mehmed IV see Finkel, *ibid*., p. 233-252.

[533] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 202-3.

[534] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 204.

who had previously angered them by declaring tobacco permissible[535], as they managed to elicit from him, in 1063/1652, a ban to two rebuttals to Birgivi's *Tarîkat*, which were written by encouragement from Üstüvani's opponent, the Halveti şeyh Abdülahad Nuri (d.1061/1650-1), successor to Abdülmecid Sivasi. The authors of the rebuttals, Kürd Mehmed and Tatar Imam, were sent into exile[536]. The movement reached its climax in 1066/1656, a few months after Çınar Vakası deprived the Kadızadelis of some of their patrons in the palace: gathered in the Sultan Mehmed mosque, the Kadızadelis made an ambitious plan to demolish all Sufi lodges and the multiple minarets of the mosques in the city.[537] The plan did not realize because the government under the newly appointed Grand Vezir Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (v.1066-1072/ 1656-1661) regarded them a danger to public order, and banished the leaders of the movement to Cyprus, including Üstüvani. The measures taken by Köprülü, though brutal, would restore order within few years.

It would be pertinent to indicate the dissemination of Birgivi's works during this second phase of the movement which was marked also by book wars. But before that we shall indicate the major developments of the third and last phase of the movement, as it is more convenient to compare the dissemination in these periods.

The Kadızadeli movement surfaced once more when Köprülü Mehmed Paşa was succeeded by his son Fazıl Ahmed Paşa (v.1072-1087/1661-1676). Fazıl Ahmed was a medrese recruit who had switched to administration after his father became

[535] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 204.

[536] For a detailed account of the event see Na'îma, *Tarih-i Na'îma*, pp. 1434 ff.; Katip Çelebi, *Fezleke-i Tarih*, vol. II, p. 383. Zilfi, *Politics of piety*, pp. 143-147.

[537] It is noteworthy that both the coming into prominence and the repression of the Kadızadelis followed uprisings and palace coups. It was the artisan's rebellion, which cost the life of Kösem Sultan, that brought the patrons of the Kadızadelis, the palace ağas around Turhan Sultan, to power; and it was the Çınar Vakası, in the wake of which many of these ağas lost their head, that deprived the Kadızadelis of their allies in the palace –but the ensuing frustration seems to be what also radicalized them. For similar statements see Zilfi, *ibid*, p. ????

Grand Vezir. During his governorship in Erzurum a few years before his own Vezirate, Köprülüzade Ahmed had made an acquaintance with Mehmed b. Bistam el-Vani (d.1096/1685), a preacher and müderris from Van who established himself in Erzurum and whose moving and eloquent preaches affected Köprülüzade. Vani had already gained renown for his opposition to dervish lodges and the visitation of tombs when he was in Erzurum[538]. When Köprülüzade became Grand Vezir, he invited Vani Efendi to Istanbul, short after which he was appointed imperial preacher. Under Vani's influence, the new Vezir initiated a selefi-oriented reform program[539] in 1073/1662-3, reminiscent to that initiated by Murad IV earlier. In the same year Şeyhulislam Esiri Mehmed Efendi was dismissed due presumably to his pro-sufi stance and unwillingness to work with Vani[540] (–this wholesale attachment to the Kadızadeli cause in the reign of Mehmed IV is at contrast with the choice of Murad IV to keep Zekeriyazade Yahya Efendi as his Şeyhülislam for 13 years despite the Kadızadeli denunciation of Yahya Efendi's sympathy for the dervishes and of his poems that allegorically praised drunkenness and wine[541]). The new Şeyhülislam, Minkarizade Yahya Efendi, who would hold the office for 12 years, gave signs of compromise by issuing a fetva declaring impermissible the Sufi devrân when he became müftî soon after Esiri's dismissal. The selefi program was maintained also by Köprülüzade's successor, Merzifonlu Kara Mustaa Paşa (v.1087-94/1676-83), and was to last until the Vienna debacle of 1094/1683:

> What finally induced the central government to withdraw its support from the salafî militants was the defeat of the Ottoman army at Vienna in 1094/1683, and the political scramble that ensued. First to go were the

[538] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 105.

[539] For details of the program see Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 206-207.

[540] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 106.

[541] Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*, pp. 171-172.

> architects of the military embarrassment: Kara Mustafa Paşa was dismissed and executed by imperial order, while the remaining members of the Köprülü household and their protégé Vani were banished from the capital. In 1097/1685, when a group of Kâdîzâdeli preachers were invited to the Beşiktaş palace along with a group of Sufi preachers, it was clear to both sides whom the palace now favored. In the same years, a number of prestigious preacherships were taken from Kâdîzâdelis and dependants of Vani and given to Halvetî and Celvetî sheikhs, while Mehmed IV began to court an influential Sufi contingency by appointing Halvetîs and Celvetîs to prestigious positions of preachership in Istanbul and by attending the Mevlevi semâ‘ in person. In 1100/1689, when a militant preacher in Edirne denounced the singing and whirling dervishes in the usual Kâdızâdeli manner, he was promptly exiled. This sent the message to the militant preachers to tone down their rhetoric or modify their stance if they wanted to remain in good favor. Shortly thereafter, the Kâdızâdelis were mentioned only as a thing of the past.[542]

It is surprising to find out that during the second phase of the Kadızadeli movement, which surfaced in the minority of Mehmed IV and lasted for 8 years (between 1058/1648 and 1066/1656), only 8 copies were made of Birgivi's religious works, all pertaining to three of the 12 works[543]. During Köprülü Mehmed's tenure of five years (1066-1072 /1656-1661), when the movement was suppressed, four more copies were made of Birgivi's religious works, again all pertaining to three of the 12 works[544]. No collective volumes dating from these years have been identified that comprise more than one religious work of Birgivi. It seems that the book wars that were staged in this period did not provide a stimulus for production of new copies of Birgivi's works. Whether or not the Kadızadelis penned works in this period to answer the critics of Birgivi, however, still remains to be investigated.

[542] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 207.

[543] *Vasiyet* (4), *Tarîkat* (2), *Cilâ* (2).

[544] *Tarîkat* (2), *Vasiyet* (1), *Zuhr* (1).

## Sufis and Birgivi

The dissemination of the copies of Birgivi's works during the third phase of the Kadızadeli movement may wait for a moment, because this is the relevant place to make a few comments about the relationship between Birgivi, the Kadızadelis and the Sufis. In the modern literature on the religious disputations of the seventeenth century, Birgivi has generally been associated with the Kadızadelis, while the Sufis in general, as Terzioğlu has observed, and Halvetis in particular, are presented as the target of this movement and as a group that opposed its precepts[545]. Whether or not all Sufis were targets of the Kadızadelis is a question that we can not afford handling here –this has been problematized by Terzioğlu in some detail[546]. What does concern us, however, is that although this presentation may lead also to the notion that Sufis stood also against Birgivi, this is not the case.

We know that positive commentaries would be made on Birgivi's *Tarîkat* by some prominent Sufi sheikhs, though mostly in the eighteenth century, like Abdulğani b. İsmail en-Nablusi (d.1143/1731) of Damascus, Muhammed Emin et-Tokadi (d.1158/1745) of Istanbul, and Ebu Said el-Hadimi (d.1176/1762) of Konya. All of these Sufi masters, however, are from the Nakşbendi order. It has been evidenced that there were also some early Nakshbandis, like Mehmed Maruf

[545] See Terzioğlu, "Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal Vakası," p.267. The proponents of this view are examplified by Zilfi. *The Politics of Piety*; Idem, "The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism"; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış: Kadızadeliler Hareketi"; Idem, "Ibn Kemal'in Yaşadığı XV ve XVI. Asırlar Türkiye'sinde İlim ve Fikir Hayatı"; Hulusi Lekesiz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Düzenindeki Değişimin Tasfiyeci (Püritanist) bir Eleştirisi: Birgivi Mehmet Efendi ve Fikirleri"; Fahri Unan. "Dinde Tasfiyecilik Yahut Osmanlı Sünnîliğine Sünnî Muhâlefet: Birgivî Mehmet Efendi".

[546] See Terzioğlu, "Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal Vak'ası"; Idem., "Sufi and Dissident," pp.234ff., and p.8.

Trabzoni (d.1002/1593) and Ahmed Tirevi (1034/1624-5), who upheld Birgivi's teachings long before the Kadızadelis came into the scene.[547]

As for the Halveti order, some studies have already indicated that at least at the first three or four decades of the seventeenth century Birgivi's ideas appealed to many of those who were affiliated with this order.[548] In addition to these Halvetis, although the vast literature produced on Birgivi's writings by Ottoman scholars still waits to be studied, we have by now identified at least one affirmative text on Birgivi's writings by a man with possible Halveti association. This man is Arslanzade Mustafa, whom Bursalı informs was the son of Ispartalı Arslan Efendi, a şeyh of the Halveti order buried in Denizli. Bursalı also notes that Arslanzade died in Istanbul in 1185 (1771-2) after serving as Kadı of Medine, but does not state whether or not he was associated with his father's path[549]. Given his father's position, however, Arslanzade was likely affiliated with the Halvetiyye. A copy of Birgivi's *Tefsîr* in Atıf Efendi library, whose colophon informs that it was copied in Receb of 1175 (1762) by some Muhammed b. Abdullah b. Muhammed, comprises, right below the colophon, another note, dated Muharrem 1177 (1763), which informs that the text was collated (*mukâbele*) by "Mustafa Arslanzade" against the original[550].

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[547] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 234ff; For a thorough study on early Nakshbandis see Dina Le Gall. *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandîs in the Ottoman world, 1450-1700*. (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2005); on the relationship between Nakşbandis and the Kadızadelis see *ibid*., pp. 150-156. For a general overview of the history of the order see Hamid Algar. "The Naqshbandi Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance," *Studia Islamica* 44 (1976): 123-152.

[548] Natalie Clayer. *Mystiques, etat et societe : Les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du Xve siecle a nos jours*. (Leiden, New York, Köln : Brill, 1994), pp.98-104; Terzioğlu, "Bir Tercüme ve Bir İntihal Vakası," p. 267. On the relationship between Halvetis and Kadızadelis see Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 247ff. See also *ibid*., p.236ff for Melami-Bayramis, 244ff for Bektaşis, and 253ff for Celvetis, Mevlevis, and Kadiris.

[549] Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I/214.

[550] Atıf Efendi K. 175, f.198b. The copy has also an owner's note (f.1a), informing that the MS was owned by Atıf Efendi's son Muhammed Emin, but specifies no date. Following this is a waqf note, informing that the MS was endowed by Mustafa el-Atıf to the library that he founded. Below this note is a seal of waqf, dated 1154/1741. If the work was copied in 1175/1762, how could it be endowed

Another copy of Birgivi's *Tefsîr*, dated on Şaban 1207 (1793), comprises a short piece of writing inserted into the main work. The author of the writing, who gives his name as "el-fakîr Mustafa Arslanzade", states that he penned this treatise (*'ucâle*) to explain certain clauses of "el-mevla el-Birgivi" in his *Tefsîr*[551]. The *'ucâle* is not dated, but it was presumably written when Arslanzade studied on the *Tefsîr* around 1177/1763, and perhaps the volume that he corrected also comprised a copy of his text, though we could not identify it. A critical edition of Birgivi's *Tefsîr* has recently been prepared by Abdurrahman ed-Dehîş based on two copies of the work in Medrese-i Mahmudiye in Medine. In the introduction of the work ed-Dehîş informs that both copies comprise Arslanzade's *'ucâle*, and that one of the copies was dated on 1179 (1765-6)[552]. So it may be concluded that Arslanzade's work was written before this date, perhaps while he was in Medine as Kadı of the city.

Even if they did not comment on Birgivi's writings, there is evidence that some prominent Halveti şeyhs –and their readers- were among those who read Birgivi's works, and well before the eighteenth century. This can be concluded from the fact that some of Birgivi's works were copied together with works of some prominent Halveti Şeyhs of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, some of them copied by the şeyhs themselves. We have identified a number of instances of this kind, and a more systematic research may show further examples. Here will be mentioned only two cases that we find most interesting. The first is that of a collective manuscript volume (*mecûm'a*) that was compiled between 978 (1570-1)

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earlier, I could not figure out. (Cf. the colophon on f.198b). A possible explanation would be that the seal bearing the date 1154 would not be updated in later years. Arslanzade himself is buried near Atıf Efendi library (between Vefa and Zeyrek; see Bursalı, *ibid*, I/214).

[551] Sül. K., Fatih 230, ff. unnumbered insert between ff. 55b-56a.

[552] *Mukaddimetü'l-müfessirin* / Muhammed b. Pir Ali Birgivi; dirâse ve tahkîk Abdurrahman b. Salih b. Süleyman ed-Dehiş. (Medine: Mecelletü'l-Hikme, 2004/1425), pp. 106-107.

and 986 (1578-9) by "Yusuf b. Yakub el-Halveti", whom we identify as Şeyh Yusuf Sinan b. Şeyh Yakub el-Kirmani el-Halveti (d. 989/1581), a contemporary of Birgivi and şeyh of the Halveti lodge in Koca Mustafa Paşa (–more shall be said of him below). This volume comprises, among others, two texts by Birgivi: *Dürr-i yetîm*, a treatise on the correct recitation of the Koran, and *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn ve'n-nisâ'*, a treatise containing instructions for the married and the women about religious obligations and ritual purity[553]. According to the colophon at the end of the second text, it was copied on 8 Ramazan 981 (1 January 1574), only 2 years after the work was composed (979/1571-2) and four months after Birgivi died (Cumadelula 981 /August-September 1573). The name of the copyist is not stated in the colophon, but by evidence of another text in the volume we get to learn the copyist. This tex is a treatise entitled *Iftâr risâlesi*, whose colophon informs that it was composed in Taybe [Medine] in 5 Şevval 981 (28 January 1574), that is, is some twenty-eight days after Birgivi's treatise had been copied. The same colophon also indicates the name of the author of the treatise: "Yusuf b. Yakub el-Halveti el-Hanefî er-Rûmî, who came [to Medine] for visitation [of the Prophet], may God accept from him."[554] The work is obviously an autograph. Furthermore, all texts in the volume are by the same hand. This we consider to be evidence that Birgivi's text too was copied by the same person, and arguably also in Medine. Now, what is remarkable is not only the interest of this Halveti şeyh in Birgivi's work, or the arguably short time which it took for Birgivi's work to reach his disposal. It is also important that a man travelling from Istanbul to the distant city of Medina should find there and copy for himself a text that was written, some two years before, by a recently-deceased scholar who lived in

[553] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1606, ff. 48a-52b (*Dürr*), and 155a-167a (*Zuhr*).

[554] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1606, ff. 42a-44b; the colophon on 44a-b.

Birgi, a western-Anatolian town much closer to Istanbul than to Medina. This gives some idea about the pattern of circulation of the texts in the Ottoman Empire and the role of such sacred spaces as Medine and other cities as centers where such transactions took place. Administrative positions, as we shall see below, were another occasion for men and texts to travel around.

The above treatise (*Iftâr risâlesi*) of the Halveti şeyh is itself interesting as it argues against a practice that the author finds to be an "innovation made up contrary to the consensus of the people of Sunna since the times of the Prophet to our days", namely, the delaying of the feast-break (iftâr) to after the prayer of *mağrib*. One thing that this example shows is that, at least at the end of the sixteenth century, it was not necessary to be a "Kadızadeli" in order to be critical of the practices that one considered to be innovation; and, on the other hand, that being a sufi, not to mention being a Halveti, did not make one insouciant about the Sunna and the rules of the sharia, a criticism so often levelled at the Sufis –at least those affiliated with orders other than the Nakşbendiyye. This fact is all the more significant regarding that this Halveti şeyh was not one of those Halvetis -like Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari(?)- who lined themselves with the "selefi-minded" scholars of the time by arguing against the sufi practices of *semâ'* and *devrân*. Nev'izade Atâî (d.1045/1635) gives a detailed biography of Yusuf b. Yakub el-Halveti –whom he calls "Şeyh Sinaneddin Yusuf" or "Sinan Efendi", and of his father, Şeyh Yakub el-Kirmani, who, like his son, was a prominent Halveti şeyh and was also the predecessor of his son in the Koca Mustafa Paşa lodge where he served from 961/1553-4 until his death in 979/1572. Atâî provides abundant anecdotes about the lives, spiritual achievements, and scholarly disputations of these sufi masters, which he owed, he informs, to having established friendship with "fahru'l-kudât" Abdülkerim Efendi, the son of the junior master,

when Atai succeeded him around 1019/1610-11 as Kadı of Baba[dağı?].[555] The grandfather, Şeyh Yakubel-Kirmani, was the student of the famous sufi master Sünbül Sinan Efendi (d.936/1529), the founder of the Sünbüli branch of the Halveti order. Atâî indicates that Sünbül Sinan, his student Yakub, and the latter's son, Yusuf Sinan, the compiler of the above volume, all had important quarrels with anti-sufi scholars. Sünbül Sinan, he informs, had prominently stood against followers of Vaiz Molla Arab, dissuading many of his followers from standing in the way of the Sufis, and inciting a number of them to change sides. This Molla Arab must be "el-Mevlâ Arab" Muhammed b. Ömer b. Hamza (938/1531), a selefi-minded scholar and an energetic itinerant preacher whose biography has been recorded in detail by Taşköprüzade[556]. Atai also emphasizes Yusuf b. Yakub's reputation as a learned man, and the depth of his knowledge especially on *tefsîr* and *hadîs*, noting also that he has penned a number of treatises to defend the practice of *devrân* and *semâ*', from which Atai relates some anecdotes.

*Dürr-i yetîm*, the other text of Birgivi in the above volume, has no colophon or date, but more than likely this work, too, was copied by Yusuf b. Yakub el-Halveti given that all texts in the volume are by the same hand and that all of the dated texts in the volume were copied between 978 and 986, that is, in the lifetime of the Halveti şeyh, who died in Rebiulahir 989 (1581)[557]. If this is the case, then there emerges the possibility that Yusuf b. Yakub was either student to Birgivi for sometime, or listened to some of his lectures. This is because the copy of *Dürr* in the above volume contains some marginal notes at whose end are recorded certain signs

[555] Atâî, *Zeyl-i Şakâik*, pp. 204-207 for "Şeyh Yakub el-Kirmani", and 359-60 for "Şeyh Sinan".

[556] Taşköprüzade. *eş-Şakâ'iku'n-nu'mâniyye*, pp. 413-416; Mecdi, *Tercumetu'ş-Şakâ'ik*, p. 411-415.

[557] Atâî, *Zeyl-i Şakâik*, p. 359.

indicating that the notes on the margins were heard from the author of the treatise (semâ‘ kaydı)[558]. Since Birgivi composed the work in 974/1566, the copy must have been produced sometime after this date. It is not completely without foundation to assume that the marginal notes too were probably heard from the author after the composition of the work. So, it is probable that Yusuf b. Yakub studied with Birgivi or listened to him sometime after 974/1566. Was that likely? Atâî informs that Yusuf b. Yakub completed his formal medrese training, received *mülâzemet* from Şeyhulislam Ebussuud Efendi (d.982/1574), and began teaching in medrese for sometime, after which he transferred to the Sufi path and received spiritual training, at the end of which he acquired *icâzet* from his father. Atai does not specify a date for these events; but the Halveti şeyh must have completed his medrese training well before 974/1566, regarding that he succeeded his father in 979/1572, and had served as the şeyh of another lodge well before this succession. In that case, if the copyist of *Dürr* was Yusuf b. Yakub, a likely assumption, then it may be surmised that he copied out the marginal notes from another copy.

Mention must also be made of another text in the same manuscript volume, a short gloss penned as a commentary on a Koranic verse. The author's colophon at the end of this text informs that it was composed by some Ismail en-Nablûsi (*'allekahû el-fakir Ismail ibn en-Nablusi*), who is presumably one of the many Ismails in the ancestral lineage of Abdülğani b. Ismail en-Nablusi (d.1143/1731), the famous Damascene Sufi and commentator of Birgivi's *Tarîkat*. [559] There are three interesting

[558] These notes are indicated in various wordings. In the first folio of the treatise (48b), a marginal note has the following record: "*kezâ sumi'a mine'l-musannif* (thus was heard from the author)"; similar notes are sometimes indicated by the letter "s" standing for "*sumi'a*", i.e., heard, or by the phrase "*kezâ sumi'a*" (i.e.:so it was heard). For these notes see the above MS, ff. 48b, 49b, 50a, 50b, and 51a.

[559] Bağdatlı gives the full name of the commentator of Birgivi's *Tarîkat* in the following way: "Abdülğani b. İsmail b. Abdülğani b. İsmail b. Ahmed b. Ibrahim [b. İsmail] en-Nablusi ed-Dimaşki". (Bağdatlı, *Hediyyetu'l-Ârifîn*, p. 590). Regarding that Ismail b. Abdülğani, the father of the

things about this short text on the Koranic verse. The first is that, right below the author's colophon, there is the colophon of the copyist, informing that the text was copied out from the original (*veka'a'l-ferâğu 'an naklihi 'ani'l-asli*) on 10 Ramazan 986 (1578) in Damascus.[560] If this treatise, too, was copied by Yusuf b. Yakub, it follows that he traveled to Damascus, probably on his way to Medina where he went for a second time when he became *şeyhu'l-harem*[561] of this city, which Atai informs took place in 985 (1577-8). He may have personally met with Ismail en-Nablusi, as the term "el-asl" may indicate. In this case Yusuf b. Yakub could be the one who introduced Birgivi to this influential Damascene family. The second important thing about this treatise is that the author, Ismail b. en-Nablusi, makes frequent quotations from such Ottoman authors as Mevlana Sadi Çelebi, Mevlana Sinan Çelebi, and "Şeyhulislam mufti'z-zamân," a reference probably to Ebussuud Efendi (noting that Nablusi also invokes God's blessings for the latter, it may be assumed that he wrote the work after the death of Ebussuud in 982, that is, no more than four years before Yusuf b. Yakub made a copy of his text; which increases the possibility of their meeting). These quotations, on the other hand, indicate that the Damascene ulema were in good contact with their Istanbulite counterparts. In view of these facts, the Nablusi family may have been well-familiar with Birgivi as well, and even before Yusuf b. Yakub el-Halveti visited Damascus. The final important thing about this text is that despite the author's colophon explicitly mentioning the author's name, the text was attributed to Birgivi in the online catalogue, as were two other texts on

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commentator of Birgivi's *Tarîkat*, was born in 1017/1609, he can not be the author of the above treatise (see Şükrü Özen, "Nablusi, İsmail b. Abdülğani," *DIA* 32, p.270; Ahmet Özel, "Abdülğani b. Ismail," *DIA* 32, p.268). This author was probably İsmail b. Ahmed, the great grandfather of the commentator of *Tarîkat*.

[560] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1606, ff 40b-41b. The colophons are on f. 41b

[561] Title given to the person who was the …

Koranic verses and an untitled short text on jurisprudence which the volume comprises.[562]

The second case that shows the familiarity of the Halveti şeyhs with Birgivi's writings is that of a volume compiled by the famous Halveti şeyh Niyazi-i Mısri (d.1105/1694), the archenemy of Vani Efendi, the leader of the third-generation Kadızadelis. According to a note at the beginning of the volume, written by Seyyid Yusuf Nesîb, who informs being a Mevlevi Şeyh in a lodge in Demirkapı ("Bâbu'l-hadîd"), the volume was compiled by Mısri's own hand in his early careeer and was sent to him by Mısri, an act that made the Mevlevi şeyh as pleased as having seen Mısri himself, which, he states, he had desired so much[563]. The Mevlevi şeyh, whom Terzioğlu identifies as Seyyid Nesîb Dede (1126/1714), does not say when Mısri sent him the volume, but from some notes inscribed on the prelims of the volume concerning personal information about Mısri's vitae –dates of his marriages and the names as well as the birth and death dates of his children[564]- we learn that the volume could not have been sent before 1079 (1668), the latest date provided in these notes. A colophon by Mısri himself at the end of a treatise of Kemalpaşazade which he copied in this volume is dated 1056 (1646-7). The minimums of the volume's period of compiliation thus emerge as 1056 and 1079.

The volume contains a blend of texts that Mısri found interesting, including a number of treatises on the question of *teğannî* and *zikr*. One such text in the volume is a treatise that is attributed to Birgivi in several manuscripts, including this copy.

[562] For these texts see Chapter II, pp. 119-120, numbers 10-12 and 13.

[563] Reşid Efendi 1218; f.1b.; see also Terzioglu, "Sufi and Dissident," p.484.

[564] On these see Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," pp.73-76.

(This treatise, of which other copies survive[565], has been variously called in the literature as *el-Kavlu'l-vasît beyne'l-ifrât ve't-tefrît* and *Risâle fî ihtimâmi emri'd-dîn*[566]). A note was written at the beginning of the copy in the above volume, which relates that the treatise is the last work of Birgivi, and that it was written to one of the muftis who had sent Birgivi a treatise of his own where he argued for the impermissibility (hurmet) of five issues –including vocal zikr-, and that Birgivi, after reading his colleague's treatise, composed this text –evidently to advise the middle ground.[567] The treatise is not in Mısri's script[568]. Nor was the text indicated in the handlist –at the beginning of the volume- that was arguably prepared by Mısri himself on evidence that the personal notes about his vitae are on the same folio as the handlist and situated in such a way as to indicate their being scribed only after the handlist. What the combination of these incidents implies is that the text was inserted in the volume in a later date, perhaps by the Mevlevi şeyh or by those who came to the possession of the volume after him. This is further supported by the fact that the original pagination breaks when it reachs the folios on which Birgivi's treatise (and another short text on the same subject) is recorded. Even if the treatise was not copied by Mısri himself; and even if it did not make its way to the volume while the volume was in Mısri's possession, the fact that it was incorporated into the volume, albeit by its later possessors, is nevertheless telling, specifically so if it was copied by a şeyh of the Mevlevi order, whose members, like the Halvetis, were prone to the Kadızadeli pressure for their practice of semâ and their use of musical instruments. On the other hand, it is also interesting to find out that two of the treatises on the

[565] For more information see the description of the work in the first section of this chapter.

[566] Atsız, *ibid*., pp. 39-40; Arslan, *ibid*., pp. 90-91; Martı, *ibid*., p. 106-107.

