AN ENTERTAINING PRACTICAL GUIDE TO POLITICAL ETHICS: HEZARFEN HÜSEYIN'S ENÎSÜ'L-ÂRIFÎN

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis aims to examine Hezarfen Hüseyin's fable collection titled *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn*. Hezarfen Hüseyin (d.1691) was a polymath and encyclopaedist who inhabited the elite circles of Istanbul during Mehmed IV's reign. He authored several books on a wide range of subjects, from histories to dictionaries and Sufi texts. Dedicating his work to his patron Kara Mustafa Paşa, Hezarfen offers a thematic selection of tales from the fables of *Kelile ve Dimne*, presenting a work that merges political ethics and entertainment in correlation with the changing tastes of the late 17th century. The present study examines the historical background of Hezarfen's work and contextualizes its place within the larger *Hümâyûnnâme* corpus. Building on these points, I also seek to problematize or nuance the idea widely held in scholarship that Ottoman intellectuals were turning towards Western culture through increased contacts in the late 17th century. A careful study of Hezarfen and his environment suggests that the focus of Ottoman scholarly life still lay within the Perso-Islamic tradition during his lifetime. I argue that Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi participated in transcultural and transimperial dialogues as an actor that shaped the Ottoman image for his western interlocutors. Furthermore, the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* differs from contemporary advice literature because it uniquely positions advice and entertainment in the service of political or social practice.

ÖZET

EĞLENCELİ VE PRATİK BİR POLİTİK AHLAK REHBERİ: HEZARFEN HÜSEYİN'İN *ENÎSÜ'L-ÂRİFÎN*'İ

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Hezarfen Hüseyin, Enîsü'l- Ârifîn, Osmanlı Kültürel Tarihi, Siyaset Etiği, Edeb

Bu tez, Hezarfen Hüseyin'in fabl koleksiyonu olan *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn*'i incelemektedir. Hezarfen Hüseyin (ö.1691), IV. Mehmed döneminde İstanbul'un seçkin çevrelerinde yer alan birçok alanda bilgili bir ansiklopedisttir. Tarih kitapları, sözlükler ve tasavvuf metinlerini içeren geniş bir alanda eser telif etmiştir. Kara Mustafa Paşa'ya adanmış olan *Enîsü'l-Ârifîn*'i Hezarfen, *Kelile ve Dimne* masallarından tematik bir seçki sunarak, politik etik ve eğlenceyi birleştiren, geç 17. yüzyılın değişen zevklerine uyan bir şeklinde telif etmiştir. Bu tez, Hezarfen'in çalışmasının tarihsel arka planını incelemeyi ve daha geniş *Hümâyûnnâme* külliyatı içindeki yerini tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, çalışma ayrıca Osmanlı entelektüellerinin 17. yüzyılın sonlarında artan temaslar yoluyla Batı kültürüne doğru yönelmeye başladığı fikrini tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Hezarfen ve çevresinin dikkatli bir şekilde incelenmesi, Osmanlı akademik yaşamının odak noktasının, onun yaşamı boyunca hala Pers-İslam geleneğinin içinde olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu tez, Hezarfen Hüseyin Çelebi'nin Osmanlı imajını şekillendiren bir aktör olarak transkültürel ve transimperyal diyaloglara katıldığını savunmaktadır. Ayrıca bu tez, *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*'in çağdaşı tavsiye edebiyatından farklı olarak öğüt ve eğlenceyi pratiklik hassasiyeti ile telif ettiğini savunmaktadır.

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A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND PAGINATION

In the present thesis, I have transliterated Ottoman Turkish and Persian words following modern Turkish orthography in addition to marking long vowels with circumflex and indicating the consonant *ayn (')* and *hemze (')*. Modern Turkish ortograprhy is preferred for titles and concepts. Titles are given in italics unless they are attached to a name. In the indication of pages, numbering in the original sources are followed unless they contain a numbering error. All translations from Ottoman Turkish to English are mine unless otherwise indicated.

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1. INTRODUCTION

"The universe is made of stories, not of atoms."[1]

The present thesis explores Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's (d.1691) *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn*, a 17^{th}-century political treatise and collection of fables dedicated to the grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Paşa. The work presents a selection of tales from the *Hümâyûnâme* written by Filibeli Alâeddin Ali (d.1543) and accompanied by additional commentary to illuminate the reader about problems in contemporary politics and about how ethics can help address them. I will explore Hezarfen's unique approach to the mirror for princes as a genre, and contextualize his advice text, thereby critiquing the decline paradigm, deconstructing the narrative held in scholarship about his relations with Orientalists, and emphasizing the agency of Ottoman intellectuals in shaping the Ottoman image for Westerners. The opening chapter provides an elaborate account of the origins of the *Kelile ve Dimne*, as well as *adab* ('courtly discourse') and its influence within the Ottoman world, highlighting the era when Hezarfen Hüseyin lived along with the scholarship about him. The second chapter explores his encounters with contemporary writers and intellectuals, how he became a member of the imperial elite, and how he positioned himself as an information broker. The third chapter contextualizes the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* within the *Hümâyûnâme* Corpus, discussing its style and place in Ottoman literature, its intended audience, contents, message and how it diverged from the tropes and trends of the fable genre.

To better grasp the significance of Hezarfen Hüseyin's contributions to literary and political discourse in his text, it is crucial to understand the place of storytelling, the tradition of *adab*, and entertainment in the Ottoman world. Islamic culture places stories and narratives at a central position. The Qur'an itself can be perceived of as an anthology in which messages are often constructed by interconnected or self-

[1] Muriel Rukeyser, *The Speed of Darkness* (New York: Random House 1968

referencing stories. *Adab* emerged as highly performative Arabic poetry on the one hand, and as a flourishing Islamic storytelling tradition in the form of exemplary religious tales (*kıssa*), the biography of the Prophet (*siyer*), and accounts of conquest and raid (*fütûh and megâzi*). *Adab* emerged as an ideal of 'polished personal refinement' during the transition process from oral to written culture.[2] Defining *adab* proves to be a challenging endeavour, given its vast scope, which spans a multitude of texts across a significant span of time. These texts all share the common goal of offering a form of engaging education, albeit through diverse and evolving methods. Early Arab *adab*was mostly concerned with the Arabic tradition, and therefore it chiefly included texts on rhetoric, history, and genealogy.[3] Writing and teaching *adab* to others would make one a *mü'eddib* rather than a *mu'allim* 'teacher', thus signifying its distinct role in educating or refining people. Ibn Qutayba (d.889) illustrates this broad, general function of *adab* through contrasting the *'alim,* who is master of one branch of knowledge of a tree, with the *edib*, who practices several branches.[4]

This vibrant tradition intersected with Persian written culture during the expansion of Islam. According to Marshal Hodgson, under the rule of the Abbasids, Islam 'became a badge, not of a ruling class, but of a cosmopolitan, urban-oriented mass; it became a symbol of the newly intensified social mobility'.[5] Elias Muhanna further highlights the urban characteristic of *adab* as a sort of etiquette that defines a well-rounded urbanite, an *edib* being like a walking encyclopaedia with a fitting word for nearly any subject.[6] Therefore, *adab* became a necessity for those seeking employment in bureaucracy or trying to cement their position in the upper echelons of society. Furthermore, merchants climbing up the social hierarchy during the classical age of Islam were very much the second audience of *adab*.[7] One of the striking outcomes of this encounter was the introduction of the Persian court culture to the Abbasid court, in particular the concept and practice of banquet (*bezm*) Terms and concepts ultimately deriving from Sasanian culture, such as *i'tidal* (temperance)

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[2]Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Volume I: The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1977), 372.

[3]Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, "ADAB i. Adab in Iran," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Online Edition, 1982, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/adab-i-iran

[4]Seger Adrianus Bonebakker, "Adab and the Concept of Belles-Lettres", in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literatture: Abbasid Belles-Lettres*, ed. J. Ashtiani et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 24.

[5]Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam,* 305.

[6]Elias Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri and The Islamic Encyclopaedic Tradition* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), 8.

[7]Pellat, "ADAB ii. Adab in Arabic Literature," *Encyclopædia Iranica* I/4, 439-444.

or *civânmerdî* (chivalry), were integrated into *adab*.[8] (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 8. The fusion of the oral traditions of Arabic poetry and Persia's court culture led to the emergence of educational entertainment as a distinguishing characteristic of Islamic societies. *Adab* as a discourse itself expanded to encompass various fields and gained more nuance as it incorporated different aspects from the Persian tradition, becoming one of the first discourses to shape an Islamic cosmopolitan culture through the efforts of literati like Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d.757).[9] Another transformative writer, al-Jahiz (d.868), penned sophisticated *adab* works which included depictions of behaviour, personality, social attributes, and social classes, as well as more personalized etiquette works with a literary or quasi-scientific nature.[10] The works of Jahiz had an encyclopaedic aspect as well, as he envisioned an Islamic identity that is successor to prior civilizations like the Greeks and the Persians. However, he envisioned this inheritance as good for Islam and formulated his *adab* writings like a cultural program aimed at helping Muslims to specialize in some branches, while gaining general culture or an educated background through using irony and character trait analysis from the Persian tradition.[11]

Adab literature had a theoretical and practical framework that encompasses wider fields from politics, statecraft, and ethics to manners, chess, and diplomacy.[12] Considering its vast scope, one could say that *adab* is more of a discourse or literary tradition aiming at cultivating educated elites in an ever-changing environment of the cultural, ethical, and political ideals pursued by the Islamic elite. Charles Pellat distinguishes three distinct categories of *adab*: first, parenetic *adab*, i.e., ethical writing; second, cultural *adab*, i.e., texts written for the upper class and the refined to enrich their interactions with their peers; and lastly, occupational *adab*, i.e., texts aimed at scholars, rulers, and professionals.[13] However, Pellat's categorization disregards the storytelling aspect of *adab* writings. Although there seems to be a division between entertainment and education, hilarity and wisdom are not mutually exclusive, and neither are they limited to distinct subgenres. In the literature of the Muslim world this union applies to both explicit teaching in "mirrors for princes"

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[8] Halil İnalcık, Has bağçede 'ayş-u tarab: Nedîmler, Şâîrler, Mutrîbler

[9] Said Amir Arjumand, "Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the 'Abbasid Revolution" *Iranian Studies, Vol. 27, No. 1/4, Religion and Society in Islamic Iran during the Pre-Modern Era,* (1994): 11.

[10] Pellat, "ADAB ii. Adab in Arabic Literature," *Encyclopædia Iranica* I/4.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

and implicit learning in amusing and entertaining texts.[14] It is no coincidence that the first translator of the *Kelile ve Dimne* from Pahlavi to Arabic, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, is also known for his more educational *adab* books. Cosmopolitan etiquette stemming from *adab* became a distinguished feature of the Islamic elite. It expanded and was enrichened through its encounters with local cultures.

As Islam penetrated the Anatolian peninsula, its storytelling tradition and *adab* literature accompanied newcomers and further gained new mythological and cultural attributes through a vast tapestry of cultures, that is, medieval Anatolia. Encounters between Eastern Romans, Arabs, Armenians, and later also Turks as well as other ethnic groups created a vibrant background for stories of heroic adventures and myths of legendary border raids in the form of *megâzi* and *akritas* stories. Roman examples such as the *Digenis Akritas* slowly faded from the collective memory as Muslim rule expanded in the peninsula. However, *gâzi* literature became a part of literary culture with such epics as the *Battalnâme, the Danişmendnâme,* and the *Saltuknâme.*[15]

In addition to warrior epics, religious storytelling found new venues in Anatolia with increasing popularity of stories and tales about miracles and lives of saintly figures. *Menâkıbnâmes* detailed lives of sheikhs and famous members of *Sufi* orders, often including their *silsile* (genealogies) and providing information in a manner close to Christian hagiographies.[16] Increasing *menâkıb* literature about Anatolian dervish and saints answered a need for consumption from both popular and courtly audiences. Another aspect of these stories was performance, as there was a close relationship between the oral and the written, providing a flow between elite and common culture. One should not be surprised because such stories, either as part of a recital or included in a written source, were used as references by Ottoman historians like Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî and Evliya Çelebi.[17] This storytelling tradition arguably formed the backbone of Ottoman *adab*, as it was an important means of disseminating the emerging Ottoman identity, etiquette, and culture among both elites and commoners.

According to İnalcık it was this Persianate *adab* going back to pre-Islamic Sasanian roots and producing such classics as the *Şehnâme*, the *Kabusnâme* and the

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[14] Ulrich Marzolph, “The Middle Eastern World’s Contribution to Fairy-Tale History” in *The Fairy Tale World*, ed. A. Teverson, (London, 2019), 53.

[15] Zeynep Akdoğan, “Oral performance and text: Narrators, authors, and editors in the Anatolian Turkish warrior epics” in *The Written and the Spoken in Central Asia: Festschrift for Ingeborg Baldauf,* ed .Redkollegiia (Potsdam: Edition Tethys, 2021), 406-407.

[16] Haşim Şahin,"MENÂKIBNÂME",in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/menakibname.

[17] Akdoğan, “Oral performance and text”, 417.

Siyasetnâme, that Ottoman adab was primarily built upon.[18] Osman Horata makes a similar explanation for the origins of the Ottoman *nasihatnâme* corpus, while adding 'Attâr's (d.1220) *Pend-nâme* and Sa'dī's *Bustân and Gulistân* (d.1292) to the list of Persian models. These texts were introduced through patronage networks in Anatolian *Beyliks*, as leaders of these border statelets sponsored literature as a way of legitimizing their rule. Literati in the service of the Germiyanids, such as Şeyhoğlu Mustafa (d.1414), Şeyhî (d.1431), and Ahmedî (d.1412-13), or Kul Mes'ûd in the service of the Aydınids, wrote and translated for their patrons encyclopaedic *adab* books in line with the Perso-Islamic tradition. Scholars who migrated from Ilkhanid Iran and Mamluk Egypt played a key role in a significant change that led to the development of an Arabo-Persian literary tradition within a predominantly Turkic-speaking setting, supported by Anatolian rulers.[19]

Similar to the Germiyanids and Aydınids, the Ottomans also integrated *adab* into their court culture, hosting drinking parties with the participation of several poets and other literati as *musahib*s ('boon companions'), while still funding ulema who were generally critical of such activities. İnalcık's analysis of *nedim* and *musahib* crowds congregating around the sultan's court seems to overemphasize the role of the palace in the practice of of *adab*. Similar to the mercantile audience of Arab *adab*, Ottoman *adab* was not limited to bureaucrats and military elites, either. Many *adab* writers wrote encyclopaedic texts on astrology, medicine, and science without imperial patronage. Ahmed-i Dâ'î (d.1421), who had several works on belles-lettres, had a target outside of the palace as his handbook of Persian for beginners, the *Müfredat* demonstrates. These works differ from Arabic literature, which formed the basis of the specific sciences taught in madrasas, as they were not intended for a madrasa-related audience but a more cosmopolitan clientele outside of it. They demonstrate a conscious effort to show how the Turkish language can be utilised for Persianate *adab* and its features from poetic meter and rhyme to rhetoric figures, to literary tropes, etc.[20]

A prominent example for this translation effort was the translation of one of the canonical *adab* texts, the *Kelile ve Dimne*. The first full and partial translations of the text were based on Nasrullah Münşî's (d. 1160-1187) Persian translation.[21] Kul

[18] İnalcık, *Has bağçede 'ayş-u tarab*, 8 and 21.

[19] Sara Nur Yıldız, "Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Western Anatolia," in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia,* ed. A.C.S Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (Würzbur: Orient Institute Istanbul, 2016), 199.

[20] Cevat Sucu, "Ahmed-i Dâî ve Edeb Eserlerinin Osmanlı Okuyucu Çevrelerine Aktarımı," in *Tarihsel İnceleme Alanı Olarak Edeb/Adab,* ed. Ertuğrul Ökten and Selahattin Polatoğlu, (İstanbul: İlem, 2023), 178-179.

[21] Filibeli Alâaddîn Ali Çelebi, *Hümâyûn-nâme: İnceleme-Metin,* trans.Tuncay Bülbül. Türk-İslâm Bilim

Mes'ûd's Kelile ve Dimne and Şeyhoğlu Mustafa's *Marzubannâme* include some of the earliest expressions of locality and hints at the preferences of Turkish writers and readers, as both texts had additional lines and gazels added to them.[22] However, *Kelile ve Dimne*'s popularity peaked when the scholar, poet, and occultist Hüseyin Vâ'iz Kâşifî (d.1504-05) translated the fables from Arabic to Persian under the patronage of the Timurid Emir Nizâmeddin Ahmed Suheylî (d.1513). Kaşifî's translation was based on Nasrullâh Münşî's earlier translation, yet Kaşifî included Persian verses in place for Arabic ones and added fifty-six sub-stories to the fables.[23] Kaşifî's translation became a celebrated classic that was read and reproduced and translated numerous times. It ushered in a new wave of popularity for the story cycle with its novel approach.

As the Ottoman court culture experienced a period of flourishing and prosperity after the mid-16^{th} century, Persian dominance ebbed at the Ottoman court. Turkish translations and texts became more and more prominent. Filibeli Alâeddin Ali's new translation of the *Kelile ve Dimne* to Turkish is a prime example of the rising presence of the language in the Ottoman intellectual circles. Ali claims that complex and poetic language of Nasrullah Münşî's text impaired reader's understanding, preventing them from following the continuity of the text; thus it slowly faded to obscurity.[24] Apparently, Filibeli Alâeddin Ali was either unaware of Kul/Hoca Mes'ud's and Şeyhoğlu's translations, or he found them subpar as independent works, indicated by his statement considering *Hümâyunnâme* as the first translation of the *Kelile ve Dimne*.[25] However, Ali's confidence was proven right by popularity of the Hümâyunnâme, his text is widely regarded as the best translation of the *Kelile ve Dimne*, to the extent that there are no attempts to retranslate the text after it. The survival of 123 manuscripts, copied between 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries are a testament to its influence in the Ottoman literature.[26] It became an influential text within *adab* culture of the Ottoman world, giving rise to a body of texts around it that can be called the *Hümâyunnâme* Corpus. There are several texts based on the *Hümâyunnâme* as well. They are either extensions to the text or simplifica-

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Kültür Mirası Dizisi: Vol 13 (Ankara: Tüba 2017), 34.

[22]Nurettin Albayrak, "KUL MESUD", in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kul-mesud; Yavuz, Kemal, "ŞEYHOĞLU", in TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/seyhoglu (06.06.2023).

[23]Ibid.

[24]Şebnem Parladır, "Ali Çelebi'nin *Hümâyunnâmesi* ve Resimli Nüshaları", *TÜBA-KED Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Kültür Envanteri Dergisi* 14 (2016): 31.

[25]Filibeli Alaeddin Ali Öelebi, *Hümâyun-nâme*, 167.

[26]Filibeli Aleaddin Ali, *Hümâyun-nâme*, 144

tions of it like Osmanzâde Tâ'ib's Simârü'l-Esmâr and Ahmed Midhat's *Hülasa-i Hümayunname.*[27] Though in the *Enîsü'l-Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn*'s case, both is true as Hezarfen Hüseyin's work is an abridged version with added commentary and advice on thinly veiled contemporary politics. Hezarfen's contribution to this tradition lies in his ability to offer a practicality that goes beyond the conventional. He achieves this through his use of simple language, contemporary criticism, and an entertaining yet pragmatic narrative structure. Additionally, his work offers insights into the intellectual trends of the 17^{th} century through hinting authors and texts that influenced Hezarfen Hüseyin's writing.

