

A LIFE BETWEEN PIETY AND POLITICS:
AZİZ MAHMÖD HÜDÂYİ (ca. 1543-1628)

A THESIS PRESENTED

BY

GONCA BASKICI

TO

THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

BILKENT UNIVERSITY

AUGUST, 2000

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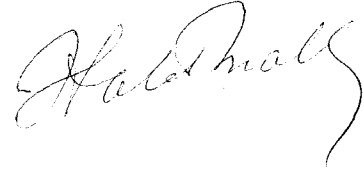
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ABSTRACT

Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî was one of the most important spiritual, political and intellectual figures of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century of the Ottoman Empire and his memory is still alive in the present-day Turkish society. His life-span corresponds to the crucial period of the Ottoman history which is marked by a series of significant developments both within and outside the Empire.

The first part of this study is devoted to the turning points in Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's life in the light of the primary (*Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, *Letters to Halîl Paşa*, *Tezâkir*) and the secondary sources on the concepts that form the basis of dervish life; on Ottoman *ilmiyye* organisation; on the origins, history and basic principles of the Celvetiyye order; on the development of opposition movements to the growing centralisation and consolidation of the principles of *sünnî* Islam within the Ottoman Empire; and on some significant political figures of the age who were influential in Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's establishing himself as the *şeyh* of the sultans.

The second chapter is an evaluation of his correspondance with two of his followers, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* and *Letters to Halîl Paşa*, and of the letters he wrote to the sultans, *Tezâkir*.

The third part of this study is about Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's comments, as found in *Tezâkir*, on politics, which is treated within the context of the *nasihatnâme* genre, and on piety, which is treated within the context of the Kadızâdeli movement.

Appendix I is an overview of the literary outputs of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî and their present state of publication. Excerpts from *Tezâkir* that have been referred to in the text are given in their original form in Appendix II.

ÖZET

Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî onaltıncı yüzyılın sonu ve onyedinci yüzyılın başı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun en önemli ruhani, politik ve entellektüel şahsiyetlerinden biridir ve günümüz Türk toplumunda hatırası hala canlıdır. Onun hayatı Osmanlı tarihinin, içte ve dışta bir dizi can alıcı gelişmenin meydana geldiği, çok önemli bir dönemine isabet eder.

Çalışmanın ilk kısmı, derviş hayatının temelini oluşturan bazı kavramlar; Osmanlı *ilmiye* teşkilatı; Celvetiyye tarikatının kökenleri, tarihi ve temel prensipleri; Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde, giderek artan merkezileşme ve *sünnî* İslam prensiplerinin sağlamlaşmasına karşı gelişen tepki hareketleri; Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin sultanların şeyhi olarak yerleşmesinde etkili olan dönemin bazı önemli politik şahsiyetleri hakkında birincil (*Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, *Halil Paşa'ya Mektuplar*, *Tezâkir*) ve ikincil kaynaklarda mevcut bilgilerin ışığında Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin hayatındaki dönüm noktalarına ayrılmıştır.

İkinci bölüm, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin iki takipçisi ile olan iletişimi (*Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* ve *Halil Paşa'ya Mektuplar*) ve sultanlara yazdığı mektuplar (*Tezâkir*) hakkındadır.

Çalışmanın üçüncü kısmı Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin *Tezâkir*'de mevcut, *nasihatnâme* literatürü çerçevesinde değerlendirilen, siyaset ve, Kadızâdeliler hareketi çerçevesinde değerlendirilen, din hakkındaki yorumları üzerinde durmaktadır.

Ek I Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin edebi eserlerinin ve bunların mevcut yayımlarının gözden geçirilmesidir. *Tezâkir*'in metin içerisinde alıntı yapılan kısımları Ek II'de verilmiştir.

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INTRODUCTION

The religion of the Ottoman Empire was Islam with its nearly seven hundred years of legacy, since the death of Prophet Muhammad until the first years of the emergence of the Ottoman state as a small principality in the border zone between the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and the Byzantine Empire, during late thirteenth century. Islam, as in any other religion, firstly proposed and represented a break with the past and a new order of society based on the principles as revealed by God Almighty to replace the retrograded practices of the ancestors which were applied in the society without questioning as age-old institutions and structures.

However, Islam, too, could not escape the institutionalisation and structuralisation, with man-made interpretations, arising from the needs of the holders of secular power who came to identify themselves in time with Islam. The silence of *şeriat*, Islamic religious law, which regulates the whole of the public and private life of the Muslims, on details of the matters related with administrative and penal law, had caused Muslim legists to accommodate administrative regulations within the Islamic law. It was justified that in order to ensure the public good and to implement *şeriat* itself, the ruler was authorised to make *kânûns* which regularised matters of state organisation, military affairs, taxes, land tenure and penal law.¹ These regulations took different forms under different political entities as the leaders would turn to different Islamic schools of thought which interpreted the religious knowledge, the

¹ See Halil İnalcık, "Islam in the Ottoman Empire", *Cultura Turcica*, 5-7 (1968-1970), p. 20-21.

zâhir meaning of Kur'ân and the traditions of the Prophet, according to their own normative frameworks which defined their limits of interpretation.

About Ottoman experience within Islamic history it has been suggested that the Ottomans strengthened the concept of independent state law.² The principles of strong-independent state power and political action for the public good had their origins in the previous Turkish dynasties who ruled in Central Asia and in the Iranian political traditions, a development which is evident especially after the definite establishment of the Empire in the person of Mehmed the Conqueror.³

Just like different forms administrative regulations emerged out of the administrative needs and responsibilities of the rulers, different forms of worship or belief emerged within the Islamic population which arose from their merging the principles that Islam had introduced with their old forms of belief, which was most often based on the *bâtın* (inner) meaning of Kur'ân and the deeds of the Prophet (*sünnet*). The accommodation of various religious orders that flourished during the course of the Islamic history by the Ottoman government was determined according to their being “conformist” or “militant” in character and while those proved to be “conformist” enjoyed freedom of action, the so-called “militant” ones were suppressed as they were seen as a serious threat to the principles which the Ottoman government based its power on.

The subject of this study Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, undoubtedly, was one of the most significant spiritual, political and intellectual figures of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of the Ottoman Empire, a period marked by an internal crisis during which the essentiality of *kânûns* and the Islamic legality of the existing practice of Islam in the Empire were being discussed, mainly among the intellectual circles.

² *ibid*, p. 20-22.

³ *ibid*, p. 20-21. Also see Halil İnalçık, “Kânûn (iii. Financial and Public Administration)”, *Eİ²*, Vol. IV, p. 558-562; Halil İnalçık, “Kânûnnâme”, *Eİ²*, Vol. IV, p. 562-566.

Interest in the personality and the literary outputs of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî started at the turn of the twentieth century. Selections from his works was published by Sahhâf Nuri in 1287 and by Mehmed Gülşen, the last postnişin of Hüdâyî *dergâhı* in 1338.⁴ A less famous publication *Hediyetü's-sâlikîn* by Yakûb 'Afvî and *Tuhfetü's-sâlikîn* by Mehmed Şehabeddin, two *postnişins* of Hüdâyî *Külliyesi*, are based on the writings of Üftâde and Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî.⁵ There are also a few articles dating from the same period.⁶

The first modern study with respect to the life, reputation and deeds of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî was undertaken by Sarûhânî Sâdî, a student of theology at *Dârü'l-fünûn*.⁷ In 1945 Abdûlbâki Gölpınarlı in the article "Celvetilik" he wrote for *İslam Ansiklopedisi* focused on the life and works of Hüdâyî by considering him as the founder of that order.⁸ Another study, this time focusing on şeyh Üftâde as the founder of the Celvetiyye order was undertaken by Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr in 1961 as a Ph.D.thesis.⁹ Than Fevziye Abdullah Tansel attempted to bring together the information available on Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî in 1967.¹⁰ We see Kemaleddin Şenocak's attempt in 1970.¹¹

⁴ Sahhâf Nuri, *Külliyât-ı Divân-ı 'Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî Efendi*, İstanbul, Muhib Matbaası, 1287; *Külliyât-ı Hazret-i Hüdâî*, Matbaa-i Bahriye, İstanbul, 1338. Selections from Mehmed Gülşen Efendi's *Külliyât-ı Hazret-i Hüdâî*, together with some information on Üftâde was published in modern Turkish in 1953: *Hazreti Üftâde Âziz Mahmut Hüdâî*, hzl. K. F. B. ve Mehmed Gülşen, Gayret Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1953.

⁵ *Hediyetü's-sâlikîn li-şeyh Ya'kub 'Afvî ve Tuhfetü's-Sâlikîn li-şeyh Mehmed Şehabeddin*, Bahriye Matbaası, 1329. This book is registered as belonging to Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî in National Library Catalogues. However, it is stated in the front page clearly that the authors are Yakûb 'Afvî and Mehmed Şehabeddin. National Library 06 Mil. EHTA 3374/1. Mustafa Bahadıroğlu in his thesis on Üftâde and the Celvetiyye order, with *Vâkıât* as his primary source, argues that *Tuhfetü's-sâlikîn* is in fact a collection from *Vâkıât*. Mustafa Bahadıroğlu, *Üftâde, Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Celvetiye Tarikatı*, Masters Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, Bursa, 1990, p. 13.

⁶ Mehmed Hâlid, "Hüdâî", *Anadolu Mecmuası*, sene: 1, sayı: 2, İstanbul, 1 Mayıs 1340, p. 46-50, focusing on the literary personality of Hüdâyî; Mehmed Zeki, "Bedreddîn Simâvi-Mahmûd Hüdâyî", *Yarın*, sayı: 33, cild: 2, Matbaa-i Amire, İstanbul, 8 Haziran 1338 (1922), focusing on the attitude of Hüdâyî towards Şeyh Bedreddîn including Hüdâyî's famous letter to the sultan on the question of *Bedreddînlüs* and *Simavnîs* in the Balkans.

⁷ Sâdî Sarûhânî, *Türk Mutasavvıfı Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî*, Dârü'l-fünûn İlâhiyât Fakültesi Mezuniyet Tezi, İ.Ü.E.F. İslam Araştırmaları Ktp., Tez No: 5.

⁸ Abdûlbâki Gölpınarlı, "Celvetiye", İ. A., Vol. III, p. 67-69, published in English as Abdûlbâki Gölpınarlı, "Djilwatiyya", *EP*, Vol. II, p. 542-543.

⁹ Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr; *Scheich Üftâde, der Begründer des Gelvetiyye-Ordens*, Ludwig-Maximilians University, München, 1961. She made use of *Tecelliyât* and *Vâkıât* as primary sources.

¹⁰ Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, "Seyyid 'Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlâhiyât Fakültesi Dergisi*, XV, 1967, p.1-42. In 1964, we see the article of Yusuf Z. Binatlı, "Sivrihisarlı Büyük Mutasavvıf, Şair, Bestekâr, Aziz Mahmut Hüdâyî", *Emre*, no: 1, 15 Mayıs 1964, p. 7-10, which stresses Hüdâyî's birthplace as Sivrihisar.

¹¹ Kemaleddin Şenocak, *Kutbu'l-Ârifîn Seyyid Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî (K.S.). Hayatı-Menakıbı-Eserleri*, İslam Neşriyatı, İstanbul, 1970.

It should be mentioned here that the works undertaken by Ziver Tezeren and Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, both of which stand as the principal secondary sources on the life of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, constituted the starting point for this study.¹² Both of the writers presented new findings with respect to the life of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî and the Celvetiyye order, by making use of the personal writings of him.

Then a number of publications of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's works and works related with the Celvetiyye order, and studies about the Celvetiyye order and Üftâde followed.¹³

The latest study was undertaken by Can Güzel (Güner) Zülfikar, *Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî Külliyesi'nin Kuruluşu ve İlk Yüzyılı*, in 1999 which is devoted to the internal structure of and functions performed by the *Külliye* which Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî had founded, during its establishment period and its first century in operation, based on the documents discovered in the Hüdâyî *Türbe* collection and brought to light by the author for the first time.¹⁴

The first chapter of the present study is an overview of the life of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî in the light of available information in the primary (*Tezâkir*, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, *Letters to Halîl Paşa*) and the secondary sources on the concepts that form the basis of dervish life; on Ottoman *ilmiyye* organisation; on the origins, history and basic principles of

¹² Ziver Tezeren, *Seyyid Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî I. Hayâtı Şahsiyeti, Tarikatı ve Eserleri*, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, İstanbul, 1984; Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, *Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî ve Celvetiyye Tarikatı*, Erkam Yayınları: 19, İstanbul, 1982. Tezeren's study on Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî dates back to late 1930s when he was a student of Prof. Fuad Köprülü and was presented as a thesis: *Hüdâî, Hayatı ve Eserleri*, İstanbul, 1939-1940, Türkiyat Enstitüsü, no: 114. Based on this earlier study he enlarged his ideas during 1980s and this enlarged study was published two times; one of which is mentioned above and the second: *Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî. Hayatı-Sanatı-Fikriyatı, Çağdaşları İçindeki Yeri ve Ünlü Eserleri*, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 814, Türk Büyükleri dizisi: 41, İstanbul, 1987. In this study 1984 publication is made use of.

¹³ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Dîvân*, ed. by Ziver Tezeren as *Seyyid Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî Divânı II*, İstanbul, 1985; Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, "Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin «Semâ Risâlesi»", *Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyât Fakültesi Dergisi*, sayı: 4, İstanbul, 1986, p. 273-284; Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Câmiu'l-fezâil ve Kamiu'r-rezâil; Miftâhu's-salât ve Mirkatü'n-necâr*, published by Dr. Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, *İlim-Amel Seyr ü Sîlâk*, Erkam Yayınları: 46, Erenler Matbaası, İstanbul, 1988; Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *En-Nasâyih ve'l-Mevâiz*, prepared by Safi Arpaguş as *Sohbetler*, İnsan Yay., İstanbul, 1995; Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Âlemin Yaratılışı ve Hz. Muhammed'in Zuhûru (Hulâsatü'l-ahbâr)*, prepared by Kerim Kara/ Mustafa Özdemir, İnsan Yayınları, Tarih Dizisi, İstanbul, 1997; Mustafa Salim Güven, *Çeşitli Yönleriyle Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin Mektupları*, Masters Thesis, Marmara İlahiyat Fakültesi, İstanbul, 1992; İsmâil Hakkı Bursevî, *Kitâbu's-Silsileti'l-Celvetiyye*, prepared by İlyas Efendi as *İsmâil Hakkı Bursevî'nin Kitâbu's-Silsileti'l-Celvetiyye'si*, Masters Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 1994; Mustafa Bahadıroğlu, *Üftâde, Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Celvetiyye Tarikatı*, Masters Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, Bursa, 1990.

the Celvetiyye order; on the development of opposition movements to the growing centralisation and consolidation of the principles of *sünnî* Islam within the Ottoman Empire; and on some significant political figures of the age who were influential in Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's establishing himself as the *şeyh* of the sultans.

The second part of this study focuses on Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's correspondance with two of his followers and on the letters he wrote to the sultans. Though *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* is significant for the study of the basic principles of the Celvetiyye order and the *Letters to Halîl Paşa* for the Ottoman diplomatics studies, they do not provide us with the political views of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî which would be crucial for understanding the role this spiritual and political advisor of the sultans played during the crucial period of the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. The letters Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî sent to the sultans from Murad III to Murad IV, known as *Tezâkir*, on the other hand, reveals both the content of the dialog between a dervish and the sultans and the up to date concerns of the Empire at the period.

The third chapter is about Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's comments, as found in *Tezâkir*, on politics, which is treated within the context of the *nasihatnâme* genre, and on piety, which is treated within the context of the Kadızâdeli movement, two important developments that marked the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of the Ottoman intellectual and political life with the former's emphasis on the essentiality of *kanuns* and the latter's emphasis on the Islamic legality of the existing practices of faith within the Ottoman Empire.

In Appendix I an overview of the literary outputs of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî and their present state of publication is attempted. Parts of *Tezâkir* that have been referred to in the text are given in Appendix II.

¹⁴ F. Cangüzel (Güner) Zülfikar, *Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî Külliyesi'nin Kuruluşu ve İlk Yüzyılı*, Ph.D.diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Ankara, 1999.

CHAPTER I: THE LIFE

1.1. The Seen and the Unseen

Mahmûd, son of Fazlu'l-lah son of Mahmûd, who later came to be known as Üsküdârî Seyyid Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, was born during Süleyman the Magnificent's reign.¹⁵ The title *Üsküdârî* is a legacy of his years in Scutari and 'Azîz¹⁶ stands as a title of respect which denotes his mastery over spiritual knowledge. Hüdâyî¹⁷ is the *mahlas*, pen-name, his spiritual guide, Üftâde, had attributed to him. Nothing is known about the occupation and lineage of his father. Likewise, we do not have any information with respect to his maternal side either in biographical sources or in his own writings.¹⁸ In the face of this silence in the sources it can be concluded that his father was not a member of the *ilmiyye* hierarchy and held no *sûfiyye* affiliations either through his or his wife's family. However, Hüdâyî's being recalled as *Seyyid* needs some clarification as it may imply one of his parents' *seyyid* lineage.

¹⁵ There are different records as to Hüdâyî's date and place of birth in the biographical sources. His date of birth is usually accepted as 950/1543-1544 and his place of birth as either Koçhisar or Sivrihisar in the secondary sources. See Ziver Tezeren, *Seyyid Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî I. Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Tarikatı ve Eserleri*, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, İstanbul, 1984 (hereafter Tezeren), p. 10-14; Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, *Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî ve Celvetiyye Tarikatı*, Erkam Yayınları: 19, İstanbul, 1982 (hereafter Yılmaz), p. 39-42; Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, "Seyyid 'Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyât Fakültesi Dergisi*, XV, 1967, p. 2; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Hüdâ'î", *EP*, Vol. III, p. 538.

¹⁶ "1. powerful, mighty, puissant; 2. glorious, great; 3. highly prized, highly esteemed; 4. rare, high priced, precious; 5. beloved; 6. holy, sacred, saintly: a saint"; *A Turkish and English Lexicon*. İncalcık while explaining the audience of Aşıkpaşazade mentions that the term 'azîz was generally used in the Turkish of the period as a term for dervishes. See Halil, İncalcık, "How to Read Ashûkpasha-zade's History", in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber, The Isis Press, İstanbul, p. 144.

¹⁷ *Hüdâ* means "1.guidance; 2.a right road, the way of salvation, the faith of Islam", *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, ed. Sir James W. Redhouse, 2nd ed., Çağrı yay., İstanbul, 1992; *Hüdâyî* denotes one who is on the way of salvation.

The term *seyyid* (pl. *sâdât*) had been used to identify the descendants of Hz. Hüseyin and *şerîf* (pl. *şurafâ*, *aşrâf*) to identify the descendants of Hz. Hasan since the time of the Emevi state. *Emir* (pl. *ümerâ*) had also been used to denote the both. In time, the use of *seyyid* came to comprehend all of these terms.¹⁹ Apart from this common usage of the term, it was also used for the widely accepted *sûfis*, *velîs* and religious 'âlims as a word of respect in the sense a slave utters to his master (*sayyidi* or *sidi*).²⁰

It can simply be concluded that the term *Seyyid* stands as another title of respect attributed to Hüdâyî by his followers and that he did not have any factual *seyyid* lineage in his family. However, depending on two entries in *Tecelliyât*, on two hymns of Hüdâyî, on *Silsilenâme* and on the title used for Hüdâyî in the *vakfiyye* of Halîl Paşa, questions have been raised concerning the historical reality of Hüdâyî's being a *seyyid* by descent²¹ and in fact we see in modern common-sense the title being simply interpreted as a historical reality.

The first entry in *Tecelliyât* dates 1012 Receb 18/December 21, 1603. Here Hüdâyî reports that he saw himself in the presence of the Prophet and the Prophet told Hüdâyî that he is his heir ("varisimüzsün deyu buyurdular").²² The second entry dates 1013 Cumade'l-ahire 4/ 27 October, 1604, and is a repetition of the first encounter.²³ In the two related hymns Hüdâyî attributes himself being a descendant of the Prophet.²⁴ In the *vakfiyye* of Halîl Paşa, Hüdâyî is referred to as "*mazhar-ı envâr-ı sübhâniye zü'l-hasebi'z-zâhir sülâle seyyidu'l-mürselîn, mürşidu's-sâlikîn*."²⁵ In *Silsilenâme-i Celvetiyye* İsmâil Hakkı Bursevî reports that Hüdâyî was heard saying that he is from the line of Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî (*Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî*

¹⁸ Beldiceanu-Steinherr suggests his being an orphan from early childhood depending on a record in *Vâkıât*: Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Hüdâ'î", p. 542.

¹⁹ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Din", in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, 2 Vols., İslam Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul, 1998, p. 118-120; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1988, p. 161-162.

²⁰ C. Van Arendonk, "Şerîf", *J.A.*, Vol. XI, p. 435-442.

²¹ Tezeren, p. 9-10; Yılmaz, p. 38-39.

²² Yılmaz, p. 39.

²³ Yılmaz, p. 39.

²⁴ "Ceddîm u pîrim sultan Sensin yâ Rasûllullah", Yılmaz, p. 39 and "N'ola eylersen Hüdâyî'ye nazar Ceddîm ü pîrimsin ey Kân-ı Atâ", Tezeren, p. 10.

neslinden olmak üzere kendi lisanlarından meşhur ve mütevatirdir) and that he is a *seyyid* (*siyadetleri dahi vardır*). However, *Silsilenâme* continues, Hüdâyî did not have a *sened* in his hand and thus used to wear white *destar* (*sarık*) until he was ordered by the Prophet during a *mükâşefe* instance that he wear green *destar*, a sign of *seyyid* lineage.²⁶

From the above mentioned sources *Tecelliyât* emphasises that he was told to be a *seyyid* during a *mükâşefe* instance, i.e. during an instance of a spiritual communion with God, in his own words, and *Silsilenâme* repeats this information as a third person narrative, adding that his connection to the Prophet's lineage through Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî line was heard from Hüdâyî himself. The most important acknowledgement in *Silsilenâme* is that Hüdâyî did not have a *sened* (i.e. a *berat*) in his hand.

The institution of *nakîbü'l-eşrâf* "the marshall of the nobility (i.e., the descendants of Muhammad's family, *ahl al-bayt*)" which was established probably during the period of the Abbasids, as a result of their need to justify their claim to the caliphate through the concept of *şeref* attributed to the descendants of Muhammad's family since the rise of Islam, had evolved in time into an institution with important social, political and religious influence throughout the different regions and periods in Islamic history.²⁷ Though there is not adequate research on the development and place of this institution in the Ottoman Empire we know that it existed under the title of *sâdât nikabeti* during the first periods of the Ottoman Empire.²⁸ The post of *nakîbü'l-eşrâf* was established for the first time in 802 Ramazan/1400 Mayıs during the reign of Bayezid I, and Seyyid Ali Natta' b. Muhammed, who was a student of Emir Buhari and who is said to have been an ancestor of Aşık Çelebi, was appointed to the post.²⁹ Though the post was abolished during the reign of Mehmed II it was re-established during

²⁵ Yılmaz, p. 39.

²⁶ İsmâil Hakkı Bursevî, *Kitâbu's-Silsileti'l-Celvetiyye*, prepared by İlyas Efendi; *İsmâil Hakkı Bursevî'nin Kitâbu's-Silsileti'l-Celvetiyyesi*, Masters Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 1994, p. 116. (Hereafter *Silsilenâme*)

²⁷ A. Havemann, "Nakîb al-ashrâf", *EP*, p. 926.

²⁸ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 163-164.

²⁹ *ibid*, p. 164-165.

Bayezîd II's reign, as a result of the need to meet the claims of the *sâdât* and to discriminate false claimants from real and Seyyid Mahmud, son of Bayezîd's teacher Seyyid Abdullah, was appointed in 900/1494 to the post with the title *nakîbü'l-eşrâf*.³⁰ The institution of *nakîbü'l-eşrâf* lasted until the end of the Ottoman Empire.

The *nakîbü'l-eşrâf*, who himself was from the *sâdât* and who was mostly chosen among the *ulema* with *sâdât* affiliations, especially after the seventeenth century, was given the duty of registering the names, births and deaths, genealogies, family, place of residence of the *seyyids* and the *şerîfs* throughout the Empire, in *defters* called *şecere-i tayyibe*. These lists of nobility, were essential for the identification of false claimants from real *seyyids*, which was among the responsibilities of the *nakîbü'l-eşrâf*. He undertook this duty through his officers, who were also from the *sâdât*, in *eyâlets*, *sancaks* and *kazas*. After this inspection members of *sâdât* were given a *hüccet* called *siyâdet beratı* which legalised their status in the empire and were registered in the *defters* of the *nakîbü'l-eşrâf*.³¹ *Seyyids* in the Ottoman Empire, like in most of the other Islamic societies were identified from ordinary people by a green sign (*alâmet*), especially a green *sarık*, and enjoyed certain privileges like being exempt from taxation and their legal cases being heard before the *nakîbü'l-eşrâf* or his representatives. However, it seems that the institution was open to personal influences and bribery.³²

The *sened* which *Silsilenâme* mentions Hüdâyî did not possess is the *siyâdet beratı* which the *sâdât* used to possess in the Ottoman Empire. However, as mentioned above, Hüdâyî confers on himself *seyyid* status by referring to a *mükâşefe* instance, a record found in

³⁰ *ibid*, p. 165.

³¹ *ibid*, p. 167,171. The registers of *Nakîbü'l-eşrâf*, covering the period 943/1536-1116/1704, making thirty-three *defters* altogether are preserved in the archive of the Office of the Müftü of İstanbul. Halil İnalcık, "The Rûznâme Registers of the Kadiasker of Rumeli as preserved in the İstanbul Müftülük Archives", in *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren Yay., İstanbul, 1998, p. 125-126.

³² Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 163-172.

Tecelliyât, which is a diary of the divine experiences he went through from 1010/1601-1602 on.³³

Though the historical validity of *keşf* (“exploration”) and *ru’yâ* (dream), two inherent concepts of dervishhood in particular and the Islamic societies in general, is questioned in modern historical thinking they are essential for an understanding of the dervish life since the dervishes attribute primary importance to the invisible world.

Mükâşefe being an essential part of the *sûfî* practice, refers to the opening of the eye of the heart and a state of seeing of the invisible world (*gayb alemi*).³⁴ *Keşf*³⁵, knowledge of the *gayb* received directly from God, being exclusive mainly to the mystics, signifies one’s progress in the spiritual realm and constitutes one of the most essential part of the ‘mystical journey’ (*sülûk*).³⁶ Within the Islamic tradition it had long been believed that *vahy* was peculiar to the Prophet and *keşf* to the *velîs* whereas *ru’yâ* could be experienced by every individual.³⁷ “Ru’yâ tradition” found interest not only among the *sûfî* circles but was shared by most of the population and was an integral concept of the Ottoman culture. It had found a place in the historical narratives completed during the fifteenth century which had made use of the dreams of Ertuğrul and Osman to legitimise the House of Osman’s access to the rightly rule.³⁸ We also know that Murad III had been keeping a diary of dreams.³⁹

³³ See Appendix I: The Literary Legacy of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî.

³⁴ Süleyman Uludağ, *Tasavvuf Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Marifet Yay., 2nd ed., İstanbul, 1996, p. 383-384; “God’s openly manifesting himself to a saint, spiritual communion with God”; *A Turkish and English Lexicon. Mükâşefe* (also called as the stage of *ayne’l-yakîn*) is considered as the second level of *Marifet* (“gnosis”) i.e., the third of the four gates (*şeri’at*, *tarikât*, *marifet*, *hakikat*) that a *mürîd* should pass through in order to find God, the first being *Muhadara* (also called as *ilme’l-yakîn*) and the third *Müşahede* (also called as *hakka’l-yakîn*). Musafa Kara, *Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 1985, p. 131; Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, p. 62.

³⁵ “A saint’s having revealed visibly to him mysteries of the visible and invisible world”; *A Turkish and English Lexicon*. The difference between *keşf* and *ru’yâ* is that *keşf* is experienced while one is awake and *ru’yâ* comes in one’s sleep.

³⁶ Uludağ, *Tasavvuf Terimleri Sözlüğü*, p. 310-311.

³⁷ However, *ru’yâ-yı sâdika* is reserved for the believers. See, Cemal Kafadar, *Rüya Mektupları: Asiye Hatun, Oğlak Yay.*, İstanbul, 1994; (published first as “Mütereddid Bir Mutasavvıf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun’un Rüya Defteri 1641-1643”, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 5 (1992), p. 168-222), p. 29.

³⁸ For an interpretation of this claim of the historical narratives that God had assigned Osman with world sultanate in his dream as interpreted by Şeyh Edebali see Halil İnalcık, “Osmanlı Padişahı”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, XIII, 1958, p. 68-69.

³⁹ Kafadar, p. 33-34.

However, in the mystical tradition *ru'yâ*, like *keşf*, had a peculiar place as different from those seen by the ordinary individuals. There are various *ayets* of Kur'ân and traditions of the Prophet that signify the validity of *ru'yâ*.⁴⁰ Depending on Prophet's tradition, "seeing me in dream is just like seeing me in reality, because the evil cannot appear in my form"⁴¹, communicating with the Prophet through the means of *ru'yâ* and with *keşf*, the two being inseparable in most of the instances, had been an integral part of the mystic life within the Islamic tradition. Even some *sûfî* authors had attributed their works to have been inspired by the Prophet himself during a dream, like the *Fususü'l-hikem* of Ibn al-Arabî and *Nazmu's-süluk* of Ibn Farîz (d.1235).⁴² *Sûfîs* maintained and attributed primary importance to their communication not only with the Prophet but also with their passed away spiritual guides (*mürşids*), or with other influential religious figures. Both *ru'yâ* and *keşf* had been considered as a means for the dervish to evaluate his situation through the images as revealed during such instances. Certain figures and images were believed to verify the validity of information that is being uncovered.

Within the Halvetî order, which, as will be seen later, was influential in Hüdâyî's spiritual education before he was attached to Üftâde, this *ru'yâ* and *keşf* tradition occupies an essential place. We see in the *Tarîkatnâme* of Sümbül Sinan Efendi, one of the most important Halvetî *şeyhs* of the sixteenth century, and in the commentary Niyazi-i Mısrî, again a famous Halvetî of the sixteenth century, wrote on the poem of Yunus Emre, the essentiality and the

⁴⁰ For ex: Saffât Suresi 37/103, the dream of Prophet İbrahim; Yusuf Suresi 12/4, the dream of Prophet Yusuf; Fetih Suresi 48/27, the dream of Prophet Muhammed; Yusuf Suresi, the dream of the governor of Egypt. Mustafa Kara, *Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, p. 135. Şûra Suresi 42/51, where it is acknowledged that God communicates with man through a messenger, directly, or behind covers, is said to be cited by Hüdâyî in *Tezâkir*; Mustafa Salim Güven as *Çeşitli Yönleriyle Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin Mektupları*, Masters Thesis, Marmara İlahiyât Fakültesi, İstanbul, 1992, p. 127-128. "The dream of a believer is one of the forty-six components of Prophethood", Kara, p. 135-136; "Nothing remains of prophecy other than the good dream, the just man sees it or it makes itself seen by him", T. Fahd, "Ru'yâ", *EP*, p. 645-647. This last tradition is said to be mentioned by Hüdâyî in various instances in *Tezâkir*; Güven, p. 128.

⁴¹ "Beni rüyada gören hakikatde görmüş gibidir çünkü şeytan benim suretime giremez", recorded by Buhari and Müslim. Kara, p. 135.

⁴² Kara, p. 136. H. Daiber, "Ru'yâ (in its philosophical-mystical meaning)", *EP*, p. 647-649.

rules governing the proper interpretation of dreams in the Halvetî order.⁴³ The *Ru'yâ Ta'bîrnâmesi* written by Şeyh Karabaş-ı Velî, a representative of the Şabanî branch of the Halvetî order, reveals meanings of some of dream images as seen by the *mürîds* and what they signify in the *mürîds*' spiritual ascent.⁴⁴

Hüdâyî, all through his life, as will be seen, was occupied with the concepts of *ru'yâ* and *keşf*. It is most probable that he learned the methods of dream interpretation from his *şeyh* Üftâde and in fact owes most of his reputation to his competence in this field. His letters to the sultans, *Tezâkir*, gives us various information with respect to his own, his dervishes' and the sultans' divine experiences (*keşfs* and dreams), which are usually attributed to current political or military concerns or to the spiritual stage of the seers.⁴⁵ We also learn from the records of Hüdâyî's own divine experiences in *Tezâkir* that these came while he was half asleep, especially while he was listening to *virid*.⁴⁶ It may be argued that the divine experiences which is recorded in *Vâkıât*, *Tecelliyât* and *Tezâkir* include both *keşfs* and dreams of Hüdâyî.

Two questions in *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, the answers Hüdâyî gave to the questions of one of his followers which will be dealt with in the second chapter, is devoted to the concept of *ru'yâ*, which reflect the importance attributed to the concept of *ru'yâ* in the Celvetiyye order. In one instance, Musâfî Efendi asks about the methods of proper interpretation of dreams and Hüdâyî answers that dream interpretation is difficult and is beyond mind and

⁴³ Kafadar, p. 27. In his book Kafadar takes the *ru'yâ* diary of Asiye Hatun as his subject. This diary contains the dreams of Asiye Hatun who was residing in Üsküp, corresponding them with his *şeyh*, Muslihuddin Efendi (d. 1643), a well known Halvetî *şeyh* from Uziçe.

⁴⁴ Mustafa Tatçı, "Şeyh Karabaş-ı Velî'nin Tasavvufî Bir Rüya Ta'bîrnâmesi" *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XXXII (1-2), 1994, p. 333-342.

⁴⁵ See Güven, p. 127-137. Hüdâyî, in accordance with the Islamic tradition, had certain signs with which he checked the validity of the dreams (and *keşfs*). According to him, those dreams in which the Prophet was present, (*ru'yâ-yı mübeşşire*), those in which *ayets* or traditions of the Prophet were inspired, or in which the friends of the Prophet were present were *ru'yâ-yı sâdika* and the interpretation of such dreams were possible. He called those non-clear dreams as *edğas-ı ahlâm* ("incoherent and confused dreams") and avoided their interpretation. Güven, p. 127-136; Fahd, "Ru'yâ", *EP*, p. 645.

⁴⁶ "dünkü gün yevmü'l-hamîs sabah viridini dinler iken bir mikdâr nü'âs galebe itmiş (...) ba'dehu gine mızganmışım.", Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 15b. "teveccühde du'ada otururken dayanub umızganmışız.", Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade, p. 47b.

instruction.⁴⁷ He mentions that the ability of dream interpretation could be achieved through acknowledging the oneness and unity without a fellow of God Almighty.⁴⁸ He adds that the interpretation varies according to the person who sees it. A dream has both *zâhir* and *bâtın* meanings, which could be learned from books of dream interpretation. In another instance, Musâfî Efendi asks how should frightful and confused dreams be interpreted and Hüdâyî answers that such dreams are a sign for a dervish from his own 'self' and they come as a warning for him to be aware of the divine and be warned against heedlessness. The dervish should discipline and purify his 'self' with forbearance.⁴⁹

However, in another question, when Musâfî Efendi asks about the differences between the Halvetiyye and the Celvetiyye orders Hüdâyî, though acknowledges that both are ways to salvation, criticises in a closed way the primary importance attributed to dreams in the Halvetî order and says that though the Celvetiyye order does not deny the world of dreams, dream interpretation is not the essence and cannot be free from inappropriate interpretation.⁵⁰

Thus it may be argued that Hüdâyî's claim for being a *seyyid* was based on this dream and *keşf* tradition which had long found acceptance in the *sûfî* circles in particular, and in the

⁴⁷ "Sû'âl: Ru'yâdan nesne ta'bir olursa ne yüzden ta'bir lâzımdır?

Cevâb: Ru'yâ ta'birî müşgil bir hâldir. 'Aklî nakille beyân olunmaz. Tevhîd ide ide âdemde bir hâl zâhir olur. Ru'yâ hâl-i salikin 'aklîna ve dînine cenâb-i rabbü'l-'izzetden nâzil ve lâyh olur ve ru'yâyı görene göre ta'bir olunur. Afâkî ve enfûs vardır. Anlar tafsil üzere meşâyih ta'birnâmelerinde yazılmışdır." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 2b-3a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 11a.

⁴⁸ *Tevhîd* refers both to the proposition that declares God's unity (*lâ ilâhe illâllah*) and to a state of mind, in which the *sûfî* sees nothing but God. *A Turkish and English Lexicon*.

⁴⁹ "Sû'âl: Mahûf ve müşevveş ru'yâ görse veya ta'bir etdirse anı nice etmek gerekdir?

Cevâb: Korkulu ru'yâ dervîş görse kendü nefsinden ana bir işâretidir. Kendi nefsinî tasfiye idüb ve hilm ile terbiye eyleye. Andan murâd tenbîh-i ilâhîdir. Mürîd gafletden agâh olmak için olur." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 3a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 11b.

⁵⁰ "Sû'âl: Bu tarîkımız Halvetî midir Celvetî midir? Halvetî ve Celvetî ma'en oldukda bunların bir farkı var mıdır?

Cevâb: Halvetî olan sûfler dâ'im ru'yâ 'âlemine meşgûl olurlar anınla irşûda sa'y iderler. Amma Celvetî olanlar hikmet-i ilâhîyeyi müşâhede idüb 'âlem-i ru'yâyâ tenezzül etmeyüb vâridât-i ilâhîye ile tarîklarında bir celâ hâsıl olub ol nûr ile eşyâyı seyr iderler ve lakin ru'yâ 'âlemine dahî inkâr etmezler. İkisi bile tarîk-i Hakk'a vâsıl olur deyu mezhepleri budur. İkisi bile bu mezheplerin cem'ine zâhib olmuşlar. Nihâyet Halvetîden Celvetî mükâşefede ve irşâdda Halvetîden yukarı ırâkdir. Zirâ celvetî herşeyi' kemâ hû hakkahu gözle görür. Ru'yâ te'vîlî kûn değildir. Ru'yâ te'vîlî isâbet ve gayrî isâbetden hâli olmaz. İmdî bizim tarîkımız hem Halvetî ve hem Celvetîdir deyu buyurdu rahmetullah-i aleyh." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 3a-3b; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 11b-12a.

society in general. The two hymns of Hüdâyî and the title attributed to him in the *vakfiyye* of Halîl Paşa, two points of reference to verify the *seyyid* lineage of Hüdâyî other than the records in *Tecelliyât* and *Silsilenâme*, should also be considered within this *ru'yâ* and *keşf* tradition since all of them dates after Hüdâyî's establishing himself as the leader of the Celvetiyye order, which implies his exalting these concepts of dervishhood, and his being in a position of spiritual authority that would bring the faith of his followers and the society in his divine experiences.

This *ru'yâ* and *keşf* tradition comes before us once again about an important detail with respect to Hüdâyî's years of childhood which mentions his affiliation with a dervish called Baba Yusuf. *Silsilenâme* records that Baba Yusuf was a Halvetî dervish in Sivrihisar from whom Hüdâyî received spiritual education.⁵¹ Hüdâyî, himself recalls Baba Yusuf in *Vâkiât* in various instances as recorded by Tezeren and Yılmaz.⁵² However, as mentioned by Tezeren and Yılmaz, there seems to be a time gap between the life-span of Baba Yusuf about whom the sources give information and that of Hüdâyî, and a difference with respect to Baba Yusuf's orientation. One famous Baba Yusuf who is recorded in the biographical dictionaries is the Baba Yusuf from Seferihisar/Sivrihisar who was a *halîfe* of Hacı Bayram.⁵³ This Baba Yusuf had died during the early years of Selim I's reign (1512-1520).⁵⁴ Tezeren states that he had identified Beyda (or Kurşunlu) Cami in Sivrihisar that had been built by Baba Yusuf and was completed in 898/1492-1493.⁵⁵ He argues that though Baba Yusuf had died before Hüdâyî was born, Hüdâyî, probably, had a spiritual communion (perhaps through means of

⁵¹ "(Hz. Hüdâyî) evailinde ba'zı halvetiyye -ha-i mu'ceme ile- mubayaa edip (...) sabıkan orada (Seferihisar) Baba Yusuf namına Halvetiyye erenlerinden bir aziz var idi ki Hz. Hüdâyî ondan bir mikdar tarik-i esma görmüş ve tecelliyat-ı ilmiyyeden hayli meratibe ermiş idi. (...) ve ol vakitte Baba Yusuf dünyadan intikal etmiş bulunmakla Hz. Hüdâyî O'nun türbesinde murakabede iken Baba Yusuf zahir olub 'Hoş geldiniz! Bu makam bizim değil, sizindir' demiş idi." *Silsilenâme*; p. 116. In the second quotation it is not clear whether Baba Yusuf was dead when Hüdâyî returned to Sivrihisar after his stay in Bursa or during Hüdâyî's acquaintance with him.

⁵² Tezeren, p. 16,106-107; Yılmaz, p. 48-49.

⁵³ Nev'îzade 'Ata'î, *Hada'ikü'l-Haka'ik fî Tekmileti's-Şaka'ik*, ed. Özcan; Abdülkadir; *Şakaik-i Numaniye ve Zeyilleri*, İstanbul, Çağrı Yay., 1989, Vol. 2; p. 376-377.

dream or *keşf*) with this *şeyh*.⁵⁶ Yılmaz argues that either there was another Baba Yusuf or Hüdâyî had been acquainted with the followers of the Baba Yusuf whom the sources mention.⁵⁷

Though we do not have any exact knowledge about who was the Baba Yusuf with whom Hüdâyî started his spiritual education, we can state that Hüdâyî had been inspired by the teachings of two orders until he institutionalised the Celvetiyye order in his personality. These were the Halvetiyye and the Bayramiyye orders. Hüdâyî's marriage, which probably took place before he came to Bursa, is said to have been from the Halvetî circles, and if we follow *Silsilenâme* which attributes Baba Yusuf to be a Halvetî *şeyh* we can state that his affiliation with the Halvetî circles had started during his early years of childhood and youth. His connection with the Halvetî order continued during his stay in Damascus and Cairo with *şeyh* Kerimüddîn Halvetî and in Bursa with Nureddinzâde Muslihuddîn Efendi. Üftâde, who was the key person in Hüdâyî's choosing to deepen himself in esoteric knowledge, was from the line of Bayramî order of dervishes. If we consider Baba Yusuf whom the biographical dictionaries mention as a *halîfe* of Hacı Bayram-ı Velî as Hüdâyî's first spiritual guide, than it is possible to state that Hüdâyî had access to the Bayramiyye principles before his affiliation with Üftâde in Bursa.

We have no recorded information as to where and when Hüdâyî began his formal education except *Vâkıât* in which Hüdâyî states that he had started his education in Sivrihisar.⁵⁸ In *Tezâkir*, Hüdâyî recollects his years of education with a general statement that

⁵⁴ 'Ata'î, p. 377. Ata'î states that Baba Yusuf from Seferihisar was well respected by Bayezîd II (1481-1512) and he had given a *va'az* during the first Cum'a gathering when the Sultan Bayezîd Cami'i was completed. 'Ata'î; p. 376-377.

⁵⁵ Tezeren, p. 16.

⁵⁶ Tezeren, p. 15-17.

⁵⁷ Yılmaz, p. 48-49.

⁵⁸ Yılmaz, p. 42. However, it is not clear whether it was the formal or the spiritual education.

it was possible thanks to the sultanate of Süleyman I (1520-66) and was completed during Selim II's reign (1566-74).⁵⁹

What follows is a brief description of Hüdâyî's *medrese* years in the light of the literature available on the Ottoman *ilmiyye* organisation.

⁵⁹ “*tahsilimiz de saltanat-i Süleymâniye sâyesinde ve Selimiye devletinde olmuştur.*” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasıdecizade nr. 323, p. 46a; Tezeren, p. 14; Güven, p. 50.

1.2. Years With Nâzırzâde

By the sixteenth century, there were various educational structures within the Ottoman Empire. These included the Palace school, where the *şehzades* were educated under the supervision of the most well-known teachers of the time; the *Enderûn mektebs*, where students selected among the *Acemi Oğlanları* underwent an education of seven to eight years which was oriented totally towards the creation of a *kapıkulu* class ornamenting them with the means that would serve the preservation of the well-being of the Empire; and the *tekkes* where Kur'ân and the tradition of the Prophet were taught besides the rules of the *tarikât*.⁶⁰ However, these institutions were designed to serve specific purposes and the general educational system in the Ottoman Empire was based on the *medrese* system. The *ilmiyye* class was a product of the *medrese* system and included those who occupied the posts like *kadılık*, *müderislik*, *müftîlik*, *camî services* and *kâtiplik*.⁶¹ The *sıbyan mektebs* used to constitute the first step in the *medrese* system where general formal primary education was given. There are indications that the *sıbyan mektebs*, also called as *darü't-ta'lim*, *muallimhâne*, *mekteb* or *mektebhâne* were widespread in the Empire.⁶² It can be stated that Hüdâyî either attended a *sıbyan mektebi* during the age five or six where he learned how to read and write, Kur'ân-ı Şerîf and the *a'mal-i erbaa*, the four basic operations of arithmetic, or received an equal level of education with a private tutorial.

⁶⁰ Cahit Baltacı, *XV. XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, İrfan Matbaası, İstanbul, 1976, p. 16-18; Davut Dursun, *Yönetim-Din İlişkileri Açısından Osmanlı Devletinde Siyaset ve Din*, 2nd ed., İşaret yay., İstanbul, 1992, p. 285.

⁶¹ Baltacı, p. 16-18.

⁶² Baltacı, p. 19.

Within the Ottoman *medrese* system, the *müderriş*, “a man of recognised authority in the religious and spiritual sciences”, was the essential element.⁶³ Appointed by a royal warrant (*berat*) the *müderriş* was responsible for the general administration of the *medrese* which was a self-governing unit within a *vakf* and which was usually one component in a complex of mosque, hospice and other charitable institutions.⁶⁴ Instead of a centralised mechanism for the qualification of applicants the *müderriş* was given competence for personally examining and accepting students and for distributing the stipends and accommodations available to students and servants under the rules of the endowment of the *medrese* in which the *müderriş* performed his duty.⁶⁵ He was allowed to take his student with him when he was promoted to another position and was able to pass his student on to a known colleague at an appropriate institution when the student was ready for graduation to a more advanced level of study.⁶⁶ A student would travel to the place where a well-known scholar in the field in which the student wanted to specialise taught and seek a diploma of competence from him.⁶⁷ The success of a student was judged both with the *medreses* he was attached and with the diplomas of qualification he received from a recognised *müderriş* to teach certain texts and subjects.⁶⁸ Thus the personal bond between student and teacher was a basic determinant of the fate of the career of the student. Not only what one studied but also with whom one studied shaped the future of the student and brought him the means of entering desirable schools and posts.⁶⁹ It was the *müderriş* and the diploma of competence received from him, played the crucial role rather than the institution in the Ottoman *medrese* system, a

⁶³ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, London and New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973, p. 166.

⁶⁴ *ibid*, p. 169.

⁶⁵ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 167; Dursun, p. 299-303; Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafâ 'Âlî (1541-1600)*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1986, p. 27. Students received stipends and food from the *vakf*, thus, had a small amount of income. It was two *akçes* for the students and five *akçes* for *dânişmends* under the rules governing Mehmed the Conqueror's endowment. İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 167.

⁶⁶ Fleischer, p. 27.

⁶⁷ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 166.

⁶⁸ *ibid*, p. 28.

point which may be considered as a reflection of the ‘institution’ of *intisab* in the *ilmiyye* organisation.⁷⁰

For Hüdâyî, it was Nâzırzâde Ramazan Efendi, who paved the way for him in the *ilmiye* system. We do not know how the two came to know each other. It may have been due to a family bond, to a familiarity from *sûfî* circles or to the brilliance of Hüdâyî as a student.⁷¹ What we know is that when Nâzırzâde was appointed to Selimiye Medresesi in Edirne in Muharrem 978/June 1570, he took Hüdâyî with him as his *mu'id*. Hüdâyî probably had become a student of Nâzırzâde during the latter’s service in Ayasofya Medresesi (Cumâde’l-ulâ 971/December 1563-Safer 976/August 1568) and continued his education in Süleymâniye Medresesi under the supervision of Nâzırzâde who served there for about two years (Safer 976/August 1568- Muharrem 978/June 1570) till he was appointed to Selimiye Medresesi.⁷²

The only related entry in *Tezâkir* due to Hüdâyî’s years of education which reveals that his education was possible thanks to the sultanate of Süleyman I (1520-1566) and that it was completed during Selim II’s reign (1566-1574), indicates that he had lived through the change in the *medrese* hierarchy during Süleyman I’s reign.⁷³

⁶⁹ Fleischer, p. 28.

⁷⁰ *ibid*, p. 29.

⁷¹ The career story of Nâzırzâde, who proved successful in climbing the ladders of *ilmiye* hierarchy up to the top step, is a good illustration of the *ilmiye* organisation in the Ottoman Empire. His father was a member of the *ilmiyye* class who performed the duty of *kadı* in various *kasabas*. His first post in the *ilmiyye* hierarchy was in Bursa *Müfti Ahmed Paşa Medresesi* with 25 *akçe* daily salary. After that, he became the *müderris* of *Veliyyüddin-Oğlu Ahmed Paşa Medresesi* with 30 *akçe* daily salary, and then *müderris* of *Yıldırım Bayazıd Medresesi* with 40 *akçe* daily salary. After performing the duty of *müderris* in *Kasım Paşa Medresesi*, *Semiz Ali Paşa Medresesi*, *Ayakkurşunlu Medresesi*, he was appointed to *Ayasofya Medresesi* with 60 *akçe* daily salary. Later, he was given the post of *müderris* at *Süleymâniye Medresesi* and after that at *Selimiye Medresesi* with 70 *akçe* daily salary. He later occupied the post of *kadıship* in Damascus, Cairo, Bursa and Edirne, in accordance with his established rank. His last post was *kadı* of İstanbul which he retained for nearly one year until his death in Şaban 984/October 1576. ‘Ata’î, p. 240-241. Thus, he had established himself among the highest-ranking *ulema*, who were the *kadıaskers* of Rumelia and Anatolia, the *kadı* of İstanbul and the *kadis* of the eight most important cities (Mecca, Medina, Edirne, Bursa, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem), known as *molla*. İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 170-171.

⁷² ‘Ata’î, p. 240-241, 760-762; Tezeren, p. 14; Yılmaz, p. 43. We know from a record in the Mühimme Defteri dated 961/1553-1554 that *Ayasofya Medresesi* ranked higher than Sahn-i Semân at the period and Sahn *müderrises* were promoted to *Ayasofya Medresesi*. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 10, Baltacı, p. 475. Completed in 980/1572-1573, *Selimiye Medresesi* ranked as 70 *akçe* daily salary. Baltacı, p. 548-554.

⁷³ See footnote 59.

Mehmed the Conqueror, after the conquest of İstanbul, had converted eight churches into *medreses* and had established around the Conqueror's Mosque, during 1463-1470, eight *medreses* known as *Sahn-i Semân* (or *Semâniyye*).⁷⁴ During this period, The *Semâniyye medreses* constituted the highest ranking educational institutions in the Empire. The *medreses* were categorised and ranked as *The Hâriç Medreses* (composed of *ibtidâ-yi hâriç -medreses of twenty-*; *miftâh medreses -medreses of thirty-*; *medreses of forty* and *medreses of fifty*, which the princes, ladies of the royal family, or viziers had founded in İstanbul, Edirne, Bursa) and *The Dâhil Medreses* (composed of *ibtidâ-yi dâhil -medreses of fifty-*; *tetimme -mûsile-yi sahn-*; the eight preparatory *medreses* of Mehmed the Conqueror; and the *Semâniyye medreses*).⁷⁵ While the candidates of scholarship used to travel to cultural centres like Egypt, Persia or Turkestan and sought guidance from the great scholars of those lands during the formative period of the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed the Conqueror had wished his lands to be filled with *ulema* comparable with those of other lands, in line with his policy of establishing a great empire.⁷⁶ The Süleymâniye Medresesi marked a new structuralisation in the hierarchy of the Ottoman *medrese* system. During 1550-1556, around the mosque which he founded in İstanbul, Süleyman the Magnificent established four *medreses* for general studies, one *medrese* for the study of the science of *hadis*, and one *medrese* for the study of medicine.⁷⁷ These *medreses* were given the highest rank and this new hierarchy continued until the end of the Empire. Though the students who had completed the *Sahn Medreses* became eligible for designation to fill a post in the *ilmiye* system, there was the possibility of further study in these advanced *medreses*.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 167.

⁷⁵ *ibid*, p. 168-169.

⁷⁶ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 166-167; Zeki Salih Zengin, "Osmanlı Medreselerindeki Gerilemenin Sebep ve Sonuçları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 26, Ankara, 1997, p. 401.

⁷⁷ İnalcık, p. 169.

⁷⁸ Fleischer, p. 27.

In a *fermân* issued in 1576, the minimum amount of time a student had to spent at each level of *medrese* hierarchy in order to be qualified for graduation to the next was determined.⁷⁹ Students were to spent, in an optimal period of progress, three years in the *ibtida-yi hâriç*, *miftah medreses*, *medreses of forty*, *ibtida-yi dâhil* and *tetimme-i sahn* before they could be a *dânişmed*, i.e. an advanced student in various stages of the *Sahn medreses* - *Sahn-i Semân* or *Sahn-i Süleymâniye*, whom the *müderriş* selected from among those who had completed the above mentioned levels of education.⁸⁰ If this period of optimal progress was valid during 1560s, we can argue that Hüdâyî had completed the first five grades of the *medrese* system in the Ottoman Empire by his early twenties and had become a *dânişmend*, during some time between 1563-1568. These made up the education completed in the exterior (*hâric*) *medreses* which gave preparatory instruction in Arabic grammar, logic, scholastic theology, astronomy, geometry, rhetoric, literary sciences, religious precepts and jurisprudence and which were ranked as the *ibtidâ-yi hâriç* (*medreses of twenty*), *miftah medreses* (*medreses of thirty*), and the *medreses of forty* and the *medreses of fifty* (those founded by princes, ladies of the royal family or viziers in İstanbul, Bursa and Edirne), *ibtida-yi dâhil* (*dâhil medreses of fifty*), and *tetimme* (or *mûsile-yi sahn*).⁸¹ A student had to be certified to have completed the established curriculum of these *medreses* in sequence to be enrolled in the *Sahn medreses*.

The *mu'id* served as an assistant to the *müderriş* and was selected by him from one of the *dânişmends*. He was responsible for repeating the lessons and for supervising student discipline.⁸² It was also possible that the *mu'ids* taught at the *tetimme medreses*.⁸³ According

⁷⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 13-14. An earlier *fermân* dated 1538 prescribes five years as the minimum period of study of required texts for a student to be qualified for admission to the *Sahn*. Fleischer, p. 27.

⁸⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 14. See also Fleischer, p. 27. Though the terms to denote the students could be used interchangeably technically *dânişmends* implied a student in one of the *Sahn medreses* and *suhte* (or *softa*) implied students of lower rank. Dursun, p. 303; Baltacı, p. 31-32; Fleischer, p. 27.

⁸¹ İncalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 168-169; Fleischer, p. 25-26.

⁸² İncalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 167; Baltacı, p. 33; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 57-58.

⁸³ Dursun, p. 303; Baltacı, p. 33.

to procedure the *mu'ids*, after a period of service, were put through an examination and received a diploma of competence, *icâzetnâme*, if they were found successful. The names of the courses which the student had studied, the names of the *müderises* with whom he studied, the name of the *müderis* who gave the *icâzetnâme*, and the chain of the teachers of the *müderis*, which usually stretched back to the Companions of the Prophet were listed.⁸⁴

During the same year, in 978/1570-1571, Hüdâyî became eligible for designation (*rütbe-i mülâzemet nâil olub*)⁸⁵ to one of the posts that were available to the graduates of the *Sahn-i semân*.⁸⁶ *Mülâzemet* was a designation to fill a post; i.e. the teaching positions (*müderislik*) or judgeships (*kadılık*), when it becomes vacant through death or promotion of its retainer to another position. Its receiver was called *mülâzim*.⁸⁷ It was the *mülâzemet*, “attendance” of the *mevâli*, which was considered as a prerequisite for one’s candidacy to the *manâsib*.⁸⁸ *Mülâzemet* was considered to provide additional training under the *mevâli* and opened the way for one to obtain a higher assignment.⁸⁹ The *mülâzim* was registered in the *defters* called *matlab* of the *kadiasker* of Rumelia (*Rûznâmçe*), if he was to perform his duty in Rumelia, or of *kadiasker* of Anatolia, if he was to go to Anatolia.⁹⁰ The waiting period was called *nevbet*. The usual procedure was that a *mülâzim*, qualified candidate, firstly received

⁸⁴ Baltacı, p. 34; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 75-77.

⁸⁵ ‘Ata’î, p. 760.

⁸⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 45; Fleischer, p. 26.

⁸⁷ Fleischer, p. 26; Baltacı, p. 26.

⁸⁸ Those posts at a *medrese* or *kada* were called *mansib* and those minor religious services at the mosques or similar institutions (*imams*, *müezzins*, *hatibs*) were called *cihet*; the possessors of former was called *ehl-i manâsib* whereas the latter was called *ehl-i cihet*. Halil İnalcık, “The Rûznâmçe Registers of the Kadiasker of Rumeli as preserved in the İstanbul Müftülük Archives”, p. 130-131.

⁸⁹ *ibid*, p. 135. Apart from the *mülâzemet* procedure qualification was also determined by official tests when necessary. Another method for the selection of candidates to fill appropriate posts was a direct recommendation by the *mevâli* who chose certain number of candidates from among his students, assistants or his own sons (*müstakil ‘arzla mülâzemet*). İnalcık, “The Rûznâmçe Registers of the Kadiasker of Rumeli as preserved in the İstanbul Müftülük Archives”, p. 130; Baltacı, p. 35. Baltacı mentions that *müstakil ‘arzla mülâzemet* usually applied to the children of the *müderises* of the sultan and those of the *Şeyhü’l-İslâm*. Baltacı, p. 35.

⁹⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 45. The 120 *rûznâmçe* registers of the *kadiasker* of Anatolia, covering the period 1076/1665-1310/1892 are preserved in the archive of the Office of Müfti of İstanbul, together with the 257 registers of the *kadiasker* of Rumeli covering the period 952/1545-1312/1894. The series of *kadiasker rûznâmçesi* (daybooks kept under the *kadiasker*), which include the appointments made by the *kadiaskers*, are an important source for the study of the Ottoman *ilmiyye* career. This collection of the *kadiasker* of Anatolia does not cover the period when Hüdâyî was registered in the list as a usual procedure for

teaching positions at the *medreses of twenty* level and then promoted to other *medreses* following the same order of promotion as they went through as students.⁹¹ A *müderriş* could be designated to a judgeship position equal with the rank he had achieved as a *müderriş*.⁹² In fact, both the *tedris* (teaching) and the *kada* (administration of the law) were closely interrelated in their function and the *mülâzims* could prefer either to attain a post of *müderriş* or *kadı*.⁹³ It seems that Hüdâyî passed his waiting period, which usually lasted two to three years beside a *müderriş* or *kadı*⁹⁴, by accompanying Nâzırzâde as his *nâ'ib* in Damascus and Cairo.

In Cumâde'l-ahire 978/November 1570⁹⁵ Nâzırzâde was appointed *kadı* of Damascus which was one of the possible posts in the *ilmiyye* hierarchy that coincided with his established rank.⁹⁶ He took Hüdâyî with him as his *nâ'ib*. It was the usual practice that candidates of *müderriş* posts were appointed as *nâ'ib* beside a *kadı*, an occupation, as described below, through which they learned how to apply justice.⁹⁷ Nâzırzâde and Hüdâyî stayed in Damascus for sixteen months till the two went to Cairo on the occasion of Nâzırzâde's appointment to the post of *kadı* of Cairo in Ramazan 979/January 1572.⁹⁸ They stayed in Cairo for about seventeen months. It was the usual practice that the *kadıs* of

appointment to a *ilmiyye* post. İnalçık, "The Rûznâme Registers of the Kadıasker of Rumeli as preserved in the İstanbul Müftülük Archives", p. 125-127.

⁹¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 26; Fleischer, p. 26. The system of *mülâzemet* was reorganised during Süleyman I's reign, when Ebussuud was performing the duty of *kadıasker* of Rumeli, to prevent abuses in achieving posts. A *fermân* of 968/1560-1561 set forth the rules governing the system of *mülâzemet*. According to this *fermân*, graduates were to be registered in the *Rûznâme-i Hümayûn* and to wait their turn. Each *kadıasker* were to provide ten, *kadıs* of the three most important cities (*bilâd-ı selâse kadıları*: *kadıs* of İstanbul, Edirne and Bursa) were to provide five, and the *mevâli* were to provide three *mülâzims* in periods of seven years. *Müderrişes* who retained a post at *medreses* of fifty or above could also provide *mülâzim(s)*. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 46; Baltacı, p. 35. Another *fermân* was issued in 973/1566 to re-mention the essentiality of observing the rules of the *mülâzemet* system. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 46. We do not know who were in Nâzırzâde's list other than Hüdâyî, if he provided other students of him for *mülâzemet* at the period.

⁹² Fleischer, p. 26; See İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 170 for the outline of the system of promotions in the hierarchy of the *ulema*.

⁹³ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 87.

⁹⁴ Baltacı, p. 34.

⁹⁵ 'Ata'î, p. 240-241.

⁹⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 58,66-67; İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 170.

⁹⁷ Gülgün Üçel Aybet, "16. Ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hukuk Müessesesinin Önemi", X. *Türk Tarih Kongresine Sunulan Bildiriler V*, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1994, p. 2150.

Damascus and Cairo were appointed for one to two years.⁹⁹ During the period he accompanied Nâzırzâde in Cairo we see him attending the circle of Şeyh Kerimüddin Halvetî, who was a *halîfe* of Muhammed Demirtaş (d.1524), the founder of the Demirtaşıyye branch of the Halvetî order of dervishes.¹⁰⁰

During his years of *medrese* education we see Hüdâyî attending the circle of Nureddinzâde Muslihuddin Efendi probably for fulfilling his yearnings for spiritual knowledge.¹⁰¹ This Nureddinzâde, was a famous Halvetî *şeyh* among the government circles who had accompanied Süleyman the Magnificent in the campaign of Zigetvar and was among those who had brought the body of the Sultan to İstanbul together with his *disciples*.¹⁰² The Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa was known to be a follower of him. Born in 908/1502-1503, in Filibe, he gained the reputation as a *halîfe* of Sofyalı Bâli Efendi (d.960/1553), a well-known Halvetî *şeyh* of the sixteenth century. He had been *şeyh* at the Küçükayasofya *zâviyesi* with the offer of Ebussuud Efendi (1490-1574). He died on Zi'l-ka'de 981/March 1574, before Hüdâyî was attached to Üftâde.¹⁰³

Hüdâyî acknowledges his acquaintance with Nureddinzâde in *Tezâkir* on the occasion of his informing the sultan that he had completed the commentary which his *şeyh* Nureddinzâde, began writing on the *Nusûsü'l-hikem* of Sadreddin Konevi.¹⁰⁴ From another record in *Tezâkir* where Hüdâyî recollects the first instance when the divine secret with respect to *Yasin Suresi* was made open to him¹⁰⁵ we learn that he was staying in KüçükAyasofya two years before the campaign of Zigetvar, which was undertaken during

⁹⁸ 'Ata'î, p. 241.

⁹⁹ Aybet, p. 2150. It may be argued that Hüdâyî may have performed his *hacc* duty for the first time during his years in Damascus and Cairo. The other two being in 1027/1617-1618 with his, probably second, wife, and in 1029/1619-1620 with one of his followers. Yılmaz, p. 70-71.

¹⁰⁰ Tezeren, p. 14-15; Yılmaz, p. 44; De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", *EP*, p. 991-993.

¹⁰¹ Tezeren, p. 15, 106; Yılmaz, p. 43.

¹⁰² See "Süleyman", G. Veinstein, *EP*, p. 839.

¹⁰³ *Sicil-i Osmani*, p. 1127; 'Ata'î, p. 212-214.

¹⁰⁴ Güven, p. 55-56, 50; Yılmaz, p. 43; Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade, nr. 323, p. 46a.

¹⁰⁵ Güven, p. 50; Yılmaz, p. 42; Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 82b.

August-September 1566 and coincided with the last days of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566).¹⁰⁶

Nâzırzâde was appointed to the post of *kadı* of Bursa, an equal position in rank with kadıship of Cairo and Damasçus, in Muharrem 981/May 1573¹⁰⁷ and Hüdâyî was given the post of *müderriş* at Ferhadiye Medresesi with 30 *akçe* salary and *nâ'iblik* in Mahkeme-i Cami-i 'Atik, the same year.¹⁰⁸

Nâ'ibs, law court surrogates, were "the agents of the *kadı* appointed by him and authorised to give legal decisions on his behalf in a certain *mahkeme* or on certain specific issues."¹⁰⁹ They were required to have the same qualifications as *kadis* themselves. Each *mahkeme* was assigned to the control of a *nâ'ib*. Though, in principle a *nâ'ib* was appointed by the *kadı* and exclusively responsible to him, there were certain restrictions imposed by the government to prevent some common abuses.¹¹⁰

Mahkeme was the official seat of the *kadı* and was a fixed location within the bounds of a *kada*, the jurisdiction area assigned to a *kadı*.¹¹¹ The number of *mahkemes* in a particular jurisdiction area, consisting of one or more *nahiye*, was determined and fixed by the sultan and varied according to the population in the jurisdiction area. The number of deputies, *nâ'ibs*, also varied according to the extent of the *kada*.¹¹² The location of the *mahkeme* was

¹⁰⁶ G. Veinstein, "Süleyman", *EP*, p. 832-842.

¹⁰⁷ 'Ata'î, p. 241.

¹⁰⁸ 'Ata'î, p. 760-761. The founder of the Ferhadiye Medresesi Ferhad Paşa was among the viziers of Bayezîd (1389-1402). Ferhadiye Medresesi ranked as a *medrese of twenty* before 958/1551, as *medrese of thirty* during 974/1566 and as a *medrese of fifty* at 1063/1652-53. Baltacı, p. 97-98.

¹⁰⁹ Halil İnalçık, "Mahkama", *EP*, Vol. VI, p. 3-5. *Nâ'ibs* took different titles according to the duty that was assigned to them. Those who carried out some inspections within the jurisdiction area, handed down decisions on various offences and determined *ni'yabet resmi* or fines took the name itinerant *nâ'ibs*; there were those who were appointed to deal with only a proportion of the cases or with cases involving certain expertises in a busy *mahkeme* like *kassâm-ı baladî*, responsible for the division of inheritances belonging to the non-military class; those who were appointed to hear cases at night took the name *gece nâ'ibi*; those who were appointed to enforce prescriptions against religiously forbidden things called *ayak nâ'ibi*; those who were in charge of making investigations for a *mahkeme* called *keşif nâ'ibi*; those who decide in connection with payment of *avârız* taxes called *avârız nâ'ibi*. There was a *bab nâ'ibi*, to hear ordinary cases, in the busy *mahkeme* of İstanbul. İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3-4. Also see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 142-143.

¹¹⁰ İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 4.

¹¹¹ İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3.

¹¹² İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3; Gy. Kaldy Nagy, "Kadı" (Ottoman Empire), *EP*, p. 375.

usually chosen for its easy access to the commercial community which was generally in the bazaar or near to the congregational mosque of the town. We know that Bursa, in the seventeenth century, had seven *mahkemes* at various parts of the city.¹¹³ The *mahkeme* served not only as a law-court, but also as a town meeting-place where city notables, representatives of the craft guilds, *imams* representing the population of their districts were invited periodically by the *kadı* to explain new orders, of concern to the public, issued by the sultan.