[567] Reşid Efendi 1218; ff.75b-77b. See also Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissitent," p. 73ff.

[568] Cf. with Mısri's handwriting on ff. 3b-5b; 45a-50b;

subject of *semâ* that Mısri's volume comprises should belong to a certain Ismail Efendi,[569] who is probably the same Ismail b. Muhammed who authored a treatise called *Cevâhiru'l-esdâf fî ahvâli's-sûfiyye*, and who, according to a manuscript that compises a copy of the latter work, was a student of Vani, Mısri's opponent[570].

Even if Birgivi's treatise was a later insertion into the autograph manuscript of Mısri, the Halveti şeyh's familiarity with Birgivi (and with other selefi-minded scholars like Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari) is nevertheless documented in other studies. Terzioğlu traces the connection back to a date that corresponds to the same period in which Mırsi compiled the above volume. Terzioğlu informs that Mısri reports having studied in Beyşehir –where he had been around 1055/1645- with Reis Efendi, who was the son of a certain Hacazade who in turn was the student of Birgivi[571]. This Hacezade is in all probability Akşehirli Hocazâde Abdunnasîr (d. 990/1582), both a student and a collegue of Birgivi, who, as we already indicated, not only composed a commentary on Birgivi's *Tarîkat* upon the author's request, but also penned a short treatise (*Risâle fî vezâ'ifi'n-nevâfil*, or *Evrâd-ı Birgivi*, or *Du'ânâme*) describing Birgivi's daily prayers and his other pious practices[572]. Another person whom Mısri reports studying with is Nebî Efendi, who was the student of Rûmi Efendi, whom

[569] The first is between ff. 68b-71b, and is preceded by a note that reads: "Hâzihi'r-risâle li'l-merhûm İsmail Efendi rh"; and the second text is between ff.72a-79a [the text actually occupies three folios (72a-74a), but has been interrupted, after 73b, by four folios that comprise Birgivi's treatise and another text following Birgivi's work; these insertions break the original pagination, as they have been re-numbered as 74-78; and the last folio of Ismail Efendi's treatise has been re-numbered 79a, which was originally numbered 74a; the sicripts of the texts also differ].

[570] Sül. K., Hafid Efendi 453, handlist on f.1a. The volume compises also a treatise by Vani and a number of treatises by Ali el-Kari, as well as Akhisari's treatise on visitation of tombs (*Müntehabu Iğâseti'l-lehfân*) which in some copies was attributed to Birgivi. There are other texts in the volume.

[571] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 58.

[572] On Hacazade see Arslan, "Birgivi Mehmed Efendi ve Arapça Tedrisatındaki Yeri," pp. 45 and 111-; Martı, *ibid.*, pp.; on *Vezâ'ifu'n-nevâfil* see Chapter II of this study.

Terzioğlu identifies as Ahmed Rumi el-Akhisari, and whom, she informs, "Mısri discusses as a scholar on a par with Birgivi and Kadızade". Here we quote Terzioğlu:

> "It is remarkable to find out that one of the most ardent opponents of the third generation Kadızadelis had already in his career studied with salafi scholars. In fact, writing forty years after the event, Mısri still professed respect for Birgivi and Rumi, even as he made clear his points of disagreement with them. He also distinguished these scholars and even Kadızade, from his archenemy Vani on the grounds that the first group, unlike Vani, did not do any harm to Sufi sheikhs. Even if this was in large a polemical remark, intended to cast Vani in the worst light possible, it could also reflect the fact that the salafi and Sufi circles in which Mısri operated in western and southwestern Anatolia in the years 1053-55/1642-5 coexisted relatively peacefully."[573]

Of course, the interest of these Sufi şeyhs in Birgivi's writings does not necessarily mean that they approved them or agreed with the arguments therein. Although certain Sufis, like some Nakşbendis or some of the early-seventeenth century Halvetis, did embrace Birgivi's perspective, not all Sufis who showed an interest in his works should be considered as symphatetic. Some of these could simply have read his works out of curiosity, or may even have intended to rebut them. Mısri's case, as the above quotation indicates, is an interesting case of mixed blessings.

Having made some remarks on the relationship between the Sufis (Halvetis) and Birgivi, we may now return to the dissemination of Birgivi's works. During the third and last stage of the Kadızadeli movement, which was initiated by Vani Efendi during the Vezirat of Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, and which lasted for 22 years (1072-1094 /1661-1683), 41+1 copies were made of Birgivi's religious works –five of the copies being in the same volume[574], and two of them in another volume[575]. Of

[573] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 58-59.

[574] Sül. K., Esad Efendi 3780. This volume comprises about 30 texts that are a mix of treatises and smaller quotations. The majority of the texts, including Birgivi's works, were copied between 1075 and 1087. Two other dates that appear at the colophons are 1122 and 1168. Birgivi's works are: *Mu'addil*, *Inkâz*, *Îkâz*, *Tercumet-u inkâz*, and *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn*. The volume also comprises Ahmed Rumi Akhisari's *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr*, which in the literature had been attributed to Birgivi, and Yahya el-Amiri's *Risâle fî'l-i'tikâd*, which in other MSS was falsely designated as

the 42 copies 17 belong to *Tarîkat* and 8 to *Mu'addil*; while the remaining 17 copies belong to ten of Birgivi's works.[576] As we noted before, the movement demised when state policy changed and Vani fell out of grace following the Vienna debacle of 1094/1683 which he promoted. In the five years from this event to the deposition of Mehmed IV by a janissary mutiny in 1099/1687, there were 17 copies of Birgivi's religious works –four of them in the same volume[577]. Of the 17 copies produced in this period, 8 belong to *Tarîkat*, while the remaining 9 copies pertain to five other works[578].

Other than the above copies which bear a date, some undated copies can also be regarded as dating from this period based on the evidence of the manuscript collections in which they are preserved. In this connection mention may be made of copies of Birgivi's works that are contained in some collections founded by men who lived in this period. There is no doubt that for a more complete comprehension of the reception of Birgivi one needs to study also the lives and interests of the owners of the manuscript collections that contain copies of Birgivi's works, as well as the history of the collections themselves. But since the present study does not have enough space for this task we will only refer to a few collections that we find

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Birgivi's own translation of his *Vasiyetnâme*. Among the text in the volume are Vani's treatise *Risâle-i Vâni* (composed 1072 and copied in Maraş in 1075), the treatise of Bedr-i Reşid on *elfâzu'l-küfr*, the treatise on *Hutbe* by Bayındırı Sinan [Sinaneddin Yusuf el-Amasi?], and a number of treatises on zikr and devran by Kemalpaşazade, Ibrahim el-Halebi, and others.

[575] Sül. K., Esad Efendi 1581; *Tarîkat* (1-67), *Seyf-i sârim* (218-249).

[576] *Vasiyet* (4), *Zuhr* (3), *Cilâ* (2), *Inkâz* (2), *Tercumetu Inkâz* (1), *Îkâz* (1), *Seyf* (1), *Şerhu Erbain* (1), *Dürr* (1), and *Fetâvâ* (1).

[577] Sül. K., Süleymaniye 1031; the volume consists of 7 works, four of them by Birgivi (*Mua'ddil*, *Îkâz*, *Inkâz*, and *Cilâ* respectively), one more work that is falsely attributed to Birgivi (*Şerhu şurût-i salât*), a copy of elfâzu'l-küfr by el-Bedru'r-Reşîd, and a copy of Ali Kari's commentary on *Fıkh-ı Ekber* by Ebu Hanife Numan b. Sabit. None of Birgivi's works is dated, but the first two works in the volume (Ali Kari's and Bedr-i Reşid's) were copied in 1100, and *Şerhu şurûti's-salât* was copied in 1098. Birgivi's works follow this work, and are probably from the same date.

[578] *Vasiyet* (2), *Cilâ* (2), *Îkâz* (2), *Inkâz* (1), *Seyf* (1), *Mu'addil* (1).

particularly interesting. One of these collections is that of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa in the Köprülü library, the first library in the Ottoman Empire to have an independent building, which comprises distinctively select manuscripts[579]. A collective volume from this collection has already been mentioned in some detail.[580] Another volume in the same collection, which bears Fazıl Ahmed's seal dated 1088, contains six texts in total, three of them by Birgivi.[581] The collection also comprises an undated copy of Birgivi's *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ* on Arabic grammar, which was copied by eş-Şeyh Ömer el-vâ'iz el-Beşiktaşi, and which comprises an owner's note of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa.[582] The online catalogue indicates that Fazıl Ahmed's collection contains also a copy of Birgivi's *Tarîkat* copied in 1123/1711 by Mustafa b. Ibrahim el-Bosnevi.[583] Whether these text entered Fazıl Ahmed's collection as a result of his personal interest in Birgivi's works, or whether they came into his possession as part of the collection of Mühürdar Hasan Ağa (d.1672) which is reported to have come under Ahmed's possession upon the former's death[584] is unclear. But Fazıl Ahmed himself copied

[579] İsmail Erünsal. "Köprülü Kütüphanesi," *DIA* 26, p.258; Idem. *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, p.61ff.

[580] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1606, a volume compiled, as we argued above, by Yusuf b. Yakub el-Halveti.

[581] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1595, no owner's notes. Birgivi's works are: *Cilâ* (ff. 97a-142b), *Îkâz* (ff.148a-154a), and *Mu'addil* (179a-253a); none of the works in the volume have a colophon or date; but all are in the same hand. The waqf note reads (ff.23a and 97a): "Hazâ mimma vekafehu el-vezir Ebul-Abbas Ahmed b. el-Vezir Ebi Abdillah Muhammed urife bi-Köprüli, efâlellahu 'isârehumâ, 1088".

[582] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1455. (Ramazan Şeşen, Cevat İzgi, and Cemil Akpınar. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Köprülü Library*. (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1986), vol. II, p. 148, no 1455).

[583] Köprülü K., Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 133 [Köprülü K., el-Hafız el-Hac Ahmed Paşa 133, according to Şeşen]. The colophon at the end reads: "temme 'alâ yedi'l-'abd … Mustafa b. İbrahim el-Bosnevi fi kal'ati medîneti Kanlıca sene 1123." (Ramazan Şeşen, Cevat İzgi, and Cemil Akpınar. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Köprülü Library*. (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1986), vol. II, p. 471, no 133). According to the same catalogue, MS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 133 is a volume of *el-Keşşâf* by ez-Zemahşeri (see Şeşen, *ibid*, vol.I, p.81). We were unable to view these volumes. Hafız Ahmed Paşa (d.1769) was the son of Köprülüzade Numan Paşa (d.1719) and the grandson of Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa Paşa (d.1691). He had contributed to the Köprülü library by endowing new books (Abdülkadir Özcan, "Köprülüzade Numan Paşa," *DIA* 26, p. 267).

[584] Abdülkadir Özcan. "Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Paşa," *DIA* 26, p.262.

out some of Birgivi's works: a volume in the collection of Mehmed Asım Bey in the Köprülü library contains two texts of Birgivi (*Avâmil* and *Izhâr*), which, according to a note at the beginning of the volume, were copied by Fazıl Ahmed himself[585].

## 1094/1683 Vienna Debacle: Demise of the Kadızadeli Movement or Shift in Geography?

Above we quoted Terzioğlu indicating that after 1094/1683 the Kâdızâdelis were mentioned only "as a thing of the past". But, significantly, she also qualified this conclusion in an important way: "This was, however, the end only of the Kâdîzâdeli faction in Istanbul, and not of Sunna-minded reformism in the empire at large; in such provincial centers as Bursa and Cairo, where similar trends and conflicts were played out with a different chronology because of variations in local conditions and dynamics, Birgivî's teachings continued to inflame passion also in the early eighteenth century".[586] Terzioğlu points to confrontations "between Sufi sheikhs and 'Rûmî' students studying the works of Birgivî in Cairo in 1123/1711". It would be interesting to find out whether copies of Birgivi's works in the manuscript collections of these geographies point to a trend comparable to the one we identified based on Istanbul libraries. As for the results of this study, it may be wise to keep in mind, while evaluating the increasing interest in Birgivi's works which this study has

[585] Köprülü K., Mehmed Asım Bey 556; *Izhâr* (ff.1b-31b), *Avâmil* (31b-37a), no colophon or date; both texts are written in a skilled *ta'lîk* script. The volume contains no other text. The waqf note on f.1a reads: "*Hâzâ mâ rekame'l-vezîru'l-a'zam Ebu'l-Abbas Ahmed ibn el-vezîr el-azam Ebi Abdillah Muhammed, 'urife bi-Köprilî, efâlellâhu 'isârehumâ*"; right below this note is an owner's note, reading: "*Hâzâ min âlâ'illâhi'r-raûfi'l-ğaffâri ilâ abdihî el-muznib Ebi Abdillah Ammar*." The seal below this note reads: "*Re'su'l-hikmeti mehâfetullâh*." At the bottom of the same folio there is the waqf seal of M.Asım Bey, which reads: "*Vakf, [min?] kutubi Mir Muhammed Asım 'an evlâdi'l-vâkıf Köprüli Muhammed Paşa, 1248*." The same seal appears on 31b and 37a.

[586] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," p. 207.

observed for the times after Mehmed IV, that some of the manuscript collections now housed by the Süleymaniye library were brought from Anatolian cities and towns[587]. We did not analyse these collections separately for two reasons: firstly, because we were interested in providing a unified picture of the manuscripts with respect to their dissemination over time, and secondly, because looking for the dissemination over place on the basis of only a limited number of collections would be inconsequential. (For a complete study of the dissemination of the manuscripts over different geographies one should make a systematic study of all manuscripts in Anatolian cities). An alternative approach would be to look for such dissemination on the basis of all collections in Istanbul libraries, but unfortunately the manuscripts do not often mention the place of copying. Those, however, that we have identified for the works of Birgivi –religious and non-religious alike- are listed below (regardless of chronology): Üsküdar (1), Galatasaray (1), İstanbul/Kostantiniyye (19), Aydın-Bozdağ (8), Birgi (2), Güzelhisar (2) Bilecik (1), Bursa (3) Denizli (1), İzmir (1), Manisa (1) Bozcaada (2), Cezire (1), Adana (1), Maraş (9), Kilis (2), Şam (1), Kahire (1), Medine (3), Merzifon (1), Çemişgezek (1) Darende (1), Diyarbakır (1), Erzincan (3), Kayseri (2), Şerefhisar (1), Timurhisar (1), Saray (5), Filibe (1), Gelibolu (1), Trabzon (2).

Summary of the Dissemination of MSS up to 1094/1683

It may be questioned whether or not the Kadızadeli movement really found a new shooting in the provinces, but the studies agree that it had demised at least in Istanbul after the Vienna debacle in 1094/1683. Therefore we have so far tried to explain the

[587] Antalya-Tekelioğlu (46 copies), Denizli (24 copies), Giresun (4 copies), Harput (13 copies), Izmir (21 copies), Yozgat (9 copies) –total: 117 copies.

dissemination of Birgivi's works in this period in relation to the development of the movement in the Ottoman capital. Here we consider it useful to sum up what we have so far mentioned concerning the dissemination of Birgivi's works before we go on to explain the dissemination of the works in the post-Vienna period.

Our findings indicate that in Birgivi's lifetime only 1+1 copies were produced for the works that he composed on the religious sciences (1 belonging to the 12 works, 1 belonging to other religious works). However, in the next forty-one years from Birgivi's death (981/1573) to Kadızade's succession to Fazlullah Efendi's position in Sultan Selim mosque (1032/1622-3, which is also the year of Murad IV's accession to the throne), 17 copies were made of Birgivi's religious works, all pertaining to the 12 works, with an average of 0.4 copy per year. On the other hand, during the first stage of the Kadızadeli movement in the reign of Murad IV (1032-49/1623-40) there were 33 + 2 copies of Birgivi's religious works in seventeen years, with an average of 2 works per year. In the reign of Ibrahim (1049-58/1640-48) there was no decrease, as 20 + 0 copies were produced of Birgivi's religious works in this period of eight years, with an average of 2.5 works per year. But during the second phase of the Kadızadeli movement (1058-66/1648-56), there was a decrease in the copies, somehow puzzlingly, as only 8 + 0 copies were produced in this period of eight years, with an average of 1 work per year. During Köprülü Mehmed's tenure of five years (1066-72/1656-61), the decreasing trend continues, now expectedly, as only 4 + 0 copies were produced, with an average of 0.8 per year. In the third phase of the Kadızadeli movement (1072-94/1661-83), which lasted for 22 years, there is an increase in the production of the texts, as 41 + 1 copies were produced, with an approximate average of 2 works per year. In the remaining five years of the rule of Mehmed IV (1094-1099/1683-1687), following the demise of the Kadızadeli

movement, the trend went higher in an interesting way, as 17 + 0 copies were produced, with an average of 3.4 works per year. It is striking to observe that the trend goes even higher in the following decades until 1180/1766 (see Table VI).

## The Kadızadeli legacy and its use in explaining the dissemination of MSS in the Post-Vienna (Post-Kadızadeli) Period

If the sudden emergence and later development of an interest in Birgivi's religious works was related to the Kadızadeli movement and the debates it catalyzed, then what accounts for the continuation of this interest after the movement had demised? It may be argued that the Kadızadeli movement only triggered a trend that took off some time after. Why and how this happened needs some elaboration.

While explaining the religious developments in the reign of Mehmed IV, Marc Baer posits that the political, military, and economic crises of the age led to the perception of a cultural crisis, the resolution for which was sought in a new turn to piety and in subscription to the promotion of a purified interpretation of Islam. This turn to piety, Baer suggests, characterized the long reign of Mehmed IV (1058-99/1648-87), a period marked by conversion understood in two senses: conversion within Islam (to a specific interpretation of it) and conversion to Islam (of Christians and Jews). The most prominent example of the second was the conversion of the Jewish Rabbi Shabbatai Tzevi and his followers, which was made a public affair. Christians and Jews were encouraged to proselytize, and imperial festivities were made into good occasions for collective conversions to take place. In line with this development, a new emphasis was put on the social segregation based on religious identity by issuing sumptuary laws that reminded the non-Muslims that they should

not violate the traditional subordinate place which they were accorded in the society. The example of the first, on the other hand, was the making of the Kadızadeli tenets the basis of a new policy, as not only the Grand Vezir (Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed) and the Imperial teacher (Vani), but also the mother queen (Valide Turhan) and the Sultan himself, who was twenty years old by the time Fazıl Ahmed succeeded his father (1072/1661), were agreed on following this new policy.[588]

The Kadızadeli movement, begun 25 years before the succession of Mehmed IV, but well within the context of high crises, was not, however, only a response to the perceived cultural crisis. It was also instrumental in the dissemination of this perception among the learned circles thanks to long-lasting religious controversies and social confrontations which it enfolded. It may be assumed that these controversies and confrontations, ostensibly present in much of the seventeenth century, resulted in the instillation in the collective memory of the learned circles of a need for the purification of religion even after the cultural crisis (or perception of it) was left behind. The tenets of the movement, one may argue, proved dominant in the formation of a new religious discourse that took shape in the post-crisis period. The continuing relevance of Birgivi's works may be understood in connection to such a new discourse. Zilfi suggests that the Kadızadeli agenda may also have counted for the later proliferation of new medreses especially in the eighteenth century.[589] This proliferation may in turn explain the continuing relevance of Birgivi's works, as we shall discuss further below.

What the Kadızadelis –and later readers- found inspiring in Birgivi's works was his criticism of the innovations, and his call for the true, uncorrupted religion,

[588] Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*.

[589] Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*, p. 233; see also ibid, pp. 204 ff.

which, the Kadızadelis saw, was the only way out of the cultural crisis. Birgivi's emphasis on the principle of commanding right and forbidding wrong was particularly appealing to them in this sense.[590] An alternative explanation is proposed by Zilfi, who argues that underlying the Kadızadeli movement was a tension between the low-ranking religious functionaries such as mosque preachers, imams, and lower-ranking medrese teachers on the one hand, and the higher religious hierarchy of the Great Mollas (şeyhülislams, judges and high medrese professors) on the other. This explains why, Zilfi implies, the Kadızadeli preachers criticized the servile forms of greetings shown to all social superiors, especially to the ulema.[591] The Kadızadelis also accused the official ulema of complicity with the practitioners of innovations by remaining silent to the anti-sharia practices of these 'unorthodox' groups. To what degree the Kadızadeli criticism of ulema was motivated by class interest and professional rivalry may be debated. But Birgivi's works seem to have provided them with good arsenal in their criticism in this respect. Birgivi himself laid similar accusation on the ulema of his time. His polemics with Ebussuud Efendi on matters of cash waqf may be mentioned in this connection. But more to the point is what appears in one of his hâşiyes (Haşiye I) on *Inkâzu'l-hâlikîn*, where he replies to the objections of those who opposed to his view that recitation of the Koran and performance of other religious duties in return for money is impermissible. One of the objections has it that the ulema of the time are silent about the common practice of taking money for such practices, which is evidence of their tacit approval of the practice. Birgivi rejects this objection by relating that the silence of the ulema can be

[590] For a good illustration of the influence of Birgivi's stance on his commentators, particularly to the kadızadelis, see Michael Cook. *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.323-334.

[591] Zilfi, *ibid.*, p. 136, note 26, and pp. 232-33.

one of the sources of legitimation only in the age of ijtihâd and for matters on which there is no deliberate rule (*nass*). Our age, he says, is not the age of ijtihâd, but that of taklîd; so the approval of the ulema of our age does not make such practices permissible; to the contrary, by remaining silent, the ulema of the age only succumb into sin by approving of what is contrary to the *nass*.[592] Even if the Kadızadeli movement had failed, anti-ulema sentiments may have well continued to draw inspiration from Birgivi's writings, which may in turn explain the continuing relevance of his works. But later in time, as shall be discussed further below, the ulema too seem to have found Birgivi's works welcome, especially in the eighteenth century.

## From Vienna Debacle to the Treaty of Karlowitz: 'Caliph' Sultans, Reforming Vezirs, and Upsurge of Sharia.

### a) Mal-functioning of the religious organization? (Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi and the Edirne Incident)

If for Baer the cultural crisis was 'perceived', for Zilfi it was definitely real. Zilfi maintains that the Ottoman religious hierarchy entered a crisis in the seventeenth century resulting basically from an increased enrollment in the 'ulemâ path' as a result of the overpopulation of the imperial capital in the wake of the crises. Regarding that Zilfi relates the emergence of the Kadızadeli movement to the crisis of the elites, it may be interesting to ask if the Kadızadeli movement was informed also by a demand for the re-organization of the religious hierarchy, which, Zilfi

[592] Birgivi, *Hâşiyetu îkâzi'n-nâ'imîn* (Haşiye I), in the collective volume of Birgivi's treatises, (printed by Asitane, nd), pp.125-126.

argues, had to absorb the newly recruited members of the organization, the demands and expectations of whom conflicted with the privileges of the long-established families[593]. Whatever the relationship between the Kadızadeli movement and the dissatisfaction with the functioning of the hierarchy, it is certain that the demise of the movement did not mean the end of the dissatisfaction. Zilfi points out that ever-increasing competition for the same limited posts in a time of economic and political crises made the members of the ilmiye path –the newcomers and the established ones alike- position-conscious: they strove for securing their own privileges by seeking patronage through establishing familial and other loyalties. As a result, the positions would increasingly come under the domination of clientage networks, denying others access to the professional routes and upward mobility. The widespread discontent about the circulation of positions culminated in the 1115/1703 revolution known as Edirne Vak'ası. After this event, Zilfi argues, the system came under new regulations, and there was an "ulema restoration" under Ahmed III (r.1115-43/1703-30) and his successors.[594]

Was there a relation between the growing discontent with the religious organization and the increasing interest in Birgivi's writings especially after Mehmed IV? To understand possible interplays between these phenomena a close look may be thrown unto the dissemination of the manuscripts that were produced from the deposition of Mehmed IV (1099/1687) to the accession of Ahmed III (1115/1703). Before that, however, a few remarks are in order about the nature of the discontent that came to the fore after Mehmed IV.

[593] Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 92 ff. For "Crisis of the Elites", see pp. 81-121; for the Kadızadeli response see pp. 129-173.

[594] Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 227-35; see also pp. 204 ff.

The discontent was remarkable especially during the reign of Mustafa II (r.1106-1115 /1695-1703), when the crowded progeny of his influential şeyhülislam and former tutor Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi (d.1115/1703) virtually dominated all top-ranking religious posts and judgeships.[595] The discontented were not only the frustrated members of the religious hierarchy. With the sultan's complete confidence, Feyzullah Efendi would also try to exercise power on matters of secular administration, causing estrangement of the Vezirs and other officers. The Edirne Incident, whose participants included the frustrated ulema as well as the military regiments, brought the end not only of Feyzullah Efendi, but also of Mustafa II. But it must be noted that Feyzullah Efendi, who was also the son-in-law of Vani Efendi, was not far from the Kadızadeli line. In Erzurum, his hometown, he was educated, among others, by Vani. In 1074/1664, two years after Vani came to Istanbul and became preacher of Mehmed IV, he summoned Feyzullah too, just about the time prince Mustafa was to be born. Feyzullah Efendi informs in his autobiography that Vani would honor him by letting him participate in the scholarly discussions held in the Sultan's presence, thus bringing him to the notice of the sultan[596]. When the prince came of age, Feyzullah was appointed his tutor, and when he became sultan, he called Feyzullah from Erzurum where he had been sent following the deposition of Mehmed IV, to make him Şeyhülislam.

Mehmed IV had nominated Mustafa for the throne; before the latter came to power, however, the Ottoman throne was occupied by two of his uncles: Süleyman II

[595] Sabra F. Meservey, "Feyzullah Efendi: An Ottoman Şeyhülislam". Ph.D. diss., (Princeton University, 1965), pp. 109ff; Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*, p.215ff; M. Serhan Tayşi. "Feyzullah Efendi," *DIA*, XII, pp.527-28; Orhan Köprülü. "Feyzullah Efendi," *IA*, IV, pp.593-600. See also the autobiography of Feyzullah Ef., the next note.

[596] Feyzullah Efendi, *Tercüme-i Feyzullah Efendi*, MS., Sül. K., Yahya Tevfik 287, ff. 8b-9a; for a Turkish translation of the autobiography see Ahmed Türek, F. Çetin Derin, "Feyzullah Efendi'nin Kendi Kaleminden Hal Tercümesi," *İ.Ü.E.F. Tarih Dergisi*, 18, 23 (1969): 205-218; 17, 24 (1970): 69-92.