1.1 Primary Sources

The core text of Hezarfen Hüseyin's *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn, the Kelile ve Dimne* is often back to a Sanskrit work titled *Panchatantra.* However, there is no singular sourcebook for the *Panchatantra* stories.[28] The stories' journey from India started with Hüsrev I's (*Nûşirevân or Enûşirvân*) (r. 531-579) commission to Bürzûye to find and translate the said fables to Middle Persian. The tales were translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa' into Arabic under the title *Kelile ve Dimne.* Its stories are woven as layers that expand from frame stories which are embedded in the overall frame story in a fashion reminiscent of story cycles. Each layer features animals as allegorical characters that find themselves in trouble through their actions, resulting in hilarious and grim situations. Each story either demonstrates support for an argument or provides a foil or counter to the claims made by the other party. The discourse surrounding the deeds and virtues depicted in the stories transcends the notions of good and evil, advocating instead a pragmatic perspective that grounds ethics within the context, necessities, capabilities, and outcomes. This approach fosters a more nuanced understanding of moral principles, as it acknowledges the intricate interplay between situational factors and the potential consequences of actions. The stories suggest that righteous action might not always be correct or

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[27] See Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Ahmet Midhat'ın Kelile ve Dimne Tercümesi: Hulâsa-I Hûmâyunnâme,* ed. M. Atâ Çatıkkaş (Ankara: TC. Kültür Bakanlığı Sanat/Edebiyat, 1999). Osmânzâde Ta'ib, *Simâru'l-Esmâr: Muhtasar-ı Hümâyûn-nâme* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Bâb-ı Hazret-i Seraskeriyye, 1840).

[28] The collection is a "mirror for princes" that illustrates kingly virtues through fables. In its frame story the *Panchatantra* (five-stratagems) is claimed to have been written by a Brahmin sage (Vishnu Sharma, Bidpay, Beydebâ) to advise the children of an ancient king around the 5th century A.D. Many of the stories within the Panchatantra are much older than the earliest manuscripts, which are numerous and of different lengths, containing forty to eighty stories. See Taylor McComas, *"The Panchatantra: World Literature Before "World Literature""* in *A Companion to World Literature,* edited by Ken Seigneurie (2019), 2; François De Blois, "The Pancatantra: From India to the West and Back", *A Mirror of Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah wa Dimnah, Anvar-i Suhayli, Iyar-i Danish and Humayunnameh,* Ed. Ernst J. Grube Bombay, 1991, 10-15.

necessary; by embracing this pragmatic view, the text underscores the importance of considering various contextual elements when evaluating ethical choices, thereby providing a more sophisticated framework for ethical analysis. After al-Muqaffa''s translation, the *Kelile ve Dimne* attained immense popularity that led to its stories quickly becoming a staple of Islamic literature. Furthermore, while certain textual similarities endured, the Indian connection of the stories primarily evolved into a storytelling trope, as the text itself acquired a notably distinct character due to its integration into the Islamic storytelling corpus through the Sasanian cultural heritage.[29]

There are three views on the impact of al-Muqaffa''s translation of the *Kelile ve Dimne,* each positing roots of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s ethics in a different venue. Firstly, due to his background in Basra where neo-Mazdakism, Manichaeism and old Sasanian beliefs persisted at the time, and through his Sasanid ancestry; Ibn al-Muqaffa' is considered a typical example of the Sasanid bureaucrat writers by some of his successors in *adab.* [30] His writings are perceived as an intrusion of the Persian culture to the Islamic canon and a deviation from the Qur'an and fiqh based perception of stately matters. His other well-known works, the *Risala fi' s-Sahâba and the Kîtâb al-Adab al-kabîr* are similar to the *Kelile ve Dimne* in the manner that they each contain a chapter of advice concerning moral and skills necessary for rulers, and a chapter for skills and morals needed for the king's ministers and bureaucrats.[31] The advice in these texts and image of the idealized bureaucrat or advisor are modelled based on the Sasanian tradition. Furthermore, al-Muqaffa' openly advocated superiority of the pre-Islamic scholars and thinkers in some of his writings. Due to his impact on formation of the secretary culture, which is relatively more secular than fıqh minded alim scholars, al-Muqaffa' was declared a zındık by writers such as al-Jâhiz and al-Bîrûnî (d.1048). [32]

An alternative view is that al-Muqaffa' genuinely developed a cultural sensitivity as a new Muslim who affiliated with influential members of the Abbasid dynasty. He Islamized parts of the text are just enough as the text both retained its identity and catered to the expectations of the Arab Muslim audience. The inclusion of quotes from the Qur'an and the addition of texts demonstrating mastery and familiarity

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[29]Michael Fishbein and James Montgomery, "Introduction," in *Kalīlah and Dimnah: Fables of Virtue and Vice,* ed. Michael Fishbein, James E. Montgomery, and Beatrice Gruendler. Vol. 76. (London: NYU Press, 2021), xvi-xxii.

[30]Motlagh, "ADAB i. Adab in Iran," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,*

[31]Fishbein and Montgomery, "Introduction", xxiv-xxv.

[32]Najm al-Din Yousefi, "Islam without Fuqahā: Ibn al-Muqaffa and His Perso-Islamic Solution to the Caliphate's Crisis of Legitimacy (70–142 AH/690–760 CE)," *Iranian Studies* (2015): 9.

with complex concepts of Islam are taken as a testament to how much al-Muqaffa‘’s Muslim belief is internalized.The extent of these additions and how much of it is due to al-Muqaffa‘’s original input is unknown, as there are no author copies to trace al-Muqaffa‘’s additions. [33]

Another theory posits that al-Muqaffa‘ aimed to become a significant actor in cosmopolitan literature by integrating local elements into the literary culture and adopting an international identity. The dissolution of Umayyad Caliphate with the Abbasid revolution heralded the inclusion of non-Arab Muslims to the Islamic political culture like Sasanid scribal cadre's and Turkish military commanders. Said Amir Arjumand explains this process as an "integrative revolution" and highlights al-Muqaffa‘ as one of the bureaucrats who offered a theoretical framework for the emerging ideology of the caliphate.[34]

It is quite possible that al-Muqaffa‘’s position necessitated a cosmopolitan perspective; irrespective of his personal beliefs. The notion of an all-encompassing Islamic empire, guided by the Persian cultural elements, was championed by him in many of his works, reflecting this emerging ethos. In his endeavour, he aimed to embrace a cosmopolitan framework rather than a strictly Persian one; because of the compromise and hybridization needed to produce an acceptable practice for all parties. Doing so, al-Muqaffa‘ also cemented position of *adab* as an expressive discourse that formulated and propagated the imperial ideology. As a result, his writings gave rise to an international text, gaining subsequent recognition as a profoundly influential piece in literary literature. The *Kelile ve Dimne* was copied, reproduced, and translated numerous times across various Seljuk, Ottoman, Mamluk, Urdu, and Mughal domains.[35]

In analysing the historical trajectory of the dissemination and transformation of this anthology, Dagmar Riedel has discerned a noteworthy phenomenon wherein the interplay of influence among various linguistic renditions was both multidirectional and recurrent.[36] Many of the fable books in the Islamicate world include stories from the *Kelile ve Dimne*. Its' acclaim and popularity made it a foundational text within the Islamicate sphere, as its translations and retranslations bloomed from Africa to Southeast Asia. In addition to translations; reformulations, and retranslations of the

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[33]Muqaffa‘, *Kalīlah and Dimnah*, xxvii-xxxi.

[34]Arjumand, "Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the 'Abbasid Revolution", 11.

[35]Cevat Sucu, "Rûm'da Kozmopolit Model Kurmak: Dâ'î ve 15. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Metin Kültürü" (M.A diss., Bilkent University, 2017), 20-21.

[36]Theodor S. Beers and Khouloud Khalfallah "The Siyar al-mulūk of Umar b. Dâwūd al-Fârisī: A Quasi-Plagiaristic Translation of Kalīla and Dimna" *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 9 (2022), 102.

text like Nasrullah Münşî's text, Hüseyin Va'iz Kaşifî's *Envâr-i Süheylî*, Ebü'l-Fazl el-Allâmî's *Iyâr-ı Dâniş* and Filibeli Alâeddin Ali's *Hümâyunnâme* are several other forms of the text such as partial translations, summarized versions and anthology which showed the extent of the stories' integration to Islamic culture and became a part of the traditional prose as a reference text. One of the most well-known books produced in Sufî literature, for instance, Celâleddin Rumî's *Mesnevî* shares many of its stories with *Kelile ve Dimne.*[37]

Currently there are three surviving copies of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn.* The first one is located at the Süleymaniye Library (Düğümlübaba 227). The second one is in the Vatican Apostolic Library (Vaticani Turchi 94). Another copy of the text, containing the final chapter, can be found within the British Library's Oriental Manuscripts collection (Or. 6951). This version is a part of an anonymous anthology, mecmua, which features several short treatises on political ethics alongside the final section of the text. It is important to note that even though there is another manuscript claimed to contain Hezarfen Hüseyin's *Enîsü'l- Ârifîn* [38] , it can be seen upon closer inspection that this text does not contain Hezarfen Hüseyin's writings at all. This manuscript is located at the British Library (Or. 8016), together with other copies (Or. 8895 and Or.12820), and contains a different *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* translated from Persian by Tâcîzâde Câfer Çelebi (d. 1515).

The Süleymaniye copy consists of 172 folios written in a relatively poor kırık nesih, executed by Imam Ali b. Mustafa in 1742.[39] The manuscript was donated to the Düğümlübaba Library/Collection by its founder İsmail Sadık Kemal (d. 1892) in 1864.[40] Every page of the book bears the seal of the Düğümlü Baba Dervish Cloister. There are several manuscript notes explaining words or clarifying sentences on the margins of some pages, which were probably added in the 19^{th} century, given their more modern writing style (*rika*). All pages are numbered with Arabic numerals; however, there is an error in the numbering. Specifically, page f.34 is incorrectly numbered as f.33, resulting in a misalignment in the numbering of subsequent pages in the Süleymaniye copy.[41] Certain parts of the book – such as titles, hadiths, introductory sentences, names of specific individuals, and quotes from the Qur'an –

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[37] Ruymbeke, Christine van. "The 'Kalīla Wa Dimna' and Rūmī: 'That Was the Husk and This Is the Kernel.'" *Mawlana Rumi Review*, no. 4 (2013), 85. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26810261

[38] Feyza Tokat, "XVII. Yüzyılda Yaşamış Bir Bilgin: Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi" *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 11, (2012) 113.

[39] Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn.* (Süleymaniye Library, Düğümlübaba Collection No. 227), 172v.

[40] Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn*, 1v.

[41] Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn*, 33r and 34r.

are written in red ink, while the remaining sections of the book are written in black ink.

The Vatican copy consists of 139 folios written in a clear *nesta'lik*, its folios numbered with print Latin numbers. There are no seals or inscriptions marking ownership and other clues of the circulation of the manuscript other than a record of acquisition date and place as 1923 Constantinople. The only manuscript notes on the copy are corrections. In the British Library *mecmua*, the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* section is located on folios 1v-48r. Similar to the Vatican copy, it is written in an easily legible *nesta'lik*. Sections deemed important are written red, like in the Süleymaniye copy. However, unlike the former two copies, the copy in the British Library *mecmua* lacks additional notices. I will be referring to the first of the two manuscripts while referencing the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*, prioritizing Süleymaniye copy. As Hatice Kübra Tekdemir's critical edition demonstrates, there are only minor differences between the different manuscripts, which do not alter the meaning. As this thesis aims to investigate the context which led to the production of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* and its place among the 17^{th} century intellectuals, I refrain from providing linguistic analysis or another critical edition, and follow the Süleymaniye copy as the core text.

1.2 Literature Review

Before the 1980s, Ottoman historians rarely saw anything of value in studying the 17^{th} and 18^{th} centuries other than looking for traces of decadence or decline. A new wave of historians emerged in the 1980's with a new inquisitive understanding, broadening the perspective in Ottoman studies that changed how historians approached and handled the developments of the 17^{th} and 18^{th} century Ottoman Empire. Even though various trends upheld different sources for studying the period, a general attitude against narrative sources and generalizations haunting the field emerged. Concepts such as the Decline Paradigm, the Sultanate of Women and the Tulip Age were coined in the early and mid-20th century in relation with the Ottoman and the Republican history writing. These came under scrutiny with the alternate perspectives offered by the new studies.[42]

[42] For questioning of decline paradigm in general See Caroline Finkel, "'The Treacherous Cleverness of Hindsight': Myths of Ottoman Decay," in *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchange with the East*, ed. Gerald M. Maclean, pp. 148-174, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline" *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, no. 4 (1997-1998): 30-75; Douglas Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and Literature of "Decline" of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" *Journal of Asian History*, no. 22 (1988): 52-77; Gábor Ágoston, "Ottoman Artillery and European Military Technology in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* no. 47/1-2 (1994): 15-48.

The focus of research expanded to the rural areas and local dynamics providing different perspectives that challenged traditional Istanbul and palace-oriented studies. In addition to this, the scope of studies about the Ottoman Empire expanded from studies of political and economic fields to cultural and intellectual history. Neglected areas such as history of daily life, gender studies, demographic movements, military logistics, environmental and geographic studies and works of micro-history provided new dimensions to the seemingly evident facts provided by prior studies. Many aspects of this transformative period have been receiving increasing attention from the Ottomanists across various fields. However, considering the growing significance of cultural studies in the 17^{th} century Ottoman domains; the role of entertainment and storytelling as historical indicators of the intellectual transformation by the Ottoman intellectuals remains an understudied part of the Ottoman history.

Several path-breaking studies focusing on the Ottomans' cultural transformation have inspired this thesis to strive for a more comprehensive approach. Chief among these are Cemal Kafadar's writings about the self and narrative that surely facilitated a paradigm shift, urging historians to turn to narrative sources and explore mentality of the Ottomans on a more complex basis.[43] Gottfried Hagen's works on mentality of the 17^{th} century Ottomans and his exploration of the Ottoman cosmography through Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihânnümâ*, provided an excellent panorama of the world view of an 17^{th} century Ottoman bureaucrat intellectuals.[44] Robert Dankoff's work on Evliya Çelebi and his exploration of Evliya's mentality similarly influenced the works on text and biography to consider peculiarities concerning identity formation and scholarly interest.[45] Cornell Fleischer's monograph on Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, which is as inspiring to me as Âlî's work was to 17^{th} century writers, revolutionized the perspective on agency and connectivity of Ottoman intellectuals. Further expanding the discussion on agency, identities and the Ottoman image; Natalie Rothman's works on power brokers between Venice and the Ottoman Empire and her latest work on the Ottoman dragomans paved the way for questioning the narrative surrounding Hezarfen's milieu.[46] To understand the economic and political transformation the empire experienced in the 17^{th} century, Metin Kunt's work

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[43] Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature." *Studia Islamica*, no. 69 (1989): 121. doi:10.2307/1596070.

[44] Gottfried Hagen. "The Order of Knowledge, the Knowledge of Order: Intellectual Life." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453-1603*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, 2:407–56. (Cambridge University Press, 2013); Gottfried Hagen, "Introduction to Cihânnümâ". In *An Ottoman Cosmography*, ed. Robert Dankoff and Gottfried Hagen, (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2021) 1-21. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004441330_002.

[45] Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi (revised second edition)* (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2006). https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047410379

[46] Rothman, Natalie. *The Dragoman Renaissance: Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2021).

on the dissolution of the *tımar* system and transition to monetary economy and Rifaat Abou el-Haj's works on the rise of households in Ottoman politics demonstrated that changes in the period were much more dynamic than the linear regression which was offered by the adherents of the decline paradigm.[47]

The urban dynamics of the Ottoman Istanbul, Dina Le Gall's discussion of the early Nakşibendî presence in Istanbul and their activities in urban areas showed how new religious trends and clashes played a role in shaping power relations within court. Derin Terzioğlu further questioned the impact of *Sufî* movements in Ottoman society and their role in formulating solutions for the crises period Ottomans experiencing.[48] Madeline Zilfi's ground-breaking work on the *Kadızâdeli* movement and Michael Nizri's work on Feyzullah Efendi and *ulema* families of the 17^{th} century demonstrated how power dynamics, familial relations and rising trends impacted Ottoman scholars.[49]

Writings of scribes, bureaucrats, dragomans, and other figures who played a more peripheral role in the intellectual production received minimal interest. The earliest academic works on Hezarfen Hüseyin started with entries in the bibliography books of the early 20^{th} century. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir's articles on Hezarfen and his entry in his biographical compilation of Ottoman scholars briefly introduce Hezarfen to modern readers.[50] Franz Babinger includes a similar entry in his book about Ottoman historians, presumably aware of Tahir's work, as he mentions Tahir's listing of Hezarfen's works, highlighting Hezarfen Hüseyin's dialogue with Orientalists and praising his works about history and state organization.[51] Compared to the limited impact Hezarfen Hüseyin left in his time, this resurgence of scholarly interest in him can be attributed to the discovery of his relations with European scholars. This can explain the increased attention he received from Western Orientalists like Franz Babinger, and incidentally it further incentivised Turkish scholars like Adnan Adıvar to take a closer look at Hezarfen's writings and sort out falsely attributed texts from

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[47] İbrahim Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia, University Press, 1983); Rifaat Ali Abou el-Haj. "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report." Journal of the American Oriental Society 94, no. 4 (1974): 438-447.

[48] Terzioğlu, Derin. "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion." *Turcica 44*, (2012-13): 301-338.

[49] Madeline C. Zilfi, "The *Kadızâdelis*: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth Century Istanbul." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, no. 4 (1986): 251-271; Michael Nizri, *Ottoman High Politics and the Ulema Household* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[50] Bursalı Mehmed Tahir. Osmanlı Müellifleri Cilt: 3. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1342.

[51] Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri,* trans. Coşkun Üçok (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982) 252.

his bibliography.[52]

Heidrun Wurm's monograph provides the most comprehensive and influential biographical work on Hezarfen Hüseyin. Wurm's book explores Hezarfen not only as an independent writer but also as a part of a generation of scholars who had more interest in non-Islamic sources and maintained connections with Western intellectuals. Wurm scrutinizes narrative and archival sources to shed light on the network Hezarfen cultivated. She also highlights the importance of the 17^{th} century as a precursor period to the 18th century and points to the roots of concepts that would shape the next century by examining Hezarfen's intellectual milieu.[53]

Hezarfen's works as a historian have drawn more attention than the rest of his portfolio. Among authors examining Hezarfen Hüseyin's *Telhîsü'l-Beyân Fî Kavânini Âl-i Osman and Tenkihü't-Tevârih-i Mülük,* Robert Anhegger's article on the former and Cumhur Bekar's thesis on the latter are the most profound scholarly works on Hezarfen's historiography. Anhegger contextualizes Hezarfen's pessimistic world view through following his references and establishes a link from Koçî Bey to Hezarfen that shows both continuity and differences between authors. Furthermore, Anhegger questions the originality of Hezarfen Hüseyin's works stating Hezarfen frequently used passages and portions of other scholars' texts such as Mustafa Âlî and Kâtib Çelebî.[54] Cumhur Bekar carefully examines Hezarfen's writing, source use and contextualizes Hezarfen's history as one of the path-breaking books of the 17^{th} century Ottoman Empire. He traces Hezarfen's approach to his intellectual circle and his relationship with Phanariots. Hezarfen's treatise demonstrated conscious choosing of the new and old sources of both Roman and Ottoman origin rather than retelling the traditional Ottoman narrative.[55] Further questioning Hezarfen's authorship, Rukiye Özdemir and Süleyman Lokmacı's joint article on the *Telhîsü'l-Beyân Fî Tahlîsü'l-Büldân* showcases that said treatise is nearly entirely taken from Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî's *Füsûl-i Hall ü Akd ve Usûl-i Harc ü Nakd.* [56]

Despite the attention that his works on history and state organization garnered, Hezarfen's other aspects as a writer are largely neglected by scholars examining Hezarfen Hüseyin's bibliography. His writings on *tasavvuf* and his dictionary of the

[52] A. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (Yüksel Matbaası, İstanbul, 1970).