The *kadı*, as representative of sultan's legal authority, derived his authority directly from the sultan and was responsible only to him.¹¹⁴ Governors were forbidden to interfere in the courts' activities. In case a *kadı* was found in an illegal action, the governor had to notify the sultan immediately as he put an end to the illegal activity of the *kadı* because a *kadı* could only be tried in the imperial *divân*. Without the *kadı*'s written judgement no accused person could be punished. The governors, *beys*, though equipped with the executive power of the sultan's authority, the enforcement of decisions, could not exact even the smallest money fine without the *kadı*'s judgement.¹¹⁵ The *kadı*, administered not only the religious law but also the secular *kânûn* under the Ottoman regime. "The sultan's official diploma appointed the *kadis* to administer and execute both *şeriat* and *kânûn*."¹¹⁶ Thus, the *kadis* based their decisions on both the *şer'i* texts and the *kânûnnâmes*, *defters*, imperial *hükms* and *fetvâs*, having wide discretionary powers and were allowed to act in accordance with "the law that is customarily

¹¹³ İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3-5.

¹¹⁴ During fourteenth-sixteenth centuries, the *kadis* with the rank less than 150 *akçes* were appointed by the *kadiaskers*, those with the rank over 150 *akçes* were appointed with the proposal of the grandvizier, on the basis of *kadiasker*'s opinion. From the end of the sixteenth century on, the influence of the *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* increased in the appointment of the *kadis* with the rank higher than 150 *akçes*. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 87; Kaldy Nagy, "Kadı", p. 375.

¹¹⁵ İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 5. The *mazâlim* cases, i.e cases concerning public security or injustices inflicted upon the *reâyâ* by local authorities, could be heard in local *kadı* courts or by *müfettişes*, or by the *divân* courts set up by a vizier on tour in a province or by *divân-ı hümayûn*. Priority was recognised to the *beylerbeyis* for hearing cases involving *sipâhîs* and other *timar*-holders in their provinces in their own *divâns* and they had the authority to inflict certain punishments. (In cases involving *timar*-holders and *reâyâ* of their provinces the *beylerbeyis*, though had the right to hear complaints had to refer the case to a *toprak kadısı* to be able to take action.) The heads of community organisations such as the guilds and *zımmi* groups were also authorised to decide cases involving their internal regulations and security. However, apart from these cases, the *mahkeme*, was the sole place of resort for justice. İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 5.

¹¹⁶ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 75.

applied.”¹¹⁷ They had the power of final decision to administer *ta’zir* punishments and to imprison debtors. Besides, they were assigned with the duty of reporting from time to time the activities of high ranking officials, the general situation and the mood of the population. They also had to supervise the public affairs of the cities, the quality of goods and their prices, the accounts of the *vakf* incomes, check out that goods needed for domestic consumption were not exported, see that craftsmen were attached to the army before it set of to war, and the *devşirme* conducted properly.¹¹⁸ However, he had to refer all cases concerning the military class, state interests and public security, those cases involving more than a certain amount of money, and cases involving foreigners covered by the capitulations, to the Porte.

According to the justice principle of the Near Eastern state tradition an individual or a group of individuals had the right to complain directly to the sultan of injustice in a decision or of abuses by the *kadıs*. This was seen as a fundamental right enjoyed by the *reâyâ* against any agent of the sultan.¹¹⁹ In such cases the imperial *divân* could order according to the circumstances either a retrial by the same *kadı*, a transfer of the case to a nearby *kadı*’s court or the dispatch of the parties to the imperial *divân* for a new trial. Against the possible abuses of the *kadıs*, general inspections were carried out from time to time and the abuses at the *mahkemes* aroused popular discontent which caused Ottoman government to introduce radical reforms through sultanic *kânûns* which can be observed as early as during the reign of Bayezid I (1389-1402).¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ İnalçık, “Mahkama”, p. 5; İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 75. The collections of court registers preserved in the archives compromise the *i’lams* (court registers), *hüccets* (certifying documents), *ma’ruzs* (cases submitted to the Sublime Porte), estate lists of the deceased, the *vakf* deeds, and all kind of notarial documents which constitute important source on the history of Islamic jurisprudence, the *ilmiyye* establishment as well as the history of the related regions and the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire. İnalçık, Halil; “The Rûznâmçe Registers of the Kadiasker of Rumeli as preserved in the İstanbul Müftülük Archives”, p. 125-126.

¹¹⁸ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 134, 108-110; Kaldy Nagy, “Kadı” p. 375.

¹¹⁹ Registers of these complaints are preserved in *şikâyet defterleri*, ‘arz-ı mahzarlar and *ma’ruz* collections in the archives. İnalçık, “Şikâyet Hakkı: ‘Arz-i Hal ve ‘Arz-i Mahzar’lar”, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, VII-VIII, İstanbul, 1988, p: 33-54.

¹²⁰ İnalçık, “Mahkama”, p. 3; İnalçık, “A Report On The Corrupt Kâdîs Under Bayezid II”, *Studia Ottomanica*, Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 75-77.

Illegally increasing the court dues was the principle point of complaint against the *kadıs*. *Kadıs* from time to time tended to raise the rates or to force people to come to court unnecessarily for cases like inheritance divisions (*kısmet-i miras*). The practice of collection of court fees was considered to be contrary to Islamic principles, however, as these fees constituted the principle source of income of the *kadıs* the government tried to regulate the rates at various dates with sultanic *kânûns*. The first of such arrangement occurred during the reign of Bayezıd I, who found out that the *kadıs*' payment was so inconsiderable that they resorted to taking bribes and determined fixed amounts for the rates of dues to prevent *kadıs* from increasing them exceedingly.¹²¹

Another point of complaint against the *kadıs* was their tendency to increase the number of *mahkemes* in their jurisdiction in order to obtain extra revenues and to farm them out to the *nâ'ibs*.¹²² During Süleyman I's reign both the system of farming out the office of *nâ'ib* and the practice of selecting *nâ'ibs* from the local population was prohibited. However, the practice of farming out the office of *nâ'ib* continued as a well established principle in the following centuries and during the eighteenth century most of the important *kadı* posts in the provinces were administered by *nâ'ibs* appointed by the great *kadıs* who remained resident in İstanbul or appointed by the *kadıs* who received their *kada* as *arpalık*.¹²³

Illegal charges during the tours for inspection of criminals, abusing the hospitality of the villagers during periodic tours, which were usually undertaken every three months throughout the jurisdiction and increasing the tax amounts to add to their own pocket at the time of tax collection were other points of complaint against the *kadıs*.¹²⁴

¹²¹ İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3; İnalçık, "A Report On The Corrupt Kâdis Under Bayezıd II", p. 76; Kaldy Nagy, "Kadı", p. 375. It was in the *Tanzimat* period that the *kadıs* were assigned fixed salaries and such fees were abolished. The rule that every ex-office-holder should receive a half, a third or a quarter of his pay while he was unemployed (*ma'zûliyet ma'aşı*) was again decided during the *Tanzimat* period. İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3; Kaldy Nagy, "Kadı", p. 375.

¹²² İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3-4.

¹²³ İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 4; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 110, 117-118.

¹²⁴ İnalçık, "A Report On The Corrupt Kâdis Under Bayezıd II", p. 76; İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3-4.

The *müddet-i örfiyye*, i.e. the regular term of office, which was originally unlimited came to be one year from the end of the seventeenth century onwards.¹²⁵ This practice arose from the need to find appointments for the *mulâzims* awaiting their turn for a post. Since the number of *kadiship* posts were limited there was great rivalry for filling these posts. Prospective *kadıs* could wait for years on the applicants' lists and they inclined to make money as soon as they received their appointment.¹²⁶ Bribery and search for an intercessor became common practices as a result of the disproportion in the number of the available posts and the number of the candidates to these posts.¹²⁷ Moreover, just like the frequent changes resulted in corruption, those whose term has expired became "unpaid ex-office holders" (*ma'zul kadıs*) until their turn came round again which resulted in idleness in the system.¹²⁸

A report to the sultan, written during late fifteenth century makes a list of the malpractices observed in the juridical career line.¹²⁹ The reporter claims that persons of base origin found way into various groups of status during the reign of Bayezid II, as the conditions of the time required and though care was taken to get them out in the following periods, growing numbers of law court surrogates (*nâ'ibs*) of the *kadıs* with no regular *medrese* education and those who were dismissed from low-salary positions mixed with the *kadıs* with good religious education and were appointed *kadı* through intercessors by assuming untrue qualifications. According to the reporter this resulted in decrease in the number of those of true service to the religion who attained the presence of the great *mollas* and strived in the path of religious studies. The reporter continues that usually those who enjoy esteem and dignity are unqualified ones whereas those who suffer in degradation and

¹²⁵ In 1001/1598-9 it was limited to three years and afterwards to two years. İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3.

¹²⁶ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 118; İnalçık, "Mahkama", p. 3. Also see Halil İnalçık, "Decision Making in the Ottoman State", *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren, İstanbul, 1998, p. 118-119.

¹²⁷ For the custom of offering a gift, *pîş-keş* to a superior in the Ottoman Empire see Halil İnalçık, "Tax Collection, Embezzlement and Bribery in Ottoman Finances" in *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren, İstanbul, 1998, p. 178 and Halil İnalçık, "Ottoman Archival Materials on *Millet*s" in *From Empire to Republic. Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History*, The Isis Press, İstanbul, 1995, p. 102-103.

¹²⁸ Kaldy Nagy, "Kadı", p. 375.

¹²⁹ İnalçık, "A Report On The Corrupt Kâdıs Under Bayezid II", p. 77-84.

contempt are helpless men of knowledge. Through intercession of patrons unqualified men are able to achieve *kadiships* of value which is rare for the qualified candidates and it is easy for a qualified or unqualified candidate to enjoy the Sultan's favour if he finds an intercessor, i.e. if he cannot find an intercessor he spends a long time in *mülâzemet* and eventually is offered a low ranked position which cause dissatisfaction among the qualified. Though an unqualified one may have been involved in many illegal acts his dismissal is actualised only after long formalities and he is given a promotion even without completing his *mülâzemet* period, whereas a qualified *kadı* is dismissed easily and is made to wait for a long time in *mülâzemet*. As a result the religious sciences and the men of knowledge lost esteem and those who begin a *medrese* education are concerned rather to learn the preliminaries for obtaining a post after graduation. He asserts that if the Sultan does not take care to set things right the poor, broken hearted disciples of religion may altogether disappear and *şeriat*, whose negligence is the most serious fault that a Muslim ruler would do, will suffer. Therefore, the sultan should be taking action, at the suggestion, against bribe accepting people as a smallest gift is preferable by the dignitaries to a perfect man in religious sciences, and as the suggestions of the *kadıaskers* to the sultan are based on the power of money and they are the instruments of the bribe accepting dignitaries. Finally the reporter gives a list of those *kadıs* who are known for drinking wine, for bribery, ignorance and unfaithfulness.¹³⁰

In fact, as the *ilmiyye* career provided one with social prestige and exemption from taxes and as it was the only way left for a Turk of *reâyâ* origin to achieve military status it was open to various ways of malpractices. It is possible to follow all the above mentioned abuses by the *kadıs* and the causes of detoriation in the juridical system in the contemporary chronicles and the works of the *nasihatnâme* writers and the measures taken against them are to be followed in the *kânûns* and *adâletnâmes*. As the judgeship and teaching were the two integral elements of the *ilmiyye* system in the Ottoman Empire, these same sources reveals

¹³⁰ *ibid*, p. 77-84.

that similar points of abuse and deterioration and attempts of regularising was also the case for the *tedris* branch of the *ilmiyye* system.¹³¹

In the face of all these discouraging factors in the *ilmiyye* system we see Hüdâyî abandoning his *müderris* and would-be *kadıship* posts and preferring to get deep within the knowledge of *batın* in which he had accumulated some background during his years of childhood and his years of *medrese* education.

¹³¹ İnalçık, “The Rûznâmçe Registers of the Kadıasker of Rumeli as preserved in the İstanbul Müftülük Archives”, p. 130-145; Zengin, p. 401-409.

1.3. The ‘Mystic Journey’ With Üftâde

According to an entry in *Vâkıât*, in two month’s time after Nâzırzâde’s death (12 Şaban 984/November 3, 1576¹³²), Hüdâyî was attached to Üftâde in gurre-i Zi’l-ka’de 984, January 20, 1577.¹³³

Üftâde was the second key person in Hüdâyî’s life. His influence on Hüdâyî was so strong that Hüdâyî decided to abandon all he had achieved in the *ilmiyye* organisation and entered Üftâde’s service. Though Hüdâyî was only at the beginning of his *ilmiyye* career, it would have been quite possible for him to reach the highest-ranked positions in time, considering his thirst for learning and the certificate he had received from one of the most important *ulem* of his time, Nâzırzâde Ramazan Efendi. Despite the era of unconfidence in the *ilmiyye* organisation, which became one of the topics raised by the contemporary *nasihatnâme* writers, many had found their ways into the upper ranks of the society through the *ilmiyye* system and Hüdâyî was in a position to attain the highest ranks in time had he not decided to leave the possible career opportunities aside. Nevertheless, as will be seen later, Hüdâyî achieved what, and perhaps more than, he could have achieved through *ilmiyye* hierarchy by acquiring the reputation as the *şeyh* of the sultans, a position which, as will be seen below, was undoubtedly facilitated with his *medrese* background and the certificate he got from Nâzırzâde Ramazan Efendi.

It can be argued that, besides the discouraging factors in the *ilmiyye* system, it was a personal inclination of Hüdâyî towards deepening his knowledge of esoteric sciences that he

¹³² ‘Ata’î, p. 241.

¹³³ Tezeren, p. 17, 108; Yılmaz, p. 46-47; Gölpınarlı, “Celvetiye”, p. 68. *Silsilenâme* states that he was thirty-six years old when he was attached to Üftâde, *Silsilenâme*, p. 116. If we follow this statement then Hüdâyî’s birth date appears as 1541.

followed the line of other dervishes in turning his back on worldly achievements and preferring progress in the spiritual realm.¹³⁴ He had reached the highest level a student of exoteric knowledge could accomplish, under the supervision of Nâzırzâde, and at the same time had introduced himself in the knowledge of esoteric sciences through dialog with the Halvetiyye, and probably with the Bayramiyye, orders and had established himself in the Halvetî circles. This Halvetî influence had started, probably, during the early years of his childhood with a *şeyh* called Baba Yusuf, as *Silsilenâme* records but the biographical sources does not validate, had continued with Muslihuddin Nureddinzâde in İstanbul, and with Şeyh Kerimüddin Halvetî who was a *halîfe* of Muhammed Demirtaş, founder of the Demirtaşıyye branch of the Halvetî order of dervishes, in Damascus. His wife, with whom Hüdâyî married most probably during his years in Bursa or earlier, and his wife's brother Ali Çelebi are also said to have been from the Halvetî circles.¹³⁵ The Bayramiyye influence may have started during his years of childhood in Sivrihisar with the teachings of the *halîfes* of a Bayramî *şeyh* called Baba Yusuf but the influence of Bayramiyye order is not certain until his attendance to Üftâde.¹³⁶

Both the Halvetiyye and the Bayramiyye orders have common names in their chains that link the tradition of the orders back to the Prophet and in fact the Bayramiyye order is considered to have been derived from the Halvetiyye order. Just like Hüdâyî had acquaintance with the Halvetiyye and Bayramiyye orders before he institutionalised the Celvetiyye order in his person the Celvetiyye order shares historically some common points both with the

¹³⁴ To give one example, we can cite Hacı Bayram-ı Velî abandoning his post of *müderreslik* at Kara Medrese in Ankara, upon a dream he saw, and indulging in esoteric knowledge. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, İnkılab Kitabevi; İstanbul, p. 233; V. L. Ménage, "Hâdjî Bayrâm Walî", *EP*, p. 43.

¹³⁵ *Silsilenâme*, p. 116; Tezeren, p. 29; Yılmaz, p. 73.

¹³⁶ There are two different traditions which explains Hüdâyî's abandoning official titles and attaching to Üftâde. One refers to a dream of Hüdâyî and the second to a case brought before him both of which had caused him to be fascinated with the importance of the unseen world. See Tezeren, p. 17; Yılmaz; p. 75-77; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 4-5; 'Ata'î, p. 761.

Halvetiyye and with the Bayramiyye orders.¹³⁷ Hüdâyî himself, acknowledges in *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* that there are only slight differences between the Halvetiyye and the Celvetiyye orders. Let us first have a brief description of the development and doctrines of the Halvetî order of dervishes.

The emergence of Halvetiyye stretches back to the fourteenth century and the founder of the order is said to be Sıracüddîn Ömer Lahicî (d.1397), who received spiritual education under the supervision of his uncle Kerimüddin Muhammed b. Nur Balisî (d.1317) who was a *halîfe* of İbrahim Zâhid Geylânî and was called as Halvetî because of his frequent retreats in the cavity of a tree.¹³⁸ Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı suggests that Kerimüddîn Muhammed was called *ahî*, which implies this order was respected in the Anatolian *ahî* fraternities.¹³⁹ The order is considered as a branch of Zâhidiyye founded by İbrahim Zâhid Geylânî (d.1291).¹⁴⁰ The second *pir* in the order is Yahya Şirvanî (d.1464) after whom Halvetiyye was divided into branches. Yahya Şirvanî's *halîfe* Ömer Ruşanî from Aydın (d.1486) became a protégé of the Akkoyunlu ruler, Uzun Hasan in Tebriz and he initiated Muhammed Demirtaş (d.1524) and İbrahim Gülşenî. The former founded his own order in Cairo called Demirtaşıyye with whose followers Hüdâyî was acquainted with during his stay in Cairo. İbrahim Gülşenî's (d.1533) branch called Gülşeniyye which is said to unite the Halvetî principles with those of the Mevlevîs, also had its centre in Cairo and found some reputation in İstanbul during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent for their extreme interpretation of the idea of vahdet-i vücûd.¹⁴¹ The second *halîfe* of Yahya Şirvanî was Yusuf Şirvanî (d.1462). From his *halîfes* the most

¹³⁷ Gölpınarlı, "Celvetiyye", p. 67; Gölpınarlı, "Bayramiyye", *İ.A.*, Vol. II, p. 423-424; Yılmaz, p. 152-182; Mustafa Bahadıroğlu, *Üftâde, Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Celvetiyye Tarikatı*, Masters Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, Bursa, 1990, p. 99-106 (Hereafter Bahadıroğlu). For the relationship between Celvetiyye and Halvetiyye, Bayramiyye and Nakşibendiyye see Yılmaz, p. 226-234.

¹³⁸ De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", *EP*, p. 991; Süleyman Uludağ, "Halvetiyye", *DİA*, Vol. 15, p. 393-395; Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, *The Eye of the Heart. An Introduction to Sufism and the Tariqats of Anatolia and the Balkans*, Redhouse Press, İstanbul, 1988, p. 91.

¹³⁹ Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, İnkılab Yayınevi, İstanbul, p. 205.

¹⁴⁰ Kara, *Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, p. 288; De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p. 991, Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, p. 205; Uludağ, "Halvetiyye", p. 394; Ocak, "Din", p. 149-151.

¹⁴¹ De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p. 991; Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, p. 205-206, 213.

well-known are Şemsüddin Ahmed Sivasî (d.1597) and Abdülahad Nurüddîn (d.1650 in İstanbul), founders of the branches Şemsiyye and Sivasîyye respectively.¹⁴² Şemsüddin Ahmed Sivasî's cousin and *halîfe* Abdülmecid Sivasî Efendi became the chief opponent of Kadızâde Mehmed during 1630s.¹⁴³

The Halvetiyye order spread in Anatolia mainly in the Amasya region when it was governed by Bayezîd II. During Bayezîd II's reign (1481-1512) the order spread westwards and the centre of the order was shifted from Amasya to İstanbul. Under Selim I the order faced a stagnation and the names of the five Shi'i İmams were dropped from their *silsile* due to the conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Safavid dynasty. During Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) and Selim II's (1566-1574) reigns the order was welcomed among the government circles.¹⁴⁴ All throughout the following centuries the order spread around the Empire under different branches and became the most widespread order with its *tekkes* numbering the first in Anatolia and Rumelia, towards the end of the eighteenth century¹⁴⁵

In the Halvetî order periodic retreat, *halvet*, is required of the *mürîd* which was three days, the shortest and forty days, the longest. According to the Halvetî doctrine, there are seven *makams* of the *nefs* (*emmâre*, *levvâme*, *mülhime*, *mutmeinne*, *râdiye*, *merdiyye*, *kâmîle*)¹⁴⁶ in each, *zîkr* of one of the seven names (*esmâ-i seb'a*: Lâ ilâhe illâllah, Allah, Hu, Hakk, Hayy, Kayyûm, Kakhâr)¹⁴⁷ is appropriated, in order that a *mürîd*, a man in search of

¹⁴² De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p. 991. There are two more branches of the Halvetî order: Cemaliyye (founded by Cemal-i Halvetî, d.1494) and Ahmediyye (founded by Yigitbaşı Ahmed Şemseddin Marmaravi(d.1504); Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, p. 206-212; Öztürk, p. 91; Uludağ, "Halvetiyye", p. 394. However, it is suffice for us to mention here only the most prominent figures in the order that fall within the boundaries of our research.

¹⁴³ Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış: "Kadızâdeliler Hareketi", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XVII-XXI (1979-1983), p. 216. See The Context: The Kadızâdeli Controversy and Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî.

¹⁴⁴ De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p. 991; Öztürk, p. 92.

¹⁴⁵ Öztürk, p. 92; De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p. 991.

¹⁴⁶ *nefs-i emmâre*: a nature that is a slave to fleshly desires; *nefs-i levvâme*: a nature that is inclined to self-reproach; *nefs-i mülhime*: a nature that has been inspired by God; *nefs-i mutmeinne*: a nature marked by assurance; *nefs-i râdiye*: a nature marked by willingness; *nefs-i merdiyye*: a nature with which God is content; *nefs-i kâmîle*: a perfect nature. Öztürk, p. 101-102.

¹⁴⁷ *Lâ ilâhe illâllah, Allah, Hu, Hakk*: The Truth, *Hayy*: The Alive, *Kayyûm*: Self-Subsisting, *Kakhâr*: The Subduer.

God, must pass through before he can achieve his goal.¹⁴⁸ To these seven names Ahmed Şemseddin b. İsa Marmaravi Yiğitbaşı (d.1504) is said to have added five names (*füru'-i esma*: Vahhâb, Fettâh, Vâhid, Ahad, Samed)¹⁴⁹ which are to be recited after completion of the *el-usul*.¹⁵⁰ The *mürşid* recognises on which stage a *mürîd* is by observing his physical and spiritual state and guide him in his further progress. *Zikr-i cehrî* was preferred in the ritual of the Halvetîs, called as *darb-ı esma*, *devran* or *hadra*, performed on certain days of the week at the *tekkes* and this ritual included music.¹⁵¹

Bayramiyye is usually considered as an order deriving from the Halvetiyye¹⁵² or as a blend of Halvetiyye and Nakshibandiyye.¹⁵³ Its Nakşibendiyye connection has been suggested on the fact that the *zikr-i hâfî* is common in both of the orders. However, it is argued that the Halvetî connection is more clear and it would be more proper to attribute the preference of *zikr-i hâfî* by Hacı Bayram to his Melâmî orientation.¹⁵⁴

Hacı Bayram-ı Velî (d.1430) was a peasant from around Ankara and his followers were mostly from among the cloth workers of Ankara and its villages.¹⁵⁵ He was a disciple of Ebu Hamidüddîn-i Aksarayî (d.1412), known as Somuncu Baba, who is coming from the line

¹⁴⁸ De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p. 991; Gölpınarlı, *100 Soruda Tasavvuf*, 2nd ed., Gerçek Yay., İstanbul, 1985, p. 34; Öztürk, p. 101-102.

¹⁴⁹ *Vahhâb*: The Bestower, *Fettâh*: The Opener, *Vâhid*: The Unique, *Ahad*: The One, *Samed*: The Eternal.

¹⁵⁰ De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p. 992-993. Gölpınarlı suggests that the seven names originates in İbrahim Zâhid and it was Ruşenî who had added the five names, Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, p. 205; Uludağ argues that additions to *Esmâ-i sab'a* were made by the founders of various branches at different times and gives the example of Şemseddin Sivasî who added *Kadîr*, *Kavî*, *Cebbâr*, *Mâlik*, *Vedûd* as *el-furu'*. Uludağ, "Halvetiyye", p. 394.

¹⁵¹ Uludağ, "Halvetiyye", *DİA*, p. 394. Impact of the ideas of Muhyiddin Ibn al-Arabî is observable in various degrees, especially in the Mısrîyye branch. Uludağ, p. 394.

¹⁵² C. L., Lewis, "Bayrâmiyya", *EL*, p. 1137.

¹⁵³ Gölpınarlı, "Bayramiye", p. 424; Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, p. 234; Kara, *Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, p. 281; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, p. 34. Gölpınarlı suggests that Bayramiyye is in fact a branch of Safaviyye, whose founder Safiyyüddîn Erdebilî and his sons were considered as representatives of Halvetiyye in their own time, spread in Anatolia. He attributes Hacı Bayram's preference for the white six-panelled *tac* instead of the twelve-panelled red *tac*, which he used initially, originating in şeyh Haydar, father of Şah İsmail, to the rising tension between the Ottoman state and the representatives of the *sûfis* of Erdebil in the Ottoman realms. Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, p. 234. See also Gölpınarlı, "Bayramiye", p. 423-426.

¹⁵⁴ Gölpınarlı, "Bayramiye", p. 424.

¹⁵⁵ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 191-192.

of Safiyyüddîn Erdebilî.¹⁵⁶ He propagated to his disciples to subsist on the fruits of their labour and, he and his followers lived a communal way of life together tiling the fields and together disposing of the produce. The increasing number of Hacı Bayram's followers had caused suspicion in the government, in the face of the experience of the insurrection of Şeyh Bedreddîn, and he was brought before Murad II. However, Murad II pardoned him and granted his disciples certain tax exemptions, a policy which derived probably from the sultan's desire to spread his own influence among the people.¹⁵⁷

The order was split into two following the death of Hacı Bayram. Those preferring *zîkr-i cehrî* gathered around one of Hacı Bayram's *halîfes* Ak Şemseddin (d.1458), who later became the spiritual teacher of Mehmed II and played an important part in the Conquest of Constantinople. This branch followed the principles of *sünnî* Islam, advocating the protection of the state and is known as Bayramiyye-i Şemsiyye. Those who gathered around another *halîfe* of Hacı Bayram, Emir Sikkînî is known as Melâmîye-i Bayramiyye because of their preference of the militancy of the Melamîs and down grading acts like *zîkr*, *vird* and establishing *tekkes*.¹⁵⁸ They rejected to establish links with the state and remained as a secret sect, extremist in their beliefs and inclined towards monism and *shiism*. Their Safavid leanings caused a number of their leaders, called as *kuth*, to be executed by the government throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁹

Despite these extremist tendencies of some of his followers Hacı Bayram's own teachings is said not to have exceeded the bounds permitted by the principles of the *sünnî*

¹⁵⁶ Cebecioğlu Ethem, "Osmanlı Kuruluş Dönemi Doğu Ucunda Sosyo-Kültürel Hareket Başlatan Sufî Bir Önder: Hacı Bayram-ı Velî", *Osmanlı*, ed. Güler Eren, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yay., Vol. 4, p. 410; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, p. 38.

¹⁵⁷ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 191-192. Murad II is also said to have offered vizirate to Hacı Bayram-ı Velî. Cebecioğlu, p. 413. In 1430, Hacı Bayram was present at the court of Murad II at Edirne and revealed that the conquest of İstanbul will be undertaken by Mehmet II, who was a baby at that time, *ibid*, p. 413. Among famous followers of Hacı Bayram-ı Velî are the poet Şeyhi, the Yazıcıoğlu Muhammed and Ahmed Bican brothers and Eşrefoğlu Rumi. Ménage, "Hâdjî Bayrâm Walî", p. 43; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, p. 38-39; Cebecioğlu, p. 411.

¹⁵⁸ İnalçık, *The Classical Age* p. 192; Gölpınarlı, "Bayramiyye", p. 424; Lewis, "Bayrâmiyya", p. 1137.

¹⁵⁹ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 192-193; Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, p. 242-264.

İslam.¹⁶⁰ He was an advocate of using Turkish in both the exoteric and esoteric works so that everybody would be able to understand their contents. This attitude of him is also reflected in the works of his *halîfes*.¹⁶¹ His promoting social solidarity by collecting money (*sadaka*, *zekat*) in the market of Ankara and distributing it to the poor is considered as a factor in the quick recovery of Ankara from the chaos of the *fetret* period. His most important contribution in the social sphere, which was in line with the policy of the government, was his guiding the nomadic Turkmen population to settle and cultivate the land.¹⁶²

The unbroken chain of the spiritual ancestors, that culminate in the Prophet himself, along which a *mürîd* through his *mürşid* is said to inherit the traits of the spiritual ancestors is termed a *silsile*.¹⁶³ There are different traditions about the chain that links Üftâde to Hacı Bayram. According to İsmâil Hakkı, the author of *Silsilenâme-i Celvetiyye* Üftâde was a *halîfe* of Kötürüm Hızır Dede who was a *halîfe* of Hacı Bayram.¹⁶⁴ According to another tradition Üftâde was a *halîfe* of Hamdullah Çelebi who was the son and *halîfe* of Ak Şemseddin.¹⁶⁵ The third tradition places Akbıyık Meczub and Hızır Dede in between Hacı Bayram and Üftâde.¹⁶⁶ Mehmed Gülşen places Rüstem Halife between Hacı Bayram and Hızır Dede.¹⁶⁷ What is clear is that Üftâde, the spiritual teacher of Hüdâyî, received his spiritual education from Hızır Dede, who was from the line of the Bayramî order of dervishes.¹⁶⁸ According to İsmâil Hakkı Üftâde guided two persons till the two reached the

¹⁶⁰ Ménage, "Hâdjîdî Bayrâm Walî", p. 43.

¹⁶¹ For ex: Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican's *Envaru'l-Aşkın*, Yazıcıoğlu Muhammed's *Muhammediyye*, Eşrefoğlu Rumi's *Müzekkî'n-Nüfus*. Cebecioğlu, p. 412.

¹⁶² ibid, p. 412.

¹⁶³ Öztürk, p. 24.

¹⁶⁴ *Silsilenâme*, p. 13; Sahnâf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 126; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 173.

¹⁶⁵ Yılmaz, p. 152-154; Gölpınarlı mentions that this chain found in Haririzade's *Tibyan*, is not validated by the *Celvetîs*. Gölpınarlı, "Celvetiye", p. 67.

¹⁶⁶ Yılmaz, p. 152-154; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, p. 39.

¹⁶⁷ Sahnâf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 126; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 173.

¹⁶⁸ *Silsilenâme*, p. 13; Bahadıroğlu, p. 19-20; Yılmaz, p. 177.

state of *kamile*, however, had only one *halife*, i. e. Hüdâyî, through whom Üftâde's *silsile* continued.¹⁶⁹

Mehmed Muhyiddin Üftâde was born in 895/1490 in Bursa. Muhyiddîn was his first *mahlas* he used until he was told to be *üftâde*¹⁷⁰, i.e. degraded from his 'rank', in a dream he saw on the occasion of his accepting payment for his service in Ulu Camii (or Doğanbey Mescidi). From then on he refused receiving any payment for his services in the mosques and used Üftâde as his *mahlas* which is said to be from 957/1550 on.¹⁷¹ He is known to be occupied with *kazzazzlık*¹⁷² for making his living until his access to Hızır Dede.¹⁷³ He is also said to have performed various services in various mosques of Bursa, and a certain Muslihiddîn Efendi and Abdal Mehmed are said to be influential in his spiritual education.¹⁷⁴ He had no regular *medrese* education. Hızır Dede is said to encourage Üftâde to learn exoteric sciences.¹⁷⁵ He served Hızır Dede for eight years who died around 913/1507 when Üftâde was eighteen years old.¹⁷⁶

He probably began preaching (*va'az ve irşâd*) while he was in his mid-thirties. He was preaching in Doğanbey Mescidi, Namazgah and in other mosques, and later in Kaygan Mosque where Hüdâyî attended his circles.¹⁷⁷ He was officially given the post of *hatiplik* in Emir Sultan Camii around 1540s, a post which he initially refused but accepted on the occasion of Emir Sultan's intervention in a dream. He taught on Fridays there and distributed his salary to his dervishes.¹⁷⁸ He retained this post until his death though he appointed one of

¹⁶⁹ *Silsilenâme*, p. 114-115. For Üftâde's *halifes* and followers see Bahadıroğlu, p. 64-72.

¹⁷⁰ *Üftâde* means: "1. Fallen, prostrated; 2. Fallen into misery, poor or degraded; 3. Fallen into toils, captive", A *Turkish and English Lexicon*.

¹⁷¹ *Silsilenâme*, p. 111-112; Bahadıroğlu, p. 19-20; Yılmaz, p. 178.

¹⁷² See footnote 224.

¹⁷³ *Silsilenâme*, p. 112.

¹⁷⁴ Bahadıroğlu, p. 21-22.

¹⁷⁵ Bahadıroğlu, p. 24-25. Üftâde had knowledge of Persian as reflected in his poems and there is a tradition that mentions Mevlana Celaleddîn Rumî's spiritual guidance in Üftâde's acquiring this knowledge of Persian. Bahadıroğlu, p. 33; *Silsilenâme*, p. 111. Likewise, he is also said to be guided by Ibn al-Arabî in his spiritual education after the death of Hızır Dede; Bahadıroğlu, p. 33; Yılmaz, p. 179-180.

¹⁷⁶ Bahadıroğlu, p. 27-28.

¹⁷⁷ Bahadıroğlu, p. 36; *Silsilenâme*, p. 113.

¹⁷⁸ Bahadıroğlu, p. 36-37; *Silsilenâme*, p. 112-113.

his students as *nâ'ib-i hatib* and he himself continued his teachings at his *tekke* and *camii*, completed in 1579.¹⁷⁹

According to a tradition Süleyman the Magnificent invited Üftâde to İstanbul and when the two met the sultan offered some *vakf*-land for Üftâde's *tekke*. Üftâde is said to reject this offer, but still we know depending on another tradition that it was Süleyman the Magnificent who approved Üftâde's demand for building a mosque and *tekke* in the place that it exists today, where laid a church initially.¹⁸⁰ Murad III is said to have shown full respect for Üftâde and offered *vakf* lands for the expenses of his *tekke*. Murad III's mother Nur Banu Sultan is also known to have provided support for the *tekke* of Üftâde.¹⁸¹

Üftâde is known to be totally against the leanings of the Safavid dynasty in Iran. In 1578, he sent a letter to Lala Mustafa Paşa, who was successful in winning victory over the Safavids, where he advised certain measures against the propaganda of the Safavids in the Ottoman Empire, and sent his prayers for success in taking the revenge of the followers of the Prophet Muhammad. This letter provides us with the knowledge that Üftâde was an advocate of the *sünnî* İslam as represented by the Ottoman dynasty and was against the *shîi* propaganda of the Safavid dynasty in the Ottoman realms, an attitude which will be carried on by Hüdâyî as will be seen in the subsequent section.¹⁸²

The common name in both the Halvetiyye and the Bayramiyye orders in their chains that link the tradition of the orders back to the Prophet is İbrahim Zâhid Gilânî (d.1300),

¹⁷⁹ Bahadıroğlu, p. 37-38, 83-91. Üftâde is said to have had access to Yusuf Sünbül Sinan (d. 1529), after whom the Cemaliyye branch of the Halvetiyye came to be known as Sünbiliyye. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p. 991. Yusuf Sünbül Sinan is the author of two treatises advocating *devran* and *sema*. Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, p. 206 This tradition is attributed to the respect felt for Üftâde among the Halvetî circles. Bahadıroğlu, p. 33-34; Yılmaz, p. 180. For other *şeyhs* with whom Üftâde is said to have relation with see Bahadıroğlu, p. 33-35. *Divân*, which is a collection of some sixty of his poems; *Vâkıât-ı Üftâde*, which is a collection of the conversations between him and his student Hüdâyî and which reflects his ideas of *tasavvuf* are found in the libraries of İstanbul; *Hutbe Mecmuası*, which is said to be a collection of his sermons could not survive to-day. Bahadıroğlu, p. 52-53; Yılmaz, p. 182. Üftâde is considered as a follower of the style of Yunus Emre in his poems, presenting the idea of *Vahdet-i Vücûd* in a restrictive way. Bahadıroğlu, p. 44-50. He is known to be occupied with music which is an integral component of the ritual of the Celvetî order. Bahadıroğlu, p. 47-50.

¹⁸⁰ *Silsilenâme*, p. 112; Bahadıroğlu, p. 38-39.

¹⁸¹ Bahadıroğlu, p. 38-39.

whom İsmâil Hakkı Bursalı refers to as the person in whose personality Celvetiyye had originated.¹⁸³ The chain of the Halvetiyye order continues with Kerimüddîn Ahî Muhammed, and that of Bayramiyye and subsequently of Celvetiyye with Safiyyüddîn Erdebilî, the two *halifes* of İbrahim Zâhid Gilânî.¹⁸⁴ According to İsmâil Hakkı İbrahim Zâhid Gilânî was the first person to refer to the terms *halvet* and *celvet*, after the tradition of the Prophet, and preferred the practice of *celvet* as opposed to that of *halvet*.¹⁸⁵

Though these concepts (which originate in the tradition of the Prophet) were referred to for the first time by İbrahim Zâhid Gilânî, it can be said that it was Üftâde who formulated the principles of Celvetiyye as an order as different from those of Halvetiyye and Bayramiyye and it was Hüdâyî who institutionalised and played the major role in the spread of the Celvetiyye order.¹⁸⁶ *Silsilenâme* mentions that though the Celvetiyye order emerged first in the personality of İbrahim Zâhid Gilânî, details of its principles was made clear by Hüdâyî and gives the example of wearing thirteen panelled *tac* in the Celvetiyye order after the practice of Hüdâyî. He resembles Üftâde and Hüdâyî to İbn Arabî and Sadreddin Konevî in that the latter two spread the teachings of their masters. He refers to a tradition of the Prophet about the importance of reading and writing in explaining Hüdâyî's role in the spread of the Celvetiyye order by gathering together the fruits of the spiritual perfection of Üftâde in written form.¹⁸⁷

It seems that the difference between the Celvetiyye and the Halvetiyye orders was a frequently asked question.¹⁸⁸ In *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Musâfî Efendi asks whether their

¹⁸² *ibid*, p. 39-40; Yılmaz, p. 181. See *The Life: In Rumelia*.

¹⁸³ *Silsilenâme*, p. 119.

¹⁸⁴ Yılmaz, p. 156.

¹⁸⁵ Gölpınarlı, "Djilwatiyya", p. 542. He is also known as the first person who advised *zikr* with the seven names. Yılmaz, p. 155.

¹⁸⁶ For an argument on the question of the founder of the Celvetiyye order see Bahadıroğlu, p. 99-106; Yılmaz, p. 149-151.

¹⁸⁷ *Silsilenâme*, p. 119-121.

¹⁸⁸ For a comparison between Halvetiyye and Celvetiyye by Üftâde see Bahadıroğlu, p. 96-98. Also see Tezeren, p. 48-50; Yılmaz, p. 226-229 for the differences between Halvetiyye and Celvetiyye.

order is Halvetî or Celvetî and wants to learn the difference between the two orders.¹⁸⁹ Hüdâyî, though acknowledges that their order is both Halvetî and Celvetî, argues that a *celvetî* is superior to a *halvetî* in *mükâşefe* and *irşâd* because of the fact that the *halvetîs* are more concerned with the world of dreams whereas a *celvetî* sees everything (not only the signs as revealed in dreams) as the reflection of God. According to him though the *celvetîs* do not deny the world of dreams, dreams are not the essence in the Celvetiyye order as they cannot be free from false interpretation.¹⁹⁰

Halvet, “retirement, seclusion, retreat”, specifically refers to “isolation in a solitary place or cell” with the purpose of “closing up of the external senses” and the “opening of the internal senses” which would provide one with readiness for mystical experiences.¹⁹¹ The practice of *halvet* is considered to have originated in the custom of Prophet Muhammad who retreated in a cave in Mt. Hira’ before he received the Kuranic revelation, and the similar acts of other prophets.¹⁹² *Celvet*, “leaving one’s native country, emigrating”, “as a *sûfî* term denotes a creature’s emergence from solitary withdrawal (*khalwa*) through contemplation of God’s attributes and its annihilation in God’s Being.”¹⁹³ *Celvet* “is the name of the state in which the mystic is on coming out of the *khalwa*: filled with the emanations of divine attributes, his own personality has disappeared and mingles with the being of God.”¹⁹⁴ *Celvet*

¹⁸⁹ For this question and answer see footnote 50.

¹⁹⁰ In his *Letter to Münîrî Efendi from Belgrad* Hüdâyî acknowledges that he had been both in the Halvetiyye and the Celvetiyye circles and that both are ways to salvation. He resembles the difference between the two orders to the difference between going to *hacc* by way of sea or by way of land. He mentions that the Celvetiyye order comprises the principles of both *halvet* and *celvet*. He criticises in a closed way the practice of achieving *halîfelik* when one reaches the seventh name, by being considered to have achieved the state of perfection, in the Halvetiyye order. He argues that competence in all of the twelve names is rare. According to him, the difference of the *celvetîs* is their being engaged in *tevhîd zikri*, *riyâzet* and *mücâhede*. He mentions that the way of *mücâhede* is the way of the companions of the Prophet and one should not supervise others process of *sûlûk* unless he had conquered his own self. Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Belgradlı Münîrî Efendi’ye Mektub*, Süleymânîye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşîrağa nr.653, p. 171b-172b; Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr.269, p. 28a-29b; Sahhâf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 123-124. Also in Zülfikar, p. 227-229.

¹⁹¹ H. Landolt, “Khalwa”, *EP*, p. 990.

¹⁹² *ibid*, p. 991.

¹⁹³ Gölpınarlı, “Djilwatiyya”, p. 542.

¹⁹⁴ Cl. Huart, “Djilwa”, *EP*, p. 542. For *celvet* see also Tezeren, p. 47-48; Yılmaz, p. 149-151.

is also considered to have originated in the custom of Prophet Muhammad, exemplified in his life after he received the Kuranic revelations.¹⁹⁵

There are three questions in *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* which are related with the practice of *halvet* in the Celvetî order. Musâfî Efendi asks about the rules governing eating and drinking¹⁹⁶, about what should one be occupied with¹⁹⁷, and about how should one observe *zîkr*, during *halvet*.¹⁹⁸

However, it is clear that the state of *celvet* is considered as superior to the state of *halvet* and *halvet* is observed only as a preparatory step for *celvet* in the Celvetiyye order. Filled with the divine attributes guiding people was considered essential.¹⁹⁹ According to İsmâîl Hakkı a *celvetî* who falls short of withdrawing from *halvet* should be considered a *halvetî* and a *halvetî* who has tasted the joy of *celvet* a *celvetî*.

Among the devotional practices the practice of *tevhîd zîkri* is considered as more essential than the *zîkr* of the seven names in the Celvetiyye order.²⁰⁰ This is considered as the main difference from the Halvetiyye order where *zîkr* of the seven names is given the primary importance. In *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* there are five questions related with the practice of *tevhîd zîkri*.

¹⁹⁵ Yılmaz, p. 149-151.

¹⁹⁶ "Sû'âl: Halvetde perhîzlik şerâiti nicedir ve perhîzliğe varacak mikdârı nice yemek ve içmek gerekdir? Cevâb: Sâfi buğdây unundan bulâmâc idûb tuzı cüz'î koyub bir gicecik bulâmâc ve bir mikdârcık etmek, ahşâm ile yatsu arasında def'-i kesel içün iftâr gerekdir. Ve sa'y ide, bulâmâcî toprak çömlekte bişüre ve toprak çanakda tenâvil eyleye." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 2b; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 10b-11a.

¹⁹⁷ "Sû'âl: Âdem halvetde oldukda artuk neye meşgûl gerekdir?

Cevâb: Salât-i şerîfeyi ve mesnûn olan üç nevâfîl bir hoş edâ etdikden sonra her ne kadar ziyâde imkanı olursa tevhîde meşgûl olmak gerekdir. Ve tevhîdde de ziyâde şevk gelmedikde kibleye karşı gözlerin yumub muhkem karâgu yerde bir mikdârcık Hak ta'âlâ hazretlerinin ulu kudretlerine düşünmek gerekdir." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 2b; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 11a.

¹⁹⁸ For this question and answer see footnote 331. Also see The Context: The Kadızâdeli Controversy and Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî.

¹⁹⁹ Tezeren, p. 47-50; Yılmaz, p. 149-151; Bahadıroğlu, p. 92-95. This peculiarity of the Celvetî order shows similarity with the *halvet der-encümen* principle of the Nakşibendiyye order. Yılmaz, p. 233-234.

²⁰⁰ Yılmaz, p. 188-192. A list of main principles of the Celvetî order depending on the *Tarikatname* in Turkish and in Arabic see Tezeren, p. 52-53. Also see Yılmaz, p. 183-220.

In his answer to Musâfî Efendi's question about the proper number of *zîkr* of *İsm-i Hu*, one of the seven names, Hüdâyî stresses the importance of the *tevhîd zîkri* and makes it clear that a *mürîd* can achieve his goal through *tevhîd zîkri* and that his ascent is dependent on the concern he shows for *tevhîd zîkri*.²⁰¹ Another question indicates that the newcomers are first of all told firmly to be engaged in *tevhîd zîkri*.²⁰² From the answer Hüdâyî gives to another question of Musâfî Efendi about the proper conduct of *tevhîd zîkri*, we learn that when the head is moved towards the right hand side one should utter *lâ ilâhe (nefy)* and when the head is turned left hand side one should utter *illâllah (isbât)*.²⁰³ When Musâfî Efendi asks about the proper time for *tevhîd zîkri*, Hüdâyî acknowledges that *tevhîd zîkri* can be undertaken anytime; during daytime, at night, while alone or in a crowd, while sitting or walking or lying, with or without *abdest*.²⁰⁴ According to Hüdâyî, during *halvet*, it is better to undertake *tevhîd zîkri* silently.²⁰⁵ He expresses that during *zîkr-i cehrî* the sound should be heard by one's self and by the one just beside him and that it is permitted as it gives enthusiasm for *zîkr*. However, he mentions that *tefekkiir* and *zîkr-i ahfâ* is superior. Another answer of Hüdâyî reveals that while, probably during collective *zîkr*, whirling of *zâkirs* is permitted as it gives enthusiasm for *zîkr* however, it is absolutely unpermitted to exceed the limit, which is set as one's being in control of his actions.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ "Sû'âl: Sûfî tevhîd iderken ism-i Hu'yı zîkr etmek 'adedi nice'dir?"

Cevâb: Tarîk-i seferde hemân tevhîde muttasıl etmek gerekdir. Ehl-i tevhîd ve dervîş bâb oldur. Andan cemî' murâdâtın tevhîdde bulur. Tevhîde râğbet ve müdâvemeti kadar merâtib bulur. Hemân dervîşe lâ ilâhe illâllah deyü muttasıl tevhîd etmek gerekdir. Tevhîd ile ism-i Hu arasında bir makâm vardır ikinci ism ana derler. İsm-i Hu üçüncü isimdir." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 2a-2b; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 10b.

²⁰² For this question see The Letters: 'Mystic Answers'

²⁰³ "Sû'âl: Tevhîd-i şerîfe bidâyet olundukda nefyi kangı taraftan ve isbât kangı tarafa olmak gerekdir?"

Cevâb: Sağda nefy solda isbât taraf-i kalbde olmak gerekdir. Zirâ kalb sadrın sol tarafındadır." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 2a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 10b. For *nefy* and *isbât* see Uludağ, *Tasavvuf Terimleri Sözlüğü*, p. 273.

²⁰⁴ "Sû'âl: Tevhîd-i şerîfi ne vakitlerde etmek gerekdir?"

Cevâb: Tevhîd cemî' zamanda güzeldir. Gündüzde, gicede, tenhâda, melâda, otururken, dururken, gezerken, yürürken, yaturken, abdestlü, abdestsiz, hic tevhîde men' yokdur." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 3b-4a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 12a-12b.

²⁰⁵ See footnote 331.

²⁰⁶ For this question and answer see footnote 330 and The Context: The Kadızâdeli Controversy and Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî.

Wearing thirteen-stripped green *tac*, which symbolised the twelve names of God and their transcending unity, is a tradition of Hüdâyî as *Silsilenâme* records.²⁰⁷ The ritual of the Celvetiyye order is called *Nısf-ı Kiyâm* or *Hızır Kiyâmı* which is performed while standing on the knees and includes singing of hymns in the company of music.²⁰⁸

The Celvetiyye order spread in Anatolia and in the Balkans after Hüdâyî's death.²⁰⁹ The *asitâne* of Hüdâyî in İstanbul was considered as the centre of the order (*pir makamı*) and Bursa as the second centre. In time, four branches developed from the Celvetî order: Selamiyye, after Selâmi Ali Efendi (d.1692); Hakkıyye, after Bursalı İsmâil Hakkı (d.1724); Fenaiyye, after Kütahyalı Fenâi Ali Efendi (d. 1745); and Haşimiyye, after Bandırmalızade Mustafa Haşim Baba (d. 1782).²¹⁰

Bursa, where Hüdâyî underwent his spiritual education under Üftâde's supervision, was one of the most important cities of the Ottoman Empire which althroughout the Ottoman history enjoyed political, economic and spiritual significance.

Bursa was the main capital of the Ottoman state between 1326-1402. Orhan had made Bursa his capital and had his first silver coin, the *akca* struck there in 1327.²¹¹ In line with the Near Eastern state tradition the Ottomans sought to transform their capitals, first Bursa, then Edirne and İstanbul, into great cities by increasing their population and encouraging their development as trading centres. The city where the sultan resided was 'the foot of his throne' or 'abode of his sultanate'.²¹² Orhan made the first steps for creating a trading centre there by constructing a bazaar and a *bedestan* in 1340. Ulu Camii was erected in 1399 during the reign of Bayezid I.²¹³ By the end of the fourteenth century the city was both the political and commercial centre of the Ottoman Empire and became the most important trading city of

²⁰⁷ *Silsilenâme*, p. 119-120 with further information; also see Tezeren, p. 54-56; Yılmaz, p. 223-225.

²⁰⁸ Tezeren, p. 57-60; Yılmaz, p. 222; for music in the Celvetiyye order see Tezeren, p. 85-100; Yılmaz, p. 294-298.

²⁰⁹ For a list of the *halîfes* of Hüdâyî see Yılmaz, p. 125-131.

²¹⁰ Yılmaz, p. 235-245. For a list of the Celvetî *tekkes* in İstanbul see Yılmaz, p. 271-293.

²¹¹ İnalçık, "Bursa", *EP*, p. 1334.

²¹² İnalçık, "Bursa", p. 1333-1336; İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 76.

Anatolia.²¹⁴ After Timur's victory over Bayezid I in 1402, Bursa was burnt down and from that time on Edirne replaced Bursa as the principle capital of the Ottoman state (*darü's-saltanat*). During the civil war (1403-1413) each party tried to gain control of Bursa and Edirne. During Murad II's reign, who was enthroned in Bursa, the city recovered quickly and trade expanded greatly. Though Mehmed II made İstanbul his capital, Bursa benefited economically from the great expansion of the Empire during his reign. He continued to use it as head quarters of his campaigns in the east. During the civil war after Mehmed II's death (1481), the people of Bursa took sides with Cem Sultan, who maintained himself there as sultan for 18 days and had coins struck in his name planning to rule at least over Anatolia, with Bursa as his capital.²¹⁵ During Bayezid II's reign, who is said to have consolidated the conquests of his father rather than being a great conqueror, Bursa, alongside with Edirne, continued to develop rapidly. With its mosques, caravanserais and other great buildings assumed the character of imperial cities, continued to be considered as one of the three capitals of the Empire, and the palace of Bursa was maintained and used on occasions by the sultans as late as the seventeenth century. From 1595 on the *Celâli* bands threatened the city.²¹⁶

Silk, played the major role in the city's rising as a principle international market as early as the end of the fourteenth century. In fact, the silk trade and industry in Bursa was the basis of its prosperity in line with the development that silk, along with the highly developed native woollen industries, became the principal source of international exchange and wealth for western countries from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth centuries. By the end of Bayezid I's reign Bursa rose to be a principle international silk market, causing an alteration

²¹³ İnalcık, "Bursa", p. 1334.

²¹⁴ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 121.

²¹⁵ İnalcık, "Bursa", p. 1334.

²¹⁶ İnalcık, "Bursa", p. 1333-1336; İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 32-33.

in the route of the Iranian silk caravans, replacing Trabizond and Aleppo.²¹⁷ In fact, in the second half of the fourteenth century the Ottoman efforts were concentrated on gaining control of the principal centres of the silk route to east.²¹⁸ During the fifteenth century when the European silk industry expanded greatly, Bursa became the international market place for the basic raw material of the industry, the extremely fine silk brought from Asterâbâd and Gilân and Sari in northern Iran.²¹⁹ The main silk route to Bursa passed through Tebriz, Erzurum and Tokat. The Damascus-Aleppo-Bursa route and the Antalya-Alexandria sea route were active in trade of spices, sugar, dyes, soap and perfumes coming from Egypt and Syria to Bursa.²²⁰ Ottomans were always concentrated with keeping the silk route open or maintaining it under their control.²²¹ Muslim traders from Arabia and Iran preferred the security of the Bursa route; for the Venetian, Genoese and Florentine merchants in Constantinople and Galata, Bursa became the closest market in which they could purchase not only silk but also other eastern goods and sell European woollens, under the protection Ottomans provided.²²² Moreover, the caravans depended largely on the supply of horses and camels by the Türkmen nomads. It is argued that the Ottomans consciously followed the policy of making Bursa a principle centre for Persian silk, of gaining control of the silk routes and in the sixteenth century, and of occupying Persian centres of silk production. The reasons were the rich revenues that silk brought to the treasury, the demand for silk stuffs in the Palace and among the wealthy classes, and the dependence of the fortunes of the silk industry on such a policy.²²³ Along with Constantinople and Pera, the rise of Bursa as a world market

²¹⁷ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 121-122; Halil İnalcık, "Harir" (The Ottoman Empire), *EF*, p. 211; İnalcık, "Bursa", p. 1134-1135.

²¹⁸ İnalcık, "Bursa and the Silk Trade", p. 223.

²¹⁹ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 124; İnalcık, "Bursa", p. 1135.

²²⁰ İnalcık, "Bursa", p. 1135.

²²¹ İnalcık, "Bursa and the Silk Trade", p. 223.

²²² İnalcık, *The Classical Age*; p. 124; İnalcık, "Harir", p. 212.

²²³ İnalcık, "Harir", p. 212.

in the second half of the fourteenth century became the economic foundation of the Ottoman power.²²⁴

We learn from *Vâkıât* and *Silsilenâme* that Hüdâyî's spiritual education under Üftâde's supervision lasted three years and was completed during 1580.²²⁵ As will be seen in the subsequent sections Hüdâyî did not spent all of the three years of his spiritual education in Bursa and made a visit to İstanbul at some time during 985/1577-1578 and was in Baba, in Rumelia, during late 1578.

After the completion of Hüdâyî's spiritual education, it is known from a record in *Vâkıât* that, Üftâde ordered Hüdâyî to go to Sivrihisar and it can be stated that he did go to Sivrihisar, with his family and Ali Çelebi, at some time between February 1580 and October 1580.²²⁶ After staying some six months in Sivrihisar, where he initially rejected to go, Hüdâyî made a visit to Bursa in 988 Cumade'l-ula /June 1580²²⁷ and quickly after Üftâde died in 988 Cumade'l-ahire 12/24 Temmuz 1580.²²⁸

²²⁴ İnalçık, "Bursa and the Silk Trade", p. 223. The earliest records of silk production in Bursa dates from 996/1587. However, it is known that as early as the fourteenth century the city possessed an industry in silk fabrics, whose products were exported to Europe and to Eastern countries. İnalçık, "Harir", p. 216. An important amount of the silk brought from Iran was consumed by the local silk industry which was in private hands and had created a prosperous Muslim bourgeoisie. Most important outputs of this local industry, the precious brocades (*kemhâ*) and gold velvets (*muzahhab kadife*), were exported and much sought after in Europe, Egypt and Iran but the Ottoman court was the main consumer. İnalçık, "Bursa", p. 1135. We know that Üftâde's father had given him beside a *kazzaz* for making his living: Bahadıroğlu, p. 20. The record in *Vâkıât* informs us that not only he but also his mother were earning their livings from some work related with silk: "Anam gice uzunlarında harir bükürdî. Ben dahi san'atım işlerdim. Bir zaman böyle geçindik."; Bahadıroğlu, p. 26. Though Üftâde was not satisfied with this occupation he and his mother were employed in the silk industry for some time which provided employment for important numbers of people in Bursa. For the organisation of the silk industry see See İnalçık, "Harir"; for guilds in the Ottoman Empire see İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 150-162.

²²⁵ Tezeren, p. 18, 108; Yılmaz, p. 48; *Silsilenâme*, p. 118.

²²⁶ It is not clear whether the talk or departure occurred at *Zi'l-hicce* 987/February, 1580. Üftâde appears to have stated that Hüdâyî should better leave Bursa till Ramazan, i.e. Ramazan 988/October 1580, Tezeren, p. 18,108; Yılmaz, p. 49. If we follow the statement in *Silsilenâme* that Hüdâyî stayed in Sivrihisar around six months, the record in *Vâkıât* appears to state the date of departure, *Silsilenâme*, p. 116.

²²⁷ He is said to have stayed in *nakibü'l-eşraf* Yahya Efendi's house. Tezeren, p. 19; Yılmaz, p. 49.

²²⁸ Yılmaz, p. 49. He is recorded to be ninety-three years old when he died; *Silsilenâme*, p. 112; Bahadıroğlu, p. 40-41.

1.4. In Rumelia

It is not clear in the sources what Hüdâyî did in the immediate months after Üftâde's death. One letter in *Tezâkir* informs us that he was with Ferhad Paşa when he entered Tebriz which is some ten years after Üftâde's death. The same letter also informs us that he was present in Baba during Adil Giray Han's capture and murder, which coincides with his days of mystical education under Üftade's guidance.²²⁹ In another letter found in *Tezâkir* which had caused Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı to consider Hüdâyî to have assumed a leadership position among the followers of Şeyh Bedreddîn in Rumelia²³⁰, Hüdâyî repeats his being in a place called Baba.²³¹

There exists two towns which could be identified as the place which Hüdâyî mentions as Baba in *Tezâkir*. One is, today called as Babaeskisi which is on the railway line that links Kırklareli to Edirne, a small town in eastern Thrace, situated 50 km. Southeast of Edirne. Its name is said to be derived from the Turkish dervishes, *babas*, who settled there as it was the case with other places during the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans.²³² It was a *kada* of the *sancak* of Vize in the seventeenth century, and was later included in the *sancak* of Kırkkilise (Kırklareli).²³³ The second one, Babadağı, now part of Rumenia, is a town in Dobruca, the

²²⁹ This is the letter in which Hüdâyî communicates his advises to the sultan on the question of "Kızılbaş": "*Bu du'âcınız Rumeli'nde iken ve bunda geldikten sonra fukarâ ile ziyâde mukayyed olub çok belâ çekmişizdir. Hattâ 'Âdil Girây Hân Kızılbaş'a dutsak olduğunda ve şehid itdiklerinde ben du'âcınız kemâl-i takayyüdümüzden ve teveccühümüzden ol inkisâr eseri ile münkesir olub Baba'da mevt mertebesinde marîz olub güçle ref' ettik. Ferhâd kulunuz Tebriz'e girdiği vaktin bilece bulunduk idi. Dahî gayrılarında nice hâller olmuştur. Bu kadar olmuş iken ihmâl olunmaya ve 's-selâm ale'd-devâm.*" Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 32b. Also See Tezeren, p. 19-21, 109-110 (Tezeren reads as "güçle def'ettik"); Yılmaz, p. 49-52 (Yılmaz reads it as "güçlülükle def'ettik"); Güven, p. 51-54 (Güven reads it as "göçle ref' ettik").

²³⁰ Gölpınarlı, "Celvetiye", p. 69; Gölpınarlı, "Djilwatiyya", p. 543.

²³¹ "*Bu iki tâ'îfenin kabâhati diller ile şerh olunmaz. İcmâlen i'lâmdır. Tafsîl de olur zirâ du'âcınız orada Baba'da oldum. Ol tâ'îfe ile 'azîm kassamız olmuştur. Dahî anda olan meşâyih ve ulemâ ve sülehâ-i ehl-i İslâm bilir.*", Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 31b; Tezeren, p. 19-21, 109-110; Güven, p. 52.

²³² E. Kuran, "Babaeskisi", *El²*, p. 843.

²³³ *ibid*, p. 843.

plateau between the Danube and the Lom rivers in the North, the Black Sea in the East and the Balkan range in the south.²³⁴ Dobruca was a natural route for the people of Turcic origin coming from Eurasian steppes leading to the Balkan range or a place of refuge for those pushed by their rivals beyond the Danube from fifth till nineteenth century. It was taken under direct Ottoman rule during 1393, together with Silistre, during the efforts of Bayezid I (1389-1402) who conquered the whole of Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thessaly between 1393 and 1396, with the ambition of establishing a unified empire in the Balkans.²³⁵ Babadağı drove its name from the semi-legendary dervish Baba Sarı Saltuk who is said to have settled with a number of Anatolian Turcomans in Dobruca, in the neighbourhood of Babadağı.²³⁶ The town was given as a *vakf* for the *zâviye* of Sarı Saltuk and for his followers by Bayezid II (1481-1512).²³⁷ It is known that the town and district suffered greatly from the depredations of the Cossacks, and on occasion by the Crimean Tatars, during late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a threat which Hüdâyî informs the sultan in a letter in *Tezâkir*.²³⁸ In the seventeenth century, it became a concentration point for Ottoman armies marching north and served as winter quarters for the Grand Vizier during war time.²³⁹ From 1593 it constituted a *voyvodalık* in the *eyâlet* of Özü, which was created as a bulkward against the Cossacks.²⁴⁰ Babadağı was

²³⁴ İncalcık, "Dobrudja", *Eİ²*, p. 610.

²³⁵ *ibid*, p. 611. Also, İncalcık, "Balkan", *Eİ²*, p. 998-1000.

²³⁶ Among the several tombs of Sarı Saltuk in various towns, most generally accepted is the one in Babadaghu. B. Lewis, "Babadaghu", *Eİ²*, p. 842-843.

²³⁷ İncalcık, "Dobrudja", p. 612.

²³⁸ "ve Akkirmân ve Bendir ve Özü cânibinde hareket-i küffâr var imiş. Buraya on günlük yerdir. Bunca zamân küffâr hasaratlar ider. Her itdikleri yanlarına kalur. Hiçbir kere intikâm alınmadı ve ol ortalık tamâmca hıfz olunmadı. 'Aceb hikmet oldu. Buradan on günlük yerde dâ'imâ küffâr bu kadar fesâd ve hasârât idüb yürimek tamâm te'accübde ve ziyâde hayretdeyüz. Ve anda olan fukarânın bir mertebe hâlleri var imiş ki gice ve gündüzde ızdırâbda ve inkulâbda ziyâde ihtimâm olunması lâzım ve elzem olmuştur. [one word illegible] Kili halkı ve [kasaba-i] Baba halkı havf ve hatar tamâm ızdırâb ve inkulâb üzerine imişler. 'Acel ü isti'cal üzerine tedârîki lâzım. Allahu ta'âlâ hazretleri sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımı ma'mûr ve muzaffer eyleye. Amin yâ Musta'ân ve yâ Mu'in" Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 84b.

²³⁹ İncalcık, "Dobrudja", p. 613; Lewis, "Babadaghu", p. 842-843. Babadaghu was burnt down by the Cossacks in 1587, İncalcık, "Dobrudja", p. 613.

²⁴⁰ Lewis, "Babadaghu", p. 843, İncalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 105.

an important trade centre, together with Hacıoğlu, Pazarcık and Mangalya with its weekly fairs for the whole region, as recorded by Evliya Çelebi.²⁴¹

Tezeren and Güven are of the opinion that Baba which Hüdâyî records in *Tezâkir* is Babaeskisi.²⁴² Yılmaz refers to the first letter to point out Hüdâyî's residence in Rumelia but does not make a comment on where Hüdâyî actually resided.²⁴³ In this famous long letter Hüdâyî devoted to the explanation of the origins and activities of, and the methods that should be applied by the Ottoman government against, the *Simavnîs* in Dobruca and Zağra areas, Hüdâyî gives information on the situation in these areas as if he was an eye-witness. However, it is not clear, for the time being, which "Baba" was the actual place Hüdâyî resided in Rumelia, and it is not out of possibility that he had various places of residence during the years he spent there with intervals.

What is clear from these two well-known letters in *Tezâkir* is that Hüdâyî spent some time in the Balkans during, and probably after, his spiritual education under the guidance of Üftâde and before his definite settlement in İstanbul. These letters also provide us with Hüdâyî's comments on three important developments that diverted Ottoman political and military action during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, i.e. the struggle with the *Simavnîs* (or the *Bedreddînlüs*) in the Balkans, the struggle with Iran in the east, and the Muscovite threat in the north.

It is known that the areas of Dobruca and Deliorman were places for the activities of the followers of Şeyh Bedreddîn, known as *Simavnîs* or *Bedreddînlüs*, even long after Şeyh Bedreddîn's death. Şeyh Bedreddîn had revolted on the Dobruca march, in 1416, a revolt

²⁴¹ İnalçık, "Dobrudja", p. 613. Its chief industries were cloth, bow and arrows and specialities were, grapes, white bread, yoghurt and grape juice. Lewis, "Babadaghi", p. 843.

²⁴² Tezeren, p. 20,110; Güven, p. 52. Güven, in another place considers Babadağı as the place of residence of Hüdâyî in Rumeli, Güven, p. 71.

²⁴³ He only mentions both Babaeskisi and Babadağı being in Rumelia, Yılmaz, p. 50. Yılmaz suggests that Hüdâyî may also have resided in Zağra and built a mosque there, depending on a record found in *Menâkıb-ı Hüdâyî*. Yılmaz, p. 50. Though Eski Zağra and Zağra Yenicesi lies closer to Babaeskisi it cannot be assumed that Hüdâyî did not reside in Babadağı. See Kiel, Machiel; "Some Early Ottoman Monuments in Bulgarian

which had social, political and cultural aspects. This revolt also signified how religious thought was integrated into political action.²⁴⁴ Şeyh Bedreddîn, who was a great religious scholar and mystic, was supported by the Prince of Wallachia, Mircea, who was in turn supported by Byzantium and the *bey* of the frontier warriors, Mihaloğlu, all of who were eager to take advantage from the inner struggle that Ottoman government faced after the battle of Ankara. His revolt represented the old struggle between the frontiers against the central state in the face of the latter's becoming increasingly strong during the reign of Bayezîd I. By this time the classical Islamic culture (the 'orthodox' Islam) had assumed domination in line with the policy of centralisation.²⁴⁵ Those who followed Bedreddîn in his revolt were in the first place, the Turcomans of the regions of İzmir, Saruhan and the Dobruca, and the others were the frontier *gâzîs*, *sipâhîs* who had been disposed of their *timars*, *medrese* students and Christian peasants, all of who were ready for revolt because of their dissatisfaction in one way or the other with the policies of a central government. Bedreddîn's religious teachings, which had caused him to be unanimously regarded by the orthodox *ulema* as an extreme batinite who completely ignored *şeriat*, as represented by the Ottoman government, was welcomed among the above mentioned diverse elements of the frontier regions. Ottoman government always looked with suspicion to the activities of the followers of Şeyh Bedreddîn, who were active throughout the empire, and during the sixteenth century they were regarded as identical with the so called "*Kızılbaş*" groups.²⁴⁶

In the letter in *Tezâkir*, which can be regarded as a report to the sultan from an eye-witness scholar about the activities of the followers of Şeyh Bedreddîn in the Balkans and about the methods that should be applied by the Ottoman government in dealing with them, Hüdâyî firstly recollects the time of Yıldırım Bayezîd when Şeyh Bedreddîn emerged. He

Thrace. Stara Zagora (Eski Zağra), Jambol and Nova Zagora (Zağra Yenicesi)", *Belleten*, Cilt: XXXVIII/152, p. 635-656.