(r.1099-1102/ 1687-91) and Ahmed II (1102-1106/1691-95). During their reign, wars with Austria continued which had begun with the failing Ottoman siege of Vienna. Ottomans also fought against other members of the Holy League: Venice, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Muscovy. But the rule of both sultans was short, as they both died of edema (*istiskâ*= hydropisie) within three or four years after their enthronement[597]. When Süleyman died Mustafa's name was once more mentioned for the throne, but the Grand Vezir Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa Paşa (v.1101-1102/1689-1691) arranged for the enthronement of Ahmed II. It was also Fazıl Mustafa Paşa who, eclipsing Mustafa II, had brought Süleyman to the throne after Mehmed IV's deposition[598]. Fazıl Mustafa Paşa was, like his brother Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, a medrese recruit, but was better versed than him in Islamic sciences and was devoted to the principles of sharia in his rule. During his tenure of less than two years, he made many reforms that came to be known as the 'New Order'. In many of the adaletnâmes that he arranged to ameliorate the worsened economic conditions of the non-Muslim population of Rumeli who had been squeezed by the extra-ordinary taxes, Fazıl Mustafa abolished the non-sharia taxes on the grounds that they were 'illegal innovations', and ordered the application of justice according to *fikh* books.[599] He died in the front while commanding the army.

When Ahmed II died, the Grand Vezir Sürmeli Ali Paşa had plans to enthrone Ahmed's son, Ibrahim; but Mustafa II, with the support of some palace officers, declared himself Sultan without waiting for the Grand Vezir and Şeyhülislam[600]. In

[597] Danişmend. *Kronoloji*, vol. 3, pp. 471 and 476.; Mücteba İlgürel, "Ahmed II," *DIA* 2, pp.33-34.

[598] Abdülkadir Özcan. "Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa Paşa," *DIA* 26, pp. 263 and 264.

[599] For Fazıl Mustafa's regulations see Özcan, "Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa Paşa," 263-5; Uriel Heyd. *Studies in Old Otoman Criminal Law* (ed. V.L.Ménage). (Oxford: The Clarendon Pres, 1973): p. 155.

[600] Özcan, "Mustafa II", p. 276.

an imperial edict that Mustafa II wrote upon his accession to the throne, he criticized his predecessors, including his father, Mehmed IV, for indulging entertainment and abandoning the practice of personally leading the army. In this edict, he declared that God gave him the caliphate, that he has abandoned pleasure, entertainment, and pastime, and that he wanted to revenge from the enemies who had since occupied Muslim territory[601]. He clearly wanted to avenge the Vienna debacle of 1094/1683.

The edict was a sign that Mustafa II was going to take seriously the ruling business, as he would also the aspiration for the title caliph. In a firman that he sent to the deputy Grand Vezir in Zulkade 1107 (June 1696) the Sultan rejected the *kânûn* law in favor of the sharia law; and in a buyuruldu that addressed the Defterdar to act accordingly, he wrote (Heyd's translation):

> Apart from the penalties (*hudûd*) ordained by Allah and the penalties by the porphet no penalties are to be laid down and chosen (*ihtiyâr*), and interference by anyone else in the commands of the illustrious *sharî'a* is null and is rejected. However, in some decrees which have the character of *kânûn* [the term] noble *sharî'a* is followed by and connected with [the term] *kânûn*. Not only is [the *sharî'a* thus] quoted in a place unbefitting it. It is also highly perilous and most sinful to juxtapose the [terms] *sharî'a* and *kânûn*. Therefore in firmans and decrees all matters shall henceforth be based on the firm support of the noble *sharî'a* only… and warnings are given against the coupling of the [terms] noble *sharî'a* and *kânûn*…[602]

Realizing his other promise, in the first years of his reign Mustafa II made two successful campaigns to Austria in 1106/1695 and 1107/1696. For the first time in the history of the empire, about 1500 imperial gardeners from the Edirne and Istanbul palaces were also armed and despatced to the front during the second campaign[603]. Peasants were also armed and sent to the front. The success of these

[601] Abdülkadir Özcan, "Mustafa II", *DIA* 31, p. 277; İsmail Hami Danişmend. *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, (Ankara: Türkiye Basımevi, 1961), vol. 3, p. 477;

[602] Uriel Heyd. *Studies in Old Otoman Criminal Law*, pp. 154-5.
[603] Özcan, "Mustafa II", p. 277.

campaigns increased the sultan's ambition, and in 1109/1697 he sought a more decicive victory. But his third and last campaign would result in a military catastrophe comparable to that of 1094/1683: Mustafa and his Şeyhülislam were barely spared from the Zenta (Szenta) war in which the forces of the Holy League under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy inflicted a fatal defeat on the Ottoman forces in a moment they did not expect an attack when they were trying to cross the bridge on the river Tisa/Tisza.

Following the Zenta defeat, which annihilated one-eighth of the whole Ottoman army[604], the Ottomans had to sign the treaty of Karlowitz (1110/1699), making significant land concessions to members of the Holy League. In the remaining five years of his reign Mustafa never again led a campaign; but, with the help of his new Grand Vezir Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa (v.1109-1114/1697-1702), the cousin of Köprülüzades Fazıl Ahmed and Mustafa Paşas, he initiated a series of fiscal and administrative reforms, and, indeed, managed to balance the budget, which had suffered severe imbalance in wartime economy[605]. It is not coincidental that Feyzullah Efendi, writing in 1110/1699, would declare the sultan the centennial renewer (muceddid) in a short treatise of his that was recorded by Uşşakizade in his history. Feyzullah Efendi also praises the sultan for shunning pleasure, entertainment and every amusement and nonsensical involvement (*râhat*, *melâhî*, *lağv*, and *bitâlet* are the words used).[606] Ironically, however, among the motivations of the mob that participated in the Edirne Incident (1115/1703) the sources mention a growing

[604] Özcan, "Mustafa II," p.277.

[605] For Mustafa's reforms see Özcan, "Mustafa II," p.278; Münir Aktepe, "Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa," *DIA* 3, pp.8-9.

[606] Uşşakizade, Ibrahim Hasib Efendi (d.1136/1724). *'Uşşakîzâde Târîhi (Osmanlı ilmiye teşkilatı için mühim bir kaynak).* Critical edition with an introduction by Raşit Gündoğdu. (İstanbul: Çamlıca yay., 2005), pp.750-56.

complaint among the population and the janissaries about Mustafa's seclusion in Edirne and his turn to entertainment after the treaty of Karlowitz[607].

The immediate effect of the treaty was the view that the Sultan had compromised the honour of the Muslims, which had its share in the making of the 1703 rebellion; but the participation in the emerging tenets of international law and the long terms of peace secured with each member of the Holy League (the shortest of which was designated to last for 25 years) brought Ottomans not only relief from the wars in the western and northern frontiers, but also heralded a new era of communication with the western states through an ever-increasing exchange of embassies and envoys[608]. The peace years and the cultural exchanges with Europe marked a new era in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa II was deposed following the rebellion that cost Feyzullah Efendi's life, but his successor, Ahmed III, who perpetuated the peace by a new treaty (Passarowitz) that was signed in 1130/1718, would continue to collect the fruits of this new age.

What happened to Birgivi's works in the years following the deposition of Mehmed IV down to Karlowitz? During the reign of Süleyman II (r.1099-1102/ 1687-91), which lasted for three years, 9 +0 copies were produced of Birgivi's religious works[609], making up an average of 3 copies per year. In the reign of Ahmed II (1102-1106/1691-95), which lasted for four years, 17+1 copies were produced[610], with an average of 4.5 works per year –eight of the copies being in a collective

[607] Özcan, "Mustafa II", p. 278-9.

[608] Finkel, *ibid.*, pp. 317ff and 329ff.

[609] These works are: *Tarîkat* (3), *Vasiyet* (1), *Cilâ* (1), Îkâz (1), *Inkâz* (1), and *Şerhu Erbain* (1).

[610] These works are: *Tarîkat* (5), *Cilâ* (3), *Mu'addil* (3), *Dürr*, *Îkâz*, *Inkâz*, *Seyf*, *Vasiyet*, *Dürr*, and *Kitâbu'l-îmân ve'l-istihsân*, all with one copy.

volume[611]. In the reign of Mustafa II, (1106-1115 /1695-1703), which lasted for nine years, 31+3 copies were produced of Birgivi's religious works, with an average of 3.6 copies per year –five of the copies being in the same volume[612]. (Of the 34 copies produced in this period 10 belong to *Tarîkat*, 8 to *Cilâ*, and 6 to *Mu'addil*, while the remaining ten copies are for eight works[613]). In the first four years of Mustafa II that preceded the treaty of Karlowitz 18+0 copies were produced, with an average of 3.5 per year; while in the last 5 years 12+4 copies were produced, with an average of 3.2 per year.

Other than the above manuscripts that bear dates, we have also identified six more copies of of Birgivi's religious works that are contained in a manuscript volume which comprises about thirty texts in total, most of them by some Alim Muhammed b. Hamza el-Aydını el-Güzelhisari. Although none of Birgivi's works in this volume is dated, majority of Alim Muhammed's works bear his own colophons with dates that vary between 1090 and 1106. So, Birgivi's works too were likely copied around this time, and perhaps by Alim Muhammed himself[614]. (It was probably this same Alim Muhammed who authored a treatise to rebut views of some people who critiqued certain clauses in Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme*).[615] Similarly, the collection of Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa in Süleymaniye library contains a

[611] Sül. K., Carullah 2081. These texts are: *Muaddil*, *Dürr*, *Îkâz*, *Zuhr*, *Seyf*, *Inkâz*, *Cilâ*, and *Vasiyet* (incomplete). The colophon at the end of *Cilâ* (f.126) informs that the text was copied by [Carullah] Veliyüddin Ebulfazl er-Rumi summe el-Medeni in Medina in 18 of Zilkade 1104 from a copy that was copied from the autograph.

[612] Sül. K., Hacı Mahmud Efendi 6301. Birgivi's works are: *Inkâz*, *Zuhr*, *Îkâz*, *Cilâ*, and *Mu'addil*. The volume also contains Birgivi's *Izhâr* on grammar.

[613] *Zuhr* (3), *Vasiyet*, *Îkâz*, *Tercümetu Inkâz*, *Kavl-i vasît*, *Erba'în*, *Tafdil-i ğanî*, and *Kitâbu'l-imân* (two-vols), all with one copy.

[614] Atıf Efendi 2785. Birgivi's works are: *Şerhu Erbain*, *Cila*, *Mu'addil*, *Inkâz*, *Zuhr*, *Îkâz* and *Tercumetu Inkâz*.

[615] See footnote 381 at the end of Chapter II.

contemporary copy of *Tarîkat* and five undated copies of Birgivi's religious works – two of them in a collective volume.[616] Amcazade, the reforming Grand Vezir of Mustafa II, was also the architect of the treaties of Karlowitz and Istanbul. But Feyzullah Efendi's habit of interference with vezirial business, it is argued, forced him to retire only weeks before the Edirne Incident broke. Amcazade also patronized learned man; it was to him that the historian Na'îmâ (d.1128/1716) dedicated his famous history, *Ravzatu'l-Hüseyn fî hulâsati ahbâri'l-hafîkayn*. His complex in Istanbul comprises also a library and a medrese.[617]

Now, even if the suggestion is warranted that a major motivation behind the Kadızadeli movement was widespread discontent with the functioning of the religious organization, and even if a similar discontent motivated the ulema who either participated in the 1115/1703 uprising or failed to interfere to save Feyzullah (whom, Zilfi argues, they viewed as an outsider rather than a typical ulema member), the Edirne Incident is nevertheless not comparable to the Kadızadeli movement. Nor should the corollary follow from the above parallelism that the post-Kadızadeli interest in Birgivi's works was likewise motivated by the widespread discontent with the religious hierarchy, given especially that Feyzullah Efendi himself, the target and victim of the discontent, was not a stranger to the Kadızadeli line, and that he definitely had affinity with Birgivi's works. This is because other than a medrese and a library which Feyzullah Efendi established in Medine, he also established a library next to the medrese that he built in Fatih (now Millet Kütüphanesi), which comprised

[616] Sül. K., Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa 291 (Tarîkat, dated 1221/1710), 225, 450, 454 [ff. 144a-153a (*Inkâz*), 159a-164b (*Mu'addil*)]; and 455.

[617] Münir Aktepe, "Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa," *DIA* 3, pp.8-9; Şennur Aydın. "Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Külliyesi," *DIA* 3, pp.9-10; İsmail Erünsal. "Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Kütüphanesi," *DIA* 3, pp.10-11.

a rich collection approximating two-thousand books[618], among which are three works by Birgivi: *Tarîkat* and *Vasiyet* from the religious works, and *Imtihânu'l-ezkiyâ* on grammar. While the copy of *Tarîkat* comprises an owner's note by Feyzullah Efendi as well as his seal of waqf dated 1112 (1700-1)[619], the copies of *Vasiyet* and *Imtihân* bear another waqf seal, dated 1127 (1714), which belongs to Feyzullah's son, Seyyid Murtaza (d.1758), who became Şeyhülislam in 1755.[620] Feyzullah Efendi is also interesting from another angle. We noted that he was son-in-law to Vani Efendi, the opponent of the Halvetis; but he informs in his autobiography that he received from his father the Halveti licence. Vani, too, was likely affiliated with the Halvetiyye for a time during his stay in Erzurum when he was patronized by Feyzullah Efendi's uncle Seyyid Mustafa.[621]

b) Increased literacy? Growth in medreses and library foundations in late seventeenth century

The continuing relevance of Birgivi after the demise of the Kadızadeli movement following the Vienna debacle of 1094/1683, as suggested earlier, may better be understood by reference to the proliferation of medreses and the increase in the number of medrese students beginning from the late seventeenth century. Cahit Baltacı's classic study on the Ottoman medreses is limited to the fifteenth and

[618] Erünsal. *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, pp. 65-66.

[619] Millet K., Feyzullah Efendi 1261, f. 5a: "Min kutubi'l-fakîr es-Seyyid Feyzullah el-muftî fi's-saltanati'l-'aliyyeti'l-Osmaniyye, 'ufiye 'anhu."

[620] Millet K., Feyzullah Efendi 2170, (*Vasiyet*) and 1907, (*Imtihân*). The waqf seal on the first folios (1a) of each volume reads: "Vakfu's-Seyyid Murtaza ibn Şeyhulislam es-Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi ğufire lehu ve li-vâlideyhi, sene 1127." For Murtaza see Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*, pp. 217, 224 (note 83), and 247.

[621] Sül. K., Yahya Tevfik 287, ff. 6b, 8a.

sixteenth centuries and has no counterpart for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries[622]. The reference for the latter period remains to be the work of Zilfi. We already noted that Zilfi placed the Kadızadeli movement in opposition to the ulema hierarchy; the rise of the Kadızadelis was, according to her, a serious challenge to the position of the ulema and the medreses. However, Zilfi argues, short before the Vienna debacle (1683) that heralded the demise of the Kadızadelis, there were signs of ulema restoration. In 1675 two new and important medreses were opened by converting two lay Imperial schools into medreses: the Galata Sarayı and the palace of Ibrahim Paşa at Hippodrome. By the end of the century, both medreses had evolved into a ten-medrese structure with important numbers of professors and students.[623] These were only the most important ones. Medrese was, Zilfi argues, "the most favored pious foundation in the period." According to Zilfi's computation, while in the middle of the seventeenth century there were in Istanbul between 120 and 200 medreses (cf. Baltacı who indicates that there were 175 medreses in Istanbul at the end of the sixteenth century[624]); in the second half of the seventeenth century their numbers nearly doubled, as between 1651 and 1705 at least 160 new medreses were added to those already functioning.[625] On the other hand, the emphasis on obedience to sharia in the imperial firmans of some sultans of the period and in the reform programs of some grand vezirs may also be thought in connection to what Zilfi terms as the 'ulema centrism' of the Ottoman Empire in these centuries. Uriel

[622] Cahit Baltacı. *Osmanlı Medreseleri (XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda)*, I-II. (İstanbul, İFAV, 2005). Baltacı states at the afterword to the work that he plans to concentrate on the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries (see *Ibid*., p. 907).

[623] Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*, pp.206-7.

[624] Baltacı, p. 911.

[625] Zilfi, *ibid*, p. 205.

Heyd, after drawing attention, in the passage quoted above, to the Ottoman *kânûn* being gradually substituted by sharia, wrote:

> True, this upsurge of Muslim orthodoxy at the end of the seventeenth century did not completely eliminate all the penal regulations of the *kânûn*.... Even as late as the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, a decree refers to the execution of criminals who had acted 'contrary to the noble *sharî'a*, the exalted *kânûn*, and the Sultan's will…'. But there can be little doubt that in the course of the seventeeth and eighteenth centuries the Ottoman Criminal Code was gradually discarded as a source of penal law, and finally completely forgotten. / The reasons fort his decline and final discarding of the *kânûn* are manifold. The cadis and other *'ulemâ'*, whose political power and influence increased considerably during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had never fully accepted the criminal regulations of the *kânûn*, particularly where they were contrary to the *sharî'a*."[626]

The upsurge of orthodoxy, then, and the increase in the number of medreses and the medrese-trained, may also account for the continuing interest in Birgivi, who, no doubt, was one of the most sharia-minded scholar in the entire history of the Empire. Actually there are indications that Birgivi was widely read among the medrese students, and that some of his works on religious sciences had become textbooks by the late seventeenth century, and were well established in the eighteenth century. Cevat İzgi, in his book *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, describes several treatises by Ottoman scholars on the medrese programs. One of these treatises, *Nazmu'l-'ulûm* of Ishak b. Hasan et-Tokadi (d.1100/1689), mentions three works of Birgivi on religious sciences among the works that should be read in various stages of training: *Dürr-i yetîm* on tecvîd, and *Vasiyetnâme* (*Risâle-i Birgivi*) and *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* on tasavvuf and morals. The same Tokadî, in his discussion of several other branches of sciences (such as logic, divine and natural *hikmet*, and a number of others like *'arûz*, *hatt*, and poetry), invokes the authority of Birgivi's *Tarîkat*.[627] He

[626] Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Code*, pp. 155-156

[627] Cevat İzgi. *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*. I-II. (İstanbul: İz Yayınları, 1997), vol.1, pp.78ff.

has also composed a commentary on Birgivi's *Cilâu'l-kulûb*, entitled *Ziyâ'u'l-kulûb*, and a commentary on Birgivi's *Zuhru'l-müteehhilîn*, entitled *Zehâ'iru'l-âhire*.[628] Another treatise on medrese programs, *Tertîbu'l-ulûm* of Saçaklızade Muhammed b. Ebubekir el-Maraşi (d.1145/1732-3), mentions that after learning the Koran, the student must be instructed on catechistical matters and should memorize Birgivi's *Risâle*.[629] Another such text, *Kevâkib-i Seb'a*, an anonymous work composed in 1155/1741, relates that a student at the start of his career has first to learn to read Koran with tecvîd; after which he is to read Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's Turkish *Risâle* on akâid. Finally, Nebi-Efendizade Ali b. Abdullah el-Uşşaki (1200/1785-6)'s *Kasîde fi'l-kütübi'l-meşhûre fi'l-ulûm* also mentions *Dürr-i yetîm* among the works to be read.[630]

The late seventeenth century was also a period of library building in the Ottoman Empire, a trend that would continue in a faster pace in the eighteenth century; a development that may have contributed to the preservation and transmission of a greater number of copies of Birgivi texts compared to earlier times. İsmail Erünsal's *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi* well demonstrates the development of the library foundations.[631] Until the late seventeenth century, there were only two kinds of libraries: those within the medreses and shrines, which were open only to medrese students and the ulema; and those inside the mosques and lodges, which were open also to the public. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, new libraries were established in independent buildings and with their own personnel.

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[628] For copies of *Zehâ'iru'l-âhire* see Sül. K., Kasidecizade 233 (63 ff).; Harput 329 (ff.129b-173a); for copies of *Ziyâul-kulûb* see Antalya Tekelioğlu 902 (1-117).

[629] İzgi, p. 83.

[630] İzgi, p. 94.

[631] Erünsal. *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, pp. 61ff.

These libraries would also function as new centers of education besides medreses and other institutions. The first specimen of these purpose-built libraries was the Köprülü library, which though founded by Köprülü Mehmed Paşa, was completed by his son Fazıl Ahmed upon the former's death. But the formal opening of the library was arranged by Fazıl Mustafa Paşa in 1089/1678. Besides such independent libraries, in this period three important medrese libraries were also founded. Two of these libraries were also established by members of the Köprülü family: Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa's library in his complex in Çarşıkapı, which was completed by his son in 1690, and Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa's library in his complex in Saraçhane, which was established in 1112/1700. The other library was established by Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi in 1111/1699.[632]

Erünsal also notes that while at the end of the seventeenth century new libraries continued to be established in Anatolia within medreses and mosques, in İstanbul those who wanted to endow their books would, instead of establishing a new library, put their manuscript collections in the libraries that were already established in mosques or medreses.[633] Two such cases that Erünsal mentions are of specific interest to us. A certain Şeyh Ali Efendi b. Salih el-Esiri, who was Friday preacher in Ayasofya, endowed 80 books to be put in a bookcase in Ayasofya in 1092/1681, and in a vakfiye that he arranged for the purpuse, he stated that in case his own lineage exterminates, the books be supervised by an alim in the profession of Kadızade Efendi. In 1099/1688 Mahmud Efendi b. Süleyman proposed the same condition for the 21 books that he endowed in the Süleymaniye mosque.[634] This Kadızade, as

[632] Erünsal, *ibid*, pp. 64-66.

[633] Erünsal, *ibid*, p. 66.

[634] Erünsal, *ibid*, p. 67.

Erünsal suggests, is probably Kadızade Mehmed b. Doğani Mustafa, the leader of the Kadızadeli movement, who served as Friday preacher in Ayasofia mosque from 1040/1632 until his death in 1045/1635. Such information is interesting not only because it suggests that the sympathy for the movement survived even after its demise, but also because it shows the role played by the Kadızadelis and their sympathizers in the development of the book culture in the Ottoman Empire, especially from the late seventeenth century onwards. The importance of this observation is all the more significant regarding that the Köprülüs and Feyzullah Efendi were also names close to the Kadızadeli line. But, as was the case with medreses, the eighteenth century is more significant in the establishment of new libraries.

## The Eighteenth Century: Ahmed III, Passarowitz, the 'Tulip Era', and the Aftermath

We have noted earlier that the Treaty of Karlowitz (1110/1699) signified a new period in the history of the Ottoman Empire that continued even after the deposition of Mustafa II in the wake of the Edirne Incident (1115/1703). Although the treaty of Karlowitz had inaugurated a period of non-war, and although Mustafa's successor, Ahmed III (r.1115-43/1703-30), also favored peace, the first half of his reign nevertheless witnessed sporadic wars in the northern and western frontiers. The two successive peace treaties that the Ottomans signed with Muscovy in 1711 (the treaty of Pruth) and 1713 (the treaty of Edirne) following a definitive route to the forces of Peter the Great in the war of Pruth not only won the Ottomans back the territory they had lost to Muscovy by Karlowitz, but also made sure that the northern frontiers of

the empire were safe. Now the Ottomans cherished a hope also to take back the territories lost to Venice and Austria in Karlowitz. They retook Mora from the Venetians, but were routed by Austrians in Petervaradin: the Ottoman commander and Grand Vezir, Silahdar Damad Ali Paşa (=Şehid Ali Paşa; v.1125-28/1713-16), was killed in this war, and though his two successors tried to change the course of events, no success could be gained. It was by effort of the newly assigned and the pro-peace Grand Vezir, Nevşehirli Ibrahim Paşa (v.1130-43/1718-30), who had recently been married to Ahmed's doughter Fatma Sultan, the widow of Şehid Ali Paşa, that the treaty of Passarowitz was signed in 1130/1718, which brought a long peace to the western frontiers. Except for the last few years of Ahmed's reign, when Iran caused problems in the Eastern frontiers, the peaceful atmosphere was dominant in the empire after Passarowitz.[635] The emerging preference in the eighteenth century of diplomacy over war as a means of resolving the international differences, and "the down-grading of military to the advantage of the administrative profession, the inevitable outcome of the long-term transformation of the empire from a militant state to one more concerned with defence,"[636] had profound effects on the lives of the elite and of the society at large. Most significant, perhaps, was the introduction of new ideas and developments as a result of the new political, economic, and cultural contacts with Europe:

> "After the wars of the Holy League and the Spanish Succession, after the Great Northern War, after Karlowitz, the 1703 uprising and wars with Russia, Austria and Venice, there was peace in western Europe and peace along the Ottoman Empire's western frontiers. Now it was not only war that prompted the sultan to send ambassadorial missions to his European peers. It was to Paris that Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi – so-called because he had belonged to the 28th janissary regiment- set out

[635] Münir Aktepe, "Ahmed III," *DIA* 2, pp.34-38; Idem, "Damad İbrahim Paşa, Nevşehirli," *DIA* 8, pp. 441-43; Finkel, 349-50.

[636] Finkel, 368-9.

> in 1720 with the news that the Sultan had granted France permission to repair the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. … [He] was instructed by Grand Vezir Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşaa 'to visit fortresses and factories, and to make a thorough study of the means of civilization and education, and report on those suitable for application in the Ottoman Empire'. In effect he was the first official Ottoman cultural envoy. … Damad Ibrahim had himself traveled to Vienna the previous year to ratify the Treaty of Passarowitz…"[637]

The diplomatic relations were by no means limited to Europan countries. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed's report was followed by similar reports from Ottoman envoys sent to Russia, Austria, Poland, and Sweden; but also to Iran and Mughal India.[638]

The post-Passarowitz period, known in the historiography as the 'Tulip Era' ('Lale Devri'), a period that was co-eval with Damad Ibrahim Paşa's tenure (1130-43/1718-30) and that ended with the eruption of the Patrona Halil uprising, is generally described in the historiography as a time not only of economic prosperity, but also of westernization and even secularization of the daily life.[639] A number of developments are emphasized that are considered to have prepared for the new experience: life-long-tax-farming system, introduced in the time of Mustafa II, became the standard; and those who benefited from this system emerged as new and strong households that were distinguished with their luxuries as well as charitable foundations. These grandees vied with the royalty in the show-off as well as in patronizing and in establishing the charitable foundations. Other important developments of the period are the emergence of a nascent industry in the empire, the

[637] Finkel, 341-342.