[53] Heidrun Wurm, Der osmanische Historiker üseyn b. Ğafer, *genannt Hezârfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des* 17. Jahrhunderts (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag: 1971),

[54] Robert Anhegger "Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi'nin Osmanlı Devlet Teskilatına Dâir Mülâhazaları", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, no. 10 (Osman Yalçın Matbaası, İstanbul, 1953) 367.

[55] Cumhur Bekar, "A New Perception of Rome, Byzantium and Constantinople in Hezarfen Huseyin's Universal History," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğazici University, 2011) 77-78.

[56] Özdemir and Lokmacı, "Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılığında Bir İntihal Örneği", 343.

Urdu language did not survive to this day, making deciphering *Sufî* side of Hezarfen difficult. Among his surviving works, his writings and dictionary on medicine the *Tuhfetü'l-Erîbi'n-Nâfia li'r-Rûhânî ve't-Tabîb* and the *Lisânü'l-Etibbâ* got transliterated by Feyza Tokat and Ekrem Demir. However these studies offer little than the descriptions of contents within the books. As of now, there has been no comprehensive study that contextualizes the position of these texts within the scientific tradition of the 17^{th} century. Hezarfen's entry on coffee in the *Tuhfetü'l-Erîbin* and its translation by Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (d.1670) received increasing attention as debates surrounding the dissemination of coffee culture and entertainment become prominent in cultural history. Articles of Rosita D'amora and Duygu Yıldırım highlights Hezarfen's connectivity with scientific tradition of Europe and the role of his entry on coffee as a reference for Marsigli's *Bevanda Asiatica.* [57]

Hezarfen Hüseyin's identity as a storyteller was only mentioned in existing literature as part of his bibliography until Hatice Kübra Tekdemir's PhD thesis on the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn and the Cami'ü'l Hikâyât.* Tekdemir's comprehensive thesis offers critical editions for both texts, along with a summary of the existing knowledge about Hezarfen that largely derived from Heidrun Wurm's work. Tekdemir further questions the originality of Hüseyin's writings. Considering Hezarfen's usage of the *Hümâyunnâme* and other sources, Tekdemir reaches a similar conclusion with Lokmacı and Özdemir stating that Hezarfen's usage borders on limits of *zeyl* tradition and nears plagiarism, thus giving a possible explanation to the absence of Hezarfen in contemporary intellectual biographies.[58] However, some crucial points concerning Hezarfen Hüseyins bibliography remain in the dark. Why did Hezarfen develop such concise encyclopaedic writing style? Why did he write an *adab* book and why did he utilize well-known sources without citing them in the text? Who were his intended audience? Did his selections demonstrate a conscious effort or were they merely recycled old materials? Did this work have an aim of serving as a manual for fellow scribes as well?

To answer these questions, it is of paramount importance to grasp the tense and dynamic atmosphere that prevailed during the 17^{th} century. Concurrently, an in-depth investigation of the factors leading to the induction of Hezarfen into the imperial elite through patronage and an examination of Hezarfen's it is crucial to conduct a thorough investigation into the factors that led to Hezarfen's induction into the imperial elite through patronage. Additionally, an examination of Hezarfen's inter-

[57] Rosita D'Amora, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, Hezârfenn and the Coffee: Texts, Documents and Translations," *Oriente Moderno* no. 100, 106-119 (2020); Duygu Yıldırım, "Marsili, Bevanda Asiatica: Scholarly Exchange between the Ottomans and Europeans on Coffee" *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* LVI (2020).

[58] Tekdemir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi ve Ênîsü'l-Ârifîn", 536-537.

actions with the intellectuals and scholars in his milieu, coupled with a comprehensive understanding of the resulting dynamic relationships arising from their shared academic methods and interests, is imperative. Such an undertaking is essential to comprehend how Hezarfen's distinctive qualities set him apart from contemporary Ottoman authors. Furthermore, exploring his ties with the tradition of *adab*, encyclopaedic writing practices and empirical thought are necessary to contextualize the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn.*

1.3 The World of Hezarfen Hüseyin

The Ottoman Empire of the 17^{th} century, in terms of both scale and organization, was remarkably different from both the *beylik* Osman founded and the empire Mehmed II envisioned. The period of change and crises beginning from the late 16^{th} century altered the way the Ottoman Empire's institutions worked. The empire had already been experiencing social unrest since the 16^{th} century, in form of *Celalî* rebellions. Oktay Özel puts emphasis on the demographic changes, economic pressure they brought and resulting social deprivation of the rural Anatolia as key factors feeding the unrest.[59] Sam White adds environmental crises as a major contributing factor to rebellions of the 17^{th} century as drought and famine urged peasants to search for alternative sources of income.[60] According to Özel, the *Celalî* armies displayed remarkable flexibility in their alliances. They could be found fighting against the Ottomans, alongside them, or even against other *Celalî* armies, with their members adeptly assuming different identities at will. Özel posits that this adaptability arose from a survivalist attitude, becoming the primary driving force behind the *Celali*s. However, this phenomenon led to a state of general chaos becoming the norm in the region, causing harm not only to the *Celalî*s themselves but also to the state and the peasants. As a consequence, rural Anatolia saw the rise of pervasive banditry, with grand revolts like the *Celali* movement gradually dissolving into a form of everyday flexible banditry. This shift towards lawlessness and instability had far-reaching consequences, posing challenges to the stability of the region and further complicating the dynamics between the *Celali*s and the Ottoman authorities.[61] Metin Kunt hints at the changes to *dirlik* lands and transformation of tımar system

[59] Oktay Özel, "The Reign of Violence: The Celalis c. 1550-1700", 184-192.

[60] Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[61] Oktay Özel, "The Reign of Violence: The Celalis c. 1550-1700", 184-192.

to monetary based *çiftlik* lands and *iltizam* system as indicators of a transition from feudally arranged 'prebend-based structure to a monetary based one with powerful governors'.[62] As monetization of the economy led to economic instability in the Empire, raising armies, suppressing rebellions and maintaining order gradually became a heavier burden on the state's coffers. Thus, provincial elites such as governors and notables started to extend their households, took more taxes, and increased their power.

The dethronement of Osman II in 1622 marked a turning point in the Ottoman Empire, leaving a profound impact on the relationship between the palace, elites, and institutions. The removal and subsequent killing of Osman II brought about a shift in the distribution of sultanic power and affected the dynamics among various parties. Additionally, it created a trauma of regicide that lingered in the Ottoman collective consciousness for centuries.[63] Baki Tezcan positions Osman's dethronement as the culmination point of the transformation the empire undergoing since the 16th century. According to Tezcan, the process of monetization and the growing significance of vizier households facilitated a shift in focus for social climbers. The path to enrichment increasingly relied on acquiring certain positions within the power networks in the capital. This gave rise to a clash between the members of these households and the absolutists who banked their fortunes on the Sultan.[64] Osman II had an absolutist agenda that sought to increase his power against the *ulema* and the vizier households. Osman II tried to establish a personal guard with *sekban* soldiers, abolished arpalık, challenged jurists and appointed a weaker (comparatively) grand vizier. Osman II's departure for Mecca started opposition in the city mainly from jurists and military that Osman sought to weaken with his reforms. They revolted and dethroned Osman II and later killed him. Although it is wise to refrain from calling the new order the Second Ottoman Empire as Tezcan did, nevertheless it is an important turning point that saw a bid for absolutism that resulted in a more shared rule with strengthening court factions. The following decades saw fluctuations of sultanic power as Murad IV (r.1623-1640) was quite young when he ascended to the throne and, Mustafa I (r.1617-18, 22-23) and İbrahim I (r.1640-1648) both had experienced mental health problems. In the absence of both a strong vizier and a strong Sultan, the course of the empire was drawn by imperial household itself in under the ward of the Valide Sultan. Various factions in both the palace and

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[62] Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants,* 97-98.

[63] Hagen, "Introduction to Cihânnümâ", 8.

[64] Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in The Early Modern World.* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2010), 80-81.

Istanbul took sides at the power struggles within harem.[65]

In addition to these developments, the Ottomans were also in process of trying to solidify their religious hold over their subjects. Sunnitization and confession building started in the 16^{th}century to strengthen the Ottoman hold over Anatolian Muslims against the other Muslim powerhouse in the region, Shi'ite Safavid dynasty. During the 17^{th} century, a plethora of actors vied for a central role in the religious transformation of the Ottoman Empire. Through continuation of these processes, several new movements emerged, and existing ones experienced important changes. The transformation had many layers ranging from strengthening of hierarchies within *ulema* to socio-economic factors. Efforts of confession building happened in two main ways. Sufi orders that had connections to Shi'ism or had heretical views outside of the Sunna were either persecuted or transformed to a more mainstream version. On the other hand, this transformation was not solely driven by states efforts, a wide cast of actors from *ulema* to local preachers debated and participated in the process. Second way was the empowerment of *ulema* and their efforts to sunnitize the population through *ilm-i hal*s and creeds.[66]

According to Krstic, *ilm-i hal*s changed gradually until the 17^{th} century and became more demanding and complex as a response to expanding number of scholars.[67] Heresiographies and *ilm-i hal* texts surged in popularity as they served as handbooks to diagnose and clarify the heretical beliefs which in this context increasingly became means to define borders of Ottoman Sunni Islam.[68] Heated process of the confession building, and political turmoil of the empire gave birth to new movements on either hand of spectrum such as the Kadızâdeli movement and new Sufi lodges. Changes in the *ilmiye*, the legal-academic establishment, and emergence of "Bourgeoisie Sufism"[69] enabled debates on Islam to take new forms and shapes which created a more diverse atmosphere of Islamic thought. Michael Nizri places madrasa as the cornerstone of the legal-academic establishment and highlights the academic and legal systems that had similar hierarchies enabling the transfer between the two. Throughout the 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries hierarchy within *ulema* solidified. This stratification created a barrier between members of *ulema*. Those

[65]Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem,* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 91-112.

[66]Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization", 309.

[67]Tijana Krstic, "You Must Know Your Faith in Detail Redefinition of the Role of Knowledge and Boundaries of Belief in Ottoman Catechisms (Ilm-i hals)" in *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire*, c. 1450–c. 1750 ed. Tijana Krstics and Derin Terzioğlu, (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 188-189.

[68]Nir Shafir, "How to Read Heresy in the Ottoman Empire" in *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750* ed. by T. Krstics and and D. Terzioğlu, (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 198.

[69]Marlene Kurz, Ways to Heaven Gates to Hell: Fazlizâde Alī's Struggle with the Diversity of Ottoman Islam, (Berlin: Ebvarlag, 2011), 111.

members who presided over daily practices and dealt directly with the commoners, like imam, *va'iz* (preacher), *müezzin* lost prestige and they gradually lost access to the important posts. Medrese educated "official *ulema*" on the other hand became part of the Ottoman ruling elite.[70] Increasing specialization of *ulema* strengthened these divisions and through widespread introduction of *mülâzemet* (candidacy), continuity in the *ulema* households was ensured.[71] This made climbing the ranks of *'ilmiye* significantly harder in comparison to earlier periods.

One of the most prominent scholars who played an active role in formation of one of the harshest waves of *Sunnitisation* process was Kadızâde Mehmed (d.1635), a well-known preacher affiliated with the palace. Dina Le Gall describes Kadızâde Mehmed as a hard-line puritan preacher and scholar who was influenced by Mehmed Birgevî's teachings.[72] He had dabbled with Sufism in his youth but later abandoned it all together as he started preaching.[73] Instead, he pioneered a hard-line revivalist view that targeted the wide variety of *bid'at* that were practiced at the time such as drinking coffee and coffeehouses, tobacco, tomb reverence, occult and communal *zikr*'s that push a person from Islam's purity. These innovations were named so because they did not originate in the Prophet's time. The *Kadızâdeli* movement quickly became heavy critics of practices that reside outside Sunni canon, such as Sunnitized Sufi orders like the *Halveti* and the *Celvetî* orders and rational sciences and philosophy. The movement continued throughout 17^{th} century with a second wave through Üstüvânî Mehmed Efendi (d.1661) and a third wave through Vânî Mehmed Efendi (d.1685).[74]

Madeline Zilfi suggests that conflict between the *Kadızâdeli*s and the Sufis had different motivations as well. Such as competition for scarce job opportunities for those outside of the high *ulema* circles.[75] Doing so, she suggests that movement was also against the established *ulema* which clogged the arteries of the religio-legal system. This provided an economic frame for the *Kadızâdeli* movement, which Marinos Sariyannis later expanded through pointing the overlapping body between

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[70] Michael Nizri, *Ottoman High Politics*, 26.

[71] Özgün Deniz Yoldaşlar, "Minkârîzâde Yahyâ and the Ottoman scholarly bureaucracy in the seventeenth century." (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University: 2021), 8.

[72] Dina Le Gall, *Bir Sûfî Kültürü Olarak Osmanlı'da Nakşibendilik (1450-1700),* 250.

[73] Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age 1600-1800,* (Minneapolis: Bibliotecha İslamica, 1998), 102.

[74] Marinos Sariyannis, "The *Kadızâdeli* Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?" *Political Initiatives "From the Bottom Up" in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete* vii, by Antonis Anastasopoulos, (Rethymno, Greece: Crete University Press, 2012), 263-65.

[75] Madeline Zilfi, "The *Kadızâdelis*: Discordant Revivalism", 255.

merchants of the city and popular base of the movement.[76] Tijana Krstic opened up new perspectives on the Kadızâdeli movement through her use of the concept of confessionalization.[77] This way the motivations behind the *Kadızâdeli*s have also started to be inspected through processes of Sunnitisation and the *Kadızâdeli*s rivalry with imperial elites and orders. Terzioğlu defended that the *Kadızâdeli*'s efforts were rooted in historical development of the Hanafi school of Islam rather than an imminent response to current changes.[78] This was further emphasised with Krstic's work on the transformation of Ottoman perception of faith. Ottomans moved from *şahadet* backed nominal Islamic understanding of their early days to a diverse urban religious environment with the expansion of the empire. The intensifying rivalry with the Safavid Dynasty and the ongoing process of Sunnitization made it crucial for the Ottomans to define what lies at the core of Islam. The Ottoman sultan rebranded himself as upholder of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, and scholars throughout the empire raced to define their brand of it.[79]

Akaid, an already existing genre, saw an immense increase in popularity through 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries and played a crucial role in defining tenets of belief. In addition to expanding the already existing views, these texts also reflected the context in which they were written and showed the definition of 'proper' by Sunna-minded scholars. These works rapidly took a central place in the intellectual sphere of the Ottoman Empire as they led to widespread debates around the central issues they highlighted. Mehmed Birgevî's *Vasiyetnâme* and Kadızâde Mehmed's *Risale-i Kadızâde* are prime examples that affected several generations of scholars. According to Nir Shafir, *Akaid* books and increasing moral responsibilities that were expected from the believers started a moral revolution. He claims that agency of this revolution was not in *Kadızâdeli*s monopoly, nor they were the sole actors of it as presented in earlier scholarship.[80] Yet, it is important to add that the Kadızâdeli movement itself was not homogenous and nor well defined. Even its puritan and revivalist nature was much more different than classical movements of this kind in Islamic world. Tezcan suggests that it can be problematic to label third wave *Kadızâdeli*s Mehmed Vânî and Feyzullah as religious fanatics.[81] He highlights their strong rational sci-

[76] Marinos Sariyannis, "*The Kadızâdeli* Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon", 277-78.

[77] Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization", 304.

[78] Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization", 314-318.

[79] Tijana Krstic, "From Shahada to Aqida: Conversion to Islam, Catechisation and Sunnitisation in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Rumeli," in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History,* ed. A.C.S Peacock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 301.

[80] Nir Shafir, "Moral Revolutions: The Politics of Piety in the Ottoman Empire Reimagined." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 61(3), (2019), 595-623.

[81] Baki Tezcan, *Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World,* (New York: Cambridge

ence background and educational efforts, like Feyzullah's project to convert Galata tower to an observatory as indicators of their difference. Tezcan explains hardline policies of third wave *Kadızâdeli* as a natural outcome of their connection with the Palace. Doing so he presents them as absolutists rather than fanatics. Tezcan's political analysis helps to contextualize *Kadızâdeli*'s position against high ranking, ulema to power and their pioneering role in confession building. First two waves of the movement saw widespread support from the population. In a similar manner, Krstic described the 17th century as the century of confessionalization from below.[82]

Ibrahim I's reign ended through a coalition of *ulema, sipahi* and janissary factions and he was strangled after he was deposed. The ascension of Mehmed IV to the throne in 1648 marked a power shift in the imperial court. Mehmed IV was only six years old when he was enthroned after abdication (and later murder) of his father. The first years of his rule were under regency of his grandmother Kösem Sultan. Competition between factions at the court such as Kösem and Sofu Mehmed Paşa resulted in riots such as the Sultan Ahmed Camii incident (1648). These riots can also be interpreted as power moves from factions to depose and replace their adversaries' positions. Kösem Sultan's allies janissaries increased their influence through their role in suppressing the riots while Sofu Mehmed Paşa lost prestige and later his head in his struggle against Kösem. The regency period extended with Mehmed's mother Hatice Turhan Sultan's replacement of Kösem as regent. In the following era; increasing burden of the Cretan war on economy, mainly inflation and problem with paying salaries, brewed discontent in Istanbul and resulted numerous rebellions. This period was a showcase of how several factions and power groups participated in ruling the empire and struggled to maintain the upper hand. The palace members, standing army, *ulema*, *Kadızâdeli* preachers, *paşa* and vizier households and *esnaf* (shopkeepers) of Istanbul were all parties that participated in the competition for state posts and ruling of the Empire. This power struggle temporarily concluded with the emergence of the Köprülü household as the dominant power in court, following Turhan Sultan's decision to appoint Köprülü Mehmed Paşa as Grand Vizier. Köprülü requested supreme powers and a guarantee for absolute nature of his government. This enabled him to suppress the *Sipahi* revolt, dismantle the *Kadızâdeli* influence through exiling its leaders and establish a firm hold over the court. Thus, the vizier household positioned itself in Ottoman state mechanism as the real powerhouse in palace and as chief policy makers.

The Ottoman response to the challenges of the period transformed the institutions

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University Press, 2010), 29-30

[82]Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization", 323-323.

so much that the impact these changes resulted in a power shift from Imperial household to elite ones. First, the socio-economic change that the empire underwent from late 16^{th} to 17^{th} centuries created a remarkably legalistic and market-oriented society. Secondly, in accordance with this change and decreasing power of the sultan, a political nation emerged through the transformation in the process that limited the absolute rule of the sultan. Development of the new bureaucracy outside of the royal palace, rising power of provincial notables, and emergence of prominent vizier and pasha households expanded the ruling of the state to a wider base in comparison to the early empire.[83]

Households were one of the primary pillars in the Ottoman socio-political structure. Dynasty itself was the main household that acted as both a bureaucratic centre and a recruitment corps. Imperial household based in the palace hosted and supported all aspects of the state and the dynasty. Treasury, therefore, distribution of wages, allocation of state resources to state officials and staffing of the palace personal stemmed from the Ottoman household. It also worked as an education and recruitment structure that funnels bright or well-connected people to the state through inducting them to the royal household. The royal household also provided a model for other notables of the empire to establish their own palaces and households in its image. The 17^{th} century hosted a change in the function of notable's households. Up until that point bureaucracy and everyday duties of the empire were handled from the royal palace regardless of the court members own households and palaces. Divergence from the royal household began with establishment of a separate grand vizier household in 1644. The separation of the grand vizier's household from the royal household signifies the official recognition of the separation of the affairs of the dynasty from those of the public. The bureaucratization of the Ottoman state increased the power of the viziers and pashas in the ruling of the state, leading to a gradual decrease in the absolute authority of the sultan.[84]

Households and their wealth, both material and in work force, were used as a way of transferring power between newcomers to the ruling state and out of favour old families. In theory, this was done mainly through removal of the privileges of said family when new sultan ascends the throne. Ideally, this was to keep influential families from gaining substantial power and fostering meritocratic rule. Households and tax rights given with it were non-hereditary. When a prince or vizier lost his position or life, newly formed households quickly absorbed the old one's personnel, income, and properties. Yet, this idealized version of the process is questionable

[83]Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire,* 191-224.