²⁴⁴ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 188.

²⁴⁵ *ibid*, p. 18, 188-190.

refers to Şeyh Bedreddîn as one “punished by execution and hit by God’s wrath” (“Şeyh Bedreddîn el-maslûb ‘indi’l-lâhi’l-magdûb”).²⁴⁷ He mentions Şeyh Bedreddîn’s rejecting the belief of the Day of Judgement and the resurrection of the body in his book called *Vâridât*, and his being in ignorance of *şeriat*. He refers to his spreading his teachings in Dobruca and Zağra areas and revolting against the Ottoman sultan whom he refers as “İslâm pâdişâhi” and his being executed according to *şeriat* and *kânûn*. Then, he reports about the activities of Şeyh Bedreddîn’s followers during the reign of Süleyman I in Dobruca and mentions that the “celâlî” who emerged in the region causing trouble and disorder (“fesâd ü fitne”) in the society were also following Şeyh Bedreddîn’s teachings. He mentions the disorders these groups caused in the villages called “Dûceler” and identifies them with the “Kızılbaş”. He acknowledges that some *sipâhîs* in the region rejected the order to participate in the campaign against Iran (“kızılbaş seferi”) by withdrawing from their *timârs* and that some went by putting a seal on their swords saying that they would not use them against “er” for the sake of *timâr*. Hüdâyî describes these groups as being absolutely ignorant of *şeriat* and *sünnet*. He mentions their equalling killing a Muslim as *gazâ* as killing many unbelievers and calls them as “râfızî”. He sees these groups as the source of trouble and disorder and mentions that they are in important numbers. He expresses his discontent with them by referring to their “so called” *şeyhs* (“şeyhleri namında”) as devils (“şeytanlar”). He also informs the sultan about the existence of the “ışık zâviyeleri” and that these groups are called as “Simavnî”. He mentions their condemning “Ashâb-i Çihâryâr”, i.e. Hz. Ebu Bekir, Hz., Ömer, Hz. Osman, and the wife of Prophet Muhammad Ayşe, their longing for the emergence of the Şah and the spread of “Kızılbaş”. Than he thanks God that the reverse of their hopes had happened because of the *cihâd-i ekber* and *gazâ-yi azhâr* the sultan (whom the letter is written; probably Murad III) undertook and prays that his sultanate and life be longer.

²⁴⁶ ibid, p. 188-190; Ocak, “Din”, p. 137-139.

Then he goes on by outlining the methods that should be taken against these groups in order for the *gazâ* and *cihâd* to be complete. He informs that they are many in number and advises that their fortresses in the *sancaks* and *kazas* should be suppressed immediately rather than the *reâyâ* and the *berâyâ*. Moreover, a *sunnî imâm* should be assigned to each village who would undertake the education of the children. The “*ışık tekkeleri*” should also be inspected. They should be given the opportunity to voluntarily abandon their enmity against *Ashâb-i Çihâryâr* and be in conformity with *sünnet* and *şeriat*. If they do not come to these terms then should they be suppressed. Hüdâyî expresses that the sultan could also learn the attitudes of these groups from a certain Hızır Paşa and that what he expresses in this letter is a brief description to which many more could be added. He bases his information on his presence in Baba and his experiences with these groups. More could also be learned from the *meşâyih*, *ulema* and *sulehâ-i ehl-i İslâm* who reside in the region. According to Hüdâyî, Baba should also be discerned. Upright (“*müstakîm*”) ones who are not interested only with their own interests should be employed in this task. Hüdâyî adds that it is possible to redress the *reâyâ* with the inspection of some *ru’us*. He considers dealing with the situation in the Balkans is easier than that in the east where the sultan took the revenge of *Çihâryâr*, as it is within “*memleket-i İslâm*”. Execution of one of their *şeyhs* would cause others to leave their causes and run away.²⁴⁸

All the points Hüdâyî raises in his letter are also found in a similar way in the Şeyh Bâli Efendi’s (d. 1553) report on the followers of Şeyh Bedreddîn where he reports the sultan about the evildoings of Çelebi Halife, a *halîfe* of Şeyh Bedreddîn, and asks the sultan to take action against the sect “in the manner prescribed by the noble sacred law”.²⁴⁹ Sofyalı Bâli

²⁴⁷ The translation is Tietze’s. Andreas Tietze; “Sheykh Bâlî Efendi’s Report on the Followers of Sheykh Bedreddîn”, in *Osmanlı Arştırmaları*, VII-VIII, İstanbul, 1988, p. 115-122.

²⁴⁸ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 31a-32a. This letter was published by Mehmed Zeki to show that there are opponents of Şeyh Bedreddîn among *tasavvuf* circles. Mehmed Zeki, “Bedreddin Simavi-Mahmud Hüdâyî”, *Yarın*, sayı: 33, cild: 2, Matbaa-i Amire, İstanbul, 8 Haziran, 1338 (1922). Also see Tezeren, p. 109-110; Güven, p. 51-54, 70-72.

²⁴⁹ Tietze, p. 115-122.

Efendi had also reported Grand Vizier Rüstem Paşa on the history, beliefs and practices of the “*Kızılbaş*”. Though Tietze hesitates to argue that the sect had survived till early seventeenth century in the remote area of Deliorman by depending on the fact that the report was copied some sixty years later after Bâli Efendi’s demise²⁵⁰, *Hüdâyî*’s letter which is probably written to Murad III (1574-1595), as the success against the Safavids is mentioned, suggests that the sect was still alive during the period.

As we have seen above the followers of Şeyh Bedreddîn were regarded as identical with “*Kızılbaş*”, a question which occupied Ottoman politics all throughout the century. The Ottoman Safavid struggle during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries had political, religious and economic factors and the wars with Iran caused Ottoman government to divert much military and financial sources on this question.

During the sixteenth century, when the Ottoman state adopted policies for becoming more and more centralised, the disaffected elements in Anatolia which included the former land-owning families, former soldiers who lost their livelihood and especially nomadic Turkmen groups, began to oppose these centralising policies of Ottoman administration. The Turkmen groups, mostly in the Taurus mountains and the highlands of Tokat and Sivas, were forced to be taken under control by recording them in the cadastral registers which meant their being subject to systematic taxation. One characteristic of these tribes were their being adhered fanatically to dervish orders which propagated a form of Islam mixed with tribal customs and shamanistic beliefs. The Ottoman government who upheld the cause of *sünnî* ‘orthodoxy’ came to identify them with the term “*Kızılbaş*” from the red head they wore. These Turkmen groups had been suppressed by Mehmed the Conqueror after his defeat of the Akkoyunlu leader Uzun Hasan who based his power on these groups in 1473. When İsmail Safavi, who was the leader of a religious order with teachings outside those formulated by the *sünnî* ‘orthodoxy’, founded the Safavid dynasty in eastern Anatolia, Azerbaijan and Iran he

²⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 121.

extended his influence over all the Anatolian Turcomans with the agents he sent throughout Anatolia and Rumelia. The Turkmen groups who were dissatisfied with the centralising policies of the Ottoman government came to recognise Şah İsmail as their religious and political leader. The “*Kızılbaş*” movement became an expression of the strong Turkmen opposition to the Ottoman administration from the fifteenth century onwards.²⁵¹

The “*Kızılbaş*” in the highlands of western Anatolia coupled with the *sipâhîs* who had lost their *timars* revolted around one of Şah İsmail’s agents in 1511. Further revolts followed in 1512, 1520, 1526-27 and 1525-1528.²⁵² Selim’s victory against Şah İsmail at Çaldıran in 1514 had subdued “*Kızılbaş*” threat only temporarily. In 1516-17, the local dynasties and tribal chieftains in the mountainous region from Erzurum to Diyarbakir recognised Ottoman suzerainty but the Turcoman tribes in eastern Anatolia began a mass migration to Iran and Azerbaijan and served as a base for the Safavid armies.²⁵³ By this time, with Selim I’s receiving the title “Servant of Mecca and Medina” in the presence of the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mutawakkil in 1516, after his victory over the Mamluks, the Ottomans began to consider themselves not only the protectors of the frontiers but of the entire Muslim world.²⁵⁴ The campaign against Persia during 1548-1555 ended with the treaty of Amasya which brought Bağdad and Tebriz under Ottoman control.²⁵⁵

Wars with Iran between 1578-1590, during which we see Ferhad Paşa serving as *serdâr* first in 1583-1585 and secondly in 1586-1590, lasted seven years until the treaty of İstanbul was signed which included an article implying that the *sünnîs* in the region should not be insulted and oppressed by the Persians.²⁵⁶ The years 1595-1610 were the climax of the *celâlî* destruction within the Ottoman Empire and Şah Abbas took advantage of this inner

²⁵¹ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 31-32, 194-197; Ocak, “Din”, p. 141-143, 144-146.

²⁵² Ocak, “Din”, p. 144.

²⁵³ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 33.

²⁵⁴ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 33-34.

²⁵⁵ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 38; İnalcık, “Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış”, in *Osmanlı*, ed. Güler Eren, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yay., Vol. I, p. 98-100.

chaos and attacked the Ottomans in 1603. This was the same year that Şah Abbas prohibited the export of Persian silk to the Ottoman Empire and that he opened negotiations to establish an alliance with the Europeans against the Ottomans. In order to prevent a shortage of silver and gold in Iran, due to the embargo he imposed on silk export, Şah Abbas attempted to sell the silk directly to Europe, via the Indian Ocean. In the following years, the port of Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf developed rapidly whereas Bursa, and in consequence the Ottoman economy suffered greatly and the Ottoman government encouraged silk production in Bursa and its environs.²⁵⁷ Silk became a political weapon for both the Ottomans and the Persians as both of their economies were based on silk industry.²⁵⁸

Silk trade was a dominant element in the economies of both Persia and the Ottomans and became an important political weapon for both sides during 1578-1639.²⁵⁹ The public revenues and silver stocks of both empires were dependent for the most part on the silk trade with Europe. The attempts by the Ottoman government during the sixteenth century to control Tebriz and to establish close relations with Gilân and Şirvan were motivated also by these economic factors, because the Persian silk exported to Anatolia came mainly from Mazandaran, from Gilân whose products were collected mainly at Tebriz, and from Şirvan.²⁶⁰

We see Halil Paşa appointed as *serdâr* in January 1617 and in 1618 treaty of Serav was signed with similar articles in the Amasya treaty with the proposition that the Persians should bring a hundred *yük ipek* annually.²⁶¹ In 1623 when the Persians captured Bağdad, Kerkük, Musul and the whole Irak a new phase started in the Ottoman Safvid struggle. Halil Paşa was appointed as *serdâr* for the second time in 1626 and fought both the insurgent

²⁵⁶ İnalçık, "Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış", p. 101; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 1. Kısım, p. 55-63; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 243-245.

²⁵⁷ İnalçık, "Bursa", p. 1335; İnalçık, "Bursa and the Silk Trade", p. 228-230, 246-250.

²⁵⁸ İnalçık, "Harir", p. 212-214; İnalçık, "Bursa", p. 1335; İnalçık, "Bursa and the Silk Trade", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire. 1300-1914*, p. 228-230, 246-249.

²⁵⁹ İnalçık, "Harir", p. 213-214.

²⁶⁰ İnalçık, "Harir", p. 212.

²⁶¹ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 50-51; İnalçık, "Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış", p. 102; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 1. Kısım, p. 63-68; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 246-248.

Abaza Mehmed and the Persians in the eastern front. However, he was successful in neither of these tasks and the peace that finalised the war with Iran came in 1639 when Murad IV, leading the Ottoman army defeated the Persians. With the *Kasr-ı Şirin* treaty Ottomans established their control over Bağdad, Şehrizar, Van, Kars and denounced their rights over Azerbaijan.²⁶²

Hüdâyî refers to the question of “*Kızılbaş*” in various places in *Tezâkir* and expresses his distress for the activities of these groups. He considers the effort spent on this question as a loss.²⁶³ In a letter, probably written to Murad III, where he explains the peculiarity of two among the ninety-nine names of Allah, *Mu'ahhir* and *Mukaddim*²⁶⁴, being bringing victory over the enemies, he expresses his earnest desire for the victory over Iran.²⁶⁵ In another letter we see Hüdâyî attributing the reason for the appearance of the tribe of “*Kızılbaş*” in the east to the neglect and annulling of *şeriat* and *sünnet* by the *ulemâ*, *meşâyih* and *ümerâ* of the region.²⁶⁶ Hüdâyî's *şeyh* Üftâde who is known to have sent a letter to Lala Mustafa Paşa where he advised certain measures against the Safavid propaganda in the Ottoman realms.²⁶⁷

²⁶² İnalçık, “Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış”, p. 102; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 248-250.

²⁶³ “*husûsan Frenk'le cîdâl ve cenk farz olmuşdur. Kızılbaş-i bed-ma'âş ile olan kîtâl ü cîdâl[in] 'öşr[ü] sarf olunsa küllî fetihler zuhûr iderdi.*” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Kasıdecizade nr. 323, p. 54â.

²⁶⁴ *Mu'ahhir*: The Delayer,
Mukaddim: The Expediter.

²⁶⁵ “*ikisine de meşgûl olmak küllî nâ'fidir ve nâfizdir ve sâhibini hâmi ve hâfizdir. Husâsan Mukaddim ismi ehlini a'dâsından ceberût-i a'dâ üzerine tefevvük ve ta'allî idüb kâhir ve gâlib kılar. Ve Mu'ahhir ismi meşgûl olanı kuvvet-i kâhire ve kudret-i bâhire ile mevsûf kılub a'dâ-yi zâhire ve bâtınasını esfelden esfele indirür. Yer ile berâber ider. Te'sîri budur. Bunlara iştigâl ehmm-i mühimmâtıdır. Du'âcınıza mukaddeman işâret olub çok olub ziyâde müşâhede olmuşdur. [Rum]jeline iken sizler sa'âdetimiz Kızılbaş'a evvel urub mukayyed iken du'âcınıza işâret olub bu Mukaddim ve Mu'ahhir isimlerine ziyâde meşgûl olub idi. İsm-i Mukaddime iştigâlden murâdımız Murâd Hân a'dâsı Kızılbaş üzerine takdîm ve 'âlî eyleyesin yâ Rab ve ism-i Mu'ahhire iştigâlden murâdımız Murâd Hânımızı kuvvet-i kâhire ve kudret-i bâhire ile mevsûf idüb a'dûsı üzerine müvekkil ve musallat idüb ve mansûr ve muzaffer idüb a'dâsının kudret ve kuvvetin giderüb esfel-i sâfilini ihânetle red idüb yer ile berâber eyleyüb ol diyârlarda şa'ân-i İslâm ve 'alâyim-i dînü'l-lahü'l-Melikü'l-'Âlâm icrâ idesin devyu. (...) Kızılbaş emri bertarâf olmak ile ihmâl olunub istirâhâta varmışuz. Bir mikdâr tevânî ve tekâsül gelmiş idi. Anı izâleye bu işâret oldı. Rızâ vormeyüb hitâb olmuşdur. İnşallah iştigâl olunmak gerekdir, böyle ki şimdiden sonra Leh ve Frenk a'dâsı esfele tenzîl oluna. İslâmın sebkât ve tekaddümü ve ref'etiyle inşallah eseri de gelüb zuhûr ider.*” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasıdecizade nr. 323, p. 96b-97a. Also see Tezeren, p. 111.

²⁶⁶ In this letter Hüdâyî tells a dream of him in which Sadreddin Konevi and Mevlana were present. Sadreddin Konevi utters these words: “*görmez misin diyâr-i şarkda meşâyih-i 'ulemâ ve sâ'ir tâ'ife-i ma'ârif-i ilâhiye zuhûri ile temevvüc ve televvüne düşüb temekkün etmediler. Şeri'at-i mutahherede ve sünnet-i münevverede nasb etmedikleri ecilden 'âkıbeti hıfvet düşüb şeri'at-i mutahhereye ve sünnet-i münevvereye hâlel gelüb kabâ'il-i Kızılbaş zuhûr idüb ol diyâra kablayub ne fesâdlar ve ne belâlar çekildi.*” Then Hüdâyî comments as: “*diyâr-i*

As we have seen Hüdâyî frequently refers to the question of “*Kızılbaş*” in *Tezâkir*, however, the well-known letter which is mentioned in the introduction of this section (which was certainly sent to Murad III), is devoted wholly to this issue. In this letter, after expressing his distress against them with the words “*Zenâdık ü Kızılbaş her dâ'im başlarından gitmeye tâş*” Hüdâyî draws the attention of the sultan to the suffering of the people of Gilân under “*Kızılbaş*”. He equals Gilân's being subject to “*Kızılbaş*” with Beni İsrail's being subject to the Pharaoh. He prays for Sultan Murad's wellbeing as he had achieved a definite success against the “*Kızılbaş ferâ'inesi*” with Ferhad Paşa and resembles the two to Prophet Musa and his brother Harun. He expresses that God and Prophet Muhammad would not be pleased if the Gilânîs, like Beni İsrail, were to be subject to, and weak and powerless under, the “*bakiyye kalan kıbtî çingânı*”. He advises the sultan that he should be taking into consideration and accept the demand of help of the Gilânîs. He warns that if the Persians would refer to the peace concluded and argue that Ottomans should not interfere, the sultan should answer in the way to protect the Gilânîs as he is “*pâdişâh-i İslâm, melce-i 'âm ü hâss ve cümle-i 'âlem, harameyn pâdişâhı*.” He should be protecting the Gilânîs according to “*şeri'at-i mutahhere ve sünnet-i münevvere*” against the “*Kızılbaş*”. He advises that a “*fetvâ-yi şerîf*”, on whether the Ottomans should be helping the Gilânîs and whether it would be “*vebâl-i 'azîm*” if they do not, should be prepared. Than this *fetvâ* should be sent to “*Kızılbaş*” which would include the following points: the *sünnî* identity of the Gilânîs; Safavids being “*zındık*” and “*kıbtî*”; Safavids persecuting the Gilânîs was out of necessity (probably due to wars in the west) and was against *şeriat*; in case Gilânîs demand help from the Ottomans against the Safavid persecution, in line with “*şer'-i şerîf*”, Ottomans could only help them; Safavids had acted against their promise to be obedient to the Ottomans (he probably refers to the treaty of 1555)

şarkda kabâ'il-i Kızılbaş zuhûrın sebebi zuhûr etmezden uğradı. Ol yerin 'ulemâsı ve meşâyihü ve ümerâsı ma'ârif-i tasavvûfa düşüb şeri'at ve sünnet cânibine nev'ân hâlel gelüb giderek şeri'at ve sünnet bi'l-küllîye ref' olunmuşdur. Ne 'uzu bi'l-İlahu ta'âlâ. Amîn.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 15b, 16a.

²⁶⁷ Bahadıroğlu, p. 39-40; Yılmaz, p. 181.

and tormented the *siinnîs*; Gilânîs had brought the case before the sultan; and its better that both sides should be under God's command. Hüdâyî seems sure that by this way Safavids would be compelled to stop tormenting the Gilânîs. The consequence of such a stand would result in Gilânîs being "*reâyâ*" and "*du'âci*" of the sultan and the Safavids would be obedient to the sultan as they will be left powerless.

According to him just like a pig would not turn to be a sheep when its tail is cut, the infidel "*Kızılbaş*" would not become Muslims. He argues that their peace with the Ottomans is out of necessity and that when this necessity disappears they would certainly rebel. The danger, after their concluding peace with the Ottomans and securing the Ottoman threat, of their recovering gradually and causing conflicts would never disappear. He advises the sultan to protect and include the people of Gilân under his sovereignty. By this way the sultan would be protecting "*ümme-i Muhammed*" till the day of Last Judgement.

Finally he demands forgiveness from the sultan for his disrespect and he recalls his getting as sick as the state of death in Baba due to his sorrow which arouse from his full attention and inclination when Adil Giray Han was captured and murdered and his hardly recovering. He also recalls his being with Ferhad Paşa when he entered Tebriz.²⁶⁸

It should be mentioned here that the Ottoman government was following the policy of broadcasting to the entire Islamic world, through *fetvâs*, that it was a pious duty according to *şariat* to remove the acts of treason which assist the enemies of the faith against the Holy War that the Ottomans were waging against the "*Kızılbaş*".²⁶⁹ This policy was upheld by the Ottoman government during the struggles with the Karamanids and Akkoyunlus previously and during the sixteenth century with Iran and the Mamluks.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasıdecizade nr. 323, p. 32a-32b. Also See Tezeren, p. 19-21, 109-110; Yılmaz, p. 49-52; Güven, p. 51-54.

²⁶⁹ Halil İnalcık, "Islam in the Ottoman Empire", *Cultura Turcica*, 5-7 (1968-1970), p. 25; İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 14.

²⁷⁰ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 14.

Ferhad Paşa was appointed as *serdâr* in the war against Persia for the first time in March 1583 and was on the Persian front till March 1585.²⁷¹ He was appointed as *serdâr* for the second time in February 1586 and fought till Şah Abbas demanded peace with the Ottoman government in 1590.²⁷² Though Hüdâyî's mentioning of this company seems more related with his intention to express the sultan that he was concerned with and inside the problem of Iran, it can be stated that he accompanied Ferhad Paşa during his commandership for the second time, i.e., during 1586-1590, because of the fact that it was this second term of office of Ferhad Paşa that had brought success in the war against Persia and brought Tebriz under Ottoman control. His presence with this successful commander probably had contributed to the later reputation of Hüdâyî in the Palace.

We have seen above that Hüdâyî acknowledges in *Tezâkir* his accompanying Ferhad Paşa when he entered Tebriz and that he was in Rumelia when Adil Giray Han of the Crimean Khanate was captured and murdered by the “*Kızılbaş*”.

Adil Giray Han was the brother of Mehmed Giray II who ruled between 1577-1584 and was appointed as *kalgay*.²⁷³ Each of the Crimean Khans had a *kalgay* as “*wali ‘ahd*, ‘heir apparent’” from the reign of Mengli Giray (1467-1474) onwards. According to the *türe*, the *kalgay* had to be the Han’s brother and when the throne fell vacant the *kalgay* became Han.²⁷⁴ When Mehmed Giray II was ordered to participate in the war against Persia he sent troops under the command of his brothers Adil Giray, Gazi Giray and Saadet Giray and his son Mübarek Giray.²⁷⁵ Adil Giray, as the leader of the Crimean forces proved successful in helping Ottomans against the Safavids however, was captured, together with his brother Gazi

²⁷¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 1. Kısım, p. 61-62; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmnalı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Cilt: 3, Türkiye Yainevi, İstanbul, 1972, p. 63-80.

²⁷² Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 62-63; Danişmend, p. 100-115.

²⁷³ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 1; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, I. Kısım, p. 59-60.

²⁷⁴ Halil İnalcık, “Giray”, *EI* 2, p. 1113. From 1584 onwards there was a second *veliahd* known as *Nur al-Din* and when the *kalgay* became the Han, the *Nur al-Din* became the *kalgay*. There are historical occasions of the Ottoman sultan’s withholding his recognition when the tribal aristocracy of the Crimea appointed a *kalgay* as the new Han following the *türe* and without reference to the Porte. Ibid, p. 1113.

²⁷⁵ Danişmend, p. 31-32.

Giray, by the Persians and brought to Kazvin at some time during Ramazan 986/November 1578.²⁷⁶ His imprisonment provided the Persians the means to negotiate with Mehmet Giray to persuade him in establishing friendly relations in order to prevent him from helping the Ottomans on the Azerbaijan front. If Mehmed Giray would send his envoys then the Persians would return the prisoned Adil Giray. Mehmet Giray sent the letter of Şah to Murad III and the Ottoman government ordered Mehmed Giray to start a campaign against Persia to free his brother.²⁷⁷ However, when the army of the Han arrived at Demir Kapı in Şaban 987/October 1579, the news of Adil Han's murder arrived.²⁷⁸

We do not know in what time the news reached Rumelia and caused Hüdâyî to get ill (and to migrate)²⁷⁹ due to his sorrow. We do not know what he did in the following years if we accept that he left his place in Rumelia. What we know is that Hüdâyî accompanied Ferhad Paşa, probably during his second term of commandership, between 1586-1590, in the campaign of Iran as described above.

Ottomans all throughout their relations with the Crimean Khanate followed the policy of having on the Crimean throne a vassal ruler from the dynasty of the Girays who would be fully loyal to the Ottoman Empire; of making use of Crimean troops as auxiliary forces in the Ottoman expeditions against Moldavia, Hungary and Iran; of preventing the Khanate from becoming a rival empire to the Ottomans in the north by incorporating the heritage of the Golden Horde in the Itil region and joining with the Nogays in the steppes.²⁸⁰ Ottoman government skilfully manipulated the rival elements in the Crimean Khanate, where tribal aristocracy was a decisive element in the internal structure, to further its own policies in the region.²⁸¹ The Han chosen used to receive his diploma directly from the hand of the Ottoman

²⁷⁶ Danişmend, p. 35; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 3; B. Spuler, *EP*, "Kırım", p. 138; Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Murad III", *İ.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 618.

²⁷⁷ Kütükoğlu, "Murad III", p. 618.

²⁷⁸ Kütükoğlu, "Murad III", p. 618. Adil Giray is said to have been murdered because of his love affairs with the wife and sister of the Şah. However, it is interesting that the date of his murder coincides with the arrival of Crimean forces at Demir Kapı. See Kütükoğlu, Bekir, "Murad III", p. 618; Danişmend, p. 35; Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, II, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı yay., Ankara, 1882, p. 49-50, 53-54.

sultan and was given the *hanlık teşrifâtı*. The sultan could depose, imprison or exile the Han and there were even occasions of the execution of the Hans.²⁸²

It was after Kazan and Astrakhan were lost in 1552 and 1554-6 respectively, to the Russians, under Ivan IV who assumed the title Tsar in 1547, that the Giray house adopted Ottoman protection against the Russian threat and acted in closer co-operation with the Ottomans in the wars in Central Europe and against Persia.²⁸³ Now the Russians, who had been only a second rate power in eastern Europe till 1530s, were perceived as a threat to Ottoman position in the Black Sea basin and the Caucasus. By annexing the Muslim khanates of the Volga basin advancing as far as the Terek river in the northern Caucasus, the Russians laid foundations of the Russian Empire. It was at this period that the central Asian Khanates made repeated calls to the Ottoman sultan to free the pilgrimage and trade route from Russian control. Sultan Süleyman I, who assumed the duty of Caliph to protect Islamic lands against the infidels, opposed the Muscovite plan to take over the heritage of Golden Horde in the Itil (Volga) region, and entered upon a close treaty of alliance with the Crimean Khanate against the Russian threat.²⁸⁴

Hüdâyî refers to this Russian threat in a letter in *Tezâkir* he wrote on the occasion of coming of some envoys from Muscovy. He prays for God's multiplying the sultan's irresistible power and evident might, for God's dropping fear into the hearts of the enemies, and for God's facilitating complete obedience and submission of the enemies. He reminds the sultan that they possess a fortress on Terek and advises that in case they want to show their

²⁷⁹ See footnote 229.

²⁸⁰ Halil İnalçık, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate Under Sahib Giray I", in *Emel*, Sayı: 135 (Mart-Nisan 1983), originally published in *Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak*, HUS X (1981), p. 88; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 1. Also see Halil İnalçık, "Kırım Hanlığı", *İA.*, Vol. VI, p. 746-756.

²⁸¹ İnalçık, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate Under Sahib Giray I", p. 74.

²⁸² İnalçık, "Giray", p. 1113.

²⁸³ İnalçık, "Giray", p. 1113.

²⁸⁴ Halil İnalçık, "Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature", in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington, 1993, p. 379; İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 38-40; Spuler, "Kırım", p. 138.

obedience than they should surrender Han and Kazan and it should be insisted with perseverance that the treaty should be signed on these conditions. He also adds that they should be prevented from building a fortress on Kuban. He warns the sultan against their tricks. The fact of, by hindering their having recourse to artifice, their recovering and organising in the region should be understood. Despite their previous “*ahd ü amân*” they are not intending to stop their “*fitne ü fesâd*”. Then he mentions that he heard their having about ten thousand armed man at their fortress on Terek. If this point is neglected than they would grow in number and strength. He ends by praying that God would subdue their “*şevket*”, terrify their troops and provide the conquest of the region with ease.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ “ve Moskof’dan elçi de gelmiş. Hak celle ve ‘alâ kuvvet-i kâhirenizi ve kudret-i bâhirenizi iz’âf ü muza’afa ziyâde idüb kulüb-i a’dâya ru’b ilkâ’ idüb itâ’at-i tâm ve inkıyâd-i ‘âmm müyesser idüb. Amîn. İtâ’at göstermek isterler ise Terek Suyu üzerine hisârları vardır. Hân’ı ve Kazân’ı virmek şartıyla mu’âhede olunmasına ikdâm ve ibrâm oluna. Ve Kubânî Suyu üzerinde dahî bir hisâre etmek isterlermiş anı da binâ etmeyeler ve bi’l-cümle sulh olunurlarsa da hîlesinden hazerde ihtiyât oluna. Hîle bir zamân ‘avk idüb ol cânibde tedârik ve tehyî etmekdir fehm oluna. Zâhir düşmânın işi gücü hiledir. (...) Gine ‘ahdler ve amânlar etdiler gine fitne ü fesâdları ve tedârikleri aslâ kesmek murâdları değildir. Bunlar bunlar bunlar tamâm olmayınca uslanmaz ve inkıyâd itmezler. Bunlara seyfû’l-İslâm munkatî’ olmamak gerekdir. Terek Suyu üzerinde olan hisâr[da] on bine yakîn birer ikişer tüfekli vardır derler. İhmâl olunmak ile izdiyâd ü kuvve dahî ziyâde kuvvetlenürler. Allahu ta’âlâ şevketlerin kesr ide ve cem’iyetlerin tefrik ide ve diyârların suhûlet ile feth ide. Amîn ya Mu’în.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 7a.

In another letter, Hüdâyî signifies the importance of promoting the submission of Lehistan, another integral element in the Black Sea politics of the period. Here Hüdâyî draws the attention of the sultan to their neglecting fulfilling their obligations. He mentions that it is only ten days away from İstanbul that they dare to show enmity, a point which should not be neglected in any way. In case they do not agree to bring their share annually and this is heard in the region, it would only cause pleasure on the side of the enemies and annoyance on the side of “‘arz-ı saltanat ve şevket-i İslâm.”²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ “Sa’âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım feth-i medâyindendir deyu sevindik idi. Leh’in hazînesi teslim olmak ile eyü. Şimden girü bu hâl üzerine kıst-i ma’hûdlarını her sene getürürler deyu bir haber istimâ’ olundu. Böyle ki vâkı’ olmaya. Hemân bu sene ne kidir getürdükleri her seneye kâbil olmaz didiler. Sa’âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım dikkat ü ihtimâm lâzımdır. Bir alây melâ’ine dârü’s-selâm kurbunda bu kadar Müslimîne hakâretler ve ihânetler idüb yanlarına kala. Bu kadar her sene hizmet etmeden ibâ ideler. Hiç bunun bir aslı var mıdır? Çok bu kadar kuvvetlü gâvurlar diğillerdir. Bu ihmâl olunmasun. Bu da bir düşmândır. Dârü’s-saltanat kurbunda bunları da zebûnca dutmak lâzım gibidir. Menba’-i fesâd ü fitne yeridir. Mağlûbiyet ehemmi-mühimmâtıdır. Tekayyüd oluna ihmâl olunmaya aslâ. Eğer deryâ kara olursa burdan [Leh] on günlük yerdir. On günlük yerde düşmânı ruhsat ile ihmâl câ’iz değildir. Dikkat olunsu dayanmazlar inşallahu ta’âlâ. Ve eğer her sene ol va’adlerine kâ’il olmayub giderler ise, buradan sükût olunursa, evvela her sene kâ’il oldular deyu ‘âleme şâyi’ olub şimdi kâ’il olmamışlar eski düzene kâ’il olmuşlar deyu etrâf ü eknâfla şehir ü şâyi’ olma ‘arz-i saltanata ve şevket-i İslâm[ın] inkisâr[ına] a’dânın sürûr ve [one word illegible] sebeb olmak görenür. Ol melâ’ine ve gayrisi[nin] ziyâde gururlarına ve sürûrlarına sebeb eklenür.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 33b-34a.

1.5. Recognition in the Palace

A letter in *Tezâkir* seems to suggest that Hüdâyî made a visit to İstanbul in 985/1577-1578, during the first year of his spiritual education under the supervision of Üftâde, a letter which reflects Hüdâyî's role in the daily politics. In this letter Hüdâyî tries to prove the loyalty of Hoca Saadeddin, against gossips about this famous Palace teacher which he knows had reached the sultan, by acknowledging that Hoca Saadeddin was one of the persons who made Hüdâyî stay in İstanbul.²⁸⁷

However, we see Hüdâyî leaving İstanbul despite Hoca Saadeddin's offer as described in the letter. He probably returned to Bursa (or to Rumelia) and after that passed some time in Sivrihisar, again in Bursa (and maybe in Rumelia) as described in the previous section. We do not know whether Hüdâyî made visits to İstanbul during these years and if he did on what occasions. We only know that, some ten years later, he accompanied Ferhad Paşa in the campaign of Iran, during 1586-1590.²⁸⁸ It is not clear with what title Hüdâyî accompanied Ferhad Paşa and how long his presence in the eastern border lasted.²⁸⁹ It may be assumed Hüdâyî decided to stay in İstanbul after his return from Tebriz by relying on Hüdâyî's record

²⁸⁷ In this letter Hüdâyî firstly refers to some *ayets* from Kur'ân, than he goes on: "*Bu kıssa kayd olunmaya sebeb ba'zı 'ulemâ bu du'âcılarını 'iyâdete geldiler idi. Ba'zı kelâm nakl etdiler kadîmî du'icınız Hoca Efendi hakkında. Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım cenâb-i 'âlîyenize nakz ve zarar icâb ider nesneler nakl etmiş, hikâyet itdiler. Ziyâde müte'ellim olduk. Ehl-i garaz kelâmı olduğu 'iyândır. Ol du'âcınız da hulûs üzerinedir. Dîn ü dünya ve devlet ü ahiretinizi himâyet ve sıyânetde sa'yları kemâldedir ve hıdmet-i hâtırınızda anlar çekdiğini çeker olmaz. Du'âcınız öyle müşâhede idüb ve yakînîm olmuştur. Nihâyet halka yaramak müşgildir. Azdâd ve agrâz iktizâsıdır. Ba'zı kelâm nakl olundu ki zevî'l-'ukûl olan ihtimâl virmez. Ol du'âcınız nefsinî nefsi-i nefîseniz içün ihtiyâr ve isâr etmek câ'izdir. Her zamân netice-i kelâmları budur. Kande sulehâ var ise tefahhus buyurub tûl-i 'ömrinize ve devâm-i devletinize du'âya iştigâl ismarlarlar. Hattâ fakir du'âcınız seksen beş târihinde buraya gelüb anlara mülâkî olub musâhabet itdiğimde siz makûle kimse bunda gerekdir deyu izin virmediler. Ahir firâr etdüm [girdüm]. Bu kere geldüğimde cidden izin virmediler ve mukaddemâ Şeyhü'l-İslâm ve hâlen Şeyhü'l-İslâm Bostânzâde Efendi ve Zekeriyâ Efendi du'âcınız. Ashâb-i agrâz sözüne uymak olmaz. Elhamdû'l-ilah Bostânzâde Efendi du'âcınız[a] tesliye-i hâtır etdünüz. Allahu ta'âlâ râzı olsun, muhlisinizdir."* Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 11a-11b. Also see Tezeren, p. 108-109; Güven, p. 57.

²⁸⁸ Kütükoğlu, "Murad III", p. 619.

in the above mentioned letter that Bostânzâde, who was appointed as *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* for the first time in 997/1589, was *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* during Hüdâyî's second coming to İstanbul.²⁹⁰

Another letter in *Tezâkir* gives more detail as to the persons he met during his second arrival in İstanbul, but gives no date. In this letter, *Kapı Ağası*²⁹¹ and Kıbrıs Paşası Ahmed Paşa appears as the one who made the sultan know about Hüdâyî. Here, Hüdâyî refers to Ahmed Paşa's insisting on Hüdâyî's staying in İstanbul, and promising to provide a post for him. After a period of some five months Hüdâyî was appointed as *şeyh* to Küçük Ayasofya *zâviyesi* upon the death of the previous *şeyh*, an appointment which was possible with Hoca Saadeddin's influence, as Hüdâyî records. It seems that while Hüdâyî was performing his duty at Küçük Ayasofya *zâviyesi*, Ahmed Paşa, who was *Kilercibaşı*²⁹² at the time, introduced Hüdâyî to the sultan, probably Murad III. In the letter, Hüdâyî openly expresses his being contented with Hoca Efendi and Ahmed Paşa and asks for the favour of the sultan for Ahmed Paşa to be appointed as governor of Egypt. According to him, Ahmed Paşa would be capable of establishing order in Egypt.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ It need not that Hüdâyî was present with Ferhad Paşa throughout the commander's duty in the east. Hüdâyî may have returned İstanbul after Tebriz was captured.

²⁹⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 455-456.

²⁹¹ *Kapı Ağası* or *Babü's-sa'ada Ağası* was the chief of the White Eunuchs (*Ak Ağalar*) and the general overseer of the Palace. The three *oda-başı*; *Hass-oda başı*, *Hazinedar-başı* and *Kilerci-başı* were beneath *Kapı Ağası* and were responsible for the protection of the sultan's person. They accompanied the sultan wherever he went and guarded him when he slept. The *Kapı Ağası* exercised absolute authority in the palace in the name of the sultan and the sultan consulted him both on Palace matters and the state affairs. İnalcık, "Ghulam", p. 1088.

²⁹² See footnote above.

²⁹³ "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım Hak celle ve 'alâ vücûd-i şerifinizi hatâlardan hıfz idüb ma'ammer ve muzaffer eyleye. Amin. Du'âcınızı buraya gelmeğe ve kalmağa ve bu kadar sa'âdetlü pâdişâhım ile münâsebet bâ'is ve sebeb du'âcınız Hoca Efendi ve Kapı Ağâsı ve Kıbrız Paşası Ahmed Paşa kulunuz olmuştur. Hoca Efendi du'âcınızı görüb musâhabet idicek dirler siz makûle kimseler kenârda olmak ma'kûl ve münâsib değildir. Elbette bunda olmak gereksiz. İcâzet virmediler gitmeğe Rumeli'nde olduğumuz yere. Birkaç ay durduk. Ba'dehu Kapı Ağâsı kulunuz du'âcınızı işidüb haber etmişler, gitmesünler bunda dursunlar bir yer tedârik iderüz. Sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımıza du'âcı lâzımdır burda olsunlar deyu ikdâm ve ibrâm etmişler. Ba'de beş ay mikdârı durduktan sonra bir Küçük Ayasofya Şeyhi bi-emri'l-lah vefât idüb bizi dahî görmeden ve musâhabet etmeden mücerred Hoca Efendi [terbiyetiyle] zâviye[yi] du'âcınıza virdiler idi. Ba'dehu du'âcınız da meşgûl olub fukarâ ile otururken Ahmed Paşa kulunuz Kilercibaşı iken işidüb da'vet idüb musâhabet idüb du'âcınızdan inâyet itmiş idi. Muhabbet ve meveddet idüb mehmâ-emken çok hizmet etmiş idi. Ol takrîb ile du'âcınız ma'lûm olduk. Hattâ sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhımıza ma'lûm olub ve anlar ziyâde hizmet ve mu'avenet etmişlerdir. Nefsü'l-emr ve vâki' budur. El'an da böyledir. Kande meşâyih ve sulehâdan bir eyü âdem var ise mukayyed olurlar. Tenbîh ve tekid iderler sa'âdetlü pâdişâhım için. Ya'ni bundan murâd bunlardan kemâl mertebe râziyuz ve nazar-i 'inâyetinizi râciyüz ve Mısır Paşası'nı kaldırmak murâd olundu. Öyle ise Kıbrız Paşa'sı Ahmed bendenize Mısır ihsânınız ricâ olunur. Müstakim ve mütedeyyin kulunuzdur ve sâlihdir ve ehl-i 'ilmdir ve 'irfânı da vardır ve hüsn ü halka ve kerem-i halka ve tamâm-i ref'ete mâlikdir. Ehl-i Mısır hod bir huşûnet üzerinedir. Medâr etmeğe

We know that according to the *Kânûnnâme* of Mehmed II, *Kapı Ağası*, along with the *Oda-başı*, the *Hazinedâr-başı*, the *Kilerci-başı* and the *Saray-Ağası* were privileged to make a submission ('arz) directly to the sultan.²⁹⁴ Thus, Ahmed Paşa was in a position to make a direct submission to the sultan for providing a position for Hüdâyî. We also know that the *Kapı Ağası*, according to tradition, was eligible to pass out from the Palace as *beğlerbeği* and in the sixteenth century as governor of Egypt with the rank of vizier.²⁹⁵ Thus, Hüdâyî's recommendation to the sultan for appointing Ahmed Paşa as the governor of Egypt appears to be in line with the established practice.

From the two letters we learn that Hoca Saadeddin, Bostânzâde Efendi, Zekeriya Efendi and Ahmed Paşa were influential in Hüdâyî's staying in İstanbul by providing him some livelihood and by introducing him to the sultan.²⁹⁶

There are different records about Hüdâyî's immediate years after leaving Bursa. Mehmed Gülşen Efendi records that after serving his *şeyh* for three years Hüdâyî moved to Üsküdar with the duty of *irşâd* and stayed in two rooms he built himself beside Çilehâne (or Musalla) *mescidi* in Küçük Çamlıca, and then moved on to a room near Rum Mehmed Paşa Mosque, again in Üsküdar. Gülşen records that he provided the place for building his *asutâne*, the place where it exists today, in 997/1588-1589 and that the building started in 1003/1594-

bunlar münâsib gibi olur. Sa'âdetlü pâdişâhım a'lemdir ve erhâm ve ekremdir. Lutfunuz ve ihsânınız ola. Kulunuza mebzûl ola ve's-selâm." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 79a-79b. Also see Güven, p. 59; Tezeren, p. 112.

²⁹⁴ İnalcık, "Ghulam", p. 1088. Also see İnalcık, Halil; "Decision Making in the Ottoman State", *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren, İstanbul, 1998, p. 118. For the procedure of appointments and promotions in the Ottoman Empire and for the format of the 'arz see Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde Aklâm ve Muâmelât", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* (The Journal of Ottoman Studies), I, İstanbul, 1980, p. 1-14.

²⁹⁵ İnalcık, "Ghulam", p. 1088.

²⁹⁶ Bostânzâde Mehmed Efendi was appointed *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* in 1589 for the first time and was dismissed from the office in 1592. He was re-appointed in 1593 and died in 1596. Bayramzâde Zekeriya Efendi, after serving as *Kadıasker* of Anatolia and Rumelia, was appointed *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* after the first term of office of Bostânzâde, in 1592 and died in 1593. Hoca Saadeddin Efendi, the author of *Tâcü't-Tevârih*, was a well-respected Palace teacher and is known to have been *hoca* to Murad III and Mehmed III. He was appointed as *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* in 1598 and he died in 1599. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 455-458; B. Lewis, "Bostânzâde", *ET*, p. 1279. For Hoca Saadeddin Efendi see Akdes Nimet Kurat, "Hoca Sâdeddin Efendinin Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Tesisi ve Gelişmesindeki Rolü", *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul, 1953, p. 305-315.

1595.²⁹⁷ *Silsilenâme* has no mentioning of the details with respect to either his stay in Rumelia or to the early days of his coming to İstanbul. It simply records that Hüdâyî moved to Üsküdar with his family after visiting Üftâde on his return from Sivrihisar and that he stayed near a house close to Rumi Mehmed Paşa Mosque for sixteen years until he was awarded a thousand gold by Ahmed I (1603-1617) on the occasion of his interpreting a dream of the sultan, a dream no one had been able to interpret.²⁹⁸ 'Ata'î, likewise has no mentioning of the immediate years after Üftâde's death and simply records Hüdâyî's movement to Üsküdar as a *halîfe* of Üftâde.²⁹⁹

What is clear is that Hüdâyî's first occupation after his coming to İstanbul was Küçükayasofya *zâviyesi şeyhliği*, a post which he was able to obtain through the recommendation of Hoca Saadeddin as he records in *Tezâkir*. In Cumade'l-ahire 1002/March 1594 Hüdâyî was given the post of *vâiz* at Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han Mosque, replacing Mu'id Dede, and he carried this duty on Fridays.³⁰⁰ This appointment is said to have been through the intermediary of Sunnullah Efendi, the *kadiasker* of Rumelia at the period and three times *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* between 1599-1606.³⁰¹ In Muharrem 1007/August 1598 he was appointed 100 *akçe* daily salary from the endowment of the same Mosque.³⁰² However, by the time the building of his own mosque in Üsküdar was finished and he gave up Friday preaching at Fatih Mosque and accommodated Thursday *va'az* in MihruMah Sultan Mosque

²⁹⁷ Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 5. Mehmet Gülşen Efendi states that Hüdâyî was engaged in writing during his stay beside Rumi Mehmed Paşa Camii but does not mention how long he stayed there. Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 6.

²⁹⁸ *Silsilenâme*, p. 116-117. *Silsilenâme* also records some eighty thousand *guruş* being granted as *vakf* to Hüdâyî so that he was able to undertake the building of his *asitâne* by himself; *Silsilenâme*, p. 117.

²⁹⁹ 'Ata'î, p. 761.

³⁰⁰ 'Ata'î, p. 761; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 5.

³⁰¹ Gölpınarlı, "Djilwatiyya", p. 543; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Hüdâ'î", p. 538; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 458-460. Also see Tezeren, p. 21.

³⁰² 'Ata'î, p. 761; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 6.

in Üsküdar instead.³⁰³ In 1020/1611-1612 he was given the post of *vâiz* at Ahmed Han Mosque, which he carried on the first Mondays of every month.³⁰⁴

Hüdâyî died in early 1038/1628, during Murad IV's reign.³⁰⁵

There is no doubt that Hüdâyî owed his reputation to his close relationship with the sultans. However, his influence was also widespread among the population, especially of İstanbul and he had various well-known figures of the Ottoman society among his followers. Oğlanlar Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi (d.1655), Hocazade Es'ad Efendi (d.1625), Okçuzade Mehmed Şahî Efendi (d.1629), Nev'îzade 'Ata'î Efendi (d.1635) can be cited to mention a few.³⁰⁶ In the following chapter a closer look at Hüdâyî's relations with two of his followers and with the sultans is attempted in the light of the letters he sent to them.

³⁰³ 'Ata'î, p. 761; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyyât*, p. 6.

³⁰⁴ 'Ata'î, p. 791; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyyât*, p. 6. For this date see also Tezeren, p. 21; Yılmaz, p. 51-54. For all the *tekkes* of the Celvetiyye order and the mosques Hüdâyî served in Üsküdar see İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, Vol. 1 and Vol. 2, Türkiye Yeşilay Cemiyeti Yayınları, İstanbul, 1976.

³⁰⁵ 'Ata'î, p. 713. According to *Silsilenâme*, Hüdâyî was over 90 when he died, which suggests his birth date being before 1530, *Silsilenâme*, p. 119; Tezeren, p. 30; Yılmaz, p. 71. Though there are not any clear indications it has been stated by Mehmed Gülşen Efendi that Hüdâyî married Ayşe Sultan, granddaughter of Süleyman the Magnificent. It has been suggested that this marriage would have taken place after 991/1583, after the death of her second husband Feridun Bey, the author of *Münşe 'atû's-Selatin*. Ayşe Sultan died in 1003/1594-1595 and is buried in Hüdâyî türbesi. She is known to have granted *vakf*s for Hüdâyî and is known to have undertaken the building of a Celvetî *tekkesi* in İmrâhor in Üsküdar, known by her name. Tezeren, p. 27; Yılmaz, p. 69-70, 284. Tezeren states that Hüdâyî had eleven children. Evliya Mehmed Muhtar and Mustafa Ebrar (d. 1004), Ayşe (d. 1009), Ali Murtaza (d. 1010), Abdülvahid (d.1020), Ümmü Gülsüm (d. 1021), Fatma Zehra (d. 1024), Ahmed Sıddık (d. 1034), Ümmü Gülsüm (d. 1051), Zeyneb (d. 1052), Fatma Zehra (d. 1086), except the last three, all of whom died during Hüdâyî's lifetime. Tezeren, p. 28. See also Yılmaz, p. 72-74; Zülfikar, p. 47.

³⁰⁶ Yılmaz, p. 132-140. Peçevi İbrahim Efendi also mentions his being present in Hüdâyî's circles; Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, II, p. 334.

CHAPTER II: THE LETTERS

2.1. 'Mystic Answers'

Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne is the correspondence between Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî and one of his followers, Musâfî Efendi from Banyaluka. In its existing form in the libraries it appears as a single text of questions and answers.³⁰⁷

We know nothing about Musâfî Efendi except he is from Banyaluka. Banyaluka, today, is a town in Yugoslavia, in the north-western part of Bosnia, situated on both sides of the river Vrbas, and is a centre of culture and commerce of considerable importance in the district.³⁰⁸

Banyaluka was conquered by the Ottomans in 1528, during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent.³⁰⁹ The city owed its prosper to the movement of the residence of the governor of the *sancak* of Bosnia from Sarajevo to Banyaluka, during mid-sixteenth century, and to the merits of the first governors who resided in the town.³¹⁰ Banyaluka was the seat of the *beğlerbeği*, the capital city, of Bosnia, during Musâfî Efendi's acquaintance with the town, until it was removed to Sarajevo in 1638.³¹¹

³⁰⁷ Tezeren places *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* among the letters of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî. Tezeren, 81-82. Yılmaz considers it as a treatise of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî. Yılmaz, p. 116.

³⁰⁸ B. Djurdjev, "Banjaluka", *EP*, Vol. 1, p. 1017.

³⁰⁹ Aleksandre Popovic, *Balkanlarda İslam*, İnsan Yay., İstanbul, 1995, p. 185.

³¹⁰ Djurdjev, p. 1018, Halil İnalçık, "Dubrovnik and the Balkans", *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire. 1300-1914*, ed. Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 265-266.

³¹¹ İnalçık, "Dubrovnik and the Balkans", p. 265. In 1661, it was a flourishing town with two fortresses, 45 *mahalles*, 45 mosques, 300 shops, a *Bedesten*, and several *medreses* and baths, as reported by Evliya Çelebi who

Banyaluka probably benefited from the growing traffic of trade between Italy and the western Balkans like Dubrovnik, Albania and Bosnia Herzegovina, during the sixteenth century.³¹² The city became the scene of the rivalry between the Ottomans and the Austrians from late seventeenth century onwards.³¹³

It is not clear whether Musâfî Efendi was resident in Banyaluka during his affiliation with Hüdâyî or he was living in İstanbul, called as *Banyalukalı* as a legacy of his place of origin or of long-residence. Both cases seem probable as there are examples of establishing bond with a *şeyh* living in another place and receiving supervision from him during the ‘mystical journey’ through letters.³¹⁴

One question in *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* indicates that Musâfî Efendi felt the need to ask what should a *mürîd* do in case he is away from his *mürşid* and is in need of his divine grace to help the *mürîd* in his suffering from a hardship.³¹⁵ Depending on this question it may be assumed that Musâfî Efendi was residing in Banyaluka either making visits to İstanbul seeing Hüdâyî in person or corresponding with Hüdâyî in letters. It may also be assumed that Musâfî Efendi may have concluded his mystical education (*sülûk*) beside Hüdâyî and was preparing to go to his native town Banyaluka, maybe as a *halîfe* of him. However, his name is not mentioned by Yılmaz who gives a list of the *halîfes* of Hüdâyî.³¹⁶

visited the town in 1661. Survivals of the Ottoman rule is best exemplified with the Emperor’s Mosque, built immediately after the Turkish conquest, and with Ferhadiye Camii, built in 1579 by Ferhad Sokollu. There are remnants of 27 mosques in the town, surviving from times of the Ottoman rule. There is also a citadel which was built during the reign of Murad III (1595-1603) as the town’s second fortress. Djurdjev, p. 1017-1018.

³¹² İnalçık, “Dubrovnik and the Balkans”, p. 262-266.

³¹³ Djurdjev, p. 1018.

³¹⁴ See, Cemal Kafadar, *Rüya Mektupları: Asiye Hatun*, Oğlak Yay., İstanbul, 1994 (published first as “Mütereddid Bir Mutasavvîf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun’un Rüya Defteri 1641-1643”, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 5 (1992), p. 168-222).

³¹⁵ “Sû’âl: Mürîde bir müşgil hâl ‘ârız oldukda ve şeyhi uzak olub sormağa mecâl yok himmetinden istifâde istedikde nice etmek gerek?

Cevâb: Anın gibi vaktlerde şeyhi hâtıra tutûb diye ki yû Rab eyûlerin eyûsi hazret-i habîb-i ekrem hürmatine ve cümle evliyâullah hürmetine ve şeyhim filân hürmetine müşgilimi ‘ıyân eyle diye. Vakti mühim olana pâk abdest alub ve andan kıbleden yana şeyhi olduğu taraftan üç adım adım gide. Üçüncü adımda iki rek’at hâcet namâzı kıla ve vech-i meşrûh üzere istimdâd ide. Cümle müşgil hal ola bi-‘iznillahi ta’âlâ ve keremihi.” Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 3b; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr. 1461, p. 12a.

³¹⁶ See, Yılmaz, p. 125-131.

Another question in *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* is interesting in the sense that Musâfî Efendi asks what should be communicated to newcomers.³¹⁷ This question may be taken as an indication of Musâfî Efendi's having completed the initial period of his mystical education and being in a position of authority in the order.³¹⁸ Or it may be assumed that Musâfî Efendi had an official title like *müftülük* and thus was dealing with questions both about religion in general and about the order which he is known to be devoted to. This last assumption seems to be supported by another question of Musâfî Efendi in which he asks whether it is permitted for a *sâlik* of an order who had received approval of his competence from a *şeyh* to issue a *fetvâ* in case of a demand by a *sûfî*.³¹⁹ He may have felt the need to ask his *şeyh* whether he could act in accordance with his own judgement with respect to questions related with the Celvetiyye order. Hüdâyî states that it is permitted to issue a *fetvâ* to declare what *tarîk-i dîn* and *şer'-i mübîn* is in order to help the believers in their sufferings. Thus it may be assumed that Musâfî Efendi had a position of authority in the Celvetiyye order or he carried an official title which required him to issue *fetvâs*. This last question may also be taken as another indication of the distance between Hüdâyî and his *mürîd* Musâfî Efendi. What the above mentioned questions indicate is that Musâfî Efendi probably had a role in the spread of the Celvetiyye order in Banyaluka.

³¹⁷ "Sû'âl: Sâlik-i mübtedîye evvelden ne telkîn etmek gerekdir?"

Cevâb: Hemân tevhîd ibtidâdan ismarlayub muhkem tenbih etmek gerekdir. Hâline göre ümmîsine ve 'âlimine her birine bir dürlü hâl vardır. Tarikden ba'zı husûs anlatmak gerekdir." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 3a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 11a-11b.

³¹⁸ It may be assumed that Musâfî Efendi had the initial knowledge of mystic tradition with the teachings of another spiritual leader and sees himself authorised to direct the newcomers. He may have had affiliation with the Halvetiyye order as in another question he asks about the difference between the Halvetiyye and the Celvetiyye orders. See footnote 50. However this question in which he wants to learn the difference between the Halvetiyye and the Celvetiyye orders seems to reflect a general curiosity about the newly founded Celvetiyye order.

³¹⁹ "Sû'âl: Bir tarîkden sâlik ve şeyhden irâdat ve icâzete vâsıl olan sûfî-i müsteftâ ya'ni fetvâ taleb idenlere fetvâ vermek tarîkde var mıdır?"

Cevâb: Mümin müslimînin ızdırâb ve ızdırârında fetvâyla cevâb idüb tarîk-i dîn ve şer'-i mübîni beyân idüb ehl-i dîne fetvâ virse mâni' olmayıcak. Fetvâ virmek ve müslümânların müşgillerân hal etmek gâyet emr-i Mahmûddur. Böyle niyyet olub ve hakikatde vâkı' oldukda câ'izdir." Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 4b-5a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 13a-13b.

Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne may have taken its final form by Musâfî Efendi gathering together the questions and answers he had corresponded with Hüdâyî during (or before) his ritual of *bî'at* or in various instances (either through letters or in person). It may also be that Hüdâyî had given answers to Musâfî Efendi's questions which he presented at various instances in an organised letter, and copies of it preserved. It is also possible that one dervish present in Musâfî Efendi's ritual of *bî'at* had recorded these questions and answers.

Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne is introduced in the *mecmuas* as “Şeyh Mahmûd Efendi Üsküdârî ‘aleyhi’r-rahmeti’l-bârî hazretlerinden Banyalukalı Musâfî Efendi *bî'at* ettikleri sû’âllere virdikleri *ecvibe-i şerîfedir*.”³²⁰

Bî'at (or *bey'at*) *etmek* is “to take oath of fealty to a sovereign”.³²¹ In mystics' case it means the oath of allegiance taken by the *mürîd* to be absolutely loyal to his *şeyh*, which was usually undertaken as a ritual.³²² It probably had its origins in, *bî'atü'l-rıdvân* and *bî'atü'l-akabe*, the oath of allegiances taken by the Muslims to be absolutely loyal to Prophet Muhammad in different periods of the Prophet's life.

Early *sûfîs* believed that Prophet Muhammad exemplified in his life the way God wished men to live it, and that by modelling their lives on this they could draw near to God. They depended on the rich collections of *hadis* which provided them the model of life of the Prophet. However, another belief developed among the latter *sûfîs* that Prophet Muhammad's spirit actually lived on in others and one could look to those as sure guides in matters of religious belief and conduct. Those who bear the spirit of Muhammad (*Nûr-i Muhammedî*) were viewed as the supreme living interpreters of the *sünnet* and were given the title of *mürşid*. A true *mürşid* was believed to have been annihilated in the Prophet and thus in God and as God was the inspirer of all the Prophet's words and deeds he was also the inspirer of

³²⁰ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 2a; Süleymânîye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr. 1461, p. 10a.

³²¹ *A Turkish English Lexicon*.

all the true *mürşid* said and did. Thus, the *mürşid* came to be regarded as the earthly representative of the Prophet and following the example of the *mürşid* came to be a prerequisite for a *mürîd* to come closer to God. Depending on, especially two, *ayets* swearing allegiance to a *mürşid* became equivalent to swearing allegiance to the Prophet and therefore to God.³²³

It is known that these two concepts, *mürşid* and *bî'at* (the oath of allegiance), were integral principles of the Celvetiyye order, as in most of the other orders. In his *Letter to Münîrî Efendi from Belgrade*, Hüdâyî mentions that a *mürşid* is essential for a seeker of God. According to him, *sülûk* cannot be possible with one's logic or by reading. Being in the circle of a *mürşid-i kâmil* is essential and if it is not possible than the *mürîd* should be engaged in *zikr* and fasting.³²⁴ He also mentions that conversation with and serving the *mürşid* opens the way for reaching the stages of '*ayn-i tevhîd*. In *Tarîkatnâme*, which is a brief description of the principles of the Celvetiyye order, the explanations with respect to the importance of a *mürşid* occupies an important space. Here, Hüdâyî acknowledges the importance of a *mürşid-i kâmil* by referring to a tradition of the Prophet. He mentions that a seeker of God, a *mürîd*, should first of all take oath of allegiance to a *şeyh* (the *mürşid*) whom he could choose by depending on his heart. He points out that the *mürîd* should be loyal to his oath both in times of prosperity and in times of hardship. He also lists the provisions as told by the Prophet to those who took oath of allegiance to him as; they should worship God and only God, observe the daily prayers (*namaz*) in time, obey the command of God and not demand anything from anybody. Hüdâyî mentions that a *mürîd* should not hide any secret of him from his *mürşid*

³²² Süleyman Uludağ, *Tassavuf Terimleri Sözlüğü*, p. 99. See Tezeren, p. 51 for a short description of the ritual of *bî'at* in the Celvetiyye order.

³²³ Öztürk, *The Eye of the Heart*, p. 21-25. The *mürşid* was viewed as a metaphorical father (or mother), through whose personality God works to bring humanity to true maturity, an idea which drove from the belief of "the second birth" of the *sâfîs*, depending on *ayets* from Kur'ân and traditions of the Prophets Muhammad and Jesus. *Ibid*, p. 21-25.

³²⁴ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Belgradlı Münîrî Efendi'ye Mektub*, in Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşîrağa nr.653, p. 171b-172b; in Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr.269, p. 28a-29b; Sahnâf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 123-124. Also in Zülfikar, p. 227-229.

and should not engage in any other *zîkr* than that is assigned by his *mürşid*. He refers to Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî who talked about eight conditions for one to utilise from the process of *sülûk*, one of which is absolutely surrender to his *şeyh* with all his heart. If his heart draws near to another *şeyh* than he could not get deeper in the knowledge of *bâtın* and that his heart cannot find peace, as mentioned by most of the great *sûfîs*.³²⁵ *Tarîkatnâme* also gives various details about the respect that a *mürîd* should show towards his *şeyh*.

In *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* two questions are related with the role of the *mürşid* in the Celvetiyye order. From the answer Hüdâyî gives to the above cited question of Musâfî Efendi about what should a *mürîd* do in case he is away from his *mürşid* and is in need of his divine grace, we learn that even if a *mürîd* is away from his *mürşid*, he can benefit from his divine grace by praying God to grant help for the sake of the Prophet, the great religious men and for the sake of his *mürşid*.³²⁶ This same point is also found in *Tarîkatnâme*.³²⁷ From another answer Hüdâyî gives to a question about whether it is permitted to perform all of the devotional practices that are found in the books on *tasavvuf*, we learn that Hüdâyî advises a *mürîd* to perform only those practices which his *şeyh* sees fit for him. Here Hüdâyî admits that all types of worship that are in line with Kur'ân and *sünnet* are good, however, he continues, those practices which are assigned by the *mürşid* are auspicious for the *mürîd* because a true *mürşid* would assign his *mürîd* the practices that are most suitable for his condition, which the *mürîd* is unable to discern.³²⁸

³²⁵ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tarikatname*, in Sahhaf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 3-12; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 21-29. Also in Zülfikar, p. 206-218.

³²⁶ See footnote 315.

³²⁷ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tarikatname*, in Sahhaf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 3-12; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 21-29. Also in Zülfikar, p. 206-218.

³²⁸ "Sû'âl: Asl-ı tasavvûf kitâblarında ba'zı 'ibâdât yazılır. Anların cümlesiyle 'amel câ'iz midir?

Cevâb: Kitâb ve sünnet muvâfık olan 'ibâdât cümle güzeldir. Lakin mürîde şeyhi ta'yîn etdüğü ibâdât ana hayırludur. Zirâ şeyhi hakikî olan mürîdin istihkâkını görür ana göre 'ibâdât ismarlar yabana ve kudreti yetmediği sûfî bilmez. Belki sâfi ana mühim olan 'ibâdâtı ider ve merâtibi kat' ider." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 4a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr. 1461, p. 12b.

As mentioned in Chapter I, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* includes information on the concept of *ru'yâ*; on the proper conduct of *tevhîd zikri*, which is a basic devotional practice in the Celvetiyye order; on rules governing *halvet*, another integral devotional practice observed in the order; and on the difference of the Celvetiyye order from the Halvetiyye order.³²⁹ Apart from information with respect to these concepts of *ru'yâ*, *tevhîd zikri*, *halvet* and differences between the Halvetiyye and the Celvetiyye orders, dealt with in Chapter I, we also learn from *Ecvibe-i Şerîfe* some more details with respect to the principles of the Celvetiyye order.

One interesting question, which may be viewed in the context of one of the topics raised by the Kadızâdelis in challenging the dervish orders, is about whether *devr* is approved during (probably collective) *zikr* and *tevhîd* in order to bring joy and freshness to the ritual. Hüdâyî answers that whirling of the *zâkirs* slowly is permitted as it increases enthusiasm for *zikr*. However, he mentions exceeding the permitted limit is absolutely in-allowable. He sets the limit as one's being in control of his actions so that he may not act against good manners.³³⁰

Hüdâyî's answer to the question of Musâfî Efendi about the proper conduct of *tevhîd zikri* during *halvet* is important in the sense that it includes his definition of *zikr-i cehrî*. According to him one's hearing his *zikr* himself and the one just beside him is enough. In order to prevent indolence and as long as one enjoys it one would practice *zikr-i cehrî*. However, it is clear that Hüdâyî finds *zikr-i ahfâ* and *tefekkün* superior to *zikr-i cehrî*.³³¹

³²⁹ See The Life: The Seen and the Unseen.

³³⁰ "Sû'âl: Tevhîd ve zikr kıyâmen oldukda tefrîh ve tatribşâdılık hâl için bir mikdâr devr olunsâ câ'iz midir? Cevâb: Edebi ri'âyet için [one word illegible] oturub ve durub hakkı zikr etmektir. Bir mikdâr âheste âheste zâkirler dönseler zikre şevk ziyâdeliğinden ötürî câ'iz görmüşler. Lakin bu mikdâra icâzet virildikde hadden bîrûnuna ve tarikden efzûnuna kat'en câ'iz değildir. Bi-edebâne işden akal başta iken hâzer lâzımdır. Akal başdan gidicek âdem ne etdüğini bilmeyecek ana mukarrerdir ve ehl-i insâf eylemez." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 4b; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 13a.

³³¹ "Sû'âl: Halvetde iken âdem tevhîd-i cehrle mi ahfâ ile mi etmek gerkdir. Kangısı evlâdır? Cevâb: Cehr şu mikdâr dinürkim kendi özi ve yanındaki işide. Keselî oldukda ve cehrden tab'î ziyâde safâ da eyledikde safâsı iktizâsına göre cehre teveccüh ede. Andan ahfâ ve tefekkür mu'teberdir." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 4a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 12b.

One question is related with whether reading of Kur'ân-ı Şerîf during supererogatory worships performed after midnight should be aloud or silent. Hüdâyî acknowledges that one should be worshipping God in the way that he sees better.³³² When Musâfî Efendi asks when should Kur'ân-ı Şerîf be read Hüdâyî mentions Kur'ân's being the word of God and its being fine to read it at any time.³³³

Another question is related with whether the prayer should be made long or short. From the answer we learn that some should be made long and some should be made short. Hüdâyî defines prayer as a demand from God Almighty and advises that one should comfort his heart by increasing his addressing God according to his demand and wish. He stresses that the place of prayer should be observed.³³⁴

When Musâfî Efendi asks whether it is allowed to accompany those out of the order in a place, Hüdâyî answers that being in places that agrees with *Kur'ân* and *sünnet* is permitted whereas leaving circles that are contrary to *Kur'ân* and *sünnet* is a requirement of the (Celvetiyye) order.³³⁵

Though it does not provide us with any political concerns of the age, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne* stands as a piece of information on concepts related with the dervish orders in general and the Celvetiyye order in particular, which Musâfî Efendi wanted to learn in order to observe his oath of allegiance to be absolutely loyal to his *mürşid*, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî.