[638] Finkel, pp. 361, 368-9, and 397. "During the Eighteenth century at least twenty missions to European capitals are known to have taken place, five of them in the last decade [under Selim III]." (*Ibid*, p.397).

[639] Abdülkadir Özcan and İskender Pala, "Lale Devri," *DIA* 27, pp.81-85. On the notion of the 'Tulip Age' see Erintan(?), Ariel Salzman, Shirine Hamadeh. XXX . Sajdi, Dana. (ed.) Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee. Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century. London, N.Y.: Tauris Academic Studies, c2007.

increased trade, the advent of European capital, and the new international trade (paired with the export of raw material and import of textiles[640] –ramifications of which seem to be significant on the costumes, especially of women, in the eighteenth century). These developments, combined with the emergence of a new wealthy class and the increased contacts with Europe are held to have created a new lifestyle. In the 'Tulip Age' the elite cherished a new fondness of constructing western-style palaces with marble cascades in the Kağıthane district, the symbol of which was the Sadabat, and of establishing fountains that mushroomed throughout the capital. The new palaces in Golden Horn and Bosphorus, housing tulip gardens, were the new pastimes for the elites in the summer nights, a new entertainment facilitated by the practice of night-lighting (çerağan), where poets like Nedim would colour the festivities with their poems encouraging commitment to the worldly beauties and pleasures. In short, it was a period of introvert-entartainment, of new tastes, new foods and new goods.[641]

Although the uprising of 1143/1730 (reasons for which are not discussed here) formally put an end to the period, forced for the execution of its architect, Damad Ibrahim Paşa, as well as of his son-in-laws, and brought about replacement of Ahmed III with his nephew Mahmud I (r.1143-68 /1730-54), son of Mustafa II; and although the first decade of Mahmud's reign was spent by the effort to overcome the effects of the rebellion (shortages, plague, the population pressure, etc.), the previous tendencies would persist in the new period as well. Mahmud had initially dissociated himself from the 'Tulip Age' as, within three days of his succession, he ordered the Sadabad palaces to be razed by their owners; but the palaces and the marble basins of

[640] Finkel, *ibid.*, pp. 338ff.

[641] Finkel, 342ff; Aktepe, "Ahmed III," 37-38;

the water cascades were restored to its former splendor in 1743, making Sadabad once again the centre of pageantry.[642]

The Other Face of the 'Tulip Era'

The 'Tulip Age' was not only about pleasure, however. In the cultural sphere, too, the period was marked by many new developments, such as an increase in the courtly patronage for the artists, poets, and authors. Significantly, a committee of learned men was formed in this period which made regular translations from the Eeastern and western languages. There was also an increase in the endowment of charitable foundations and, specifically, of libraries. Ahmed III and his two Grand Vezirs, Şehid Ali Paşa and Damad Ibrahim Paşa, were beneficient patrons and book lovers. All three had established libraries, as well as medreses, and other educational centers, as shall be seen below. The period was marked also by the use of thecnological novelties in the cultural sphere, such as the introduction of the printing press (1141/1729), and the production of paper.

Nor was westernization as thorough as is generally assumed. "The Eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire may have been fully involved in European trade," Finkel notes, "but not all the novelties brought back by ambassadors and merchants from the exotic West, whether artefacts or ideas, were likely to take firm root in a state so fundamentally different in outlook from its European neighbours." Furthermore, "it was never likely that ever-closer Ottoman contact with Europe would result in deep cultural transformation."[643] It is significant to note, in this

[642] Finkel, 364-5.

[643] Finkel, 369 and 370. See also R. Murphy on "westernization in the eighteenth century."

connection, that the literature also indicates that in parallel to the above developments there was also a growing emphasis on religiousity in this period, and in much of the eighteenth century. Finkel has singled out a number of instances where the new emphasis on religion manifests itself. One was the regularization in the 'Tulip Era' of the annual visits –in 15 of Ramadan- of the Sultan and his court to the sacred chamber housing the mentle of the prophet.[644] This was only one of the many occasions for the ruling authority to show the religious concerns of the state. "Another opportunity for Sultan Ahmed to remind his subjects that religion was an essential component of Ottoman dynastic life presented itself on the occasion of the ritual ceremony symbolizing the religious instruction of his young sons which took place with great pomp shortly after their spectacular circumcision feast in 1720."[645] In the same occasion, 5000 boys were also circumcised on behalf of the Sultan.

Ahmed III, who had specific interest in the art of calligraphy, had personally drawn the calligraphies that still ordain the many fountains and other charitable foundations that he established in different corners of the imperial city. He also made two copies of the Koran by his own hand and sent them to the tomb of the Prophet in Medina.[646] In 1720, the sultan also ordered the restoration of the Dome of the Rock and the el-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem as well as other shrines in the area, which had received little attention since the time of Süleyman I. The audience of this restorational enterprise, however, was not only the muslim subjects, as Finkel suggests: "It may be that behind Ahmed's repair programme lay a wish to signal Ottoman interest in the Muslim sacred monuments, as a counter to the heightened

[644] Finkel, 348ff.

[645] Finkel, p. 349.

[646] Aktepe, "Ahmed III," p.37; Özcan and Pala, "Lale Devri," pp.81-85.

interest of foreign powers in the Christian shrines."[647] Further restoration took place under Ahmed's successor, Mahmud I, in 1742 and 1753-4. Another novelty of Ahmed's time that Mahmud I and his successors perpetuated was the Ramadan feasts in Eyüp that had been initiated by Damad Ibrahim.[648]

The ulema were not forgotten either. The growth in the number of medreses that had begun in the last decades of the seventeenth century continued in the eighteenth century. In this century, there was also a re-organization of the medrese hierarchy, as two new grades were added to the ten-grade sysem.[649] In conjunction with this rise in the number of medreses as well as of the medrese graduates and the professors, there was a rise also in their position. Zilfi has discussed the role of the Huzur Dersleri, the religious lectures that were held in the Ramadan at the Sultan's presence and by participation of many ulema, as an occasion not only to show the religious concerns of the Sultan, but also to honor and materially support the ulema – mostly the medrese professors- who participated in these lectures. Zilfi argues that another function of these lectures, to which significant resources were allocated, was, especially for such reforming sultans as Mustafa III, to win over the ulema and pacify the conservative reaction to the reforms.[650]

Perhaps the characteristically more eighteenth-century event, however, was the frequent promulgation of sumptuary laws that warned both Muslims and non-Muslims about strict observance of the sartorial regulations. It has been noted that during the last decade of the reign of Ahmed III the Istanbulite population, and

[647] Finkel, p. 360.

[648] Finkel, p. 349.

[649] Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 230ff; Baltacı, Cahit. *Osmanlı Medreseleri (XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda)*, I-II. 'İstanbul, İFAV, 2005), vol. I, pp 73-75; cf. Cevat İzgi. *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*. I-II. (İstanbul, İz Yayınları, 1997), vol.I, p.38.

[650] Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 227-30; Finkel, p. 349.

especially women, enjoyed an unprecedented freedom of movement and visibility in the outer space, a fact not unrecognized by the authorities. In 1726, "at the height of the 'Tulip Age,'" Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa acted against the trend by issuing regulations to curb down the new vogue before it was too late.[651] Betül İpşirli, in a recent thesis, has shown that although the regulations on the clothings of non-muslims had precedents also in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, such regulations were far more frequent in the eighteenth century. All of the sultans ruling in the eighteenth century issued fermans concerning the question, though the most prolific in this sense was Selim III.[652] The study also indicates that while the sartorial regulations of the seventeenth century addressed mostly the infringements by the non-Muslim subjects, who aspired to wear the cloths reserved for their social superiors (the Muslims, but sometimes also the 'Franks', i.e., the European foreigners), the regulations of the eighteenth century were as much addressed to the infringements committed by Muslims, especially the women, who dressed in Eeuropean fashion, but also men, who, more than imitating the non-muslims or Europeans, tried to dress like their co-religionists of higher classes.[653] This may indicate that the renewed emphasis on sumptuary laws is partly attributable to the increase in the number of infringements. Donald Quataert, however, maintains that promulgation or reiteration of such laws needs not always indicate an increase in violations. Rather, he argues, other factors triggered such enactments:

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[651] Finkel, pp.370-71. For a short overview of clothing fashions and laws in the Ottoman Empire see Donald Quataert. "Ottoman Society and Popular Culture," in Idem. *The Ottoman Empire: 1700-1922*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.140-149; for a more detailed discussion of the issue see Idem. "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire: 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29/3 (August 1997), 403-425.

[652] Betül İpşirli Argıt. "Clothing Habits and Regulations in the Ottoman Empire (1703-1839)," MA Thesis (Boğaziçi University, 2001); pp. 60ff; and 140 ff.

[653] Ipşirli, p. 99.

> During most of the long eighteenth century (1683-1808), the state was under extreme military pressure and, in the second half of the period, suffered fiscal crises as well. These were the days of military defeats, territorial withdrawals, and economic contraction (after ca.1763). In such precarious political and economic circumstances, the clothing laws sought to assure Ottoman subjects and elites that the world was still an orderly place in which all retained their respective political and social positions. They worked to reinforce the existing social markers, stressing control of men over women, Muslims over non-Muslims, and elites over subject classes.[654]

Not unlike Quataert, Finkel construes the official response to the infringements as a "retreat into traditional certainties", and "an impulse to protect what was unique to Ottoman political and cultural life" in a time marked by exchange with the west and increased consumption.

Uriel Heyd, while discussing the Ottoman fetva, notes that Ottoman secular officials, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, asked for the opinion of the muftis on such matters 'public law' as administrative measures and taxation. Heyd adds: "It is claimed that the number of such fetvas grew in the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century, when the central government more and more felt the need for a legalization of its acts. Correspondingly, it may be added, the importance of *'ulamâ'* corps and its head, the Shaykh al-Islam, in the body politic increased during this period of Ottoman decline."[655] Finkel maintains a similar argument but also points, perhaps significantly, to universality in the eighteenth century of the tendency of the states to emphasize their religious identity:

> A need to compensate for the damage inflicted on the self-esteem of the Ottoman Empire by the disastrous wars of the later seventeenth century

[654] Donald Quataert. "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire: 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29/3 (August 1997), p.407; see also p.404.

[655] Heyd, Uriel. "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva" (posthumously published by. V.L.Ménage) Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 32/1 (1969): 35-56, p. 54-55. For the claim Heyd refers to D'Ohsson and Uzunçarşılı. For similar emphasis on *sharia*, see also Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Otoman Criminal Law* (ed. V.L.Ménage). (Oxford: The Clarendon Pres, 1973), pp. 153-157.

> perhaps lay behinde the renewed emphasis on the Islamic quality of the sultan and his realm that ran parallel with the increased consumerism and apparent openness to western ideas that characterized the eighteenth century. Although designed as much for internal as for external consumption, this redefinition of the Ottoman imperial image so evident in the reigns of eighteenth century sultans was at the same time very much in tune with the spirit of the age, one in which in other states across Europe respect for and adherence to a single officially-defined religion was still a touchstone of loyalty, whether it was Catholic France and Austria, Protestant Britain and Prussia, or Orthodox Russia.

We have already noted that some of Birgivi's religious works were established as textbooks from the late seventeenth century onwards. Some interesting questions to pose are: What was the role of the ulema in the issuance of the sartorial laws? More generally, what was the relationship between the ulema and the imperial reforms? Westernization? To what extent were the ulema inspired by Birgivi's works in their attitudes? These are interesting questions, but we can not handle them here. In the following few pages we will propose some answers instead to the following question: Were Birgivi's works read by secular officials and palace people in the eighteenth century?

## Dissemination of Birgivi's Works in the Eighteenth Century

### a- Reign of Ahmed III (1115-1143/1703-1730)

In light of the above remarks that were made about the early eighteenth century, it is interesting to see the dissemination of Birgivi's works in this period. In the fifteen years from the accession of Ahmed III (1115/1703) to the treaty of Passarowitz (1130/1718), 47+2 copies were produced of Birgivi's religious works, with an average of 3.3 works per year. (30 of these copies belong to *Tarîkat* alone, while the

remaining 19 copies belong to a total of eleven works –five of them in a collective volume[656], and four in another one[657]). (On the other hand, in the twenty years from the treaty of Karlowitz (1110/1699) to the treaty of Passarowitz (1130/1718) there were 65 copies in total, making up an average of 3.25.) In the so-called 'Tulip Era' (1130-1143/1718-1730), which covers the last thirteen years of Ahmed's reign and is marked on the two sides by the treaty of Passarowitz and the the Patrona Halil uprising, 32+6 works were produced, again with an average of 3 works per year. (These works include only 10 copies of *Tarîkat*: the remaining 28 copies belong to a total of thirteen works –six of the copies in a collective volume[658], and nine in another volume[659] that was compiled between 1133-46 by Halil b. Musa el-Kocevi in Aydın and Birgi, which also comprises other texts on Birgivi as well as six texts by the copyist's town-mate Alim Muhammed b. Hamza el-Aydıni, who wrote the texts between 1090 and 1106.)

[656] Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 1047. This volume contains about ten treatises, two of them by Ali el-Kari. Birgivi's works are: *Cilâ*, *Mu'addil*, *İkâz*, *Inkâz*, and *Zuhr*. Majority of the treatises bear dates that vary between 1127-1129. Other than the treatises, the volume also contains a number of short excerpts from various sources (mainly from Suyuti and Ali el-Kari), and two licenses -dated 1137- by the famous Nakşibendi şeyh "Derviş Muhammed Emin ibn Hasan et-Tokadi en-Nakşibendi" (d.1158/1745) to someone he calls "my brother and source of happiness Hasan Efendi" (ff.3b-4b), who must be "Hasan b. Muhammed b. Hüseyn b. Muhammed" who copied one of the texts in 1128 (see the colophon on f.73b). Tokadi is reported to have authored a summary of Birgivi's *Tarîkat* entitled *Talhîsu't-Tarîka* (see Arslan, *ibid*, p. 122).

[657] Sül. K., Kasidecizade 238. The works are: *İkâz*, *Inkâz*, *Mu'addil*, and *Zuhr*. The volume is not viewed by us.

[658] Sül. K., Ibrahim Efendi 416. The volume comprises 16 treatises in total. Birgivi's works are: *Mu'addil*, *Inkâz*, *Zuhru'l-mülûk*, *Tercumetu Inkâz*, and *İkâz*. The volume also comprises a copy of Akhisari's *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubur*. Other texts contain: Hamza Efendi's *Risâle fi'l-bey' ve'ş-şirâ*, two treatises on zikr, one by Kemalpaşazade (*el-Münîre*), one by Fakih Muhammed b. Musa (*Tefrika beyne'l-cehri'l-meşrû..*). Except for one text that is dated 1280 (see f.135a), all other texts are by the same hand, and bear dates between 1134-37.

[659] Sül. K., Yazma Bağışlar 1269. Birgivi's works are: *Erba'în* and its commentary, *İkâz*, *Inkâz*, *Zuhr*, *Tercumetu Inkâz*, *Zuhru'l-mülûk*, *Vasiyetnâme*, *Dürr*, and *Mekûb*. The volume also comprises a biography of Birgivi taken from *Zeyl-i şekâik*, and Hocazade's Evrâd-ı Birgivi (see Chapter II) and Kuşadalı Ahmed's translation of this work. The volume comprises many other treatises, including "Risâle-i Rumi Ahmed Efendi" and "Risale-i Kadızade."

Besides the copies that were produced in this period, also important are older or undated copies contained in manuscript collections that were founded in this period. Sultan Ahmed III was a fan of books, and had established two libraries in İstanbul (one in the Topkapı Palace, bearing his own name, the other in Yeni Cami)[660]. His library in Topkapı contains two copies of Birgivi's *Tarîkat*, as well as a copy of *Izhâr*, all of them undated.[661] The manuscript collections of Hacı Beşir Ağa, the Chief Black Eunuch of Ahmed III and Mahmud I, who held the office for an unprecedented 29 years from 1130/1717 until his death in 1159/1746, contains 9 manuscript volumes that comprise, among others, 17 copies for 10 works by Birgivi on religious sciences (4 copies of *Cilâ*, 3 copies of *Vasiyet*, 2 copies for each of *Zuhru'l-müte'ehhilîn* and *Tercumetu Inkâz*, and 1 copy for each of *Tarîkat*, *Mua'addil*, *Îkâz*, *Inkâz*, *Dürr*, and *Zuhru'l-mülûk*).[662] Regarding that the works in the collection of an ağa of *harem* were likely read by some of the inhabitants of the palace, one may assume that palace women were also among Birgivi's readers. Beşir Ağa was also a beneficient patron and a wealthy commissioner: among the many buildings that he endowed throughout the empire (in Istanbul, Medina, Cairo, Ziştovi, and Baghdad) are two *mekteb*s, three medreses, one darülhadis, and four libraries (two of them in Istanbul, one in Medine, and one in Ziştovi). Other than the books he put in these libraries, Beşir Ağa also endowed some books to the Imam-ı Azam mosque in Baghdad, and had also a valuable personal collection in his

[660] Münir Aktepe, "Ahmed III," *DIA* 2, pp.37-38; Semavi Eyice, "Ahmed III Kütüphanesi," *DIA* 2, pp.40-41; Erünsal. *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, p. 81.

[661] TSM Ahmed III K., 534 and 535 (*Tarîkat*); 2268 (*Izhâr*). The copies were not viewed for this study.

[662] Sül. K., Beşir Ağa (Eyüp) 90; Sül. K., Hacı Beşir Ağa 351, 397, 406, 654, 672, 673, 675, and 928. Note that only one of the texts dates from the time of Ahmed III and two from the time of Mahmud I; two are undated; others are from older dates. Seven of the texts are contained in the volume 672, which was mentioned above (see p.191, note 523).

disposal.[663] Given Beşir Ağa's interest, it is more than likely that the books he sent to Medine and Bağdad included some Birgivi texts.

Beşir Ağa's successor and namesake, Moralı Hafız Beşir Ağa (d.1165/1752), was another palace ağa of the 'Tulip Age' who -despite his venality- had fame also for his patronizing activity[664]. A copy of the partial translation that Tarikatçı Emir (d.1143/1730[?]) had made on Birgivi's *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* was produced in 10 Receb 1163 (15 June 1750) by some Derviş Ahmed b. Ali, who states in the colophon at the end of the work that the copy was produced by the order of the "veliyyu'n-ni'me ağa-yı Darussaade", expressing also the rigor and difficulty with which he carried out the task and his expectation of reward from his patron[665]. One year later, Seyyid Muhammed Lubbi (d.1166/1753-4), a secretary of the palace library, complemented the mentioned translation, again by order of Hafız Beşir[666].

Ahmed III's Grand Vezir and son-in-law Şehid Ali Paşa (v.1125-28/1713-16) was famous for his patronizing artists and for his rich manuscript collections, which he put in three libraries that he established in Istanbul. Şehid Ali Paşa's love for books was such that he prohibited the export of books from Istanbul.[667] His collection in Süleymaniye library comprises 14 texts by Birgivi on religious sciences;

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[663] Abdülkadir Özcan. "Beşir Ağa, Hacı", *DİA* 5; p.555; see also Finkel, *ibid*., p. 349. Finkel, who emphasizes the venality of Beşir Ağa, seems to confuse "Hacı" Beşir Ağa with his successor "Hafız" Beşir Ağa –see the next note. For his libraries see Erünsal, İsmail. "Beşir Ağa Kütüphanesi", *DIA* 6, pp.3-4; Idem, "Beşir Ağa Kütüphanesi", *DİA* 6, p.4; Idem. *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, p. 85-87.

[664] Hafız Beşir Ağa, too, endowed many charitable foundations, especially fountains, in Istanbul. He and a number of his clients were put to death on charges of bribery. Both Aghas had a sway on Sultan Mahmud I. After his death, he was succeeded by a third Beşir Ağa. Abdülkadir Özcan. "Beşir Ağa, Moralı." *DİA* 5; pp.555-556.

[665] Darülfünûn Kütüphanesi, Türkçe blm. 1979, f. 193b. This copy is not represented in the graphs and tables in this study, because other Birgivi texts in library were not sytematically viewed.

[666] Arslan, *İmam Birgivi,* p. 120; M.Ali Ayni, *Türk Ahlakçıları*, s.104.

[667] Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, p.70-71.

while seven of them are in a collective volume[668], the remaining seven are in six volumes.[669] Nevşehirli Damad Ibrahim Paşa, who, like Ali Paşa, was both Ahmed's son-in-law and his Grand Vezir (v. 1130-1143 /1718-1730), was another public investor of the time. The complex that he built in Nevşehir, his hometown, includes a library, as does the complex that he built in Istanbul[670]. He had also a manuscript collection, now in Süleymaniye library, which contains a copy of *Tarîkat* and a copy of Birgivi's famous grammar work, *Imtihân*.[671] Note that in this period Birgivi's works on non-religious sciences also experienced a slight increase[672], though in a lower pace compared to the increase that is observed for his grammar works in the second half of the eighteenth century (especially in between 1170-1200/1756-1785, under Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I) (see Table VII and Table VIII).

Besides these collections, which were mentioned for their particular importance, there were also other libraries that were established in this period. Erünsal notes that from Ahmed III's accession (1115/1703) to the treaty of Passarowitz (1130/1718) libraries continued to be founded, though in a slow fashion, both in Istanbul and in other regions of the empire.[673] But after the Passarowitz, the

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[668] Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 2888; this volume comprises, other than Birgivi's texts (*Cilâ*, *Inkâz*, *Îkâz*, *Dürr*, *Zuhr*, *Mu'addil*, and a second copy of *Zuhr*), a one-page note on *musâfaha* (f.77b), and a copy of Yahya el-Yemeni's treatise, here titled *Esîr-i Melâhîde* (ff.78b-96a), which in some manuscripts was designated as the Arabic tarnslation of Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme* (see Chapter II). All texts are by the same hand (Ali b. Ibrahim; see ff.29a and 106a), and none comprises a date. The handlist on f.1a comprises an owner's note, reading: "*Sâhib Seyyid Muhammed Kavukçizade, hazine-i hümayun, temmet*". The waqf note on 106a reads: "Şehid Ali Paşa kütüphanesine vakf olup defter-i kütüba kayd olundu, fi 15 ZA sene 294".

[669] Sül. K., Şehid Ali Paşa 1477, 1478, 2260, 2728, 2755, 2891

[670] Münir Aktepe, "Damad İbrahim Paşa, Nevşehirli," *DIA* 8, pp. 441-443; İsmail Erünsal. "Damad Ibrahim Paşa Kütüphanesi", *DIA* 8, p.449; Idem. *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, p. 80-81; Semavi Eyice, "Damad Ibrahim Paşa Külliyesi," *DIA* 8, pp. 443-447.

[671] Sül. K. Damad Ibrahim 772 and 1051, respectively, both copied before the reign of Ahmed III: the first in 1106, the second in 1096.

[672] 22 copies of the works on non-religious sciences were produced between 1115 and 1143.

[673] Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, p. 68, 87-

founding of libraries took off in İstanbul. In the provinces, however, there was a slowing-down in such activities around these years[674], a fact not so surprising given the wretchedness of the provinces during this period.[675]

Rehabilitation of Birgivi

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, it seems, was marked by an increase not only in *reading* (suggested by the increase in the library foundations and by the high production of MSS of works that were composed in earlier times), but also in *writing* (i.e., composition of new works). Besides the continuing popularity of Birgivi's own works, in this century many new commentaries were also composed on Birgivi's writings. Kayserili Remzi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1131/1718-9), "Tarikatçı Emir" Seyyid Mustafa b. Abdullah (d.[?]1143/1730), Abdülğani b. İsmail en-Nablusi (d.1143/1731), Saçaklızade Muhammed b. Ebubekir el-Maraşi (d.1145/1732), Şeyh Muhammed Emin et-Tokadi (d.1158/1745), "Keşfi" Ahmed b. Ebubekir es-Samakovi (d.1160/1747), and Ebu Said el-Hadimi (d.1176/1762) are only some of the authors who composed commentaries on Birgivi's works in the first half of this century. Specifically, all of the above names have commentaries (some of them more than one) on *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye*. Similar activity is true of the second half of the century. What is remarkable is that an important number of these commentators are Sufis: Nablusi, Tokadi, and Hadimi are among the most prominent Sufi (Nakşibendi) şeyhs of the century. Their interest in Birgivi, in conjunction with the wider interest in him that is characteristic of the eighteenth century, may be

[674] Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, p. 82. For these libraries, see *ibid*., p.96ff.

[675] Finkel, 349ff.

construed as indication that Birgivi was rehabilitated in this century after the Sufi-Kadızadeli controversy of the seventeenth century had receded in memory, and after the polarization this controversy had caused was dissolved. Now free fom the "Kadızadeli" interpretation (and perhaps association), Birgivi was more orthodox, and spoke to all segments of the religious strain. How different the commentaries of the Sufis were from other commentaries is an interesting question that needs to be analyzed by comparative reading of the texts themselves.

The increase in the foundation of new libraries in this period must have had its share in stimulating composition of new works, as the following example may suggest. (It may also suggest that the proliferation of new works was not limited to commentaries on Birgivi's works, but was a more general phenomenon). Ibrahim b. Yusuf el-Bolevi el-Lehîf, author of a text on funerary rituals (cenâ'iz), of which a copy was made by Hasan b. Muhammed in 1128/1715, states in the introduction of the work that when he became responsible for preaching (*tezkîr*) in the Mahmud Paşa mosque –probably around the above date- he was given whatever he wanted from wonderful books (*kutub nefîse*) on tefsîr, hadîs, usûl, and furû', upon which he decided to compile (*entahabe*) a text that he considered to be of use to all Muslims[676]. This example demonstrates the relation between the activity of composing a new work and the access of the prospect authors to the works and sources they needed for composition. It also indicates that at the beginning of the eighteenth century such needs of the would-be writers were being sufficiently met.

[676] Sül. K., Reşid Efendi 1047, ff. 7b-73b.