[84]Abou el-Haj. "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households", 441-443.

because of the many exceptions showing that banishment and retainment of some privileges enabled sons of pashas to reintroduce themselves to the high ranks of state.[85] Networks and alliances with remaining households or marriages with the dynasty enabled the reintroduction of these elites back into system. Dominion over official posts, backways to circumnavigate the hereditary limits of the system, and increasing political and rising economic power of the Ottoman elite marked the growing importance and power of households. One factor of this phenomenon is their function as recruitment centres for the state. The gradual decrease of Ottoman conquest and its debilitating effect on the *devşirme* system paved the way for new paths to power. Realities of the 17^{th} century Ottoman Empire meant that vizier and pasha households increasingly offered more opportunities to enter the ranks of administration, legislation, or army. Like the old *devşirme* system; members of these households who were bright, lucky, or well-connected enough could quickly rise career ranks and eventually become an *ağa* of the *Rikâb-ı Hümâyûn*.[86] However, fate of these individuals aligned with the fate of the household. According to Abou el-Haj, officials stemming from vizier and pasha households (and *Beyzâdes*) held most of the offices in the late 17^{th} century.[87]

The rise of pasha and vizier households and increasing bureaucratization resulting from monetization, urbanization and expanding institutions also created alternative venues for artists and scholars looking for patronage. Expansion of reader base in societyand shifting political atmosphere produced a different intellectual makeup for the 17^{th} century. Writing trends and intellectual mindscape of the Ottomans reflected this change through shifting interests and introducing new kinds of readers and writers: primary ones being the members of the bureaucratic corps learning statecraft, high culture and *adab* and city folk including *esnaf, şehir oğlanları* (city boys) and various riff-raff.[88]

While scribes and new readers were looking to integrate themselves among the elites, proponents of the existing elite circles were contemplating on changes surrounding them. Advice writing in the 17^{th} century surged in popularity in response to increasing anxiety about changes in the Ottoman world. Especially elite of the old order, unhappy with decreasing power of the *devşirme kul* and transformation of

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[85] Dror Ze'evi and Ilkim Buke, "Banishment, Confiscation, and the Instability of the Ottoman Elite Household," in *Society, Law, and Culture in the Middle East: "Modernities" in the Making,* ed. Dror Ze'evi and Ehud R. Toledano. (Warsaw, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 29.

[86] Dror Ze'evi and Ilkim Buke, "Banishment, Confiscation,", 30.

[87] Abou el-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Pasa Households", 442.

[88] Cemal, Kafadar, "Janissaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman İstanbul: Rebels without a Cause?" in *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz,* ed. Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Barbir (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007): 113–34, 115.

the state, produced a sizeable amount of *risâle* and *nasihatnâme* works. Historians, statemen and scholars of the era stated that the Ottoman state was in a decline due to corrosion of classical institution.

Some historians like Bernard Lewis, claimed that these observant Ottomans were aware of the corruption and decline of the state with reference to the writings of Lütfi Pasha and Koçi Bey. Lewis eagerly accepts the writer's narrative of institutional and administrative decay, citing budgetary deficit and military defeats while disregarding the dynamism and solutions that enabled the state to continue for nearly three hundred years.[89] His approach had deep roots within historiography tradition of the late Ottoman Empire and European academics as writers like Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Namık Kemal, Bowen and Gibbs also constructed similar arguments. However, Koçi Bey's *Risale* and his predecessor Mustafa Âlî's *Nushatü's-selâtîn* represented the dissatisfied old guard of the *devşirme* that was in process of getting replaced by Muslim born men coming from households.[90] Thus, his writing had the agenda of reclaiming the position of his group and restoring the surrounding system that was based on old institutions. For *nasihatnâme*'s like Lütfi Paşa's *Âsafnâme,* there was the issue of tradition. Islamic writings of this type were not dynamic texts that addressed the contemporary problems but were products of a literary discourse.[91] Even though expansion driven ethos of the empire changed, and military victories became more of an exception rather than the norm; in many different fields the Ottomans were developing their characteristics and finding their original standing in fields of art, music and architecture. Furthermore, studies on the Ottoman frontier organization showed that they maintained a competitive force that integrated new techniques and developments to their military strategy while retaining a similar burden on the treasury for the 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries.[92] Calling the period a time of crisis and change as Jane Hathaway suggests is more applicable given the circumstances, rather than adopting the view of the disenfranchised elements of the empire.[93]

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[89]Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline," *Islamic Studies* 1 (1962), 71-87.

[90]Rifaat Ali Abou el-Haj "Review Article: Metin Kunt, The Sultan's Servants: Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government (1550-1650)". *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* , no. 06 (1986): 223

[91]Rıfaat Ali Abou al-Haj, "The Expression of Ottoman Political Culture in the Literature of Advice to Princes (Nasihatnameler) Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries", in Sociology in the *Rubric of Social Science. Professor Ramkrishna Mukherjee Felicitation Volume*, ed. R.K. Bhattacharya and A. K. Ghosh (Calcutta: Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Culture, Government of India, 1995.

[92]Muhammed Fatih Çalışır,"Decline of a "Myth": Perspectives on the Ottoman "Decline"", *Journal of History School* no. 9 (2011): 43.

[93]Jane Hathaway, "Households in the Administration of the Ottoman Empire", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, no 40 (2013): 130.

1.4 Entertainment Culture and Storytelling

This transformative period also influenced the urban culture of Istanbul. Entertainment is a crucial need for all societies and the Ottomans were no exception to this rule. However, definition and scope of entertainment altered with changing tastes of the century and materials available to the population. In the Ottoman culture distinction between commoner and elite was quite strict as *avâm* and *havâs* meant not to mingle. As early as the mid-16^{th} century, anxiety about the change in social practices began to surface as Kınalızâde Ali referred to the hints of *avâm* questioning serious matters as a calamity.[94] Moreover, Kâtib Çelebi labelled commoners as vermin, a statement that gained popularity among later generations.[95] How and when did these separated cultural spheres intersect and to what extent were they culturally separated?

New forms of entertainment, individuality and belief altered the Ottoman way of living in the 17^{th} and 18^{th} centuries. While palace festivities and private drinking parties with *musahib*'s continued, vizier and pasha households also became centres for parties as prominent households emerged as new patrons of art and entertainment. Newcomers to this culture, like members of the expanding bureaucratic corps, tried to integrate themselves to this banquet culture through following increasingly popular *adab* works. Those on private domains of the society, like women, slowly started to attend celebrations and entertainment activities. People could gather in increasing public spaces to pass time and discuss a wide variety of topics. Public space was slowly expanding in the Ottoman Empire as people increasingly gathered at barber shops, take-outs, bathhouses, *tekke*s, gardens, meadows, and riverbanks.[96] Some of these establishments operated like social clubs that cater to specific classes, occupations and beliefs with regulars establishing social connections.[97] On the other hand, time was literally changing as both candle production and consumption increased marginally following the late 16^{th} century.[98] Before early modernity, night

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[94] Murat Şiviloğlu, *The Emergence of Public Opinion: State and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018) 23.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Tülay Artan "Forms and forums of expression: İstanbul and beyond, 1600-1800," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead, (New York: Routledge, 2012): 381.

[97] For social life around a tekke look to Seyyid Hasan's *Salnâme* See Tunahan Durmaz, "Family, Companions, and Death: Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi's Microcosm (1661-1665)" (M.A diss., Sabancı University, 2019).

[98] Cemal Kafadar, ". "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean,* ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014): 259.

was for private activities and rest. Being outside in the night meant that you either had a duty or you were going to commit a crime. Yet, more and more of the night gradually opened to public after introduction of coffee and coffeehouses to the Ottoman world. In two centuries, Ottoman's got accustomed to utilizing the night so much that their perception of time changed as Cemal Kafadar demonstrates comparing meticulous planning of the night at circumcision festivities of 1725 with vague description of night-time activities of 1586 festivities.[99]

One of the important factors that shaped the 17^{th} century entertainment culture was coffee and coffee houses. Advent of coffee to public consumption played a transformative role in understanding of time, space, and entertainment. The history of coffee and coffeehouses can be traced back to the 15^{th} century when Sufis in Yemen discovered its stimulating effects on the mind. They used coffee during their night-time gatherings and found it conducive to mental exercise and conviviality.[100] Coffee continued its journey northwards and made its way to Cairo and Damascus in early the 16^{th} century. Coffee was initially a private indulgence, yet quickly coffeehouses started to open in Istanbul during the mid-16^{th} century. [101] By the end of the 16^{th} century, coffeehouses were prevalent in Ottoman cities. Cemal Kafadar highlights three transformative processes of the early modern era as roots of the emerging urban culture. Firstly, there was a new wave of urbanization, accompanied by the emergence of bourgeoise, increased trade and interconnectivity between regions. Secondly, there was a new perception of time with night becoming a temporal sphere for socializing, entertainment, and labour, and lastly emergence of new pastime activities such as shadow theatre and storytelling performances.[102]

Turkish storytellers performed their art in public spaces as well. The storytellers played vivid performances from vast repertoire of 'popular romances, national legends, pseudo-historic romances, purely fictional romances, epic tales of individual exploits, or religious narrations.'[103] *Meddah*s, singers and *kıssahân*s recited scenes from literary classics like *Hamzanâme* and *Şehnâme*; in addition to popular stories of *siyer, megâzi and fütûh.* According to Thomas Herzog, religious narratives penned by learned authors circulated within public through such performances since of the beginning of Islamic history. This tradition peaked from the 16^{th} century onward

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[99] Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night", 265.

[100] Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night," 246.

[101] Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night," 249.

[102] Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night," 244.

[103] Metin And, "Storytelling as Performance," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 6.

as recitations of siyer became more and more popular through following centuries up until 1960s in Syria and Egypt.[104] Yet the cultural flow between common and elite culture was not limited to urban areas as bards of folk poetry (*aşık, ozan, saz şairi, râvî and naqal*) performed the same or similar stories throughout provinces of the empire[105] .Evliya Çelebi shows extent of the popularity of these pastime activities outside Istanbul as he writes his observations on Bursa. Evliya states that there are '...seventy-five coffee-houses each capable of holding a thousand persons, which are frequented by the most elegant and learned of the inhabitants...' and adds that the activities in the coffee houses '...continue the whole night, and in the morning everybody goes to the mosque.'[106] Evliya also speaks on *oda sohbetleri* (gatherings of sailors) at Galata and later court records shows similar events taking place in remote towns like Edremit.[107] Furthermore, in his article on janissary coffeehouses, Ali Çaksu explains the diverse functions of janissary coffeehouses. These coffeehouses might have acted like semi-public clubhouses and stations for janissaries, crime centres, storytelling and entertainment venues, religious centres, shops, and revolutionary centres.[108] Coffeehouses also acted like information hubs where storytellers animated the latest news and sometimes were hired by the state for reconciling state politics with people through entertainment.[109]

However not all parties were happy with popularity of coffee and coffeehouses since it was a venue for public opinion to form, which was something that should not commoners have in the eyes of the state and *bid'at* in the eyes of *Kadızâdeli* preachers. Emergent public spaces such as barber shops, taverns and coffeehouses and even private parties where governmental affairs can be discussed, came under scrutiny of the state.[110] Repression of these establishments is directly linked with criticisms rising against the state elite from these places. Such coffehouses famed with spreading rumours could be brought down overnight. The *Kadızâdeli*s also targeted coffeehouses, pressured and lobbied for extra taxes on coffee; banning coffeehouses and more effective policing of coffeehouses that lead to development of different types

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[104]Herzog, "Orality and the Tradition of Arabic Epic Storytelling," 637.

[105]Metin And, "Storytelling as Performance," 6-7.

[106]Metin And, "Storytelling as Performance," 9.

[107]Artan, "Forms and Forums," 382.

[108]Ali Çaksu, "Janissary Coffee Houses in Late Eighteenth-Century Istanbul", in Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee, ed. Dana Sadji, (Oxford: Tauris, 2007): 117-132.

[109]Metin And, "Storytelling as Performance," 9.

[110]Şiviloğlu, The Emergence of *Public Opinion*, 24.

of coffee class and social status.[111] The *Kadızâdeli*'s proved a useful ally for the state when seeking to repress public space as their stance against tobacco, wine, and coffee was quite harsh. Still, decrees and bans on coffee-shops met with little success in the long term as after each wave of crackdowns, a relaxation period soon followed with new establishments replacing the old.[112]

Taking all these developments into account, it can be said that Hezarfen Hüseyin lived within a fervent environment. On the one hand, a burgeoning urban and entertainment culture was taking shape amidst the empire's transformations; while on the other hand, people were grappling with systemic crises, long campaigns, economic hardships, and political instability giving rise to frequent rebellions and the emergence of revivalist religious movements. Simultaneously, the rise of new intellectual trends and entertainment practices exerted an influence on literary production and consumption. Bureaucrats, secretaries, and scribes were increasingly solidifying their place as both creators and consumers of new texts. *Adab* texts, entertaining stories, and professional reference books surged in popularity in response to the rising demand of these cadres. In line with the Ottoman *adab*, and contemporary intellectual trends, Hezarfen Hüseyin produced in a wide spectrum including reference books, story collections and hybrids texts like his *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*.

[111] Artan, "Forms and Forums," 382.

[112] Ibid.

2. A POLYMATH AT THE PALACE

Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi stands as a unique figure of his time due to his preference for a vibrant lifestyle that kept him deeply connected to the heart of the seventeenth century Istanbul, setting him apart from conventional scholars who sequestered themselves in solitary study. His epithet "Hezarfen" (lit. owner of a thousand sciences or polymath) serves as a testament to his mastery in various fields of knowledge, and through his extensive network of relationships, he actively engaged in both the production and exchange of information. His associations with influential households, coupled with his reputation as a learned scholar, granted him access to a diverse array of individuals, including high-ranking imperial elites, visiting Western scholars, and ambassadors, thus establishing his role as a valuable knowledge broker.

The precise extent of Hezarfen's involvement with the imperial household remains somewhat ambiguous, as he managed to secure access to palace circles through unconventional means. Although direct interactions between Hezarfen and the imperial household are sparsely documented, it is evident that he presented his historical work to Mehmed IV. Furthermore, his close affiliations with the Köprülü household and influential patrons such as Vişnezâde İzzetî and Şişman İbrahim Paşa suggests a considerable degree of proximity to the elite circles of the Porte.

The subsequent chapter will delve into the intricacies of how Hezarfen attained such a prominent position within the intellectual network of the seventeenth century Istanbul. It will continue with surveying the intellectual trends of the 17^{th} century and how the Ottoman self-image and Hezarfen's contacts and exchanges played a role in shaping the views of the Orientalist scholars. Then, it will proceed to point the intellectual traditions and concepts behind Hezarfen's writing. This investigation aims to offer a comprehensive cross-section of the intellectual life during the 17^{th} century. Through examining the life and, writings of Hezarfen Hüseyin, it provides a nuanced, bottom-up analysis of the period contributing to a more thorough understanding of the period's intellectual landscape.

2.1 The Life of Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi

Accounts of Hüseyin's early life are scarce, as he did not disclose much information about himself in his writings. In addition to this, he is absent from the contemporary biographical dictionaries and most of the knowledge about his life comes from his works and comments of the European contacts who wrote their encounters with him.[1] It is speculated that he was born around 1610 or 1611 based on Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's description of him when they met.[2] Hüseyin himself states that his birthplace is Istanköy (Kos) Island in the introduction of his work on history.[3] Currently, there exists a lack of detailed sources regarding Hezarfen Hüseyin's educational background. He began his primary education in his birthplace and later continued his studies in Istanbul.[4] Despite his early engagement with the scholarly world, Hüseyin lacked a madrasa diploma, a trait he shared with his contemporary and friend Kâtib Çelebi.[5] Hezarfen was probably self-taught regarding the scholarly subjects as despite his informal background he produced works in various fields. He introduces his father only as Ca'fer without any titles signifying occupation, rank, or status.[6] Therefore, Hüseyin Efendi probably lacked the significant influence and network required to pursue a career in *ilmiye* and *seyfiye* branches of the Ottoman state. It seems natural that he decided to pursue a scribal career in expanding the *kalemiye*, which offered more upward mobility for those who did not have affiliations with the established networks.

Hüseyin Efendi's career as an official of the state is somewhat hard to trace due to its limited timespan and the vagueness of references to it. He is rumoured to enter the state service as a young *sipahi* first, and then proceed to work as an aid to dragoman Ali Ufkî (d.1675).[7] Afterwards Hezarfen travelled to Yemen and Mecca in his early twenties, apparently visiting to participate renovations of of Ka'ba.[8] Apparently, he quickly caught the attention of high-ranking officials in the

[1]Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker*, 73.

[2]Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker*,74

[3]Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân Fî Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman,* ed. Sevim İlgürel, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1998), 4.

[4]Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, *İslam Tarihi Dersleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1971), 134.

[5]Gottfried Hagen, "Introduction to Cihânnümâ," 10.

[6]Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, 5.

[7]Rosita D'Amora, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, Hezârfenn and the Coffee", 116.

[8]Ibid.

early days of his career and became affiliated with the Köprülü household. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, who met Hezarfen in a relatively late period, mentioned that the important state offices Hezarfen Hüseyin held enabled him to travel freely to far away parts of the empire.[9] Considering Hezarfen's independent period and lack of records concerning any high-ranking offices, this is either a projection by Hezarfen to reinforce his reputation or misunderstanding on Marsigli's side. Regarding any other positions he may have held, he served as *beytülmal emini* between years 1666-67.[10] Various sources designate Hezarfen Hüseyin as a court historian of Mehmed IV. For instance, dragoman of the Venetian Bailo Antonio Benetti claimed he was the history teacher of the sultan.[11] In addition, French interpreter and scholar Antoine Galland (d.1715) and French Ambassador Pierre de Girardin (d.1689) acknowledged him as a historian of the Sublime Porte.[12] However, there are no records of Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi serving as a court historian despite these claims. It is more likely that Hezarfen's works on history, his image as a polymath and his close relations with Mehmed IV's circle created the impression that he was a historian of the sultan.

Hezarfen accompanied his patrons Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Paşa and Şişman İbrahim Paşa to Candia campaign. He most likely attended to Lviv campaign of Şişman İbrahim Paşa in 1675 as well, where he stayed for a while and followed Şeytan İbrahim Paşa to the siege of Çehrin at 1677.[13] Heidrun Wurm, claims that Hezarfen Hüseyin was also present at the Vienna campaign as he was claimed to write an accurate report of the campaign which was used in a publication in Europe by one of his contacts, though there is no mention of the identity of the contact or the name of the publication.[14] At present there are no records detailing circumstances around Hezarfen's death. His tombstone has not been found. It is highly unlikely that he died in the late 1670's as Bursalı Mehmed Tahir suggested or between 1679-1685 as Rosita D'Amora suggested. The year 1691 stands as the most plausible date due to the textual evidence in takdim part of the *Telhîsü'l Beyân fî Kavanin-i Âli Osman* that references later dates than 1685.[15]

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[9] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 77.