³³² "Sû'âl: Gice teheccüdlerde Kur'ân'ı cehr ile mi ahfâ ile mi okumak evlâdır?"

Cevâb: Tedbir ve tefekkür ve Rabbü'l-'izzete münâcâta kangısı ana ahsen görünürse anınla 'ibâdet ide." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 4a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 12b.

³³³ "Sû'âl: Kur'ân-ı şerîfi tevhidde olanlar ne zamân okumak evlâdır?"

Cevab: Kur'ân zikrullahdır. Her vaktde okumak güzeldir ve [one word illegible] aslı yazılmışdır. Anda yoklana." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 4a; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 12b.

³³⁴ "Sû'âl: Âdem du'â etdikde tatvîl mi ihtisâr mı evlâdır?"

Cevâb: Du'â Hakk sübhânehu ve ta'âlâ hazretlerinden bir istekdir. İstedüğüne ve hâcetine göre kalbini münâcâta ziyâde ile tesellî ide ve du'â mahallini dahî gözetmek gerekdir. Ba'zı yerde tafsil ba'zı yerde ihtisâr ister. Mahalli ri'âyet lâzımdır." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 4a-4b; Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar nr.1461, p. 13a.

³³⁵ "Sû'âl: Kendü tarıkdaşları olmayanlar ile bir yerde sohbet etmek câ'iz midir?"

2.2. Letters to a Statesman

Halil Paşa was born probably around 1560s, in the village of Zeytun in the province of Maraş, which was an Armenian village at that time.³³⁶ He was recruited through the *devşirme* and became an *iç-oğlanı*.³³⁷

“A palace page of the *Enderûn*, of slave origin or recruited through the *devşirme*, who had not yet been promoted to any post, was known as *oghlan* or *ic-oghlani*”.³³⁸ The *devşirme* system was a most important innovation which the Ottomans introduced into the *gulam system*, which they had inherited from the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, and probably developed from the practice of taking into Palace service or into the army the young sons of members of the local military class in newly conquered regions, which is seen as early as the reign of Bayezid I.³³⁹ It meant periodical levy of Christian children for training to fill the ranks of the Janissaries and to occupy posts in the Palace service and in the administration.³⁴⁰ Those *devşirme* boys who were physically and characteristically seen as best were selected and sent, as *acemi oğlanları* to the Galata Palace and İbrahim Paşa Palace in İstanbul and to palaces in Edirne and Manisa. After going through a strictly disciplined education for two to eight years they went through a second process of selection, known as *çıkma*, and the best

Cevâb: Kitâb-i sünnete muvafık olan yerlerde sohbet câ'izdir. Bunların gayrı terk etmek tarîk iktizâsındandır.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Ecvibe-i Mutasavvifâne*, Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 269, p. 3b; Süleymânîye Kütüphanesi Yazma Başlıklar nr.1461, p. 12a.

³³⁶ A. H. De Groot, “Khalil Pasha Kaysariyyeli”, *EI*², Vol. IV, p. 970-972. Kramers suggests that he is from the village of Zeytun (or Rusvan) situated around Kayseri, J. H. Kramers, “Halil Paşa, Kayserili”, *İA.*, Vol. V, p. 160-161. Uzunçarşılı cites his being from the village of Zeytin of Maraş. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III.Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 370.

³³⁷ De Groot, “Khalil Pasha Kaysariyyeli”, p. 970; Also De Groot, “Halil Paşa, Kayserili”, *DİA*, Vol. 15, p. 324-326. There are the records of an extensive *devşirme* which included both Rumelia and Beğşehir-Maraş and Bilecik regions in 1573-1574, which realised recruitment of 8,000 boys. V. L. Ménage, “Devshirme”, *EI*², Vol. 2, p. 212.

³³⁸ Halil İnalçık, “Ghulam”, *EI*², p. 1085.

³³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 1086.

³⁴⁰ Ménage, “Devshirme”, *EI*², Vol. 2, p. 210.

were taken into two departments of the Palace where the Sultan resided; the *Büyük Oda* and the *Küçük Oda*, where they passed all their time with education and physical training, usually for four years. Their initial education included learning reading and writing, the principles of Muslim faith, and Kur'ân, after which each could specialise according to his own capabilities and inclinations. They also learned the Islamic sciences and literature of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, calligraphy, *inşa'*, arithmetic, *siyakat*, music, horsemanship and the management of arms. They were put through another process of selection by which they were taken into various services at the port. The future promotions and awards were made according to their efficiency and seniority.³⁴¹ The main aim of this Palace training was to promote absolute loyalty and obedience in the service of the Sultan. It was a principle in the Ottoman administrative system that the sultan's executive power, the *örf-i sultani*, should be delegated only to his *kuls* and in the sixteenth century the term *ehl-i örf* meant slaves with the authority to carry out the Sultan's orders.³⁴² Thus Halîl Paşa's fate was determined as being an absolutely loyal *kul* of the sultan during the late sixteenth century.

We see Halîl Paşa appointed as *Çakırcıbaşı*³⁴³ in 1606 and as *Ağa* of the Janissaries in 1607.³⁴⁴ Both posts belonged to the *Bîrûn*, the second complex of departments in the Palace, other than the *Enderûn*, whose departments were composed of the services related with the sultan's relations with the outside world.³⁴⁵ The retainers of these posts were known as the *özengi-ağaları* (or *rikab-ağaları*) together with other heads of the departments of the *Bîrûn*, since they were entitled to ride beside the sultan. These *özengi ağaları* were usually promoted

³⁴¹ İnalçık, "Ghulam", p. 1088.

³⁴² *ibid*, p. 1087.

³⁴³ *Çakırcıbaşı*, called *mîr-i şikâr*, was the head of the *şikâr halkı* (the *doğancıs*) at the *Bîrûn* which was organised under three groups; the *çakırcıyan* (taking care of merlins and falcons), the *şahinciyan* (taking care of peregrine falcons), and *atmacıyan* (taking care of the sparrow-hawks), Halil İnalçık, "Doghandji", *ET*², Vol. 2, p. 614-615. In the hierarchy of *Ağas* at the *Bîrûn* the *Çakırcıbaşı* stood in the seventh grade, the first being *Yeniçeri-ağası*, under the regulation of Süleyman the Magnificent, İnalçık, "Ghulam", p. 1089. Also see B. Lewis, "Çakırdji-Bashi", *ET*², Vol. 2, p. 6.

³⁴⁴ De Groot, p. 970. Kramers suggests that he was appointed first as *doğancı-başı* and accompanied Mehmed III in his campaign against Hungary in 1596, Kramers, p. 160-161. *Gazânâme-i Halil Paşa* verifies his participation

or transferred to the command of a *sancak* or a *beğlerbeğlik*. After sixteenth century, however, they began to receive appointments as *beğlerbeği* and vizier and it was possible for an *Ağa* of the Janissaries to be appointed directly as Grand Vizier.³⁴⁶ During his term of office as *Çakırcıbaşı*, Halil Paşa is known to have established close relations with foreign ambassadors, among whom was the French Ambassador Baron de Salignac.³⁴⁷ This peculiarity of Halil Paşa, later, caused him to be praised by the foreign historians especially the Venetian, the Dutch and the French, as a wise and moderate statesman.³⁴⁸

Halil Paşa accompanied *serdar* Kuyucu Murad Paşa in the campaign against Kalenderoğlu Mehmed and Canbolatoğlu Ali Paşa who had rebelled in Anatolia and in his services in eastern Anatolia as the *Ağa* of the Janissaries and distinguished himself. Groot suggests that Halil Paşa's career may have been promoted by the fact that his elder brother, Şahid Ali Paşa, had occupied influential posts in the government, like the Chief Falconer (*doğancı-başı*)³⁴⁹, *Beğlerbeği* and Vizier, had been boon-companion (*musahib*) of Murad III and had been killed in 1589 during the "Beglerbeği Incident".³⁵⁰

In 1609 Halil Paşa was appointed as *Kapudan Paşa*, replacing Hafız Ahmed Paşa, and he also carried the title *Cezayir Beğlerbeği*. It is suggested that Kuyucu Murad Paşa was influential in his appointment as *Kaptan-ı Deryâ*.³⁵¹ As the admiral of the Ottoman navy, Halil Paşa carried out the tasks of ferrying over the army of the Grand Vizier Murad Paşa to Asia for a campaign against the rebels and of fighting against the corsairs in the Mediterranean. These Maltese corsairs were blockading Kıbrıs and preventing the security of

in the Egri campaign, Victor Ostapchuk, "An Ottoman Gazânâme On Halil Pasa's Naval Campaign Against the Cossacks (1621)", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, XIV/3-4, Massachusetts 1990, p. 484.

³⁴⁵ İnalcık, "Ghulam", p. 1089.

³⁴⁶ *ibid*, p. 1986.

³⁴⁷ De Groot, p. 970.

³⁴⁸ *ibid*, p. 972, Kramers, p. 161.

³⁴⁹ Head of the *doğancı*s at the *Enderûn*, see İnalcık, "Doghandji", p. 614-615. See footnote 343.

³⁵⁰ De Groot, p. 970. Uzunçarşılı and Danişmend cite this brother as Mehmed Paşa; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım; p. 370; Danişmend, p. 265.

³⁵¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım; p. 370.

the trade route to Mısır.³⁵² When he defeated the Maltese and captured the 'Red Galleon', called as '*karacehennem*' by the Turks, commanded by the Chevalier de Fraissinet, in 1609 he was given Vizirate by Ahmed I on his return to İstanbul.³⁵³ He tried to establish an offensive alliance between the Dutch Republic, Morocco and the Ottoman Empire against Spain during his vizirate, a project which Venedic and France opposed.³⁵⁴

During the period between 1611 and 1613 he was deprived of the admiralship and Damad Mehmed Paşa replaced him. He continued his activities to establish an alliance with the Dutch and made Cornelis Haga, the Dutch envoy, received and recognised as ambassador of the Dutch Republic by Ahmed I in 1612 despite Venetian and French intrigues.³⁵⁵

He became *Kapudan Paşa* for the second time in 22 November, 1613. During his second admiralship he engaged in the re-equipment of the navy, undertook a raid on Malta, and suppressed the rebellious Greeks in Maina district. He had the support of Ahmed I in his project of the enlargement of the Ottoman navy. He also gave a new try to the negotiations to establish alliance with the Dutch, but failed because of the pacific policy of the Dutch followed against Spain at the period and because of the general public opinion in Europe against such an alliance.³⁵⁶ He was successful in re-establishing Ottoman authority in Algeria and Tunis, where he executed the local insurgent Sefer Dayi, and in curtailing the corsair raids against the English and Dutch merchant-shipping in the Mediterranean.³⁵⁷ He send a squadron into the Black Sea to meet the Cossack naval raids, and pursued a campaign in the Aegean Sea, against the contraband trade carried by Dutch merchants.³⁵⁸

³⁵² Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2 Kısım, p. 371.

³⁵³ Uzunçarşılı; *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım; p. 371; De Groot, "Khalil Pasha Kaysarıyyeli", p. 970; Kramers, p. 160.

³⁵⁴ De Groot, p. 970.

³⁵⁵ De Groot, p. 970; Kramers, p. 160. For Cornelis Haga see Bülent Arı, "İlk Osmanlı-Hollanda Münasebetleri", *Osmanlı*, p. 496-497.

³⁵⁶ De Groot, p. 970.

³⁵⁷ Danişmend, p. 259-260.

³⁵⁸ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 371, De Groot, p. 970; Kramers, p. 160.

He was appointed Grand Vizier by Ahmed I on 17 November, 1616, upon advice given by the *Divân*.³⁵⁹ During his Grand Vizirate he abolished the levying of *haraç* on subjects of the four capitulatory nations in the Empire in order to promote diplomatic relations. On June 15, 1617, he left for the campaign against Persia as *serdâr-i ekrem*.³⁶⁰ The Ottoman army was defeated near Erdebil and on September 1618 Halîl Paşa concluded peace with Iran with the same terms as previous treaties, however the Persian tribute of silk was reduced. This treaty of Serav was ratified by Osman II and stayed in effect until 1624.³⁶¹

By November 22, 1617 Ahmed I (1603-1617) had died and Mustafa I, his brother, had become the Sultan. The first sultanate of Mustafa I lasted three months and Osman II (1618-1622), Ahmed I's son, became the Sultan on February 26, 1618.³⁶² Though Halîl Paşa, being in Turco-Persian border, had no participation in the events following Ahmed I's death, on his return he learned that he was dismissed from Grand Vizirate (January 18, 1619). He was offered the post of *beğlerbeği* of Damascus but he did not accept it. We see Halîl Paşa seeking refuge beside Hüdâyî in this period.³⁶³ It is suggested that the tension between Osman II and Halîl Paşa was softened with the intermediary role Hüdâyî played.³⁶⁴ Halîl Paşa was still keeping the rank of vizier and member of the *Divân* which was probably due to his being a popular and capable vizier.³⁶⁵

He was appointed to the post of *Kapudan Paşa* for the third time in December 23, 1619 which is said to be due to Hüdâyî's influence.³⁶⁶ This time he was serving under the former admiral who became Grand Vizier and enjoyed less power than he did before. He continued his anti-Spanish policy and advised Osman II to invade the territory of Spain rather than to attack Venice, which possessed a strong navy during the period. He thought Moroccan

³⁵⁹ Danişmend, p. 259-264-265.

³⁶⁰ Danişmend, p. 259-266.

³⁶¹ De Groot, p. 971; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*; III. Cilt, I. Kısım; p. 68; Danişmend, p. 259-266.

³⁶² Aktepe, M. Münir, "Mustafa I", *İ.A.*, p. 692-695; Şinasi Altundağ, "Osman II", *İ. A.*, Vol. IX, p. 443-448.

³⁶³ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Kısım, 2. Cilt; p. 371; Kramers, p. 160, De Groot, p. 971.

³⁶⁴ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Kısım, 2. Cilt; p. 371; Tezeren, p. 65; Yılmaz, p. 133.

³⁶⁵ De Groot, p. 971; Kramers, p. 160.

support could be obtained against the Spaniards. However, Osman II was desiring war against Poland, despite the opposition of both Halîl Paşa and the Grand Vizier, who preferred war against Hungary. During the winter of 1620 he was present in the mouth of Danube with his fleet to support the Sultan's army, in the summer he attacked Manfredonia to meet the Spanish hostilities. In 1621 he was in the Black Sea, keeping off the Cossacks, to support the Poland campaign of Osman II.³⁶⁷

During the revolt of the Janissaries in May 20, 1622, which resulted in the massacre of Osman II, Halîl Paşa remained in a ship lying off Seraglio Point.³⁶⁸ He preferred staying out of the turmoil in İstanbul and refused the offers of vizirate by the Vâlide Sultan.³⁶⁹ In 1622, he set out for the yearly cruise. He was dismissed from admiralship by the new Grand Vizier Merre Hüseyin Paşa and was sent to Malkara in Thrace in April 1623.

His known influence on Abaza Mehmed Paşa, who had revolted in Erzurum to take the revenge of Osman II, made him re-appointed as a vizier during the early days of the reign of Murad IV (1623-1640) with the advice of Vâlide Sultan. On December 2, 1626, he was appointed Grand Vizier by Murad IV, with the tasks of negotiating with Abaza Mehmed Paşa and of finalising the war with Iran by a treaty. The reason for his appointment was due to Abaza Mehmed Paşa's being his protégé since 1608 when Halîl Paşa had pardoned his being a follower of Canbolat Ali Paşa, a relation which needs clarification with further studies.³⁷⁰ He is known to have visited Hüdâyî before leaving İstanbul and Hüdâyî is said to have uttered nothing other than reminding him his previous *serdârlık*. Later this silence of Hüdâyî and his referring to the previous *serdârlık* of Halîl Paşa which brought no remarkable results, was considered as a sign of Hüdâyî's having foreseen Halîl Paşa's failure in undertaking the given

³⁶⁶ Kramers, p. 160; Tezeren, p. 65; Yılmaz, p. 133.

³⁶⁷ De Groot, p. 971; Danişmend, p. 282.

³⁶⁸ Danişmend, p. 297.

³⁶⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 372; De Groot, p. 971; Kramers, p. 161.

³⁷⁰ Danişmend, p. 335-337.

tasks.³⁷¹ As had been foreseen by Hüdâyî, Halîl Paşa neither succeeded in coming to terms with Abaza Mehmed Paşa and forcing his submission, nor could he prevented the loss of Ahıska to Iran. Halîl Paşa, during his admiralship had given Abaza Mehmed the task of leading a gallion and during his vizirate appointed him as the governor of Maraş. His previously having favoured Abaza Mehmed Paşa and his proving unsuccessful against his revolt had caused hostility among the Janissaries against Halîl Paşa.³⁷² Thus, he was dismissed on April 6, 1628 from Grand Vizirate but retained his rank of vizier until his death the next year, on 7 August 1629.³⁷³

Halîl Paşa's *türbe* is near the *tekke* of Hüdâyî in Üsküdar, and the *Kapıcı Tekkesi* beside Hüdâyî *Türbesi* in Üsküdar is attributed to him.³⁷⁴

Halîl Paşa who was brought up as a *kul* of the sultan served as Grand Vizier twice (1617-1619, 1626-1628) and as *Kapudan Paşa* four times (1608-1610, 1614-1617, 1619-1622, 1623). He is said to have links with various mystical orders, among which were Melâmî-Hamzaviyye, Şabaniyye, Halvetiyye.³⁷⁵ However, he is known to have had the closest relation with Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî as his foremost spiritual guide and to have taken refuge beside this influential *şeyh* who enjoyed prestige in the Palace, during the crisis periods of his life.

A letter in *Tezâkir* may be assumed to have been written on the occasion of Hüdâyî's playing an intermediary role between the sultan and Halîl Paşa. In this letter, which was referred to in the previous chapter, Hüdâyî reminds the sultan of his duty to protect and hold in esteem the believers, and also to contend with the enemies of religion, in accordance with *emânet* and *hilâfet*. After expressing his distress for the effort spent on wars against Iran and

³⁷¹ Hüdâyî is known to have said: "A beyim, bir defa daha serdar olmuş idin", Yılmaz, p. 133; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 372.

³⁷² Kramers, p. 161; Danişmend, p. 316, 329.

³⁷³ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 372; Danişmend, p. 335-336, 339.

³⁷⁴ Yılmaz, p. 134, 287-288.

³⁷⁵ De Groot, p. 971-972.

his opinion that even if a small proportion of this effort was spent on the struggle in the west, numerous conquests would have occurred, Hüdâyî mentions a certain commander of the navy and praises him for his success and loyalty. He mentions that the common opinion of the *ulemâ* and *ukalâ* for this Admiral's staying in his position of commandership so that the unbelievers would be frightened. With considerable attention and preparation of any supply needed, he would certainly get an occasion of advantage with increased menace. He draws the attention of the sultan to the scarcity and dearth as narrated by the weak people of the region. This *Kapudan* would serve with pure esteem and attachment to the sultan and the path of *tüccâr* and *huccâc* would be made safe, various towns of the enemies would be conquered, *şeriat* would be restored and *devlet ü saltanat* would be expanded. Finally he mentions the sultan's being very merciful and compassionate to, and the most exalted among, the captive Muslims and the weak and poor who have to hide their faiths in the hands of the enemies.³⁷⁶

This letter may be considered to have been written to Osman II, during whose early reign Halîl Paşa suffered from accusations against him for not having supported the sultan's coming to the throne. Hüdâyî is known to have eliminated this tension between Osman II and Halîl Paşa and this letter may be signifying the intermediary role played by Hüdâyî. However, as the name of the *Kapudan* is not given and as there is no date in the letter one should be cautious about this letter's being written certainly to Osman II and that certain *Kapudan*'s being certainly Halîl Paşa.

³⁷⁶ "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvettlü pâdişâhım (...) 'Âmme-i ehl-i imân ve şeri'atini ri'âyet ve hâssa-i ehl-i takvâ ve tarikat himâyet ve sıyânet ile me'mûrsunuz. Muktezâ-yi emânet ve hilafet 'amme-i a'dâ-yi din ü millet ile mücâdele ve mücâhede ile de me'mûrsunuz. Mehmâ emken bezl-i 'azîmet ve taslî-i himmet ile lâzımdır. Husûsan Frenk'le cidâl ve cenk farz olmuştur. Kızılbaş-i bed-ma'âş ile olan kutâl ü cidâl[in] 'öş[r]ü sarf olunsa külli fetihler zuhûr iderdi. İnşallah husûsan Kapudan kulunuz kadîmden uğurlu ve nâmdar ve bir de hulûs ile hizmetkâr ve dilâver emekdâr bendenizdir. Ve bahrde de inşallah beş bu mikdâr izhâr-i âsâr iderlerdi. İcmâ'-i 'ulemâ ve 'ukalâ bunun üzerinedir ki mücerred Kapudan olmak ile kalub küffâra korku düşmesidir. Küllice takayyüd ve tedârik olunur ise iz'âf-i muzâ'afe ra'b ile [merfika] ve mergûb ü lehleri mukarrerdir. Husûsan bu yıl o cânibde ziyâde kaht ü galâ varmış. Za'ifleri mukarrir imiş. Bu kulunuz [...] hulûs ile hizmet [edüb] tarik-i tüccâr ve huccâcdan değenle izâle olub nice bilâd-i a'dâ feth olunub ihyâ-yi şeri'at ve intişâr-i devlet ü saltanat olmak ekser ihtimâldir. (...) A'dâ elinde giriftâr olan üserâ-yi müslimin ve ol diyârdan imânları ketm idüb gizlü me'unetde ve [meşakkatde] ve tazarru'da ve münâcâtde ve feryâdda ve figânda [...] deyyüb inleşen ve ağlaşan zu'afâ ve mesâkîne eşfak ve erham ve a'azzsınız. Ve's-selâm ale'd-devâm.", Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizde nr. 323, p. 53b-54a.

Another letter in *Tezâkir* also includes a praise of a certain commander of the navy by Hüdâyî.³⁷⁷ However, just like the above, this letter also does not give any clue about which sultan is addressed and name of the *Kapudan Paşa* is not mentioned.³⁷⁸

Letters to Halîl Paşa, give us only little details about the content of the dialog between Hüdâyî and Halîl Paşa.³⁷⁹

Apart from the letters which are written on the occasion of the coming of the new year and on the occasion of some religious days like the day of *aşura*, *mevlid kandili* or *bayram*³⁸⁰, there are some others which indicate that Hüdâyî's spiritual guidance extended into the political responsibilities of Halîl Paşa.

Hüdâyî frequently advises Halîl Paşa to be obedient to and in the service of God, both at home and during his missions at various places.³⁸¹ Some letters indicate that Hüdâyî was

³⁷⁷ "Husûsan deryâ tarîki tarîk-i huccâc-i beytu'l-illah ve sebîl-i zuvvâr-i Resûlu'l-illah yoludur. Ve Kapudan Paşa kulunuz da inşallah tamâm eridir ve dilâveridir.", Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 33a.

³⁷⁸ For these two letters see also Güven, p. 73-76.

³⁷⁹ The record in Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 262 manuscript which remarks that the presented letters are those Hüdâyî sent to Halîl Paşa and to others, implies being cautious about all of the letters' being sent certainly to Halîl Paşa, especially after the twelfth letter. The first twelve letters coincides with the twelve letters in Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi İbrahim Efendi nr. 412 manuscript which are introduced with the remark that the presented letters are those Hüdâyî sent to Halîl Paşa. (p. 26b-27b) Despite this I have considered rest of the letters in Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 262 manuscript as being sent to Halîl Paşa due to the uniformity of style in all of them. (There are twenty-eight letters in Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr. 262 manuscript, p. 2a-6b.)

³⁸⁰ Hûve'l-hâdî

da'vât-i hâlisât ve tahiyyât-i tayyibât ithâf ve ihdâ kılındıktan sonra fakîrâne inhâ olunur ki; eyûler ve hoşlar mısız ve hâliniz nicedir? Dâ'imâ sıhhat ve selâmetde olasız. Sultân-i kevneyn ve Resûl-i sekaleyn 'âlem-i dünyâyı teşrif buyurdıkları şehr-i şerîf mübârek olub Hazret-i Rabb-i 'izzet kemâl-i kereminden cümlemize tevîk ü hidâyet ve lutf ü 'inâyet ide. Hediyeünüz vusûl bulmuşdur. Tekabbe'l-illah.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁸¹ Hûve'l-hâdî

gıbbe-i feth-i ebvâb-i kelâm bi-mefâtihi et-tehiyyat ve 's-selâm muhlisâne inhâ ve i'lâm olunur ki; eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? Mizâc-i şerîfiniz nicedir? Dâ'imâ sıhhat ve selâmetde ve devlet-i sa'âdetde olasız. Seferde ve hazerde hâzır ve nâzır olan Hazret-i Melik-i Kâdir'in rızâ-yı şerîfin tahiline ihtimâm ve dâ'imâ cenâb-i pâkine ittikâl ve i'tisâm üzere olasız. Ve men ya 'tesîm bi-llahi fekad hudiye ilâ sıratın müstakîmin. Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd. The complete form of the ayet (3 (Al-i İmran)/101) is: "Size Allah'ın ayetleri okunurken, üstelik Allah Resûlü de aranızda iken nasıl inkâra saparsınız? Her kim Allah'a bağlanırsa kesinlikle doğru yola iletilmiştir."

Hûve'l-hâdî

da'vât-i hâlisât ve tahiyyât-i tayyibât ithâf ve ihdâ kılındıktan sonra fakîrâne inhâ olunur ki; eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? Mizâc-ı şerîf ve 'anâsır-ı latîf nicedir? Dâ'imâ sıhhat ve 'âfiyetde ve devlet-i sa'âdetde olasız. 'Abd-i mü'mine lâyük seferde ve hazerde ve bahırda ve yerde hâzır ve 'ibâdın ahvâlîne nâzır olan Hazret-i Melik-i Mute'âl cânibine i'tisâm ve ittikâl üzere olmaktadır. Ve men yetevekkel 'alâ'l-llahi fehuve hasbuhu.

having full information on Halîl Paşa's going and returning from abroad, a point which signify that the two were in close correspondence during both Halîl Paşa's presence in İstanbul and abroad.³⁸² In one letter which is probably sent while Halîl Paşa was abroad, Hüdâyî prays for his returning home in safety.³⁸³ A letter of interest reveals Halîl Paşa's having asked Hüdâyî about the proper day for starting out a certain campaign. Hüdâyî in his answer depicts the first Monday of June as a blessed day and sends his prayers for a well start and for God's granting help for victory.³⁸⁴ In another letter Hüdâyî seems showing interest in a campaign under the responsibility of Halîl Paşa.³⁸⁵ One letter indicates Hüdâyî's having been informed of the discussions in the palace about the necessity of a certain campaign.³⁸⁶

Two letters indicate that Hüdâyî and Halîl Paşa exchanged remarks about palace intrigues.³⁸⁷

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd. The complete form of the *ayet* (65 (et-Talak)/3) is: "Ve ona beklemediği yerden rızık verir. Kim Allah'a güvenirse O, ona yeter. Şüphesiz Allah, emrini yerine getirendir. Allah her şey için bir ölçü koymuştur."

³⁸² *Hûve'l-hâdî*

cevâhir-i da'vât ithâf ve ihdâ kılındıktan sonra muhlisâne inhâ olunur ki; eyüler ve hoşlar mısız? Mizâc-i şerîf nice dir? Kudûm-i şerîfinüz mübârek ola. Her hâlde cenâb-i Rabbü'l-'izzete i'tisâm ve ittikâlde olası. Hazret-i Melik-i Kâdir cümlemize mu'în ve nâsır ola. (süvvide bi'l-'aceleh)

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁸³ *Hûve'l-hâdî*

Ba'de't-teslîm ve't-tevkîr inhâ-i dâ'î-i kaîm budur ki; eyüler ve hoşlar mısız? Hâliniz nice dir? Dâ'imâ sıhhat ve selâmetde olası. 'İyd-i şerîf mübârek ola. Allah subhânehu ve ta'âlâ kemâl-i kereminden Paşayı dahi sıhhat ve selâmetle vatanına isâl ide.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁸⁴ *Hûve'l-hâdî*

Ba'de't-teslîm ve't-tevkîr inhâ-i dâ'î-i fakîr budur ki; eyüler ve hoşlar mısız? Sefer-i hümayûn tedâriki ile hâliniz nice dir? İbtidâ-i sefere kangı gün mübârekdir diye su'âl olunmuş. İnşallahu ta'âlâ cumâde'l-ahirenin evvel düşenbe günü yevm-i mübârekdir. sıhhat ve selâmetle şurû' oluna. Hazret-i Melik-i Ekber kemâl-i kereminden feth ü nusretler müyesser eyleye.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁸⁵ *Hûve'l-hâdî*

da'vât-i hâlisât ve tahiyyât-i tayyibat ithâf ve ihdâ kılındıktan sonra muhlisâne inhâ olunur ki; eyüler ve hoşlar mısız? Tedbîr-i sefer ve tedârik-i umur-i 'asker-i hamîyyetle hâliniz nice dir? Hazret-i Melik-i Kâdir her hâlde mu'în ve nâsır ve kemâl-i kereminden nazar-i lutfıyla nâzır ola. Hâmil-i sahîfe-i senâ hâcc [one word illegible] hakkında lutfınız ricâ olunur. Emînizdir ki nazar-i lutfınıza mazhar ola.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁸⁶ *Hûve'l-hâdî*

ba'de't-teslîm ve't-tevkîr inhâ-i dâ'î-i fakîr budur ki; eyüler ve hoşlar mısız? Kapûdânla hâliniz nice dir? 'İlâm buyurduğunuz sefer husûsunda pâdişâh-i İslâm hazretleri bi'z-zât kendüleri [one word illegible] nice nevbet var idüğünü vüzerâ ittîfâkıyla tefehhüm itseler elbette sefer lâzım ise kullarından birini serdâr idüb irsâl buyursalar ma'küldür. Hemân ol Melik-i Ekber hayırlar müyesser ide.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁸⁷ *Hûve'l-hâdî*

One letter is interesting in the sense that it refers to signing of a peace treaty, probably after some correspondence, with certain envoys. Here, Hüdâyî acknowledges that he had no annoyance on the Thursday when, it may be suggested that, he was present in some correspondence with the envoys or the envoys visited Hüdâyî.³⁸⁸ This letter may have been written on the occasion of Hüdâyî's meeting Cornelis Haga, whom we know was introduced to Hüdâyî by Halîl Paşa.³⁸⁹

Some letters indicate that Halîl Paşa also had acquaintance with the dervishes of Hüdâyî. In these letters Hüdâyî expresses that Halîl Paşa's well-being and his visiting the *tekke* delights the heart of the dervishes.³⁹⁰ Two letters reveal that Halîl Paşa's household also had acquaintance with Hüdâyî.³⁹¹

Defterdâr Mehmed Paşa bu fakîre mektûb gönderüb vezîr-i a'zam hazretlerinin mesâlihinde biz sa'y iderken bene hilâfin anlâdırlarmış. Ol bâbda şefâ'atın ricâ ideriz dîmiş. Bâkî lutf sizlerindir. Sefer-i humâyunda serdâr hazretlerine vâsıl ola. (bi'l-hayr)

Hûve'l-hâdî

gıbbe't-teslîm ve 't-tevkîr inhâ-i dâ'î-i fakîr budur ki;

eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? hâliniz nicedir? 'Abd-ı mü'mine lâıyk her hâlde Hazret-i Kâdir-i Mutlak'a i'tisâm ve ittikâl üzere olmaktadır. Hazret-i Rabb-i 'izzet kemâl-i kereminden şer-i a'dâdan ve [one word illegible] ve iftirâdan za'îf kullarını hıfz ü himâyet ide.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁸⁸ *Hûve'l-hâdî*

gıbbe't-teslîm ve 't-tevkîr inhâ-i dâ'î-i fakîr budur ki;

eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? Mizâc-i şerîf nicedir? Dâ'imâ sıhhat ve selâmetde olasız. Elhamdülillahi'l-kâdiri'l-ekber elçi ahvâli muntazam olub emr-i sulh mukarrer olmuş. Allah subhânehu ve ta'âlâ kemâl-i kereminden 'ibâdın sâ'ir umurını dahi hüsn-i tedbîrine âar±n ide. Bu fakîr hamîs gün bi-'inâyetullahi ta'âlâ rabb-i 'izzetin ihsânıyla rencide olmadık. Dâ'imâ mevlâ-yı mu'in za'îf kullarını hıfz ü himâyete karîn ide.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁸⁹ De Groot, p. 972.

³⁹⁰ *Hûve'l-hâdî*

tuhfe-i ed'iyye-i sâliha ve turaf-i esniye-i hâlisâ ithâf ve ihdâ kılındıktan sonra muhlisâne inhâ olunur ki;

eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? Mizâc-i şerîf nicedir? Dâ'imâ sıhhat ve selâmetde ve devlet ü sa'âdetde olub şeref-i mülâkâtınız ile zümre-i ehibbâ ve cümle-i asdikâya safâ-yi bâl ve huzûr-i hâl hâsıl ola.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

Hûve'l-hâdî

da'vât-i hâlisât ve tahiyyât-i tayyibât ithâf ve ihdâ kılındıktan sonra muhlisâne inhâ olunur ki;

eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? Mizâc-i şerîf nicedir? Sene-i cedîde mübârek olub nev'-i necîbin selâmete ve enbiyâ-yi 'izâmdan salâtullahu 'aleyhum ecma'in nicesi merâma vâsıl oldukları yevm-i 'âşûrâ dahi mübârek ola. İnşallahu ta'âlâ [şimdiden] sonra vatan cânibine teşrif buyurmanız mercûdur. Tekke-i ehibbâ iştiyâktan halâs olub sürûr ve huzûr hâsıl ola.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁹¹ *Hûve'l-hâdî*

gıbbe't-teslîm ve 't-tefhîm inhâ-i dâ'î-i kadîm budur ki;

eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? Mizâc-i şerfinüz ve tab'-i latîfiniz nicedir? Hemîşe sıhhat ve selâmetde ve Cenâb-ı Rabb-i 'izzetden hıfz ü himâyetde olasız. Hazret-i Melik-i Kâdir cümlemize mu'in ve nâsır olub kemâl-i kereminden 'âlem-i dünyâda tevfiik hidâyet ve 'âlem-i âhiretde rahmet ve cennet ve cenâb-ı şerîfine kurbet ile ihsânına karîn ide. Harem-i muhteremde olanlara selâmlar olunur.

In one letter we see Hüdâyî encouraging Halîl Paşa in his charity undertakings with reference to Kur'ân like he encourages the sultans in *Tezâkir*.³⁹² This letter, and the only Arabic letter maybe related with Halîl Paşa's bringing water to Eğriboz, an undertaking whose the remnants are still observable today.³⁹³

Though the *Letters to Halîl Paşa* are not informatory on precise dates, events and persons that are related with the politics of the day, they give us a brief idea about the type of relation that a dervish and a governmental figure had. One point of value of the letters is their being a sample for early seventeenth century Ottoman diplomatics studies.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

Hûve'l-hâdî

gıbbe't-teslîm ve't-tevkîr inhâ-i dâ'î-i fakîr budur ki;

eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? Hâliniz nice dir? Hemîşe selâmetde olub Hazret-i Mute'âl kemâl-i kereminden böyle eyyâm-i şerîfeye isâl ide. Ehliniz kadına selâmlar olunur. Fâtıma kadına dahi kezâlik.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd.

³⁹² *Hûve'l-hâdî*

da'vât-i sâlihât ve tahiyyât-i tayyibât ithâf ve ihdâ kılındıktan sonra fakîrâne inhâ olunur ki;

eyûler ve hoşlar mısız? Mizâc-i şerîf nice dir? Dâ'imâ sıhhat ve selâmetde olasız. Ba'zı hayrâta niyyet olunmuş. Allah sübhanehu ve ta'âlâ hüsn-i kabûlüne karîn ide. 'Akile lâıyk olan dünyada iken ahiretin ekmekdir kâle 'l-llahu ta'âlâ (ve mâ tukaddemû li-enfûsikûm min hayrin tecdühü 'indî'l-llah) Hazret-i Rabb-i 'izzet cümlemize lutf ü 'inâyet ve tevfk ü hidâyet eyleye.

Temme'd-du'â el-fakîr Mahmûd. The complete form of the *ayet* (2 (Bakara)/110) is: "Namazı kılın, zekatı verin, önceden kendiniz için yaptığımız her iyiliği Allah'ın katında bulacaksınız. Şüphesiz Allah, yapmakta olduklarınızı noksansız görür."

³⁹³ De Groot, "Halîl Paşa, Kayserili", *DİA*, Vol. 15, p. 325.

2.3. Correspondence With the Sultans

Under the Ottoman regime, the population was divided mainly into two groups as the *askeri* and the *reâyâ*. The *askeri* class included the *seyfiyye* (the men of the sword), who were the military personal and administrators; the *ilmiyye* (the men of learning), who were the *tedrîs* (teaching) and the *kadâ* (administration of the law) personnel; and the *kalemiye* (the men of the pen), who were the bureaucrats, all of whom performed certain public functions as the delegates of the sultan, received salaries or revenue grants by government appointment and were exempted from all taxation.³⁹⁴ The *reâyâ* (subjects), included the merchants, artisans and peasants who paid taxes as performers of productive activities.³⁹⁵ There was also, which may be considered as a kind of intermediary class, groups called *mu'af* or *müsellem* ("exempted *reâyâ*") between the *askeri* and the *reâyâ*. These groups from the *reâyâ* were exempted from the *avârız* tax in return for some special services they performed, like guarding mountain passes and fortresses or providing special supplies to the Palace or army.³⁹⁶

The general principle in the socio-political structure of the Ottoman Empire was that each individual should remain in his own status group so that the equilibrium in the state and society could be maintained.³⁹⁷ Passage from *reâyâ* status to *askeri* status was considered as "a breach of the fundamental principles of state, since the *reâyâ* were essential as producers and tax-payers."³⁹⁸ This was a fundamental principle of the Near Eastern theory of state

³⁹⁴ Halil İnalcık, "Empire and Population" *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 16; İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 68-69.

³⁹⁵ İnalcık, "Empire and Population", p. 16; İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 68-69.

³⁹⁶ İnalcık, "Empire and Population", p. 16; İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 68-69.

³⁹⁷ İnalcık, "Empire and Population, p.17; İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 68-69.

³⁹⁸ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 69.

abandonment of which had been regarded as the main cause of the Empire's 'decline' by the Ottoman *nasihatnâme* writers of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.³⁹⁹

However, there were mainly three modes of entry, for an ordinary Muslim *reâyâ*, into the *askeri* class which constituted the "elite" of the Ottoman society. First was through enrolment in the military by a special decree of the sultan as a result of an outstanding act of courage accomplished as volunteers on the frontiers or in the Sultan's campaigns.⁴⁰⁰ The second way was through lineage, which required birth into a high-level *askeri* family, which meant one's father should be from one of the high-ranking *kuls* or a scholar. It was also possible for the other members of such high-ranked *military* households, like the slaves and freeborn voluntary retainers, to be qualified for low-level *askeri* appointments.⁴⁰¹ The third way was through education, which was open to the children of Muslim *reâyâ* parents, and provided the opportunity to undergo a religious and legal career that would lead to a post of *müderislik* or judgeship.⁴⁰² Still another way was the 'institution' of *intisab* whereby a member of the *askeri* class would help to secure entry into and advancement within the governmental system for his own protégés, a relationship which could be established on a variety of factors.⁴⁰³

Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî is probably coming from a *reâyâ* origin. By entering the *medrese* education and with his first appointments as *müderis* at the Ferhadiyye Medresesi and *kadî nâ'ibi* at Cami-i Atik Mahkemesi he achieved the status of *askeri*. His abandoning the *müderis* and *nâ'ib* posts did not necessarily mean his abandoning his *askeri* status. We do not know whether he had any official title during his stay in Rumelia and with what title he

³⁹⁹ See The Context: The *Nasihatnâme* Literature and *Tezâkir*.

⁴⁰⁰ İnalcık, "Empire and Population", p. 16-17.

⁴⁰¹ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 19.

⁴⁰² Fleischer, p. 19. For the non-Muslim *reâyâ* there were two other ways to enter into the *askeri* class. First through the *devşirme* system, and second through being born in a pre-Ottoman military family which the Ottomans incorporated into their own system with the hereditary military status as it was the case in Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, Thessaly and Bulgaria, which required an act of loyalty in most of the cases, until sixteenth century. İnalcık, "Empire and Population", p. 16-17; Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", p. 114; Fleischer, p. 19.

accompanied Ferhad Paşa in the campaign of Tebriz. It is probable that he might have accompanied the commander of the Ottoman army as a *du'â-guyan*, saying prayers for the success of the sultan and the army. We know from the records in *Tezâkir* that Hoca Saadeddin, Sunnullah Efendi and Ahmed Paşa, all of who were the leading *ulema* and bureaucrats of the period, were the key figures who had 'persuaded' Hüdâyî to stay in İstanbul. Hüdâyî may have been taken into their households. What is clear is that Hüdâyî was appointed as *şeyh* to Küçük Ayasofya *zâviyesi* only after a short time he arrived in İstanbul through the intermediary of Hoca Saadeddin, a position which was consolidated by his later appointments as *vâiz* at Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han Mosque with the intermediary role of Sunnullah Efendi, then *kadıasker* of Rumelia, and at Mihrumah Sultan Mosque, which implies his having sultanic patronage and being taken into the household of the sultan, thus retaining his *askeri* status. We can argue that his *medrese* background and the relationships he established during his *medrese* years, as *Tezâkir* reveals, were at work behind Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's achieving the opportunity to be introduced to the sultan, probably Murad III, personally and getting involved in the political life as the spiritual mentor of the sultans, in addition to the records found in the *menâkıbs* which only exalt his spiritual gift of dream interpretation.

The role of the leading dervish figures played in the process of settlement of the Turkmen populations in Anatolia and the support they provided for the Ottoman conquests and settlement in western Anatolia and Rumelia during the establishment period of the Ottoman state is well-known.⁴⁰³ The close co-operation between the dervishes and the first Ottoman sultans, exemplified in Osman Gazi's acquaintance with Şeyh Edebali, Orhan Gazi's with Abdal Musa and Geyikli Baba, Murad I's with Postinpuş Baba, continued with the close

⁴⁰³ Fleischer, p. 19-20.

⁴⁰⁴ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler: İstîlâ Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, II, İstanbul, 1942, p. 279-386.

relationships between Bayezîd I and Emir Sultan, Murad II and Hacı Bayram, and Mehmed the Conqueror and Akşemsetdin, to cite the most well-known relations.⁴⁰⁵ Bayezîd II, who is called as “*velî*” in the contemporary sources⁴⁰⁶; Selim I, who is known to have honoured İbn Arabî’s tomb during his campaign in Egypt; and Süleyman the Magnificent who is known as a friend of and who is said to have been initiated by the teachings of Mevlevîye, Nakşibendiyye, Halvetiyye and Bayramiyye orders, followed their fathers’ tradition and continued friendly relations with the leading dervish orders of their times.⁴⁰⁷ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî appears as the most famous, if not the only, *şeyh* in the life of the sultans from Murad III on till the first years of the sultanate of Murad IV.⁴⁰⁸

With the policy of centralisation upheld by the Ottoman sultans as early as the reign of Bayezîd I, the nomadic Turkmen populations, who had provided the backbone of the Ottoman conquests and settlement during the establishment periods, had become open to any radical propaganda that denied the legitimacy of the sultan’s rule or anything representing the present order of the world, and the Ottoman government witnessed important socio-religious upheavals both in the Balkans and Anatolia from early fifteenth century on. Dervishes like Şeyh Bedreddîn and dervish-agents sent from Iran like Şah Kulu were successful, with their religious teachings, in gathering large segments of the population, mostly the now dissatisfied nomadic Turkmens, and threatening the Ottoman state.⁴⁰⁹ Though not revolted, Otman Baba was another dervish who was successful in gathering the frontier *gâzîs* and the Turkmen population around himself and attempted to make Mehmed II believe and admit that he, as the

⁴⁰⁵ Mustafa Kara, “Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar”, in *Tanzimatdan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt: 4, İletişim Yay., 1985, p. 980.

⁴⁰⁶ This title attributed to Bayezîd II is also related with the politics against Iran under the leadership of İsmail who attributed himself the title *Şah*.

⁴⁰⁷ Reşat Öngören, “Osmanlı Padişahları ve Tasavvuf”, *Osmanlı*, Vol. IV, p. 486-487.

⁴⁰⁸ It should be mentioned here that there were *şamans*, who were considered to have the ability to foretell the future and secure God’s aid, in the service of the pagan Turkish rulers of central Asia. İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 98.

⁴⁰⁹ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 188-190, 194-197.

kutb of the world of the age, was responsible for all the victories of the Conqueror.⁴¹⁰ With the conquests of Selim I, the Ottoman sultans had received the title “Servant of Mecca and Medina” and began to consider themselves as the protectors not only of the frontiers but of the entire Muslim world which resulted in the exaltation of the religious law of Islam to a position of prime importance in the administration of the state.⁴¹¹ Another result of this development was that it provided the Ottoman sultans with the means to justify their struggle with their enemies from within the Muslim world and suppress any movement threatening the order of the Empire as being contrary to *şeriat*.⁴¹²

It may be argued that the extent of the relation between the dervish and the sultan in the Ottoman Empire was determined according to two factors. First and the foremost, the dervish who was in a key position within the society, in the sense that he was exalted among the people due to some spiritual merit of him which provoked feelings of being closer to him would secure being closer to God, was likely to draw the attention of the sultans. As responsible from the good order of the society and its integrity the sultans were likely to think purely in political terms and respected the *şeyh*, like it was the case in the relation between Otman Baba and Mehmed the Conqueror.⁴¹³ In fact, “what made dervishes so powerful and defiant was precisely that they were tremendously influential in shaping public opinion in the traditional society in which they lived”.⁴¹⁴ The second factor is the personal inclination of the sultan to *tasavvuf* or to the teachings of a particular dervish, which can be observed in the personality of Murad II, Murad III and Ahmed I.

In Hüdâyî’s case, we may argue that, as far as *Tezâkir* is concerned, the sultans with whom he was in personal contact, most notably with Murad III, Mehmed III, Ahmed I and

⁴¹⁰ Halil İnalcık, “Devish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi”, in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington, 1993, p. 28-29.

⁴¹¹ *ibid*, p. 34; İnalcık, “Islam in the Ottoman Empire”, p. 25.

⁴¹² See İnalcık, Halil; “Islam in the Ottoman Empire”, p. 25. Also see *The Life: In Rumelia*.

⁴¹³ See İnalcık, “Devish and Sultan”; İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 99.

⁴¹⁴ İnalcık, “Devish and Sultan”, p. 26.

also with Osman II and Murad IV, Hüdâyî enjoyed prestige due to his own merit in the spiritual sciences, both exoteric and esoteric, and not due to his significant role in shaping the public opinion, like Hacı Bayram-ı Velî who is known to have been initially arrested by Murad II due to his popularity in the Ankara region.⁴¹⁵ We do not see Hüdâyî firstly establishing himself among the people. Rather the reverse seems to have happened, i.e. the people became fascinated with the prestige Hüdâyî enjoyed among the sultans and he had his order, initiated by Üftâde, spread in a remarkable way.

In Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's relations with the sultans and with Halîl Paşa we see his influence comprehending both the political and social questions of the age and the questions related to spiritual evolution. The interesting point here is that the Celvetiyye order, whose basic principle is said to have originated in İbrahim Zâhid Gilânî after the tradition of the Prophet and is said to have revitalised and transmitted to Hüdâyî by Üftâde, with its very name propagates a preference of being present in public life filled with divine attributes over a continuous seclusion for spiritual growth (*halvet*).⁴¹⁶ *Tezâkir* shows clearly how Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî merges socio-political and spiritual concepts in his communication with the sultans. Thus, it can be argued that Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî exemplified in his life the basic principle of his order by being present in the circles which represent the highest level of worldly concerns, a point which *Tezâkir* as a whole stands as the basic supportive source.

A great part of *Tezâkir*, which is a collection of the letters Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî sent to the sultans, most probably to Murad III, Mehmed III, Ahmed I, Osman II and Murad IV, is about *tasavvufî* concepts where Hüdâyî explains the sultan about certain stages of the human soul, the stages of the mystical journey, the meanings of some *ayets* from Kur'ân, meanings of certain devotional practices like those performed on certain days and nights, with references to Kur'ân, the traditions of the Prophet and the writings of classical *sûfî* masters. It

⁴¹⁵ About the relations of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî with the sultans see Tezeren, p. 61-68; Yılmaz, p. 54-69.

⁴¹⁶ See *The Life: The 'Mystic Journey'* with Üftâde.

is probable that during personal meetings, or through letters, as *Tezâkir* reveals, the sultans would have asked to learn more about these concepts. To give an example to the dialog between the sultan and Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî on *tasavvufî* concepts we can cite an interesting letter from which we learn that the sultan asked Hüdâyî, whether God had the knowledge of his own essence in the past eternity before reflecting and manifesting himself.⁴¹⁷

The second concept which *Tezâkir* has great many details is the concept of *rû'ya*. Both the dreams of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî and the dreams of his dervishes about the sultan or about the state affairs and the dreams of the sultan which he demanded interpretation occupy an important part of *Tezâkir*.⁴¹⁸

Apart from these spiritual concepts, which is the profession of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, comments of him on certain political and military affairs of the Empire are also scattered throughout *Tezâkir*. As we have discussed in the previous chapter *Tezâkir* contains Hüdâyî's comments on the followers of Şeyh Bedreddîn in the Balkans, the struggle with Persia in the south and the Muscovite threat in the north, three important developments that diverted Ottoman military and political action throughout the sixteenth century.⁴¹⁹ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî also draws the attention of the sultan to the situation in the western front, which he thinks has been neglected due to the wars in the east.⁴²⁰ Another point Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî

⁴¹⁷ “sa’âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım Allahu ta’âlâ ‘ilminizi ve ‘irfânınızı ziyâde eyleye. Amîn. ‘Hakk Celle ve ‘Alâ ezel ü ezelde kendi Zât-i ‘Âliyesini bilür miydi. Kendü kendüni mirât etmeyüb tecellî etmeksizin’ deyu su’âl buyurmuşsunuz. Ve ‘cemî’ libâsdan mu’arrâ iken’ demişsiniz. Sa’âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım eğer Hakk Celle ve ‘Alâ ezel-i ezelde Zât-i ‘Âliyesini ve sıfât-i mute’âliyesini ve derecât-i mürtefi’asını bilmeyecek olursa Zât-i Hakk’da cehl sebkat idüb ba’dehu ‘ilm ‘ârız olmak lâzım gelür. Bunda[n] tenzih-i Zât-i Hakkî lâzımdır. Bil ki Hakk Celle ve ‘Alâ’nın vücûduna evveliyet yokdur ve tasavvur da olunmaz. Ve ‘ilm-i Zâtîyesine de evveliyet yokdur. Vücûd-i Zâtîyesi ezelidir ve ‘ilm-i Zâtîyesinde ezelidir. Bu tarik ile evveli ve intihâi tasavvur olunmaz.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasıdecizade nr. 323, p. 11b.

⁴¹⁸ To give an example of a dream of Hüdâyî: “sa’âdetlü pâdişâhım bu geçen leyletû’l-isneynde ru’yâ vâki’ oldu. Sürûr ile ve safâ ile sa’âdetlü pâdişâhımdan ötürü Murâd Hân murâdına irdi deyu iki kere hitâb oldu.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasıdecizade nr. 323, p. 30a. Also see *The Life: The Seen and the Unseen*.

⁴¹⁹ See *The Life: In Rumelia*.

⁴²⁰ “diyâr-i şarkın fethi ile mukayyed olmak ile ve ol cânibe mukbil ve müteveccih olunmak ile garb-i tabî’atdan ve diyâr-i garbdan i’râz ü ihmâl olunmak ile kuvâ-yi tabî’at-i dâr-i harbden dâr-i İslâm kalbinin kuvâ-yi sakîm Müslimini üzerine ve hâricte ol ahâlî-i İslâma kefare hücum etmeğe başladı. Hayli yere zâhiren ve bâtinen haleller getürdi. İmdî şimden geru (...) kefare-i garbiye ile bir mikdâr tekayyüd lâzım. Belki elzem oldu. (...) Hakk Celle ve ‘Alâ hidâyetler ve me’ûnetler ve nusretler müyesser ide. Amîn.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasıdecizade nr. 323, p. 63a.

points out with respect to foreign affairs in *Tezâkir* is the need to conquer Girit and Malta whose strategical location was crucial for the Ottoman sea trade in the Mediterranean.⁴²¹

One interesting point that *Tezâkir* reveals is Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's having a sharp eye with respect to Palace intrigues. Some letters bear witness that Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî feels himself responsible, due either to his loyalty to his supporters in the Palace or to his honest intention to make the sultan get rid of certain disloyal figures around, for informing the sultan about false testimonies against some, including himself. We have seen in the previous chapter that one letter is written on the occasion of a Palace gossip against Hoca Saadeddin, in which Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî tries to prove the loyalty of this well-known Palace figure.⁴²² Another letter informs us another Palace intrigue, this time against Hüdâyî himself. In this letter Hüdâyî acknowledges both the sadness and the pain he felt because of the non arrival of the sultan's letter and his ability to conceive what would be the reason, through his spiritual merit, without actually investigating the reason. The reason, according to his intuition, was some bearing false testimony before the sultan about Hüdâyî. While acknowledging his sagacity and power of sanctity, he humbles down before the sultan, demands his forgiveness and says that the favour and the kindness he is treated with is out of the mere delight of the sultan.⁴²³ It should be mentioned here that in his relationships with the sultans sometimes it

⁴²¹ "ve husûsan bu sene sa'âdetlû pâdişâhım gazâ-yi bahr tedârik idüb Girid ve Malta ortadan [...] ihtimâm ü tekayyüd buyurulmak gerekdir. Sizler himmet ü dikkat idin." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 5b. The proper reading is "Girit ve Malta ortadan ref olunmasına ihtimam ve tekayyüd buyurmak gerekdir" in Güven, p. 73. This letter was written probably to Murad III and is treated in The Context: The *Nasihâtname* Literature and *Tezâkir*.

⁴²² See The Life: Recognition in the Palace.

⁴²³ "Sa'âdetlû ve mürüvvetlû pâdişâhım tezkire-i tayyibenz [gelmemek] ile küllî melûl ve müte'ellim olduk. Hattâ hâtıra da geldi idi tecessüs ve tefahhus. Hizmet-i pâdişâhım ile iftihar ve şerefde iken ol hizmet-i hatîrdan sükût ile haz etmek ihtimâlî olur mu ola. Ve zâhirde tettebbu' olmasa bâtında tekayyüd ve tettebbu' vardır ola. Ve tettebbu' zâhirde olmamağa sebep Cum'a irtesi sabâh virdi okunur iken beyne'n-nevm ve'l-yakaza bir hitâb geldi. (...) Ve gelecek Pazar günü gecesi ru'yâda [...] ayeti karâ'at olundu. Uyandım mülâhaza etdim. Vâkı'n hilâfî üzerine şehâdet idenlerin şehâdeti kitâb olunur ve ahiretde andan mesûl kalınurlar dimekdir. İmdi bundan murâd sa'âdetlû ve mürüvvetlû pâdişâhım huzûrunda bu du'âcılar hakkında hilâf-i vâkı' kelimât idüb ba'zı kimseler şehâdet etmişlerdir. Bu tasavvur olundu idi. 'Akabince tezkireleri gelmedi. Tasavvur-i mezkûr tasdik olundu gibi oldu. La vefâ li'l-mülûk didikleri gerçek imiş deyüb du'âcınız i'tirâz idecek iken su'âl-i mukadderi def'ân 'aceb tedârik itdünüz. Azîm ferâsetdir belki kerâmetdir. Bârek Allahu Rabbü'l-'âlemîn. Ne diyelüm [sabur] bizim olsun. 'Afvın taleb ideriz. (...) Ve Sa'âdetlû pâdişâhımın hâlis du'âcıları çokdur. Bu kadar nazarlarına ve iltifâtlarına istihkâkım yokdur. Hemân mahz-i latîfleridir." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 30a.

was the silence of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî that became a point of wonder on the side of the sultan.⁴²⁴

Some letters reveal the intermediary role Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî played for the appointment of certain figures to certain positions and his testimony for the loyalty of some others. We have seen in Chapter I Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî recommending to the sultan Kapı Ağası Ahmed Paşa as governor of Egypt, an appointment which would be in line with the established practice because of the fact that a *Kapı Ağası*, according to tradition, was eligible to pass out from the palace as *beğlerbeği* and, in the sixteenth century, as governor of Egypt with the rank of vizier.⁴²⁵ In another letter Hüdâyî acknowledges the sultan about the loyalty of Kadiasker Düğmecizade Efendi and Kapucubaşı Hasan Ağa and advises him to grant favours to Düğmecizade Efendi and to forgive Hasan Ağa if he has any error.⁴²⁶ In all of these recommendations of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî it seems the criteria with which he judges the suitability of these persons for the service of the sultan is their uprightness and piety. In three other letters we see Hüdâyî praising a *vâiz* named 'Aliyyüddün Efendi.⁴²⁷; a *şeyh* called

⁴²⁴ "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvettü pâdişâhım vücûd-i şerîfinizin sıhhati ve selâmeti 'âmmeye ve kâffeye şâmilidir. Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ vücûd-i şerîfinizi hatâlardan hıfz idüb mu'ammer ve a'dâ üzerine mansûr ve muzaffer ve 'adâlet ve istikâmet ve 'ilm ü irfân ile müzeyyen ve mu'ammer eyleye. 'Bizi anmaz oldunuz 'aceb mâni' ne ola' deyu buyurmuşsunuz. Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvettü pâdişâhım Medine-i Münevvere'ye Nurü'l-İllahu ta'âla ilâ yevmi'l-kıyâmet [...] irsâl iştigâli olmuş idi. Nice du'âcınız zâviyeden ve hâricden ol cânibe bile gitdiler. Gelme ve *gıtme* ve mekâtib ketb olunmağa mukayyed olduk idi. Allah kabûl idüb âsân gele. İblâğ-i mekân-i mekînde takrîr ve temkîn müyesser idüb eser bâkî ola." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 34a. In this letter Hüdâyî is probably referring to the legal procedures that is to be completed before going to *hacc*, like obtaining the *mürur tezkiresi*, for which he helped some of his dervishes and some others.

⁴²⁵ See *The Life: Recognition in the Palace*.

⁴²⁶ "ve sa'âdetlü pâdişâhım günâhınız mağfîret olunub ve murâdlar hâsıl olan günlerdir. Du'âcınız mevlânâ Düğmecizâde Efendi Kadiasker zîde fazluhu müstakîm ve mütedeyyin du'âcınızdır. Ortalığı ıslâh etmişdir. Haber sû'-i istimâ' olundu. İhsân edüb [one word missing] idesiniz. Sa'âdet-i dâreyninize sebeb-i 'azîmdir. Hâlis ve muhlis du'âcınızdır. Ve hem ehl-i 'iyâl ve hakikatü'l-hâldir. Ortalığı ıslâh eylesün. Ve bu günlerde nice düşkünleri Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ 'afv idüb ı'zâz ve ref' etdüğü günlerdir. Mukaddeman Mîr-i Ahûr olub hâlâ Kapucu Başı olan Hasan Ağa kulunuzu zellesi var ise 'afv idesiniz. Ve sâniyen sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımın şân-i şerîfine lâyık ve anların da yollarına muvâfik ihsânınız ref' idüb ı'zâz ve ikrâm idesiniz. Ziyâde kâbil ve müsta'id ve ehl-i 'ilm ve idrâk-i müstakîm ve hâlis bendeniz [imiş]. Böyle âdem-i tedbîr ü dil ehli az vâkı' olur ve ancak olur. Husûl-i murâdları bi'l-fi'l olmak mümkün olmaz ise va'de-i cemileniz de vâfi ve kâfîdir. Allahu tebâreke ve ta'âla sa'âdetlü mürüvvettü pâdişâhımın dünyevî ve uhrevî cemî' murâdların müyesser ide. Amîn yâ Mu'in ve yâ Mücîbe'd-dâ'in." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 29b-30a.

⁴²⁷ "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvettü pâdişâhım Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ vücûd-i şerîfinizi hatâlardan hıfz idüb şimâl-i 'adl ile mu'ammer ve muzaffer eyleye. Amîn yâ Mu'in. Geçende i'tikâfda iken Büyük Ordostan Aliyyüddîn Efendi vâ'iz ve nâsih ve müttekî ve mütedeyyin ehlullah'dan bir kimse bizimle i'tikâfda idi. Bunun ahvâlin tecessüs etdim. Tamâm ehl-i hâl du'âcınızdır. Bir gün i'tikâfda ba'de'l-işrâk hîn-i mu'tekede nev'ân nû'âs galebe idüb görürün. Zî-yi takvâda nihâyetsiz âdemler gelüb elim öperler ve yüzlerin sürerler. 'Sizler kimlersiniz' dedim.

Davud Efendi⁴²⁸; and Şeyh Ahmed.⁴²⁹ In his testimony for this vâiz and the şeyhs Hüdâyî acknowledges the sultan their being sincere reciters of prayers for the well-being of the sultan and the sultanate. An interesting point is that Hüdâyî supports his claims about Aliyyüddin Efendi by referring to a dream in which the Prophet spoke with Hüdâyî in favour of this person.

A letter is indicative of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's strictly encouraging the sultan for charity undertakings. In this letter he praises the sultan for his intention to provide firewood to the people, an item which, we learn, was essential for the period. Here he points out that this act of the sultan would provoke good prayers of the people till the Day of Last Judgement. He advises the sultan to appoint the Grand Vizier, about whom he saw a dream indicative of his capacity, as responsible for observing the realisation of this intention. The significant point here is that he reminds the sultan that it is his duty to meet the need of the public.⁴³⁰

Didiler 'bizler hazret-i Resûlullah sallallahu 'aleyhi ve's-sellem'den geliyoruz. Sizlere gönderdiler ve sizlere selâmlar ve du'âlar etdiler' dedi. Ben de cân ile kabûl idüb 'dahî ne buyurdılar' dimişin. Anlar da didiler 'bugün Ordos'dan gelen 'Aliyyüddin Efendi'ye ri'âyet eylesün deyu emr etdiler'. [...] 'Dahî ne buyurdılar' didim. Didiler 'sizlere namâzi daha ağırca te'ennî ile kulsunlar deyu buyurdular.' Ol zamândan beru namâzda küllî hâlet oldu. Ol Ordoslu 'Aliyyüddin Efendi azizi huzûr-i şerîf[e] i'lâmın etmek serderinde [idim]. (...) Kimse varmaz ve gezmaz. Da'imâ 'uzletde ve teveccühde ve üns-i billahda menhiyât-i 'âmme-i nâsa nasîhat ve ta'lîm-i dîn etdüğinden gayrı hâssa halleri de çokdur. Geçende i'lâm itdüğümüz Kastamonî meczûb ve mahbûbî du'âcınız gıtdiler. Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâh-i İslâm hazretlerinin sa'âdet-i dâreyni için hayr du'âya iştigâl ile tenbîh ve te'kid olundu. Bu makûle a'izze ile mukayyed olunub sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımın devâm-i devletleri ve izdiyâd-i 'izzetleri için hayr du'âya iştigâl ile tekayyüd ve tenbihin ile ideriz. Ve ba'zısını huzûr-i şerîfe i'lâm ideriz. Ehlullah ile münâsebet ve müvâneset sayd-i 'azîmdir ganîmet-i kübrâdır.' Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 56b-57a.

⁴²⁸ *"dâ'i-i hâlisiniz Dâvud Efendi dâ'inizi buyurmuşunuz. Sâye-i saltanatınızda ve ahvâl-i himâyetinizde nice nice anın gibi du'âcınız zuhûra gelüb devâm-i devlet-i dâreyniniz ve izdiyâd-i sa'âdet fi'l-'âlemininiz ed'iyyesine meşgûllerdir. Ve sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımıza olan teveccüh ve tekayyüd ve himmet cümleden ikdâm ve adlu ve nice derece ekser ve â'lâdır. Muktezâ-yi imân ve mûcib-i İslâm ve 'irfân ve emr-i Rahman ve emr-i Resûl-i s-sübân da budur. Zâhirdedir. Dâvud Efendi 'Ali Paşa'da şeyh olan du'âcınız olan 'âlim ve 'ârif tamâm mütedeyyin ve sâlih du'âcınızdır. Andan gayrı Şeyh Dâvud da yokdur." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 72b.*

⁴²⁹ *"Şeyh Ahmed'in murâdın buyurmuşunuz Allahu ta'âlâ râzı olsun ve erzâ olsun. Dîniniz ve dünyânız ve ahiriniz ve cemî' ahvâliniz kemâl mertebe murâdınız muvâfik müyesser ide. Ol mevzû-i mübârek de cirân-i Resûl-i Hakk tebârekde cemî' etbâ'ıyla ve eşbâ'ıyla hâssan ve halisa hayr du'ânız ile meşgûl olurlar. Cemî' âlem hayr du'âcınızdır ve devletiniz yevmen-fi-yevmen ânen-fi-ânen izdiyâdda ola. Amin yâ Mu'in. Ol du'âcınızı sevindirüb hassan hayr du'â itdürelim. Ve'd-du'â 'ale'd-devâm." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 86a.*

⁴³⁰ *"Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım 'âmme-i 'iyâu'l-İlaha ziyâfet kasd olunmuş. Cümle halk kemâl mertebe mesrûrlardır. Ve 'an samîmü'l-fuâd hayr du'ânız müteveccihleridir. Sakarya suyunu kesüb odun tedârikini murâd idinmişsiniz. Halk 'âmmeden ve hâsseten ziyâde mesrûrlardır. İhtiyâc da ve zarûret de küllîdir ve odunun bedeli dahî yokdur. Her nesnenin bedeli bulunur. Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım 'azîm hayrdır. Böyle hayr olmaz. (...) Merhûm ve mağfûrû'n-leh ceddiniz Sultân Hân tâbe serâhu [...] hazretleri Kâğıdhâne suyun getirüb 'âmmeye su ile ziyâfet itmiş idi. Sizler sa'âdetimiz odun ile. Ba'zı yerde men' ve def' olunur ise mültefet ve*

Tezâkir also gives us information on what Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî told at *va'az*, as we see him reporting to the sultan the content of his admonitions which is usually the explanation of certain *ayets* from Kur'ân.⁴³¹

In one letter Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî confesses his deliberate intention as to give advice, preach and wake up those who are blinded with arrogance and who are heedless, to lead many to the way of piety and to pious deeds, and to make many reach the tastes of God's supreme dominion and thus to expand the number of those who prays God for blessings upon the sultan.⁴³² The instrument of him to upheld this cause was his leadership of the Celvetiyye order and his duty of *va'az* in the mosques of İstanbul. Another letter indicates what he has in mind with respect to his dialog with the sultan. Here, he presents his only desire as to guard and protect the world, the religion, the sultanate and the mighty honour of the sultan through thoughtful action and holy incantations and to be a honest helper, sincere assistant of him by making him reach God.⁴³³

mukayyed olmayasınız. Ziyâfet-i 'âmme ilâ yevmi'l-kıyâmedir. Hâlisân ve hâssaten hayr du'â-yi halka sebeb olursunuz. Ve vezîr-i â'zam zîde 'adluhu kulunuz, cemî' me'ûnetin müte'ahhid ve mütehemmil olunur, İnşallah 'uhdesinden gelürler. Ve geçenlerde huzûr-i şerîfe i'lâm olunmuş idi ki ru'yâda vezîr-i â'zam kulunuz Üsküdâr boğazında [...] 'azîm binâ idûb halk-i 'âlem huzûr idûb hayr du'âlar ide deyu. İnşallah bunlardan emr-i hârik zuhûr ider. 'Âmme-i halka nâfi' deyu zikr olunmuş idi. Bu olmak 'aceb değildir. Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım inşallah hayr-ı mahzûr. Havf etmeyiniz. Hayrın mâni'i çok olur. Mukayyed olmayasınız. Fukarâ-yi 'âmme ve hâssa[ya] mesrûr idesiniz ve kıyâmete değin hayr du'âların alasınız. Bu bir hayrdir ki misli yokdur. Zîrâ ziyâde zarûret vardır. Fukarânın hâli müşgildir. Ve odunun bedeli dahî yokdur. Bir hâl idesiniz. Ve üzerinize vâcibdir bu makûle zarûreti ref' etmek. Ve beytû'l-mâl meşrû' ve mazûg olub bu kadar me'unet [...]olundu. Bu makûle zarûreti ref' içündür. İhmâl olunur ise mesûl olmak ihtimâli de vardır. Belki ekser ihtimâldir. Böyle hizmet olmaz ve böyle hayr dahî olmaz. Zîrâ böyle zarûret yokdur. Ve vezîr-i â'zam kulunuz tefvîz idin hakkından gelürler.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 48a-48b.