## b- After the 'Tulip Era': From 1143/1730 to the Succession of Selim III in 1203/1789

The popularity of Birgivi's religious works did not diminish after the 'Tulip Era'. Table VI shows that Birgivi's popularity lasted incessantly until 1180/1766 when it entered a turn-down. Even after this turn, Birgivi's popularity would continue, albeit with a slower pace, for two more decades: it diminished only in about 1200/1785. This observation supports the view proposed above that although Birgivi's works came to focus in a period of political, military, economic and cultural crises, they ultimately established a solid place in the religious discourse of the Ottoman literati thereafter, even (or rather especially) when the crises were left behind. This is well attested by the fact that in the roughly sixty years from the end of the 'Tulip Era' (1143/1730) to the accession of Selim III (1204/1789), a total of 153+13 copies of Birgivi's religious works were produced, making up an average of 2.8 works per year. Four sultans reigned in this period. The number of copies produced in the time of each is as follows: in the long reign of Mahmud I (1143-1168 /1730-54), which lasted for twenty-five years, 75+3 copies were produced, with an average of 3.12 work per year; in the short reign of Osman III (1168-71/1754-57), which lasted for three years, 6+2 copies were produced, with an average of 2.7; in the reign of Mustafa III (1171-87/1757-74), which lasted for sixteen years, 46+6 copies were produced, with an average of 3.25 per year. This is the maximum. In the reign of his successor Abdülhamid I (1187-1203/1774-89), which lasted for sixteen years, 26+2 copies were produced, with an average of 1.75. This is the turning point. Actually, in the first 12 years of Abdülhamid I (until 1200/1785), there were 24 copies, with an average of 2 copies per work. In the last four years, however, only 4 copies were

produced, with an average of 1 copy per year. So, although the actual turning point may be designated as 1200/1785, historically it may be more pertinent to consider the pediod to be lasting until 1203/1789, the death of Abdülhamid I and the succession of his newhew Selim III.

As with the 'Tulip Age', one factor in the high popularity of Birgivi's works in the period after the 'Tulip Era' was, no doubt, the increase in the number of libraries that were established in this period. Ahmed III's successor, Mahmud I (r. 1143-1168 /1730-54), not only established three important libraries in İstanbul (Ayasofya, Fatih, and Galatasaray), but also tried to establish libraries in the far-fletching corners of the empire.[677] Members of his court also established important libraries. 1151/1738, his Grand Vezir Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa established a library next to the mosque that he built in Davutpaşa. Carullah Veliyyüddin, the Kadı of Edirne, bulit a library in 1147/1734-5 next to the mosque of Mehmed II (Fatih). The Ayasofya library of Mahmud I was opened in 1153/1740 with great seramony, and many ulema endowed books to the new library. In the same year, two important libraris were established in İstanbul: Atıf Efendi library, established by Defterdar Atıf Mustafa Efendi, and Aşir Efendi library, established by Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi, but completed by his son Şeyhülislam Mustafa Aşir Efendi. Mahmud's second library, Fatih library, was opened in 1155/1742. All of these libraries consist of more than one collection, many of which contain copies of Birgivi's works. Sultan Mahmud's third library, Galatasary, was opened in 1167/153-4. Small medrese libraries continued to be established in his reign.[678]

Mahmud I also established Revan Köşkü library within the palace, and initiated the building of a new-style mosque that would comprise also a library, but

[677] *Ibid.*, p.82.
[678] For these see Erünsal, *ibid*, p. 96ff.; for the above libraries, see *ibid*, pp.87-96.

he died in 1168/1754 before its completion, and the complex was finished by his successor Osman III (r.1168-71/1754-57), after whom it was named Nur-u Osmaniye. Osman delated the waqf seal of Mahmud on the books that he had prepared for the new library, and issued his own seal instead.[679] Another library established in this period was the library of Rağıb (Mehmed) Paşa, the Grand Vezir of Osman III and Mustafa III. It was opened in 1176/1763.

Mustafa III (r.1171-87/1757-74) established a library in the Laleli Medresesi, which he built in 1177/1764 as part of the complex of his mosque in Laleli. He built a second library in the palace in the barrack of the gardeners (Bostancılar Kışlası) in 1181/1767-8.[680] Veliyüddin Efendi, the twice-Şeyhülislam in the reign of Mustafa III, established a library next to Beyazıd mosque in 1182/1768-9. Some of the ulema of the period put their collections in the medreses and mosques that lacked a library. Again in this period, the medreses that were built in Anatolia and Rumeli generally comprised libraries; but independent libraries were also established in these regions.[681]

The next sultan, Abdülhamid I (r. 1187-1203/1774-89), was concerned more than anything else with military reforms; but he too established a modest library (Hamidiye) in 1194/1780 in his complex.[682] Several of government members in this period built libraries in their hometowns outside Istanbul, such as Nevşehir, Isparta, and Burdur; in other parts of the empire, libraries continued to be built by other people.[683] But in Istanbul too there were built a number of libraries: Murad Molla

[679] Erünsal, *ibid*, p. 100.

[680] Erünsal, *ibid*, pp. 102-103.

[681] For these see Erünsal, *ibid*, p. 106ff.

[682] Erünsal, *ibid*, pp. 108-9.

[683] Erünsal, *ibid*, pp. 109-110 and 112ff.

library (1189/1775) in Çarşamba and Hacı Selim Ağa library (1197/1782) in Üsküdar ar the important ones.[684] The next sultan, Selim III (r.1203-1222/1789-1807), did not build an independent library, but restored the library of his Father Mustafa III in Laleli and that of Selim II in Edirne. In this period not many libraries were established in Istanbul. Instead, at the end of the eighteenth century, the foundation of new libraries with significant collections began to be established in other cities.[685]

As for the major military and political developments of the period following the 'Tulip Era': the first ten years of the reign of Mahmud I were marked by internal disorder that had surfaced with the Patrona Halil uprising. In 1740 and 1748 two more uprisings appeared in Istanbul and were suppressed. The Patrona uprising was caused partly by the failures in the Eastern front and the unwillingness of the Sultan and the Grand Vezir to lead the army. The wars with Iran continued from 1730 to the peace treaty of 1746. In the meantime, the Ottomans were engaged with another war in the west: Ottoman-Russian-Austrian war lasted from 1733 to the treaty of Belgrade in 1739. After this treaty, there was peace between the Ottomans and European states for a period of thirty years (until 1768), partly because the western states were occupied by Cental European wars (1740-48 the war of the Austrian Succession; 1756-63 the Seven Years war). Mahmud I died in 1168/1754, eight years after the peace with Iran and fifteen years after the peace with western states. It was in the years following the treaty of Belgarde (1739) that the important libraries of Mahmud's time were established. The short reign of Osman III was peaceful; his reign is remembered with frequent fires in Istanbul. Osman was succeeded by Mustafa III in 1171/1757. Mustafa's first ten years were also in peace. It was also

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[684] For others see *ibid*, pp. 111-112.

[685] For these see Erünsal, *ibid*., p. 115ff.

during these years of peace that Mustafa built his two medreses in Istanbul. Following this long lull in the international warfare (from 1746 –or 1739- to 1768), the Ottomans were drawn into two fateful wars with Russia. The first of the wars was in Mustafa's time: the Ottomans declared war to Russia in 1768 and fought with the English-Russian coalition from this date to the signing of the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774. In the same year, short before the treaty was signed, Mustafa III died and was succeeded by Abdülhamid I. The defeat of the Ottoman navy in Çeşme was fatal and the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca was more humiliating than the Karlowitz. But the peace continued for thirteen years. It was also in the peace years that Abdülhamid I and his statesmen built a number of libraries. The second Ottoman-Russian war began in 1787, and two years later, in 1203/1789, Abdülhamid I died and was succeeded by Selim III. The latter's efforts to win the war against Russia (and its ally, Austria) failed due to the great changes that occurred in international relations around this time: The French Revolution of 1789 altered the position of France as a traditional ally of the Ottomans, and the hope to remedy it by an alliance with Prussia was abortive as the latter settled its differences with Austria. The Ottoman-Swedish alliance was also short-lived. As a result, the Ottomans had to sign the treaty of Jassy in 1792, which reinforced the Ottoman losses set in Küçük Kaynarca.[686]

### c- 1203/1789: Tthe Turn Down

Above we noted that Birgivi's popularity would continue, even after a slow down in 1180/1766, until 1200/1785. What happened to Birgivi's works after this period --or,

[686] For the changing international relations see Finkel, p.384-387, especially 385.

to mark it politically, after the accession of Selim III in 1203/1789-- and especially in the nineteenth century? This is a question that this study will not try to answer due to two major reasons. First, to explain the dissemination of Birgivi's works in the next decades will require an extensive analysis of the development and the regimes of the Ottoman printing culture, which is beyond the scope of the present study, which is already out of proportion. Secondly, it is impossible to do justice in this study to the huge literature on the modernization and westernization trends of the nineteenth century that had begun with reforms of Selim III, and the interplay between these developments and the emergence of modern religious movements and rationalist currents in the Ottoman Empire. Nor is there space to discuss the literature on "neo-sufism", which is maintained to characterize many *tarîkat*s in the nineteenth century. It is better to leave the reception of Birgivi's works in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to future studies.

However, it may not be useless to indicate here, in a few sentences, the course of the production of the manuscripts of Birgivi's religious works after 1200/1785, without attempting to provide an explanation for it. We noted that 1200/1785 (or rather, 1203/1789) is a turning point in the course of the production of the manuscript copies of Birgivi's works because it signified a diminishing point. Another turning point is 1271/1854, as the production of MSS of the religious works stopped by this date. In the meantime, in the reign of Selim III (1203-1222/1789-1807), which lasted for nineteen years, 12+2 copies were produced, with an average of 1.35 copies per year. In the following forty-eight years, from 1222/1807 to 1270/1853, only 20 copies were produced of Birgivi's religious works, with an average of 0.7 copies per year. After this date, the production stopped, as only one copy was produced in 1325/1907. This can partly be explained by the fact that, beginning from 1260/1844

Birgivi's religious works were being frequently printed in the press (See Table IX). But before this 'revival' in the print came about, there was a period of recession: between 1200-1260 (1785-1844) both manuscript copies and editions were close to non-existent (only 30 MSS and 4 editions in sixty years –the editions being for *Vasiyetnâme* only). (Compare Tables VI and IX; see also Table X for a comparison of trends in production of MSS and editions of Birgivi's works on religious sciences).

# CHAPTER V

# CONCLUSION

The foremost concern of this study was to examine how one of the most influential and controversial Ottoman scholars of all time, Birgivi Mehmed Efendi, was perceived and received by other Ottoman readers and writers in the centuries following his death. This it accomplished through a critical analysis of his bibliography on the one hand, and through a study of the dissemination of his works on the other. The critical analysis of Birgivi's bibliography revealed that of the more than 110 works that were attributed to him in the manuscripts or in other sources only 35 works belong to him for certainty. The rest are either attributions whose Birgivi authorship is uncertain (about 30 works), or are outright misattributions (more than 45 works). While a good number of the misattributions (about 20 works) were made in the manuscripts themselves, others were made either in the Ottoman sources, or in modern studies, or in the library catalogues. The identification of these misattributions is important to understand not only the historical Birgivi, but also the later reception of this sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar. Remarkably, some of the works that were falsely attributed to him were directly instrumental in turning Birgivi into an anti-Sufi scholar with an uncompromising selefî persuasion, an image that is still well and alive, if also increasingly questioned, in the present time.

We also tried to understand how it could be that so many false attributions took place in the Ottoman literary culture of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and why there was an overwhelming interest in Birgivi in this period. His commitment to the principle of commanding right and forbidding wrong (*emr bi'l-*

*ma'rûf ve nehy 'ani'l-münker*), his polemics with his contemporary Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi over cash waqfs, his objection to a host of practices that he considered to be blameworthy innovations (*bid'at*), and particularly his criticism of certain practices of the Sufis of his time –all of these made Birgivi not only an exceptionally interesting figure in the intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire, but also an inspiring source for those who claimed to reform Ottoman society and religion by purging all the accretions that came to be known as components of Islamic life in the Ottoman Empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If there were some who did not find in Birgivi's works what they looked for, they tried to meet their demands by making him author of new works that answered their demands. In this study we have illustrated how an "imaginary" Birgivi was constituted via such misattributions, and how this imaginary figure has survived down to the present. We have also discussed the works of the "historical" Birgivi. But how the "imaginary" figure relates to the "historical" Birgivi is a subject that needs further treatment in future studies. Such a study would be required to make a thorough and comparative reading of all the texts in question.

On the other hand, the present study also scrutinized the texts that it identified as Birgivi's own works. This it did in two ways: it classified these works according to various considerations and demonstrated the dissemination over time of the manuscript copies of these works. By classifying the works according to various considerations –such as their subject-matter, their language, and their popularity- the study intended not only to identify the audience that Birgivi might have targeted, but also to establish as accurately as possible the relative role that each work might have played in the formation of the image of the author and in the determination of his reception in later centuries. We have shown that some of the works were obviously

more determining than others in this respect. For instance, while *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* (in Arabic) and *Vasiyetnâme* (in Turkish) of the religious works of Birgivi have had a high number of manuscript copies (296 and 164, respectively), had been subject to commentaries, tnanslations, summaries etc. (41 and 15, respectively), and were printed in the press (14 and 21 editions, respectively), about half of his works had less than 10 copies each (some having a single copy), had no commentaries, and lacked any print editions. We have also been observed that a good number of Birgivi's own works have been less effective in this regard than some of the works that were falsely attributed to him. For instance some of the misattributed works like *Risâle fî ahvâl-i etfâli'l-müslimîn* and *Risâle fî ziyâreti'l-kubûr*, despite the relatively small number of manuscripts which they have (5 and 16, respectively), were and continue to be not only printed but also commented upon or translated as works of Birgivi.

For the historical dissemination of Birgivi's works, on the other hand, the present study has focused specifically on the most popular works of Birgivi that he composed on the religious sciences. The dissemination was shown in terms of thirty years, in terms of decades, and finally, in terms of varying time periods set with reference to historically significant developments (of political, cultural, or intellectual nature). We have observed that although in certain periods the production of copies of Birgivi's works was much higher than in other periods, the popularity of Birgivi's works continued incessantly for some 170 years, from the third decade of the seventeenth century (1032/1623, fifty years after Birgivi's death) to the last decade of the eighteenth century (1203/1789). For the seventeenth century we contextualized the dissemination of the manuscripts by reference to the emergence, development, and demise of the Kadızadeli movement, and showed that both the

emergence of the movement and the increase in the production of copies of Birgivi's works coincided. On the other hand, the continuing relevance of Birgivi's works with an even increased popularity after the demise of the movement could partly be explained with reference to the rise in the number of medreses and in foundation of libraries from the late-seventeenth century onwards, developments that may be considered to indicate an increase in literacy in this period. However, since only the religious works of Birgivi displayed a significant increase in this period, and not his works on grammar, we suggested, the argument of literacy may not reach too far. Alternatively, it was argued, the increase in this period may be considered as an indication that the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represent a period of vitality in the religious literature, at least in a specific part of it, the one produced by Birgivi. This in turn, we suggested, had to do with the fact that especially in the eighteenth century, when the social polarization caused by the Kadızadeli-Sufi controversy of the previous century –which determined the conditions of the reception of Birgivi's works- receded in memory, there emerged a new neutral atmosphere which saw also a rehabilitation of Birgivi's works among the learned establishment in general, as his works began arguably to seem more orthodox than they did previously when they would have been associated with the Kadızadelis. That a number of Sufi commentaries were made on Birgivi's *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye* in the first half of the eighteenth century may support this observation.

Drawing on the literature that emphasizes the upsurge of the sharia in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this study also suggested that the increased interest in Birgivi's religious works in this period is in line with this new religious sensibility. The question remains as to what extent Birgivi's own works were

responsible for bringing about this new receptiveness to sharia, which in turn transformed the conditions for their own reception.

Actually the eighteenth century has been considered in different ways in the modern literature. Contrary to the above approach that emphasizes the upsurge of sharia both among the learned circles and the state apparatus, and the redefinition of Ottoman imperial identity as a sharia-abiding state, there is another body of literature that envisions the eighteenth century as a period of secularization and worldliness. Both Reinhard Schulze, who proposed the existence of an Islamic Enlightenment in the eighteenth century that was characterized by a process of the secularization of ideas and transformation form theological to anthropocentric world-view, and his critics, such as Bernd Radtke and Gottfried Hagen, who criticized the hypothesis of an Islamic Enlightenment –all converge in depicting the eighteenth century as a period of secularization and worldliness. But the increased interest in Birgivi's religious writings as observed by this study does not support this view. Interestingly, Hagen also relates "Birgivism" to modernity in religion, and sees the Kadızadelis who appealed to Birgivi's works for their reformist agenda as proto-moderns, suggesting that these were indicative of the secularization and privatization of the idea of religion. But this suggestion, too, does not seem in place if only because the Kadızadeli activism in the name of forbidding wrong, which they regarded as a social obligation, is at odds with the privatization of religion. The analogy is precluded also by the issues on the list of the Kadızadeli program, who objected, in the name of religion, also to social-cultural practices that had nothing to do with religious rituals, which is counter to the secularist privatization of religion. The Kadızadeli movement may better be understood in the context of a "new turn to piety" that characterized, the seventeenth century, as Marc Baer has suggested. On

the other hand, making a modernist-secularist judgment about the Kadızadeli movement on the basis that they rejected rituals and institutions of Sufi orders while appreciating the mystical experience is inadequate; for, these characteristics are true also of many earlier, "puritanical" discourses, which were neither modern nor secularist –such as the discourse of Ibn Teymiyye.

* * *

This thesis assumes to represents a first step in the direction of a reception study in Ottoman intellectual history. In order for such a study to be complete, however, other steps must be taken as well. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Birgivi's writings became the subject of intense intellectual activity. We have already identified that at least 210 commentaries, translations and, sometimes, refutations, were penned on some of Birgivi's works –*Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye* alone having more than forty commentaries. Although the identity of these texts and their authors are yet to be studied, it is clear that the contributors of these works come from diverse backgrounds. While the Kadızadelis made Birgivi's name a rallying point for their cause, their opponents, especially the Sufis (particularly those affiliated with the Halveti order) rebutted his works in a number of studies. There were also some Sufis who devoted positive commentaries to his works. Future studies will hopefully proceed to research such secondary writings produced on Birgivi's texts, to see if there was only one kind of reading and interpretation of this sixteenth century scholar who seems to have recently attracted a renewed interest both in Turkey and in some of the Arabic speaking countries. A study of Ottoman intellectual history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries based on the intellectual output of the period –the least studied period in the entire history of the Empire- will also bring new perspectives to the question of intellectual stagnation

that the "decline" paradigm supposes for the "post-classical age". Part of this study will entail researching the short intellectual biographies of the relevant authors to identify certain social, intellectual as well as textual networks in which reproduction and interpretation of Birgivi's ideas might have taken place. Apart from such synchronic networks of people and of texts, such a study may also discern diachronic networks through which ideas and texts would have been transmitted to successive generations, and propose an intellectual map of the early modern period of the Ottoman Empire. In short, this study would illustrate not only how ideas and texts became subjects of negotiation between social and religious groups of various persuasions, how they had different, perhaps contradictory receptions; but also how they were historicized and functioned in shaping the concrete social and political experiences of people in a period marked by crises.

One thing that the present study excluded but which needs to be taken into consideration, is to trace the reception of Birgivi in the nineteenth century by following publication of his works in the print, a task that requires an extensive analysis of the development and the regimes of the Ottoman printing culture. We have already identified that Birgivi's works on religious subjects were being frequently printed as of 1844, while there was a period of recession in the production of manuscript copies of his works after 1785. One question that may be explored is: How did this re-emergence of an interest in Birgivi in the mid-nineteeneth century relate to "neo-sufism", which is maintained to characterize many *tarîkat*s in this century? Another topic of further research is the modernization and westernization trends of the nineteenth century and the interplay between these developments and the emergence of modern religious movements in the Ottoman Empire, and the place of Birgivi within it.

# APPENDIXES

TABLE I: Measuring Authenticity and Popularity of Birgivi's Works

| | | | Testimony of the Author and Other Sources to Authenticity of the Attributions | | | | | | | | | | | Measures of Popularity (# of Manuscripts, Commentaries, and Editions) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Birgivi's Works | | References by the author in some of his works to his other works | | | Works with byline, author's colophon, and autograph copy | | | Testimonies of other sources to Birgivi's authorship of the works | | | | Total | Summary (meas. of popularity) | Manuscripts (952-1326/ 1545-1908) | | Commentaries, translations and refutations | | Editions (1141-1326/ 1729-1908) |
| | No | Title | TM | Cilâ | Inkâz | auto-graph | by-line | au-thor's colo-phon | el-ikdu'l-manzûm (Ali b. Bali) | Zeyl-i Şekâik (Atai) | Keşfu'z-zunûn (Katip Çelebi) | MS Bağdatlı Vehbi 601 (f.1a) | total # of testi-monies | popular works (18+1) | (a) # of MSS | earliest dated MS copies | (b) # of comme ntaries | earliest identified commentaries (şerh/haşiye), translations, and refutations | (c) # of edition s |
| Religious Works | 1 | Dürr-i yetîm | + | | | | | + | | + | + | + | 5 | a+b+c | 36 | 981 | 2 | before 1041 (cmt by Akhisari) | 2 |
| | 2 | Tefsir | | | | | | | (+) | | | + | 1 (+1) | (b) | 7 | 1175 | 1 | bef. 1185 (hşy by Mustafa Arslanzade) | |
| | 3 | Usûl-i hadîs | | | | | | | (+) | | | | (1) | a+b+c | 17 | 1174 | 3 | 1151 (cmt by Karsi) | 8 |
| | 4 | Erba'în | | | | | | | | | + | + | 2 | | 9 | 1113 | | | |
| | 5 | Erba'în şrh. | | | + | | | | | | + | + | 3 | a+b+c | 40 | 1011 | 2 | 1157 (cmt by Akkirmani) | 2 |
| | 6 | Imân-Istihsân | | | | + | | | | | | | 1 | | 4 | 1103 | | | |
| | 7 | Tarîkat | | | | (+) | | + | | + | + | + | 4 (+1) | a+b+c | 296 | 981 | 41 | bef. 981 (cmt.by Birgivi's student Hocazade) | 14 |
| | 8 | Vasiyetnâme | | + | | (+) | + | + | | + (emâlî) | + | + | 5 (+2) | a+b+c | 164 | 981 | 15 | 1052 (versed trns by Bahti) | 21 |
| | 9 | Cilâ | + | | | + | | + | | | + | + | 5 | a+b+c | 91 | 995 | 4 | bef. 1100 (cmt.by İshak b.Hasan Tokadi) | 2 |
| | 10 | Zuhr | + | | | | | + | | | + | | 3 | a+b+c | 61 | 981 | 6 | bef. 1100 (cmt by İshak b. Hasan Tokadi) | 2 |
| | 11 | Mu'addil | + | | | | | + | | + | + | + | 5 | a+b+c | 143 | 978 | 8 | 1063 (trns by İbrahim b. Muhammed) | 2 |
| | 12 | Feraiz & şrh. | | | | | | | + | ++ | ++ | ++ | 4 | | 4 | 1192 | | | |
| | 13 | Talîkât-ı Înâye | | | | | | | | + | + | | 2 | | 2 | 976 | | | |
| | 14 | Hâş.İzâhi'l-islâh | | | | | | | | + | + + | | 2 | | 1 | nd | | | |
| | 15 | Ücret | | | | | + | | | (+) | | | 1 (+1) | | 1 | nd | | | |
| | 16 | Îkâz | + | | | | | + | | (+) | + | + | 4 (+1) | a+b+c | 64 | 1033 | 1 | 972 (rebuttal by Bedreddin el-Müderris) | 2 |
| | 17 | Inkâz | + | | | | | + | | (+) | + | + | 4 (+1) | a+b+c | 54 | 1035 | 2 | 978 (rebuttal by Bedreddin el-Müderris) | 2 |
| | 18 | Inkâz trc | | | | | + | | | | | | 1 | a | 21 | 981 | | | |
| | 19 | Seyf | + | | | | | + | | + | + | + | 5 | a+c | 21 | 1033 | | | 2 |
| | 20 | Mektûb | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 1133 | | | |
| | 21 | Fetâvâ | | | | | | | | | | | | | 11 | 1074 | | | |
| | 22 | Zuhru'l-mülûk | | | | | | | | | | | | | 9 | 1035 | | | |
| | 23 | Kavl-i vasît | | | | | | | | | | | | | 8 | 1038 | | | |
| | 24 | Luğaz | | | | | | | | | | | | (b) | 2 | nd | 11 | bef. 1176 (cmt by Hadimi) | |
| | 25 | Tafdîl-i ğanî | | | | | + | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | nd | | | |
| Non-religious Works | 26 | Izhâr | | | | | | | | | + | + | 2 | a+b+c | 120 | 1005 | 41 | ? (cmt by Birgivi's stdnt Muslihuddin Avlamışi) | 69 |
| | 27 | Avâmil | | | | | | | | | | + | 1 | a+b+c | 131 | 959 | 39 | bef. 1114 (cmt by Kuşadalı Ahmed Ef.) | 58 |
| | 28 | Imtihân | | | | + | | | + | + | + | + | 5 | a+b+c | 57 | 989 | 5 | bef. 1085 (hşy by Kuşadalı Mustafa b.Hamza) | 6 |
| | 29 | Ta'likât Fev.Ziy. | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 995 | | | |
| | 30 | Enzâr | | | | | + | + | | + | | + | 4 | a+c | 34 | 967 | | | 15 |
| | 31 | Kifâye | | | | | | | | (+) | + | + | 2 (+1) | a+b+c | 32 | 1016 | 10 | 1057 (Ibn Allan) | 4 |
| | 32 | Sarf-ı cedid | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1180 | | | |
| | 33 | Emsile-i Fazliye | | | | | | | | | | + | 1 | | 8 | 1066 | | | |
| | 34 | Emsile şrh | | | | | | | | | | (+) | (1) | | 6 | 1066 | | | |
| | 35 | Âdâb | | | | | | | | | | + | 1 | a+b+c | 26 | 1124 | 20 | bef. 1151 (cmt by Carullah Veliyüddin) | 1 |
| | TOTAL | | 7 | 1 | 1 | 3 (+2) | 5 | 10 | 2 (+?) | 10 (+4) | 17 (+1?) | 19 (+1) | (*) | (**) | 1487 | | 211 | | 212 |