[10] İdris Bostan, "Kuyud-ı Mühimmat Defterlerinin Osmanlı Teşkilat Tarihi Bakımından Önemi," in *Osmanlı Türk Diplomatiği Semineri,* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1995): 146.

[11] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 81-82.

[12] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 83.

[13] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 78-80.

[14] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 115-120.

[15] Abdülhamid Kırmızı, "Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân Fî Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman,* haz. Sevim İlgürel, Ankara: TTK, 1988, xxix+338 s." in *Notlar3: Târih Okumaları: Kendi Metinleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi, Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı Araştırma Merkezi,* (2002-2004): 49-50.

2.2 Patronage Networks

Patronage relationships within the palace transformed after the classical period. Definition and role of *musahib* evolved from *nedim* like drinking companion to a royal favourite who maintained access to the sultan where he increasingly became inaccessible at the palace.[16] *Musahib*s of the sultan gained considerable political power within the court. They acted both as a balance mechanism against viziers and as agents of the sultan who maintained a vast network of contacts that bolster the influence and reach of the ruler throughout the early modern period.[17] Declining power of the sultan and increasing power of the vizier households in the mid to late 17^{th} century meant that the grand vizier had a say in selecting companions of sultan as demonstrated by various figures that entered the close circles of Mehmed IV, Süleyman II and Mustafa II under the Köprülü tenure. Vizier households also nurtured their own networks, encompassing clients, artists, scientists, scholars, and spies. The cosmopolitan nature of Istanbul facilitated the transnational dimension of these networks, as non-Muslim and foreign individuals became part of it. However, scope of the Köprülü patronage reached its peak under Fazıl Ahmet Paşa's tenure where he solidified the Köprülü household as a crucial part of the state after his successful campaigns.

Conclusion of the Siege of Candia under Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa was a turning point for the position of vizier households and the Köprülü house in particular. The conquest of Crete enabled Ottomans to operate more freely in the Ionian Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean. The Ottomans had a base to better challenge the Venetian armada in the area as burden of the prolonged campaign lifted from the treasury. In addition to these, conquest of Crete had an immense impact on the Ottoman psyche. Through the conquest of Crete, Ottomans regained some of the confidence they lost through series of defeats until this point. Fazıl Ahmed Paşa revitalized the Ottoman war machine and strengthened the hand of the war faction within the court then further moved the Ottoman borders as he continued his campaigning in Ukraine 1672-74 and captured the long desired castles of Ujvar and Kamienets. His success in campaigning strengthened his position in the court and enabled the Köprülü family to entrench themselves to the Ottoman state in the long run.[18]

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[16] Günhan Börekçi, "On the Power, Political Career and Patronage Networks of the Ottoman Royal Favourites (Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries)": 2.

[17] Börekçi, "On the Power, Political Career and Patronage Networks", 45.

[18] Muhammed Fatih Çalışır, "A Virtuous Grand Vizier: Politics and Patronage in The Ottoman Empire During the Grand Vizierate of Fazil Ahmed Pasha (1661-1676)" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, Washington D.C, 2016), 108.

Meanwhile the Köprülü family undertook a cultural project as well. Many members of the Köprülü family were well educated scholars who had mastery over Islamic sciences like Fazıl Ahmed Paşa and Fazıl Mustafa Paşa. Ahmed's moniker Fazıl (virtuous) was based on his scholarly background as he worked as an instructor (*müderris*) at several madrasas around Istanbul before entering the state service. The Köprülü dynasty's patronage and scholarly interest covered a vast portfolio. Their increasing influence at the court enabled them to sustain one of the largest endowment and patronage networks in the empire. Until the founding of the Köprülü-Library in the 17^{th} century, independent libraries were non-existent in the Ottoman world as libraries were mostly part of larger endowment complexes and as such was attached to a complex like a mosque or madrasa, where they housed very few manuscripts.[19] Thus, the Köprülü household almost became an alternative palace with the resources it offered to its members.

As the second head of the family and the grand vizier succeeding his father, Fazıl Ahmed's patronage policy was an extension of both his personal intellectual interest and an expansion of the Köprülü project of reinforcing the empire. Fazıl Ahmed actively engaged in maintaining a personal manuscript collection and funded the translation of a considerable corpus of texts. Notably, these translations predominantly comprised practical knowledge, which held great value for the Köprülü household. Interestingly, the Köprülü family and other members of their network also supported and interacted European scientists and scholars such as Giovanni Mascellini, although their activities within Ottoman lands were closely monitored.[20] It is possible that the Köprülü family sought to harness knowledge from diverse sources, utilizing European texts as references rather than drawing inspiration or attempting to catch up with Western advancements as often assumed. The curiosity and interest displayed by the intellectual circle they supported and funded further attests to this approach.

In this sense, Hezarfen enjoyed membership to one of the most influential intellectual circles in the empire and certainly had access to vast number of sources. Besides Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed, Hezarfen also enjoyed attention and patronage of various interesting personalities surrounding the Köprülüs; such as Vişnezâde Izzetî Mehmed Efendi (d.1681), Şeyhülislam Angaravî Mehmed (d.1687) and Şişman İbrahim Paşa.[21] Vişnezâde Izzeti Mehmed Efendi was the nephew of Şeyhülislam

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[19] İsmail Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik: Tarihî Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2015), 94.

[20] Çalışır, "A Virtous Grand Vizier", 145.

[21] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker*, 9.

Yahya Efendi, he served as a *kadı* in Bursa, Edirne, Egypt, and Istanbul while briefly holding the title of *kazasker* of both Rumeli and Anatolia. Vişnezâde was known as a lover of poetry and prose thus he cultivated a social circle which consisted of esteemed poets and scholars.[22] His circle included famous scholars such as Kâtib Çelebi, Evliya Çelebi and Ebu Bekir b. Behram Dımışkî.[23] Another member of the Köprülü faction and patron of Evliya Çelebi, Şişman (Kara) İbrahim Paşa fostered a close and personal relationship with Hezarfen Hüseyin as he spent considerable time with him during his campaigns.

Other beneficiaries of Hezarfen Hüseyin probably dates to his days as an assistant to dragomans. As both Panagiotis Nikusios (d.1673) and Alî Ufkî were prominent dragomans. Panagiotis Nikusios (1613-1673) was a Phanariot who worked for the Habsburg Embassy in Istanbul, but he later entered service of Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.[24] He became the first Chief Dragoman of the Sublime Porte in 1669, establishing long lasting Phanariot influence in the dragoman office that continued through another Köprülü favourite Alexander Mavrocordatos (d.1607).[25] Nikusios was also a patron and beneficiary of Hezarfen. Both Mavrocordatos and Nikusios translated medicine and science texts at the behest of the Fazıl Ahmed Paşa as part of the translation effort.[26]

Hezarfen knew Albert Wojciech Bobowski, also known as Ali Ufkî Bey, as well.[27] An Ottoman scholar of Ruthenian origin, Ali Ufkî maintained a vast network of European connections as a multilingual interpreter. He utilized these connections while working as the second dragoman of the Porte and as a scholar.[28] Furthermore, he produced a huge variety of treatises detailing the Ottoman court culture and history.[29] He acted as an informant for Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of The Ottoman Empire* and provided his manuscripts for use of several scholars such

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[22] A. Azmi Bilgin, "Izzetî Mehmed Efendi," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* Vol: 23 (2001): 564-565.

[23] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 91, 163.

[24] Zsuzsanna Cziráki, "Language Students and Interpreters at the Mid-seventeenth-century Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople," *Theatrum historiae* 19 (2016): 27-28.

[25] Damien Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos: The Rise of the Phanariots and the Office of Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/06): 182.

[26] Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos", 182.

[27] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker* ,91.

[28] Natalie Rothman, The Dragoman Renaissance: *Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2021), 228-229.

[29] Turgut Kut, "ALİ UFKÎ BEY" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi.*

as Marquis de Nointel,[30] Antoine Galland and Cornelio Magni. Ufkî wrote extensively on Turkish music in his the *Mecmûa-i Sâz-ı Söz,* translated the Old and New Testaments to Turkish.

Thanks to his strong relations with dragomans, Hezarfen got help from Panagiotis Nikusios and Ali Ufkî Bey to access Latin and Greek sources and their translations into Ottoman Turkish.[31] Hezarfen's connections with these scholars were more than just being clients of the same patrons. Their writing and methodology shared the same tendencies as well. They were all interested in translation, had an emphasis on the use of literary sources, and wrote reference books. Furthermore, overarching emphasis on practicality was a common feature of the texts these bureaucrat-scholars produced. Writing of the members of this milieu, limited embellishment and complex language of the Ottoman literary tradition. Like Hezarfen Hüseyin, Kâtib Çelebi was a middle ranking bureaucrat, a clerk in the financial bureaucracy to be precise. Kâtib Çelebi gained fame post-mortem with his works on geography and bibliography. His the *Levâmiu'n-nûr fî zulümât-i Atlas* is an expanded translation of the Gerardus Mercator's *Atlas Minor* in line with the *şerh* tradition. Kâtib Çelebi's most famous work on cosmography and geography the *Cihânnümâ*, was written in two versions, because the first one came to a halt when Kâtib Çelebi couldn't acquire satisfying number of sources for the European geography. He started working on it again when he acquired new sources and their translations through dragomans. According to Gottfried Hagen, geography investigated in this work was the territorial state as political elements, history and contemporary information were novelties. Though he continued the Islamic geographic tradition which had great emphasis on human geography, ethnographical knowledge played a second role in his work which emphasized scientific and historical facts. This can be seen as a token of the shared tendencies of his intellectual circle. Kâtib Çelebi's understanding of geography was based on his view that is a practical science and it was to be based on factual scholarly work and data rather than observation of travellers or literature. [32]

Ebu Bekir b. Behram Dımışkî, a *müderris* and scholar, continued Kâtib Çelebi's approach to geography with commentaries he wrote to the *Cihânnümâ* and his translation of Willem and Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior.* The *Atlas Maior* was a gift from the Dutch ambassador to Mehmed IV who immediately ordered it to be translated. Adnan Adıvar hints to the possibility of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's influence in the official

[30]Rothman, *The Dragoman Reneissance,* 228-29.

[31]Bekar, "A New Perception of Rome", 42.

[32]Hagen, "Afterword," 229-230.

beginning of the translation.[33] Apparently, both of Fazıl Ahmed's dragoman clients, Alexander Mavrokordatos and Panagiotis Nikusios worked for some time in the translation before Mehmed ordered its translation, however the task ended up with Dımışkî. Anxiety of the Venetian and Habsburg authorities show that they were aware of the practical reasons behind translation efforts of the Ottomans. Officials of the Venetian Bailate condemned the Dutch for gifting the *Atlas Maior*, due to the possible Ottoman plans for an offensive on Venetians. Furthermore, the Habsburg Imperial War Council denied Alexander Mavrocordato's request for history books on Europe for translating to Turkish.[34]

Heidrun Wurm speculates that Hezarfen also maintained contacts with anti-Köprülü personalities such as Musahib Mustafa Paşa an ardent opposer of Köprülüzade Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa. Considering Hezarfen's growing dissatisfaction with Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa,[35] it can be said that his connection with the family faded during Merzifonlu's period as the grand vizier. Musahib Mustafa Paşa was among the closest to Sultan Mehmet IV and had a considerable influence on him. He was also a poet and a patron of arts and poetry. Many influential names like Yusuf Nâbi and Rami Mehmed Paşa enjoyed his patronage.[36] He maintained contacts with dragomans and embassy secretaries as well presumably through both his scholarly interest to geography and through acting as an intermediary for relations with the sultan and the court.

2.3 Transimperial Connections and Intellectual Circles

Hezarfen's relationship with language and translation is a complex matter. Superficial examinations of his bibliography often attribute mastery of several languages to him, including Latin and Greek.[37] However it is highly unlikely that he achieved proficiency in any other languages except *elsine-i selâse* of the Ottoman culture, which encompasses Arabic, Turkish and Persian. He relied on Nikuisos and Ufkî's help for translation of the *Tenkihü't Tevârih*'s sources. He also notes the help of Feyzullah Efendi, an Uzbek envoy, for his dictionary the *Tercüme-i Lügât-ı Hindī*.

[33] Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, 131.

[34] Hagen, "Afterword," 231.

[35] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 32.

[36] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 29

[37] See Ilgürel, Mücteba. "Huseyin Efendi, Hezarfen." in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/huseyin-efendi-hezarfen.

However, Antoine Galland claims that he wanted to learn French and desired to visit France.[38] It can be inferred from his close relationships with foreigners from both the East and West, as well as the dictionaries he authored; that Hezarfen had a curious personality and was specially intrigued by languages. This is natural considering his background as a scribe at the dragoman offices and particularly his connection with dragoman Ali Ufkî. In tandem with the Ottoman's rising political and military power, Istanbul was slowly becoming a diplomatic hub, as large number of foreign language speakers entered the political and commercial life of the city. Peculiarity of the Ottoman court was that even if the ambassador knew Turkish, there was no chance of direct contact with the sultan. Thus, this necessitated the unique role of dragomans as middlemen in Ottoman diplomatic practices.[39]

In fact, Hezarfen interacted with various dragomans throughout his life, and his way of life closely resembled that of a dragoman. Rothman highlights three aspects of the dragomans' craft. Firstly, that they engaged in independent negotiation. Secondly, they worked for a foreign embassy, vassal state, and state institution or for merchants. Lastly they were distinctly Istanbulite and integrated to the modus operandi of the Ottoman state.[40] The rise of the Ottoman Empire as a transregional power, combined with its rich tradition of court patronage and the growing bureaucratic class; transformed Istanbul into a hub to produce and exchange unique forms of knowledge.[41] Dragomans in the Ottoman Empire produced variety of texts including reports and journals where we can trace their contacts and relationships. By examining these sources, we can catch glimpses of Hezarfen Hüseyin's encounters with dragomans and the image he projected to Europeans. Hezarfen is frequently acknowledged for his sharp intellect, and many of his encounters and contacts highly value him as a learned man with diverse talents. However, it is crucial to bear in mind the personal nature of diplomatic writing during the early modern era when constructing a portrait of Hezarfen based on the writings of his European contacts. Diplomatic writing was also a way of self-fashioning for European nobility, meaning that one of the primary goals with this type of texts is casting a positive image that hopefully will result in higher assignments, increased reputation or at least maintaining current title and position.[42] One of the primary ways of doing this was to

[38] Antoine Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar (1672-1673)*, I, trans.. Nahit Sırrı Örik (Ankara 1949) 239.

[39] Rothman, The Dragoman Renaissance,6

[40] Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance,* 2.

[41] Paul Babinski, "The Orientalist's Manuscript Between the Ottoman Empire and Germany" (PhD. diss, Princeton University,2020), 357.

[42] Christine Vogel, "Diplomatic Writing as Aristocratic Self-Fashioning: French Ambassadors in Constantinople," in *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World,* ed. Tracey A. Sowerby

demonstrate intimate knowledge concerning the country in question and perhaps more importantly showing the power of connections established during the period as a statement of competency and importance. Therefore, while these writings offer valuable insights into Hezarfen's interactions and reputation, it is important to approach them with critical analysis and consider the potential limitations and biases inherent in such sources.

Interestingly, it is evident in their writing that Hezarfen's European contacts had similar intellectual interests with him and almost all his contacts produced literary works on Ottoman or Islamic literature and culture after their tenures in the Ottoman lands. Marsigli, Galland and La Croix were all encyclopaedic writers. Hezarfen generously opened his library and his own texts to them, thereby directly and indirectly he facilitated the circulation of a vast body of Ottoman works into Europe. During the flourishing of the *Hümâyûnâme* corpus, there was a notable surge of interest among the Ottomans in fables and storytelling. This fascination seemed to have spread in a manner reminiscent of how Greek and Indian tales found popularity among the Arabic-speaking world during the classical period of Islam. Similarly, in more recent times, we witnessed how the Persian romances made their way to Europe through the Crusades and the Silk Road trade. Several of Hezarfen's contacts translated, collected, and compiled fables and fairy tales following their time in Istanbul. Galland and Pétis de La Croix reached new heights of fame after publishing their story compilations. This suggests that they too were captivated by the growing fascination with storytelling and had a desire to share these narratives with a wider audience. Source of their studies of course were their dragoman and local contacts.

The first recorded encounter of Hezarfen and Antoine Galland a young interpreter, scholar, translator, manuscript collector and secretary to the French ambassador, took place in 1675, during his first term in the Ottoman Empire. Galland visited the Ottoman Empire three times, initially at 1670 and later at two different periods 1677 and 1679-1688. It was during one of these visits that he coincidentally met Hezarfen Hüseyin. Both Galland and Hezarfen happened to be present when Galland went to see a local cartographer named Mehmed Çelebi.[43] Afterwards, Galland helped Ambassador Marquis Charles Olier de Nointel (d.1635) to get in contact with Hezarfen Hezarfen and asked for his friendship on request of the marquis. Hezarfen obliged and gifted Nointel his *Tenkihü't Tevârih*.[44] Marquis gifted two robes to Hezarfen in

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and Joanna Craigwood, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 191-195, 202.

[43]Galland, İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar, 238-9.

[44]Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker*, 128-129.

return for his book, which resulted in Hezarfen promising a copy of his next book, most probably the *Telhîsü'l Beyân fi Kavânîn-i Al-i Osman.*[45] Galland encountered Hezarfen once again years later when he returned to Istanbul to serve under the new ambassador, Gabriel Joseph de Lavergne Viscount de Guilleragues. During his time in Istanbul and after his tenure, Galland produced various texts drawing from his experiences. He made use of Hüseyin Efendi's extensive library while gathering material for his own work. Similar to Hezarfen and many of the dragomans of the 17^{th} century, most of Galland's works were based on translation and compilation of existing scholarly works. He also translated Hezarfen's *Telhîsü'l-Beyân Fî Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman* to French.[46] Furthermore, Hezarfen introduced Kâtib Çelebi's *Keşfü'-unûn an esâmi'l-kütüb ve'l-fünûn* to Antoine Galland.[47] Galland must be quite impressed by Kâtib Çelebi as he translated Kâtib Çelebi's *Takvimü't Tevârih* as well.[48] In his preface to the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Galland mentioned that his work was indebted hugely to Kâtib Çelebi's *Keşfü'z-zunûn.*[49] It is important to note that the Bibliothèque Orientale acted as a guide to direct the agents' efforts to collect the Oriental works. Galland also translated Ali Çelebi's *Hümâyunnâme* and The Thousand and One Nights to French language which turned out to be a hit and became one of the first bestsellers in print, bringing fame to Galland and introducing the classical tales to European orientalists.[50] The translation of The Thousand and One Nights played a pivotal role in the establishment of the "Oriental Tale", which is very much defined by literary works produced by the dragomans.

There seems to be a misunderstanding in literature regarding two La Croix that worked under the French ambassador.[51] François Pétis de La Croix and Edouard de La Croix, also known as the Seigneur de La Croix; both served under French ambassadors, the Marquis de Nointel and the Viscount of Guillerges. They were writers of both printed and manuscript books, and both were collectors of manuscripts for

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[45]Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hatıralar,* 239.

[46]İlgürel, "HÜSEYİN EFENDİ, Hezarfen" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi.*

[47]Nicholas Dew, "The Order of Oriental Knowledge: The Making of d'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale," in *Debating World Literature,* ed. Christopher Prendergast (New York: Verso, 2004): 239-240.