⁴³¹ “Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım geçen Cum'a vazîfe-i va'z sûre-i Kehf ibtidâsı oldu. Ashâb-i Kehf asârı bir mikdâr tekellüm olundu.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 47a. “Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım. Bu Cum'a Mi'râc'a müte'allık kelimât olundu.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 58a. “Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım dün Cum'a günü bu âyetler tefsîr olundu. Ve bu işârât ve rumuz da işâret olunub tebşîr-i şerîfe irsâl olundu” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 93b. *En-Nasâyih ve'l-Mevâiz* (Admonitions and Exhortations) which is a collection of Hüdâyî's sermons and admonitions is published by Safi Arpaguş as Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Sohbetler*, İnsan Yay., İstanbul, 1995.

⁴³² “teveccühümüz himmetimiz ve gayretimiz sizler sa'âdetimizdir. Ve ashâb-i gurûr ve gaflet olanları nasîhat ve va'z ile ikâz idûb ve nicesini tarik-i takvâya koyub a'mâl-i sâlihaya düşürüb ve nicelerini ezvâk-i melekûtiyeye vâsıl klub sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımın du'âcılarını iksâr ve intişâr etmeden gayrı kasdımız yokdur. Böyle ki Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ muslihîn nev'inden etmiş ola” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 62a.

⁴³³ “Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhımın dînini ve dünyâsını ve devletini ve 'arz-i 'azizlerini himmet ile ve 'azîmet ile hâfiz ve hâmi ve sâ'in ve sıyânet idûb hazret-i risâlet ve hazret-i Hakk'a isâl ve teslîm idenler a'vân-i sâdikaları ensâr-i hâlisalarından olmakdır murâdımız. Gayrı murâdımız yokdur. Ve's-selâm 'ale'd-devâm.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 48a. “*Himmet*” may also be read as ‘a miraculous influence exerted by a saint’, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*.

Thus *Tezâkir* stands as a unique source for both the study of religion in the Ottoman Empire, as it contains first hand information on *tasavvufî* concepts of a personality who is both a scholar of religion and the leader of the Celvetiyye order, and for the study of the politics in the Ottoman Empire, particularly for the factors at work in the decision making process.

Besides the above mentioned content of the letters Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî sent to the sultans it is also possible to depict some points of interest which enables us to have a discussion of the place of *Tezâkir* among the advice literature of the period, and of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's possible standing with respect to the topics raised by the Kadızâdelis.

CHAPTER III: THE CONTEXT

3.1. The *Nasihatnâme* Literature and *Tezâkir*

Since after World War II, both our conception of the social sciences and the Ottoman history as a subheading of it changed in a significant way. We no longer conceive history as the chronology of the coming up and down of the sultans and of the striking military encounters between the political entities. Rather, researches in history with a new conception taught us that history comprehends all aspects of human experience on the world including social and political structures not only peculiar to a time, a place and a group of people but also in connection with each other in such a way that each event is affected by and is contributing to the turn of events all over the globe. These researches aimed at understanding the why and how of events, in addition to the questions of when and who, applied to the Ottoman history, was facilitated with the information that the vast archival material present in the rich archives of the Ottoman state provided, which was made ready for study by the Turkish Republic by then. The interest in the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire at home was also triggered with the concern of the new Republic, as heir to the Ottoman state, to find solutions to the social and economic problems that was pressing during the period.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁴ Halil İnalçık, "Ottoman Social and Economic History: A Review" *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*. "Birinci Uluslararası Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi Kongresi" Tebliğleri, Hacettepe University, Ankara, July 11-13, 1977, ed. Halil İnalçık and Osman Okyar, Meteksan, Ankara, 1980; p. 1; Halil

When all the questions that arises from modern research topics⁴³⁵ are sought after it becomes apparent that a series of developments, both within and abroad, had culminated during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries which resulted in radical changes in the economic, demographic, social, political and military structures of the Ottoman Empire in the following periods.⁴³⁶ With the insight modern historical research provides we are now able to term these developments as factors leading to a transformation in the 'classical' structure of the Ottoman Empire rather than defining the period as the beginning of the Ottoman 'decline' in the way it had long dominated both the Turkish and European historical thinking.⁴³⁷

Generally accepted argument in western Orientalist scholarship was that Ottoman Empire began to decline from late sixteenth century on, an argument which is now seen as

İnalçık, "The Impact of the Annales School on Ottoman Studies and New Findings", *Review*, I, 3 /4, Winter/Spring 1978, p. 70.

⁴³⁵ For research topics suggested by Marxist school of thought see Halil İnalçık, "On the Social Structure of the Ottoman Empire. Paradigms and Research", *From Empire to Republic. Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History*, The Isis Press, İstanbul, 1995, p. 17-57; İnalçık, "Ottoman Social and Economic History", p. 5-6. For reserch topics raised by the German sociologist Max Weber see Halil İnalçık, "Comments on 'Sultanism': Max Weber's Typification of the Ottoman Polity", Ch. Issawi and B. Lewis, eds., *Occasional Papers*, Princeton (1992), p. 42-65; Halil İnalçık, "Decision Making in the Ottoman State", *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren, İstanbul, 1998, p. 113-121. For research topics insisted by the Annales school of thought see İnalçık, "The Impact of the Annales School on Ottoman Studies and New Findings", p. 69-96; İnalçık, "On the Social Structure of the Ottoman Empire", p. 57-60; İnalçık, "Ottoman Social and Economic History", p. 2-5. Also see Halil İnalçık, "Periods in Ottoman History", *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren, İstanbul, 1998, p. 18-28, for an evaluation of Ottoman History according to the state of equilibrium established between the Ottoman Empire and the foreign powers, according to the state of equilibrium between the ruler's authority and other forces within the Empire, and according to the characteristics of landholding which defined all the social, military and financial structure of the Empire.

⁴³⁶ For an explanation of the role of population pressure, the imbalance between population growth and the extent of arable land during the course of the sixteenth century, in some major structural changes in the Ottoman Empire see Halil İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, VI (1980), p. 285-286. For an explanation of the role of hiring *levends* equipped with firearms by the state for military purposes which resulted in growing number of companies of mercenaries of *reâyâ* origin see Halil İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", p. 288-311. For an explanation of the role of inflation and devaluation as a result of the invasion of cheap silver from the West which resulted in the collapse of the Ottoman monetary system see Halil İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", p. 311-337. For changes in land holding administration during the course of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and for an evaluation of the struggle between the provincial governors and the central government see Halil İnalçık, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration", *Studies in Eigteenth Century Islamic History*, eds. T. Naff and R. Owen, London, 1977, p: 27-52.

⁴³⁷ For an attempt at re-periodization of Ottoman history according to the changes in the land system and the social groups which gained dominance in the government and society largely through their control of the land see Kemal H. Karpat, "The Stages of Ottoman History. A Structural Comparative Approach", in *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, ed. by Kemal Karpat, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1974, p. 79-98. For an attempt to depict the inherent decentralizing tendencies in the Ottoman social structure see Yaşar Yücel, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Desentralizasyona Dair Genel Gözlemler", *Belleten*, Cilt: XXXVIII/152 (1974), p. 657-708.

having arose from the assumptions that any change in the 'classical' Ottoman administrative system implies worsening conditions and that any loosening of Ottoman authority in the provinces signifies the state's weakness.⁴³⁸ It is interesting to observe that this progressive-positivist understanding of the historians of the west was based on the interpretations of contemporary Ottoman chroniclers and political writers of the period, i. e. the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, and their successors, through the use of these Ottoman sources by western writers in their originals or of their translations.⁴³⁹

Apart from the works of some contemporary historians, who simply observed and defined the existing situation of the Empire according to the Islamic theory of history, the works of Ottoman political writers, a literature which is termed as *nasihatnâme* genre dates from the period. These *nasihatnâme* writers beyond simply defining their age within the predetermined laws of historical development, attempted to identify the reasons and possible ways of solution to the problems that the Empire suffered at the period. However, these treatises were bound with the principles of Near Eastern theory of state for their part. Thus, though they presented some accurate historical findings, their interpretations about the causes and their predictions about the effects of the developments are often misleading.⁴⁴⁰ They saw the solution from recovering from the apparent inefficiency of the existing institutions of state in returning to the idealised past when, they considered, *kânûns* were strictly in operation and failed, in our understanding, to offer ways for adaptation to the newly arose conditions which we are now able to discern with modern methods of research. These works of political

⁴³⁸ Douglas A. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries", *Journal of Asian History*, I, (1988), p. 52.

⁴³⁹ *ibid*, p. 53, 73-77. The impact of the ideas of Islamic political theoreticians, especially Ibn Haldun, is observable in the works of Ottoman history writers like Katip Çelebi and Naima in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Cevdet Paşa and Mustafa Nuri Paşa in the nineteenth century. Laws of historical development as presented by Ibn Haldun, postulates a parallelism between the nature and development of societies with those of man and defines periods of growth, maturity, and decline for each society. This understanding of history was transmitted through the historians of the early twentieth century to form the basic outline for the history of the Ottomans. Halil İnalcık, "Periods in Ottoman History", p. 15-18.

⁴⁴⁰ Halil İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire", p. 284; Halil İnalcık, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire", *The Cambridge History of Islam*, I, Cambridge, 1970, p. 342-343.

writers of the period contributed to the theory of 'decline' with their differentiating between the former Golden Age, usually depicted as the period of Süleyman the Magnificent, and the contemporary period of disorder and degeneration, usually accepted to have begun during the reigns of Murad III and Mehmet III.⁴⁴¹

These writers, whom we call as 'the observers of the Ottoman decline' after a famous article on the subject⁴⁴², wrote in the style of old *nasihatnâmes* reflecting the age-old notions of Near Eastern statecraft⁴⁴³ and presented their observations and criticisms concerning the defects in Ottoman administration.⁴⁴⁴ This attempt among Ottoman statesmen and writers to depict the "causes of this 'change in fortune and deterioration'" of the Empire⁴⁴⁵ with similar points of discussion at a particular time indicates the awareness and the concern of the intellectuals on the point that the organisation of the state and society, once flowed smoothly, no longer proved to be efficient and sets these treatises somehow apart from their predecessors in "Mirrors for Princes" literature of the Middle Eastern tradition.⁴⁴⁶

Mustafa Âlî's *Künhü'l-ahbâr* and his *Nasihatü's-selâtîn* completed during Murad III's reign; Mustafa Âlî's *Füsûlü'l-hallî ve'l-akd ve usûlü'l-harcı ve'n-nakd* completed during Mehmed III's reign and Hasan Kâfî-i Akhisarî's *Usûlü'l-hikem fî nizâmi'l-âlem*, which he translated into Turkish during Mehmed III's reign; Aynî Ali Efendi's *Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*

⁴⁴¹ İnalçık, "Periods in Ottoman History", p. 16; Howard, p. 52-53. This plea for return to the 'Golden Age' was also expressed in the *Adâletnâmes* of the period. İnalçık, "Periods in Ottoman History", p. 16. Also see İnalçık, Halil; "Adâletnâmeler", *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 1965 (C: II, Sayı: 3-4'den) ayırbasım, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1967, p. 49-145.

⁴⁴² Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 1, March 1962, p. 71-87.

⁴⁴³ For the Near Eastern advice to rulers tradition see C. E. Bosworth, "Nasihat al-Muluk", *EP*, p. 984-988; F. Gabrieli, "Adab", *EP*, p. 175-176; R. Walzer and H. A. R. Gibb, "Akhlak", *EP*, p. 325-329. For the genuinely Turkish traditions of ethics and statecraft which exist side by side with those of Indo-Iranian culture in Kutadgu Bilig see İnalçık, Halil; "Turkish and Iranian Political Theories and Traditions in Kutadgu Bilig", in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington, 1993, p. 1-18.

⁴⁴⁴ For an introduction to *nasihatnâme* literature in the Islamic world and for a list of the *nasihatnâme* books found in the Libraries of İstanbul see Agah Sırrı Levend, "Siyasetnameler", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*, 217 (1962), p. 167-94.

⁴⁴⁵ Halil İnalçık, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire", p. 342.

⁴⁴⁶ The immediacy and the urgency in their composition, their intention being more than to give advice on how to rule, i.e., to present a critical analysis of the Ottoman society with warnings against the danger of a social and political breakdown unless the failures that they describe are corrected, and their emphasis on the "centrality of qanun" is suggested as the points that differ the Ottoman *nasihatnâme* literature of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries from their earlier examples of advice literature. Howard, p. 55-56.

der hulâsa-i mezâmîn-i defter-i dîvân presented to Ahmed I; *Kitâb-i Müstetâb* whose author is unknown and which was probably presented to Osman II; Koçi Bey's *Telhîsât der ahvâl-i âlem-i Sultân Murâd Hân* which he presented to Murad IV can be cited to mention only a few of the political treatises which were brought to the attention of the sultans with whom Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî was in contact.⁴⁴⁷

It has been suggested that the *nasihatnâme* literature of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries of the Ottoman Empire "reveal a crucial dialogue among Ottoman intellectuals of the post-Süleymanic age concerning the bases of Ottoman sovereignty and legitimacy"⁴⁴⁸ and that they share certain characteristics. First of all, it is common in these treatises to depict either the reign of Mehmet II or that of Süleyman I as a Golden Age and to see the solution of present problems in the restoration of this idealised past. Secondly, though earlier advice literature of the Islamic world used aphorism and didactic tales of ancient kings, these treatises focused on contemporary institutional failures, injustices and social disruptions. Another common theme in these treatises is their authors' being from among bureaucrats, administrators and men of education who were knowledgeable about and committed to the Ottoman tradition of rule as they were involved with the daily functioning of the government.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷ Yaşar Yücel, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Kaynaklar. Kitâb-i Müstetâb, Kitabu Mesâlihi'l Müslimîn ve Menâfi'i'l- Mü'minîn, Hırzû'l-Mülûk*, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1988, p. xv-xix, 51-55, 145-148. Koçi Bey's treatise was completed in 1630 after Hüdâyî's death. Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline", p. 74-78. *Hırzû'l-Mülûk*, whose author is known, presented either to Murad III or Murad IV also dates from the period. See Yücel; p. 145-166. An important work with similar arguments addressed to Ahmed I in prose form, whose writer is assumed to be Veysi, dating from early seventeenth century is introduced in Yaşar Yücel, "XVI-XVII. Yüzyıl Edebi Metinlerinde Rastlanan Osmanlı Devlet Yapısı ve Toplum Düzenine Ait Bazı Görüş ve Bilgiler", *Belleten*, LI/200 (1987), p. 921-925; and E.J.W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. 3, London, 1904, p. 208-218. Also see Lewis, p. 74.

⁴⁴⁸ Howard, p. 54. Also see Rifaat Abou Hadj, "The Ottoman Nasihatname As a Discourse Over «Morality»", *Revue d'Histoire Maghrebine*, Vol. 47-8, 1987, p. 27. For a discussion of the deeper roots in the Ottoman intellectual tradition of the points of discussion in the *nasihatnâmes* of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries and for an argument of whether the fifteenth or sixteenth century Golden Age ever existed in the light of Şehzade Korkud's summons see Cornell Fleischer, "From Şehzade Korkud to Mustafa Ali: Cultural Origins of the Ottoman Nasihatname", in *Third Congress on Social and Economic History of Turkey*, Isis Press, İstanbul, 1990, p. 67-77.

⁴⁴⁹ Fleischer, "From Şehzade Korkud to Mustafa Ali: Cultural Origins of the Ottoman Nasihatname", p. 67. The last point suggested by Fleischer is presented in the light of Mustafa Ali's life and works in his Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafâ 'Âlî (1541-1600)*, Princeton Univ.

The arguments raised in these treatises as the reasons for the 'change and corruption' in the functioning of the Ottoman state can be summarised under a number of points. One point is the weakening and fragmentation of the authority of the sultan which they saw as reflected in the issuing of orders from the Palace in the name of the sultan, in irresponsible persons misusing authority for personal gain by taking bribes and selling state offices and revenues, and in the growing lack of interest in the affairs of state all of which resulted in the weakening of the central authority which in turn brought disorder in the provinces. According to them, as the sultan's authority had weakened and as bribery and corruption had become so widespread, it became impossible to keep the constitutional laws of the Empire in force and to guard them from alterations. Secondly, they observed the disfunctioning of the *devşirme* system and the admission of Muslim *reâyâ* into the army and court offices as one of the causes of current troubles. According to them, the well-being of the state and society depended first of all on the strict separation of the different estates and on keeping the masses in their proper place. Appropriation of *timars* by court favourites and other prominent men led to the dissolution of the *sipâhî* cavalry and this caused an increase in the numbers, influence and expenses of the *kapı-kulu* standing forces which caused both the weakening of the frontier defences of the Empire and the peasantry to drift from the land to become irregular troops, bandits or to go to the cities, the Balkans, Persia or Crimea, now that they were deprived of the protection of the *sipâhî timar*-holders. As the *reâyâ* replaced the *kuls*, slaves trained to implement the sultan's power, the sultan's authority could no longer be implemented and

Press, 1986. For an evaluation of the argument whether "the bureaucratic group" within the Ottoman state "really attempted to assert itself as an autonomous body with well-defined responsibilities and immunities guaranteed under the *kanun* and attempted to carry out government activities within the pre-established rules and regulations" see Halil İnalcık, "Decision Making in the Ottoman State", p. 115-121. Quotation is from the article p. 115. Also see İnalcık, Halil; "Comments on 'Sultanism'", p. 56-58; Halil İnalcık, "State and Ideology under Süleyman I" in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society*, Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, Vol. 9, Bloomington, 1993, p. 88-91. Also see Rifaat Abou Hadj, "The Ottoman Nasihatname As a Discourse Over «Morality»", p. 26-27 and Rhoads Murphy, "The Veliyyüddin Telhis: Notes on the Sources and Interrelations Between Koçi Bey and Contemporary Writers of Advice to Kings", *Belleten*, XLIII/171, (1979), p. 555-556.

lands might be left uncultivated and consequently taxes unpaid.⁴⁵⁰ They believed if the old legal system, the institutions of the 'Golden Age', were restored, i. e., if the absolute authority of the sultan in the centre, the system of entrusting important military functions to the sultan's slaves and of keeping a *timar* cavalry were revitalised, recovery from the existing situation could be possible and the Empire would reassume its past greatness.⁴⁵¹

As described above we are now able to identify the various developments both within and outside the Empire which culminated in the 'crisis' in the state and society and, perceive what the *nasihatnâme* writers had presented as the results of deviating from the path of *kânûns*, rather as symptoms of a longer process affected both by inside and outside factors. Thus, our perception of the developments within the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has turned into an understanding of the age as a period of 'transformation' rather than as a period of 'decline'.⁴⁵² However it is important to understand the intellectual foundations of the thinking of the *nasihatnâme* writers as they were simply reflecting the underlying motifs of the Ottoman institutions of state which had bounded this polity together so long as one of the strongest Empires of its age.

The comments of the sixteenth-seventeenth century Ottoman *nasihatname* writers reflect the traditional notions of Ottoman statecraft which was an amalgamation of Iranian-Islamic and Inner Asian political-philosophical traditions which came to characterise the Near Eastern states since about the ninth century.⁴⁵³ Infact, the Ottoman concept of state and law was for the most part a continuation of the tradition of the earlier Turcic-Muslim rulers, which

⁴⁵⁰ İnalcık, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire", p. 342; İnalcık "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire", p. 283-284. For an evaluation of the analysis of the *timar* system by the *nasihatnâme* writers see Howard, p. 59-73.

⁴⁵¹ Halil İnalcık, "Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, Vol. I, 1969, p. 105-106; İnalcık, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire", p. 343.

⁴⁵² For an evaluation of the ideas put forward by the Ottoman *nasihatnâme* writers of the period and by the modern researchers on the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire see Mehmet Öz, "Onyedinci Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti: Buhran, Yeni Şartlar ve Islahat Çabaları Hakkında Genel Bir Değerlendirme", *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Sayı: 58, Kasım-Aralık 1999, p. 48-53. For a number of suggestions for a proper treatment of the works of the Ottoman *nasihatnâme* writers of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries and for a comparison between the European

combined in the person of the Sultan the Turkic and the Persian ideals of sovereign.⁴⁵⁴ It was mainly the *ulema* who laid emphasis on the Islamic notions, whereas the *küttab* (bureaucrats) insisted on the Turco-Iranian traditions within the Ottoman state.⁴⁵⁵

The basic theory in the Near Eastern statecraft was that “the sultan could not be powerful without soldiers, soldiers could not do without money, and the treasury could not have money without the peasants. The last could only be prosperous and pay their taxes if there were justice in the state.”⁴⁵⁶ The second equally important principle was the strict separation of the classes that made up the society.⁴⁵⁷ Ottoman *nasihatnâme* writers based their thinking on these two fundamental principles of the Near Eastern statecraft and related the causes of the ‘crisis’ in the Empire to the abandonment of these principles.

Justice in this understanding of state “is defined as the prevention and elimination of the oppressive acts, *zulm*, by those who exercise power in the name of the ruler, through its *diwan al-mazalim* or the Ottoman *Diwan-i Hümayun* functioning as a supreme court, through a constant check and spying on the governors, summary punishments under the *siyasa* laws, the periodic promulgation of the ‘*adalet-names* or rescripts of justice, and *rik’a* and *arz-i mahdar* or petition rights against the abuses of power of the public agents.”⁴⁵⁸ The protection of the subjects against the abuses of the representatives of authority and in particular against illegal taxation was considered as the sovereign’s most important duty.

In the Persian tradition of state justice was regarded as a grace and favour of the sovereign’s absolute authority and equity of government was regarded as depending ultimately on the sovereign’s ethical qualities. According to the Turkish tradition of state, however,

“Mirrors for Princes” literature of the period see Rifaat Abou Hadj, “The Ottoman Nasihatname As a Discourse Over «Morality»”, p. 17-30

⁴⁵³ Howard, p. 56.

⁴⁵⁴ İnalcık, “Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law”, p. 107. Also see Halil İnalcık, “Osmanlı Padişahı”, *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. XIII, 1958, p. 68-79.

⁴⁵⁵ İnalcık, “State and Ideology under Süleyman I”, p. 70.

⁴⁵⁶ İnalcık, “The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire”, p. 343.

⁴⁵⁷ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 68-69. Also see İnalcık, “Comments on ‘Sultanism’”, p. 44-52.

⁴⁵⁸ İnalcık, “State and Ideology under Süleyman I”, p. 71. Also see Halil; “Adâletnâmeler”, p. 49-86.

justice meant the impartial application of the *törü* or *yasa*, the code of laws which the founder of the state had established.⁴⁵⁹ “The ruler’s law” was accommodated in the Islamic tradition, which upheld the notion that there could be no law but the *şeriat*, with the argument that the ruler’s law was necessary for the upholding of the *şeriat* and that it was intended for the regulation of matters of state outside the realm of the holy law and by the middle of the fifteenth century justice was equated with the application of the *kanun* in the Ottoman political philosophy, which is observable in the discussions of the *nasihatnâme* writers of the period.⁴⁶⁰

As it has described in the previous chapter, *Tezâkir* contains various points of contact between Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî and the sultans. In fact, as the special period of turmoil that the Empire underwent coincides with the date of writing of the letters that make up *Tezâkir*, bearing in mind the educational background of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî and the experience of him in daily politics as the *şeyh* of the sultans, it would rather be obscure if this correspondence between him and the sultans did not include points related with this urgent concern of the Empire. Being a sincere personal communication between this influential dervish and the sultans, the content of *Tezâkir* also includes Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî’s advises to the sultans on rules of good conduct of government besides the various points of advises related to politics and foreign policy which, as we have seen, him always merging with religion, including both the exoteric and esoteric interpretations of Islam. Thus, it is interesting to try to find relations between the comments of the *nasihatnâme* writers and those of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî on the rules of good conduct of government, as found in *Tezâkir*, in this special time of change both within and outside the Ottoman Empire.

In *Tezâkir*, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî expresses his intention in his relationship with the sultan as “to guard and protect the world, the religion, the sultanate and the mighty honour of

⁴⁵⁹ İnalçık, “Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law”, p. 107; İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 66-67.

⁴⁶⁰ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 67; Howard, p. 56-59.

the sultan through thoughtful action and holy incantations and to be a honest helper, sincere assistant of him by making him reach God.”⁴⁶¹ Thus on every occasion he reminds the sultan about the importance of being obedient to and serving God and his Prophet. He relates his advises on the requirements of sultanate also to the Kuranic and the Prophetic traditions.

In one letter in which he interprets the dream of the sultan, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî praises the sultan for his being specially and devotedly attached to, and for his striving to deepen himself about, the truth of God and the Prophet and considers the dream, which was a true dream bringing glad tidings according to him, as a fruit of his serving the worshippers of God and the community of the Prophet with sincerity of heart. He reminds God’s being very merciful and compassionate to his worshippers and the Prophet’s being affectionately solicitous about his people and mentions that serving the worshippers of God and the community of the Prophet with sincerity of heart is the greatest quality, function of the one who succeeds and represents the Prophet. While interpreting the dream as a sign of definite success in a, naval, campaign in worldly affairs he interprets it as a sign of the sultan’s being subject to the sight of God which would preserve him from being injured.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶¹ See The Letters: Correspondance with the Sultans.

⁴⁶² “Sa’âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım hakikat-i Hakk’a ve hakikat-i Resûlullah’a kemal ihtisâsın ve tamâm istiksânız ve ‘ibâdullah’a ve ümmet-i Resûlullah’a hulûs ile hizmetiniz semeresidir. Zâhir budur. Hakk Celle ve ‘Alâ ‘ibâdına ne mertebe erhamdır ve Resûlu’l-İlah da ümmetine ne mertebe eşfâkdir. Şeri’at-i mutahhere ve sünnet-i münevvere ile ‘ibâdullah[a] ve ümmet-i Resûlu’l-İlah[a] hulûs ile hizmet hilâfet-i kübrâ ve niyâbet-i ‘uzmâdır. Niyetiniz dâ’im ve zâhiren ve bâtinen hayırdır ve rızâullah ve rızâ-yı Resûlullahdır. Harem-i hakikat-i Ahmedîyye dâ’iresinde dâhil olub muhterem olmak ‘ismet-i samedîyyeye işâretidir. Rû’yâ-yı sâdika ve mübeşşire olduğuna badehu vâride olan ayât-i beyyînât-i rabbâniye şâhidedir. Zâhiren ve bâtinen rûtbe-i ‘âliyye ve rıf’at-i müte’âliyye işâret olduğundan gayrı Cenâb-i Celîl’den va’ad-i cemiledir. [...] ayetleri ve hakikat-i Muhammediye’nin nüzûli vâsıtasıyla ve ol ak sancak fûtuhât-i bâtineye işâret olduğundan gayrı zâhirde de feth-i ‘azîm olmasına işâret ve ganimet-i kübrâ ile beşâretidir. Hazret-i Hakk’ın ‘inâyeti ve heza ayeti olıcak ve Resûlullah’ın takayyüdü ve teveccühü olıcak sâ’ir resûl ve enbiyâ ve evliyâ anlara muhâlefet etmezler. Bir kimse manzar-ı Hakk olıcak küll olur şübhesiz. Allahu ta’âla yevmen fe yevmen anen fe anen terakkîler ve telakkîler müyesser ide. Amîn ya Mu’în. Ve bu hakikat-i Ahmedîyye’nin enbiyâ ve evliyâ ile nüzûli ve ihâtası ve emvâcî derya gibi teşekkülû ve temevvücû derya seferinedir işâret olmak ve anın içün cem’ ve ittifâk ve teveccüh ol cânib aksâ-yı maksûd olmasına işûretidir. İnşallahü’l-Kerîm asâr-i ‘acîbesi ‘an-karîb ve esrâr-i garîbesi zuhûra gelür. Hakk Celle vücûd-i şerîfinizi hatâlardan hıfz idüb ‘ömr-i tavîl müyesser idüb şarkda ve garbdâ zâhiren ve bâtinen ervâ-i fûtuhât ile memluve ve meşhûne ola. Ve’s-selâm ‘ale’d-devâm.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr.323, p. 93b-94a.

In a letter, written probably to Murad III, whose reign (1574-1595) coincides with the prevalence of the apocalyptic views within the Ottoman society⁴⁶³, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî gives a number of advises to the sultan. He emphasises his own duty as to remind in accordance with the Prophet's claim that "the true faith is proper admonition".⁴⁶⁴ He refers to another saying of the Prophet in which he foretold the role that would be played by one among his community at the beginning of each a hundred years in strengthening and renewing Islam when it is weakened and mentions the role played by the Caliph Ömer. Then he stresses the importance and honour of bestowing as much care and attention as possible on the execution of certain endeavours in line with the tradition of the Prophet. He lists these important and honourable endeavours, in execution of which the sultan would certainly show diligence, as first of all paying attention and firmly resolving to put into execution and reinvigorating *ahkâm-i şeri'at-i mutahhere*, *adâb-i tarîkat*, and *sünnet-i münevvere*. Then he mentions the importance of and honour in introducing firm decrees and orders and notifying and confirming the Ministers of State, the *ulema*, the *meşâyih* and the other servants of religion and Islam. Thirdly he mentions the importance of annulling fits of intoxication and instruments of frivolous occupations. Fourthly he refers to the importance of and honour in paying particular attention to the gathering of Muslims in mosques and places of worship and carrying out the ceremonies of Islam. Then he mentions the importance of notifying those who abandon the service of worship of Islam and those who impede righteousness⁴⁶⁵ and giving of alms and to punish with the law of God those who reiterate in restraining and those who hinder. Then of hindering, repelling and suppressing the most corrupt brigands and unrighteous and sinners with whatever good arrangements may be possible. Finally he

⁴⁶³ See Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*.

⁴⁶⁴ Translation is Abou-El-Haj's. Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State. The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1991, p. 91.

⁴⁶⁵ *Zekât* means both righteousness, devotion, purification and an obligatory rate (generally of one fortieth) on one's property, set apart as God's due, and religiously dispensed to the poor, as a purification of the remainder. *A Turkish and English Lexicon*.

stresses the importance of endeavouring to diminish the number of wrongdoers as much as possible in the regions and districts and being as much merciful and compassionate as possible to the community of Islam and to the worshippers of God. He mentions these would cause the affection and good prayers of all the public, the state servants, *ulema*, *meşâyih* and the orphans and all the *arz ü semâ* and *eflâk ü 'arş ü kürsi* and particularly the Prophets and especially God Almighty would be pleased which would cause augmentation of prosperity in this world and the world to come and felicity and safety in all the worlds.⁴⁶⁶

In a letter, after praising the sultan for being a possessor of the ultimate knowledge, as many signs reveals, Hüdâyî reminds the sultan of his being bound with understanding that the community of believers and the worshippers of God are to be treated with mercy and compassion. Otherwise the sultan would be betraying the trust of God, as being able and not acting in accordance is not approved by God and as being a man of knowledge means carrying a heavy burden. He refers to a tradition of the Prophet in which he had claimed that God Almighty had taken the same oath from the Prophets and from the men of knowledge,

⁴⁶⁶ “Sa’âdetlü ve mürüvvettlü pâdişâhım Hakk Celle ve ‘Alâ ‘ömr-i ‘azîzinizi hayr eyleyüb kemâl-i ‘adl ü istikâmet ve tamâm-i ‘ilm ü irfân ve hikmet eyleye. Amin. Hâtır-i kâsıra bir nesne gelür. Sizler sa’âdetimiz a’lemsiz. Hafi bir nesne yokdur. Lakin du’âcılarınıza lâzım olan e’d-dînü’n-nasihat mucibince tezkire ve tezkîrdür. Mâ hatır bi’l-bâl oldur ki Resûl-i Ekrem sallallahu ‘aleyhi ve ‘s-sellem buyurur ‘Her yüz yılın başında ümmetimden bir kimse dîn-i İslâma za’af gelmiş iken takviye ve tecdîd ider’ buyurmuş. Hatta ‘Ömer bin ‘Abdü’l-‘Azîz yüz başına düşüb bu hizmet ile müşerref olmuş. İmdi sa’âdetlü ve mürüvvettlü pâdişâhım hem yüz başı ve hem bin başıdır. Mehmâ emken ihtimâm olunsa ve dikkat ve himmet olunsa ehemm ve ekrem idi. Ahkâm-i şeri’at-i mutahhere ve adâb-i tarîkat ve sünnet-i münevvere icrâ ve ihyâ olunmada aranıcak tekayyüd olunsa ve tasim olunsa. Vüzerâya ve İslâma muhkem hükümler ve emirler ibraz olunsa ve tenbîh ve te’kîd olunsa. Ve sekerât ve alât-i lehv ve lu’b ref’ olunsa. Ve mesâcid ve me’âbidde ehl-i İslâm cem’ olub şe’â’ir-i dîn ü İslâm icrâ olunmakda dikkat olunsa. Ve terkü’s-salât ve mâni’ü’z-zekât ve ‘s-sadakât olanlara tenbîh ve te’kîd-i zecr ve men’ ve ıktizâ’ idene bir mikdâr şer’le siyâset ve ukûbet olunsa. Ve eşîrr-i eşkiyâ ve fesaka ve fecere mehmâ emken hüsn-i tertîb ile men’ ve def’ ve ref’ olunsa. Ve etrâf ü eknâfda olan mezâlim-i ‘ibâd ‘âlemine mehmâ emken merhamet ve ruhsat oluna dimek hatırlarıdır. [...] mucibince pâdişâhım mukayyed olur ve cemî’ ‘âmme ü hassa ve ‘ulemâ ve meşâyih ve eytâm ziyâde muhabbet idüb hayr du’âlar iderler ve cemî’ arz ü semâ ve eflâk ü ‘arş ü kürsi ve husûsan el-enbiyâ ve ‘l-mürselîn ve husûsan Rabbü’l-‘âlemîn hazretlerine ziyâde hoş gelüb izdiyâd-i devlet-i dâreyn ve sa’âdet ü selâmet fi’l-‘âlemîne sebeb olur.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr.323, p. 5a-5b. The proper reading is “Vüzeraya ve vükelaya ve ülemaya ve meşâyihya ve sair hüddam-ı dine ve İslama muhkem hükümler ve emirler ibraz olunsa. (...) Ve etraf ü eknafda olan mezalim, ibad-ı alemine mehma-emken takliline himmet ve ümmet-i merhumeye ve ibadullah’a mehma-emken merhamet ve ruhsat oluna” in Güven, p. 101.

thus the man of knowledge would be questioned and reproved on whether he had acted with what he knows and whether he had taught those who do not know.⁴⁶⁷

In a letter Hüdâyî mentions the sultan's being the shadow and representative of God on earth and his being mere goodness and the greatest mercy of God upon the people of God. He praises the sultan for his heart's being free from doubt, perplexity or suspicion and for the object of his purpose being genuine. He also praises the sultan for his wish being God's approval and his highest aim being perfecting himself in God's knowledge. He reminds that the sultan's kindness towards and placing gladness among the people is a requirement of his noble glory in essence. He also reminds that the sultan is bestowed with God's immense trust and that the weight of being a successor to and representative of the Prophet is great. The sultan is completely sunk with God's blessings in the seen and the unseen worlds, according to Hüdâyî, and has been bestowed with God's blessings and kindness which could not be enumerated. Thus, the sultan should always be occupied with and thinking of a certain *ayet* from Kur'ân. This would cause the augmentation of God's blessings, the expansion of prosperity, the opening of the doors of God's supreme dominion, the abundance of the light of the sum of the divine attributes and of mysteries of divinity. The requirement of the sultan's noble quality is not to manifest corollary to God's approval and to the canonical law of Islam to anyone in the seen or the unseen. He mentions that there is a great number of existences,

⁴⁶⁷ Here, Hüdâyî also mentions he himself is taking great pains with zeal to do his duty well towards God: "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım emânet-i ilahiyye 'aleyne sakile-i mu'ânnidini mücâdele ile da'vet ve müminleri mev'iza-i hasene ile irşâd ve terbiyet ve mürîd ve sâlikleri hikmet ile nasihat lâzım olmuş mehmâ emken. (...) Pâdişâhım elhamdülillâh ehl-i hikmet ve sâhib-i ma'rifetsiniz. Rumûz ve işârât kifâyet ider ve teveccüh ve ikbâl ve tazarru' ve murâkabe beyt-i ma'rifet-i ilahiyye-i ma'rûfa delâlet ider. (...) Ve 'âmme-i müminin ve 'ibâdullahü'l-mahcûbin merhamete ve şefkate mahallerdir ve anlamaz isen emânete hıyânet itmiş olursunuz. Kâdir olub etmemek rızâ-yı Hakk değildir. Ve ehl-i 'ilm olmak ağır yük haml etmektir. Olmamak evvelde müşgildir. Resûl-i Ekrem sallallahu 'aleyhi ve's-sellem 'bir kimse ehl-i 'ilm olsa andan Allahu ta'âla nebîlerden aldığı 'ahd almışdır.' 'Bildüğün ile 'amel etdün mü ve bilmeyenlere öğretdün mü' deyu su'âl ve 'itâb olsa gerekdir. Gayret ile ortalıkda tekellüf ideyoruz. Böyle ki rızâ ü vech-i vücûd-i mutlak ihsânına liyâkat ola deyu. Allahu ta'âla hazretleri pâdişâhım gayretinizi ziyâde eyleye ve rıfatınıza ve ma'rifetinize ızdıyâdlar müyesser ide. Tevâzu'nuz ve inkayâdınız tamâm ve iştiyâkınız külli tamâm 'ilmimiz olmuşdur. Kalbimiz mukayyed ve müteveccih ve mutazarrı'dır. Kâdir olduğumuzu ezhâr etmezüz. Makdûrumuz mebzûldür. Riyâımız yokdur ve ikbâlimiz kalben ve kalben ve lisanen velâ tamamdır. Böyle ki Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ'dan ricâ idelim 'an karîb tamâm-i tecellî ve kemâl-i tesellî ide. Amin ya Mu'in." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr.323, p. 7b-8a.

different kinds of qualities and distinct capacities and that God's behest and judgements arrive accordingly. However, due to his noble qualities and religious zeal the sultan moans and feels grief and suffers, by thinking if he was good then they would also be good, attributing the fault to himself. Here, Hüdâyî mentions that this is in accordance with the Prophet's tradition and that the Prophet also moaned which caused the arrival of God's consolation. He praises the sultan for being extremely astonished and suffering regretful sorrow by seeing the marks of God's might and, in the face of it, being extremely patient and consented with God's decree by which all events occur and with the decrees which he is charged with by the Great Distributor of blessings. There are both rewards and punishments. The Subduer form of God is not free from grace and the divine attributes of wrath and kindness are not free from expelling the troubles and from removing the pleasures of the enemies. Finally, he advises the sultan to inquire so that he would see the marks in the seen and the unseen and God's permanent reward would manifest in its fixed time. He reminds that God should be respected, perfectly believed in and completely relied on. He mentions a certain *zîkr* as the word of God and as the firmest handle to hold.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁸ "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ vücûd-i şerîfinizi zâhiren ve bâtunen hatâdan ve halelden hıfz ve masûn ve ma'sûm kılub cemî' murâdat ve makâsıdınızı dünyevi ve uhrevi müyesser ide. Amîn ya Mu'in. Sizler sa'âdetimiz zıllu'l-illahsınız ve halîfetu'l-illahsınız ve halku'l-illah üzerine hayr-ı mahzsındır, rahmet-i kübrâsınız. Sadrınız selîmdir ve kalbiniz emîndir ve tab'ınız tabîbdır ve zâhirdir ve niyetiniz hâlısa ve muhlisadır. Rızâ-yı Hakk matlab-ı a'lânîz ve tekml-i merâtib-i memâsik-i vechi'l-mutlak maksad-ı aksânıdır. Ve 'âmme-i halka ihsân ve idhâlû's-sürûr bi'z-âat zât ve şân-i şerîfinizin muktezâsıdır. Ve üzerinize de olan emânet-i ilahîye-i 'azîmedir ve eskâl-i hilâfet zâhirde kebîre ve kesîredir. Ve ni'met-i ilahîyeye zâhiren ve bâtunen ve enfûsen ve afâken müstağraksınız. Sizlere olan in'âm-i Rabbânî ve ihsân-i ilahî olmuşdur. İhsâ kâbil değildir ve mukâbelesinde dâ'ima [...] demek lazımdır. [...] mazmûnuna iştigâl ve fikr mühimdir. İzdiyâd-i ni'met ve intişâr-i devlet ve şüyû'-i şevket ve fütûh-i ebvâb-i melekût ve feyezân-i envâr-i ceberrût ve esrâr-i lâhût olmaklığa sebebdır. Ve muktezâ-yı tab'-ı şerîfiniz enfûsde ve afâkda rızâ-yı Hakk'ın hilâfi ve şer'-i şerîfin hilâfi bir kişiye zuhûr etmemekdir. Ve lakin muktezâ-yı kesret-i kevnîye ve tabâyı'-i muhtelif ve isti'dâd-i mutebâyine olub ana göre irâdet-i ilahîye ve ahkâm-i Rabbâniye vâride olduğundan tab'-i şerîfiniz gayret-i dininiz ecilden te'ellüm ve tahazzun hâsıl olub kusûr bendedir deyûb ben eyû olsam bunlar da eyû olurdu deyûb müte'ellim olursunuz. Hüzünler ve [melâmetler] çekersiniz. Nitekim Resûl-i ekrem sallallahu 'aleyhi ve's-sellem öyle iderdi. Dâ'imâ müte'ellim olur idi. Ana göre cânib-i Hakk'dan tesliye vârid olurdu. İmdi asâr-i kudret-i ilahî müşâhade idüb hayretde ve hasretde olub müte'ellim ve mutahazzın olmakda ve anın mukâbelesinde sabr ü rızâ bi'l-kazâ ve emr-i tefvîz ilâ'l-llahi'l-feyyâz etmede nihâyetsiniz. Ecirler ve cezâlar vardır. Ve sûret-i kahr[d]a nice lûtuslar ve celâlde ve cemâlde nice envâ'-i belâlar def' ve sürûr-i a'dâ def' ve ref' olmadan aslâ hâli değildir. Tefahhus itseniz zâhirde ve bâtında ve enfûsde ve afâkda asârın müşâhade kılarınsınız ve bakâyâ-yı Rabbâniye mevâkâtıyla gelür zuhûr ider. Mevlâ cânibine hüsn-i zan ve kemâl-i i'tikâd ve tamâm-i i'timâd lâzımdır. [...] kelâmı Rabbânîdir. Urve ü vuskâdır." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade nr.323, p. 52b-53a.

In another letter, Hüdâyî draws the attention of the sultan to a certain *ayet* from Kur'ân which, he acknowledges that, is about the praiseworthy moral qualities of the Prophet and had descended as a result of the mercy, compassion, gentleness, forbearance and forgiveness that the Prophet manifested during the War of Uhud. He emphasises that those praiseworthy qualities which the Prophet is characterised with are divine morals. He reminds that the sultan is the shadow of God on earth and the successor and representative of the Prophet. Such praiseworthy moral qualities and such gracious attributes is a requisite for the sultan and he should be possessing the same qualities. This is a decree of God together with more and more trusting and confiding in God. These are also the signs of becoming characterised with the manifestation of God's person and of existing with the mysteries of names and attributes of God. The sultan is God's mercy upon the mankind and he should be forgiving and compassionate. The defective reason and deficient populations is not free from neglect and failing to fulfil their duties so they should be instructed, corrected, redressed and treated with forgiveness. Finally, he mentions that surrendering to God Almighty is indispensable and prays for God's perfecting and completing his blessings.⁴⁶⁹

From a letter which begins with Hüdâyî's pray for the augmentation of the sultan's (religious) zeal and thoughtful endeavours, we learn that a certain saying of the sultan (or a certain precept he issued) made Hüdâyî glad as it reflects the sultan's (religious) zeal and thoughtful endeavours. He prays for God to increase manifold his blessings and forgiveness

⁴⁶⁹ At the end of the letter, Hüdâyî demands forgiveness from the sultan, probably for himself, by mentioning the deficiency and weakness of the mankind. "*Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım [...] Resûl-i Ekrem sallallahu 'aleyhi ve's-sellem hazretlerinin hisâl-i hamîdesi hakkında nâzil olmuştur. Yevm-i Uhud'da ashâbdan radiallahu 'anhum sâdır olan husûs için. Etdüklerine kalmayub anda merhamet ve şefkat ve rıfk ve hilm ve 'afv ve tecâvüz üzerine oldukları için. (...) Ol hisâl-i hamîde ahlâk-i ilahiyyedir. Anınla Resûlu'l-İlah sallallahu 'aleyhi ve's-sellem mutahallika olmuştur. (...) İmdi sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım zıllu'l-İlahsınız ve halîfe-i Resûlu'l-İlahsınız. Ol ahlâk-i hamîde ve sıfât-i kerîme ile tahalluk ve ittisâf pâdişâhıma lâzımdır ve mutahallık ve muttasıf olmanıza işâretidir. İzdiyâd ve 'l-ittikâl ile emridir ve dahî tecellî-i Zât ile tahalluk ve esrâr-i esmâ' ü sıfât ile tahakkuk 'alâmeti oldur. Zirâ 'âleme rahmet olmuştunuz. Merhamet ve şefkat lâzımdır. 'Ukûl-i kâsıra ve nûfûs-i nâkîsa kusûr ve taksîât etmeden hâli olmaz. Ana göre te'dîb ve terbiye ve ıslâh ve 'afv ve tecâvüz lâzımdır. Ve Cenâb-i 'izzete teveccüh ve tazarru' ve tevekkülde tefvîz lâbüddür. Allahu ta'âla hazretleri bu ni'meti itmâm ve ikmâl müyesser ide. Amîn ya Muîin. İmdi lâzımdır geldi du'âcınızın da suçunu 'afv idersiniz. Zirâ insan mahall-i noksândır ve beşer mahall-i halel ve hatardır.*" Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr.323, p. 8b-9a.

upon, and for God's being perfectly contented with, the noble and great ancestors of the sultan as they had exalted thoughtful endeavours and their (religious) zeal was abundant. According to Hüdâyî, they held the purified *şeri'at* and the illuminated *sünnet* in esteem and treated the worshippers of God with perfect mercy and compassion so that so much tracks and 'miracles' of them came into being. He praises the sultan for, despite the strength and might, perfect aptness and full imperial majesty of the times of the sultan's sovereignty and sultanate, to such a degree that had never seen before, and despite the perfect zeal of the sultan in the seen and the unseen, his still amply undertaking care and attention. He reminds that the purpose of God Almighty and the utmost intention of the Prophet is the removal of wrongs and the execution of justice, the annulling of *bidats* and the reinvigoration of the tracks of *sünnet*, the removal of the dominion of the instincts and the execution of the decrees of *şeri'at* and that they would never approve the contrary. At this point he mentions the rectitude and equity of the sultan and showing no inclination to or approving the contrary. He adds that such moral virtues would certainly bring victory in this world and in the world to come. He continues that the sultan knows what would be approved by God Almighty and the Prophet. He advises that the sultan should be exerting himself for completing and perfecting such endeavours by expanding his head and life. He further should show no neglect and should pay particular attention and care on these points. He mentions that perfect justice results in blessedness. Blessedness would cause the manifestation of the tracks of God's mercy and of delightful mysteries in the seen and the unseen. He reminds that properly appreciating the value of a blessing and expressing gratitude for it would cause the augmentation of the blessings. Ingratitude, which should be avoided, would cause the disappearance and concealment of them.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁷⁰ "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım Allahu ta'âla gayretinizi ve himmetinizi ziyâde eyleye. Amîn. Bu kelimât-i tayyibenzden kemâl mertebe mesrûr oldum zirâ gayret ile olur ne olursa. Gayret ve himmet elbette lâzımdır. Abâ ü kirâmınız ve ecdâd-i 'izâmınız Allahu ta'âla ız'âf-i muzâ'afe rahmetler ve mağfiretler idüb kemâl mertebe râzı ola. Himmetler[i] 'âliyye ve gayretleri külliye idi. Şeri'at-ı mutahhereye ve sünnet-i münevvereye ri'âyet ve

In all of the above mentioned letters Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's advises are based on the Islamic understanding of sultanate. He frequently reminds the sultan of his being the shadow of God on earth and his being a representative of Prophet Muhammad and acknowledges what would be in line with their approval. He supports the advises he offers always with references to Kur'ân and the traditions of the Prophet. The stress on personal piety and justice are also found in the *nasihatnâmes* of the period. However, *nasihatnâme* writers analyse the existing institutions of state and the efficiency of rules regulating them where they are rather guided by practical concerns. The *nasihatnâme* writers give accurate examples of functioning of certain departments of state and the duties that should be fulfilled by certain classes of society where it is possible to see the reflections of the principles of the Persian statecraft.

Hüdâyî's advises to the sultans on the sultan's duty toward and proper way of treating the *reâyâ* is also guided by Islamic notions where, however, it is also possible to see the practical concern of the *nasihatnâme* writers, summarised in the formula of the circle of equity mentioned above. However, the Islamic notion that God had entrusted the *reâyâ* to the ruler, and the ruler is duty-bound, as head of the Islamic community, to lead the *reâyâ* along the path of the God's decree, is the underlying motif of Hüdâyî's advises on this subject.

'ibâdullahâ kemâl mertebe merhamet ve şefkat ile bu kadar asârları ve kerâmetleri burûz ve zuhûr itmîş idi. Ve sa'âdetlü pâdişâhım eyyâm-i devletinizde ve ez mân-i saltanatınızda olan kuvvet ve kudret ve kemâl-i kesret ve tamâm-i şevket hiçbir zamanda olmamışdır. Ve pâdişâhımın zâhiren ve bâtinen gayreti de kemâlinde dir. Ve lakin ziyâde tekayyüd ve ihtimâm üzerine olmağa vüs'at ü tahammül var anlarız. Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ'nın murâdî ve Resûl-i Ekrem sallallahu 'aleyhi ve 's-sellemin aksâ-yı maksûdu zulûmler ref' olunub 'adiller icrâ olunması ve bid'atler ref' asâr-i sünnet ihyâ olunması ve hükm-i tabi'at mehmâ emken ızâle olunub ahkâm-i şeri'at olunmasıdır. Hilâfına aslâ rızâları yokdur. Sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımın tab-i şeriflerin istikîmet ve 'adilet üzerinedir, hilâfına aslâ meyilleri ve rızâları yokdur. Ve lakin bu tarîk ile sûret-i Hakk'da ve sûret-i salâhda i'lâm ve ilkâ olunub çok nesne zuhûr ider. Bu makûlün dünyada ve ahiretde galebesi var idüğünde şübhe yokdur. Hatta mirât-i kalbe gumân ve dumân ve kudûrât dan 'ârız olub ma'âni-i melekutiye ve esrâr-i ceberutiye adem-i nüzûlüne ve intikâsına sebep olur. Cüz'i zelle külli tenezzüle [ve] külli tezellüle sebep olduğı kıssaları ve hikâyeleri enbiyâdan ve evliyâdan ma'lûm ve meşhûredir. Sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımda olan devlet ve kuvvet kimsede olmamışdır. Rızâ-yı Hakk subhânehu ve ta'âla ve rızâ-yı Resûlullah sallallahu 'aleyhi ve 's-sellem nerde olduğın bilürsünüz. Baş ve can bezl idüb itmâmına ve ikmâline sa'y etmek gereksiniz. İhmâlin aslâ yokdur. Dikkat ve ihtimâm ve tekayyüd gerekdir. Kemâl-i 'adâlet ile tamâm nûrâniyet hâsıl olur. Ve nûrâniyet ile zâhirde ve bâtında asâr-i [rahmet] ve esrâr-i latife zuhûr ider. Ve ni'metin kadri bilinüb şükran olıcak ızdıyâd-i ni'mete sebep olur. Ve küfran-i ni'met zevâl-i ni'mete sebep olur ve ta'riz ider hazer lazımdır. (...) Allahu ta'âlâ şükran müyesser idüb gayretler ve fetihler ve kerâmetler müyesser ide. Amîn ya Mu'în ve ya Mucîbe'd-dâ'in." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasıdecizade nr.323, p. 28b-29a.

In a letter he likens the *reâyâ* to the faculties and organs of the sultan and reminds that the sultan is responsible both for the physical and the spiritual protection of the *reâyâ*. Who is versed and knowing should never cease from admonishing and reminding his own personality, his faculties and organs. The guarding and protecting the *reâyâ* is a duty of the sovereign. First of all, they should be protected, guarded, their rights should be articulated and they should be removed from the things that are prohibited and that are instruments of amusement. Secondly, guarding and protecting, preaching and admonishing, and advising with wisdom the *reâyâ* who are under the disposal of the sultan is indispensable and is incumbent on the sultan. He reminds the Prophet's saying that "Religion is right counsel"⁴⁷¹ as it fits the time and as it gives enthusiasm. Paying attention and care to the *reâyâ*, whose protection, both in the seen and the unseen, is a duty of and incumbent on the sultan, with watching over, taking care of, and with admonishing and teaching, is a requirement of justice and is a necessity of religion and uprightness.⁴⁷²

In another letter, written on the occasion of a certain disorder in the Empire, Hüdâyî interprets the situation as perils of God's decree which should be esteemed and as God's preaching and admonition which should be accepted. He expresses his demand from God Almighty as from then on order and discipline would be perfected and the means to discipline should be taken firm hold. He reminds the sultan that the religious and earthly vigour and might is bound with the military troops of Islam and with *reâyâ*. The sultan should be forgiving and compassionate towards *reâyâ*, who is the most great substinence and the greatest trouble, should be guiding, protecting and serving the military troops of Islam and

⁴⁷¹ Translation is Abou-El-Haj's. Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*. p. 91.

⁴⁷² "Ârif ve 'âlim olan kendü nefsine ve kuvâsına ve a'zâsına va'z ve tezkîrden aslâ hâlî olmama gerekdir. Lâzimeü'r-ri'âyet olan re'âyâsıdır. Himâyet ve hıfz hukûkunu edâ ve menâhîden ve melâhîden men' ve ref' lâzımdır. Ve sâniyen taht-i tasarrufunda olan re'âyâyı ri'âyet ve hıfz ü himâyet ve va'z ü nasîhat ve tezkîr bi'l-hikmet vâcib ve lâzımdır. Kaala Resûlu'l-İlah sallallahu 'aleyhi ve's-sellem 'inne'd-dînü'n-nasîhat inne'd-dînü'n-nasîhat inne'd-dînü'n-nasîhat' didi. Ne mertebe tergîbdır ve ne mertebe vaktededir. Lâzimetü'r-ri'âyet ve vâcibetü'l-hıfz ü'l-himâyet olan enfûsı ve afâkî re'âyâyı gütme ile ve gözetme ile ve dâ'im öğüt ve öğretme ile takayyüd ve ihtimâm muktezâ-yi 'adl ü 'adâletden ve mûcib-i vakt fi'd-dîn ve istikâmetdir" Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr.323, p. 76b.

most importantly should look after the keep of the military troops of Islam and make them satisfied and consoled, so that they should have full conviction in, reliance on and affection to the sultan, and naturally and necessarily be subject to invocation of blessings, maintenance and victory. The *reâyâ* should not be treated with severance rather with forgiveness and compassion so that they would also be fully affectionate and invoking blessings. Otherwise the population of *reâyâ* would be fragmented, they would be dispersed and turn away in aversion. Finally, he mentions that those who act with treachery to the sultan would certainly be punished by God Almighty as had happened to the rebels of the community of the Prophet Salih as described in Kur'ân.⁴⁷³

In another letter Hüdâyi repeats that the *reâyâ* is like the faculties and organs of the sultan and the Prophetic tradition that at the beginning of each a hundred years one among his community would renew the canonical laws and the Prophetic practice and reinvigorate the community with perfect justice and full uprightness. Thus, it is time to have full attention, perfect zeal, full endeavour and determination in proceeding in reinvigoration of the canonical laws and letting the worshippers of God rest and take breath with perfect justice. He reminds the sultan that articulating the rights of *ashâb-i hukûk*; treating the *reâyâ* with mercy,

⁴⁷³ "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvettü pâdişâhım. Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ vücûd-i şerîfinizi kazâlardan hıfz idüb 'ilm ü 'irfın ve 'ilm ü 'adl ü ihsân ile ma'mûr ve a'dâ-yi dîn ve dünya ve 'ukbânız üzerine muzaffer ve mansûr eyleye. Mevârid-i kazâ-yi ilâhîyedir. Muzdarib olmayasınız. Bir mevc idi temevvüc idi. (...) Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ'dan ricâ iderüz şimden gerü itmâm-i nizâm ve intizâm ola ve esbâb-i intizâma temessük oluna. (...) Mevâ'ız-i ilâhîye ve nasâyih-i rabbâniyedir. İ'tibâr idüb mutta'ız ve mutenassih olmak lâzımdır. Hattâ İmâm Gazâlî kuddise sırruhü'l-'âli tahkikinde buyurmuş 'Vakâyı'-i dünyeviye mevârid-i berâbiye-i Rabbaniyedir.' Dikkat-i nazar ile i'tibâr olunsa mâ yekûn mâ kâniye kıyâs idüb ihtiyât ve hazer olunsa bu kifâyet ider. Dahî gayri terbiye ve nasîhata ihtiyâç kalmaz. Sa'âdetlü pâdişâhım sünnetü'l-İlah bunun üzerinedir. Dîn ve dünyanın kuvveti ve kudreti cünûd-i İslâm ve re'âyâ iledir. Ve sa'âdetlü pâdişâhıma lâzım olan me'unet-i uzma ve meşakkat-i kübrâ re'âyâya merhamet ve şefkat ve cünûd-i İslâm'a ri'âyet ve hizmet ve cemi'sinden evvel mühim olan cünûd-i İslâm'ın me'unetin görüb anları tamâm-i murâd üzerine tarziye ve tesliye idüb cünûd ü 'asâkir-i İslâm'ın sa'âdetlü pâdişâhım[a] tamâm itikâdları ve itimâdları ve muhabbetleri olub bi't-tab' ve bi'z-zaruret hayr du'âya ve hüsn-i me'unete ve nusrete musahhar olalar. Ve re'âyâ da teşdîd ve tazâyik olunmayub ve merhamet ve şefkat olunursa anlar da tamâm muhabetde ve hayr du'â üzerine olurlar. Ve eğer olmaz ise nüfûsu münkesire olur nüfûr ve i'râz üzerine ve hayr du'âlara terk üzerine olurlar. (...) Bu kadar iltizâmlar ile 'âlem ve re'âyâ ihrâk-i bi'n-nâr olmuşdur. Vakı'-i zalik cünûd-i [İslâm'ın] me'uneti murâd üzerine görülmez. Hele bari bu tamâm görölüb bunda olan ihsân ile anda olan noksân mukâveme ve mukâbele olundu. (...) Geçen hamîs günü sabah virdin dinler iken nü'âs galebe etmiş. Kavm-i Sâlih 'aleyhi's-selâm içinde cümle eşkiyâ-i 'âmmeden eşkiyâ-yi hâssa var idi. Asâr yine fitne idi. Anların hakkında olunan âyetler tilâvet olundu. (...) Fitne-i 'azimedir. Havf iderin bu kadar imiş vaki' olundu. Sa'âdetlü pâdişâhıma hayr kasdı koyub hıyânet üzerine olanların başlarına hayr gelmez. Gelür zuhûr ider

compassion and relieving their impositions (taxes); and paying attention to and spaciouly gratifying *cümûd-i İslâm* are the causes of becoming at ease and are the requirements of becoming in perfect rest. In this letter Hüdâyî also praises the sultan for attending the noonday worship of Friday despite being excusable. He mentions that such an act brings joy to the people and they would invoke blessings upon the sultan. From time to time the sultan should give hope to his *reâyâ* servants by showing his noble body and noble face. This would attract the hearts and soften the moulds of the *reâyâ*. He advises the sultan to be compassionate and lightening and spacious as much as possible. The population of *reâyâ* should not be fragmented and they should not be dispersed and turn away in aversion. He ends the letter by saying that the light of the point of sunrise is hereafter.⁴⁷⁴

The authors of the *nasihatnâme* treatises were mainly bureaucrat origin, a point, despite the possibility that they may be acting in defence of the status quo⁴⁷⁵, which enabled them to be experts in the subjects they take at hand and they set out to write individual treatises devoted to a single task; i.e. the reasons for and the ways for recovering from the existing

Kavm-i Sâlih 'aleyhi 's-selâm eşkıyâsına olduğu gibi. Ve 's-selâm 'ale 'd-devâm." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr.323, p. 68a-68b.

⁴⁷⁴ "Sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım. Hayli zamân oldu. Kâbız Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ ismi ile mutasarrıf oldu. Asâr-i inkıbâz var idi. Nevbet Bâsita ismine gelüb şimden gerü asâr-i inbisât ve esrâr-i hikmet ve letâ'if-i ahadiyet zuhûr ider inşallah. Halifetü'l-Hâlik ve zillü'l-İllahü'l-Mâliksiniz ve 'avâlîme ve 'ibâdullah el-melik-i rahmet-i kübrâsınız. 'Avâlim a'zâ-yi şerîfiniz mazharıdır ve 'ibâdullah kuvânız yerindedir. Mazhar-i kâmilsiniz. (...) A'yân ve eşhâs ve 'avâm ve havâs cümlesinin kulûbüne ve kavâlibine sürûr idhâl etmişsiniz. Nice a'zâr-i kaviyeler var iken gayret idüb Cum'aya çıkmak ile halk-i 'âlem sürûrlar bulub hayr ile du'âlar ve sâ'ir iderler. (...) Ahyânen re'âyâ kullarınıza vücûd-i şerîfinizi ve vech-i kerîmlerinizi vücûd gösterüb ihyâ etmeniz lâzımdır. Re'âyânın kulûbünü cezb ider ve kavâlibini teleyyün ider. Merhamet idesiniz. Mehmâ emken tahfîf ve tevsi' üzerine olasınız. Re'âyânızdır a'zânız ve kuvânız yerinedir. (...) Tahfîf tahfîfe sebebdır ve tevsi' tevsi'a sebebidir ve merhamet merhamete sebebdır. Mehmâ emken muta'assırdan hazer olunub müyesser canibine meyl münâsib ve makbûldür. Zirâ rahmet-i vâsı'aya mazharsınız ve merhamet-i muttesi'aya mucellâsınız. Vûs'atü'l-İllah ile muttesi' olasınız. [...] hadisi mücibine tamâm ri'âyet idesiniz. [...] mücibi üzerine 'amel idesiniz. Husûsan sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ tûl ü 'ömr ile mu'ammer ve muzaffer eyleye. Amîn ya Mu'in. Bir hadîs-i şerîfi vardır. 'Yüz elli başında ümmetimden bir kimse ümmetim içinde ahkâm-i şeri'ati ve asâr-i sünneti tecdîd idüb kemâl-i 'adâlet ile ve tamâm-i istikâmet ile ümmetimi ihyâ ider' demişdir. Re's-i mi'a karîbidir. Kemâl-i 'adâlet ile tecdîd-i şeri'at ve ihyâ-i sünnet ve tervîh-i 'ibâdu'l-İllah ve alâmet-i ebedden ashâb-i Metîn olan ahâd-i ümmet-i Muhammed kuvâsından ve ekmelinden olmasının esbâbına mübâşeretde ve tamâm ri'âyetde kemâl-i gayret ve tamâm-i himmet ve 'azîmet zamânı [gelmişdir]. (...) Ashâb-i hukûka hukûkun edâ re'âyâya merhamet ve şefkat ve tahfîf-i teklîf ve cünûd-i İslâma ri'âyet ve arz ve tevsi' ü taltîf sebab-i râhat ve mücib-i kemâl-i istirâhat idüğünde şübhe yokdur. Re'âyânın nüfûsu münkesir olmaya ve kul tâ'ifesinin kulûbü kırılmaya ve i'râz ve nü'fûr üzerine olmayalar ve Resû'l-İllah 'aleyhi ve 's-sellem[in] bu hadîsini mazmûnuna mazhar olmadan i'râz oluna. Meşârikü'l-envâr ahiretdedir. (...) Hakk Celle ve 'Alâ sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhımı rızâ-yı şerîfine muvâfık tekmîl-i vech-i kerîmine mutâbık 'ilm ü 'irfân ve 'amel ü ahvâl müyesser ide. Amîn ya Mu'in." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr.323, p. 45a-46a.

inefficiency of state institutions. Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî did not attempted to write a political treatise. His concern in the letters he wrote to the sultans is the good kind of action that a sultan should be displaying as has been revealed in Kur'ân and the Prophetic traditions. He did not have a bureaucratic vision, i. e. an experience in state offices. However, he had a firm educational background and an experience in the Palace circles which enabled him to advice the sultan as an intellectual, a man of religion and as an experienced Palace *şeyh*. A number of basic values which dominate the *nasihatnâme* literature are also present in *Tezâkir*. However, his advises are guided more with the Islamic notions rather than the pragmatic thinking of the *nasihatnâme* writers. His advises are scattered throughout the letters and thus differs them from the 'to the point' thinking of the *nasihatnâme* writers.

⁴⁷⁵ See footnote 449.

3.2. The Kadızâdeli Controversy and Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî

The *nasihatnâme* writers interpreted the social, economic, political and military problems of the Empire as the results of deviation from the path of the regulations upheld during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, i.e. the Ottoman Golden Age. The Kâdızâdelis, a corp of men of religion who made reputation with the struggle they waged against the practice and practitioners of *bidats* in the Ottoman Empire, however, perceived the problems of the Empire as the results of departure from the path of the Islamic Golden Age.

The Kadızâdeli movement owes its name to Kadızâde Mehmed Efendi who made reputation in his targeting the Halvetî *şeyh* Abdülmecid Sivasî Efendi in particular and the present practice of the faith in the Ottoman society with numerous innovations added to the original form of Islam, which he saw the *sûfîs* as primarily responsible for inspiring and sanctioning, in general. The movement flourished between the reign of Murad IV (1623-1640) and the reign of Mehmed IV (1648-1687), having three stages of development under the leadership of Kadızâde Mehmed (d.1635), Üstüvânî Mehmed (d.1661) and Vani Mehmed (d.1685) Efendis, when the Ottoman state was suffering from a number of social, political, military, cultural and economic problems. Though close investigation reveals various economic and social factors that underlie the development of the movement, the claims of its leaders to restore Islam to its original purity made the movement be considered as a puritanical movement in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁷⁶

Paul Ricaut, an ambassador of Charles II of England to the Ottoman Empire under Mehmed IV, in his *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, which was intended as a report

⁴⁷⁶ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış: "Kadızâdeliler Hareketi"', *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XVII-XXI (1979-1983), p. 208-225.

to the king of England on the political, administrative-military and religio-cultural structure of the Ottoman Empire, in his referring to the groups which he observes as heretical in their standing considers the Kadızâdelis as a primary threat to the established order of the Empire.⁴⁷⁷ In fact the movement turned out to be a great social upheaval, splitting the population of İstanbul into two groups and endangering the public order. Both Kadızâde Mehmed and Abdülmecid Sivasî Efendis were in a position that enabled them to include the population of İstanbul into their arguments on the religious legality of certain practices long established in the society, as Friday *vâ'izân* in two important Friday mosques of İstanbul.