(*) all but 7 works of Birgivi have testimonies

(**) the signs indicate that the works have (a) over 10 MSS; (b) commentari(es); c) edition(s)

TABLE II: Number of MSS & Editions per Work (952-1326 / 1545-1908)
(ordered according to MSS)

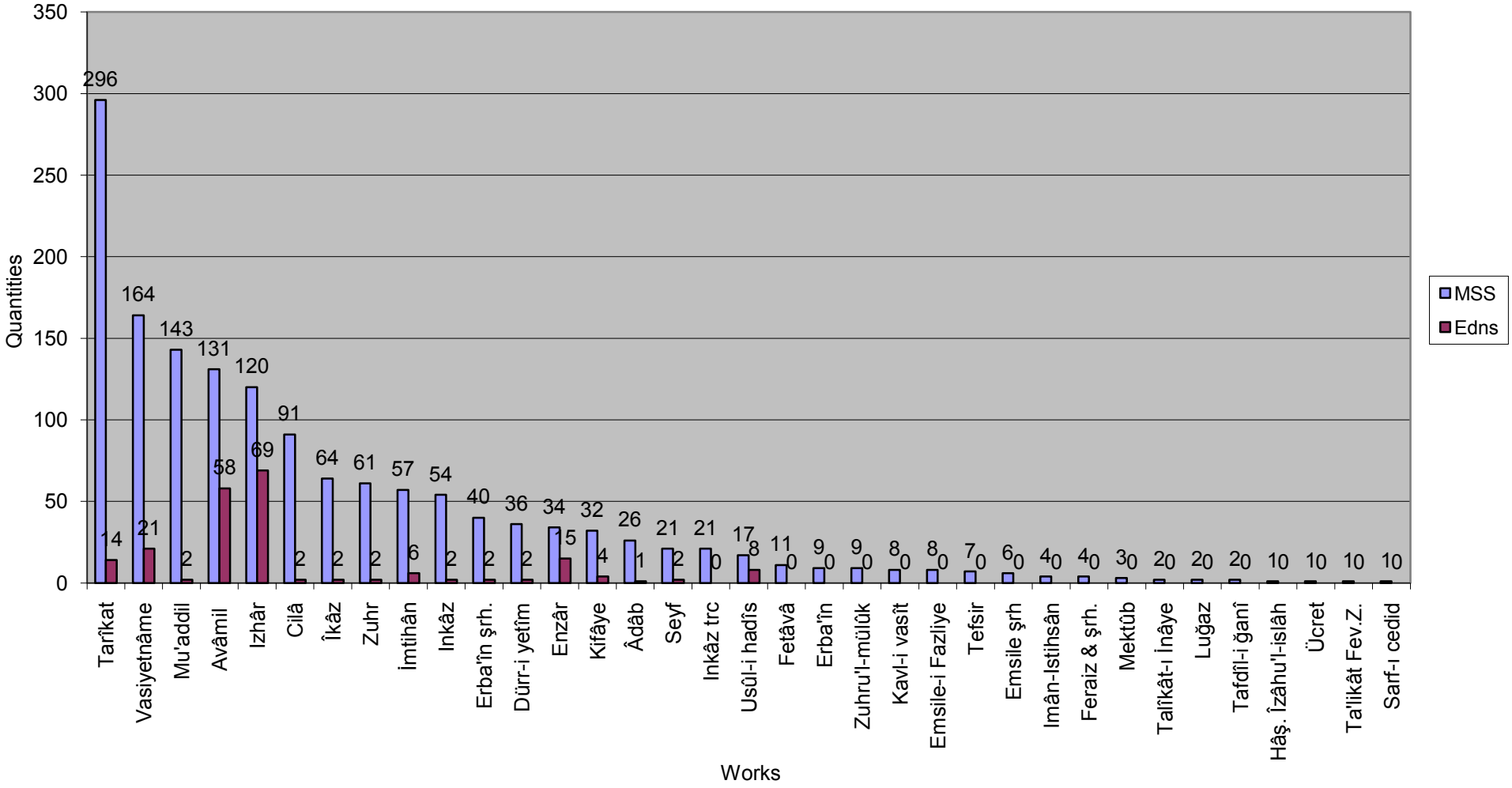


TABLE III:
Number of MSS per Wok (1st Group)

| | No | Title | Dated | Not dated | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Non-religious works | 1 | Izhâr | 41 | 79 | 120 |
| | 2 | Avâmil | 44 | 87 | 131 |
| | 3 | Enzâr | 19 | 15 | 34 |
| | 4 | Imtihân | 25 | 32 | 57 |
| | 5 | Kifâye | 14 | 18 | 32 |
| | 6 | Âdâb | 5 | 21 | 26 |
| | | Total | 148 | 252 | 400 |
| Religious works | 1 | Tarîkat | 157 | 139 | 296 |
| | 2 | Vasiyet | 55 | 109 | 164 |
| | 3 | Mu'addil | 55 | 88 | 143 |
| | 4 | Cilâ | 42 | 49 | 91 |
| | 5 | Zuhr | 29 | 32 | 61 |
| | 6 | Îkâz | 27 | 37 | 64 |
| | 7 | Inkâz | 26 | 28 | 54 |
| | 8 | Ink.trc | 14 | 7 | 21 |
| | 9 | Seyf | 9 | 12 | 21 |
| | 10 | Dürr | 12 | 24 | 36 |
| | 11 | Erba'în şrh | 28 | 12 | 40 |
| | 12 | Usûl | 7 | 10 | 17 |
| | | Total | 461 | 547 | 1008 |
| Total | | TOTAL | 609 | 799 | 1408 |

TABLE IV:
# of Editions (for 17 Works of the 1st Group)

| | No | Title | Dated | not dated | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Non-religious works | 1 | Izhâr | 67 | 2 | 69 |
| | 2 | Avâmil | 57 | 1 | 58 |
| | 3 | Enzâr | 13 | 2 | 15 |
| | 4 | Imtihân | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| | 5 | Kifâye | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| | 6 | Âdâb | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | | Total | 147 | 6 | 153 |
| Religious works | 1 | Tarîkat | 14 | 0 | 14 |
| | 2 | Vasiyet | 19 | 2 | 21 |
| | 3 | Erb.şr | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | 4 | Usûl | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| | 5 | Dürr | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | 6-11 | others* | 0 | 12 | 12 |
| | | Total | 44 | 15 | 59 |
| Total | | TOTAL | 191 | 21 | 212 |

* These are: *Mu'addil* , *Cilâ* , *Zuhr* , *Îkâz* , *Inkâz* , and *Seyf*

TABLE V :
Number of MSS per Wok (2nd Group)

| | No | Title | Dated | Not dated | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nonreligious works | 1 | Emsile | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| | 2 | Emsile şrh | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| | 3 | Sarf-ı cedîd | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 4 | T. Fev.Ziy. | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | | Total | 12 | 4 | 16 |
| Religious works | 1 | Eerba'în | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| | 2 | Zühru'l-mülûk | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| | 3 | Lüğaz | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| | 4 | H.îzahil-islâh | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | 5 | Kavl-i vasît | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| | 6 | Mektûb | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | 7 | Fetâvâ | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| | 8 | Ücret | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | 9 | T. Inâye | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | 10 | Ferâ'iz | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | 11 | K.îmân | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| | 12 | Tefsîr | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| | 13 | Ganî | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | | Total | 33 | 30 | 63 |
| Total | | TOTAL | 45 | 34 | 79 |

Table VI: Religious Works (MSS)

| Periods (MSS) | | Decades (1st year) | Titles: Tarîkat (980) | Vasiyet (970) | Muaddil (975) | Cilâ (971) | Zuhr (979) | Îkâz (972) | Inkâz (967) | Ink.trc (?) | Seyf (979) | Dürr (974) | Erb.şrh (bef.967) | Usûl (?) | Total (TM) | Total (UŞ)* | Total | Decades (1st year) | genera-tions | Periods (MSS) | | Ages (Şer'iyye) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No popularity (beginnigs) | | 950/1543 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 950/1543 | | No popularity (beginnigs) | | Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) |
| | | 960/1552 | | | | | | | 0 | | | | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | 960/1552 | Birgivi alive | | | |
| | | 970/1562 | | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 1 | 1 | 970/1562 | | | | |
| | | 980/1572 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 9 | 980/1572 | 1st gener. (Birgivi's students) | | | |
| | | 990/1582 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 990/1582 | | | | |
| | | 1000/1591 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1000/1591 | | | | |
| | | 1010/1601 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1010/1601 | 2nd gener. (Students of students) | | | |
| | | 1020/1611 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 1020/1611 | | | | |
| High Popularity | Rising | 1030/1620 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 19 | 24 | 1030/1620 | | High Popularity | Rising | |
| | | 1040/1630 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 1040/1630 | 3rd generation | | | |
| | | 1050/1640 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 18 | 22 | 1050/1640 | | | | |
| | | 1060/1650 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 1060/1650 | | | | |
| | | 1070/1659 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 13 | 1070/1659 | 4th generation | | | |
| | | 1080/1669 | 10 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 11 | 21 | 1080/1669 | | | | |
| | Maximum | 1090/1679 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 12 | 25 | 1090/1679 | | | Maximum | |
| | | 1100/1688 | 13 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 13 | 30 | 43 | 1100/1688 | 5th generation | | | |
| | | 1110/1698 | 14 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 12 | 26 | 1110/1698 | | | | |
| | | 1120/1708 | 21 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 12 | 33 | 1120/1708 | | | | |
| | | 1130/1717 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 19 | 25 | 1130/1717 | 6th generation | | | |
| | | 1140/1727 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 15 | 23 | 1140/1727 | | | | |
| | | 1150/1737 | 11 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 11 | 22 | 33 | 1150/1737 | | | | |
| | | 1160/1747 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 8 | 19 | 27 | 1160/1747 | 7th generation | | | |
| | | 1170/1756 | 9 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 33 | 42 | 1170/1756 | | | | |
| | Turning | 1180/1766 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 9 | 13 | 1180/1766 | | | Turning | |
| | | 1190/1776 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 12 | 18 | 1190/1776 | 8th generation (age of | | | |
| Diminishing popularity | Slowing | 1200/1785 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 1200/1785 | | Diminishing popularity | Slowing | Printing press introduced, but still Mnscr Age (until 1218/1903) |
| | | 1210/1795 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 1210/1795 | | | | |
| | | 1220/1805 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 1220/1805 | 9th generation | | | |
| | | 1230/1814 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1230/1814 | | | | |
| | Fading | 1240/1824 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1240/1824 | | | Fading | Print & Mnscr. cohabit (until 1270/1853) |
| | | 1250/1834 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1250/1834 | | | | |
| | | 1260/1844 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 1260/1844 | 10th generation | | | |
| | | 1270/1853 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1270/1853 | | | | |
| Oblivion in MSS | | 1280/1863 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1280/1863 | 11th generation | Oblivion in MSS | | Dominantly print Age (after 1270/1853) |
| | | 1290/1873 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1290/1873 | | | | |
| | | 1300/1882 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1300/1882 | | | | |
| | | 1310/1892 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1310/1892 | 12th generation | | | |
| | | 1320/1902 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1320/1902 | | | | |
| | | Total | 157 | 55 | 55 | 42 | 29 | 27 | 26 | 14 | 9 | 12 | 28 | 7 | 157 | 304 | 461 | Total | | | | |
| | | Not dated | 139 | 109 | 88 | 49 | 32 | 37 | 28 | 7 | 12 | 24 | 12 | 10 | 139 | 408 | 547 | Not dated | | | | |
| | | TOTAL | 296 | 164 | 143 | 91 | 61 | 64 | 54 | 21 | 21 | 36 | 40 | 17 | 296 | 712 | 1008 | TOTAL | | | | |

(*) This is the total for works other than Tarîkat-ı Muhammediyye

Table VII: Non-religious Works (MSS)

| Periods (MSS) | | Decades (1st year) | Titles: Izhâr (?) | Avâmil (bef. 959) | Enzâr (952) | Imtihân (?) | Kifâye (?) | Âdâb (?) | TOTAL | Decades (1st year) | genera-tions | Periods (MSS) | | Ages (Âliyye) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No Popularity | | 950/1543 | | 1 | 0 | | | | 1 | 950/1543 | Birgivi alive | No Popularity | | Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) |
| | | 960/1552 | | 0 | 1 | | | | 1 | 960/1552 | | | | |
| | | 970/1562 | | 0 | 0 | | | | 0 | 970/1562 | | | | |
| | | 980/1572 | | 0 | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 980/1572 | 1st gener. (Birgivi's students) | | | |
| | | 990/1582 | | 1 | 0 | 1 | | | 2 | 990/1582 | | | | |
| | | 1000/1591 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | 2 | 1000/1591 | | | | |
| | | 1010/1601 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 1010/1601 | 2nd gener. (Students of students) | | | |
| | | 1020/1611 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | | 3 | 1020/1611 | | | | |
| | | 1030/1620 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 1 | 1030/1620 | | | | |
| | | 1040/1630 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | | 1 | 1040/1630 | 3rd generation | | | |
| | | 1050/1640 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | | 2 | 1050/1640 | | | | |
| | | 1060/1650 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 1060/1650 | | | | |
| | | 1070/1659 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | 1 | 1070/1659 | 4th generation | | | |
| High Popularity | Rising | 1080/1669 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | | 4 | 1080/1669 | | High Popularity | Rising | |
| | | 1090/1679 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | | 8 | 1090/1679 | | | | |
| | | 1100/1688 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | | 2 | 1100/1688 | 5th generation | | | |
| | | 1110/1698 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | | 9 | 1110/1698 | | | | |
| | | 1120/1708 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 1120/1708 | | | | |
| | | 1130/1717 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1130/1717 | 6th generation | | | |
| | | 1140/1727 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 1140/1727 | | | | |
| | | 1150/1737 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 1150/1737 | | | | |
| | | 1160/1747 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 1160/1747 | 7th generation | | | |
| | Maximum | 1170/1756 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 13 | 1170/1756 | | | Maximum | Printing press introduced (1141/1729), but still manuscript age (until 1234/819) |
| | | 1180/1766 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 14 | 1180/1766 | | | | |
| | | 1190/1776 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 1190/1776 | 8th generation (age of | | | |
| Diminishing Popularity | | 1200/1785 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1200/1785 | | Diminishing Popularity | | |
| | | 1210/1795 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1210/1795 | | | | |
| | | 1220/1805 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 1220/1805 | 9th generation | | | |
| | | 1230/1814 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1230/1814 | | | | Print & Mnscr cohabit (until 1284/1867) |
| | | 1240/1824 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1240/1824 | | | | |
| | | 1250/1834 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1250/1834 | 10th generation | | | |
| | | 1260/1844 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1260/1844 | | | | |
| | | 1270/1853 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 1270/1853 | | | | |
| | | 1280/1863 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1280/1863 | 11th generation | | | |
| No MSS | | 1290/1873 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1290/1873 | | No MSS | | Dominantly print age (after 1284/1867) |
| | | 1300/1882 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1300/1882 | | | | |
| | | 1310/1892 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1310/1892 | 12th generation | | | |
| | | 1320/1902 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1320/1902 | | | | |
| | | Total | 41 | 44 | 19 | 25 | 14 | 5 | 148 | Total | | | | |
| | | Not dated | 79 | 87 | 15 | 32 | 18 | 21 | 252 | Not dated | | | | |
| | | TOTAL | 120 | 131 | 34 | 57 | 32 | 26 | 400 | TOTAL | | | | |

TABLE VIII: Religious & Non-religious works (MSS)

| Religious works (MSS) | | | | Non-religious works (MSS) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ages (Şer'iyye) | Periods (MSS) | Decades (1st year) | MSS | MSS | Decades (1st year) | Periods (MSS) | Ages (Âliyye) |
| Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) | No popularity (beginnigs) | 950/1543 | 0 | 1 | 950/1543 | No Popularity | Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) |
| | | 960/1552 | 0 | 1 | 960/1552 | | |
| | | 970/1562 | 1 | 0 | 970/1562 | | |
| | | 980/1572 | 9 | 2 | 980/1572 | | |
| | | 990/1582 | 2 | 2 | 990/1582 | | |
| | | 1000/1591 | 1 | 2 | 1000/1591 | | |
| | | 1010/1601 | 2 | 3 | 1010/1601 | | |
| | | 1020/1611 | 3 | 3 | 1020/1611 | | |
| | High Popularity – Rising | 1030/1620 | 24 | 1 | 1030/1620 | | |
| | | 1040/1630 | 10 | 1 | 1040/1630 | | |
| | | 1050/1640 | 22 | 2 | 1050/1640 | | |
| | | 1060/1650 | 9 | 3 | 1060/1650 | | |
| | | 1070/1659 | 13 | 1 | 1070/1659 | | |
| | | 1080/1669 | 21 | 4 | 1080/1669 | High Popularity – Rising | |
| | High Popularity – Maximum | 1090/1679 | 25 | 8 | 1090/1679 | | |
| | | 1100/1688 | 43 | 2 | 1100/1688 | | |
| | | 1110/1698 | 26 | 9 | 1110/1698 | | |
| | | 1120/1708 | 33 | 10 | 1120/1708 | | |
| | | 1130/1717 | 25 | 3 | 1130/1717 | | |
| | | 1140/1727 | 23 | 5 | 1140/1727 | | |
| | | 1150/1737 | 33 | 8 | 1150/1737 | | |
| | | 1160/1747 | 27 | 8 | 1160/1747 | | |
| | | 1170/1756 | 42 | 13 | 1170/1756 | High Popularity – Maximum | |
| | High Popularity – Turning | 1180/1766 | 13 | 14 | 1180/1766 | | |
| | | 1190/1776 | 18 | 12 | 1190/1776 | | |
| Printing press introduced, but still Mnscr Age (until 1218/1903) | | | | | | | Printing press introduced (1141/1729), but still manuscript age (until 1234/819) |
| Print & Mnscr. cohabit (until 1270/1853) | Diminishing popularity – Slowing | 1200/1785 | 6 | 2 | 1200/1785 | Diminishing Popularity | |
| | | 1210/1795 | 7 | 3 | 1210/1795 | | |
| | | 1220/1805 | 8 | 5 | 1220/1805 | | |
| | | 1230/1814 | 5 | 0 | 1230/1814 | | |
| | Diminishing popularity – Fading | 1240/1824 | 2 | 4 | 1240/1824 | | Print & Mnscr cohabit (until 1284/1867) |
| | | 1250/1834 | 2 | 4 | 1250/1834 | | |
| | | 1260/1844 | 4 | 2 | 1260/1844 | | |
| | | 1270/1853 | 1 | 6 | 1270/1853 | | |
| Dominantly print Age (after 1270/1853) | Oblivion in MSS | 1280/1863 | 0 | 4 | 1280/1863 | | |
| | | 1290/1873 | 0 | 0 | 1290/1873 | No MSS | Dominantly Print Age (after 1284/1867) |
| | | 1300/1882 | 0 | 0 | 1300/1882 | | |
| | | 1310/1892 | 0 | 0 | 1310/1892 | | |
| | | 1320/1902 | 1 | 0 | 1320/1902 | | |
| | | Total | 461 | 148 | Total | | |
| | | Not dated | 546 | 252 | Not dated | | |
| | | TOTAL | 1007 | 400 | TOTAL | | |

TABLE IX: Religious & Non-religious Works (Edns)

| Religious works (Edns) | | | | Non-religious works (Edns) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ages (Şer'iyye) | Periods (Edns) | Decades (1st year) | Edns | Edns | Decades (1st year) | Periods (Edns) | Ages (Âliyye) |
| Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) | No Printing Press | 950/1543 | | | 950/1543 | No Printing Press | Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) |
| | | 960/1552 | | | 960/1552 | | |
| | | 970/1562 | | | 970/1562 | | |
| | | 980/1572 | | | 980/1572 | | |
| | | 990/1582 | | | 990/1582 | | |
| | | 1000/1591 | | | 1000/1591 | | |
| | | 1010/1601 | | | 1010/1601 | | |
| | | 1020/1611 | | | 1020/1611 | | |
| | | 1030/1620 | | | 1030/1620 | | |
| | | 1040/1630 | | | 1040/1630 | | |
| | | 1050/1640 | | | 1050/1640 | | |
| | | 1060/1650 | | | 1060/1650 | | |
| | | 1070/1659 | | | 1070/1659 | | |
| | | 1080/1669 | | | 1080/1669 | | |
| | | 1090/1679 | | | 1090/1679 | | |
| | | 1100/1688 | | | 1100/1688 | | |
| | | 1110/1698 | | | 1110/1698 | | |
| | | 1120/1708 | | | 1120/1708 | | |
| | | 1130/1717 | | | 1130/1717 | | |
| Printing press introduced, but still Mnscr Age (until 1218/1903) | Printing introduced (1141/1729), but no work of Birgivi edited (until 1218/1308) | 1140/1727 | 0 | 0 | 1140/1727 | Printing introduced (1141/1729), but no work of Birgivi on grammar edited (until 1234/819) | Printing press introduced (1141/1729), but still manuscript age (until 1234/819) |
| | | 1150/1737 | 0 | 0 | 1150/1737 | | |
| | | 1160/1747 | 0 | 0 | 1160/1747 | | |
| | | 1170/1756 | 0 | 0 | 1170/1756 | | |
| | | 1180/1766 | 0 | 0 | 1180/1766 | | |
| | | 1190/1776 | 0 | 0 | 1190/1776 | | |
| | | 1200/1785 | 0 | 0 | 1200/1785 | | |
| Print & Mnscr. cohabit (until 1270/1853) | First publications (as of 1218/1803) | 1210/1795 | 1 | 0 | 1210/1795 | | |
| | | 1220/1805 | 1 | 0 | 1220/1805 | | |
| | | 1230/1814 | 0 | 2 | 1230/1814 | first edn in 1234 | Print & Mnscr cohabit (until 1284/1867) |
| | | 1240/1824 | 2 | 6 | 1240/1824 | | |
| | | 1250/1834 | 0 | 12 | 1250/1834 | Revival in the print | |
| Dominantly print Age (after 1270/1853) | revival in the print | 1260/1844 | 7 | 17 | 1260/1844 | | |
| | | 1270/1853 | 7 | 19 | 1270/1853 | | |
| | | 1280/1863 | 10 | 20 | 1280/1863 | | |
| | | 1290/1873 | 2 | 8 | 1290/1873 | | Dominantly Print Age (after 1284/1867) |
| | | 1300/1882 | 8 | 35 | 1300/1882 | | |
| | turn back | 1310/1892 | 3 | 18 | 1310/1892 | | |
| | | 1320/1902 | 3 | 10 | 1320/1902 | | |
| | | Total | 44 | 147 | Total | | |
| | | Not dated | 15 | 6 | Not dated | | |
| | | TOTAL | 59 | 153 | TOTAL | | |

TABLE X: Religious Works (MSS & Edns)

| Religious works (MSS) | | | | | Religious works (Edns) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ages (Şer'iyye) | Periods (MSS) | | Decades (1st year) | MSS | Edns | Decades (1st year) | Periods (Edns) | Ages (Şer'iyye) |
| Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) | No popularity (beginnigs) | | 950/1543 | 0 | | 950/1543 | No Printing Press | Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) |
| | | | 960/1552 | 0 | | 960/1552 | | |
| | | | 970/1562 | 1 | | 970/1562 | | |
| | | | 980/1572 | 9 | | 980/1572 | | |
| | | | 990/1582 | 2 | | 990/1582 | | |
| | | | 1000/1591 | 1 | | 1000/1591 | | |
| | | | 1010/1601 | 2 | | 1010/1601 | | |
| | | | 1020/1611 | 3 | | 1020/1611 | | |
| | high popularity | rising | 1030/1620 | 24 | | 1030/1620 | | |
| | | | 1040/1630 | 10 | | 1040/1630 | | |
| | | | 1050/1640 | 22 | | 1050/1640 | | |
| | | | 1060/1650 | 9 | | 1060/1650 | | |
| | | | 1070/1659 | 13 | | 1070/1659 | | |
| | | | 1080/1669 | 21 | | 1080/1669 | | |
| | | maximum | 1090/1679 | 25 | | 1090/1679 | | |
| | | | 1100/1688 | 43 | | 1100/1688 | | |
| | | | 1110/1698 | 26 | | 1110/1698 | | |
| | | | 1120/1708 | 33 | | 1120/1708 | | |
| | | | 1130/1717 | 25 | | 1130/1717 | | |
| Printing press introduced, but still Mnscr Age (until 1218/1903) | | | 1140/1727 | 23 | 0 | 1140/1727 | Printing introduced (1141/1729), but no work of Birgivi edited (until 1218/1308) | Printing press introduced, but still Manuscript Age (until 1218/1903) |
| | | | 1150/1737 | 33 | 0 | 1150/1737 | | |
| | | | 1160/1747 | 27 | 0 | 1160/1747 | | |
| | | | 1170/1756 | 42 | 0 | 1170/1756 | | |
| | | turning | 1180/1766 | 13 | 0 | 1180/1766 | | |
| | | | 1190/1776 | 18 | 0 | 1190/1776 | | |
| Print & Mnscr. cohabit (until 1270/1853) | Diminishing popularity | slowing | 1200/1785 | 6 | 0 | 1200/1785 | First publications (as of 1218/1803) | Print & Mnscr. cohabit (until 1270/1853) |
| | | | 1210/1795 | 7 | 1 | 1210/1795 | | |
| | | | 1220/1805 | 8 | 1 | 1220/1805 | | |
| | | | 1230/1814 | 5 | 0 | 1230/1814 | | |
| | | fading | 1240/1824 | 2 | 2 | 1240/1824 | | |
| | | | 1250/1834 | 2 | 0 | 1250/1834 | | |
| | | | 1260/1844 | 4 | 7 | 1260/1844 | revival in the print | |
| Dominantly print Age (after 1270/1853) | | | 1270/1853 | 1 | 7 | 1270/1853 | | Dominantly print Age (after 1270/1853) |
| | Oblivion in MSS | | 1280/1863 | 0 | 10 | 1280/1863 | | |
| | | | 1290/1873 | 0 | 2 | 1290/1873 | | |
| | | | 1300/1882 | 0 | 8 | 1300/1882 | | |
| | | | 1310/1892 | 0 | 3 | 1310/1892 | turn back | |
| | | | 1320/1902 | 1 | 3 | 1320/1902 | | |
| | | | Total | 461 | 44 | Total | | |
| | | | Not dated | 546 | 15 | Not dated | | |
| | | | TOTAL | 1007 | 59 | TOTAL | | |