[48]Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance,* 204.

[49]Antoine Galland, "Discours pour servir de preface à la Bibliothèque Orientale," in *Bibliothèque Orientale ou Dictionaire Universel* ed. Monsieur D'Herbelot (Paris: La Compagnie des Libraires, 1697).

[50]Ömer Faruk Akün, "ALÂEDDİN ALİ ÇELEBİ" in *TDV İSLAM ANSİKLOPEDİSİ.* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/alaeddin-ali-celebi

[51]See Wurm 122; Tekdemir " Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi ve Ênîsü'l-Ârifîn"16, 26, 48, 80; İlgürel, " ;Yahya Erdem, "PÉTİS de la CROIX, François", *TDV Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt: 34, İstanbul, 2007; Kerim Özdemir "Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi'nin "Tenkîhu't-Tevârih" Adlı Eserinin Selçukluların Zuhurundan Osmanlıların Kuruluşuna Kadar Geçen Bölümlerinin Transkripsyon ve Değerlendirmesi" (M.A. Diss, Celal Bayar Üniversitesi, 2007)14-18.

the French first minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert.[52] Edouard was a friend of Pétis's father, so it is natural that they knew each other. Edouard served as the secretary at the French embassy in Istanbul for more than a decade, from 1670 to 1686. Edouard participated in the peace negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and Poland, which he wrote a book on, and collected professions of faith from the Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Maronite churches to strengthen French project of claiming their protection.[53] He wrote a memoir that details his time in Constantinople and his observations on Muslim beliefs. This memoir includes an account of his conversation with Hezarfen Hüseyin, as both were in Edirne with their respective patrons for negotiations.[54] Like his peers, Edouard also praises Hezarfen describing him as an enlightened person and praises his sincerity while claiming he is one of the best Ottoman Historians.[55] Utilizing Hezarfen's kanunnâme work on Ottoman organization, the Telhîsü'l beyân fi Kavânîn-i Al-i Osman, Edouard also wrote the Etat général de l'Empire othoman.[56].

It is uncertain if François Pétis de La Croix ever met Hezarfen, yet he interacted with Hezarfen through other means. He translated Hezarfen's *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî Tahlîsi'l-Buldân* and utilized his reports and writings in his own works as La Croix's writings covered diverse subjects such as the Ottoman palace, the Ottoman navy, Persian and Timurid history, and the history of Jerusalem, among others.[57] He also edited a version or sequel of the *One Thousand and One Nights* under title of *The Thousand and One Days* in competition with Galland's *Nights*. This text was claimed to be a translation from Persian, but it was a collection of Turkish tales put together by apprentice dragomans in Istanbul.[58] In this work, the tale of Turandot was influenced by the Ottoman Turkish (and earlier Persian) tale of 'Prince Khalaf, His Parents, and Their Adventures.' Following Pétis de la Croix's publication, this tale gained further popularity and found its way into dramatic and operatic adaptations, most notably Giacomo Puccini's widely performed opera, the *Turandot* (1924).[59]

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[52]Paul Sebag, "Sur deux orientalistes français du XVIIe siècle: F. Pétis de la Croix et le sieur de la Croix." *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée,* no. 25 (1978): 89.

[53]Jonathan Haddad, "Sieur de La Croix," in Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History Vol: 13 Western Europe (1700-1800), ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), 491; Jean-Paul A. Ghobrial, The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London and Paris in the Age of William Trumball (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 4.

[54]Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 129-130.

[55]urm, *Der osmanische Historiker,*, 150.

[56]urm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 179.

[57]Sebag, "Sur deux orientalistes français" 98.

[58]Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance*, 224.

[59]Marzolph, "The Middle Eastern World's Contribution to Fairy-Tale History", 52.

Pétis de La Croix also had a vast repertoire of unpublished manuscripts that attest to his status as one of the early authorities in French Orientalism. In this sense both Pétis de La Croix and Galland had their legacy continued by intellectual and institutional heirs they fostered.[60]

In addition to the French dragomans, the French ambassadors Nointel, Guillerges and Girardin maintained contacts with Hezarfen. The Marquis de Nointel dined with Hezarfen at the French embassy house and maintained contact with him during his tenure. He mentioned Hüseyin Efendi in his letters to the king stating that Hezarfen is a critically thinking, scientifically talented and bright individual that regards Europe with a certain admiration. Furthermore, he states that Hezarfen has a hopeless and melancholic view of the Ottoman Empire.[61] Guillerges and Girardin continued the already established relationship as Galland and Pétis de La Croix were still affiliated with the embassy. Like Nointel, Guillerges also hosted Hüseyin Efendi at the embassy and his successor Girardin received information from Hezarfen regarding destination of the sultan's next military campaign.[62] It seems that Hezarfen did not shy away from using his proximity to the palace circles as an asset in his correspondence with Europeans.

One of Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's closest acquaintances was Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli. Marsigli, an Italian geographer, diplomat, and military entrepreneur, had an extensive academic portfolio that encompassed a wide range of disciplines, including cartography, geology, botany, and humanities.[63] He initially arrived in Istanbul as the Venetian bailo Pietro Civran's guest. Unlike La Croixs and Galland, Marsigli had no prior knowledge of the *elsine-i selase* thus relied on dragomans for communication like Ottoman Jew Abraham Gabai and Tarsia brothers who were of Venetian lineage but were raised within the Ottoman culture.[64] They served as interpreters and facilitated communication for Marsigli during his time in Istanbul. Marsigli was a young man when he arrived in Istanbul, he forged a lasting relationship with the old man Hezarfen Hüseyin beginning in 1679. Marsigli grew quite fond of Hezarfen, as in his autobiography he describes Hüseyin Efendi '. . . a man close to seventy years, full with good friendship, rich with a curated library, most patient to my contin-

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[60]Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance,* 224.

[61]Wurm, *Der osmanisches Historiker,* 132.

[62]Wurm, *Der osmanisches Historiker,*, 135.

[63]D'Amora, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsili,"109; Monika F. Molnar, "An Italian Information Agent in the Hungarian Theatre of War: Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli between Vienna and Constantinople," in *A Divided Hungary in Europe,* vol. 2: Diplomacy, Information Flow and Cultural Exchange ed. S. Brzezinski and A. Zarnoczki (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 85-105.

[64]Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance,* 218.

uous questions through the interpreter, without the slightest interest lent me any book I requested, to have it read and translated by my interpreter'.[65] He further describes him as one of the 'most learned people in Constantinople' and states that he regrets that Hezarfen died a Muslim.[66] He states that even though their residences were on other sides of Istanbul, around Kilise Cami for Hezarfen and Pera for Marsigli, no two days passed before Marsigli went to see his friend to what he called 'the remotest part of the Constantinople'.[67] The amiable and hospitable nature of Hezarfen Hüseyin towards Marsigli is also evident, as he generously provided Marsigli access to his collection of sources, manuscripts, and maps. This valuable source became the very foundation upon which Marsigli built his prolific writings on various aspects of the Ottoman history, culture, and the natural world. He had also integrated into the vast network of dragomans centred at the Sublime Porte. He held correspondence with the Habsburg dragoman Meninski and through his other contacts acquired lists detailing epithets Venetians, French and Ottomans used to address officials of different states.[68]

By the end of Marsigli's initial period in Istanbul, he had gathered enough materials to produce texts that delved into topics such as the intricacies of the Ottoman military system, the dynamic currents of the Bosphorus, and even the medicinal uses attributed to coffee.[69] Furthermore, Hezarfen showed him his compendium of official texts and figures on the Ottoman military forces as well. These texts formed the core of Marsigli's *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno.*[70] In addition to opening his personal library for Marsigli's use, Hezarfen also shared his personal experiences with Marsigli during their various conversations. He told Marsigli his eyewitness account of the coffee production in Yemen and gave him a part of his medicinal encyclopaedia/dictionary, the *Tuhfetü'l Eribî*'n. Marsigli used the excerpt to write the *Bevanda Asiatica* which included the original Ottoman Turkish texts alongside Italian translation.[71] Marsigli added his own experience as a coffee maker, a rem-

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[65]Questo era uomo vicino a settanta anni d'età, pieno di buona legge d'am icizia, ricco d'una sceltissima biblioteca, pacientissim o alle continuate mie domande per l'interprete, e senza un minim o interesse e che mi prestava qualunque libro avessi richiesto, per farlo leggere dal mio interprete, ed anche trascriverlo." Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, "Lettera-prefazione al catalogo dei manoscritti orientali" in *Scritti inediti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili: raccolti e pubblicati nel 2. centenario dalla morte,* ed. Nicola Zanichelli and Albano Sorelli (Bologna: 1930), 177.

[66]D'amora, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsili," 114.

[67]'..nelle parti più rimote di Costantinopoli.' Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Autobiografia,* ed. E. Lovarini (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1930), 25.

[68]Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance*, 219.,

[69]Yıldırım, "Marsili, Bevanda Asiatica," 30.

[70]D'Amora, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsili," 110.

[71]Ibid., 106.

nant of his slavery after the siege of Vienna, to the text as well. As the first book in vernacular on coffee and first one relying on contemporary accounts, Marsigli's text distinguished itself within its peers.[72] Hezarfen and Marsigli's dialogue shows the extent of the friendship between them as they discussed a wide range of subjects with more depth than any other recorded conversations with Hüseyin Efendi. Their dialogue can be viewed as a statement to their diverse and curious personalities. Both seemingly questioned the world of the other while trading information on matters such as Ottoman education, historiography, and impact of printing on art of calligraphy, embellishment, and book illustrations.[73] Furthermore, Marsigli was in contact with Dımışkî as well. He notes that he gained Dımışkî's friendship with donations and acquired information from him regarding the topographic features of Ottoman Lands and later acquired a copy of the *Atlas Maior*.[74] Marsigli's curious personality is evident in his works as he interacted with like-minded people with a genuine interest aimed to reevaluate the humanist view of Islam and promote a broader understanding of the Ottoman culture among Europeans. He believed in a universal comprehension of the world that surpassed temporal and spatial constraints, enabling the acquisition of informed knowledge about diverse cultures.[75]

Giovanni Battista Donado (d. 1699) the Venetian bailo in Istanbul, Hezarfen's relationship with him illustrates that Hüseyin Efendi served as a conduit between European diplomats and Ottoman elites. For instance, Hezarfen facilitated the interaction between Venetian Bailo Donado and Musahib Mustafa, a favoured figure at the court of Mehmed IV, enabling them to engage in dialogue on shared interests such as politics, astronomy, and geography as Donado himself was an astronomer and a patron of sciences.[76] This event speaks volumes about influence of Hezarfen in the court as Musahib Mustafa was one of the most influential personalities in the close circle of the sultan. Apparently Donado also authored a renowned anthology called the *Della Letteratura de' Turchi* which contributed to shaping the European perception of the Ottoman Empire. In this work, he included translations of portions from Hezarfen's writings on the Ottoman law, specifically the *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân.*[77]

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[72] Yıldırım, "Marsili, Bevanda Asiatica" 27.

[73] Marsigli, "Lettera-prefazione al catalogo dei manoscritti orientali," 177-178.

[74] Ilaria Bortolotti, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (1658-1730) e l'editoria erudita nella Repubblica delle Lettere tra Sei e Settecento" (PhD diss., Universita Degli Studi Di Milano, 2017), 77.

[75] Yıldırım, "Marsili, Bevanda Asiatica," 27.

[76] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 32-33.

[77] Mustafa Soykut, "The Development of the Image "Turk" in Italy through Della Letteratura de' Turchi of Giambattista Donà," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 9:2 (1999): 186-193.

Hezarfen's relations with these vibrant personalities showcases the cultural interaction taking place in the early modern Istanbul. It also demonstrates that the Ottoman scholars and writers played an active role in these encounters rather than remaining as indifferent or passive subjects to be studied by the Europeans. Natalie Rothman suggests that formative period for cultural interaction, *the dragoman renaissance,* took place in a time period from the 1570s to the 1720s.[78] A three-dimensional writing practice emerges when this network of intellectual relations is laid bare. First, there is the influence of classics that circulate through canon texts of Greek, Persian, Arabic and Turkish cultures. Secondly, there is a conversation happening through translation like works of Galland, La Croix, Kâtib Çelebi and Dımışkî. Lastly, there are direct connections linking this community in spatial basis as well. Babinski positions dragomans as mediators between two republics of letters. These scholars acted as mediators of Ottoman scholarship; their translation efforts formed the basis of orientalist knowledge.[79] Furthermore, Ottoman commentaries circulating in Europe renewed the transnational reception of Islamic literature across Europe. There was a collaborative division of philological labour between Western European and Ottoman scholars, which encompassed various aspects. As Babinski highlighted, distribution of work involved utilizing pre-existing scholarship, such as analysing readers' annotations and utilizing existing commentaries and dictionaries. Additionally, mechanical distributions of labour referred to the delegation of work on texts to intermediaries like binders, pages, scribes, and assistants. Finally, collaborative distribution emphasized equal participation in the pursuit of a shared object of study.[80] On a similar note, Rothman explains that even though Orientalist myopia endured for a long time hiding its non-linear origins, 'If "modernity, including modern philology, was not something done to a supine *Asia* by colonialist operatives [but] rather... was everywhere co-produced and dizzyingly multiple"—this multiplicity was itself vitally mediated, co-creating the boundaries its proponents claimed to transcend'.[81] This environment of correspondence and transfer demonstrates that orientalism is not simply a result of late colonial thinking, periodization, and European historiography. It is important to recognize the agency of intellectuals that very interactions shaped both their image and introduced different epistemologies and methodologies to their peers.

In addition to cultural transfer through translation, many of the observations and

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[78]Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance,* 231.

[79]Babinski, "The Orientalist's Manuscript Between the Ottoman Empire and Germany," 367.

[80]Babinski, "The Orientalist's Manuscript Between the Ottoman Empire and Germany," 367.

[81]Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance,* 240.

stereotypes regarding the Ottoman image stemmed from the Ottomans scholars' transfer of their own perception of the Ottomans. As Ottoman scholarly understanding included both an admiration for classical Islamic and Greek sources and a deep sense of crises; in the long run it gave birth to declinist discourse in historiography on the Ottomans.[82] The Ottoman intellectuals idealized the so-called classical era of the Ottoman Empire (reigns of Mehmed II, Selim I and Süleyman I) and traced the source of their troubles as the state's deviation from practices of the classical era. This line of thinking stemmed from the cadre that is most affected by the transformation of the state such as *paşas* with *devşirme* origin. However, their impact on historiography and advice literature created a continuity that echoed well beyond the era it was conceived. It influenced writers like Kâtib Çelebi and Hezarfen Hüseyin which in turn shared their pessimistic views concerning the empire with their correspondences. Ottoman writing on Europe was shaped by similar trans-imperial collaborations as evidenced by Kâtib Çelebi's translation of the *Atlas Minor* for using it as a source in the *Cihannûma* or Ebu Bekir Dımışkî's translation of the *Atlas Maior*.

2.4 Roots of Hezarfen Hüseyin's Writing

Before we delve into *Enîsü'l-Ârifîn* in the next chapter, it is essential to grasp the overall paradigm in which Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi wrote. Hezarfen Hüseyin's identity as an author occupies a unique position. He can be characterized as an author-compiler, someone who reports and collects pre-existing material, serving as a conveyor of information.[83] Supporting this, the majority of his works are either compilations of practical knowledge or encyclopaedic treatises written on various topics as commentaries (*şerh*). Reflecting his social persona, he offers platform to his readers and contacts to incorporate these writings into their own works. This chapter will try to touch on why Hezarfen developed such an approach while trying to find the peculiarities of his writing style. Two main influences can be traced in the Hezarfen's encyclopaedic writings, first one is the *anthology* tradition of Islam, and *adab* as its extension seeking to compile and reproduce the socially accepted conducts, ethics, and professional knowledge for use of new generations. Second one is the emergent (or reemergent when Islamic past of anthology is considered) author-compiler culture that pursues to keep up with the rapidly increasing mountains of

[82] Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance*, 231

[83] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (London, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) 2.

information. In this vein this chapter will first examine the historical background of Hezarfen's writings and continue with challenging traditional labelling of the 17^{th} century Ottoman interest in European sources and through these mainstream concepts of modernity and decline.

It is important to note how encyclopaedism fit to the picture of the 17^{th} century Ottoman world. Encyclopaedias in the modern sense did not exist until the 18^{th}century. There were several texts named encyclopaedias in Europe, however they were not reference books but texts on distinguishing between different branches of knowledge.[84] In this sense it is more useful to trace the genealogy of Hezarfen Hüseyin's writings through the concept and practice of encyclopaedism. The *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* might not be Hezarfen's most encyclopaedic work. However, considering the text with its relationship with *adab*, bureaucratic practicality and Hezarfen's encyclopaedic aspect, enable us to have a more in depth understanding of it.

Taking encyclopaedism as a concept is useful in the sense that it allows contextualizing a wide variety of genres and modes of reading, structuring and agendas considering a set of shared methodology and aim linked around the idea of comprehensive and systematic ordering of knowledge. In this regard, reading encyclopaedic texts as works of similar knowledge practices rather than products of a strict category enables us to see the continuities and trends across different ordering, compiling and bibliographical practices.[85] Furthermore, the term encyclopaedism connotates with texts from a variety of fields, from Islamic sciences texts like *fıqh* and *hadith* collections to *adab* works, literary anthologies, biographies, bibliographies and philosophical compendiums.[86] Navigating similarities or nuances between all these texts and their methodologies is out of scope of this thesis, however connections relevant to Hezarfen's writings such as relationship between anthologies, *adab* and reference books will be explored through concept of encyclopaedism as a handy but somewhat rough frame.

In the context of Islamic roots of anthology, the growth of religious studies such as *fıqh, hadith, kalam, tafsir,* and the translation of classical texts from Greek for natural sciences and philosophy created the necessity for anthologies and compilations to ensure proper organization and preservation of knowledge. Number of new books and knowledge entering to intellectual sphere of Muslim writers increased exponentially as Islam increased its sphere of influence two distinct eras in the Islamicate

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[84]Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri,* 10.

[85]Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri*, 11-12.

[86]Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri,* 12.

world were commonly referred to as the "golden ages" of anthology. First, during the 8^{th} and 9^{th} centuries under the Abbasid's rule, Arabic prose and poem flourished and rich court culture developed. This facilitated a transition from a mainly oral literature to a written one through collecting popular works in manuscripts. *Hamâsa*, as introduced chiefly by poet Abu Tammâm (d.846) offered a thematically arranged selection of poems and short texts sections on topics such as love (*nasī*b), wise conduct (*adab*) and the censure of women (*madhammat al-nisâ*).[87] Ibn Qutayba's *'Uyûn al-Akbar* is a collection of works both literary and non-literary which the author expects every Muslim to be aware of.[88] The second era is the Mamluk period is regarded as a golden age of anthology due to an incredible increase in literary production and categorization.

Traditionally, destruction of major libraries during the Mongol invasion is taken as the end of the Islamic Golden Age in both the traditional Islamic historiography and the European historiography which drew parallels to post-Roman experience of the European scholars.[89] However, like all labels of golden and dark ages this approach disregards the major contribution and production of the knowledge that took place after or during these periods. In this vein, rise of compilation and encyclopaedic works were mostly linked to the anxiety stemming from the urge to protect the culture from the destruction brought by the Mongols. However, Elias Muhanna explains that impact of the Mongol invasion was more demographical than psychological due to the émigré scholars who brought a new influx of knowledge and information while increasing the connectivity of the Eurasian continent.[90] Furthermore, there is little evidence that the Ayyubid and Mamluk scholars really had such fears. The local sources had no record of the destruction, and narratives that depict the destruction of Baghdad's libraries emerged decades after the actual events. Traveller accounts like Andalusian Ibn Jubayr's demonstrated that the city lost its place as cultural hub decades before the Mongol armies arrived.[91] It is more likely that the institutionalization provided by the Mamluk's and the connectedness facilitated by the émigré scholars facilitated created a sense of anxiety regarding the amount of information the scholars now faced. Solution to this problem was the categorization and organization of this knowledge. In this sense it can be said that anthology and reference books stemmed from this anxiety.