Among several monuments that embellished the Ottoman capital, the mosque was its “most common monument and its most powerful symbol”. The mosque represented the community of Islam, unlike the *sûfî*'s *tekke* reserved for the *sûfî*s, or the scholar's *medrese* reserved for the *medrese* students and the *ulema*.⁴⁷⁸ In fact the mosque was one of the places where information was exchanged and public opinion was shaped along with the *boza*-houses (later coffee houses) and the *bazaar*, for the ordinary members of the Ottoman society.⁴⁷⁹

The Friday mosque, in which the ruler's name was invoked in the address to the faithful after the Friday midday prayer was more significant than the ‘ordinary’ mosques and was at the centre of an Ottoman city.⁴⁸⁰ The Friday mosques usually included the imperial mosques which was endowed by the members of the Ottoman family, like Aya Sofya, Sultan Ahmed, Süleymaniye, Bayezid, Fatih, Selim I, Vâlide and Şehzade Mosques.⁴⁸¹ Along with the *mihrab* of the *imam* common in all mosques, the Friday Mosque possessed a *minber* (pulpit) for *va'az* (Friday Sermon) and *hutbe* (invocational address in the name of the

⁴⁷⁷ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, “Paul Ricaut ve XVII. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Osmanlı Resmi Düşüncesine Karşı Zümreler”, *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, 27 (1989), p. 233-235.

⁴⁷⁸ Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*, Bibliotheca Islamica, Minneapolis, 1988, p. 129-130.

⁴⁷⁹ Halil İnalcık, “The Ottoman Empire” in *History of Humanity, Vol. V: From the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Peter Burke and Halil İnalcık, Unesco, 1999, p. 220-223.

⁴⁸⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, “A Map of Anatolian Friday Mosques (1520-1535)” in *Peasants, Dervishes and Traders in the Ottoman Empire*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1986, p. 161.

⁴⁸¹ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 131.

sovereign). The *hatib* (preacher) who came to the pulpit after the Friday prayer used to give religious advice and on occasion covered current affairs and events in their preaching. The mentioning of the name of the Sultan after the Friday sermon was interpreted in Islamic practice as recognising the legitimacy of the sultan's authority and no Muslim ruler was legitimate unless his name was mentioned on the coinage and in the Friday sermon.⁴⁸² This ritual of allegiance to the ruler rendered in the prayers said after each Friday preaching in the mosques throughout his dominions was crucial for the public opinion and a Muslim ruler lost his legitimacy the moment his name disappeared from the Friday preaching.⁴⁸³ Thus, the Friday *namaz* after which *hutbe* was delivered was a practice which the male community of Islam was enjoined to attend and this made the Friday gatherings not only religious but also political.⁴⁸⁴ The preachers were selected from among the popular *şeyhs* and appointed by a special diploma in order to keep some sort of control on this crucial matter. However there were some rare cases in which a bold preacher denounced the acts or policies of the Sultan.⁴⁸⁵

Kadıẓâde Mehmed was appointed Friday preacher at Aya Sofya Mosque in 1631 after several years of preaching in Sultan Selim I, Bayezid, and Süleymânîye Mosques. This last position which he retained until his death in 1635 was the summit of the *vâiz* career which he preferred pursuing instead of the *sûfî* way he was initiated by the Halvetî *şeyh* Ömer Efendi, in his youth.⁴⁸⁶ The subject of his sermons was those things which he perceived to be the "contamination of Islam by innovation and Sufi practices." According to him the beliefs and practices that had accumulated since the era of the Prophet and the original Islamic community at Medina were innovations to be get rid of, and those who practised them were

⁴⁸² İnalçık, "The Ottoman Empire" in *History of Humanity*, p. 221.

⁴⁸³ Halil İnalçık, "State and Ideology under Süleyman I" in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society*, Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, Vol. 9, Bloomington, 1993, p. 77.

⁴⁸⁴ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 130.

⁴⁸⁵ İnalçık, "State and Ideology under Süleyman I", p. 77.

⁴⁸⁶ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 131-132; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış." p. 213-216.

unbelievers.⁴⁸⁷ The points Kadızâde and the group of preachers attached to him known as *fakîs* denounced as contrary to the religious law included the use of tobacco, coffee and opium; the practice of any kind of singing, chanting or musical accompaniment and dancing, whirling or similar rhythmic movement in the *sûfis*' ceremonies; pilgrimages to the tombs of alleged saints for divine intercession; invocation of blessings upon the Prophet and his companions upon every mentioning of their names; those supererogatory prayers and other rituals, apart from the extra prayers performed by the individual believer, performed collectively on certain days and nights, like in *Regaib*, *Berat* and *Kadir* which are not original to the patriarchal community; the practice of cursing the Umayyad Caliph Yazid who was responsible for the killing of the Prophet's grandson Hüseyin; the writings of İbn Arabî, especially those on the concept of *vahdet-i vücûd*; believing Prophet's parents died as believers; believing in the immortality of the Prophet Hızır; and the study of mathematics and the intellectual sciences. They also attacked the luxury and extravagance of the ruling classes and the injustices and lax morals of the age, like shaking hands in greeting and bowing down before social superiors. They based their endeavours on the Kur'anic sanction that it was the duty of every believer actively to "enjoin right and forbid wrong."⁴⁸⁸

Şeyh Sivasî Efendi was appointed Friday *vâiz* to the newly completed Sultan Ahmed Mosque in 1617, after serving some years as Friday *vâiz* at Şehzade and Sultan Selim mosques, and retained the post until his death. Throughout the years he challenged Kadızâde's attacks as the spokesman of the '*sufî* side'.⁴⁸⁹ The controversy between the two continued both in word and written word till Kadızâde died in 1635 and Sivasî Efendi lived only four years more.⁴⁹⁰ Most of the support to the Kadızâdelis came from poor *medrese*

⁴⁸⁷ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 133.

⁴⁸⁸ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*; p. 184; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 136; Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış.", p. 217.

⁴⁸⁹ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 133.

⁴⁹⁰ Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış." p. 216.

students, tradesmen, common folk and segments of Ottoman officialdom.⁴⁹¹ The movement, however, was shaped and carried on by the Ottoman *vaizan* corps, whose organisation and character determined the special form that this 'puritanical movement' took under the Ottoman Empire.

Despite the fact that there are examples in the Islamic world of 'restoring Islam to its original purity movements' both before and after the Kadızâdelis in the Ottoman Empire, on the basis of certain points with respect to the economic and social positions of the participants it has been suggested that the Kadızâdeli movement grew not only out of purely religious aspirations. First of all, it is argued that the *vâ'izâns*, the leading figures of the Kadızâdelis, were members of only the subhierarchy of the *ilmiyye* establishment. This meant that although they were technically members of the official religious class like the *ulema*, there were sharp distinctions between their recruitment, compensations, training and function and those of the *ulema*, i.e. the *ilmiyye* hierarchy. The practice of sinecurism, deprived this less educated, less compensated members of the subhierarchy from the subhierarchy *kadılıks*, by converting them into *ilmiyye arpalıks* thus, monopolising their livelihood. The second argument is that the practice of appointment of *sûfî şeyhs* into imperial mosques through special patronage forced the *vâ'izâns* to share their posts with these *sûfîs*. These *sûfî şeyhs* did not have to rely only on preacher stipends for their livelihood as their chief occupation was the operation of their lodges. Moreover, their *ulema* grandees stood as a means to provide them to move in the circles of the *ulema* more likely than the regular *vaizans*. The appointment of the *sûfî şeyhs* furthermore implied the entering of the *sûfî* adepts and rites into the mosques. Among the forty-eight appointments made to the top five imperial mosques of İstanbul between 1621-1685, nineteen being the Halvetî *şeyhs* is taken as an implication of the primary reason for the Kadızâdelis attacking the Halvetîs in the first place. The violent confrontations of the period being centred around the mosques, rather than the *tekkes* or *medreses* is taken as the proof that

⁴⁹¹ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 184; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 140.

these two points were at work behind the propaganda of the Kadızâdelis. This implies that the Kadızâdeli *vaizans* were defending a way of life beside their religious vision, i.e., the Kadızâdeli movement emerged out of career antagonisms between the regularly recruited Friday *vaizan* and their *sûfî* competitors, backed by their *ulema* grandees.⁴⁹²

Thus, although the points which the Kadızâdelis put forward resemble the debate between the “shariah-defined ‘orthodoxy’ and emotive Sufism” inherent in Islamic societies, the participants of the Kadızâdeli movement showed peculiar characteristics as those defending the *sûfî* explanations included many dignitaries who were not *sûfîs* at all and those supporting the claims of the Kadızâdelis were not the official representatives of ‘orthodoxy’, i.e. the ranking *ulema* of the Empire.⁴⁹³ In fact the Kadızâdelis attacked the *ulema* for their tolerance and even encouragement of the growing *sûfî* presence in the mosques which was expressed in the most open way in Kadızâde’s telling of the tale about the two oxens of Nasreddin Hoca in the presence of the sultan in a sermon delivered for Mevlid commemoration, in 1633, where he made the point that it was the duty of the *ulema* to take lead against unbelief as the rest would only follow their examples. Another point of significance is that the Kadızâdelis were successful in shifting the old debate over *sufism* from academic circles to the general public of the mosque. Moreover, they took on an activist, interventionist character with their propagating the Kur’anic demand of “enjoining of right and prohibiting of wrong” (*emr bi’l-maruf ve nehy ani’l-münker*).⁴⁹⁴

Murad IV is said to have followed the policy of flexibility of obtaining balance during the Kadızâdeli controversy. The Kadızâdeli argument that the coffee houses and taverns were

⁴⁹² All the points are suggested by Madeline Zilfi. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 159-172; Madeline Zilfi, “Vaizan and Ulema In the Kadızâdeli Era”, X. *Türk Tarih Kongresine Sunulan Bildiriler V*, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 1994, p. 2498-2499. Also see Ocak, “XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış”, p. 225.

⁴⁹³ Zilfi, “Vaizan and Ulema In the Kadızâdeli Era”, p. 2493-2494.

⁴⁹⁴ Zilfi, “Vaizan and Ulema In the Kadızâdeli Era”, p. 2493-2495; Ocak, “XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış”, p. 218; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 137-138.

sinful was in line with his policy of establishing the sultan's authority in the Empire.⁴⁹⁵ However, he was also keen on not to alienate the *sûfîs* which can be seen in the Mevlevîs performing *semâ* at the palace on his invitation and his choosing and preserving, despite the Kadızâdeli intrigues, as his *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* Zekeriya Yahya, known as a friend of the *sûfîs*.⁴⁹⁶

It was Birgivî Mehmed that the Kadızâdelis took as their primary text and manual of action especially his *Risâle-i Birgivî* (*Vasiyyetname*), which describes the rudiments of theology, and his *Tarikat-i Muhammediyye*, which is a collection of his sermons and admonitions.⁴⁹⁷ Birgivî was born in Balıkesir in 1522. After completing his education he taught at the *medreses* of İstanbul and attended the circles of *şeyh* 'Abdü'l-Rahman Karamani from the line of the Bayramî order of dervishes. Not later was that he abandoned both his post of *müderris* and post of *kassam* to the army at Edirne. However, when Ataullah Efendi, the tutor of Selim II, who was a towns-man of Birgivî, offered him the post of *müderris* in the *medrese* he built, he accepted and spent his life by teaching, writing and preaching at Birgi until his death in 1573 and became one of the foremost scholars in the Empire.⁴⁹⁸ *Risâle-i Birgivî*, written in simple prose was designed to eliminate the ambiguities of faith or belief by providing the community with the principles of faith and warning against the dangers of innovation. This work of him is said to have met the need of the public for more coherent religious instruction, a point which the *medreses* failed to fulfil except for the highly literate.⁴⁹⁹ In his *Tarikat-i Muhammediyye* he regarded such practices as holding ceremonies to commemorate the dead or visiting tombs to seek aid from the deceased as contrary to the

⁴⁹⁵ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 138-139.

⁴⁹⁶ Zilfi, "Vaizan and Ulema In the Kadızâdeli Era", p. 2495; Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış.", p. 219; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 139-140. For the development of the Kadızâdeli movement under the leadership of Üstüvânî and Vani Efendis till late seventeenth century see Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 140-159; Zilfi, "Vaizan and Ulema In the Kadızâdeli Era", p. 2495-2497; Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış.", p. 219-225.

⁴⁹⁷ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 143-144; Kasım Kufrevî, "Birgewi", *EP*, p. 1235; Hulusi M. Lekesiz, "Osmanlı İlmî Zihniyeti: Teşekkülü, Gelişmesi ve Çözülmesi Üzerine Bir Tahlil Denemesi", *Türk Yurdu*, Sayı: 49, Cilt: 11, Eylül 1991, p. 24-25.

⁴⁹⁸ Kufrevî, "Birgewi", p. 1235; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 143-144.

spirit of Islam and rejected some established practices such as shaking hands, bowing in greeting and kissing the hand or garment as being contrary to *sünnet*. He denounced incantation and dancing in religious ceremonies. Furthermore, he attacked a number of fundamental institutions of Ottoman society, such as the payment of those in the service of religion, for example, for reciting Koran, for teaching or for any act of worship, and the bequest of money and movable goods as *vakf*. With this last proposition he raised in his *es-Seyfu's-Sârim fi Ademi Cevâzi Vakfî'n-nükûd ve'd-derâhim* he was attacking Ebussuud Efendi who answered Birgivî's claims with a *fetvâ* confirming the religious legality of making *vakf* of coined money or other movable property. Birgivî had further attacked Ebussuud on the rules governing the *miri* lands under the Ottoman regulations.⁵⁰⁰ The only point Ebussuud was in line with Birgivî was his denouncing *raks* and *semâ*.⁵⁰¹

In fact, it is possible to trace back the roots of Birgivî's arguments to the works of Ibn Teymiyye, who inspired certain other movements of return to the Golden Age in Islamic history, like Wahhabism in the eighteenth century and Salafiya in the nineteenth century.⁵⁰² Ibn Teymiyye (1263-1328) was a Hanbali theologian and juriconsult who set out to denounce all the innovations (*bid'at*) which he regarded as heretical and "to describe God only as He has described Himself in His Book and as the Prophet has described Him in the Sunna."⁵⁰³ In his works he attacked certain *bid'ats*, like those in the ritual of Pilgrimage like the visits to tombs, the concepts like *vahdet-i vücûd* (monism), *ibaha* (antinomianism) and *gulûv* (esotericism) upheld by the *sûfîs*. He condemned especially the monism of Ibn al-Arabî and the supporters of him, Ittihadîyya. He argued that each member of the community has the duty and the right to give advice within the limits of his competence and thus, to ordain good

⁴⁹⁹ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 144-145.

⁵⁰⁰ Fahri Unan, "Dinde Tasfiyecilik Yahut Osmanlı Sünniliğine Sünnî Muhalefet: Birgivî Mehmed Efendi", *Türk Yurdu*, Sayı: 36, Cilt: 10, Ağustos 1990, p. 41.

⁵⁰¹ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p.184; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 144; Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış.", p. 211-212; Unan, p. 36-38.

⁵⁰² Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış.", p. 212-213; Lekesiz, p. 24-25; Unan, p. 34-35, 39-41.

and forbid evil. His name is cited along with Gazali and Ibn al-Arabî as one of the writers who had the greatest influence on contemporary Islam of the *sünnî* circles.⁵⁰⁴

Just like Birgivî referred mainly to the writings of Ibn Teymiyye and his students, Kadızâde's treatise *Tacu'r-Resail fi Menahici'l-Vesail* that he presented to Murad IV on the proper ways for handling the present failures in the administration was the translation of Ibn Teymiyye's work on administration of state, *es-Siyasetu's-şer'iyye*.⁵⁰⁵ Ibn Teymiyye's doctrine was centred on and inspired by the spirit of Hanbalism whereas the general opinion of the higher *ulema* of the Ottoman Empire was based on the tolerant Hanafî concept of *icmâ* as a basis for religious and legal opinions. The Hanafi school of thought gave the greatest scope to *icmâ* among the four schools of *sünnî* Islam and was thus the most flexible one. The reason why all the Turkish states had been Hanefi since the Karakhanids was probably the desire of the Turkish rulers to retain as much freedom as possible in their political and executive authority. As a result, Turkish societies assumed a distinctive social and cultural character within the Islamic world and the Ottoman Empire proved to be the most open to foreign cultural influences among all Islamic societies.⁵⁰⁶ What Birgivî Mehmed and his followers adopted was the strict traditionalism of the Hanbali school, regarding as contrary to Islam any innovation which an objective interpretation of the Koran and *sünnet* could not admit. Thus, they opposed mysticism and any esoteric interpretation of the principles of religion.⁵⁰⁷

Katip Çelebi (1609-1659), who himself was a student of Kadızâde for a while, summarises the arguments of both sides in the ongoing debate in his *Mizanü'l-Hakk fi*

⁵⁰³ H. Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya", *ET*, p. 953.

⁵⁰⁴ Laoust, p. 951-955.

⁵⁰⁵ Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış.", p. 212-213, 215-216.

⁵⁰⁶ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 181; Halil İnalçık, "İslam in the Ottoman Empire", *Cultura Turcica*, 5-7 (1968-1970), p. 21-22. Also see Halil İnalçık, "Şeriat ve Kanun, Din ve Devlet", in *İslamiyat I* (1998), sayı: 4, p. 135-142 and Halil İnalçık, "Türk Devletlerinde Sivil Kanun Geleneği", in *Türkiye Günlüğü*, Sayı: 58, Kasım-Aralık 1999, p. 5-11.

⁵⁰⁷ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 185; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 138.

İhtiyari 'l-Ahakk he completed in 1656.⁵⁰⁸ Here, he sees the cure for fanaticism in the study of the intellectual sciences and claims that Birgivî Mehmed did not understand the social role of customary law and usage as he did not study history and philosophy. Katip Çelebi further argues that debate is profitable as long as the *ulema*, not the people, discuss the religious questions and that customary practices and innovations which the greater part of Islamic society had adopted could not and should not be abolished by force since the use of force culminates in unrest and divisions in state and society.⁵⁰⁹

Katip Çelebi also comments on the points of contention between the two sides of the debate, which the Kadızâdelis saw as blameworthy innovations to be get rid of and considered those who refused to reject them as heretics who must reaffirm their faith or be punished and which the *sûfîs* defended by arguing that such practices in fact have Kur'anic or Prophetic sanction, and that they had flourished for centuries within the Islamic community and thus stood validated by the principle of consensus of the community (*icmâ*).⁵¹⁰ Among these points there are some which enables us to assume Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's possible standing in the ongoing debate whose initial years of climax coincided with the last years of his life.

Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, who had been the *şeyh* of Murad III, Mehmed III, Ahmed I, who continued his reputation under Osman II, and who had girded Murad IV with the dynastic sword, died around 1628 before Kadızâde Mehmed Efendi's attacks against the present practice of faith in the Ottoman society, which he saw as contrary to the original Islamic spirit with various innovations justified mainly by the *sûfî* way of life, reached its summit. However, Birgivî Mehmed had died in 1573, leaving behind him his literary works, that warned the believers against the dangers of innovation, circulating mainly among the educated. Thus, it would be more proper to try to have an understanding of Azîz Mahmûd

⁵⁰⁸ Katip Çelebi, *Mizanü 'l-Hakk fî İhtiyari 'l-Ahakk*, hzl. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser: 145, İstanbul, 1980.

⁵⁰⁹ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 185.

⁵¹⁰ Katip Çelebi, *Mizanü 'l-Hakk fî İhtiyari 'l-Ahakk*, 1980; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 135-136.

Hüdâyî's position with respect to the question of *bid'ats* within this legacy of Birgivî Efendi which was to be revitalised by Kadızâde Mehmed Efendi during 1630s.

Before looking at the records in *Tezâkir* that are related with the topics raised by the Kadızâdelis, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's appointment as Friday *vâ'iz* at Fatih Sultan Mehmed Mosque in Cumâde'l-ahire 1002/ March 1594 can be mentioned within this context.⁵¹¹ This appointment is said to have been through the intermediary of Sunnullah Efendi, the *kadiasker* of Rumelia at the period and three times *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* between 1599-1606.⁵¹² He retained this post till the building of his own mosque finished.⁵¹³ He probably performed this duty several years as it is known that he was appointed 100 *akçe* daily salary from the endowment of the same mosque, in Muharrem 1007/August, 1598.⁵¹⁴ As he began to establish himself in his own mosque, as mentioned earlier, he gave up Friday preaching at Fatih Mosque and accommodated Thursday preaching in Mihrumah Sultan Mosque in Üsküdar instead.⁵¹⁵ In 1020/1611-1612 he was given the post of *vâiz* at Sultan Ahmed Han Mosque, which he carried on the first Mondays of every month.⁵¹⁶ Thus, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, whose principle occupation was the leadership of the Celvetiyye order, was able to retain posts in the imperial mosques, through sultanic patronage, a point which, as mentioned above, has been suggested that the Kadızâdelis in their period, behind covers, perceived as a threat to their opportunities of livelihood.

It can also be mentioned that the main target of Kadızâde Mehmed Efendi, Halvetî *şeyh* Sivasî Efendi was appointed Friday *vâiz* to Sultan Ahmed Mosque in 1617, where Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî served for some time as *vâ'iz* on the first Mondays of every month.⁵¹⁷ A *menâkıb* recorded by Hüseyin Vassaf informs us that Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî expressed his

⁵¹¹ 'Ata'î, p. 761; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyyât*, p. 5.

⁵¹² Gölpinarlı, "Djilwatiyya", p. 543; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Hüdâ'î", p. 538; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III. Cilt, 2. Kısım, p. 458-460.

⁵¹³ Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyyât*, p. 5.

⁵¹⁴ 'Ata'î, p. 761; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyyât*, p. 6.

⁵¹⁵ 'Ata'î, p. 761; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyyât*, p. 6.

⁵¹⁶ 'Ata'î, p. 791; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyyât*, p. 6; Tezeren, p. 21; Yılmaz, p. 51-54.

respect for Abdülmecid Sivasî Efendi in the presence of Ahmed I, on the occasion of the sultan's wondering the reason behind Sivasî Efendi's accepting the gift he initially sent to Hüdâyî. Sivasî Efendi, had expressed similar remarks while accepting the gift of the sultan which he was told that Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî had refused.⁵¹⁸

Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's *Keşfü'l-kınâ' an Vechi's-semâ'* (Raising of the Cover From the Face of *Semâ'*) reveals clearly Hüdâyî's comments on *semâ'*, the *sûfî* practice which the Celvetîs shared with some modifications with the Mevlevîs and the Halvetîs and which came to be one of the principle points of attack that the Kadızâdelis directed against these orders.⁵¹⁹ Here, we see Hüdâyî being keen on differentiating between the "divine *semâ'*" and the "natural *semâ'*", in his broader division of "*taklidi semâ'*" and "*tahkiki semâ'*". "Divine *semâ'*" according to him is inspired by spiritual maturity whereas "natural *sema'*" is inspired by the *nefs*. By saying "Let it be known that, *semâ'* is a divine secret which becomes apparent to the true 'lovers'" he openly expresses his approval of only the practice of *semâ'* arising from sincere spiritual feelings and warns his readers against those exceeding the limits by including worldly concerns into the practice of *semâ'*.⁵²⁰

In providing support to his arguments we see Hüdâyî referring frequently to Ibn al-Arabî along with other *sûfîs* of the Islamic classical age, both in *Tezâkir* and in his other works among which is *Keşfü'l-Kına' an Vechi's-Sema'*.⁵²¹ This fact implies Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's having full respect to this *şeyh* denounced as *şeyh-i ekfer* by the Kadızâdelis.

⁵¹⁷ 'Ata'î, p. 791; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 6; Tezeren, p. 21; Yılmaz, p. 51-54.

⁵¹⁸ Tezeren, p. 63; Yılmaz, p. 64.

⁵¹⁹ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Keşfü'l-kına' an Vechi's-sema'*, published by Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, "Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin «Semâ Risâlesi»", *Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, sayı: 4, İstanbul, 1986, p. 273-284.

⁵²⁰ Yılmaz, "Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin Semâ Risâlesi", p. 275.

⁵²¹ To give only one example from *Tezâkir*: "ve 'abdın Allah'a itâ'ati ve muvâfakatının hakîkati 'abd her mertebede ta'ayyünât-i rusûmiyesin ifnâ idüb 'adem-i tahkîkdir. Ol makûle âdem Hakk'ın varlığıyla var olub Hakk'ın irâdetine tâbî olur ve Hakk'ın murâdı ne ise olur bunun murâdı olur. Anın için Şeyh kuddise sırruhü'l-mutahher der 'Resûl-i Ekrem'i 'aleyhi's-salât ve's-selâm bir gün ruyâda gördüm. Bana hürmet ve ri'âyet etdi ve ba'dehu didi: Ya Muhyi'd-dîn Hakk Celle ve 'Ala senin murâdına şöyle mu'î ve tâbî'dir ki her ne murâd edersen muvâfakat ider' didi. 'Hakk lisânını getürüb ve zıkr idüb istek lâzım değildir. Kalbine gelür ise kifâyet ider.' Bunlar her mertebede 'adem ve fenâ ile tahakkuk eseridir. Ve ma' zalik her mertebede emr-i ilahiyeye inkıyâd semeresidir." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasıdecizade nr. 323, p. 79b-80a. For references to Ibn al-

Two interesting letters in *Tezâkir* gives us information about the respect Hüdâyî attributes to Ebussuud Efendi, who is known to have been challenged by Birgivî Mehmed Efendi. Ebussuud Efendi (1490-1574) is known to have successfully undertaken the task of bringing the secular laws of state into conformity with the principles of *şeriat*.⁵²² The point which Birgivî attacked Ebussuud, with a treatise titled *es-Seyfu's-Sârim fî Ademi Cevâzi Vakfî'n-nükûd ve'd-derâhim*, was the *Şeyhü'l-İslâm*'s approval of the bequest of money and movable goods as *vakf*. Ebussuud had answered Birgivî's claims with a *fetvâ* confirming the religious legality of making *vakf* of coined money or other movable property, deciding principally in the favour of the Ottoman state's interests.⁵²³

The first letter is written probably on the occasion of a dream the sultan saw in which he was told by Ebussuud Efendi to be engaged in *tevhîd zikri*. Here, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî considers being urged by Ebussuud as highly esteemed.⁵²⁴

In the second letter, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî refers to Ebussuud's services for Islam, for the believers and for the Ottoman sultan. He expresses Ebussuud's having deep knowledge of Kur'ân by mentioning his having written a splendid *tefsir*, which became a source of pride for the Ottoman sultan among the Hanafis, in the world of Islam, in the east, west and in the Arab and Persian worlds. He mentions Ebussuud's having piety and spiritual knowledge. Hüdâyî adds that Ebussuud's father was a *şeyh* and he had gathered both *şeriat* and *tarikât* in his

'Arabî in his other works see Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Câmiu'l-fezâil ve Kamiu'r-rezâil, Miftâhu's-salat ve Mirkatü'n-necâr*, published by Dr. Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, *İlim-Amel Seyr ü Süluk*, Erkam Yayınları: 46, Erenler Matbaası, İstanbul, 1988; Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Âlemin Yaratılışı ve Hz. Muhammed'in Zuhûru (Hulâsatü'l-ahbâr)*, prepeared by Kerim Kara/ Mustafa Özdemir, İnsan Yayınları, Tarih Dizisi, İstanbul, 1997; Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *En-Nasâyih ve'l-Mevâiz*, prepeared by Safi Arpaguş as *Sohbetler*, İnsan Yay., İstanbul, 1995.

⁵²² İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 182.

⁵²³ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 184; İnalcık, "Islam in the Ottoman Empire", p. 22; Halil İnalcık, "Şeriat ve Kanun, Din ve Devlet", in *İslamiyat I* (1998), sayı: 4, p. 136; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 144; Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış.", p. 211-212; Unan, p. 39-41; M. Cavid Baysun, "Ebüssu'ûd Efendi", *İ.A.*, Vol. IV, p. 95.

⁵²⁴ Here, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî firstly gives details of *tevhîd zikri* and goes on: "*Ebü's-su'ûd rahmetullah cânibinden sevk olunmak hakikat-i şeri'at şeceresinden müşâhede olunmaklğa işâretdir, ziyâde makbûldür. Ve's-selâm 'ale'd-devâm.*" Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade nr. 323, p. 19a.

person. He ends the letter by saying Ebussuud's being in the stage of hearing calls for help and advises the sultan to obey and serve him.⁵²⁵

The only point Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî and Ebussuud Efendi, who was the teacher of Hüdâyî's initial supporters in the Palace, namely Hoca Saadeddin and Sunnullah Efendi, among many other *ulema* of the period, seem to have departed is the above mentioned point of the *semâ*' practice considering that the Kadızâdelis made use of this *Şeyhü'l-İslâm*'s *fetvâs* along with those of Kemal Paşazâde in providing support for their arguments while attacking the *sûfî* practice of *semâ*'.⁵²⁶ However, close investigation of Hüdâyî's *Keşfü'l-Kimâ' an Vechi's-Semâ'* and Ebussuud's *fetvâs* on the religious legality of the practice of *semâ*' reveals that the two were sharing similar views with respect to the religious illegality of the excesses in performing this ritual, and preferring its remaining within the bounds permitted by *şeriat*.⁵²⁷ This point is expressed by Hüdâyî in *Ecvibe-i Şerife* while answering Musâfî Efendi's question whether *devr* is approved during *zîkr* and *tevhîd* in order to bring joy and freshness to the ritual. According to Hüdâyî, whirling of the *zâkirs* slowly is permitted, as it increases enthusiasm for *zîkr*, as long as it remains within the limits permitted. The limit is one's being in control of his actions so that he may not act against good manners.⁵²⁸

In a letter in *Tezâkir*, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî raises the point that man of religious sciences who did not underwent ascetic austerities are incapable of comprehending the writings with respect to inner meanings of *sûfî* orders, which are usually written with

⁵²⁵ "Şeyhü'l-İslâm sebeb-i nizâmü'l-'âlem merhûm ve mağfûrûn leh Ebû's-su'ûd rahmetullah İslâm ve müslimîne ve İslâm Pâdişâhına ziyâde hizmetler etmiştir ma'lûm-ı şerîfdir. Husûsan eyyâm-ı saltanat-ı selîmelerinizde bir tefsîr-i fâhir yazmışdır. Mezheb-i Haneî'î'de ve millet-i İslâm'da şarkda ve garbda ve 'Arab'da ve 'Acem'de fahr-ı saltanatınız olmuşdur. Ve takvâsı ve 'irfânı da vardır. Ve şeyhzâdedir. Câmi'ü's-ş-şeri'at ve 't-tarîkat ve 'l-hakîkatdır. İstimdâd makâmındadır. Ri'âyet ve hizmet lâzımdır." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasıdecizade, nr. 323, p. 19b.

⁵²⁶ Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*, p. 143.

⁵²⁷ Yılmaz, "Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin «Semâ Risâlesi»", p. 273-284; Baysun, "Ebüss'ûd Efendi", p. 94-95.

⁵²⁸ For this question and answer see footnote 330 and The Life: The 'Mystic Journey' with Üftâde. Also see footnote 331 for Hüdâyî's definition of *zîkr-i cehrî*.

enigmatical expressions and symbols to prevent the content being grasped by the outsiders.⁵²⁹ With this point we see Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî criticising those who are only educated in religious sciences of *zâhir* and unaware of the deep meaning of the *batın* interpretations of the *sûfî* orders. The same criticism is directed against Birgivî Mehmed and Kadızâde both by the contemporary writers like Katip Çelebi and by modern researchers; who have interpreted Birgivî's and Kadızâde's attacks on the *sûfî*s with the two man's incompatibility with the *sûfî* way.⁵³⁰

In another letter Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî draws the attention of the sultan to the need of the sultan's being engaged in guiding and advising some seekers of truth. By doing so, according to Hüdâyî, the sultan would also benefit spiritually and in fact, his being honoured with the sultanate is a point of perfection and is a means for completing the acquisition of divine features.⁵³¹ Those whom Hüdâyî sees as in need of guidance may be interpreted as members of those orders which have been criticised not only by Kadızâdelis but also by the majority of the Ottoman *ulema* as exceeding the limits.

One letter is indicative of Hüdâyî's overall standing with respect to *şeriat* and *tarikât*, the principle point that the Kadızâdeli movement was centred on. In this letter Hüdâyî defines

⁵²⁹ "ulema-i tarikatde ve esbâb-i hakikatde za'îgun ve zâyî 'ûn vardır. Zevâhiri bevâtına tevfiik idemeyüb hayretde kalmışlar dalalet ve ilhâda ve ibâhate düşmüşler. Zâhir-i şeri'atde ne kadar fırâk-i dâlile var ise bâtın-ı tarikatde ol kadar fırâk-i dâlile vardır belki daha ziyâdedir. Bu kadar kudemâ-i hukemâ ve hulefâ hükmen menâzil-i hayretindedir. Kiminde isâbet ve kiminde hata ve dalâlet üzerinedir. Pes menâzil-i tarikat ve merâtib-i hakikat sâlikine ziyâde hayret ve dehşet verir. Temyizine mâlik etmese zey' ve zeyl ve hatar ve hâlel lâzım gelür. Anın için 'ulema-i ümmet ve evliyâ-i rahmet birbirine mülâkat ile ziyâde istifâde iderler ve nice hatalarına vâkıf olur[lar]. Anın için hazret-i 'Ömer radiallahu 'anhu her da'im dir idi (...) Nüfus-i nakisadan sıyânet remz ve işâret tariki iledir. Kenz-i ma'ârif ve ma'den-i ma'âniye nâ-ehl vâkıf olmasun deyu bilâ-liyâkat ve lâ-istihkâk. Anın [içün] evvelen ve ahiren ve hala ve ilâ yevmi'l-kıyamet ma'ârif-i ilahiye hitâbât-i ilahiyeden 'ulema-i zâhirin fuhûli fehm etmeğe kâdir değillerdir. Zirâ hucubât ile mahcûblardır. Verâ-i estâr ve hucubâtıda olan cevâhir-i ma'ârif kande görürler ve kande bulurlar. Zirâ riyâzat etmemişlerdir ve 'ayn-i 'irfâna ve ma'den-i ma'âniye mücâhede ile irmemişlerdir. Ma'ârif-i 'arabîyeyi ve fârisileri elfâz-i 'arabîyeden ve elfâz-i fârisîyeden kavâ'id-i 'arabîye ile ve kavânîn-i fârisîye ile ahz etmişlerdir. Kuşûfât ism-i efnâ ile bilinür ve bulunur. Ve's-selâm 'ale'd-devâm." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade, nr. 323, p. 64a-64b.

⁵³⁰ Katip Çelebi; *Mizanü'l-Hakk fî İhtiyari'l-Ahakk*, Ocak, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Dinde Tasfiye (Püritanizm) Teşebbüslerine Bir Bakış.", p. 212; Unan, p. 38.

⁵³¹ "sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü pâdişâhım üzerine ba'zı mürîd-i Hak ve tâlib-i vücûd-i mutlak olanları irşâd ve tertib lâzım olmuş. (...) Gayrı bunlar tarikatde ve hakikatde asâr-i bâtınınız izhâr etmede hulefâ-i hayrınız olalar. Ma'ârif-i ilahiye emânâtının ahâlisi olan mürîdine ve müsta'iddine edâ lâzımdır. Gerçi saltanat zâhirde mâni' gibidir. Lakin min haysü'l-ahfâ ve s-sırr ol hizmet ile müşerref olmak ziyâde kemâldir ve ma'ârif-i ilahiyenin tahsilinde sebeb-i ziyâde istikmâldir." Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, Tezâkir, Kasidecizade, nr. 323, p. 21b.

justice and straightness as to venerate both *şeriat*, which is the manifestation of *İsm-i zâhir*, and *tarikât*, which is the manifestation of *İsm-i bâtın*, a point which close investigation would reveal that Hüdâyî shares with both Birgivî Mehmed and Ebussuud.⁵³²

It can also be mentioned here that all throughout the manuscript of *Tezâkir* that is used in this study, i.e. Süleymânîye Kütüphanesi Kasidecizade nr. 323, the proper prayer follows whenever the Prophet and his companions are mentioned. This usage of the prayers after the mentioning of the name of the Prophet and his companions was one of the questions raised by the Kadızâdelis who claimed it simply as a bid'at. In order for us to conclude that Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî would have taken the side of the defenders of the usage of these prayers had he lived to see the peak of these arguments one should study with the original letters because the prayers in the copied text may simply have been added by the compiler.

⁵³² “sefine-i şeri'ate girüb takvâ yelkenini açub hakikat bahrında hakla hakkide muhabbet yelleri ile i'tidâl ve istikâmet ile zâhirin zâhirde hukûkun edâ idüb ve bâtının bâtında levâzımın icrâ idüb ism-i zâhirin mazharı olan şeri'at-i zâhiriyyeye kemâl-i ri'âyet ve 'inâyet ve ism-i bâtının mazharı olan esrâr-i şeri'ate ve letâ'if-i tarikate ve hakâyık-i hakikate ri'âyet ve 'inâyet olmakdır. 'Adâlet ve istikâmet dedikleri budur. Allahu ta'âla sa'âdetlü pâdişâhuma tamâmını ve kemâlini müyesser ide. Amîn ya Mu'in ve ya Mucibe 'd-dâ'in.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade, nr. 323, p. 51b. This point is also expressed by Hüdâyî in one of his sermons: “İmdi ehl-i tarikatın cemi'i adabı sünnetden alınmışdır. Hâşâ ki, bid'ad ola, bu böyle değildir. Ehl-i şeriat ancak bir zâhir ahkâmıdır. 'Haram ve helâl, emr ma'rûf, nehy münker dahî nedir?’ diye inkâr etme-yeler. Kezâlik, sûfiyye dahî; ‘Biz vâsıl-ı Hak olduk’ diye şer’-i mutahhereyi bırakmayalar, ilhâda düşmeyeler. Yeli yerinde şer’i şerife riâyet üzere olalar, hıyanet etmeyeler, çalışalar.” Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *En-Nasâyih ve'l-Mevâiz*, prepared by Safi Arpağuş as *Sohbetler*, p. 94.

CONCLUSION

The knowledge of *zâhir* (exoteric sciences) in the Ottoman Empire was reserved for those who underwent the *medrese* education while the knowledge of *bâtın* (esoteric sciences) was an essential cultural element which usually brought fame, respect and immunity to its possessors, provided that they did not attempt to challenge the authority of the state. The subject of this study Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, who appears to have been one of the most influential figures of the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, was both the leader of the newly formed Celvetiyye order and the advisor of the sultans, merging wisely spiritual concepts with the politics of the day in his advises, which may be said to have resulted from his strong *medrese* background.

Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî is known to have preferred progress in the spiritual realm to an *ilmiyye* career and his literary outputs are a blend of his educational background and his spiritual experiences. He left us nearly thirty literary works which include the records of his personal dialogs with his *şeyh*; his correspondence with the sultans and with his followers; collections of his sermons; a diary; and his poetry. When examined as a whole with care and in comparison with other literary outputs of the period, all of his works would reveal important details with respect to his life as well as the up to date concerns of the circles with whom he was in contact. Considering that his milieu ranged from the folk to the sultans,

including bureaucrats, members of the *ilmiyye* establishment, Halvetiyye and Bayramiyye circles, this would be no mean achievement.

An all comprehending research on all of the literary outputs of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî would give us –even if we have to read between the lines- autobiographical information with respect to dates, persons and events closely related to his personal life and his career, first as a student of the *ilmiyye* establishment and later as a *sûfi* leader; and information that reflects his feelings and attitudes towards religious, political and social events of his time. A closer look at the works that might contain the first type of information would lead us to achieve an accurate chronology of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's life and an accurate determination of his milieu, the circle of the persons with whom he was in contact. On the other hand, works that might contain Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's beliefs, attitudes and feelings would allow us to have an understanding of the position he took in the social events and in the debates that went on among the religious and government circles of his time.

Though a great deal of work has already been undertaken by various researchers to bring to light the literary legacy of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, there is still need for further studies which would comprehend his literary outputs in comparison with the contemporary religious and intellectual literature of the period.

One of the most important work of him, *Tezâkir*, includes various comments of him on various aspects of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Ottoman Empire. In this study, after a brief discussion of his life and the letters he wrote to two of his followers and to the sultans, a treatment of the content of *Tezâkir* within the context of the *nasihatnâme* literature and the Kâdızâdeli controversy of the period is attempted. Though Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî did not work on a separate treatise on the rules of proper conduct of government in relation with the urgent concerns of the Empire during the period in question, as it was the case with the *nasihatnâme* writers, his advises to the sultans scattered throughout *Tezâkir*,

points out some similar concepts common in the *nasihatnâme* literature of the period. Though Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî did not live to see the peak of the Kâdızâdeli movement, whose leaders made reputation by waging war against the practice and practitioners of *bid'ats* in the Ottoman society, the ideas of Mehmed of Birgi, who is regarded as the ideological mentor of this movement and who died in 1573 when Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî was going through his *medrese* education, were probably circulating and were the topics of debate in the educated circles, about which *Tezâkir* provides some hints.

It should be mentioned here that the references made to *Tezâkir* in the text reflect only a little of the content of this nearly two hundred letters. With greater time and closer investigation this unique source, which comprehends numerous details with respect to various aspects that make up the Ottoman society and politics, would reveal important findings about the Ottoman way of life.

APPENDIX I: THE LITERARY LEGACY OF AZÎZ MAHMÛD HÛDÂÎ

Both Ziver Tezeren and Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz devoted a chapter to the works of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî in their studies and gave a list of them with introductory information about their content and their location.⁵³³ What is attempted here is a grouping of the works written by Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, which have already brought to light, with the aim of achieving a well-organised outlook with respect to the place of his writings in the religious literature of his time and an outlook of their present state of publication.

Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's literary outputs can be grouped as his sermons and exhortations preserved in written form; his works devoted to the explanation of religious motifs where he explains selected *ayets*, certain religious practices, the qualities and experiences of the Prophet and some topics of public interest like here-after; his writings about his personal experiences on the *sûfî* path and about the peculiarities of the Celvetiyye order where he shares his own experiences and sets forth the rules governing the rightly conduct of spiritual education for the candidates; his letters; his works in verse; and his other works that could not survive to-day but mentioned by himself as being worked over in *Tezâkir*.

⁵³³ Tezeren, p. 69-84; Yılmaz, p. 103-120.

I. SERMONS AND EXHORTATIONS

Mecmû'a-i huṣṣâb: (*Collected Sermons*) In this work the sermons which Hüdâyî probably read during *bayrams* and *Cum'a* gatherings are collected. It is written in Arabic and constitutes around four *varaks*.⁵³⁴

El-mecâlisü'l-vazıyye: (*Collected Exhortations*) In this work Hüdâyî explains the meanings of some *ayets* with reference to the traditions of the Prophet, and the sayings and deeds of other great men of Islam. It is written in the form of sermon and admonition, in Arabic, and constitutes around 500 *varaks*.⁵³⁵

Nasâyih ve mevâ'ız: (*Admonitions and Exhortations*) This work is a collection of Hüdâyî's sermons and admonitions under forty-three chapters. It is in Turkish and constitutes around 240 *varaks*.⁵³⁶

It is published by Safi Arpaguş with the title *Sohbetler*.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ Tezeren, p. 80; Yılmaz, p. 12, Tezeren states that in the *mecmuas* he had seen only the introductory parts of the sermons were included and not the whole speech.

⁵³⁵ Tezeren, p. 82; Yılmaz, p. 110.

⁵³⁶ Its only manuscript is in Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi Efendi 266, Tezeren, p. 83; Yılmaz, p. 116.

⁵³⁷ Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Sohbetler*, hazırlayan: Safi Arpaguş, İnsan Yay., İstanbul, 1995.

II. WORKS DEVOTED TO THE EXPLANATION OF RELIGIOUS MOTIFS

Risâletü'l-es'ile ve'l-ecvibe fî ahvâli'l-mevtâ: (*Treatise on Questions and Answers with respect to the Condition of Dead Ones*) This is a treatise devoted to the explanation of all kinds of questions with respect to death and dead people with references to *ayets* and the traditions of the Prophet. Some subheadings include whether the dead people eat like those living, whether they recognise and hear those coming to visit them, whether they like being visited and condemn those who do not visit them, whether they go to the houses of the living people. It is in Arabic and constitutes around twenty *varaks*.⁵³⁸

El-fethü'l-ilâhî: (*The Divine Conquest*) It is a treatise in Arabic and constitutes around four *varaks*. Tîn Suresi (95/4) is explained with references to Ibn al-Arabî.⁵³⁹

Habbetü'l-mahabbe: (*Seed of love*) It is a treatise in Arabic and constitutes around ten *varaks*. It focuses on the importance, divinity and virtue attributed to the love felt for God and for the Prophet and his family, *ehl-i beyt*.⁵⁴⁰

Tezeren states that Ahmed Remzi Mevlevî (d. 1950), the last *şeyh* of Üsküdar Mevlevihanesi, had translated this treatise of Hüdâyî into Turkish and that it was published by Kayseri Müzeleri, Eski Eserleri ve Turizmi Sevenler Derneği.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁸ Its only manuscript is in Bursa İl Halk Kütüphanesi Camii Kebir 1751/6. Tezeren, p. 105; Yılmaz, p. 84.

⁵³⁹ Tezeren, p. 83; Yılmaz, p. 106.

⁵⁴⁰ Tezeren, p. 76-77; Yılmaz, p. 106-107.

⁵⁴¹ I have not been able to see this publication.

Hâşiye Kuhistânî fî şerh-i Fıkh-i Keydânî: It is a commentary on the commentary which Şemseddin Muhammed Kuhistanî (d. 962) wrote on Keydânî *fıkhı*. It is in Arabic and constitutes around 200 *varaks*. It includes Hüdâyî's explanations of some unclear and confused points in Kuhistânî's commentary⁵⁴²

Hayâtü'l-ervâh ve necâtü'l-eşbâh: (*The Life of the Spirits and the Salvation of the Ghosts*) It is a treatise in Arabic and constitutes around thirty-five *varaks*. It concentrates on the concept of death under two chapters. The first chapter focuses on religious questions related with the physical death, like the things that will be faced during the moment of death and the day of judgement. The second chapter deals with the concept of death as a *tasavvufî* state, which mentions the dying of the *nefs* of a person before physical death happens.⁵⁴³

Hulâsatü'l-ahbâr fî ahvâli'n-nebiyyi'l-muhtâr: (*A summary of the news about the state of the Prophet who had been selected*)

In this work, Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî deals with the Creation, the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Birth of the Prophet and His Miracles, Knowledge and the State of *Marîfet*, and with the importance of *Zikr*, Prayer and *Tevhîd* under five chapters with references to *ayets* and the traditions of the Prophet.⁵⁴⁴

It is published by Kerim Kara and Mustafa Özdemir with the title *Âlemin Yaratılışı ve Hz. Muhammed'in Zuhûru (Hulâsatü'l-ahbâr)*.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴² Tezeren, p. 75; Yılmaz, p. 107.

⁵⁴³ Tezeren, p. 74; Yılmaz, p. 107-108.

⁵⁴⁴ Tezeren, p. 73-74; Yılmaz, p. 108.

⁵⁴⁵ Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Âlemin Yaratılışı ve Hz. Muhammed'in Zuhûru (Hulâsatü'l-ahbâr)*, prepared by Kerim Kara/ Mustafa Özdemir, İnsan Yayınları, Tarih Dizisi, İstanbul, 1997.

Fethü'l-Bâb ve Refü'l-Hicâb: It is in Arabic and constitutes around ten *varaks*. It concentrates on the creation of man, repentance, and divine secrets that appear in human-beings with indulgence in *zikr*, worship and *zühd* under three chapters.⁵⁴⁶

Miftâhü's-Salâh ve Mirkâtü'n-Necâh: (*The Key to Namaz and the Stair to Salvation*) It is in Arabic and around ten *varaks*.⁵⁴⁷

It is published by Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz together with *Câmi'ul-fazâil ve Kâmi'u'r-rezâil* under the title *İlim-Amel Seyr ü Sülûk*.⁵⁴⁸ It deals with the secrets, levels, virtue and the rules of good conduct of *namaz* and *Cum'a* gatherings under three chapters.

Ahvâlü'n-nebiyyi'l-muhtâr 'aleyhi salevâtullahi'l-meliki'l-cebbâr: (*The State of the Prophet Who Had Been Selected*) It is a treatise in Arabic and constitutes around seven *varaks*. It deals with the source of divinity, the source of *unsuriyye*, ascent (*mi'râc*) and the miracles of the Prophet under four chapters.

Mehmet Gülşen Efendi had translated and wrote a commentary on this work.⁵⁴⁹

Mi'râciye: (*On Ascent*) It is a treatise devoted to the explanation of *Mi'râc* with references to *ayets* and the tradition of the Prophet.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁶ Tezeren, p. 77; Yılmaz, p. 105-106.

⁵⁴⁷ Tezeren, p. 74-75; Yılmaz, p. 110-111.

⁵⁴⁸ Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Câmiu'l-fezâil ve Kamiu'r-rezâil; Miftâhu's-salât ve Mirkâtü'n-necât*, published by Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, *İlim-Amel Seyr ü Sülûk*, Erkam Yayınları: 46, Erenler Matbaası, İstanbul, 1998, p. 175-209.

⁵⁴⁹ Tezeren, p. 81; Yılmaz, p. 103-104.

⁵⁵⁰ Tezeren states its being in Arabic whereas Yılmaz places it among Hüdâyî's works written in Turkish. Tezeren, p. 80-81; Yılmaz, p. 116.

Şemâ'ilü'n-nübüvveti'l-Ahmediyyeti'l-Muhammediyye: (The Nature of the Prophet Muhammad) This treatise of Hüdâyî concentrates firstly on the outlook of the Prophet and secondly, on his beauty, virtue, wisdom and moral qualities based on the traditions of his companions. It is both in Arabic and Turkish and its only copy is fifty-nine *varaks*.⁵⁵¹ According to Yılmaz, the Turkish part of this treatise which describes the beauty, virtue and wisdom of the Prophet resembles a *mevlid*, and had caused Mehmed Gülşen Efendi to cite a *mevlid* among Hüdâyî's works in his *Külliyât-i Hazret-i Hüdâî*.⁵⁵²

Nafâ'isü'l-mecâlis: It is a *tasavvufî tefsir* in Arabic.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵¹ Tezeren, p. 84; Yılmaz, p. 112.

⁵⁵² Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 6-7.

⁵⁵³ Tezeren, p. 82-83; Yılmaz, p. 111.

III. WRITINGS ON HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCES ON THE SŪFÎ PATH AND ON THE PECULARITIES OF THE CELVETIYYE ORDER

Vâkı'ât: (Occurances) The original name of the work is *Kelimât-ı âliye anı 't-tibri 'l-meskûk câriye beyne hadreti 'ş-şeyh ve beyne hâza 'l-fakir fî esnâi 's-sülûk*.. Its a record of the conversations between Üftâde and Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî during Hüdâyî's spiritual education under the supervision of Üftâde. It starts in 984/1576 and ends in 987/1579, covering the period of Hüdâyî's education. It is in Arabic and constitutes three volumes.⁵⁵⁴ It may be considered as a dervish diary.

Mustafa Bahadıroğlu, who used *Vâkıât* as his primary source in his thesis *Üftâde, Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Celvetiye Tarikatı* argues that it would be more proper to consider *Vâkıât* among the works of Üftâde rather than those of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî because of the fact that *Vâkıât* contains what Hüdâyî heard from his master Üftâde and collected them in written form. It includes the questions of Hüdâyî, who was only at the beginning of his spiritual education, and Üftâde's answers. Bahadıroğlu adds that it would be more proper to refer to the work as *Vâkıât-ı Üftâde* as Hüdâyî appears to be only the collector.⁵⁵⁵ The conversations include Üftâde's interpretations of the dreams and the divine experiences of Hüdâyî, his advises to him, and his comments on the peculiarity and the principles of the Celvetiyye order. Poems from Mevlana, Yunus Emre, Hacı Bayram-ı Velî, Eşrefoğlu Rumi and Üftâde are also included. References were made to Ibn al-Arabî, Sadreddin Konevî, Hallâc-ı Mansur, Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî, Abdülkâdir Geylân and Bayazıd Bistâmî.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ Tezeren, p. 71; Yılmaz; p. 114-115.

⁵⁵⁵ Mustafa Bahadıroğlu, *Üftâde, Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Celvetiye Tarikatı*, Masters Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, Bursa, 1990, p. 8-13. Beldiceanu-Steinherr made use of *Vâkıât* besides *Tecelliyât* in her Ph. D.: Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Scheich Üftâde, der Begründer des Gelvetijje-Ordens*, Ludwig-Maximilians University, München, 1961.

⁵⁵⁶ Bahadıroğlu, p. 8-9.

Tecelliyât: (Revelations) This work is Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's records of the divine experiences he went through from 1010/1601-1602 on. It was translated into Turkish by the desire of Halil Paşa together with *Câmi'ul-fazâ'il ve kâmi'u'r-rezâ'il*, *Keşfu'l-kınâ* 'an *vechi's-semâ*' and selected portions from *Vâkı'ât* in 1033/1623-1624.⁵⁵⁷ It may be considered as a dervish diary.

Câmi'ül-fazâ'il ve kâmi'ü'r-rezâ'il: (*One who gathers virtues and hides disgraces*) It is a treatise in Arabic around thirty *varaks*. Its Turkish translation had been undertaken for the first time by Muizzuddin Celveti.⁵⁵⁸

It is published in modern Turkish by Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, together with *Miftâhu's-salât ve Mirkatü'n-necât* under the title *İlim, Amel, Seyr ü Sülûk*.⁵⁵⁹ Hüdâyî acknowledges his intention behind writing this treatise as showing the ways to get rid of the nonsensical qualities of the self and the ways to the path of salvation for the dervishes.

Et-tarikatü'l-Muâammediyye vesîle ilâ sa'âdeti's-sermediyye: (*The Way of the Prophet is a Means to Peerless Happiness*) It is in Arabic and around two *varaks*. It concentrates on the process of *sülûk*, its rules (*adâb*), the vitality of a spiritual director, *mürşid*, in finding the path of salvation.⁵⁶⁰ It is intended as an introductory information to those who want to start their 'mystical journey'.

It was published by Mehmed Gülşen in his *Külliyât-i Hazret-i Hüdâî*.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁷ Tezeren, p. 75, 83-84; Yılmaz, p. 113-114. The manuscript in Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Mahmud 3119 is 143 *varaks* (personal observation).

⁵⁵⁸ Tezeren, p. 78-79; Yılmaz, p. 104-105.

⁵⁵⁹ Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Câmiu'l-fezâ'il ve Kâmiu'r-rezâ'il; Miftâhu's-salât ve Mirkatü'n-necât*, published by Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, *İlim-Amel Seyr ü Sülûk*, Erkam Yayınları: 46, Erenler Matbaası, İstanbul, 1998, p. 13-174. He made use only of the manuscript in H. Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi 259/8.

⁵⁶⁰ Tezeren, p. 77-78; Yılmaz, p. 112-113.

⁵⁶¹ Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, 1338, p. 15-19.

Tarîkatnâme: It is the Turkish version of *Et-tarikatu'l-Muhammediyye vesile ila sa'âdeti's-sermediyye*. It explains the rules of the Celvetiyye order and the relationships between the *mürşid* and the *mürîd*. It constitutes five *varaks*.⁵⁶² It is important for an evaluation of the basic principles of the Celvetiyye order in particular, and of the moral qualities prevalent in the Ottoman Empire during the period in general.

It was published in the two publications of *Külliyât-ı Hazret-i Hüdâî*.⁵⁶³ Text is given by Can Güzel (Güner) Zülfikar.⁵⁶⁴

Merâtibü's-sülûk: (*Degrees of the 'Mystical Journey'*) It is a treatise in Arabic in which Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî explains the three levels of the 'mystical journey'. The first being that of the layman who follow only the basic principles of *şerî'at*; the second level being that of the *havas* which is realised by "*amal-i kalbiyye*"; and the third level being that of *ahassu'l-havass* which is realised by "*amal-i sirriye-i maneviyye*".⁵⁶⁵

Keşfü'l-kînâ' 'an vechi's-semâ': (*Raising of the Cover From the Face of Sema*) It is a treatise devoted to the explanation of the real meaning of *semâ'*, the spiritual dance performed by some mystic orders in the company of music. Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî considers the secrets of *semâ'* being a part of the secrets of God and that they are open only to 'seers'. It is in Arabic and constitutes around five *varaks*.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶² Tezeren, p. 79-80; Yılmaz, p. 118.

⁵⁶³ Sahhaf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 3-12; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 21-29. Zülfikar, p. 206-218.

⁵⁶⁴ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, "Tarikatnâme" in Zülfikar, *Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî Külliyesi'nin Kuruluşu ve İlk Yüzyılı*, p. 206-218. She made use of the manuscript in Süleymâniye Ktp. Hacı Mahmud 2372/1.

⁵⁶⁵ Tezeren, p. 110; Yılmaz, p. 81.

⁵⁶⁶ Tezeren, p. 75-76; Yılmaz, p. 109.

It is published by Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz with the title *Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin «Semâ Risâlesi»*.⁵⁶⁷ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî explains the comments of passed away spiritual leaders on *semâ*' with references to *ayets* and the traditions of the Prophet.

⁵⁶⁷ Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, "Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin «Semâ Risâlesi»", *Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, sayı: 4, İstanbul, 1986, p. 273-284.

IV. LETTERS

Tezâkir: This is the collection of the letters Hüdâyî had written to the sultans. It has been identified that most of the letters were written to Murad III (1574-1595), but it also includes letters written to Ahmed I (1603-1617), to Osman II (1618-1622), to Mustafa I (1622-1632).⁵⁶⁸

It is studied by Mustafa Salim Güven with the title *Çeşitli Yönleriyle Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin Mektupları* as a masters' thesis.⁵⁶⁹ The manuscript which has been used by Mustafa Salim Güven contains 174 letters, eighteen of them is in Arabic, six in both Arabic and Turkish, and the rest are in simple Turkish. The manuscript which is used in the present study is Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Kasidecizade nr.323. It has been compiled by Seyyid Hafız Abdullah ez-Zeka'i, in 1288/1871-1872.⁵⁷⁰

Letters to Halîl Paşa: These are the letters Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî wrote to Halil Paşa who held the post of Grand Vizier twice and of Kapudan Pasha four times during the period 1608-1628.⁵⁷¹ The letters are in Turkish and constitute around six *varaks*.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁸ Güven, p. 27-43; Tezeren, p. 81; Yılmaz, p. 118.

⁵⁶⁹ Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, in Mustafa Salim Güven as *Çeşitli Yönleriyle Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin Mektupları*, Masters Thesis, Marmara İlahiyat Fakültesi, İstanbul, 1992. He made use of the manuscript in the private library of Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz. As Güven reports, the number of copies of *Tezâkir* that have been identified in the libraries of İstanbul is fourteen. These copies is said to follow the same order with little variations. The variation in the number of letters in different copies is said to arise from the fact that long letters were written as two different letters by some of the compilers, and some letters are a recollection of some of the subjects that have been mentioned in other letters. See Güven, p. 32-36.

⁵⁷⁰ In Kasidecizade nr.323 the letters are separated with the titles "tezkiye-i 'Azîz (kuddise sırrihu)" or "tezkiye-i Mahmûd Efendi (kudise sırrihu)". However, from varak 44 on these titles disappear. Instead there is a space left either to indicate the beginning of a new letter or to indicate a new section in the same letter. The ending words "ve's-selâm ale'd-devâm" common at the end of most of the letters makes it possible to argue that there are around 170 letters in the Kasidecizade nr. 323 manuscript.

⁵⁷¹ Tezeren, p. 81-82; Yılmaz; p. 118-119.

⁵⁷² For the content of these letters see The Letters: Letters to a Statesman.

Ecvice-i Mutasavvifâne: This work, which may be considered as a letter of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî, includes his answers to the questions of one of his followers, Banyalukalı Musâfî Efendi.⁵⁷³ It is in Turkish and around four *varaks*. It includes information on the principles of the Celvetiyye order.⁵⁷⁴

Letter to Münîrî Efendi from Belgrad: This is a letter written by Hüdâyî to vâ'iz Münîrî (or Nuri) Efendi from Belgrad who was one of his followers. It is in Turkish and constitutes one *varak*.⁵⁷⁵

This letter was published in Sahaf Nuri's *Külliyât* with the title *Letter to Ali Efendi from Belgrad*.⁵⁷⁶ However, the same letter exists under the title *Letter to Münîrî Efendi from Belgrad* in Selimağa Kütüphanesi Hüdâyî Efendi nr.269⁵⁷⁷ and under the title *Letter to Nuri Efendi from Belgrad* in Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşirağa nr.653.⁵⁷⁸ Thus, the *Letter to Ali Efendi from Belgrad* which is mentioned by Yılmaz, is not included in this list of Hüdâyî's letters.⁵⁷⁹

Text is given by Can Güzel (Güner) Zülifikar.⁵⁸⁰

Letter to Ali Efendi from İznik: This is a letter Hüdâyî had written to Hüsrevzâde Ali Efendi (d.1609), who is known to be a descendant of Şeyh Edebali, from İznik. It is in Arabic and constitutes one *varak*.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷³ Tezeren, p. 81-82; Yılmaz, p. 116.

⁵⁷⁴ For the content of it see The Letters: 'Mystic Answers'.

⁵⁷⁵ Tezeren; p. 81-82; Yılmaz; p. 116.

⁵⁷⁶ Sahhâf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 123-124.

⁵⁷⁷ p. 28a-29b.

⁵⁷⁸ p. 171b-172b.

⁵⁷⁹ Yılmaz, p. 119.

⁵⁸⁰ In Zülifikar, p. 227-229. She used the manuscript in Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Mahmud 2848/9.

⁵⁸¹ Tezeren, p. 81-82; Yılmaz, p. 119. One manuscript of it is in Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi- Beşirağa nr. 653, p. 173a.

V. WORKS IN VERSE

Dîvân: This is the collection of Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî's poems found under the names *Dîvân-ı İlâhiyât-ı Hüdâyî* or *İlâhiyât-ı Hüdâyî*. It includes around 250 hymns in the form of *koşma*, *gazel*, *kit'a* and *müfred* which are mostly in Turkish, some *münacaats* in Arabic and some *kit'as* and *müfreds* in Arabic and Persian.⁵⁸²

It was published for the first time by Sahaf Nuri in 1287⁵⁸³ and for the second time in 1338 by Mehmed Gülşen⁵⁸⁴, together with some other works of Hüdâyî. In modern Turkish it was published for the first time by Kemaleddin Şenocak within his research on the life and works of Hüdâyî, in 1970⁵⁸⁵. Ziver Tezeren published the edition critique of Hüdâyî's *Dîvân* in 1985.⁵⁸⁶

Necâtü'l-garîk fî'l-cem' ve't-tefrik: Translated as *The Salvation of the Drowned*⁵⁸⁷ or as *The Rescue of the Drowning*⁵⁸⁸, this work explains *cem'* and *tefrik*, two stages in the spiritual journey, in 329 verses. It is in Turkish and around fifteen *varaks*.⁵⁸⁹

It was published in both Sahaf Nuri's and Mehmed Gülşen's *Külliyât-ı Hazret-i Hüdâî*.⁵⁹⁰ Text is given by Can Güzel (Güner) Zülfikar.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸² Ziver Tezeren, *Seyyid Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî Divânı II*, İstanbul, 1985, p. 1-3; Tezeren, p. 84; Yılmaz, p. 115-116.

⁵⁸³ *Külliyât-ı Dîvân-ı 'Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî Efendi*, İstanbul, Muhib Matba'ası, Gurre-i Reb'i'ül-ahire, 1287.

⁵⁸⁴ *Külliyât-ı Hazret-i Hüdâyî*, Matba'a-i Bahriye, İstanbul, 1338-1340.

⁵⁸⁵ Kemaleddin Şenocak, *Kutbu'l-Ârifin Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî (K.S.). Hayatı-Menakıbı-Eserleri*, İslam Neşriyatı, İstanbul, 1970, p. 37-160.

⁵⁸⁶ Ziver Tezeren, *Seyyid Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyî Divânı II*, İstanbul, 1985.

⁵⁸⁷ Beldicianu-Steinherr, "Hüdâ'î", p. 538-539.

⁵⁸⁸ E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. 3, London, 1904, p. 219.

⁵⁸⁹ Tezeren, p. 72-73; Yılmaz, p. 117.

⁵⁹⁰ Sahhâf Nuri, *Külliyât*, p. 12-30; Mehmed Gülşen, *Külliyât*, p. 30-50.

⁵⁹¹ In Zülfikar, p. 231-243. She used the manuscript in Süleymâniye Ktp. Pertev Paşa 613/16.

VI. OTHER WORKS

It has been identified, due to his own records in his *Tezâkir*, that Hüdâyî was engaged in writing various treatises on different subjects. These treatises include, *Treatise of Feth-i Medain* (on the conquest of spiritual levels in the unseen world, *enfûsi*, and the conquest of different regions in the world, *afaki*); *Treatise on Asa-yı Musa* (on the baton of Musa); *Treatise of Nun ve'l-kalemi ve ma-yesturun* (a *tasavvufî tefsir* on the first *ayet* of Kalem Suresi); *Treatise on the ayet 'Kul Rabbi zidni ı'lmen'*; *Treatise on Sad Suresi*; *Risaletü'l-Ma'arif* (a *tasavvufî tefsir* of Fatır Suresi); A treatise of the plans of a bridge that Hüdâyî had offered to be built in Üsküdar; *Kitab-ı Anka-i Muğrib ve Şems-i Mağrib*; *Treatise on Yasin Suresi*; *Treatise on Leyle-i Kadir*; and *Treatise on the twelve levels of spiritual ascent*.⁵⁹²

It is also recorded in *Tezâkir* that Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî had completed the commentary his Şeyh Nureddinzade had started on the *Nususü'l-hikem* of Sadreddin Konevi.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹² Güven, p. 31-32, 55-57.

⁵⁹³ Tezeren, p. 70, 115; Yılmaz, p. 43; Güven, p. 55-56; Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Kasidecizade, nr. 323, p. 46a. In a *mecmua* in Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar 1461, the treatise of *risale-i latife fi'd-da'iretü'l-seb'a min tabakatü'n-nefs min el-emma ila el-mutmainne* and the treatise of *risale-i nefs* are also attributed to Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî. (Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi Yazma Bağışlar 1461, p. 13b-18a, 18a-19a respectively). These may be related with his *Treatise on the twelve levels of spiritual ascent*.

When the number of his works is taken into consideration it seems clear that Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî was an ambitious student of the religious sciences and worked efficiently probably with the *feyz* he always felt as a follower of the *sûfî* path. However, arguments on the quality of the works Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî produced during his lifetime, as a well-trained scholar and as the leader of the Celvetiyye order, are only meaningful when treated in the greater context of the religious literature of the period.