TABLE XI: Non-religious Works (MSS & Edns)

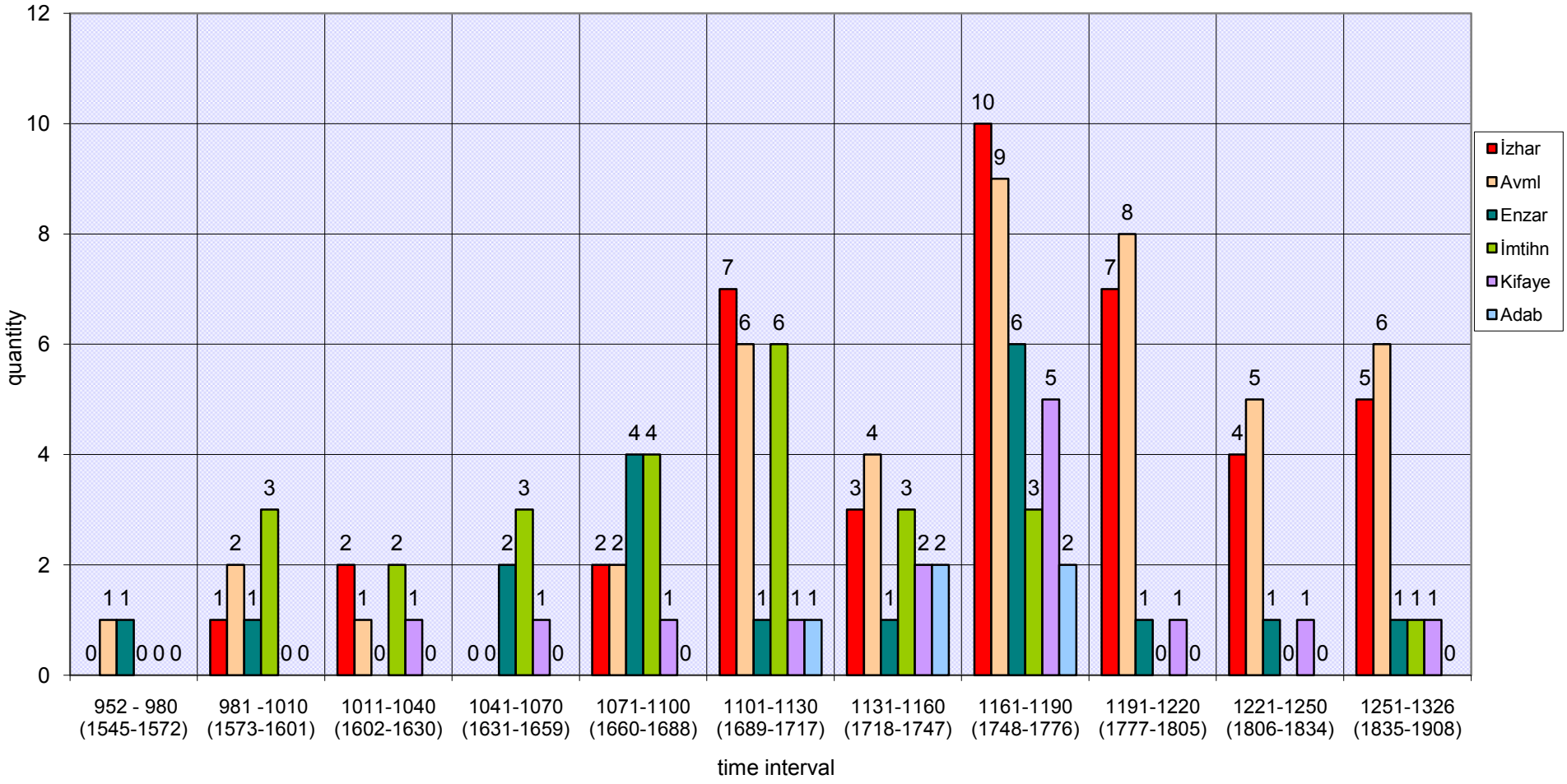
| Non-religious works (MSS) | | | | | Non-religious works (Edns) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ages (Âliyye) | Periods (MSS) | | Decades (1st year) | MSS | Edns | Decades (1st year) | Periods (Edns) | Ages (Âliyye) |
| Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) | No Popularity | | 950/1543 | 1 | | 950/1543 | no printing press | Manuscript Age (until establishment of Müteferrika Press in 1141 / 1729) |
| | | | 960/1552 | 1 | | 960/1552 | | |
| | | | 970/1562 | 0 | | 970/1562 | | |
| | | | 980/1572 | 2 | | 980/1572 | | |
| | | | 990/1582 | 2 | | 990/1582 | | |
| | | | 1000/1591 | 2 | | 1000/1591 | | |
| | | | 1010/1601 | 3 | | 1010/1601 | | |
| | | | 1020/1611 | 3 | | 1020/1611 | | |
| | | | 1030/1620 | 1 | | 1030/1620 | | |
| | | | 1040/1630 | 1 | | 1040/1630 | | |
| | | | 1050/1640 | 2 | | 1050/1640 | | |
| | | | 1060/1650 | 3 | | 1060/1650 | | |
| | | | 1070/1659 | 1 | | 1070/1659 | | |
| | High Popularity | Rising | 1080/1669 | 4 | | 1080/1669 | | |
| | | | 1090/1679 | 8 | | 1090/1679 | | |
| | | | 1100/1688 | 2 | | 1100/1688 | | |
| | | | 1110/1698 | 9 | | 1110/1698 | | |
| | | | 1120/1708 | 10 | | 1120/1708 | | |
| | | | 1130/1717 | 3 | | 1130/1717 | | |
| Printing press introduced (1141/1729), but still manuscript age (until 1234/819) | | | 1140/1727 | 5 | 0 | 1140/1727 | Printing introduced (1141/1729), but no work of Birgivi on grammar edited (until 1234/819) | Printing press introduced (1141/1729), but still manuscript age (until 1234/819) |
| | | | 1150/1737 | 8 | 0 | 1150/1737 | | |
| | | | 1160/1747 | 8 | 0 | 1160/1747 | | |
| | | Maxi-mum | 1170/1756 | 13 | 0 | 1170/1756 | | |
| | | | 1180/1766 | 14 | 0 | 1180/1766 | | |
| | | | 1190/1776 | 12 | 0 | 1190/1776 | | |
| Print & Mnscr cohabit (until 1284/1867) | Diminishing Popularity | | 1200/1785 | 2 | 0 | 1200/1785 | | |
| | | | 1210/1795 | 3 | 0 | 1210/1795 | | |
| | | | 1220/1805 | 5 | 0 | 1220/1805 | | |
| | | | 1230/1814 | 0 | 2 | 1230/1814 | first edn in 1234 | Print & Mnscr cohabit (until 1284/1867) |
| | | | 1240/1824 | 4 | 6 | 1240/1824 | | |
| | | | 1250/1834 | 4 | 12 | 1250/1834 | Revival in the print | |
| | | | 1260/1844 | 2 | 17 | 1260/1844 | | |
| | | | 1270/1853 | 6 | 19 | 1270/1853 | | |
| | | | 1280/1863 | 4 | 20 | 1280/1863 | | |
| Dominantly Print Age (after 1284/1867) | No MSS | | 1290/1873 | 0 | 8 | 1290/1873 | | Dominantly Print Age (after 1284/1867) |
| | | | 1300/1882 | 0 | 35 | 1300/1882 | | |
| | | | 1310/1892 | 0 | 18 | 1310/1892 | | |
| | | | 1320/1902 | 0 | 10 | 1320/1902 | | |
| | | | Total | 148 | 147 | Total | | |
| | | | Not dated | 252 | 6 | Not dated | | |
| | | | TOTAL | 400 | 153 | TOTAL | | |

TABLE XII: Distribution of MSS over Library Collections

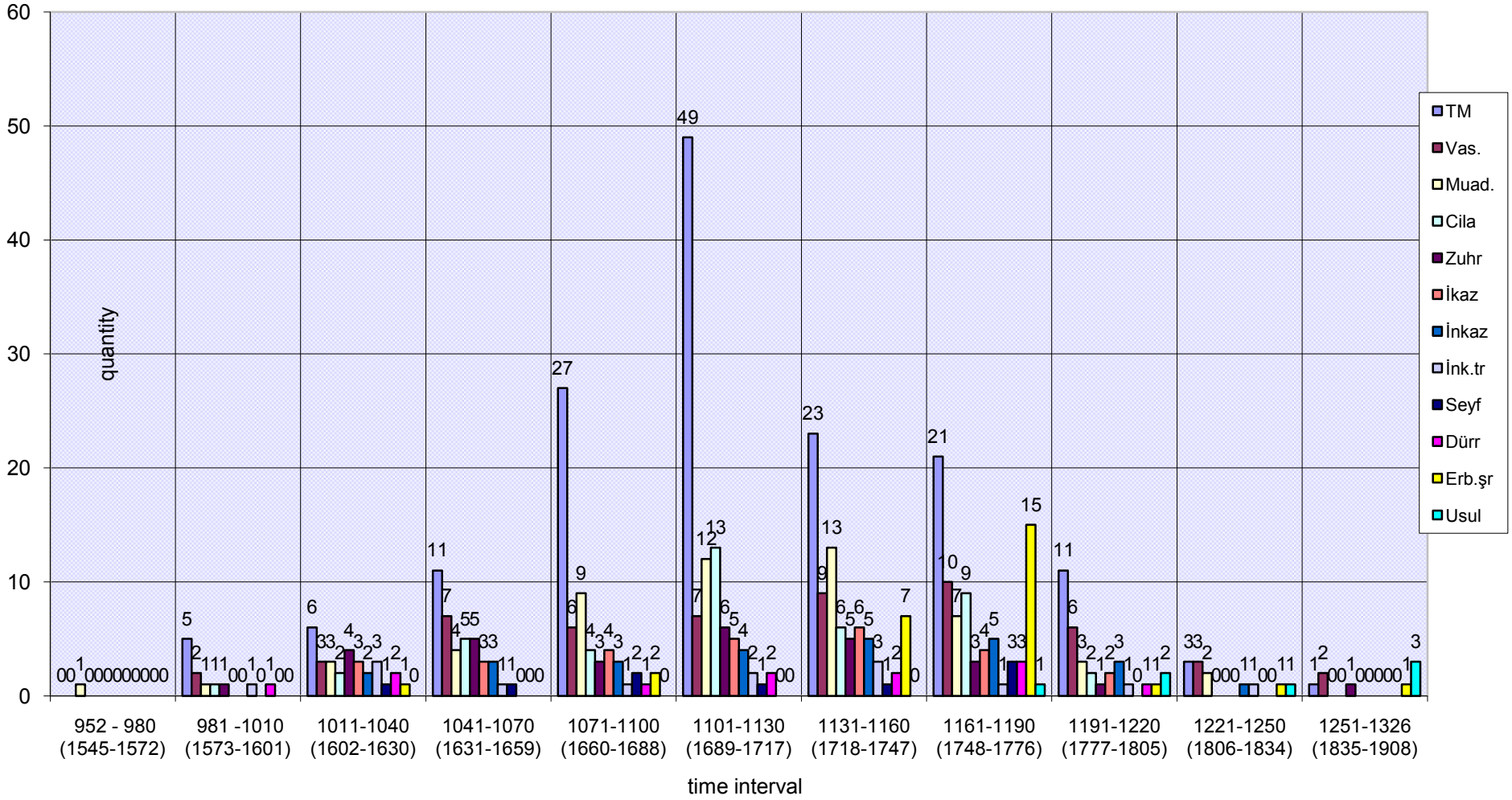
| | | Religious works | | | | | | | | | | | | Non-religious works | | | | | | REST | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No | Collection | Tarîkat | Vasiyet | Muaddil | Cilâ | Zuhr | Îkâz | Inkâz | Ink.trc | Seyf | Dürr | Erb.şrh | Usûl | İzhâr | Avâmil | İmtihân | Enzâr | Kifaye | Adâb | (others) | TOTAL |
| 1 | Yazma Bağışlar | 37 | 23 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 20 | 21 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 139 |
| 2 | Laleli | 31 | 31 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 13 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 116 |
| 3 | Beyazıd | 32 | 15 | 16 | 10 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 111 |
| 4 | Fatih | 15 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 71 |
| 5 | Hacı Mahmud Ef. | 11 | 13 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 67 |
| 6 | Esad Efendi | 3 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 51 |
| 7 | Ali Emiri (Arabi & Şry) | 9 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 10 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 49 |
| 8 | Antalya-Tekelioğlu | 15 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 46 |
| 9 | Serez | 16 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 44 |
| 10 | Atıf Efendi | 4 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 41 |
| 11 | Nuruosmaniye | 10 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 36 |
| 12 | İbrahim Efendi | 1 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 35 |
| 13 | H. Hüsnü Paşa | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 30 |
| 14 | Süleymaniye | 8 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 28 |
| 15 | Reşid Efendi | 3 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 26 |
| 16 | Denizli | 6 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 24 |
| 17 | Carullah | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 |
| 18 | Hacı Selim Ağa | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 20 |
| 19 | İzmir | 7 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 |
| 20 | Veliyüddin Ef. | 3 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| 21 | Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef. | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 18 |
| 22 | Mehmed Asım Bey | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 18 |
| 23 | Reisülküttab | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 18 |
| 24 | Ayasofya | 8 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 17 |
| 25 | Hacı Beşir Ağa (+Eyüp) | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 |
| 26 | Hamidiye | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 |
| 27 | Şehid Ali Paşa | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 |
| 28 | Kılıç Ali Paşa | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 16 |
| 29 | M.Murad-M.Arif | 1 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 16 |
| 30 | Çelebi Abdullah Ef. | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 14 |
| 31 | Halet Efendi | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 14 |
| 32 | Kasidecizade | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| 33 | Tırnovalı | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 14 |
| 34 | Darülmesnevi | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| 35 | Düğümlü Baba | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 13 |
| 36 | Harput | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| 37 | Mihrişah Sultan | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| 38 | Atıf Efendi Eki | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| 39 | Erzincan | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| 40 | Hüdai Efendi | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| 41 | Hazine Kit. | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| 42 | Murad Buhari | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 43 | Murad Molla | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 |

| No | Collection | Tarîkat | Vasiyet | Muaddil | Cilâ | Zuhr | Îkâz | Inkâz | Ink.trc | Seyf | Dürr | Erb.şrh | Usûl | İzhâr | Avâmil | İmtihân | Enzâr | Kifaye | Adâb | (others) | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 44 | Yozgat | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 45 | Hafid Efendi | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 |
| 46 | Hüsrev Paşa | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| 47 | Nafiz Paşa | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 48 | Aşir Efendi | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| 49 | Kemankeş | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 50 | Koğuşlar Kit. | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 51 | Fazıl Ahmet Paşa | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 52 | Amcazade Hüseyin | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 53 | Emanet Hazinesi | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| 54 | Gelibolulu Tahir Ef. | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 55 | İsmihan Sultan | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| 56 | Lala İsmail | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 57 | Pertev Paşa | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| 58 | Ragıp Paşa | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 59 | Servili | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| 60 | Çorlulu Ali Paşa | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 61 | Giresun Yazmaları | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| 62 | H.Hayri ve Abdullah Ef. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 63 | Kadızade Mehmed | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 64 | Pertevniyal | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 65 | Yahya Tevfik | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 66 | Yeniler Kit. | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 67 | Ahmed III Kit. | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 68 | Feyzullah Efend | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 69 | Haşim Paşa | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 70 | Kadızade Burhaneddin | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 71 | Nurbanu Sultan | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 72 | Şazeli Tekkesi | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 73 | Tahir Ağa Tekkesi | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 74 | Yeni Cami | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 75 | Damat İbrahim P. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 76 | İzmirli İsmail Hakkı | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 77 | Mahmud Paşa | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 78 | Revan Köşkü | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 79 | Saliha Hatun | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 80 | Celal Ökten | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 81 | Ebusaid Efendi | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 82 | Efgani Şeyh Alihaydar | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 83 | İyd Mehmed Ef. | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 84 | Karaçelebizade | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 85 | O.Huldi Öztürkler | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 86 | Şeyhülis.Esad Ef.Eki | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 87 | Turhan Val.Sult Eki | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 88 | Yeni Medrese | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
|  | TOTAL | 296 | 164 | 143 | 91 | 61 | 64 | 54 | 21 | 21 | 36 | 40 | 17 | 119 | 132 | 58 | 35 | 31 | 25 | 79 | 1487 |

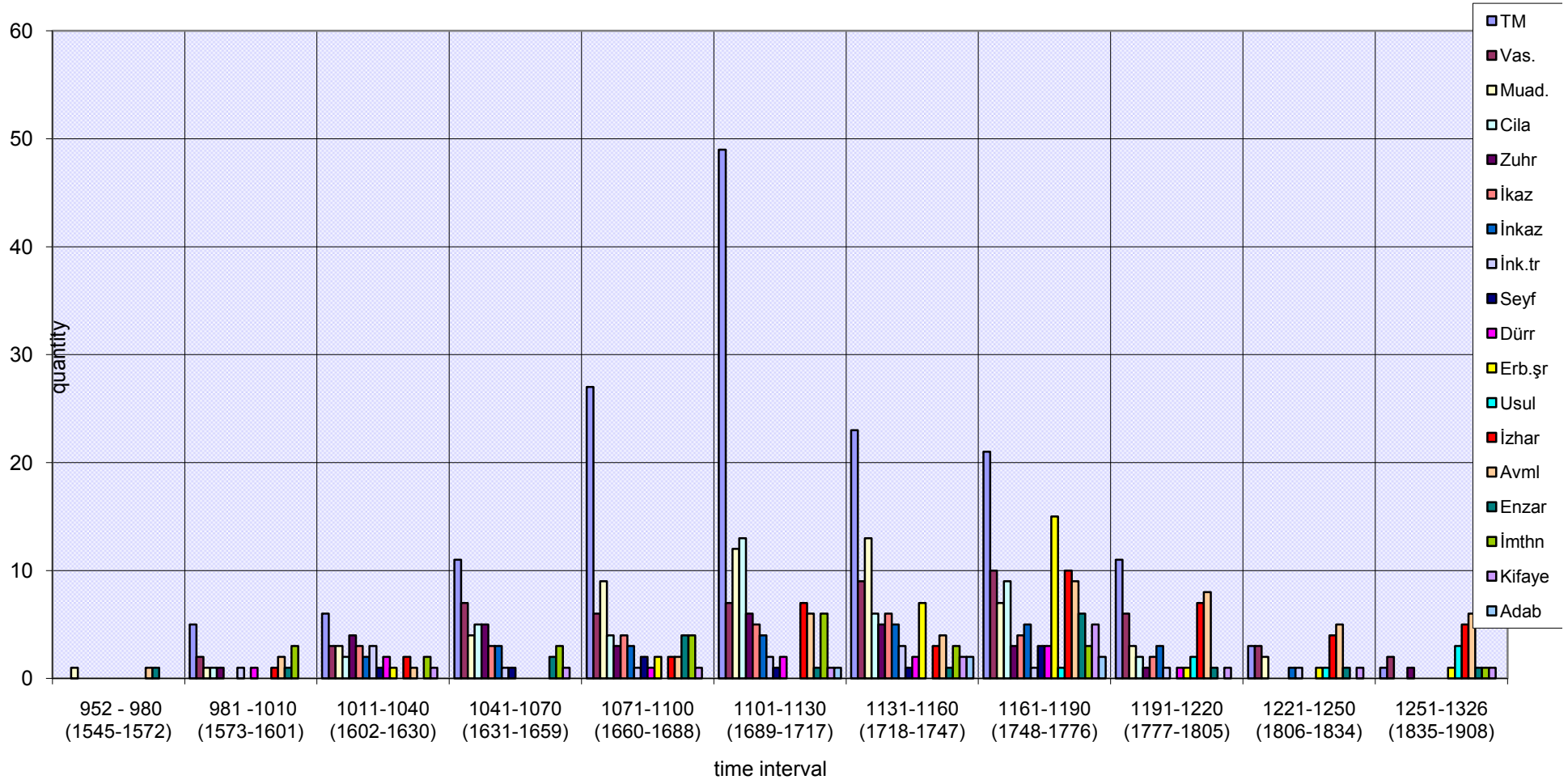
Graph 1: Non-religious Sciences, Individual Works (952-1326 / 1545-1908)
comparative historical distribution of dated MS copies (148 out of 400) for 6 works on non-religious sciences



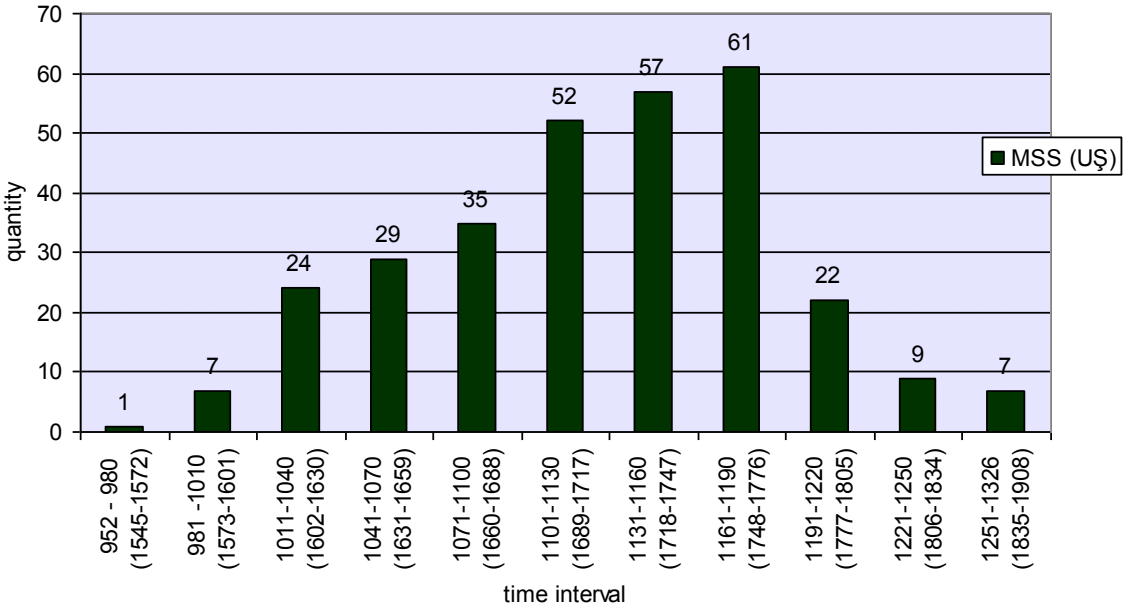
Graph 2: Religious Sciences, Individual Works (952-1326 /1545-1908)
comparative historical distribution of dated MS copies (456 oft of 1007) for 12 works on religious sciences



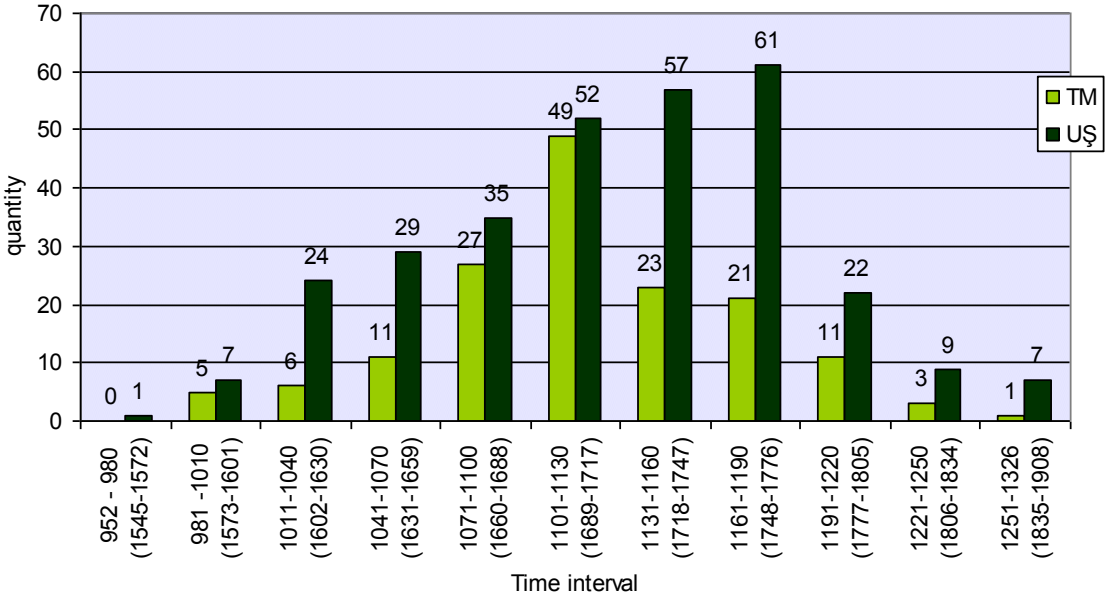
Graph 3: Religious and Non-religious Sciences (952-1326 /1545-1908)
comparative historical distribution of dated MS copies (604 out of 1407) for 18 works on religious & other sciences