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[87] Hámori, "Anthologies, Arabic Literature (Pre-Mongol Period)".

[88] Bonebakker, "Adab and the Concept of Belles-Lettres," 30

[89] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know,* 13.

[90] Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri,* 19.

[91] Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri,* 17

The late Ayyubid and the following Mamluk periods are taken as the other golden age of anthology.[92] According to Thomas Bauer, this period was marked with the increasing interest of scholars to *adab* or rather reciprocal *"ulemaisation"* of *adab* and "adabisation" of the *ulema*. Bauer explains that the expansion of education with establishment of several madrasas throughout Arabic world created a literate, semi-literate upper and middle class who favoured literature as means of representation and self-expression. As connoisseurs of literature and poetry, the bourgeois public driven by a desire for literary enjoyment, self-improvement, and social recognition, created a widespread demand for literary works, particularly in the form of anthologies.[93]

Moreover, the scribal institutions and educational formation formed through *adab*, become central to the cultural life of the Mamluk civilian elite which unlike their military counterparts, selected literature as their form of expression and patronage.[94] Subsequently, a vast variety of encyclopaedic texts and anthologies flourished to make it easier to utilise this immense literary legacy. Bauer explains the kind of anthologies as: First, those where the anthologist chooses sections from their own or others' works, covering poetry, prose, or both; second, those anthologies centred around specific themes, stylistic devices, or forms of poetry or prose; third, the anthologies presented as commentaries; and lastly anthologies that gathered diverse and captivating texts without a particular overarching order or principle.[95] These text were utilized in a wide variety of ways such as references for education, selections that demonstrate aesthetic choices, collecting texts that put forth an argument or collections purely entertainment purposes. Even though contents of the anthology texts were nowhere near uniform and lacked the distinct disciplinary methodology of modern encyclopaedias, broad principals concerning the material organization of the manuscripts slowly began to take shape as well.

During the 13^{th} century in Egypt, changes in manuscript layout introduced novel elements. These novelties comprised hierarchical and numbered divisions of the text, running heads, diverse letter sizes and colours, and the incorporation of table of contents. Furthermore, certain manuscripts employed colour, blank space, and

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[92]Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in The Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press:2012), 187.

[93]Thomas Bauer, "Anthologies, Arabic Literature (Post-Mongol Period)", In *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, edited by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Devin J. Stewart., 1. Accessed June 5, 2023. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912$_e i3_C OM_3$3127.

[94]Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri,* 17.

[95]Bauer, "Anthologies, Arabic Literature (Post-Mongol Period)," 2.

alterations in font to highlight the structure of textual divisions.[96] On the organization of manuscripts themselves, hierarchy among subjects was one of the factors determining the listing of manuscripts. As Konrad Hirschler explains, the order went by the Qur'an and hadith first, followed by law and then philology, grammar, *tasavvuf*, medicine, and history.[97] These developments continued in the Ottoman period as well, since libraries organised their catalogues according to thematic categories.[98] Furthermore, some Ottoman writers quickly adopted use of fihrist sections as well, like in case of Lâmi'î Çelebi's (d.1532) the *Futuhu'l-Mucahidin li-Tervihi Kulubi'l-Musahidin.* [99] The transfer of technique and organizational practices were not the sole influence from the Mamluk era on the Ottomans. The Mamluk encyclopaedic texts were acquired and utilized by the Ottoman scholars for a long time as Kâtib Çelebi utilized several Mamluk bibliographic and encyclopaedic texts like Nüveyrî's encyclopaedic adab work the Nihâyat al-arab fî fünûn al-Adab.[100]

As the Ottomans consolidated their control over Anatolia, they also assimilated the intellectual legacy of other Turkish *beylik*s in terms of manpower. As doing so they inherited a distillation of trans-regional intellectual legacy. Émigré scholars abandoning the collapsing Ilkhanid states and later the Anatolian *beylik*s brought their literary culture with them as well. These émigré scholars carried forward the intellectual legacies of key figures from Perso-Arabic culture, such as Zemahşerî, Râzî, and Tûsi.[101] Émigré scholars arriving from Shiraz and Cairo, introduced the classical traditions, court culture and literary trends of the Perso-Arabic Islamic world to the Turkophone audiences of Anatolia.[102] This facilitated emergence of Turkish as a literary language among Arabic and Persian in Anatolia. The interaction of these languages in form of translations to vernacular Turkish through sponsorship of the beyliks led to emergence of written form of Anatolian Turkish in Perso-Islamic court literature.[103]

Furthermore, similar to increase in readers between Seljuk and Mamluk periods,

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[96] Blair. *Too Much to Know,* 6.

[97] Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 146.

[98] Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 155.

[99] Mustafa Altuğ Yayla, "Yazma Eserlerde Kullanıcı-Dostu Bir Unsur olarak Fihristler: Lâmi'î Çelebi'nin Nefâhatü'l-Üns Tercümesinin Topkapı A. 1422 Nüshası Özelinde Bir Değerlendirme, *"Marmara Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* no 9 (2022): 553.

[100] Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri*, 125.

[101] Yıldız, "Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity," 229.

[102] Yıldız, "Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity," 230.

[103] Ibid.

increasing number of local madrasas during the Ottoman period meant that a similar provincial literati formed in Anatolia as well. Graduates of these institutions both constituted a mass of literate readers and a social class. They lacked access to elite circles of the empire yet sought gaining information predominantly in their own language which kickstarted first waves of vernacularisation in Anatolia. Cevat Sucu hints to the role of translations made by the provincial intellectuals of the 15^{th} and the 16^{th} centuries as the driving force of vernacularisation which aimed the transfer of the cosmopolitan Islamicate knowledge to emerging provincial actors.[104] *Adab* books and encyclopaedic texts became important means of (self)education for the provincial scholars and bureaucrats. For example, Ahmedî's *İskendernâme* saw widespread use and popularity in Anatolia as it included encyclopaedic knowledge in Turkish concerning a variety of fields ranging from astrology, geometry, medicine, geometry, and mythology.[105] A strong encyclopaedic culture stemming from the need for dissemination of practical knowledge formed around anthologies, summaries, and commentaries (şerh). These texts mainly comprised translations and condensed versions of existing works; however, they were not entirely devoid of originality. For instance, Abdülbasit el-Malatî's translation of Manyasoğlu Mahmud's *Acebü'l-Üccâb* into Arabic demonstrates that the works of local scholars were regarded as sufficiently unique to disseminate beyond regional borders.[106] However, new reference books and encyclopaedic texts became increasingly rare until the 17^{th}h century except for collections of poet biographies, literary anthologies and *fıqh* journals. Reason for re-emergence of encyclopaedic texts in this time can be attributed to the transformation and challenges that the old world experienced which can be examined through the handy conceptualization of the early modernity.

On the other side of the Mediterranean, a massive effort to catalogue and compile past knowledge began in the West after the renaissance with impetus to protect reclaimed knowledge and withheld it from being destroyed like in catastrophic losses that plagued post-Roman societies. Reintroduction of ancient texts to Western scholars created an "info-lust" fed by both a desire to gather and manage as much information as possible and a hope to stop the repetition of the traumatic loss of ancient knowledge they were now aware of.[107] Ann Blair explains the distinction between information and knowledge based on implication of storage and reusability

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[104]Sucu, "Ahmed-i Dâî ve Edeb," 173.

[105]Sucu, "Rûm'da Kozmopolit Model Kurmak," 227

[106]Sucu, "Ahmed-i Dâî ve Edeb," 177-178.

[107]Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 13.

of information as a public property unlike the personal knowledge.[108] Storing and categorizing this knowledge was always a problem of both material and immaterial sources. First, there is the problem of material and its malleability: manuscripts get lost or stolen and they catch fire easily due to nature of paper and wooden buildings for the Ottoman case. Author-compiler's desire to save written material, henceforth the accumulation of knowledge through information management resulted in an increasing effort and interest to write compilations and dictionaries. Moreover, the increasing volume of the knowledge and information circulating, coupled with the limitations of the human mind in terms of time and memory, led to a pervasive fear regarding the acquisition and mastery of knowledge.[109]

Furthermore, one invention fundamentally changed the relationship with information and knowledge during the 15^{th} century. Commercial printing meant that books now circulated in an unpreceded volume so much so that just half a century after Johannes Gutenberg's endeavour estimates for the number of books printed ranged from eight to twenty million. The number of titles printed also shows a similar increase as short-title catalogue of extant British imprints demonstrates, the titles recorded increased from 416 titles of incunabular period to 4.373 titles printed between 1500 and 1550 then to 500 new titles per year at early seventeenth century to 2,000 per year during the civil war.[110] This rapid accumulation of texts fed the anxiety concerning management and categorization of the expanding information. The sixteenth century onward new sensibilities that come with more complex forms of governments, expanding bureaucracies, and increasing readership increased concern regarding keeping track of flow of the manuscripts and books. Reference itself slowly started to become prominent token of intellectual activity. There was a remarkable increase in commentaries, journals and encyclopaedic works during the 17^{th} and 18^{th} century as there was both a rush to catalogue the existing knowledge and to observe and collect the knowledge of other once the self become more recognizable.

Ottomans on the other hand experienced a similar anxiety, even though printing press did not have the impact in their territories as it had in Europe. Ottomans had been familiar with the technology since the late 15^{th} century. Minorities within the empire opened presses in places where sizeable readership for their printing venture existed. Despite the presence of Greek and Armenian presses in Istanbul, establishment of significant printing endeavour in Turkish and Arabic did not commence in Istanbul until the 18^{th} century. This situation led to a feeling of disappointment for

[108] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 2.

[109] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 3.

[110] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 54.

some Ottoman scholars such as Kâtib Çelebi who lamented deficiency of printing press in the Ottoman lands as it made difficult replicating images.[111] Still, despite the admiration for press, a Turkish and Arabic press was decades away in the 17^{th} century. This however did not stop the growing concerns within the Ottoman palace regarding the scarcity of books, particularly those pertaining to non-religious subjects, resulted in a prohibition on exporting manuscripts during the 17^{th} century.[112]

This fear was further amplified by the manuscript traffic between Istanbul and Europe. Many orientalists starting from Ogier Ghiselin Busbecq (d.1592) collected increasing amounts of manuscripts to take back to their countries. Antoine Galland, Pétis de La Croix, and Edouard de La Croix were specifically tasked by Jean-Baptiste Colbert to acquire manuscript for his collection. Marsigli established the second biggest collection of Turkish manuscripts in Bologna apart from the Vatican's archive. Thus, it can be said that the Ottoman fear regarding the loss of manuscripts were not unfounded. Furthermore, increasing revivalist sentiments in the Ottoman Empire stemming from the *Kadızâdeli* movement meant that rational sciences gradually lost prestige among scholars. This anxiety persisted so much that Ahmed III. (r.1703-1730) pushed efforts to increase manuscript production and translations.[113] Considering the common concern surrounding the management of information, it can be observed that early modern scholars were particularly motivated to protect knowledge. They did so by accumulating it, sharing it with others through manuscripts and printed works, and incentivizing the establishment of extensive libraries supported by affluent princes and patrons.[114] Thus it can be said that abundance of new information, the anxiety regarding loss of manuscripts and the diminishing production of practical scientific texts can be traced as the underlying causes of the encyclopaedist trend of the 17^{th} century.

Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's patronage of translators and translations introduced developments from the early modern Western scientific corpus to the Ottoman scholars such as introduction of Paracelsus's medical treatises among many examples.[115] This effort to reach contemporary knowledge also highlights the gradual change in understanding of the Ottoman ruling elite that more and more started to value practical knowledge. A testament to this is, Marquis de Nointel's letter to Louis

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[111] Ayşe Tek Başaran, "The Ottoman Printing Enterprise: Legalization, Agency and Networks, 1831-1863," (Phd diss., Boğaziçi University, 2019), 2.

[112] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 27.

[113] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 27.

[114] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 22.

[115] Çalışır, "A Virtuous Grand Vizier", 151.

XIV informs the French king regarding the sultan's request of works consisting most practical and updated knowledge from Ottoman scholar.[116] In this vein it can be said there was a similar project developing within Ottoman Empire in line with the imperial projects of courts of France and Habsburgs. In a sense, this cataloguing and organizing was an effort to position the Ottomans centrally at a significant temporal and spatial place within increasingly connecting early modern world.

Hezarfen's intellectual circle had several encyclopaedists and many of them were affiliated with the Köprülü household. Chief among these is Hezarfen Hüseyin's colleague and most probably inspiration Kâtip Çelebi, who penned the first comprehensive bibliography since the 10^{th} century the *el-Fihrist.* Drawing from traditional sources like Ibn al-Nadim's (c.995) the el-Fihrist, Nüveyrî's *Nihâyat al-arab fî fünûn al-Adab*, Ibn al-Kıftī's *Ikhbâr al-ulamâ*, the Taşköprüzâde's *Miftâhu's-saâde'*, Ibn Haldun's *Muqaddima*, Sübkî's *abaât'* and Ibn Hallikân's *Wafayât al-ayân, Keşfü'z-zünûn* consisted of 15,007 alphabetized entries for Arabic, Turkish and Persian titles.[117] As mentioned before, the *Keşfü'z-zünûn*'s popularity was not limited to the Ottoman lands as it was translated and utilized as a gateway to Islamic culture. Similarly, the *Takvimü't- Tevârih* which seeks to legitimize the Ottoman imperial project and situate it in a universal temporal scheme got translated by Gian Rinaldo Carli and received wide acclaim in Venetian literary circles.[118] Carli gleefully traces that Kâtib Çelebi is in conversation with the same classical tradition which European scholars were claiming origin which is one of the underlying arguments of Carli's wider translation project. [119]

Both the writings on Hezarfen and Hezarfen's own works bear testament to the powerful impact of Ottoman scholars. Furthermore, they showcase the degree of similarity between the scientific views these scholars shared with each other. As mentioned in the previous chapter, many of Hezarfen's works, either in part or in their entirety, have been translated into European languages. Moreover, most of these writers were deeply impressed by the character, knowledge, and methodology of Hüseyin Efendi. There are limited sources we can trace the methodological similarities directly. Hezarfen Hüseyin and Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's methodological overlap based on Marsigli's utilization of Hezarfen's entry on coffee in his alphabetically arranged medicinal encyclopaedia the *Tuhfetü'l- Erîbi*'n constituting a prime

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[116] Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker,* 43-44.

[117] İlhan Kutluer, "KEŞFÜ'z-ZUNÛN", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kesfuz-zunun.

[118] Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance,* 203.

[119] Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance,* 242.

example of the shared understanding of scholars.

First and foremost, Marsigli assures his readers the credibility of his source in medicine despite Hezarfen not being a doctor. However, Hezarfen had what most of the source did not have regarding Marsigli's subject, first-hand experience obtained at coffees origin place Yemen, enabling him to describe the differences regarding its growth and impact of seasons and climate. Furthermore, Hezarfen chooses sources for his medicine that have been used successfuly while providing translations for their names in the classical languages.[120] Rosita D'amora highlights how Hüseyin Efendi's rejection of the prior sources on coffee such as Davud-i Antâkî's entry in his medicine book is an indicator of his effort to build his own authority over the matter as a writer; as Hezarfan disregards prior sources that are not compatible with his meticulous standard.[121] Hezarfen's encyclopaedic approach showcases his intention to reevaluate existing knowledge and revise the available information within the Ottoman Empire through an empirical lens. According to Yıldırım, this methodological revision, also shared by his European contemporaries such as Marsigli, reflects the change of a pattern in the Ottoman intellectual world of the 17^{th} century.[122] Marsigli, also influenced by Paracelsian medicine and the idea of empiricism, chose Hezarfen's text to introduce coffee to Europe not only due to their personal acquaintance but also because Hezarfen produced based on a paradigm that is not too dissimilar to Marsigli's.[123]

It is beneficial to understand the encyclopaedic aspect of Hezarfen's writing's as well. Several of Hezarfen Hüseyin's works like the *Lisânü'l-etıbbâ fî lugati'l-edviye, and the Terceme-i Lugat-ı Hindî* are compilations and dictionaries designed to identify, store, and transfer existing information. In this sense, Hezarfen's works can be regarded as reference books. His works of history including the *Tenkihü't Tevârih* contained selected parts from older Ottoman sources in addition to the Greek and the Roman sources. Wurm argues that Hezarfen aimed to provide examples of political action based on the relevant historical events for the sultan and other statesmen, yet he included parts that are not in line with his precise and compact overall style; such as parts concerning China and India which showcases that, he also considers interests of his patrons in addition to his own scholarly preferences.[124]

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[120] Yıldırım, "Marsili, Bevanda Asiatica", 40.

[121] Rosita D'amora, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, Hezarfenn and the Coffee," 11.

[122] Yıldırım, "Marsili, Bevanda Asiatica," 44.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Wurm, Der osmanische Historiker, 95.

Most of Hezarfen's writing can be seen as union between *şerh* tradition and encyclopaedism. İsmail Kara explains contribution of *şerh* texts as reflection of contemporary problems and their possible solutions within new texts as additions made to already existing sources create a new stand that can allude to new discussions, preferences and conceptualizations while creating new hierarchies within text through highlighting different parts.[125] Moreover, selective use of sources itself demonstrates preferences of the author thus marking the trajectory author envisioned for future.[126] Hezarfen's approach involved selecting pertinent sourced based on his and his patron's preferences, updating certain sections as he deemed necessary, and omitting parts he considered irrelevant. He would then supplement the text with his original contributions to form the core of the work. One exception to this pattern is the *Telhîsü'l-Buldân*, where Hezarfen entirely copied Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî's text and only added a section critiquing Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa. A more detailed exploration of Hezarfen's advice texts like the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* in the next chapter will further elucidate this particular aspect.

In summary, Hezarfen's writings can be seen as a continuation of the scholarly circle he belonged to, representing the cosmopolitan intellectual sphere of Islam, and in the meantime making contemporary contributions to the concepts of early modernity. Many of Hezarfen's works consisted of collecting and rearranging existing texts, some within the tradition of commentary (*şerh*) and others resembling plagiarism, such as the *Telhîsü'l Buldân*. Therefore, Hezarfen's claim to originality may be limited due to the nature of his source utilization. The sections he used in his works were often from widely popular, well-known texts. Therefore, scholars of similar standing would likely recognize passages within Hezarfen Hüseyin's writings instantly. It is highly unlikely that this aspect of Hezarfen's was unknown rather it can be perceived as something different than classical means of producing knowledge which can explain lack of attention, he received from bibliographies pertaining poets and artists. The purpose behind Hezarfen's writing was to make valuable sources and knowledge accessible while updating them for contemporary use. His writing mannerism underlines a conscious decision to write in an encyclopaedic manner. He showed little interest in poetry or elaborate language, except when it served a specific purpose like entertaining the reader. He deliberately produced simple texts that minimized the heavy use of Arabic and Persian. His works aimed to provide clear, practical, and concise information aligned with the changing intellectual trends of the time.

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[125] İsmail Kara, "Unuttuklarını Hatırla! Şerh ve Haşiye Meselesine Dair Birkaç Not," Divan Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi 15, no. 28 (İstanbul:2010): 28.