With the information available on the works Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî authored, we can argue that he simply followed the basic characteristics of the Ottoman scholarship which, under the influence of the general trend in the Muslim world, saw religious learning as the only true science and whose sole aim was the understanding of God's word.⁵⁹⁴ The aim of religious writing in the Ottoman Empire was to propagate, to teach and to consolidate Islam.⁵⁹⁵ The method he followed in most of his works was in line with the tendency in the Ottoman religious sciences where he sought proof for his arguments, first in the Kur'ân, then in the traditions of the Prophet, then in recorded precedent, and only as a last resort in personal reasoning,⁵⁹⁶ which was based particularly on the divine inspirations he got. The content of most of his works does not go beyond being compilations of *ayets*, traditions of the Prophet and his companions and the recorded precedent. He made use of Arabic in most of his works, the language of the religious and legal works in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁹⁷ Most of his writings fell in the *practical* and *theoretical religious science* categories of Taşköprülüzâde's division of spiritual sciences.⁵⁹⁸ His references are mostly to the Hanefite school of thought which again coincides with the general trend in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁹⁹ One notable point is that in some of his works he discussed topics which were of public interest

⁵⁹⁴ Halil İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 173.

⁵⁹⁵ Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman Empire" in *History of Humanity*, p. 221-222.

⁵⁹⁶ See İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 173.

⁵⁹⁷ *ibid*, p. 174.

⁵⁹⁸ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 165.

⁵⁹⁹ *ibid*, p. 181.

during the Kadızâdeli controversy, most famous of which is *Keşfu'l-kınâ* 'an *vechi*'s-*semâ*'.⁶⁰⁰

One of the most well-known personalities whom Hüdâyî refers frequently is Ibn al-Arabî (1164-1240), who introduced the idea of *vahdet-i vücûd* into the *tasavvuf* tradition of Islam. Though no comprehensive research on the influence of Ibn al-Arabî on Ottoman culture has been undertaken yet, we know that his ideas were welcomed among Ottoman intellectual elite and that the government supported his followers during certain periods. Ibn al-Arabî's foretelling the establishment of the Ottoman state in his treatise *eş-Şeceretü'n-Nu'maniyye fi'd-Devleti'l-Osmaniyye* in a symbolic manner is suggested to have led to the respect shown to him in the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁰¹ It is interesting to observe that Davud-ı Kayseri (d. 1350), the *müderris* of the first *medrese* of the Ottomans in İznik and Molla Fenari (d. 1430), the first *Şeyhü'l-İslam* of the Ottoman state, were followers of Sadreddin Konevi (d.1273), the most famous student of Ibn al-Arabî.⁶⁰² Ibn al-Arabî found many commentators to his works in the Ottoman Empire, among whom were Yazıcızade Mehmed (d.1451), Sofyalı Bali Efendi (d.1533), Nureddinzade Muslihuddin (d.1578), Abdullah Bosnevi (d.1660) and Niyazi-i Mısri (d.1693), to mention a few.⁶⁰³ We know that Selim I, when he entered Syria in 1517, built a mausoleum on Ibn al-Arabî's neglected tomb and that the *Şeyhü'l-İslam* Ibn Kemal (1468-1534) issued a *fetva* approving all the works of this controversial *şeyh*.⁶⁰⁴ In this *fetva*, Ibn Kemal considers those who regret the ideas of Ibn al-Arabî as making a mistake and regards those who insist on such an attitude as having diverted from the right path.⁶⁰⁵ The sultan's duty in such a case would be to discipline such people as the sultan's sole duty was to dictate

⁶⁰⁰ Another work of him related with a topic of discussion in the Kadızâdeli controversy is *Risâletü'l-es'ile ve'l-ecvibe fi ahvâli'l-mevtâ* (Treatise on Questions and Answers with respect to the Condition of Dead Ones). His *E't-Tarikatu'l-Muhammediyye vesile ila sa'âdeti's-sermediyye* (The Way of the Prophet is a Means to Peerless Happiness) implies with its name a connection with the *Tarikat-i Muhammediyye* of Mehmed Birgivi.

⁶⁰¹ Mustafa Tahrâlı, "Muhyiddin Ibn Arabî ve Türkiye'ye Te'sirleri", *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası*, Yıl: 23- Ocak 1994, sayı:1, p. 29.

⁶⁰² İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 199-200; Tahrâlı, p. 33.

⁶⁰³ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, p. 200; Tahrâlı, p. 33-34.

⁶⁰⁴ *ibid*, p. 200.

good behaviour and prohibit wrong. Perhaps the most striking statement in this *fetva* is the acknowledgement that there are both 'clear' and 'unclear' parts in the works of Ibn al-Arabî. The 'unclear' ones are in fact open to the *batın ehli*, and those who have no understanding of the *batın* (unseen world) would better stay silent.⁶⁰⁶ However, his ideas became a source of clash during the Kadızâdeli controversy and he came to be known as *şeyhu'l-ekber* (the greatest *şeyh*) to his adherents and as *şeyhu'l-ekfer* (the most blasphemous *şeyh*) to his opponents.

Gazali (1058-1111), whose doctrine reconciles the orthodox teachings of the *şeriat* with the mysticism of *sûfîs*⁶⁰⁷, and Şihabeddîn Suhreverdî (1145-1234), a mystic philosopher and founder of the Suhreverdiyye order⁶⁰⁸ are two other well-known figures whom Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî refers frequently in his works.

Although a contemporary of Bakî, Nefî, Haletî, Cevherî and Şeyhü'l-İslâm Yahya Efendi, Hüdâyî is not mentioned in the *Şu'ara Tezkires* of the period as he was not considered as a *divan* poet.⁶⁰⁹ In modern research he is placed among the *Tasavvufî Halk Edebiyatı* poets and is included in *Tekke Şiiri Antolojileri*. In these works, Hüdâyî's poems are considered as reflecting his belief of *zühhd* and his perception of poetry as a means through which he could teach religious and moral principles.⁶¹⁰ Gibb mentions Hüdâyî's being reckoned among the most brilliant of the mystic poets of the classical period of Ottoman Poetry.⁶¹¹ Judged from the perspective of Hammer his hymns are "cries as it were of love and devotion towards God, uttered without thought of rime or metre and possessing neither connection of ideas nor continuity of thought".⁶¹² Fuad Köprülü is of the opinion that though the poems of Hüdâyî, like those of Üftâde, show the influence of Yunus Emre, the most well-known representative

⁶⁰⁵ Tahralı, p. 29-30.

⁶⁰⁶ *ibid*, p. 29-30.

⁶⁰⁷ İnalcık, *The Classical Age*, p. 166.

⁶⁰⁸ *ibid*, p. 183.

⁶⁰⁹ Tezeren, p. 45; Yılmaz, p. 91.

⁶¹⁰ Tezeren, p. 43-45; Yılmaz, p. 90-95.

⁶¹¹ E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. 3, London, 1904, p. 218.

of *tekke* poem, this influence remains only in the outer structure, and that Hüdâyî's poems remained far beneath the joy Yunus reflected in his own poems.⁶¹³

Fevziye Abdullah Tansel presents seventy-six and Tezeren seventy-seven composed hymns of Hüdâyî.⁶¹⁴ We know that the Celveti ritual was performed with music and Hüdâyî's composed poems were sung during the Celveti rituals. His hymns are also known to have been venerated among the Mevlevi order of dervishes and were sung during the *sem'â* ritual.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² *ibid*, p. 216.

⁶¹³ Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1966, p. 299.

⁶¹⁴ Tansel, p. 8-21; Tezeren, p. 85-100.

⁶¹⁵ Its possible to hear some of these composed hymns in various audio-cassettes and CDs; for ex: *Cinuçen Tanrıkörür'un Bestelerinde Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî: Çargah Fashı ve İlahiler*; issued by İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı (no date).

**APPENDIX II: EXCERPTS FROM *TEZÂKİR*,
SÜLEYMÂNİYE KÜTÜPHANESİ KASDECİZADE nr. 323
(pages referred to in the text)**

واوليكده سالک عین حقه فانی لسانی و بصیری و لول اول مقامه و یار میت ایله اشار
 اولننه و لیکنی قانایا نایبتر ایله اشارت اولننه حال طیبه کز اولندن حقیر معلومد و یوکی
 تجمده بد صلوة التمجید توجهده وجه حق وجهه رسول مطلق علیه الصلوة والسلام جنبانتر
 بر مقدار متوجه اولننه سزلر سعاتر یو خصوص نیتنه جوابلک من حیثانه لسان الحق الحسنة
 ددیر سزلر سعادتمزدن اوتری کلی خطا ایتدک الحمد لله رب العالمین اخو لکر صدقنه شهادتیه
 بشارته اشارت قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم من احب سنتی فقد احبانی ومن احبانی
 فقد احبنی ومن احبنی کان معی فی الجنة صدق حبیب الله سعادتلور و یلویا د شام حقیل
 و علا عمر عزیز کزی خیر الیلو و کمال عدل و استقامت و تمام علم و عرفان و حکمت یلیه امین
 خاطر فاصره بر نسته کلور سزلر سعادتمز اعلمز خفی بر نسته یوقدر لکن دعا جیلر کز لازم اولن
 الدین النبیجة موجبنه تذکر و تذکر در ما خطر بالبال اولدر که رسول اکرم صلی الله علیه و لم
 یورر هر یوز بیک باشندد استمدن بر کسه دین اسلامه ضعف کلش ایکن تقویه و تجمد بد
 ایدر یورمش حتمه بن عبدالعزیز یوز باشندد و دوشوب بوخذ متابله مشرف اولمش ایتد
 سعادتلور و مر و یلویا د شام هم یوز باشی و هم بیک شیدر مما امکن اهتمام اولننه و
 دقت و همت اولننه ام و اکرم ایتد احکام شریعت مظهر و اداب طریقت و سنت منوره اجرا
 و احیا اولننه ارجح بقدا و لننه و تصمیم اولننه و زبایه و اسلامه محکم حکم و امر لدر
 ابراز اولننه و تنبیه و تاکید اولننه و سکریت و آلات لهو و لعب رفع اولننه و مساجد و
 معابد ده اهل اسلام جمع اولوب شعائر دین و اسلام اجرا اولننه و قنایا د ننه و تارک
 الصلوة و مانع الزکوة و الصدقات اولننه تنبیه و تاکید و زجر و منع و اقتضا یایدنه بر مقدار
 شرعه سیاستنه و عقوبت اولننه و اشراشقی و فسقه و مجرزه مهما امکن حسن زینب الله
 منع و دفع و رفع اولننه و اطراف و اکافده اولان مظالم عباد عالم مهما امکن مرحمت و رحمت
 اولننه دیمک خاطر لدر و ان لیس انسان الا ما سخی و ان سعیه سوف یرقی ثم یجیز
 انجره الا فقی و ان یردک شهنی موجبنه پادشاه مقید اولور و جمع عامه و مفا
 و علا و مشایخ و ایام زیاده محبت ایدوب خیرد عالیدر و جمیع ارض و سما و افلاک و عرض

در

وکیس وخصوصا الانبیاء والمرسلین وخصوصا رب العالمین حضرت یسوع علیه السلام وکتاب
از دیاد دولت دارین وسعادت وسلامت فی العالمین سببا ولور وخصوصه بوسنه
سعادت لو بادشاهم غریب تدارک ایدوب کرد وملطه اورته دن اولنه اهتماما و تقید بیورلو
کرکد سز لهن ودقنا یدن مسسب الاسباب بتسیر ایدران شادالله تنکا علوه الهیه
من الایمان **وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَهُمْ أَجْرٌ غَيْرُ الْمَمْنُونِ**
قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عرائس القرآن طواسین سعاده
وسرور لو بادشاهم اوج طس شعر اول وغل وقصص دیورنره رسول اکرم صلى الله عليه وسلم قر
عظیم ککنریدر دیورنره شعر اطم وغل طس وقصص طس در شعر اوج وقصصه
میم اورته برده سورته نملده میم کلک حکمت نه اوله طواسین اوج اولم حکمت نه اوله وطواسین
اشارت اوله وطواسین اوج لوق حکمت نه اوله بوند اسرار سبحانیه واثار سلطانیه به تصور
وتکر اولنه دعا جکر وخصوصه معارفیه ملاحظه اقدم وظیفه وعظ قصصه کلک
حتی علمایه ومشاخصه سوال بیورنره نیجه مثاکتوب اولقله ونیجه رسالت سوبنده سبب
سز عاتر یکر اولور عقول علما وارواح اولیا واسرار ازیواصفیا میادن معارف عالیه
بارشیدر مغر واکدن مستحق معلوم اولقله سببه اولور سز قال رب العالمین **السَّابِقُ**
السَّابِقُ السَّابِقُ اجازت شریفکزیله بیامباشرت ولتمقده جائزدر
علامه القیوب کشف الحجب الکروب توکل واعتماد ایدوب وهت عالیه کز استاد وارواح
انبیاء والمرسلین وخصوصا روح رب العالمینه وسائر اولیا والعارفين ارواحه
متقیض ومستیز وسمتدا ولوب مباشرت ایدلوم علی من بشره الله العلمیم الخیر الیمیم
البصیر اعوذ بالله من الشیطان الرجیم **بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ** ن والقلم وما یسطرون
ما ننسجه ربک یخون **وَنَزَّلْنَا الذِّكْرَ بِالْغُرَىٰ نَزْلًا عَرَبِيًّا مُبِينًا** وَنَزَّلْنَا عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِنا عَظِيمًا فَتَبَيَّنَ
وَيُخَوِّتُ بِآيَاتِکُمُ الْمُنْتَوِينَ **الْآيَاتُ** بوسوره کریمه اهل اثرک رسول خلا فی نسفیه ایدوب
جنون دیرلر محمودیمک سنده دزه قدر عقل وادراک وعرفان وحسن اخلاق جمله کزنده دوز

بادشاه وجود شریف کرمی حق جل و علا من عیب و بلا مصون و محفوظ ایدوب و عمل صالح
 و علم نافع و عرفان نام و عدل کامل ایلد عالمه رحمت ایدوب سایه ظلیل ربانیده شملن کیر
 عبایلله و عیال الله جمع مصائبدن بری و محبتدن عاری بلاد و قراده بر حمت و قربت شفق
 آثار ایلد عالم عمارت و وزینده اولوب فانصر آثار رحمة الله کیف یحیی الارض بعد موتها
 ان ذلک یحیی الموتی و یحیی کل شیء قدیر انعامک و لطفک مشاهد ایلد روز الله عیب
 بباددیر یزق من شاد و هو - یزیر و بنا و یخلفنا ما لا صافه لانا به و اعف عنا و غفر
 و ارحمنا انت معینا فانصرنا علی اعدائنا الکافین قل من عند الله فی القوم لا
 یکادون یفقهون حدیثا من عرف الله کل لسانه عارف اولان هر نسته حقدن بلوب
 تسلیم اولدوب مساکت اولوب حمد و شکر ایدر و قاصرا اولان سبأ نظر ایدوب و کاسا
 ایدوب حق سوز سویلر فاما هو لا یقوم لیکادون یفقهین حدیثا انکر کوره در مقام
 تسلیم مله ابراهیم خلیلدر و من یرغب عن الله ابراهیم الامر یسفیه نفسه و یغد صغیرا
 فی الدنیا و انه فی اخره من الصالحین اذ قال له رب اسم قل سلت رب العالمین
 و کذلک تسلیم دین حبیب الله رب العالمین و قال فی حقه تسلیله قال الله یدر و یخبر
 یلمون قال الله تعالی جل جلاله قل هذه سبیل ادعوا لی و اعصوا و انتم من تبعنی
 و یسرن الله و ما ناس من یشکین سعادتو و مرو تلو بادشاه امانت الهیه علینا اقبله
 معاندینی محاله ایلد دعوت و مؤمنن موعظه حسنه ایلد ارشاد تربیت و مرید و سالک کبر
 حکمت ایلد نصیحت لازم اولمش مهملکن قال الله تعالی ادع الی سبیل ربک بالحکمة و بالموعظة
 الحسنة و جاد نهد بالحق هی احسن اهل حکمت اولندره حکمت و معرفت یولندن مصالحیت
 انکدر بادشاه الحکمة اهل حکمت و صاحب معرفت سکر رموز و اشارت ککایت ایدر و فوج
 و اقبال و قضرع و مراقبه بیت معرفت الهیه معروفه دلالت ایدر وجه به جمالینه ربانیه
 جماله جذب ایدر و عامه مؤمنین و عبایلله المحبوبین مرحمت و شفقتی محالدر و انا من ربک
 امانته خیانت اتمش اولمشکن قادر اولوب اتمک رضای حق کدر و اهل علم اولمش غیر ربک
 حل اتمک در اولمش اولده مشکدر رسول اکرم صلی الله علیه و سلم برکه اهل علم اولد

اندن الله سبحانه بغير دن الدوغی عهد المشر بدو کک ایله علی اندوکی و یلسنره اوکر تدوکی دیو
 سؤال و عتاب و لسه کر کدر غیبت ایله اورتا لقدمه تکلف ایدیه یورز بولیکی رضای و وجه
 وجود مطلق احسانه لیاقت اوله دیو الله تعالی حضرت بتری یادشاهم غیر تنکری زیاده ایلله
 و رفعتکم و معرفتکم از دیان لر میسر ایدیه تواضع کن و انقیاد کن تمام و اشتیاق کن کلی تمام
 علم اولشدر قلبی مقید و متوجه و متضرع در قادر اولدوغری اذخار انمرز مقدور و مرز
 مبدولدر زیا مریو قدر و اقبال مرز قلبا و قالبا و لسانا و لا تمامدر بولیکه حق جل و علا دن
 رسالیده لر عن قرب تمام بجلی و کمال تسلی ایدیه امین یا معین سعادتنلو و مرقتلو
 بادشاه هر کل مافی الکون و هر او خیال کلمات طیه کز زیاده خوشتر کید و بیا ول رساله الی
 قوم استدلک ایدیه شرح بله اولوب بادشاهه لازم دیو بیتک کذوسی حفظ ایدوب رساله
 ارسال و لنتک ایدیه یوقسه سائر کلمات طیه کک اسالک ایدوب الحاق تمام اقصای ملهم
 ایدیه کک نه انکون و هم او خیال او عیسی فی مراتب الضلال لایح فی ضلالت
 ششمین به لایح حیوان فی تیه الضلال هذه الکلمات اشارت الی مراتب الانسان
 و درجات الاکوان انسانک وجودنده مراتب التیدر اولکی بتک و نفس ماروسی و قوای
 حسبیه سیدر ظلال کاشا رتدر یعنی قوالب و ابدان و اشباح در مقابله سنده افاقه علم
 شهادت و افراد انسانیه و کثرین خارجییه در و لیکنی مرتبه قوای خیا لیه سیدر نفس لوانیه
 مقابله سنده افاقه علم مثال و جنود در و اوچینی مرتبه قوای و هییه سیدر و نفس ملهمه
 مقابله سنده خارجه عالم ظلم و جنود شیاطیندر و درینجی نفس مطهره عالمیدر
 حقیقت انسانیه منزلیدر جمال حضرتک مراتب نفسه انعکاسیدر و بشیخی قوه روحانیه
 اولده مراتب انعکاسیدر و التبی مقام سرور شمس الذات تجلیه علیدر عیندر انعکاس
 دکدر بوند اولن لر عین ذات مشاهده سنده در شهر و حقد رتلیس الییس یوقدر و اما
 شهود انعکاسد تلیس خالی و لریس انعکاسیر تندر خالی و لزانک لیچون لایکن حیران فی
 رتبه الضلال و مراتب التیدر رتبه ذات احدیت و رتبه ذات واحدیت و رتبه روحانیت و
 نفس الکلیه و رتبه عالم الملك و الشهادة و رتبه انسان الکامل الجامع لکل والله اعلم

و شح

مشایخ عظام قدس سره اسرارهم حضرات علم بشدد ددیلر اولکی حضرت غیب المطلق وعالم
 اعیان ثابته در آنک مقابله سند شهادت مطلقه در غیب مطابق مخفی و شهادت محسوسه در
 و شهادت مطلقه در . که حضرت در و بونک عالی عالم ملکدرو و جنج غیب مضافدر و بوده
 یکی در عالم شهادت ملکه اضافتی اکثر اولان حضرت عالم مثال حضرت دیرلر و عالم غیب حضرت
 اضافتی اکثر اولان جانبته عالم ارواح در لرحرجه و عقول کلیه و نفوس کلیه عالمی و در جنج
 حضرت اعیان ثابته ارواح عالیه و حضرت مثالیه و حضرت شهادتیه در شجی حضرت
 حضرت جامعه در جمله سنک عالی وجود انسان عالیدر خلافت کبری مقامیدرونیا
 عظمی منزلیدر عالم ملک و شهادت و عالم ملکوت مظهریدر و ظلیدر و ملکوت دخی جبروت
 مظهریدر و ظلیدر و جبروت دخی عالم اعیان مظهریدر و ظلیدر اعیانده اسماء الهیه
 و الحضره الواحدانیه مظهریدر و الواحدیه مظهر الاحدیه جمله سند احدیتدر و لوسع
 هویمه مطلقه و لیس و راه الهویه المطلقه اعتبار رتبه ان شاء الله رتبه ان شاء الله الکبریم
 شمدن کبر و میسر و نصرت و فتح و لطف الهی اوله بویکن ضالی کونی ورده ایکن ناس غلبه
 ایدوب سوره اذ جاء نصر الله و فتحرزیت الناس یدخلون فی دین الله فبجالتلاوت
 اولتک ان مع الغیرین فان فرغت فانصب و لی ربک فرغب من لم یحلم نار جلاله
 لم یل نور جماله کلب جلالکدن جفا یا خودجا لکدن و فاجانه صفاشک بلورسک یا الله
 الارض و السماء قال الله تتکافی بسوءه لا کلن لا علی و ما ارسلناک لادرجه العالمین
 سعادتلاوا و مروتلو فادشام فبما رجه من الله انت هم و کنت فضا علیض فقل فی قنضر
 من حواله فاعف عنهم و استغفرهم و شاو و عرفی لافرا غزمت فتم علی الله ان الله یجیر
 التوکلین رسول اکرم صلی الله علیه و سلم خیر تلرینک خصال حمیده سی حقده نازل
 اولمشدر یوم احدده اصحابدن رضی الله عنهم صادر اولان خصوص لیچون اید و کربینه قالیو
 انده محبت و شفقت و رفق و حلم و عفو و تجاوز و ازرنیه اولد قلی لیچون معناسی فبرجه
 نامه کامله لک من الله ربک رحمت لمرویتجا و زعنهم و کنت لطیفا و لیسالهم و حلیم و رقیقا بهم
 بل کنت رحمة واسعة یحیی المؤمنین و لو کنت فظا ای جافیا و یوزیا شی الخلق و غلیظ القول

والقلب لا يقضوا من حولك اى تغرقوا وذهبوا من حولك وبقيت وحدك ولكن ليس في قولك
 الار ففتح قلبك لينة وعفو وتجاوز وتحمل تاه وحسن خلق عام ولذلك امنوا بك واحبوك
 واجتمعوا عندك وبذلوا انفسهم واموالهم في سبيلك وان صدورهم بمقتضى البشيرة تقبوا
 وفتر فيك وفي الله فاعف عنهم واصفح وتجاوز واستغفر لهم ولا ترفع عليهم بل تواضع لهم
 وشاورهم لا امر اى في اكثر الامور لان في المشورة فائدة عظيمة وعائدة كريمة فاذا اغتربت امر
 بلا مشورة يوحى اليها او كشف صريح او فهم صحيح فتوكل على الله ان الله يحب المتوكلين معنسى
 ظاهر در اول خصال حميده اخلاق الهيه در انكه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم تخلفه اول شد
 وثلاث غايه بغير موجي اوزرينه امك سعادتلو ومر وتلو بادشاهم ظل الله سكر و
 خليفه رسوله سكر اول اخلاق حميده وصفا كريمة ايله تخلف والضاف بادشاهم لازم
 وتخلق ومنصف او كثر اشارت در از ياد والتكامل ايله امر بدر ودخلى تحلى ذات ايله تخلف
 واسرار اسما وصفات ايله تحقق علامتى اولدر زير عالمه رحما ولمش سكر مرجع وشققند
 لازمدر عقول قاصره ونفوس ناقصه قصور وتقصيرات تمدن خالى اولمازا كاكوره تأديب
 وتربيه واصلاح وعفو وتجاوز لازمدر وجناب عزته توجه وتضرع وتوكده تفويض لا بدر
 الله تعالى حضرت بزرگ بونعتى اتمام واكال ميلر ايد امين يا معين امك لازمدر كلك دعا بجز
 صوجنى عفو ايد رسكر زيرا انسان محل نقصاندر ويشتر محل خلل ونظر در
 عزير قد سر سره بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم تحية من عند الله مبارك طيبة فاعليه
 الصلوة والسلام استقموا تو جروا سعادتلو ومر وتلو بادشاه الاسلام ظل الله الملك
 الملام خدا الله خليفته وادام دولته الى يوم القاري حضرت تليينك سورة مبر اخريه متعلق
 وسورة طه به متعلق اسرار ربانيه واثار رحمانيه به اشارت ايد وب حضور عاليه اهكك ولنگ
 فضل شريف متعلق اوله نكات لطيفه در رحمان ايله وحمل علم وعرفان عبيدك ما بيننده واقع
 اولان اشارات ورموز در عالم وعارفا ولنه عبرت وغير بخصه حكك واردر زير اخيت
 ربانيه وتربيت رحمانيد رسعة رحمة وفضا معرفته دعوت در و رفع تشديد ويبسط رحمت
 خصال خالق ايله تخلف وخالق رحمن ايله تحقق كركدر خصوصاً سعادتلو ومر وتلو

پیشتر

تاریخنده بوره نه کلوب انلره ملاقی اولوب مصاحبه ایتدیکده سز مقوله کسه بونده
 کر کدر دیواذن ویرمدیلر اخر فراراند و مرکندوم بکر کلد وکده جداذن ویرمدیلر
 و مقدمه ما شیخ الاسلام و حالا شیخ الاسلام بستان زاده افندیموز کربا افندی علیک
 اصحاب اغراض سوزنه اویمق اولمز الحمد لله بستان زاده افندیموز عاجکرتسلیه خاطر التلو
 الله تعالی راضی اولسون مخلصکر در تذکره محو افندیموز قدس سرین **قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى**
وَأَنَّا اللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاه الله تعالی علیکری و عرفانکری نیاده
 ایلیه امین حق جل و علا ازل وازلده کندی ذات عالیه سنی بیلورمدی کلد وکند وک
 مرات انیوب تجلی اتمک سزک دیو سوال بیورمش سکر و جمیع لباسدن معر الیکر
 دیمشسکر سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاه اگر حق جل و علا ازل وازلده ذات عالیه سنی
 وصفات منعالیه سنی و درجات مرتفعه سنی بلیه جک اولورسه ذات حقده جمل
 سبقت ایدوب بعد علم عارض اولمز لازم کلور بونده تنزیه ذات حق لازمد رلیکه حق
 جل و علا نلک وجودنه اولیه یوقدر و تصورده اولمز و علم ذاتیه سنه ده اولیه یوقدر
 وجود ذاتیسی از لیدر و علم ذاتیسنده از لیدر بو طریق ایله اولی و انتهائی تصور اولمز و جکر
 از لیدر ایدیدر و علمه ازلی و ابدیدر بلکه حق جل و علا نلک علی جمیع کائناته ایجا لا و تفصیلا
 دخی از لیدر و ایدیدر زیر اجمیع کائنات ظهور شنون ویرورکون صفات جمیع کائنات تربیت
 اوزره ظهور کلدن شو اسلوب و زربنه اولسنی علم ازلی ایله بلوردی اول علم اوزربنه
 ظهور کلشد رلکن وجود حقده مراتب و درجات اعتبار اولتمشدر مقام مضیق اولمز
 ایله اول مقامده تعبیر مضیق اولمز ایله تجلی بذاته لذاته فی ذاته مع عدم الاعتبار فی الوجود
 و ممکناته دیو بیان و اعتبار اولمز ایله ملاحظه ایدن کسینه ید بو تجلی اول یوق ایتک اولمشد
 اول اولیحق صکر اولیحق اول تجلیده مرات علم اولنکی بعد مرات علم جمیع کائنات بلکه ذات
 شنون ذات عیان اولنک دیمک تخیل اولنور بوجله سیر سالکین و اذعان عارفین حیرت
 هر برین ازاله ایدوب ممالک تفهیم ایچون تبیین و تعبیر در یوقسه حق جل و علا ذات
 عالمده در ازل و ابد احس لا ازلیه و لا اخریه یوجوده و علمه محصل بو سوکر مقام مضیق اولمز

قصه ابراهیم عقیقه در و بریده و من شیعه لایعیر از جاران به بوند
 و قدس مبارک حسین بک قولکزه احسان اولمش قولکزه در نه اختیار در ان شاکله
 عزوجل اول مواضع مبارکه خدمت اتمک و عمارته سعی رجا و نور الله تعالی آسان ایلیه
 اشتیاد و اسر ایدندن آمان اوزرینه ایلیه و سعادتلر و مروتلر و عرتلر و رفعتلر
 بادشاه اسلامک وجود شریفی حق جل و علا دنیوی و اخروی خطا و خللن حفظ ایدولر
 جمع مراداتی مرادلی اوزرینه مسهل و میسر ایده امین بامعین تذکره
 اولیاء الله ابواب لانهم مظاهر اسماء الله عزوجل سعادتلر و مروتلر بادشاه
 حق جل و علا وجود شریفکزی خطا و خللن حفظ ایدوب جمع مرادکزی دنیوی و اخروی میسر
 امین بامعین دونکی کون یوم الخمیس صبح ویردی دکلر ایکن بر مقدار نفاس غلبه ایش بو
 زاویه کزده دیار یخدن مشایخ عظام سلسله سندن مکة مکرمه ده اولن ذیل مجاوز
 نکش صحیح السیاده بر عزیز وار ایدک یقینده وفات ایش ایدک ^{ان شاء الله تعالی}
 الله تعالی حضرت تری سعادتلر و مروتلر بادشاه من عمر طویل میسر ایدو که دو فو
 کبه مکرمه به کیم مرادی ایدک مجاور اولوب قلقل یتیله انی رویه کوردم صحیح الشیخ
 زیاده کوننا و لش باشه یشیلر و اقلر کیمش و البته بر اوبق صورق صابون الماش بن
 درین نه در حالک الحمد لله رب العالمین حضور ده بن دیر و بوماسا حار و صابون ندورین
 در که مولای مراد ایدن کونین دن الی ماء معرفت و صابون تقویله یوق کدر او یاندم بعد
 مز غنشم پوست اوزرنده او نوردم فقراء داعیلر یکن خلقه اولشلر و رد کلر لر سز لر
 سعادتمزدی تقوی اوزرینه سعادت یله کدیگر فقرایه قارشدیگر و انلردن تجاوز ایدولر
 دیکزه کدیگر صول جانبدن مصالحه واقع اولد کد عاجک دیدم یچون بویه اندیکر یادک
 سز لر سعادتمز طریقت و حقیقت بنده سیم ددیگر دعا جکر ده دعا اراتدک فقراینه
 ایاندم و بعد مکنه مز غنشم حضرت شیخ صدر الدین حضرت تکر و ملا حوینکار قدس سره
 حاضران اولدیلر یعلی الله صدر الدین حضرت تری صاغ یا نمزده و ملا حضرت تری صول یا نمزده
 حضرت صدر الدینده تمام تکن وثبت و طمانیت و سکونیت وار و ملاده مقدار نموج

وتكون وراي كسنت ما بينده نو عامنا زعه و معارضه و ارضه و الدين تمك و تثبت
 كرك خفت و تلسون عالمه اختلال كلسون ديرو ملا نموج و تلسون سلطان حقيقت
 اقتضاسيد ديرو حك و يريك بر مقدار در صدر الدين قائل اولز بنده سيرايد ديرو صدر
 الدين حضرتلي لسان حقيقت ايله اشارت ايدو نموج و تلسون اتمه نك صوفي فساد
 و اختلال اقتضايديرو عاقبت ايدو كدر ديرو كور مرسك ديار مشرقده مشايخ علم
 و سار طائفه معارف الهيه ظهوري ايله نموج و تلسونه دوشوب تمك اتمه ديرو شريعت
 مطهره ده و سنت منوره ده نصب اتمه كوري اجلدن عاقبت خفت دوشوب شريعت مطهره
 و سنت منوره ده خلل كلوب قبائل قزل باش ظهور ايدوب اول دياره قليموب نه فساد
 ارونه بلا رجك كدر شريعت و سنت منيف و زرينه محكم تثبت و تمك و تمك
 لازم در حضرت مولاناه تمام تسليم ايدوب سكوت ايدو ايدو مخيرته وارد نمفسر
 الامر ده ديار مشرقده قبائل قزل باش ظهوره سببي ظهور اتمدن او كوري اولرك علماسي
 و مشايخي و امراي معارف تصوفه دوشوب شريعت و سنت جانينه نو داخل كلوب
 كدر شريعت و سنت بالكلية رفع اولنشد نعوذ بالله تعالى من ذلك و صدر الدين حضرت
 كال صلابتدن اول و آخر انفع نه ايسه اني سوق ايدوب محض ابو جاني حيايت و صيايت
 اتمكدر و هم نفس الامر ده سعاد تلو و مرو تلو بادشاه ابا و كرامك و اجداد
 عظامكز و حق جل و علاضعاف مضاعف اجر و عوض ايدو بود و نه مظهر اولوب اتمه
 قوت و قدر تلي انا فانايو ما فيو ما زياده ايدو كي الله تعالى دخی زياده ايدو ميسرايدو امين يا معين
 بو شريعت مطهره و سنت منوره ده تمام رعايت ايدوب اجرا و احيا تمام شريعت و زرينه
 متمك و منصب اولد و غندن بو علمايه و مشايخه و صلحا به محبت و مودت و بو قدر قار
 و مساجد و تكيه و مدارس و اوقاف و خيرات ظهوره كشد ديرو ما فيو ما مزا اتمه
 الانده اول اسلوب قديم و قانون مستديمه رعايت و حمايت و رجال حقيقتك نظري
 و هستي بو جانبدن دريانه دكن منقطع اولماز مشايخه كال محبت ثمره سيد صدر الدين
 حضرت تليك بو اشارتي و هم دونكي كون و كچه سي بر مقدار نموج و تلسون اتمه ظهور اتمه

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اولان عارف فانی فرمائی لا اله الا الله کلمه سنی تکم و تقوه نقصا کبدر زیرانه وارنه فی ایدر
 نفی غیرت و کثرت یوقدر اول مقام لا اله الا الله من النجی هامقامیدرجی هویتدرولیم
 احدیتدر لا اله الا الله من نهایت نفیدر زیرانی لا اله فرشته عرشده و سران مقام
 قابوسین اودنی به که مقام احدیت و هویتدر وارنجیه درایشا در طور سادسده الله من
 بعده هام من الله در و نامنده حکم کثرت و حکم کلمه شهادت تمام رعایت اولمقدرفا الله
 اسم للذات مستجمع لجمع الاسماء والصفات در جمله حقنه رعایت احاطه کالدر و ابو السعور حجه
 الله جانبدن سوق اولمقد حقیقت شریعت شجره سنده مشاهده اولمقلغه اشارتدر
 زیاده مقبولدر و السلام علی الدوام قدس محمد اذینیه قال رسول الله صلی الله
 علیه وسلم الشریعة شجرة والطریقه اعضاؤها والمعرفة اوراقها والحقیقة اثمارها والله الهادی
 والمرشد زیر اقران عظیم انسان کریم مرتبی وزربنه در انسان بدن و قلب و روح و سر
 جمله سید در سرک سری سبحانه در سر سبحانی سر انسانی حفظ ایدر و سر انسانی دعا روح
 حمایت ایدر و حی قلب قیدر و مقدر و قلبی بدن و تن بسر و ترتیب تکیل ایدر و تنکه اتملای
 اوراق حفظ اوراقی اعضان و اعضانی اشجار و اشجاری اغلاف و اقشار حفظ اتملای و کی کجی مثلاً
 شجره نلک اقتری و قانی صوبله جمیع فی فاسد اولور نه شجره و نه غصونه و نه ورق و نه ثمر
 قالور جمله نورر جسم و انسان ایله و اجسام اکران ظروف و ادعیه در و قشور و حایات در
 حتی شیخ اکبر قدس سره المظهر یورد که روح انسان بدنن مفارقت اتسه موت طبعی الیق
 ثانیه یه وارنجیه رحمن رحیم مرحمت ایدر و بارواح برزخیه لیجون ابدان مکتبه ایجاد ایدر و
 اعمانه مناسب ارواح انسان برزخیه اول ابدان مکتبه حفظ و حمایت ایدر زیر اولمزایسه
 یا شتاده و یا صغیده لباسدن عاری و لنر مرتبه ده مضطربا ولور لسه بو ندرده مضطر
 اولور در نفیثه ثانیه اولد قدده ابدان ابد و اظهرا ایدر و بارواح اکاید و اکرام ایدر در کمال
 وجود انسان تن و بدن و روح و جان و سر ایله و روح الروح رحماندر و کمال انسان و تمام
 شریعت و طریقت و معرفت و حقیقت و جمله دن صکره حق ایله اولوب قائم اولمقدرو کمال
 انسان نهایتده کثرت کونیه یه کلوب مقام شریعتده و مرتبه سنده اوتر و بجمله جامع

اولوب

اولوب وجهه جامع اولوب وجهه نك حق وريب وجهه جامع اولوب وجهه اجر واحيا انكك شيخ
 الاسلام سبب نظام العالم مخرج و مغفور له ابو السعود رحمة الله اسلام و مسلميه و ملا
 باد شاهنه زياده خدمت اتمشد معلوم شريف قدر خصوصاً ايام سلطنت سليمه بركه
 بر تفسير فاخر يارشيد مذهب حقيقيه و ملت اسلامه شرفه و غريده و عربده و عجمه
 سلطنتك اولشد و تقوا سي و عرفات دده و اردو شيخ زاده در جامع الشريفة والطريقة
 و الحقيقة استمداد مقامنده در رعابت و خدمت لازمدر
 و اختلف في ذى القرنين فقيل الاكبر الاقدم اليوناني اسلم عن ابراهيم خليل عز وجل عليه
 و ملك الدنيا كما هو المشهور و قيل انه هو الرومي وكذا قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
 و اختلف في نبوته و لا شك في ولايته و علمه و عرفانه و اعلمه الله لا في لانه سيره الى الغرب اشارة
 الى سيرة و سلوكه من اقليم و خسر اولاً الى اقليم ضلالة و ثانياً من ضلالة الى اقليم وهمه و عالم
 المحس اشارة الى الطور الاول من اطوار الانسان الكامل و هي السبعة و عالم الخيالة و كشفاته
 اشارة الى الطور الثاني و عالم الوهم و كشفاته اشارة الى الطور الثالث فالم بدال السالك يصل
 الى المغرب الوهم و الطبيعة المظلمة و الثالث فكان ذو القرنين قد بلغ الطور الثالث و تحققت اشارة
 من شهوده شمس روجه تقرب في عين طبيعة المظلمة الجارة و الحية المختلطة بطين الطبيعة
 و علم ما فيها و شاهد فيها اسرار غريبة كما يشاهد ما اهل الارادة الصادقة و السلوك السليمة
 تخلص من عوائق عالم المحس و يخاف من علايق عالم الخيال و وقع في كشفاته عالم الوهم و الطبيعة
 و وجد فيها قوى قارة في عالم الطبيعة كافرة و فاجرة فابعدوهم الى الايمان و العلم و العرفان
 و السير و السلوك الى الرحمن فانكر البعض فعذبهم و سياستهم و عاقبتهم و امن الاخر فامرهم
 و عظمهم و احسن اليهم بعض ما احسن الله اليه اذ ليس استعداد لما في استعداد في هذا
 السير شاهد و ركات النار الحامية و الجحيم المظلمة الثالثة ثم اشتاق الى ان يخرج من غلبة
 الطبيعة الانسانية الى مطلع شروق الشمس حقيقة ارواح الانسانية فقلب عليه الغيب
 فمعد من سفلى ظلمة الطبيعة الى برزخ برق شمس الحقيقة فتكلف فقال مظهرها فاعينها

و غیر تلو وصلت حقه میدانه یکمیش بغیر در امت محمد اهل سلطه و ندره قصه
 موسی در حبه عظمه وار در اکابنا جوق ذکر اولمشدر تذکره عزیزی
 قال الله تبارک و تعالی ^{بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم} سعاد تلو
 و مروتلو بادشاه الله تعالی غیر تکرری و هم تکرری زیاده یلیه امین یوکل آیه
 کمال مرتبه مسرور اولدم زیرا غیر تالیله اولور نه اولور سه عزت و مت البتة از
 باو کرامت و اجداد عظام مکر الله تعالی اضعاف مضاف رحمت و مغفر تلو ایدوب
 کمال مرتبه راضی اوله همدنالیله و غیر تکرر گلیه ایک شریعت مصریه و سنت منوریه
 رعایت و عباد الله کمال مرتبه مرحمت و شفقت یلیه یوقدر تالیله و کرامت تکرر روز
 و ظهور آیتش ایک و سعاد تلو بادشاه ایام دولت کیده و از زمان سلطنت کیده
 و لان قوه و قدرت و کمال کثرت و تمام شوکت هیچ بر زمانده اوله مشدر و بادشاه
 ظاهر و باطن غیر تیده کالنده در ولکن زیاده تعید و اهتیا اوز زینه اولنه و سفت و تعل
 وار اکثر حق جل و علانک سرادی و رسول اکرم صلی الله علیه و سلم اقصا مقصود
 ظلمت رفع اولنوب عدل اجر اولنسی و بدعتلرفع آثار سنت احبا اولنمه سی و حکم
 طبیعت مهمال مکن از الله اولنوب احکام شریعت اولنمه سنه در خلافت خلاصه
 یوقدر سعاد تلو بادشاه طبع شریفه استقامت و عدالت اوز زینه
 خلافت خلاصه و رضا یوقدر و کن یو طریقی یلیه صورت حقه و سیرت صلا
 اعلام و القاولنوب جوق ننه ظهور ایدر بو مقولات دنیا ده و اخرتده غلبه سی
 و اراید و کنده شبهه یوقدر حتی مرات قلبه کمان و دو مان و کد و راتدن عارض اولوب
 معانی ملکوتیه و اسرار جبروتیه عدم نزولنه و انتفاشته سبب اولور جزئی زله کلی
 تنزله کلی و تذله سبب اولدوغی قصه لری و حکایه ترا بنیادن و اولیادن معلوم مشهور
 سعاد تلو بادشاهده اولان دولت و قوه کسه ده اوله مشدر رضای حق
 سبحانه و تعالی و رضای رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم نه رده اولدوغن بلور
 باش و جان بذل ایدوب تمامنه و اکالنه سعی اتمک کرک سکر اهلک اصل یوقدر

دقت و همتا و تقید کرد که در کمال عدالت بپای تمام نورایت حاصل او و نور و نور
 ایله ظاهرده و باضد آثار رحمت و اسرار لطیفه ظهور اید و نعمتت فکر بکنوت
 اولجق از یاد نعت سبب و لور و کفران نعت زوال نعت سبب او و تعریف اید
 حذر از مندر قال الله تبارک و تعالی . . .
 الله تبارک و تعالی میسر اید و بغیر تل و فخر و کرامت میسر اید امین
 یا معین و یا مجیب الداعین . . . قال الله تبارک و تعالی
 . . . و قال عز وجل . . .
 و تذکره در بر کسه نه قدر کلنده اولسه تذکره و تذکره کلی متنبه و متذکره
 اولور قال الله تبارک و تعالی عز وجل . . . زیرا دیاده بر کسه
 نه قدر کشف تامده اولوب تنبیه و تیقظ اوزرینه اولور سه ده آخرت حوائج و
 حضور عزته تسبب ایله تکاسلدر و تقاضا لدر قال الله تبارک و تعالی
 . . . قال عز وجل . . .
 و عارف کامل لایق و مناسب اولان اولدر کنه یزید
 سوزیده طور ندن مادون اوله مقام ایدر و بر مقامده قرآنیمیه و معرفه الله کتم
 اولنیز نه قدر کتم ایدر سه سلطان حقیقت و برهان معرفت و حکمت حرکت بهران
 و بخراج و حوالان استر امین یا مجیب الداعین . . . قال رسول
 الله صلی الله علیه و سلم من عرف الله حال لسانه و طاب له و شانه بجا تموج و الشکای
 اقتضا ایدر و مقصود توبه نک جواب نک تدارک و تکیلدر غیره مراجعت سزه اولور خصوصاً
 کامل و مکمل اولنله و واقعدر مقام سلطنت مناسب دکلدر همان اعتقاد
 و اعتماد و مودت و محبتدر الله تعالی سعادتلور و مرودتلور بادشاهت
 وجود شریف لری خطا لردن و خطر لردن حفظ و حمایت ایدر و باسلام و مسلمین
 خدمتدن دائم و باقی ایله امین یا معین حجه الاسلام و امام الانام امام غزالی

خبر کند

۲۶
 حضرت تیری قدس سره العالی توبه کامل تکلیفند در توبه کامل تدارکی و تکلیف غایتی
 صعب در دیر حتی مشایخ عظامدن بری و توبه سیده تکلیفیده میوب حق تعالی یه
 مناجاتنده دیمشکه یارب و توبه سید رسندن استر برشی قلیا هنوز دخی و مرز سک
 ندکلور قورلور رسندن استد و کنی قلیل صافور سن استد و کت امر عظیمه و حبیبیت
 دائره سیدردیکه صکره ایتکه افرا نیت قوی ان الله یحب العابدین و یحب المتطهرین
 والسلام علی الدوام تذکره فی حق فی حق قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم
 شفعه اتمه جید سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاهم شیخ اکبر قدس سره المظهر
 فتوحات مکیه سنده دیمش یارنید بسطامی دن نقل اتمش اتمش بر خدیجی و بر خلیفه سی
 ایوموسی یه دیمش بر خدمته کوندر دیکگری و قتلک یا اباموسی کردکل یرده برکه
 کور رسک کلمات تصوف تکم ایدرسک اول کشیه سونیه اول ساخبر دعا ایلسون
 زیر اولیاد ندرود عاسی مستجاب و مقبولدر الحمد لله برولی دخی فی قصد یق و تحسین
 ایدوب گاینده ذکر اتمش و تحسینلورده اتمش تصوفدن خط تکم عظیم غنیت اتمش
 وسعادتلو بادشاهم کاهکر مغفرت و لنوب و مراد حاصل اولان کونلردر دعا
 مولانا مولانا نادو کی زاده افندی قاضی عسکر زید فضله مستقیم و متدین دعا جکر در
 اوره فی اصلاح اتمش در خبر سوء استماع اولتکه احسان ایدوب ایدیه سکر سعادت
 دارین نکره سبب عظیمه و خالص و مختص دعا جکر در و مراد اهل عیال و حقیقت حاله
 اوره فی اصلاح ایلسون و بو کونلرده نجه دوشکونلر کتو جل و علا عفو ایدوب اعزاز
 و رفع اندوکی کونلردر مقدمه امیر اخوند لوب حالا قیوچی باشی اولان حسن اغا قوچی
 ذله سی واریسه عفو ایدیه سکر و ثانیاً سعادتلو بادشاهم شان شریفه
 لایق و انلرنده یوللرینه موفق احسانکنر رفع ایدوب اعزاز و اکرام ایدیه سکر زیاده قابل
 و مستعد و اهل علم و ادراک مستقیم و خالص بنده کز اتمش یولیده ادمتدیر و دل اهل از
 واقع اولور و لایق اولور حصول مراد لری بالفعل اولق مکن اولنر ایدیه وعده جمیلکده
 وافی و کافیدر الله تبارک و تعالی سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاهم دینیوی

و آخری و جمع مراد این میسر آید امین یا معین و یا مجیب الداعین
 قال الله تبارک و تعالی انی استجب لکم ...
 سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاه در تذکر طیبہ کرکله ناک ایله کلی ملول و مسالم اولدی
 حق خاطرده کلمه ایله تجسن و تفحص خدمت پادشاه ایله افتخار و شرفد و ایکن اول
 خدمت خطیرہ دن سقوط ایله خطراتک اتمالی اولوری اوله و ظاهرده تتبع اولسه
 باضنده تقید و تتبع وارد اوله و تتبع ظاهرده اولمغه سبب جمعه ایرتقی صباح و بردی
 و قنور یکن بین النور و الیقظه برخطاب کدی تغیر الزمان دیو و کلک بازار کوئی کجبه
 رویاده ... ایقوات اولنگ اوایندم ملاحظه ایستد
 واقعت خلافی و زینہ شهادت ایدندک شهادتی کتاب اولنور و اخرتده اندن مسؤل
 قلنور ایدیک در اتمک بوندن مراد سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاه حضورنده
 بود عاجیلر بحقندہ خلاف واقع کلمه ایدوب بعض کسه ایشهادت اتمشدر بو تصور
 اولنگ ایدک عقبنجه تذکر لری کلمه تصور مذکور تصدیق اولندی کچ اولنگ لافالالوک
 دیدیکری کر جک ایش دیوب دعا جکر اعتراض ایدہ جک ایکن سؤل مقدر کدضا
 عجب تد ارنک ایدوکر عظیم فرستد ربلکه کر امتد ربارک الله رب العالمین نه دیه
 لود صوج نرم ولسون عفو ک طلب ایدہ ریزیرا العذر عند کر اول الناس مقبول
 و سعادتلو بادشاهک خالص عاجیلر جو قدر بو قدر نظر لرینه و التفانلر
 استحقاق یو قدر همان محض لطیفاریدر و سعادتلو بادشاه یو کج لیلہ
 الانینده رویا واقع اولنگ سرور ایله و صفایله سعادتلو بادشاهدن اوتری
 مرادخان مراد نه ایردی دیو ایکی کر خطاب اولنگ و کج جمعه کججه بریده ایشوز
 تجلی ذات و رفع حجاب تکلیک ایدو رمشوز و هر تجلی ذات مشاهده سنده
 ایشوز هنوز دخی صفاسی کتمز و تجلی ذاتک حکمی
 جاء بانعمیر انک حقیقی ایله متحقق اولمقدر تائشآت رسومیہ بالکلیہ بریانہ
 اوله برنشاة کله برینہ بریانلغی ارنق قبول تمیہ امک بر کر بریان اولو کتایت اتمز

پیش

عدالتك واستقامتك تمامك الله تعالى ميسر ايليه امين يا مبین ويا مجيب الداعين
 نذیر وکثیر النقصین بود که مذکور فتح مدین قرینه سیله وقر باش تقریبیله بر بعض
 امر وارد در بیان لازمه اولشد اول امر اولدر که مرحوم و مغفور له یلدریم بایزید خان
 طب ثراه زمانده اکثرین شیخ بدرالدین المطلوب عند الله المغضوب بر شیخ ظهور ایلده
 واردات تلویز کتاب تألیف ایدوب ایچنده حشر اجسامی و اشراط ساعتی انکار ایدوب
 الحاد و اباحت و زرنیه اولوب اخر الامر دو برجه وزغره قرارنده ریاضت ایدوب اند اول
 عوام کاهوا ملک قلوبک و عقایک فسا ایدوب باهل سنت و الجماعت منجمه
 مخالفت ایدوب و سلف فکر اسلام بادشاهنه باغ اولوب اولی دیارده جمعیت ایدوب
 اخر الامر دولتو سلطان موسی مرحوم و مغفور له اورته اولوب اسلامبول دخی هنوز فتح
 اولمش یکد وزرنیه واروب ملحد جمعیت تفریق ایدوب اخر ملحد بعض مردی ایلده
 سیروزه قرار ایدوب اخذ اولوب شرعیله قانون ایلده صلیب اولوب بالفعل مز ایدده
 انده در اولندن بوانه کلجه بدرینک بدن خبیثی بلقانک اوتیه یوزنده بش اولوب
 دائما الحاکم و اباحت وزرنیه دیرلر مرحوم و مغفور له جد کز سلطان سلیمان طاب ثراه
 زمانده سلطان بایزید زمانه کلجه دو برجه ده جلالی ظهور ایدوب حلی جمعیت
 و فسا و فتنه اولیق اول طائفه دن اولمش ایکد دو جه لردیمک ایلده معروف اولان کویلد
 و مرد افسا قصد ندن خالی دکدر و قزل باش ایلده بر درما تقدمدن مابینلرنده
 معامله و معاهده لری وارد حتی اوراده اولان سپاهیلر قزل باش سفری اولد قده
 و انلرده امر اولند قده کیسی تماردن فراغت تمشدرو کسی قلجن مهر لوب کتمشدرو تیمار
 خاطر ایچون اده قلع جکر زدیو اصلا ایچلرنده شریعت و سنتا شری یوقدر مسلمانلر
 برادر مر اولدر ملک نیجه کافر اولدور ملک قدر غز ایلورلر افضیلدر در منیع فسا و منشا
 فتنه لرد در جو قلع طائفه در و ایچنده برر شیخ کز نامنده شیطانلری وارد در دائما اضلال
 و اخلال و زرنیه در و بر پر اشق زاویه لری وارد در انلر دخی خرابدر و اول طائفه یسه

سماوی

سماوی زیر زیر اول محله شیخدینیه ابن سماوی د نمایش اشکان و علانیه
 چهار یاره طعن ایدر لرواشق طائفه سی و انارک جنائیه فی وصف و لنیز هر دایم قرأ
 باشند ظهور و انتشار که تمی ایدر دی الحمد لله عکس اولنگ و حال حق انچه لرواشق
 فرصت شاهکدر دیر ایش بومقوله روافضدرو ملاحد و زنادق در فرصت سیرین
 چونکه غیرت ایدوب قزل باشی بویله اندوکن جهاد اکبر و غزی اظهار اولدی و لنگ و عمر کن
 زیاده اوله غزا و جهاد تمام اولسون بو طائفه فی یوقلق جوقاق طائفه در یوقلقده بواسطه
 و له رعایا و وایا کور لبه همان سخاقد و قاضیلقد و اولان قلعه ای کور که شرع شریف
 ایله یچلرندن دفع اولنه و هر کور به برسی امام نصبا و لنه تعلیم علم و صبیان و نسوان و ذکر
 ایله و اشق تکیه لریده یقلنه و تفتیش اولنه سبب اصحاب و طعن چهار یاره و نامعقول
 و صفدرین اختیار ایله ترک ایدوب سبب و شریعت و زریه اولور ایسه فیهما و لا
 دفع اولنه و مناسب نه ایسه کور یله بو طائفه نک بعض احوائک و قبا یحک حضرت باشا
 قوکر بلور تمام استفسار اولنه بویکی طائفه نک قباحی دلایله شرح اولنیز اجالا
 اعلام در تفصیلده اولور زیر ادعا کز اوراده باباده اولد مار اول طائفه ایله عظیم قصه مر
 و لشدر درخی انده اولان مشایخ و علما و صلحا اهل اسلام بیلور و راجعیده تمیز
 اته کز تمام اولور ایله مستقیم که لک کدر دنیا سک سیوبده اهل ایدر سه هیچ فائده
 یوقدر همان الله فی الله اولمق کز کدر جوق نشنه دکلدر بر قیج رفس یوقلق رعیایا اصلاح
 اولور فتح قری و الدین اناری و اسراری تمام ظهور ایدر دی و ساز علما ده و مشایخ ده
 و امر دن سوال اولنسه اول طائفه نک نه اندوکن بیلور لرقی منکر در و شعار دین
 اسلامی بالکلیه دفع اتمش لرمناز قلانی و اوج دوتانی و قرانه رعایت ایدنه فی قتل ایدر
 چهار یارک انتقامک جهته شرفدن الدیکر جهته غریبه اولانه کوره فضاخ زمدربو
 قولایدر زیر مملکت اسلام یچنده در همان بر شیخدری اخذ اولنسه شرع ایله سیاست
 اولنسه اول تمام شایع اولسه قان شیطانلری قرار ایدیه میوب قرار اتمه لر یله مقرر
 حضرت باشا قوکر سوال اولنسون و ساز اول ولایتده بکلر و قاضیلر اولان قولر یکونه

سوال اولسون وصف اولانندن بیک مرتبه زیاده در بولیکه اول شیخ بدرینک بدر
 مشعت وقع و قلع اولنوب دیار شرقده سنت و شریعت بر روزی بشاند و کچی اولنوب
 بش و نشر اولنوب حیوة و عمارت اوله و السلام علی الدوام اوله و اخر اظاهرا و باطنا
 ... سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاه زناقه و قریب
 باش هر دم باشلارندن کیمیه ناش کیلاننی سنیلر ایکن بزمر عامر در و تو کیمیز در دیو
 مقدم اولدوغی کچی و ایتد و کلرین ذمک استر اولمش کیلاننک قریب باش ایچون تابع
 اوله سی بنی اسرائیلک فرعونیه یه تابع و راعیه اولسی کیمیز اول زناقه قونی و قدره
 و کیمیز زماننده خبر وری اولدیک بنی اسرائیل کی سلطان مراد جمیع مراده ایرکوره رب
 العیاموسی سے هارون فرهاد ایلله زناقه قریب باش فرغنک سکت قلع و قلع اندو کیمیز
 قوکر کیلاننی بنی اسرائیلی بقیه قیلان قبضی چکاننه رعایا اولوق و انک الی التند زبون
 وضعیف و لوق رود کلدر الله تبارک و تعالی و رسول اکرم صلی الله علیه و سلم
 رساله خوش کلر سزرا علم سکر و افهم سکر و حال کیلان سزرا کلوب بویله استمداد
 و استغاثه اید و کلرینه اصغاب و روب و قبول ایدوب رعایت و نظره عنایت ایدوب
 کیمیز و قریب باش بقیه سی قبطلدی بز سزرا یله مصالحه تدک سزاردن جقوب سز
 تلریله نه ایدرسک اید و روز برز ایه سزرا جواب و برکزیرا سزرا بادشاه اسلام
 سکر بلجا عام و خاص و جمله عالم سکر خرمین بادشاهی سکر کیلان بنی اسرائیلک
 سزرا سعادتمزدن فرعونیه بقیه چکانندن و تلرک اغلالی و چکانندن خاگر
 ایچون صغنه کله و استمداد و استغاثه ایلله شریعت مطهره و سنت منوره مقتضایه
 عانت و استغاث و حمایت لازم قریب باش قبضی سنه جواب شویله برستک و فتوی
 شریفده اوله بومقونه ده بر تلرک استغاثه و اعانت لازمدر و امتزایسک و بالعظیم
 اونورمی دیو فتوی ویره لر و فتوی اولر کوسر و بایشیده کیلان خلقی سنیلر در سزرا
 زندیق و قبطلدی سکر اول تلر تسلط کیمیز ضروری ایدک و شرعی دکلر کیمیز ضروری
 اولنک اول سنیلر ظلم و تعدک و تضییق اتمک استر سکر و تلر برزدن مدد و عنایت

استر

استر لایسه مقتضای شریف اوزرینه زاندر اعانت و اغاثه ایده روزنامه به قادی
 دکلو زانکه سزله لازم اولان اولدر که چونکه بزه مطیع ایزدیر سکر بزه اطاعت کزنده
 علامت اول سنبلری بنجیده اتمک اندر طوع عافیه کلدی تسلیم و اطاعت تدبیر جمله
 معتدل و منتظم الحال اوله لر ضابطی اوزرینه مشغول و مقید اولام دیو جواب دیر
 اندر مضطرب اولوب اول سنبلر بنجیده اتمک اجمله کلان خلقی رعایا کز اولوب خالصا
 و صادقاً عاجیکر اولور و قریب باش ده زیون اولوب سزله منتقاد و مطیع اولور
 و سعادتلر پادشاه و دوک و قریب غن کسک ایلله قوین ویز قریب باش زناد قسی مسلمان
 اولماز عداوة قدیمه قلوبندن کمتر فرصت سیلریدر سز ایلله صلح لری ضروریدر ضرورت
 رفع اولنسه الله تعالی حفظ و حمایت ید و کتبه طغیان لری مقرر در سز ایلله صلح ایدوب
 بوجانبی ستر ایدوب و اوته جانیده اولان سنبلره بر مباشرت ایدوب تدبیر ایلله قدرت
 و قوتلنوب بعده بریده معانده و معارضه سی اولق احتمالی اصلا و قطع رفع اولنیز
 اتمک اول کلان خلقی قوللری که مرحمت و عنایت و حمایت و موافقت ایدوب اندر یدم تحت
 تصرف کز الله فتح جدید در و قول قناعت رد اتم قریب باش فرامنه سی قبلی سی چکاک لری
 خلافک بولوب افسا و اصلال دن و عاری اولوب الی یوم القیام امت محمد و عباد اللهی
 حفظ و حراست و صون صیانت و حمایت اتمش اولور سکر پادشاه معذور
 بیوره سکر کچه ادب دکلد سز سعادتمز اعلی سکر بود عاجیکر روم الله الله ایکن
 و بیونده کلد کد نصیر کرم فقر ایلله زیاده مقید اولوب جوق بلا چک کز در حتی عادل کز ای خان
 قریب باشه دو تساق اولد و غندن و شهید ایتد کزنده بن عاجیکر کمال تفید مزدن و قوی
 اول انکار اثری ایلله منکر اولوب باباده موت مرتبه سنده مرض اولوب کز جمله رفع
 اتمک فرما قتل کز تبرزه کیرکی و قتل بلجه بولند قتل کز غیری ننده نیجه حال اولمشد
 بو قدر اولمشد لیکن اهل اولیة و السلام علی الدوام تبارک و تعالی عیسی علیه السلام
 اعوذ بالله من الشیطان الرجیم بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم السلام علیکم ورحمة
 وبرکاته و نصرتہ و عصمتہ و صیانتہ فی الدارین سعادتلر و مرآت و عزتلر

پادشاه اسلام ظل الله الملك العالم خلد الخلافه وادم دولته وسلم سلطنته الى يوم
 القيام واتم علمه وعرفانه واكمل كنهه وشهوده وجعله نبي الدوام حضر تلي نه در حال كز
 واحوال كز و مزاج شريف كز وطبع لطيف كز حالا يولر و خوشتر ميدروا حوال خفيه كز
 ترقى وتلقى اوزرينه مشكز يقينا بلورز تقيد كز وعزمت كز عالي وكليد ركجه علايق و
 عوايقده جوقد ركن عين علام الغيوب اعيان اسناده واتخاص وسائله مشاهده
 حق جل وعلا سعادتلو ومرتلو پادشاهز طول عمر ميسر ايدوب دولت
 دنيا وعقبى اين زياده ايدوب هرانده علم وعرفان ترقى وازدياد اوزرينه يليه امين
 يامعين سعادتلو ومرتلو وحرمتلو
 بادشاهم رؤيا احوالى جوقد ردنا جيگر نه وجود مزاوله ربايه حمل اولنر ايسه
 واضغات احلامدن دكل ايسه بچندن فتح مدينه كبرى رؤيا سى واقع اولور حضور
 عاليه اعلام اولنوب اول تقدير الله برسالة تسويد اولنوب امك اولنمق وعد اولنم
 اينك اول رسالة تسويد اولنور اينك اول رؤيان غيري رؤيا لواقع اولك رؤيا صادقه
 ايسه رساله مسوره نك عند الله مقبول ومبيضة اوله سنه دلالت ايدرز ويانك
 تعبيري وتاويلي لازم در اول رسالة تسويد اولنوب اول رؤيا لخرنده ذكر اولنوب
 رساله تعبيري وتاويلي اجمالا بيان اولنوب حضور عاليه كساخه اوسال ولنتك تمام
 نظر اولنوب متبرك اوله لاول رسالة فتح مدين وكشف منازل ميدان ايله مستحق
 معذوريور وب تقصير نميزي عفو يورسكز وتاخير اولند وغي كاتب محمودده دهنده كز
 ده بيرسيه كندى اينك كلك اخر كه يه يازدوردق تعليق يازى اولك سعادتلو
 ومرتلو پادشاهم بفتح مدين رسالة نك اثارى ظهورى اوله افاقده وانفسده
 اسبابه مباشرت لازمه اولشد راقدم واهم اولنه واول مباشرت اولنه خصوصادريا
 طريق طريق حجاب بيت الله وسبيل زوار رسول الله يوليدرو قيودان باشاقولكزده
 ان شاء الله تمام اريدرو دلاوريدرا كليوز همان رخصت وعت وعزمت كرك قال الله
 تبارك وتعالى يا ايها النبي قد قلنا انك واولادك منسبون اليه واولادك منسبون اليه

ناخته اند و الله مع الذاکین و وزیر اعظم تو کزده ده صلاح و صلقت و امیر
 و عالت فهم و نور قزلباش زندیق در سوره و سلطنت کسریدوب و اصلاح ایست
 عظیم خدمت اولوب و مقبول حضرت اولدوغنه اشارت در و تو کز و وزیر اولغون
 عیبه رو یاده کوردم صدرده او تور مش و ابو بکر الصدیق رضی الله عنه بمنده مرج
 و تور مش ایستک صدیق ایچون زندیق دن انتقام ایدوب صدره جک و کله رضا و کله
 فهم و نورن شالله زبیر از خدمت دمکدر قد کلمنک کز کدر رسول اکرم صلی الله
 علیه و سلم بدرده کند و ایله بله اولوب بلا جلکزه بعده بعض کله علیه سنه قله
 اتسه قوت قوت اول کیشی بدرده بنم ایله ایستک حق رضا سنده اولوب هر نه شی وار
 ایه عفو تشدر اکثرین دیوبانلره اولاشتلری بو طریق ایله منع و رفع ایدر ایدر و کله
 ادملرینه رعایت لازم در و همما مکن مراد رینه موافقت اهدر زبیر افخ مداندند
 ملاحظه ایده سکر قزلباش زندیق سنک وزیریه حواله در الله تعالی ظاهرده و باطنده
 دو لکری توسیع ایلله امین یا معین تله عیبه و سائلو و سائلو
 بادشاه فتح مداندند در دیو سوندک ایستک لک خزینه تسلیم اولو ایله ایو شمدن
 کیر و ابو حال وزیریه قطعه معهود لینی هر سه کوردر دیو و خبر اسماع اولتکیر لیکه
 واقع اولیه همان بوسنه نکذر کتور کتوری هر سه په قابل و لما زیدیلر سائلو
 و سوتلو بادشاه وقت و اهتمام لازمدر بر لای ملاغنه دار السلام قرینه بو
 قدر مسینه حقارتلر و اهاستلر ایدوب یا نلرینه قله بو قدر هر سه خدمت اتمه دن
 ابا ایدر هیچ بونک بر اصل و ارمیدرجوق بو قدر قوتلر قاورلر و یکلر دد بو اهل اولتور
 بوده بر دشمناندر دار سلطنت قرینه بونلریده زبونجه دو تموز کیدر منع فله
 و فتنه بریدر مغلوبیه امم مهماندند رقیه اولنه اهل اولمیه اصلا کدر یاقرا اولور
 بوردن لیه اون کونک میردر اون کونک بر دوشمانی رخصت ایله اهل جانز دکدر دقت
 اولنسه دیانمز لزان شالله تعالی واکر هر سه اول و عدلرینه قاتل اولوب کیدر لایسه
 بوردن سکون اولنور سه اوله هر سه قاتل اولدیر دیو عالمه شایع اولوب شمدک قاتل