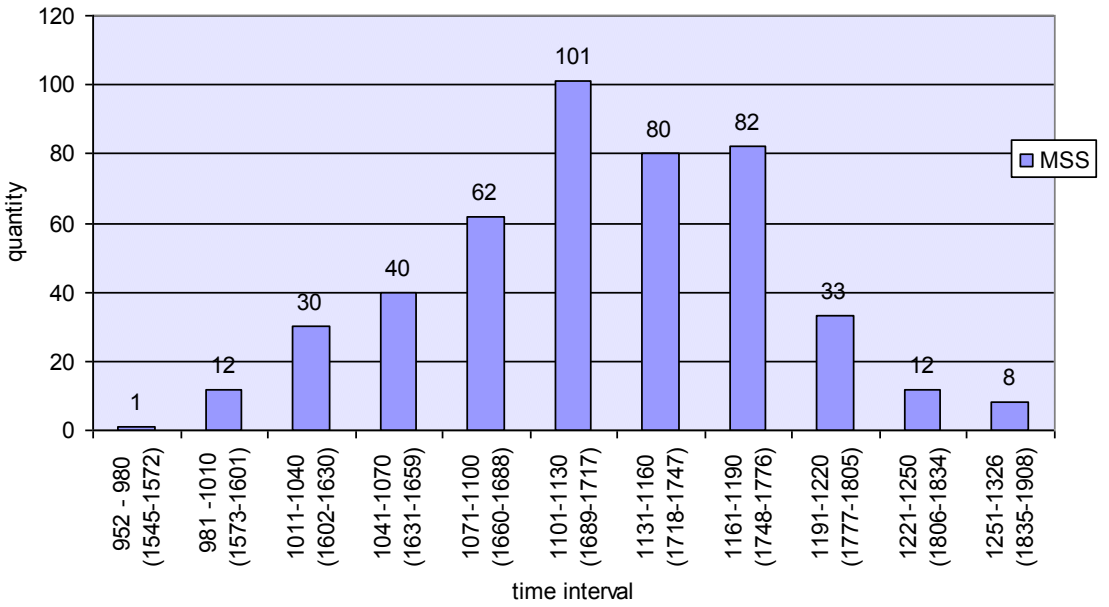
Graph 4: Religious Sciences, Combined (Without Tarikat-ı Muhammediye)
joint historical distribution of dated MSS (299 out of 711) for 11 works on religious sciences (not including TM) for the period (952-1326 /1545/1908)



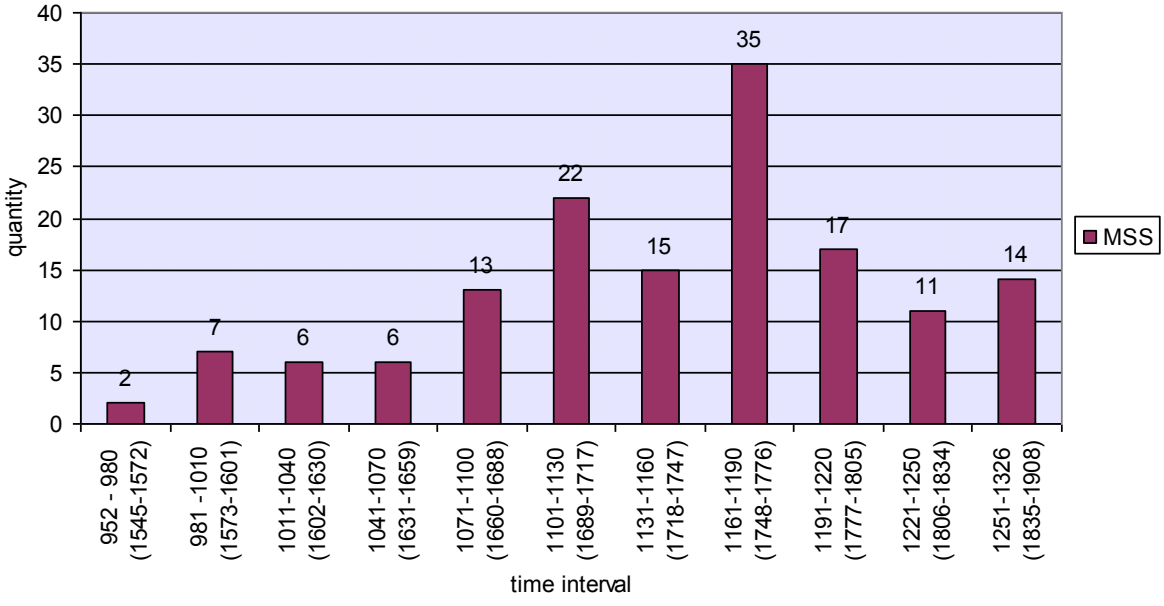

Graph 5: Tarîkat-ı Muhamm. vs. Other Works on Religious Sciences
comparative historical distribution of dated MSS of TM (157 out of 296) and those of the combination of other works on Ulûm-i Şer'iyye (299 out of 711) for the period (952-1326 /1545-1908)

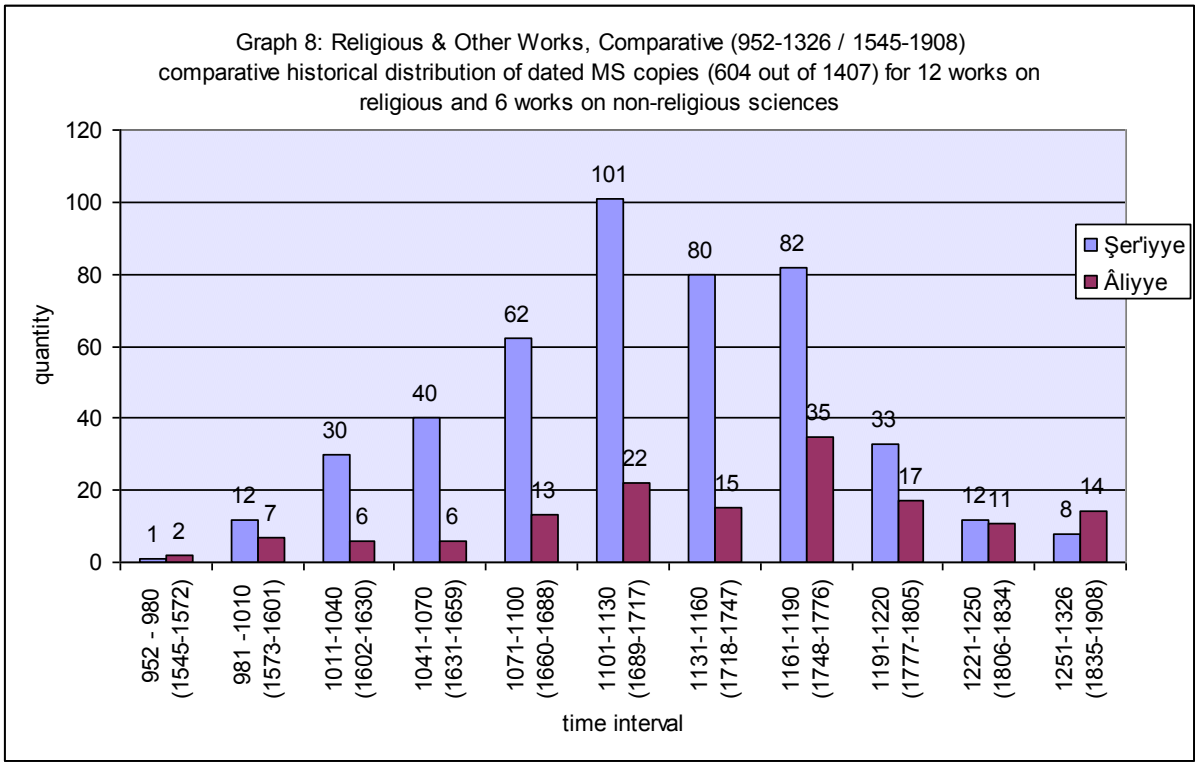


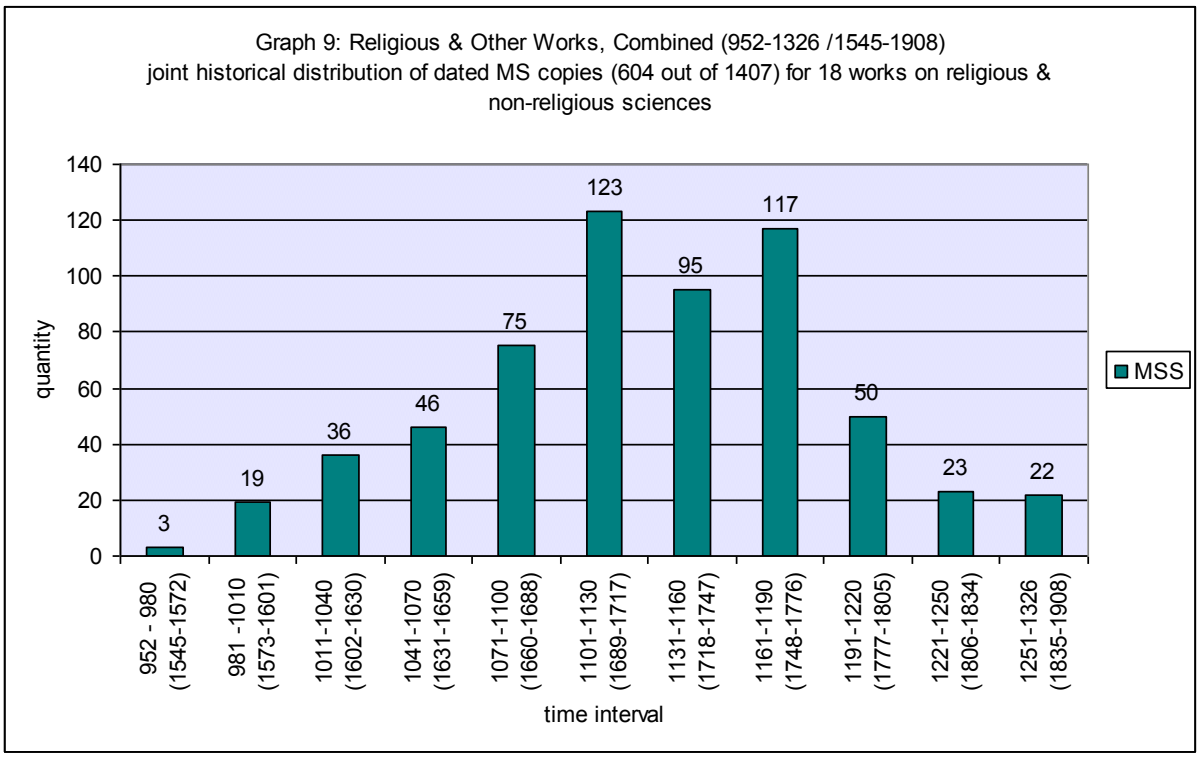
Graph 6: Religious Sciences, Combined (Including Tarîkat)
joint historical distribution of dated MS copies (456 out of 1007) for 12 works on religious sciences for the period (952-1326 /1545-1908)

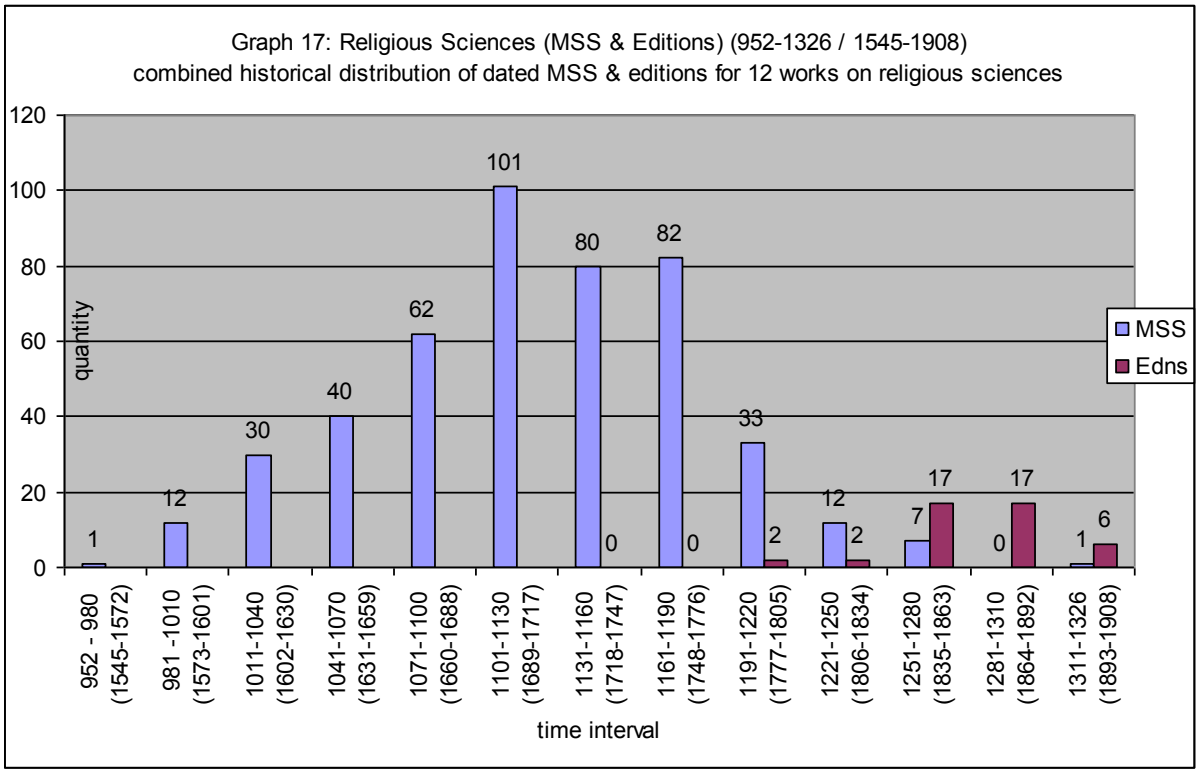


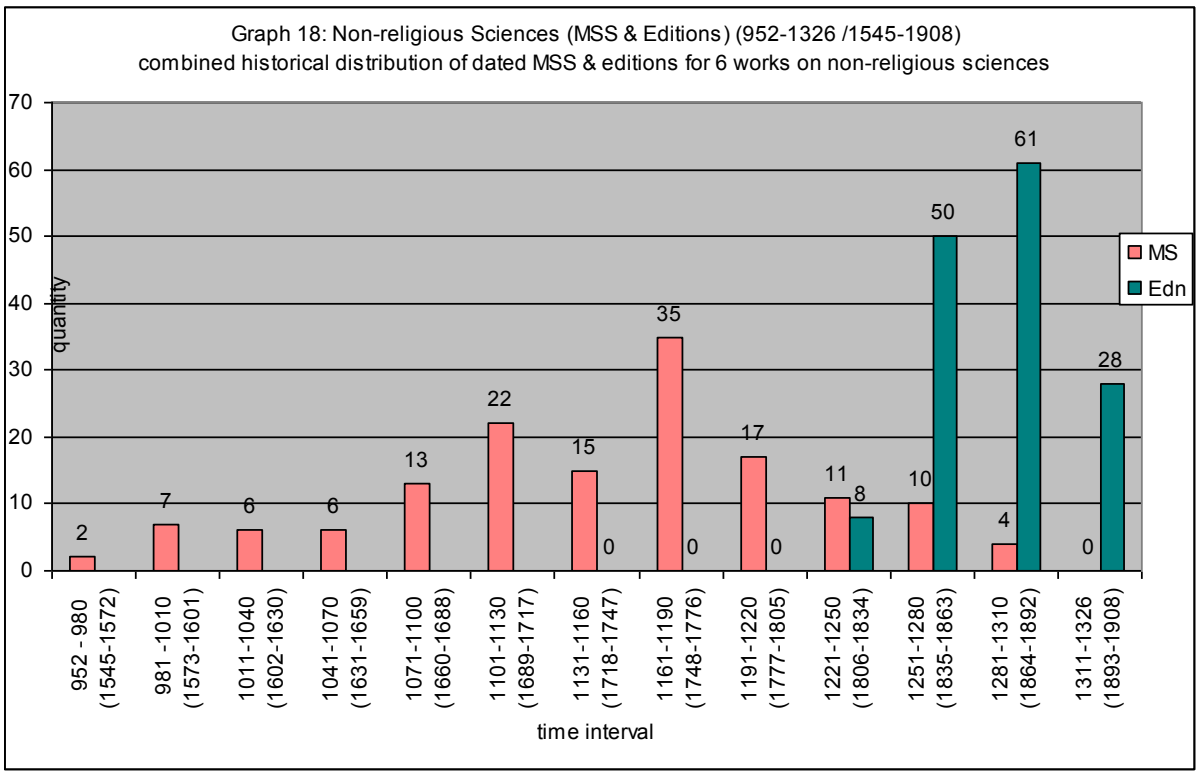

Graph 7: Non-religious Sciences, Combined (952-1326 / 1545-1908)
joint historical distribution of dated MS copies (148 out of 400) for 6 works on non-religious sciences

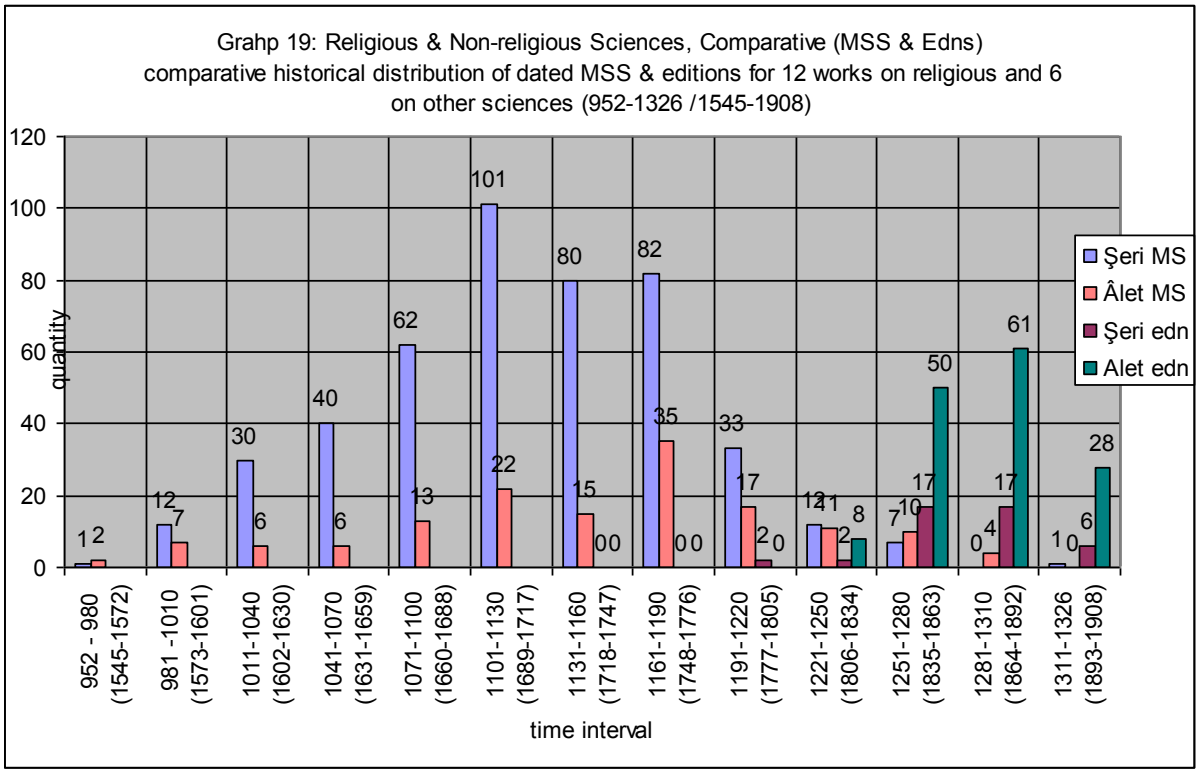


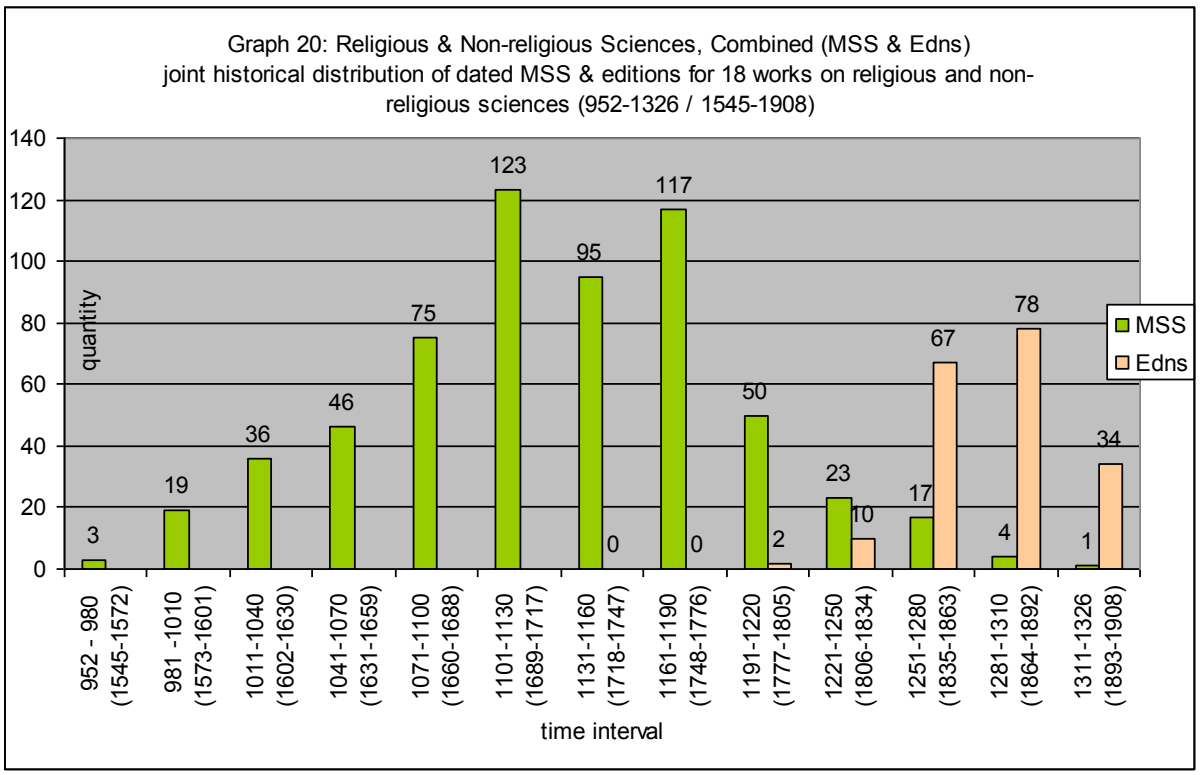

Graph 8: Religious & Other Works, Comparative (952-1326 / 1545-1908)
comparative historical distribution of dated MS copies (604 out of 1407) for 12 works on religious and 6 works on non-religious sciences
quantity
time interval
Şer'iyye
Âliyye
952 - 980 (1545-1572)
981 -1010 (1573-1601)
1011-1040 (1602-1630)
1041-1070 (1631-1659)
1071-1100 (1660-1688)
1101-1130 (1689-1717)
1131-1160 (1718-1747)
1161-1190 (1748-1776)
1191-1220 (1777-1805)
1221-1250 (1806-1834)
1251-1326 (1835-1908)
1 2
12 7
30 6
40 6
62 13
101 22
80 15
82 35
33 17
12 11
8 14


Graph 9: Religious & Other Works, Combined (952-1326 /1545-1908)
joint historical distribution of dated MS copies (604 out of 1407) for 18 works on religious & non-religious sciences
quantity
time interval
MSS
952 - 980 (1545-1572)
981 -1010 (1573-1601)
1011-1040 (1602-1630)
1041-1070 (1631-1659)
1071-1100 (1660-1688)
1101-1130 (1689-1717)
1131-1160 (1718-1747)
1161-1190 (1748-1776)
1191-1220 (1777-1805)
1221-1250 (1806-1834)
1251-1326 (1835-1908)
3
19
36
46
75
123
95
117
50
23
22


Graph 17: Religious Sciences (MSS & Editions) (952-1326 / 1545-1908)
combined historical distribution of dated MSS & editions for 12 works on religious sciences
quantity
time interval
MSS
Edns
952 - 980 (1545-1572)
981 -1010 (1573-1601)
1011-1040 (1602-1630)
1041-1070 (1631-1659)
1071-1100 (1660-1688)
1101-1130 (1689-1717)
1131-1160 (1718-1747)
1161-1190 (1748-1776)
1191-1220 (1777-1805)
1221-1250 (1806-1834)
1251-1280 (1835-1863)
1281-1310 (1864-1892)
1311-1326 (1893-1908)
1
12
30
40
62
101
80
0
82
0
33
2
12
2
7
17
0
17
1
6


Graph 18: Non-religious Sciences (MSS & Editions) (952-1326 /1545-1908)
combined historical distribution of dated MSS & editions for 6 works on non-religious sciences
quantity
time interval
MS
Edn
952 - 980 (1545-1572)
981 -1010 (1573-1601)
1011-1040 (1602-1630)
1041-1070 (1631-1659)
1071-1100 (1660-1688)
1101-1130 (1689-1717)
1131-1160 (1718-1747)
1161-1190 (1748-1776)
1191-1220 (1777-1805)
1221-1250 (1806-1834)
1251-1280 (1835-1863)
1281-1310 (1864-1892)
1311-1326 (1893-1908)
2
7
6
6
13
22
15
0
35
0
17
0
11
8
10
50
4
61
0
28


Grahp 19: Religious & Non-religious Sciences, Comparative (MSS & Edns)
comparative historical distribution of dated MSS & editions for 12 works on religious and 6 on other sciences (952-1326 /1545-1908)
quantity
time interval
Şeri MS
Âlet MS
Şeri edn
Alet edn
952 - 980 (1545-1572)
981 -1010 (1573-1601)
1011-1040 (1602-1630)
1041-1070 (1631-1659)
1071-1100 (1660-1688)
1101-1130 (1689-1717)
1131-1160 (1718-1747)
1161-1190 (1748-1776)
1191-1220 (1777-1805)
1221-1250 (1806-1834)
1251-1280 (1835-1863)
1281-1310 (1864-1892)
1311-1326 (1893-1908)


Graph 20: Religious & Non-religious Sciences, Combined (MSS & Edns)
joint historical distribution of dated MSS & editions for 18 works on religious and non-religious sciences (952-1326 / 1545-1908)
quantity
time interval
MSS
Edns
952 - 980 (1545-1572)
981 -1010 (1573-1601)
1011-1040 (1602-1630)
1041-1070 (1631-1659)
1071-1100 (1660-1688)
1101-1130 (1689-1717)
1131-1160 (1718-1747)
1161-1190 (1748-1776)
1191-1220 (1777-1805)
1221-1250 (1806-1834)
1251-1280 (1835-1863)
1281-1310 (1864-1892)
1311-1326 (1893-1908)

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Similarly, since too many manuscripts have been consulted throughout this study, especially MSS of works that were falsely attributed to Birgivi, they can not be indicated here. The reader is rather referred to the main text where they are discussed (Chapters II and III).

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