اوله مشد اسکی دوزه نه قائل اولمشلردیو اطراف واکافله شهیر و شایع اوله عرض
سلطنته و شوکت اسلام انکسار عدالت سرور و شماناسه سبب اولمؤ کوره نور و ان
ملایسته و غیره زیاده غریزه و سرور لینه سبب الکفور سز لر سعادت نما علیک قالله
تبارک و تعالی یا ارحم الراحمین یا ارحم الراحمین یا ارحم الراحمین و قال عز وجل
یا ارحم الراحمین یا ارحم الراحمین یا ارحم الراحمین و قال عز وجل یا ارحم الراحمین
تجل اتمز اوله والسلام علی الدوام اتمز اوله سعادتلر و مروتلو
پادشاه وجود شریفیکرک صحتی و سلامتی عامیه و کافیه شاملد حق جل و علا
وجود شریفیکر خطا اردن حفظ ایدوب معرعدا اوزرینه منصور و مظهر و عدالت
و استقامت و علم و عرفان یله مزین و معزز الیه نری اکر اولدو کز عجب مانع نه اوله دیو
بیور مش سکر سعادتلر و مروتلو پادشاه مدینه منوره نور الله تعالی
الی یوم القیمه منبره سی مع المرمطیب بالمسک و العنبر رسال اشتغالی و لش ایکجه
دعایکیز زاوردن و خارجدن اول جانبه بله کتدیله کل و کتبه و مکاتیب و نفعه مقید و کتبه
ایک الله قبول ایدوب اسان کله ابلاغ مکان مکیده تقریر و تمکین میسر ایدوب اثر باقی
اوله مقام تمکین منیریه مظهر اوله اول واردانده بوکا اشارت وارد عقول قاصد
قصورندن نرزد و تمدن خالی اولمز لولکن حکم هذا المقام قوله تعالی
دیکم وارد سزردن بر قانمز ایدر بر مراد ایتدک بونی و السلام علی الدوام
عزیز الله تعالی قال الله تبارک و تعالی یا ارحم الراحمین یا ارحم الراحمین
سعادتلر و مروتلو پادشاه بوکلا واردانده نک معناسی مذکوره اولان ایتدک
فحوا سنه اشارتد زیرا فوق کل شی من المکات مقام قاب قوسیندن و مقام قاب
قوسین فوق مقام اودنی در اعیان مکات حجابندن تجاوز ایدوب فقط غین زان
اولوب عین عین حقیقت اولوب مشاهده ذات وحدت و معاینه و زانیه احدیت

علامت

بتجدید شریعت و حیات مست و ترویج عباد الله و الامة ابدن اصحاب مائین اولان احاد
 محمد قوسندن و کلمندن اونسک سبانه مباشرتده و تمام رعایتده کمال غیرت و ثناء
 همت و عزیزت زمانی میکشد زن شالله الرحمن حق جل رحمت رحماندن سکر سعادتلو
 و مروتلو بادشاهم بخون سعادت کبری و سلامت عظمی و توسع نامه و مرحمت عامه
 بجایز و درود و ... اصحاب حق و حقوق ادر عیایه حمزه
 و شفقت و تخفیف تکلیف و جنود اسلام رعایت و ارضی و توسیع و تلطیف سبب راحت
 و موجب کمال ستراحت اید و کند شبهه یوقدر رعایانک نفوسی منکسر اولیه و قول طائفه
 سنک قلوبی قریبه و اعراض و نفوذ اوزرینه اولیه لور رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم
 یوحی یثقی مضمونه مظهر اینه دن اعراض اولنه سشارق الانوار اخرتده در اللهم من
 ولی امر امن امنی فشق علیهم فاشفق علیه حق جل و علا سعادتلو و مروتلو
 بادشاهی رضای شریفه موافق تکیا وجه کرمینه مطابق علم و عرفان و عمل و احوال
 میسر ایده امین یا معین سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاهم اولان ایچکوز
 اوزرینه اولان کتاب بودرد عاجیکر بونده کله لی یککیل اولنک بش طوری بازوق کلدی
 عواقق و علائق اراسنده بحمد الله اتمام اولنوب گستاخنه حضور عالیه ارسال اولنک
 نقصان ایلده معذور بیوریلده مرحوم بزم صوفیا لی بالی افندک شیخ نرک شیخدر شیخ اکبرک
 فصوصنی شرح اتمش تمام جدیکر سلطان سلیمان طاشرا و اولننده و بزم شیخ نور
 الدین زاده افندکی مرحوم دعا جیکر صدر الدین خضر تلرینک فصوصک شرح اتمش
 ایدی تمام ایده فمش ایکه سلطنت سلیمانیه اخرتده دعا جیکر اشته اتمام ایتدک اییکه
 کلدی کیزده ایامده و معلوم شریفده مر بادشاه دروننده سایه سلطنتلرینده معصوم
 و مزین و تکمیل ایدن اصحاب کمال بر مقدار اظهان کال ایده کلمشله ...
 موجبی اوزرینه سزرنک سعادتمز سایه سلطنت لرینده امن و امان ایلده شغل ایدوب
 دعا جیکر ده بوقوم مصولفی ایتدک کرجه تحصیل مزده سلطنت سلیمانیه یه سایه سننده
 و سلیمیه دولتنده اولمشدر حق جل و علا جمله سنه اضعا مضاعفه اجر لایده و عوضلده

یلده

نظار و تضاف و فتح و فتح او نه سبب اوله لوب با صده قوای رحانیه روحه
 و متابعت و معاشرت نه لایله اشارت در و تابع و متبوعدن معبود و مقصوددن حق
 جل و علا حضرت تدری رضی و نه لایله اشارت در الله تعالی حضرت تدری کمال الصفا در خا
 و ضاحیه اکبر میسرید و بفتح و فتح و غنیمت در روزی قله سعادتلو و مروتلو
 بادشاه ظل الله الملك العلام حضرت تدرینه طول عمر و کمال صحت و عافیتلو و تمام فقه
 و زیاده کمال نفسلو و زیاده علم و حکم میسر یلیه امین یا مجیب الداعین المجاهد بذر
 الکشف و الشهده قال الله تبارک و تعالی و قال عز وجل و قال تعالی
 اولیائی تحت قبائی لا یعرفونهم غیری سعادتلو و مروتلو
 بادشاه امین جمع و ضیف و عض سوره کهف ابدا سی و لیک اصحاب کهف اثار ی بر مقدار
 تکلم اولیک سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاه اسلام ظل الله الملك العلام ظاهر الله
 فی ضله و ادم و لیلو یوم القیام حضرت تدرینه لطائف اصحاب کهف دن هدایا انشا
 الله هدایا انما ایدهم کهف اولیا هذا لامة قباب رب العزیز و السلام علی الدوام
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
 سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاه اسلام ظل الله الملك العلام خلد الله خلافت
 و ادم و لیلو الی یوم القیام حضرت تدرینک دوام دوام و لیلو و قیام عزت تدری و انتشار
 شوکت تدری و کمال صحتلو و تمام عافیت تدری یحیی ادعیه صالحه و اثنیه صادقه عرض
 اولند قد نصکره عرض دعی بود در که اول و عده اولنان کاب عنقاه مغرب و شمر
 مغرب دیباجه سی بیان اولنوب حضرت عالیه ارسال اولیک نظر اب شریف متعلق

و نه معذ و ریوریل و دیباجه رساله تمهید مقدمه اولش در اوردیه نظر شریف اولوب
 فهم اولتمق سیاقنده اولون فهم اولتمق لاجون قواعد و فیه بین کی اولش در ضبط اولوب
 ننگ وزینه کروشنی ربط اولنه عبرت عجیبه در و تحفه تامد جمله کاید اولان بورس
 ده درج اولش در حق جل و علا سز سعادتمزدن راضی و رضا اولنه بو کتاب غریب و شمس
 غریب کوریلوب بورساله وجوده کلمه سببا ولد و زبانه کلی حظ لایتمشوز درینک
 و دینک و آخرتک و عاقبتک و خیر اوله و معالی و معارف و لطائف و حقایق و دقایق
 معدنی و منعی اوله سکر و بعضی رموز لای و اردرد و شد کجه انیده کوردم و بیان ایدم لم
 ین همکرایله کتاب اغریب ایش سنه ماضیه کور خیرایله و سعادت ایل و سلامت ایل
 عبور ایش اوله و سنه جدید ده مبارک اوله و شهر محرم و محترم ده مبارک اسرزی و
 ثاری تمام بارزه و ظاهر اوله و نجه یلدر وایلر و عاشورده لردار شوب انوار ایل و منورده
 کافی ایل متبرک اولوب حضور عالییه ارسال و سید الحمد لله رب العالمین و صلوة
 و السلام علی رسول محمد و اله و صحبه اجمعین سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشا
 حق جل و علا وجود شریفکری خا لردن حفظ ایدوب دنیوی و اخری جمع مراد کج
 مراد کز اوزرینه میسر ایدوب حفظ و حمایت ایده امین یا معین بو صباح خلایه خانه ده
 خالی اولدوم سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاهک احسان اندوکی کورکی کتدی کج
 صو قدمده توجیه ده عاده او تورکن دیانوب از غنفت کورده بر در یایه کلشم بو
 دریا کجک لازم ایش و کورکده ظاهرده کیدیکم هیت وزرینه ایش اوزرمده ایکن
 بو در یایه کیرسم بو لورک اصلانور ضرر مرتب اولوردرک سعادتلو و مروتلو
 بادشاه حضرتلرینک شایر یقلری لایق کلدردیر ایشک بعضکده لایق یف ایدر
 فقیرده درک ان شاء الله در یایی کجک و کورکده ضرر رتور من درک و بو در یانک و تکر
 مقصود اعظم و ایش اکا و صلت مراد ایدر ایش و در یایه بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم دیو
 نیردم کورکده کمال مرتبه صیانت ایدرک و اصلتمک و اونه سنه مکر رسول الله صلی
 علیه و سلم و ایش و وفاتنده بیور ایش یقین واردم بزه بر مرتبه اشتیا قلری وار

ایمیش یقین بزه بر مرتبه ده اشتیاق و ارامش و برنده ائک یا بنده یقین کلدیکم کی مبارک
 یوزک لجنه اشارت ایدر بکایقین کل دیوبنده یقین واردم حتی مبارک اغزل غنی بزم
 اغزیمزه اولشدردی بزمه زیاده مدایله مبارک نفس نفسلرک بزم اغزیمزه ویردی شویله
 اولدیکه جمیع اعضا و قوی و ذرات وجود مز و لدی بعده بر مقدار کیه ویه جکک مراد
 ایدم تا و بابنی قومک بعده بر دخی کا کان اغز غزینک اولکی کجی نفس ویردی فقیر و هضم
 ایدر ایشک بعده کیه کویه جکک مراد ایدم کیه قومک بر دخی کمال مدایله نفس ویردی
 رموز اشارت ایدر کک بولیکه او یا نمیدم درکن قولکر عبدالله کک او اویاردی مشرده
 بعض کسه استرادیو ایدم بی حضور اولدم سعادتلو و مروتلو بادشاهک
 دیننی و دنیا سنی و دولتی و عرض غیر زلینی همت ایل و عزیمت ایل حافظ و حامی و صفا
 و صیانت ایدوب حضرت رسالت و حضرت حق ایهال و تسلیم ایدن ترا عنوان صفا وری
 انصار خالصه لرندن اولقدر مراد بزم غیر مراد مز یوقدر و السلام علی الدوام
 قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم الخلق کلهم عیال الله ما جم الی الله انفعهم لیا له سعاد
 و مروتلو بادشاه عامه عیال الله ضیافت قصد اولنمسن جمله خلق کال مرتبه
 سرور لر در و عن صمیم الفواد خیر عاکر متوجه لر در سفر به صومنی کسوب و دن تدر کجی
 مراد ایدنمش کجی خلق عامه و خاصه زیاده سرور لر در احتیاج ده و ضرورت ده کلیدر
 و اودنک بده لی دخی یوقدر یوقدر هر نسنه نک بده لی بولنور سعادتلو و مروتلو
 بادشاه عظیم خیر در بویه خیر اولن الخیر لایه خیر مرحوم و مغفور له جدیکر سلطان خا
 طاب ثراه و جعل الجنة سبحانه و تعالی اعلی الجنة مقمره و مشواه حضرت لری کا غدا خانه حضور
 کتورب عامه به ضیافت ایشک سکر سعادتمز اولد ایله بعض رزقه منع و دفع اولنور ایل
 ملتفت و مقید اوله به سکر ضیافت عامه الی یوم القیامه در خالصه و خاصه خیر دعا خله
 سبب اولور سکر و وزیر اعظم زید عدله قولکر جمیع مؤمنک متعهد و متحمل اولنوران شاه الله
 عهد و سندن کلور لر و کجی دره حضور شریفه اعلام اولنمش ایدوکی زیاده وزیر اعظم قولکر
 اوسکدار بوغاز ندخبر عظیم بنا ایدوب خلق عالم حضور ایدوب خیر دعا لر اید دیوان شاه الله

و. غزلون

بوندون امخارق ظهور ایدر عامه خلقه نافع دیو ذکر و آتش ایدک بولق عجب کدر سعادتلو
 و مروتلو بادشاهمان شاد الله خیر محض در خوف اتمه یک خیرک مانع جوق اولور مقید
 اولیه سکن فقر عامه و خاصه مسرور ایده سکن و قیامت دیک خیرد عالیه سکن
 بوز خیردر که مثلی یوقدر زیر از یاده ضروره وارد فقره نك حالی مشکلد و اوده نك بستا
 دخی یوقدر بر حال ایده سکن و اوزر یکزه و لجبدن یوقوله ضرورتی رفع اتمک و بدت المال
 مشروع و مضوع اولوب یوقدر مؤنث ارتکال اولنگ بوقوله ضرورتی رفع ایچوندر اهل
 اولنور ایسه مسؤل و لوق احتمالی و وارد ریلکه اکثر احتمالدر یوبله خدمت اولنور یوبله
 دخی اولنور زیر یوبله ضرورت یوقدر غیر اعظم قکر تقویض ایدک حقنه کلور لر
 عامه و خاصه عموما ضیافت ایدو کند شبهه یوقدر و اول وعده اولنان رساله کاتب
 یازوب تمام اتمه مش ائک ایچون تأخیر اولنگ و السلام علی الدوام قال الله تبارک
 و تعالی و انما یفعل فیما یشاء و یشاء ما یشاء و یشاء ما یشاء و یشاء ما یشاء
 بیانا بنم سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاه یود عاجیکدن زیاده درنجیده خطر
 اولدو کیککی زیر ائدکره تامه کرده ذکر آتش کز اضا فایدر سکر جفا حدون جکدر رحم
 اگر پادشاه بعدد روح دیمسه ایده کز روح زنتال و لوق احتمال اولوردی پادشاه
 حق جل و علایه معلومدر ایز و جفا اراق خاطر کز و لکن جمال حضرتک ظهور و جلالت
 عاشقلم که جلال حضرتک جفا لیل اولدوغنه بناء سنه الله ائبا عاتوق و انتظار
 اشدمس النار اکتاب اولنور انبیانک اولیانک علی جمیعهم السلام کورد کلری یوکدرو
 جکد کلری زور در جمله به بهال اولوب نزه اوجوزو بر بهال اولدو و یچون قمتلو
 و عزتلو اولدی و واصل اولنور اعز اولدی و اگر سهوات یله حاصل اولیک کس قالیک
 انبیا و اولیا اولیک و اول منصبده حرمت و عزیمتده قالمه یک بلا سز اولانک قدر یلنر
 ولده تیده اولنور کاسلک تکمیل ایله جکدوکی درت لشرحه و بیانه کلر ها کدو بلور
 ولاده مشقتک حاصل ایدوب و عزتلو بلور و کالات الهیه حاصل ایدوب ظهور ولاده
 معنویه درو بو نصیحت ناقص حقنه در پادشاه دکلر تمام کلیتله کاله لرندن شبهه مز

الذی لا یعلمها الا هو تجلی اسم ظاهر اسم ظاهر کما فی توحید و اسرار تجلید و طالعید و واقعه
 تجلی هویت اسرار هویت و لطائف هویت که طوریه سبب اولان تجلید تجلی غیب هویت
 دخی اعلاسی و ادقی تجلید و غیب هویت تجلی تجلی عالم الشهاده مطلقه مقابلید و زیر
 شهادت مطلقه غیب هویت مطلقه مقابلید و موازید تجلی ذاتیه اسرار ذلک تجلی
 ذاتیه اصحابه تجلیات در تجلیات اختصاصه تجلیات ذاتیه اصحابه اولان ایر و ایر و
 اولان تجلیات اشارت در اول تجلیات مشترکه اولان بلکه اصحابه مخصوصه در تجلیات
 بر اقیه تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات
 اسرار تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات
 اولان تجلیات اطلاقه در یوما فیو مابلک انافانا مشاهده وجه کریمه و از یادیدن تعلقه
 و تطبیق در اصلا خلاص یولیوب دائما ترقیده و کمال تلقیده و المقدر سینه شریعت کریمه
 بلکه تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات تجلیات
 ظاهر کما فی حقایق ادا ایدوب و باطنک باطنه و از کما جبر ایدوب اسم ظاهر کما
 مظهری اولان شریعت ظاهریه به کمال رعایت و عنایت و اسم باطنک مظهری اولان اسرار
 شریعت و لطائف مریفته و حقایق حقیقه رعایت و عنایت و لوق در عدالت و استقامت
 ددگری بود در اله تعالی سعاد تلو باد شاهه تمامی و کمالی پسریده امین یا معین و
 الداعین سعاد تلو و مروتلو پادشاه بود کون تحریجه بین النور و الیقظه
 بر خطاب وارد اولک طغوز یوز سکت ایدیده و دشمنان تحق فخر اولور دیو ایدندم فزیدن
 خاطر کلینی ان شاء الله خیر در و السلام علی الدوام اعوذ بالله من الشیطان الرجیم
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم قال الله تبارک و تعالی فاستجاب لیدر الله فی حاجه الی
 بود و در الله فی حاجه الی الله فی حاجه الی الله فی حاجه الی الله فی حاجه الی الله فی حاجه الی
 حال کون و احوال کون دائما سرور و صفا و آثار تجلیات ذاتیه ایه مزین و مصفا اوله سکون کون
 ایه سیر وجود انفسد ان اطلاق سیر وجود افانی ایدوب اعتبار فیود دن جزئیة تجاوز ایدوب
 حق و وجود مطلق مشاهده سنده ایش سک انفسی و افانی سیر و حرکت اینه نک بر کئی صورت

حاشا لله ان يتصل برحمة واناضك فيضا وفوز اعضها فان من كان حجة للعالمين كان
 منعا بالغيض الاقدس والفوز المقدس ومنورا بالنور لانه لا بد له من شكر هذه
 النعمة العظمى الامانة والولاية لذلك قال واشكركم لانهم في كنف الله امنون وفي كنف الله متمكنون يا شافع
 الشفيعات شفيع المذنبين لاهل الصغائر والكبائر اشفع من اهل عتافان شفاعتك
 مقبول وحاجاتك عندنا مقبول فان سنة الله جارية على ان شفاعته الشافعين الكاملين
 للقاصرين والناقصين فان حسن الابراز سيئات المقربين وشفاعة الامة في الدنيا بالذلة
 والتربية ودعوة العامة بالموعظة الحسنة على وفق السنة النبوية والشرع الشريف ودعوة
 الخاصة بالحكمة والكشوفات وخوارق العادات ودعوة الكسبي والمعادين بالمجاهدة والمجاهدة
 الحسنة لذلك قال الله تعالى وبيدنا ملك الموتين ومنه لا اله الا الله فلا بد الكامل والناقصين
 المعاندين وجد المجمعين وترية المؤمنين ورعاية المؤمنين والمسلمين وحفظ الكائنين
 وحماية المشاهدين وعناية المعانين السلام عليك يا المبدأ الخالص القاهر الحبيب جل
 العظيم عظيم ربك العظيم العزيز الوهاب ورحمة الله وبركاته فان من تجلى الله لم يخلق بالاعمال
 الخالقية ويسمى بالاسماء السبوحية والصف بالصفات الصمدية وتفرد بالكرامة الفردانية لذلك
 واكرمك وعظمتك ولك الايقان والحلال والكمال ويحصل للجميع الامان فان من هذا مقام
 وهذا خلقه وحاله واصحاب درجات وارباب عطاء بلا حجاب وعظام من ربك الرحمن ومولا
 الرضوان انت خير لي ما يجمع الخلق والخلافة فان الخليفة خير الخلفاء وما بعد من الكمال والتقوى خير
 ما سواه وجميع المكافاة على صراط مستقيم ان ربك عليهم حكيم وربك رؤوف رحيم والسلا
 على الدوام سعادتلو ومرتلو يا دشا هري يا رب الله
 كوره درو منكرومت ويا رب الله كوره درعامة اهل ايمان وشرعيتي
 وخاصة اهل تقوى وطريق حيايت وصيانت ايله ما مورسكو مقتضاي امانت وغلان
 وعامة اعدا دين وملت ايله مجادله ومجاهدة ايله ده ما مورسكو مهما المكن بذل عيزت

و تسبیح است به یازمده در خصوص فرنگه جدال و جنگ فرض اول شد و قریباً شب معاش
 به و لان قتل و جبهه عشر صرف و نه کی فخر و ظهور اید و دی ان شاء الله خصوصاً قیود
 فوکر قدین و غور و نوامد و زنده خلوص به خدمت کار و دولا را مکرار بنده کرد و غور
 ن ش به بش بود مقدار ظاهر قرار بدزدی اجماع علما و عقلاء بونک و وزینه در کج
 قایودن و منق ایله قیوب کنار و غور قود و شمه سید و کجه قید و تدارک اولور ایسه نصفا
 مضاعفه رغب یله مرفقه و مرغوب و نه نری مقرر در خصوص بوییل او جاننده زیاده
 خص و غار و رمش ضعفی مقرر بش بوقوکر منظور عین حیاتیکر اولور ایسه خلوص ایله
 خدمت و نوب طریق تجارت و مجاهدن دکنه ازله اولوب بنجه بلاد حداد فتح اولوب احیا
 شریعت و تفتان و نوب و سطنه و نوب کثر حتمالدر و نوب نوبه ایله و نوبه
 کثره نوبه ظهوری متوقف در و موجود در شان شریف شامخ له لایق اولان مره سیر و نوبه
 جمله دن علم و اقامه سکر عدلنده گرفتار و دن اساری مسلمان اولان دیار دن ایمانی کتم
 بدوب کرم و مؤمنده و مشتقه و تضرعه و مناجاتده و فریاده و فغانده و نوبه
 دیوب کلمه و اغلاش و ضعیف و مساکینه اشفق و ارحم و اعز سکر و السلام علی الهم
 اعوذ بالله من الشیطان الرجیم بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم و نوبه
 الله و نصرته و عصمته فی الدارین سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاه اسلام ظل
 الله الملك الملام احوال الله عمره و ادم دولته و ابقی سلطته الی یوم القیم حضرتلری ادعیه
 و اثینه صادق عرض اولند قد نصکره عرض بود که سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاهم در
 حاکم و احوالکو و مزاج شریفکی و طبع لطیفکی ایول و خوشد میدرد انکال صحتده و تمام
 رفعتده اوله سکر مبارک شهر ذی الحجه مبارک اوله ایام ولایا لها المبارک مبارک اوله و نوبه
 بومقوله مبارک ایلر و وصول و آثار ایله و اساری ایله و اناری ایله اعظام و تبریکر میسر ایله
 امین یا معین و یا مجیب الداعین سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاهم بویا عشر قارشو
 فقره ایلر کی ایله خلوت و اعتکافه کیریکه یک عیده و ارنجه بویا مبارکده غفلت ایله
 جکشن دیو و هر ایامده اولان عباد الله یحیده بلای عظیم کرم رحمت و شهادتدر و لکن

مصنوع

[illegible]

قاله و قامعد برده عارف کامل حقندن غیري کور مرزا مسجد اقصایه اندن سدره
 منتهایه اندن جنه الماوی به اندن عرش اعلا به اندن حضرت مولایه واروب عیبه
 حقه عین اولان حق ایله حق رویه ممکن اولان عین حق اولق مشکک اولدقد
 قلانی هب قلادی و لذلک قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم رایت یعین ربی و قال
 علیه السلام و صنف من امتی لا یتتر الرب عنهم ولا یحجب الی فی الدنیا و لا فی الاخرة
 سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاهم بر جمع معراج متعلق کلا اولنگ اسرار معراج و
 حقایق عروج ایجن نهایت اولز عجایبی دو کمنز و غرائبی منقطع اولز و لنقی هیچ بر لذ بکر
 بحر اساحله لا غورله قال الله سبحانه و تعالی و تقدس و ما یعرف احد
 شئ قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم جبرئیل بر نزل فی نعمتیه فتخیر ان یخیر
 شری سعادتلو و مروتلو پادشاهم بود عاجک بر خصوصیت وارد سعادتلو و مروتلو
 پادشاهمه اعلام اتمز سک خیانت کلر یز و ایدر سک ریادن ابا و خوف ایده ریز اولز
 بودر که بود عاجیکر بودند مکدن بو خاطر مخطور ایدوب عرفانک بقاسی بوق بعد الفنا
 مذکر خیر الدعا دیو طریقت اربانه و حقیقت اصحابه بر تحفه ایلم بر کاب تصنیف
 اتم اول کتاب انسان کاملک جامع اولان مراتبی اون ایکدر اون یکی طور اوزرینه اول اول
 خاطر حق جانبدن و حضرت رسالتدن علیه الصلوٰة و السلام اشارت اولوب بودند
 مکدن نجه اطوارک یازدق اید هر طور دمریدن و سالکن و طالبین لازم اولان لوز مظهر
 ازوایه و شرائط موز و اشارت برر مقدار یارلشک و بودند کلدکدن صکره ده بر
 قی طور یازلشک ایدک اون یکی طورک طقوزی تمام اولمل اولشدر یوبیک مفصل کاب اولشدر
 واردات و لایحات واقعات و حالات برز مقدار یازلشدر و لکن علی الجملة یازلشدر
 تصحیح اولنمشکد اکابنا پادشاهمه اکدق ایدک کتا و اخذ کل ایدک زیر ابومرسته پادشاه
 مناسبتد نصکره نسته کتم و اخفا خیانت ایده کدن شهم یوقدر شیمک فقر یازلشدر
 پیرای یازوب بیاضه چقار مغه مباشرت اتدیلر و بعضی تلوته بشکد و اوج طور
 قلدی یازلدق مساعدمنزده یوقدر وضع اجزده وارد سعادتلو و مروتلو

پادشاه

وجودش بفرستی خطا از حفظ ایدوب معرو منصور و مظفر ایدوب علم و عرفان
 و عدل و احسان کز یوماقیو ما انا فانا از یادده اوله امین یا معین و السلام علی
 الدوام سعادتلر و مررتلو پادشاه مذکور اولان الی کون احداثین
 ثلثا اربعاً خیس جعه احد و اثین لارض و ثلاثا اربعاً الاقوات و خیس و جعه السما و بعد
 عصر یوم و لیجعه خلق انبیا ادر علیه السلام نفس اماره و لوامه و ملهمه و مطمئه و راضیه
 و مرضیه حقیقت انسانیه اعوذ بالله من الشیطان الرجیم بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
 و مررتلو پادشاه الحمد لله رب العالمین و اکل الصلوة و اقر السلام علی رسولہ مع اخوات
 الانبیاء و المرسلین و علی اله و اصحابه و من امن به اجمعین حق تعالی سعادتلر و مررتلو
 پادشاه کال صحتله و عافیتله و تمام عزتله و رفعتله بیدر اوله ایدوب امین یا معین بر مقدار
 مزاجه معجزه و تغیر وارد رکابنا تاخیر و احوال و لیش ایدوب مع ضعف الحال کثرت اشغال
 اشتغالی ابتلا مزور در خطه خلقتن و خلایق ارباب راتدن و عیال دن بالکلیه خلق قابل
 دکلر و لکن سعادتلر پادشاه برانده متعبد و ملحوظ لسان قال یله و حال یله خیر دعایله
 مذکور و ملحوظ و ملفوظ سکرتوجیز همتمز و غیر همتمز سعادتمز در و اصحاب غرور و غفلت
 اولنبری نصیحت و وعظایله ایقظ ایدوب و نجه سنی طریق تقویایه قویوب اعمال صلیح
 دوشو زوب و نجه اربخی اذواق ملکوتیه به و اصل قیلوب سعادتلر پادشاه مذکور
 اگزار و انتشار اتمه دن غیر ی تصدیقیز به قدر بولیکه حق جل و عللین نوعدن تشر اوله
 مفیدین و مستدرجین زمره سندن اوله دن حفظ عنایت ایدوب اصلاح اوزرینه سعی
 افضل اعمال و اجتهاد الی الله الملك المتعال در قال الله تبارک و تعالی و ان تصدقوا فی
 بعد ان اجتهاد دند خفاه ضعیفان رجاء الله قریب و قوه و هیه کلمه
 هجوم ایدر سز بر فقیر در ویش سز برز مانده ارسال تذکره کتا خلق دکلر دیمک کلمه
 و همه وجود و مررب احوال و واقع اولور وجود انسان و مهدن و خیال دن مرکب در و در
 یو خسه جل همتمز و اعانتمز و امداد مز سز سعادتلر سعادتمز در الله علیم در و هو در متنا

دکن کمال محمدیه به وارث اولتره معلوم درو علنه عوام تابعه و مقلده در اثنای چون آثار
 ظاهر وسیله مکلفه لرد در اسرار مطلع اولسه لرده باری آثار نه تابع اولوب مهما اسرار
 مقصود لری حاصله اولوب مراتب در حصه دار اوله اولور لرو سعادت یلویاد شاه کما اعتد
 شرقیه و لاغریه اولق ایله شمدیه دکن شرق روحانی حکم غالب دیار شرق فتح تقید اولق
 ایله و اول جانبه قبل و متوجه اولق ایله غرب طبیعت دن و دیار غرب دن اعراض و احوال اولق
 ایله قوای طبیعت در حریدن دار اسلام قلبنک قوای تقیم مسلینی اوزرینه و
 خارجه اول احوالی اسلامه کفر هوسه تنکه باشلدی خیل مر ظاهر او باطن داخل کفر و
 اعتد شدن کفر و شرق روحاننک و دیار شرق طیرله تقید دن بر مقدار ارواح هانا لا اولور
 اولوب قوای طبیعتی و خارجه مظاهری اولان کفره غربیه ایله بر مقدار تقید لازم بلکه اولور
 اولد کفره لا شرقیه و لا غربیه اکا تمسک لازم اولدی تقید اولنسی باطنده طبیعت عالیه
 قوای طبیعتنک قلب جانبیه تعدیسی و ظاهرده دار اسلام و مسلین جانبیه کفرنک
 تجاوزی لازم کفره نظیر عنایت و تسلیط همت و غیرت طبیعت ایله لرین و دیار غربیه به
 واجبا اولدی حق جل و علا هدایتلر و معونتلر و نصرتلر ملسمه ایده امین و یو ذکر اولنان
 معاینه کلیه به رمز در ملاحظه و تحقیق قمر ندن جواهری و یو اقیسی منکشفه اولور و وقتله
 تفکر و تنکیر یوریله قال الله تبارک و تعالی ^{بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم} ^{الحمد لله رب العالمین} ^{والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وآله}
 پادشاه دیار شرق فتحه مباشرت ایتد و کردن برو مناسبت ظاهره مزاوله دلک جاز
 حق دن و جانب رسالت دن اشار ایله بشارت اولوب سائر زمانده توجه نام ایله و ایا
 عام ایله عنایت و امداد دن غیر نور رمضان شریف هر یار کلبه فقره عاجیکر ایله بونده
 رمضانده اعتکاف لری پادشاه عنایت و امداد و اسلامه و مسلمینه و رحمت و نصرت
 و اعدایه اهانت و مفارقت مجاهده لرا اولشدر و بونده کدکد نصکر دائم حالز بودر
 حق جل و علا علام الغیوب در شمدیده کثرت کونیه به مبتلا اولدق اول اندک کرمیزی
 ایده مزاولدق و نو ماخوفده ککشدرو لکن کفره غربیه نک اطرافندن مسلین اوزرینه

رحمن اسم صفات و توفیق ایلده داتدن صفة نزل اولدی الف ذات صفت رحمت پرده سند
 کونکدی انک یحیی رحمن ده الف کاتب و نیز انک رسول اکرم صلی الله علیه وسلم
 یتدیلر ان ذببت الف الرحمن دیو جواب و یردیلر شرقتها الشیطان دیو ذات ایلده صفت
 راسته شیطان معروف کیمز و لکن شیطانک معناسی بعید من الله دیمکدر مرتبه
 ذاتیه مرتبه صفات مابینده نوعا معد حاصل اولمشد اول صفات بعدندن صفات
 ذاته استار و احتجاب کلمشد در سر قربا الشیطان دیمه دن مراد بود و تنزلات زیاده جوقد
 و تنزلات افاض و تنزلات اکرانده جوقدر و دیو جمله تنزلات نهایتنه و ارنجه حجابات غلیظه
 اولوب الف ذات زیاده مخفییه اولمشد عقول قاصره و نفوس ناقصه بواسطه حجابات
 تجاور زاید و ذاتی مشاهده میسر اولمز الا صور سادسه اولور و اعلی اکثر خلق حجابات
 ایلده محقیقه اولور خطابا احادیث نبویه اکثر خلقه کورد و جمله سی اندر حجابات اوریتلر لکن
 اولمق ایلده خطابات الهیه انلرک جمله سنه اورنلور واقع اولمشد و عارف قلدک عالم الیجده و عالم
 طبیعتدن عالم حقیقه حرکتی و در حلتی عالم بطونده و در الضار و عیونک فطرده کلدی
 انک یحیی لسان قرانده و لسان نبی رحمنده عارف قلدک شهودنه و حواله متعلقه اولان خطابات
 الهیه و خطابات نبویه رموز طریق ایلده اولمشد درین امک جمله حقایقک و اسرارک اصولی
 و فروعی فصوص ایلده در فصوص اولیان معارف و معانی و هیات فاسده و خیالات
 کاسده و صفای سرقه و عین فصوص اولور جمله مکر و استدر ارج اولور و علماء طریقته
 و اسباب حقیقتده ذاتغنون و ضایعون و اردر ظهور اهری بواطنه توفیق ایدمه میوب حیرتده
 قالمشدر ضلالت و الحاده و اباحت و دوشمنلر ظاهر شریتمده نه قدر فراق ضال و ارایسه بان
 طریقته اول قدر فراق ضال و ارایسه وارد ربلکه دخی زیاده در یوقدر قدام حکما و خلفا سمکا
 منازل حیرتده درکنده اصابت و کینده خطا و ضلالت اوزرینه درین منازل طریقت
 و مراتب حقیقت سالکده زیاده حیرت و دهشت و برز تمیز نه مالک اتمه زرع و یریا و خط
 و خلل لازمه کور انک یحیی علم امت و اولیا رحمت بری برینه ملاقات ایلده زیاده استفاد ایلده
 و نجه خطا برینه واقف اولور انک یحیی حضرت عمر رضی الله عنه مرد المردیر انک رحمت الله امر فی

الله

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مکه الی عیون نفسی امک سعاد تلو و سروتلو پادشاه معارف رموز و اشارت
 به بریدن مراد فصوص بوق دیمک دکلدن نیر انصوحنه اولیجی سرق و همیه و فصوص خیالیه
 و لور بلک هب فصوص قاطع ایلده در و لکن اول فصوصک و لحقایقه و معارف عالییه
 دلالتی عقول قاصره در و نفوس ناقصه دن صیات رموز و اشارت طریق ایلده در که معارف
 و معدن معاینه نا اهل واقف و لمسون دیو بلا لیاقت و لا استحقاق نلک و لا و اخر و حال و اول
 بود القيمة معارف الهیه خطابات الهیه دن علماء ظاهر لفقولی فهم تمکک قادر دکلدر و زیر
 حجابات ایلده محجوب بلر در و استار و حجابات اولان جواهر معارفی قند کور لر و قند بلور
 زیر ریاضت اتمشدر در و عین عرفانه و معدن معاینه مجاهد ایلده ابرمه مشدر در معارف
 عربیه و فارسیله الفاضل عربیه دن و الفاظ فارسیه دن قواعد عربیه ایلده و قوانین فارسیه
 ایلده اخذ اتمشدر و کشف اسمی افنا ایلده بلنور و بلنور و السلام علی الدوام
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - مراد و ... و نصیرته و عصمته سعاد تلو
 و سروتلو پادشاه اسلام ظل الله الملك العالم ادم الله دولته الی یوم القیامه مندر در حکم
 و احوالک مزاج شریف فکر صحت و سید و خاطر لطیف فکر فرج مسرتده میدد انما سرور در و در وصف
 اوله سکر سعاد تلو و سروتلو مرحوم و مغفور له شعبان افتد نور الله مرقد نلک بالفضل
 زاویه سنده خلیفه سی اولان شیخ محمد افتد عاجیکه تذکره شریف کنی نهاد ایصال ایلد
 دوامد و لشکر و از دیار عنایه یکری بلجون دعا لراید رد و د اتمد عاده اشتغال تعهد اندیلد مضرت
 مرناض و مجاهد عاجیکه در کلکد لغزو و نیزه کوجک یا صوفیه ده صوفیلر ایلده اعتکاف
 کیر مشدر در یولد اشد ایلده بله زیاده خط اندیلد تذکره شریف فکر و حال لریک ستفسار و سیر
 انزیه سعاد تلو پادشاه اسلام حضرت تیرنه تذکره دعا نامه ارسال سیور دیلر منزه
 بیوریلده مجاهد عاجیکه و مراقب القلوب و النفوس و الارواح و الاشباکه در و سعاد
 پادشاه اسلام حضرت تیرنه فقراتک دعا دن غیر نه قادر لر لکن کتخانه و درویشانه بر قاج
 قاشقلر ارسال سیور دیلر معذ و بیوریلده اهل الله ارغانی ازی جو قدر و صغیری کیر در معلوم
 حضرت در مقصود مناسب و موافق و الارواح جنود مجنده مفاتح و فائز و ماتذکر

و شد
 و میگویند که او بیست و یک سالگی در صبح روزی در کربلا
 یکن فاس غلبه اتمش قوم صالح علیه السلام میبندد جماعه اشقیاء عامه دن شقیاء خاصه
 و ریکه آثار یک فتنه اندک اندک حقه اولسان یا تلو تلو است . . .

دیشور
 مادی دخیست یانی . . .

و در در فتنه عظیمه در خوف یاده در بقدر
 بیش و توانست سعادته یادشاده خیر قصه قیوم خیانت و زیننه اولندیک باشدینه
 خیر کز کلور ظهور ایدر قوم صالح علیه السلام اشقائه اولدوغی کی و الساده علی الدام
 قال الله تبارک و تعالی

و در سعادتلور و یاده یادشاده
 حق جل و علا بنی ادمه کثرت ایله کراتلور و میشد در حد و عده قایم دکلدر و احاطه کن دکلدر
 و برده و بجزده مرآب خلق اوزدینه حمل اتمشد در و صیادتدن رزق و و میشد و و کثرت خلق
 و زیننه تفضیل ایشد در ظاهر معناسی ظاهر در بیان لازم دکلدر و تا و بی خواص بنی
 مرآب روحانیه به حمل ایلوب بر عالم اسکانده و بجز اسرار سما و زمین و سیدیه و اولندیک
 و خلاصه خواص بنی ادمه مرآب اسرار سبحانیه به حمل ایلوب ربوبه عالم مکان ذابده
 تجاوز و صعود ایتدی و بر اسرار اسماء و صفات الهیه ده و بجز اسرار حدیثه و وجده
 طوائف صمدانته جریان و طیران ایتدر در خواص اولندیک تجلی صفات الهیه ده و قرب و فافه
 و حب قطره عالم الکر اولوب حضرت یونندیک سمعی و لسانی و بصری و بوی و ریحی اولوب نه شلر
 ایسه حق ایله اشکله بومقامه توحید صفات صوفیه
 مقامی و قرب و نوافل منزلی دیدیلحق حضرت تلی یونندیک قواسی او اشد در تصرفی حق و کثرت
 حقد و خلاصه خواص اولندیک بر اسمایه و بجز ذاتیک و بلفظ غیبی و نائل اولوب عین ذلله
 عین اولوب حضرت حقل قواسی معنی یونندیک حقل سمعی و ریحی و لسانی اولوب عین حضرت
 حقدن خبر ویرلر و اسرارک اظهار و ابراز ایدر عین ذات عالیله ده اسرار ذات و لطائف اسماء

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 بادشاه حق جل و علا و جود شریف کبری احدیت حمایت یله حافظ و حامی وحدتده صیات
 یله صاون و صان اولوب عرفان عالیه و علم لدنی و نسیسه مکل و مستفی فی بیسرایلیه
 تقبل من يقول امين يا حبيب الداعين و يارب العالمين داعي خالصكرداود افتكردايعكردی
 بیدر مشکر سایه سلطنتکردده و احوالی حیاتکردده بجه نجه انک کبی دعاجیکر ظهور کلوب
 در امر دولت داریکر و از یاد سعادت فی العالمینکردایعه سنه مشغول ارد درو سعادت یله یادش
 اولان قوجه و تقید و همت جلده دن اقدام اولی و نجه درجه اکثر و اعلا در مقتضای ایمان و موجب
 اسلام و عرفان و امر و رحمن و امر رسول سبحانده بود در ظاهر در دواود افتکدر علی باشد شیخ
 اولان دعاجیکر اولان عالم و عارف تمام متدین و صالح دعاجیکر در اندن غیر شیخ دوده
 بیدر اکثر یلایسه اولایسه نه همت اولش مراده شریفی فهمایده مدت اظهار اضی و بزر
 و مزایله احسانکرجا اول نور و ... من کان بارز الله تعالى کان قایما
 فی الله و فارغایه سوی الله و کان سره سریر سبحان و روحه حقایق الحقیقه و قلبه
 قواریر القرآن و نفسه نمازریق نفایس الفرقان و طبع و مطالع المعانی الاکوان و جسمه
 مجازی معالم عاده الرحمن فهو الرحمن فی الاکوان فی صورة الانسان فلا یحتاج الی جلال
 الجبروت فضلا عن ان یحتاج الی ماء معانی الملکوت و معالم الشهادة و الناسوت
 بل یكون شأنه الورد و موارد الالاموت و العوض فی بحار رحمت ثم السیر و الصیحة فی بحار
 الصمود بعد المحو و الصعود علی العلم عرفات العرفان و الیهان شهود المؤمن المبین الملك المنان
 سعادت تلو و مر و تلو یادش ام صحرای صحورده صحبتک ثمره سی هدیه هدایت و از معانی
 سعادت بود دعاجیکر نه ناس غلبه ایدوب مقابله و بر عالم زده خطاست طاب ایدوب در کمره
 اقضای مقصود حق سبحانه و تعالینک وجه کرمیکر طلاقیت و زیننه مشاهده در وجه
 المطلوب الاعلی و المقصود الاسنی و مر مشاهدک و مکاشفک کشف و شهود وجه
 الکرمی مقامه و مرتبه سنه کوره دیرک و بولا ملک حقیقه دلیل و ارد فرقان عظیمه

ظاهره وکلما ظاهره و ما یخفی دن مراد اولان موجودات باطنه و کلمات خفیه و اسرار
 مخفیه در ویو کسب خیراته و تحصیل کالاتیجی در حیر و طاب اتمک ایلده اولماز تیسیر میسر
 و تسهیل مسهل اولیخیه کا اشارت میسر ددی و بعده هدایت هاد ایلده و توفیق
 حق عالی ایلده طرف حقه سالک اولوب تسویه حقانی ایلده تمام مسوی اولوب تعدیل باغراق ایلده
 کالی ایلده معدل اولور مرآت قطع ایدوب روح اعظم و وجود باقی اقدمه فخره مستعد مسطور
 حقیقت روح و کالاتیه و صفاتیه دعا و قلبیه و قالب نفع و فیض اولیخیه و تمام کامل الیخیه
 قلبیه شی تریبه بونا صنی تکیلا و عالی حفظ و ضبط انفسه و افاقده اوزرینه لازم اولمقدور
 انکله جناب رباعلان ماذون و مامور اولنسه کرکدر کا اشارت میسر ددی و توفیق
 نیکه مضمونی اوزرینه مازکی و توفیق دیکه عارف و عالم اولان کند
 نفسنه و قواسنه و اعضاسنه و عظم و تذکیر دن اصلا خالی اوله کرکدر لازم الیخیه اولان
 رعایا سید رحایت و حفظ حقوقی ادا و مناهیدن و ملاهیدن منع و دفع لازم و ثانی
 تصرفنده اولان رعایایه رعایت و حفظ و حمایت و وعظ و نصیحت و تذکیر بالحکمة و التوبه
 قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم ان الدین النصیحة ان الدین النصیحة ان الدین النصیحة دیکه
 نه مرتبه ترغید و نه مرتبه وقتده در لازمه الرعایه و واجب الحفظ الخایه اولان انفسی و افاقی
 رعایایه کو تمه ایلده و کو تمه ایلده و دائم اوکت و او کر تمه ایلده تقييد و اهتمام مقتضای عدل و
 عدالتدن و موجب وقت فی الدین و استقامتدر و قال صلی الله علیه وسلم کلکم راع و کلکم
 مسؤول عن رعیته ال نفسیه و الافاقیه فان الشخص الواحد کون جامع للمافی عالم ال کون فان الشخص
 الواحد ملک عظیم تحت تصرف ملک عظیم بحسب علیه رعایه رعیه و حفظ مملکت و تادیب عیاده
 و صیده و امانه من القوی العقلیه و النفسیه فاذا انضم الی هذا الملك ال انفسی و الملك ال افاقی
 یزداد الملك للملك فیزداد الغیره فی رعایه الحق المملوک لیتخلص عن التالف و الملك فالتقیید بوعده
 الخلق و تریبه و نصیحه امر الخالق و حکم الحکیم الرزاق و خدمته الخلافه و نبویه النبیاه فتمتع الخلق
 و نعمة الخلافه و نعمة النبیاه و نعمة الرعیه و نعمة النعمی و الرعایه فان العباد عباد الرحمة و عباد الجز
 و امته الرحمن و امته سید العالمین فتمتع الخدمة للامة و نعمة الرعایه لعباد رب العزة قال الله

وارض و اسماء جمیع جذببات ربانیه و رغبات رب العزت استیلا ایدوب جمله سی حرکت
 کاشلر جناب خضر حرارت یله و کال مسرت یله سیر و حرکت ایدر لر دعا جیکر مشاهده ایدمز
 و مسر در ک باقک مسلماندر جیلانی شهر الله او لسنک قاسمی کورک جهانیه جدیه دوشوب
 جناب جلیا ینجه جذب ایدر در ک جذبیه غلبه ایدوب اختیار سحر حرارت یله حرکت کلوب
 توجیه و تضرع ایدوب غلاز ایکن او باند مکنده و عجایب حالده کوردم و السلام علی الدوام
 سعاد تلو و مروتلو بادشاه حق جل و علا وجود شریف کئی خطا لرن حفظ ایدوب معروضه
 ایلیه امین دجیکر بی پورای کلمه و قلم و یوقدر سعاد تلو پادشاه ایله مناسبت باشت و سبب
 دعا جیکر خواجه افند و قابو اغاسی و قیریز پاشاسی احمد پاشا قوکر اولشد و خواجه افندی
 دعا جیکر کوروب مصاحبت ایدیکر دیر لیر مقوله کسه لکارده اولوق معقوله و مناسبت
 البته بونده اولوق کس از اجازت ویرمد یلر کلمه و و نه اولد و غریزه بقاج ای دور دوش
 بعد و قابو اغاسی قوکر دعا جیکر ای شد و بخیه اتمش کتمه سونایر بونده دور سونایر
 بریر تدارک اید روز سعاد تلو پادشاه حیره دعا جی لار ممد و رورده اولسونایر دیو اقدار و لار
 اتمش بعد بش ای مقدس دورد قدض کمره بر کجک یا صوفیه شیخی بامر الله وفات ایدوب یی
 دخی کورمدن و مصاحبت مه دن مجر خواجه افند تربته یله زویه دعا جیکر ویردیلر ایدبعده
 دعا جیکر ده مشغول اولوب فقر ایله او تورر ک لحد پاشا قوکر کیلار چی باشی ایکن ایشنه
 دعوت ایدوب مصاحبت ایدوب دعا جیکر دن اثبات اتمش ایکن محبت و مودت ایدوب و محبت
 لکن حق خدمت اتمش ایکن اول تقریب ایلده دعا جیکر معلوم اولدق حق سعاد تلو و مروتلو
 پادشاه حیره معلوم اولوب و اندر زیاده خدمت و معونت اتمش در نفس الامر و واقع بودر
 الانده بویه در قنده مشایخ و صلحان بر او ادم و ارایه مقید اولور لر تبیه و تاکید ایدر
 سعاد تلو پادشاه همچون یعنی بوندن مراد بوندن کمال مرتبه را ضی سوز و نظر عنایت کئی
 راجیه زو مبر پاشاسی قالدردیق مراد اولند اویه ایسه قیریز پاشاسی احمد بنده کس مصر
 احسان کز جا اولنور مستقیم و متدین قوکر در و صاحب در و اهل علم و عرفانید
 وارد و حسن خلق و کر خلقه و تمام رفعت مالک در اهل مصر خود بحشونت اوزرینه در

مدار آنکه بوند مناسبی اولور سعادتلو بادشاه علمدروارحم و اگر مد رظنکرواحسان
 وله قولکنه مبذول وله والسلام اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم بسم الله الرحمن
 الرحيم احببت الله ورسوله ودينه واوليائه واهله واتباعه وجميع المسلمين
 بادشاهر مطيع الاولين والآخرين اي مذکور معناسيد راجبت حق واطاعت حق عبده
 عبدك حقه مخصوصه امر راجبته واطاعته موقوفدر وخارجده اولان خليفه عبده
 ابائى واطاعتي بوكا موقوفدر انك انك بوجوب طالب رسول كريمه صلى الله عليه وسلم يا محمد
 ما اطوعك ايك ديك يعني ديك سكا نه عجب مطيع اولور ديك رسول اگر جوابك انك عم
 ان اطاعته اطاعتك ديك امكداي عم بس اكاطيع اولور سكا ولد سكا مطيع اولوب موافقت
 ايدردى اهل تحقيق ديمشتر حقاك عبده اطاعتي و موافقتي عبدك حقنه اطاعت و موافقت
 كوره در دير لور اطاعته مراتب اوزرينه در عالم شهادتده و نشاء بدنده و تشده انفسده
 وفاقده احكام شريعه موافقت و مطاوعيدرو عالم قلبده طريقته و عالم روحده معرفته
 و عالم سرده و مخفاده حكم حقيقته حقيقته موافقتدرو اوج دائره ده مراد الله موافقت اتمك
 موافقت و مطاوعت حق مقتضيدراوليدن مراد اولان مراتب عاليه دروانده اولان حقايق
 عاليه واسرار و ارواح و قلوب و نفوس قدسيه در و اخرن مراد اولان نفوس سابقه و طبائ
 سفليه در و اندره جمله سنه متعلق قواي كلي و جزئيه لردرو انفسيدرو افاق عالمده انبيا و اوليا
 ماضيه در و ارواح و قلوب و نفوس انمه ماضيه در و اخرين اولان موجود و كنه حكه اولان
 اطراف عالمده و اكثاف ارضه موجود اولان اولمقدن خزينه انفسده در و انفسده در و انفسده
 حياي ايتمى كريمه سنك فواسيدر خلافة ظاهر و باطن مقتضاسيد ريز اخلافتك
 اولور مراتب عاليه و مراتب سافله يه مالك اولمخبر و اول واسطه ايله افاقده ده صوريه
 حيثيتندن تملك تمام اولمخبر اشارتدرو انفسده در و انفسده در و انفسده در و انفسده
 نسنه در و عبده كه الله اطاعتي و موافقتي تينك حقيقتي عبد هر مرتبه ده تعيينات دسوميه
 افنى ايدوب عدو تحقيقدراول مقوله ادم حقله وار ليله و از اولوب حقله ارادته تابع اولور
 و حقله مرادى نايسه اولور بونك مرادى اولور انك انجمن شيخ قدس سره المطهر ايدر

قلبه قلبی خفا مشاهده سند. تنزیل قصد اید زرقوای و هییه عقل اعقلی مرتبه این
 تنزیل مراد اید زرقوای خیالی به نفس نفسیه که در خیاله ایام مراد اید زرقوای حسیه
 جمله سنی خسته دوشور و ببحسوسات ایل و مبصرات ایله مقید اید و بمراتب عالیله
 و معانی متعالیه محسوسه اتم که استرنگه اکثر خلق حوزی اولد عارف اولان نه ایلله
 اولور علایق و عو نقدن بری اولور علام الغیوم ایلله معانی بالذات و علم ایلله معامله
 بالعرض و عاریت اولور العارف کائن و باین حکمی ایلله عامل اولور اما تأویل چنده نندن بو
 ایتلده مراتب عالیله ده و معانی متعالیه ده عصمت الهیه ایلله بشیره بشارت وارد
 سعادت لویاد شامزاده ترقیه میسر و نه **قال الله تبارک و تعالی**
 تقویم خلق و انسان و صورت رحمانیه اوزرینه خلق اولان حقیقت صورته انسانیه
 رتبه عالیله اشارت در الحمد لله ایودر که بیورد و غنک یکی فرد ایتله اشارت دکانه
 و اما حقیقت انسانیه کمال ایلله منکشف اولسه تمام فرد ایتلده بولونور و برکه و ایلله
 اوکیه ایکلک قانز و تراش اونی اخلاص و ظهارتد رانک یحیی و ایلحاده بر حال خضر و
 والسلام و الاکرام هو الحق المبین والفتح المعین سعادت لوی و مررتلو یاد شام
 رو یاده فقیره برور قوریدیلر رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم می ایش یاخود مرحوم
 شیخ نور الدین زاده افند نور الله مرقدہ نک می ایش یحیده مراتب سلوک و درجات ملک
 الملوی یوقارودن اشغه نظر ایدله رله بریده بیان بیورلش بر که مراتب غریبه و جنه تکلیف
 ایتسه فنا فی الله فرح ایتده قرار نه اول کشی کمال محمدینک نصف تکلیف اول کمال عز
 اسم باطنک حکید راعلی علیینده قال کمال محمد نک نزول لیس ایلله متحقق اولد اما در
 ادنایه اسم ظاهر اسرار و اناری تدوچ ایلله نزول ایدوب تمام تحقیق اتمک بو تسوید و لشمز
 بویانی کوریلکد عاجیکر الحمد دیرک بنده ذوقم و تحقیق م بودر بنده بویله بیلوب بویله
 دیردم بویله کلام عالی و بیان ربانی بزه شاهد دردیو سونور ایشک سونور کن اویانده
 و عاجیکر خوش کمال این قران عظیم و فرقان کریم تلاوتنده بن شمدن کیر و محروم

یدوب دیدیکه وهوله کال قشرو القشرو صائین والسلام اختصار تذک مفصل شکالید
 بزده ساله ایدیه لومر ان شاء الله الرحمن الرحیم باسمه العلی الا علی السلام علیکم
 ورحمة الله وبرکاته وعنايته واعانتة ونصرتة ونصيته وصيانته سعادتلو ومرتوتلو بادشاه
 السلام ظل الله الملك العلام اضل الله في ظله الكامل الشامو افاض عليه عمله الشامل العالم
 خضر تلی مؤنت مکونات ایلده ومشتت کائنات ایلده ومخاضرات خلق ایلده سز وصدور
 شریفده صفات وقلب وقالبده روح وریحان واثاری مشاهده ایدیه مسز هله الحمد لله
 عالمکده عالی حالاسلامت وحلاوت وزرینه دروزر اعظم قوکر زیاده اهتم او غیزمت
 اوزرینه وخلص اوزرینه وسائر وزراده خدمته خلوص اوزریدر الله تعالی زیاده نر
 میسر ایدوب انصار الی الله ایدوب واعوان صادق ایلده دنیا تجدید وبعید اولند و تعدیل
 ولدی کبی کلور سعادتلو بادشاه اسلام غیزمت صادق وسی ونیت خالصه شمر دی
 ظهور اتمک یاشکد ان شاء الله اکبر دخی نجه عواقب عالییه وشیایح جلیله ظهور ایدوب
 علما وصال و مشایخ وعامة مسلین سعادتلو بادشاه اسلام خضر تلینه جبر
 وطوعا خیر دعارا اتمک اوزرینه در وخصوصا شیطان الانس نفیة الدین دیان خبیث
 اورته دن رفع اولنق ایلده جیع علماء و مشایخ دعا جیلر کیم مطیب الحال و مسرور الحال
 اولوب بر مرتبه خیر دعایه مشغول در در که وصف اولنم عامه وخاصة قتده مذموم لیدی
 خیر قتنده خیر سولیز انحق سو اعتقاد دخی سولیز وردی واق کرمان و بنه در اوزر ویا
 حرکت کهار و ارایمش بورایه اون کونک بر در بو نجه زمان کهار خسارتلر ایدر هر اید کلری
 یا نلرینه قالور هیچ بر که انتقام التمدک اول اول و تالق تمامه حفظ اولنم عجب حکمت اولنم بورون
 اون کونک برده دایما کهار یوقدر فساد و خسارات ایدوب بوریمک تمامه تجبد و زیاده
 خیر اتمده یور و انده اولان فقرانک بر مرتبه حال لری و ارایمشکد کیمه و کونند زده اضطرابده و
 انقلابده زیاده اهتم اولنم سلا زمر و الزمر اولمشدر فعا اکی خلقی و قصبه بابا خلقی خوفی
 و خطر تمام اضطراب و انقلاب اوزرینه ایشار عجل واستجبال اوزرینه تدارکی زمر الله
 خضر تلی سعادتلو بادشاهی معور و مظفر ایلده امین یا مستعان و یا معین ان شاء الله

عدد الرحمن يقض هذه الحرقا لانسان عن وصل الرحمن قال الله تبارك وتعالى . . .
 فالكامل عاكفون ومعكفون على وحاليه وجه الكريمة الحصرة الذاتية فلا يزلون عن هذه الربة
 العالية الى الكثرة الكونية لا من جهة الوحدة الوجودية وعكوف الواقفين على مشاهدة امر
 الجبروت وعكوف المعارفين على روية غايب الملكوت وتلوف عامة العاكفين على الذات عالم
 الملك والشهادة وعكوف الصالحين من عامة الخلق شوق المحافل والساجد لاعمال الصالحين
 الاجتناب عن الطاعة
 والصلوة والسلام على رسوله محمد واله وصحبه ومن امن به اجمعين سعادتلو وموتلو
 بادشاه عجب تسليه تامه اولمش مقتضاي ماله ومقامه مناسب رحم الرحيم واكرم الاكرام
 به قدر شان كبريائيله وتلو شان وكال استغنايله بوقيد ووفوري جواب جواب
 مستطائليه ونجاستقالي وعادجيل وعهد جيزيل لفظ درانه
 واردر قوة وهميه وخياليه سلطانيه واردر هر باركه جناب رحماندن حق ظاهر اولور جناب
 شيطان دن قوة وهميه وخياليه واسطه سيله ترديد وتشكيك بازل اولور رحمان شيطاني
 كذويه معارض خلق اتمشد وجود انسانده ده احتمال اعتراض وهمي وخيالي منقطع اولمز
 لكن ان
 اولفدن خالي جهاد اكبره بودر ملكه منازعه بود قدر انك معنای جهاد انلرده ترقى اولمز
 وارضى اولسون دينكر وديناكر ولخرىكر وجميع احوالكر كمال مرتبه مراد بكر موافق مبسر ايده اول
 موضع مباركده جيران رسول حق تباركده جيران رسول حق تباركده جميع اتباعيله واشبايله
 خاصه وخالصه خير دعا كرايله مشغول اولور لرجيع عالم خير دعا بكر درود شكر يومافيو ما انا فلانا
 ازدياد ده اوله امين يا امين اول دعا جيكري سوندروب خاصه خير دعا يتدوره لم والدن على
 الدوام الاحد اسم الذات باعتبار انشاء تعدد الصفات عنها والاسباب والاضافات الامة

اعتبار

بحرغم لا تغير معلومك ظاهر او باطنا و قطعك للرب قابض و كشفك للبحر باطلا
تعين ولا ترفع ولا تكبر على كل من سجد له باللائمة التي عليك و غفائه
و بشهودك و تقديبه و قده كالمدم و عند نفسك من جملة المؤمنين و زمرة المسلمين و
معنى قوله و خفض جناحتك لمه سجد سعاد تلو و تلو بادشاهم دون جمع كوف
بوايتد تفسير اولئك و بواسارات و رموزده اشارت و لنوب تبشير شريفة رسال اولئك
والله الموفق وهو المآكد و السلا على الدوام الحمد لله رب العالمين و افضل
الصلوة و اكل السلام على رسوله محمد و اله و اصحابه اجمعين سعاد تلو و مروت له
بادشاه حقيقت حقه و حقيقت رسول الله كمال اختصاصك و تمام استقصا كرو عينا
وامت رسول الله خلوص ايله خدمت كثره سيد و ظاهر بود در حق جل و على عبادته
مرتبه ارجمند و رسول الله امتنه نه مرتبه اشفاق و شريعت مطهر و سنت منوره
ايله عباد الله و امت رسول الله خلوص ايله خدمت خلافت كبرى و نيابة عظمي در
نيكوز دائم و ظاهر او باطنا خير در و رضا الله و رضا رسول الله و رضا حقيقت احمد
داره سند داخل اولوب محتر و اولق عصمت صمدية به اشارت در و باي صادق و مبشر
اولو غنه جده و ارده اولان ايات بينات ربانيه شاهد در ظاهر او باطناربه عاليه
ورفت متعاليه به اشارت اولد و غندن غيري جناب جليلدن و عديليه در و
عظيمك ايك قه نصي نسي ان يعثك ربك متاسا محمود انافخا لك
فتا سينا ايتلري و حقيقت محمدية نك نزولي واسطه سيله و اولق سحاق فتوما
باطنه به اشارت اولد و غندن غيري ظاهرده ده فتح عظيم اولسنه اشارت و غنم كبري
ايله بشارت در حضرت حقه عنايتي و هذا التي اويجق و رسول الله ك تفيد و توجهي و
سائر رسل و انبيا و اوليا و انزه مخالفت منزل بر كه منظر حق اويجق كل اولو شهر
الله تعالى يومنا فيوما انا فاننا ترقيل و تلقيد مير ابد امين يا معين و بو حقيقت احمدية نك
انبيا و اوليا و ايله نزولي و احاطه و امواجي درياكي تشكي و توجي دريا سفر نه در اشارت
اولق و انك اويجون جمع و اتفاق و توجه اول جانب اقضاي مقصود اولسنه اشارت در

سن النكار الفخمة وخير من غيره في هذه الدنيا والآخرين ولا قوة
 الا بالله العلي العظيم وانما هذه النسخة ومعاينة رسوله اشارة الى كمال المناسبة وتما
 الموازنة بينكم وبين اصل الاصول وسائر الاصول الله تعالى في زيادة لم يسر ايداه
 باسمه الحاد من شاد من عباده الى جناب العالي سعاد تلور
 ومرتلو بادشاه اوج كون وليد جناب عزت دن دعا جيك به بر خطاب كلكم بسم الله وضعناك
 ديوتعيرنده خاطر به كلكم وضعناك نك عكس بسم الله رفعناك در رب الرب عبده اليه تعا
 وتقدس اسمه مقدماك تصريفه وموجبه ليس ان دن معلوم اولد كلكم بسم الله وضعناك
 انلا دن اسفله ايدر مكن اول خود اسم مؤخره مشغول اولد بعض آثار جملة سني مشا
 قلدق بوشغله ايكن بين النوم واليقظة ظاهر اولد كلكم بسم الله رفعناك
 الثاني نصرتلرينده القايدون ديوت اشارت اولد كلكم بسم الله رفعناك
 ايدر مؤخر اسمي مشغول اولد اسفله اندر مقدم حكى عروجي تكييل اندر مؤخر
 حكى نزول تكييل اندر كلسنده ده مشغول اولد كلكم بسم الله رفعناك
 وحافظدر خصوصها مقدم اسمي اهلى اعداسندن جبروت اعداؤرينه تفوق وتعالى
 ايدوب قاهر وغالب قلازم مؤخر اسمي مشغول اولد كلكم بسم الله رفعناك
 موصوف قلوب اعداى ظاهره وباطنه سنى اسفله اندر بر ايله بر ايدوتأثير
 بود بوندره اشتغال اهم مهمات دن در دعا جيك نى مقدم اشارت اولد بوجوب اولد زياده
 مشاهد اولد كلكم بسم الله رفعناك سز لسعاد تميز قلوبا شه اولد بوجوب مقيد ايكن دعا جيك
 اشارت اولد بوجوب مقدم ومؤخر اسمي نه زياده مشغول اولد بوجوب مقدم اسم مقدمه اشتغال دن
 مراد من مراد خان اعداسنى قزلباش اوزرينه تقديرو على ايليه سن بارب واسم مؤخره
 اشتغال دن مراد من مراد خان مري قوة قاهره وقدره باهره موصوف ايدوب ايدوب
 اوزرينه مؤكل ومسلط ايدوب ومنصور ومظفر ايدوب اعداسك قدرة وقوة تله
 كيدوب اسفل سافليه اهانتله ردايدوب بر ايله بر ايدوب اولد ديار زده شعاش
 اسلام وعلايم دين الله الملك العالم اجر ايدوه سك ديوسن ماضيه ده تفيد اولد كلكم

فولباش مريخ طائف ملق اليه افعال ونسب استراحتته وار مشور بر مقدار تواني ولا سلكه
يكذافي زانله به بشارت وند رضاي وريسيوب خطاب وشدردان شاد الله اشتغال البتة
كركد ريونيك شمدنصكه لبه وقريناك انك اسفله تنزيل اولنه اسلامك سبقت وتقدمي
ورفعيله ان شاء الله ثريده كذب ظهور ايد رنله الهده من الايمان عليكم بالجهاد الفتح
الاعداء من القرى والبلاد واحبا اراضي اموات واجرا شعاريدين رب الارض والسما
والسلام على ادم

معنى من الغيرة عن غير وانه اذا صدرت الغيرة عن الغيرة تفتت وحصلت العينية سعادته
بادشاه هو ... معلوم قل موري بي الروح بي المجازي لان الارواح
الجزيرة رويته على النفوس والسانع والقوى والاعضاء والروح الكلي الى العقل الاول
ديويت على نفس الكلية والارواح اعلم والاسماء رويته على الحاضر والله تعالى رب
جميع الاديان فتبارك الله ... فلا يقال للروح رب الحقيقة فالاجب
والصور شعاع النفوس والارواح والنفوس الارواح شعاع الارواح والاسرار رويته
الاسرار من حقايق تحليل اجبار وديق العيز الغفار وهو في الروح ردا الكبرياء الذي
قال تعالى فيه واد خيرا في سموات وارض ومنه في ربي اعني اجبت الكبرياء الالهية
والعظمة الربانية تعين الروح الكلي والعقل الاول فاذا رفع هذا التعيين تجلي ويظهر الحق واما
احتجب الحق واستتر ظهر تعين ذلك الروح فاستقر ويظهر تعين الروح وثبوت تعاريفه
ويختفي ويختفي واذا ظهر الحق يتوارى خلق واذا اقر الحق ظهر الحق كقارب جلال والجمال
وتعاقب الليل والنهار لاجل ان الروح وتعينه ردا الكبرياء ووجاب ظهوره لم يكن في
العظمة والكبرياء من جنس الامر الذي الروح منه بل كان الكبرياء صاحبه لك الروح واما
وخالف لكون تعين الروح والنفس حجابا يحجب المرئيات نفسه عن شهود ربه ومقام
ربه وقال بعض مناجياريه ومتضرعا اليه بيني وبينك اني حجاب فارفع بفضلك اني من
البيت سعادته ياد شاهه عبد الله حق اوت سنده اولان حجاب اولان دكلدرا الاكلد
تعيينات تعيينات دن اندي غيري نسه يوقد تعييناتك نهايتي تعين روحه ردا الكبرياء

تعين

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