[126] Kara, "Unuttuklarını Hatırla!," 29.

While Hezarfen and Kâtib Çelebi were not the first authors to engage with Western scholars; as oral and written interactions had already taken place, they were open to utilizing sources and engaging in conversations with the colleagues who shared similar understandings and methodologies, benefitting from the interconnectedness of intellectual spheres worldwide. Hüseyin Efendi himself was influenced by variety of the texts that came to the Ottoman Empire and in turn influenced European scholars and translators. Hezarfen's writings reflected the anxieties and intellectual tendencies of the Ottoman writing tradition, which he also conveyed to his European counterparts. Through active participation, Hüseyin Efendi played a role in shaping the Ottoman and Oriental images within Orientalist literature. Hezarfen's interactions demonstrated to Western audiences that Ottoman scholars were knowledgeable, curious, interesting, and sophisticated in their methodologies. These interactions resulted in the formation of a distinct image in Orientalist writing, echoing their own pessimistic views on the state of the Ottoman Empire.

3. ENÎSÜL-ÂRIFÎN

Among Hezarfen Hüseyin's surviving writings, his Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn holds a special place. It does not fit into the categories of a history book, a dictionary, or an encyclopaedia, nor is it simply a collection of stories like the Cami'ü'l-Hikâyât. Rather, the Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn serves as a significant marker of his intellectual journey, shedding light on his various intellectual choices and opinions. The work showcases Hezarfen's practical encyclopaedic approach, while subtly expressing his critique of Mehmed IV and Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa. In this sense it is both a siyasetnâme in line with the adab tradition and a critical risale. The Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn is divided into four sections, one introduction and three chapters. The first chapter comprises 14 sections selected from Filibeli Alâeddin Ali Çelebi's Hümâyûnnâme, which, in turn, is a translation of the well-known fable collection the Kelile ve Dimne, based on Kaşifî's Envâr-ı Süheylî. In the second chapter, Hezarfen's intentions become more apparent, as it claims to explain the 'İlm-i Şerîf-i Vezâret (the noble knowledge of governance). Finally, the last chapter focuses on the importance and value of advice (nasihat) and wisdom (hikmet). Stories he provides in these two chapters are separate from the Kelile ve Dimne cycle.

Through the Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn, Hezarfen Hüseyin skilfully combines elements of various genres to share his profound insights and viewpoints, making it a unique and invaluable contribution to the intellectual landscape of its time. The moral backbone of the book lies in the stories Hezarfen selected from the Hümâyûnnâme. Stories Hüseyin Efendi included in the second and third chapters are more exemplary and less subtle than stories of the Hümâyûnnâme corpus. Notably, the Kelile ve Dimne stories have a striking feature, suggesting a realist and morally ambiguous approach as the ideal modus operandi of a ruler. Unlike traditional tales, these fables demonstrate that intelligence and cunning are determining factors rather than goodness or morals. While the narration still values traits like honesty, diligence, and justice; the adventures of the animals in the book showcase that both benevolent and

malevolent acts are sometimes necessary to achieve success.[1] It is worth noting that these stories have a long association with Sufi culture. Their didactic yet entertaining nature allowed them to spread to various cultures and collections, ranging from Rûmî's Mesnevî to the tales of the Grimm Brothers. In the "sebeb-i telif" section (the reason for writing the work) of the Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn, Hezarfen does not explicitly point toward to a clear influence. Instead, he explains his decision to write the Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn through a common Sufi storytelling trope, divine inspiration received through a dream in the year 1679.[2]

Fascinatingly, Hezarfen's work was produced during a period of heightened interest in fairy tales and the Kelile ve Dimne stories. Antoine Galland and Pétis de La Croix both translated the One Thousand and One Nights into French. La Croix's translation of the text was based on Turkish tales collected from apprentice dragomans and circulating texts within dragoman circles, rather than relying on Arabic or Persian sources. Additionally, Galland himself translated the Hümâyûnnâme. Although neither Galland nor La Croix directly cited Hezarfen as a source, the shared interest in the fable tradition becomes significant when considering their other shared intellectual preferences and lengthy stays in the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, the Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn was very contemporary for its time when its concise and compact reworking of the Hümâyûnnâme is considered. The popularity of such stories in Istanbul not only indicates that these fables were experiencing their most popular period in Ottoman literature but also shows that Hüseyin Efendi's writings already resonated with his target audience.

Overall, Hezarfen's work reflects a literary landscape where interest in fables and similar tales was flourishing, making his work relevant and appealing to the intellectual tastes of the period. The text diverges from its predecessors in advice and storytelling genres. While the ethics and attributes discussed in the Kelile ve Dimne stories are generally applicable and avoid criticising individuals directly, Hezarfen's approach is more direct and critical. Furthermore, preceding advice texts like Koçibey's Risâle or Lütfi Paşa's Âsafnâme are more general in nature, focusing on criticizing broader societal changes without criticising the court directly. In addition, contents of these advice texts are obviously devoid of entertainment. In contrast, Hezarfen Hüseyin's Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn takes a different path, offering context for his advice through stories and then proceeding to thinly veil his criticisms of the sultan and the grand vizier under shadow of advice section. The target of the text is evidently grand vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa.

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[1] Helmut Ritter, *Doğu Mitolojisinin Edebiyata Etkisi, : Karsılastırmalı Edebiyat Metinleri*, trans. M. Kanar (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2011) 90.

[2] Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 3r-3v.

Moreover, Hezarfen's alterations to the Hümâyunnâme, as well as his emphasis on the vizier's virtues instead of the sultan's, mark a gradual shift from the sultan-centred world view to one that is more oriented towards the vizier. This shift reflects both literary and political paradigm changes occurring within the Ottoman Empire during the 17^{th} century. In essence, through its composition, the Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn stands as a witness to the evolving literary and political dynamics within the Ottoman Empire, showcasing how Hezarfen Hüseyin's work and ideas contributed and reacted to these changes.

3.1 A Stolen Entrance: The Introduction of Lâmi'î Çelebi

Lâmi'î Çelebi was a prominent poet and Nakşibendî sheikh from Bursa, known for his extensive portfolio of works, including translations from Arabic and Persian, dictionaries, biographies, menâkıbnâmes and humorous collections, as well as original works of poetry and prose. His works gained immense popularity among Ottoman readers. Some of the most popular texts in his bibliography are his extensive translations and şerh texts. Classics of the Islamic literature such as the Vâmık u Azrâ, the Gûy u Çevgân and the Heft-peyker were all introduced to Turkish-speaking readers through his translations. Therefore, he facilitated the transfer of a significant portion of the Timurid literary tradition, encompassing major literary works, biographical accounts, and bibliographical collections. Among all his translations, he is particularly noted for his special affection for Nakşibendî Timurid scholar 'Abdurrahmân Câmî to the extent that he was nicknamed Câmî-yi Rûm.[3]

Lâmi'î Çelebi's admiration for Hafız and Câmî can also shed light on his decision to write the *Şerefü'l-İnsân*, as both incorporated parts of the *Kelile ve Dimne* into their works.[4] Of his forty-six works, the most famous and popular one is the *Şerefü'l-İnsân*. This work is a translation of a section that details a debate between animals and men, originally found in an encyclopaedic manifesto authored by five anonymous writers known as the *Resâ'ilü'l-İhvani's-Safa*. The work explores religious, ethical, philosophical, and moral topics through fictional encounters involving discussions, comparisons, and analyses. It contains essays on a wide range of subjects; including mathematics, logic, geography, astronomy, philosophy, religion, and ethics, as well as essays on mythology, magic, and astrology. The manifesto defends Pythagoras

[3]Günay Kut, "LÂMİÎ ÇELEBİ" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi.* https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/lamii-celebi

[4]George Grigore, "Kalīla wa Dimna and Its Journey to The World Literatures," in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on The History of Arabic Literature,* Kyiv, May 19–20, 2016, ed. Olena Khomitska and Bohdan Horvat, (Kyiv: 2018) 82.

and Euclid on mathematics and geometry, Ptolemy on geography; Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates on philosophy. Furthermore, it became an important reference for Neoplatonism and Neopythagoreanism.[5]

Thus there is a thematic link between the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* and the *Şerefü'l-İnsân* as both are animal tales written by *Sufi* encyclopaedists who connect with classical Islamic readings of Greek philosophy as Hezarfen quoted Plato and Pythagoras extensively in the third chapter of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn.* Most surprisingly, rather than referencing it or taking a section from it, Hezarfen Hüseyin began his book by copying verbatim the introductory text written by Lâmi'î Çelebi for the *Şerefü'l-İnsan.*

Considering its renown, it can be expected that he *Şerefü'l-İnsan* was well-known in both scholarly and popular circles. Being among the most popular pieces of Ottoman literature, it has more than a hundred surviving copies to this day; therefore, it must have been an accessible text for Hezarfen and his milieu. Given this, it would be challenging for Hezarfen's readers not to notice the copied sections. However, it is more likely that Hezarfen's inclusion of Lâmi'î Çelebi's introductory text is an homage rather than plagiarism, as Lâmi'î Çelebi's spiritual and intellectual views align with Hezarfen's worldview. Lâmi'î was a well-known and beloved literary figure, as well as a Nakşibendî sheikh. Therefore, his compilation might have inspired Hezarfen Hüseyin in crafting his own work. Interestingly, Hezarfen did not cite Lâmi'î Çelebi at all, but he directly cites Ali Çelebi's *Hümâyûnnâme* as a source.[6] Hezarfen nearly copies the entire first chapter from the *Hümâyûnnâme.* He seems to incorporate his old writings to his texts as well. Tekdemir points out that several sections of the *Telhîsü'l-Beyân Fî Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman* are used in the second chapter of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn.*[7] However, this should be just the other way around, as the Telhîsü'l-Beyân was written after the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn.*[8] Further complicating the matter, Hezarfen defines the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* as a *mecmua*, which makes it more interesting as *mecmua*s were more or less collections of mixed writings.[9]

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[5]Enver Uysal, "RESÂİLÜ İHVÂNİ's-SAFÂ", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/resailu-ihvanis-safa (21.07.2023).

[6]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 3v.

[7]Tekdemir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi ve Ênîsü'l-Ârifîn," 8, 112, 132.

[8]The *Telhisü'l-Beyân* should be dated around 1685, as references from the text itself points to some events that occurred in 1683 and 1685. Therefore, İlgürel's dating of 1675 and Babinger's dating of 1669 cannot be accurate. This establishes a time difference of 6 years between the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn and the Telhîsü'l Beyân fî Kavanin-i Âl-i Osman.*For further details, cf. Babinger, 253; İlgürel, 4-13. The relevant references can be found in Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Telhîsü'l Beyân,* 192-195.

[9]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn*, 3r-3v.

Hezarfen's most controversial entry of this kind is the *Telhîsü'l Beyân fî Tahlîsi'l-Buldân*, where Hezarfen entirely copied Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî's *Fusûl-i Hall ü Akd ve Usûl-i Harc ü Nakd* and only added a section critiquing Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa.[10] Though this work was ordered by leading figures in the court after the failure of the siege of Vienna at 1683, it can be possible that it was aimed more as a quick propaganda piece rather than as a scholarly work. The situation with the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* requires a more in-depth approach regarding its originality.

The Islamic literary tradition, like many pre-modern literary traditions, expanded through translations, commentaries, replications, and derivative reproductions. This created a body of texts that are in conversation with each other. Consequently, majority of the scholars can be viewed as *nanos gigantum humeris insidentes, as dwarves* standing on the shoulders of giants. As previously discussed, Lâmi'î Çelebi himself built his fame mainly with translations and commentaries.

Our modern notions of originality, translation and commentary, makes us overlook the historical evolution of early modern literary or scholarly texts. The term translation or *terceme* held a broader significance in the pre-modern era than mere word-to-word rendition. It encompassed not only literal translation but also the practice of reworking or reconstructing texts through the act of translation.[11] The translation of widely recognized and canonical works involved various approaches; including expansion, updating, reducing, abridgment, and reformation of the text within the literary, historical, and sociological context of the translating community.[12] This multifaceted process extended analogous opportunities to subsequent readers, thereby establishing the translation of these canonical texts or their translations as a means of argumentative literary production.

Anthony Grafton attributes the development of the *şerh* ('commentary' or 'exegesis') as a tradition to the sophistication of Qur'anic studies. He notes that the *şerh*s written on philosophy, mathematics and sciences followed the argumentative scholarly tradition of the late antiquity, and debated the same scientific and philosophical questions thus underscoring the classical roots of the tradition.[13] İsmail Kara explains that *şerh* is an essential part of Islamic scholarship; as it is a comprehensive

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[10] Özdemir and Lokmacı, "Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılığında Bir İntihal Örneği," 343.

[11] Saliha Paker, "Terceme, te'lif ve özgünlük meselesi," in *Metnin hâlleri: Osmanlı'da telif, tercüme ve şerh,* ed. Hatice Aynur et al. (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2014), 42.

[12] Paker, "Terceme, te'lif ve özgünlük meselesi," 43.

[13] Anthony Grafton, "Şerh," in *Metnin hâlleri: Osmanlı'da telif, tercüme ve şerh,* ed. Hatice Aynur et al. (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2014) 399.

concept that includes commentary, criticism, analysis, revision and adaptation.[14]

One of the functions of the *şerh* is to explain a text and increase its accessibility while considering the hierarchical nature of *'ilm*, which meant that knowledge circulated at different levels among scholars. [15] In this vein it is beneficial to perceive *şerh* texts in two dimesions. Firstly, they can be utilized as a medium for explaining or understanding the original text like work. Secondly, they can function as the main text that using the original or other *şerh* texts as a framework against or for the argumentation in the *şerh*.

For example Ibn Rüşd, a prominent scholar and commentator (*şârih*) wrote several *şerh* works that varied in their scope, ranging from translation to commentary, argumentative essays to compilations. Through these works, Ibn Rüşd provided conceptual analysis of Aristotle's philosophy, offered a critical assesment of Aristotle and his followers, eliminated pagan terms and concepts while integrating the texts to the Islamic canon, and repositioned a variety of concepts to better fit the Islamic tradition. Similarly Ibn Sina's texts were widely used as sources for şerh books, such as those of Râzi and Tusî.[16] Further highlighting this tradition of intertextual relations is Ahmed Sûdî's *Şerh-i Dîvân-ı Hâfız*. It includes references to many other *şerh* texts, including those by Lâmi'î Çelebi and Molla Câmî, which Sûdî used as a framework to construct his own version.[17]

Hezarfen's colleague and friend Kâtib Çelebi states that *şerh* books were written in response to the need for higher standards of textbooks to be used at madrasas and to elevate the standards of new scholars within the ranks of the *ulema*.[18] In addition, Kara highlights the demand for accessibility from the reading public, noting that many Ottoman authors indicated in the *sebeb-i telif* of their commentaries as request of their students, patrons, readers or colleagues.[19] This demand can be traced not only through the classical period of Islamic literature but also during vernacularisation of the Ottoman literature as well. Some examples of this kind of translations are Ahmedî's dictionary the *Bedayi' u's-sihr fi sanayi'i'ş-şi'r* was based on the Raşidüddin Vatvat's work the *Hada'ik el-sihr fi Daka'ik el-şir'*. Ahmed-i Dâ'î's dictionary

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[14]Kara, "Unuttuklarımı Hatırla!," 12.

[15]Kara, "Unuttuklarımı Hatırla!," 13.

[16]Kara, "Unuttuklarımı Hatırla!," 7.

[17]İnan, "Osmanlıca şerhlerinin metinselliği üzerine," 316.

[18]Kara, "Unuttuklarımı Hatırla!," 16.

[19]Kara, "Unuttuklarımı Hatırla!," 16.

the *'Ukudu'l-cevâhir* was a shortened version of Vatvat's *Nukuddüd-zevahir*.[20] Kaşifî himself acknowledges his debt Ibn al-Moqaffa.[21]

In the light of this background, it can be said that the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* is an abridged *şerh* of the *Hümâyûnnâme.* Therefore, it is natural that it includes significant portions of the text in the first chapter. However, Hezarfen makes substantial alterations to the text, making it unfair to label it as a direct quotation. He removes the majority of substories that do not correlate with the messages he aims to convey in the book. Furthermore, Hezarfen lightens the language of the text, enhancing its legibility. He also removes nearly all digressions and eliminates a considerable amount of poetry.

3.2 A Selection of Classics

The *Hümâyûnnâme* and the *Kelile ve Dimne* texts both follow several storytelling tropes. Within these texts, the narrative is constructed around a frame story that skilfully weaves together various stories. The authors utilize each layer to convey ideas or emphasize lessons. However, unlike the conventions of the *Hümâyûnnâme* genre, Hezarfen takes a practical approach to storytelling that complements the condensed and concise nature of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn.* Hezarfen dismantles the wider narrative of the story by omitting references to the frame story. Hüseyin Efendi removes Ali Çelebi's additional frame story concerning *Hümâyûn* and *Hüceste.*[22] Furthermore he eliminates the frame story of the Kelile ve Dimne cycle as well. Consequently, sections pertaining to Dâbşelîm and Bîdpây are also absent from the story, along with the introductory parts of every story. Still, Hezarfen retains the rhetorical questions of the narrative duo; but he presents them similar to the Islamic legal tradition of *Sual and Cevab* (Question and Answer) without specifically referring to them.[23]

First chapter of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* contains a total of twenty-one stories, all of which are taken from the *Hümâyûnnâme.* In addition to these tales, there are eighteen stories in the text, but Hezarfen Hüseyin does not provide sources for

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[20]Sucu, "Rûm'da Kozmopolit Model Kurmak," 26.

[21]G. M. Wickens, "ANWÂR-E SOHAYLI" in *Encyclopædia Iranica,* Vol. II, Fasc. 2, 140-141, Accessed June 10, 2023, https://iranicaonline.org/articles/anwar-e-sohayli.

[22]Bülbül, Hümâyûn-nâme, 182-203.

[23]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 4v.

them. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether these stories were translations from another source or were orally circulated within the intellectual circles of the Ottoman Empire. Alongside the removal of two frame stories, Hezarfen also omits sections from several stories to hasten the pace of the book. Most of the omissions consist of introductory sections and background details, although some are abrupt enough to disrupt the continuity of the text.

This editing approach might serve as an indicator of the expected literacy and education level of the potential audience of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*, considering that the *Kelile ve Dimne* stories and the *Hümâyûnnâme* were particularly popular and well known in the 17^{th} century Ottoman Empire. What Hezarfen Hüseyin did select from the Hümâyûnnâme are stories that convey the fourteen wisdoms from Bidpây's narration. In the present work, a comprehensive examination of the story selection and arrangement reveals a distinct pattern in the inclusion and exclusion of tales. Divided into fourteen sections, the work features twenty-one stories derived from the renowned *Hümâyûnnâme.*

The first section, aptly titled "The Lion and the Ox" encompasses four stories, namely "The Monkey and The Carpenter", "The Fox and the Drum", "The Crow Who Outwitted Cobra", and "The Turtle and the Scorpion", The subsequent parts demonstrate a varied approach with the majority containing only the central frame story and excluding specific substories entirely, while others include a substory. For instance, the second part, titled "Investigation of Dimna," surprisingly includes none of its ten substories. Moving forward, the third section solely presents the frame story "The Ring Dove" without incorporating any of its five substories. Similarly, the fourth part revolves around "The Owls and the Crows" frame story while excluding thirteen substories. The fifth part focuses on the "Island of Monkeys" frame story and excludes two substories. Similarly, the sixth part, containing "Marriage of the Zahid" frame story, also omits two substories. In the seventh section, featuring the "Wildcat and the Rat" frame story, two substories are again absent. The eighth part presents the "Padishah and the Bird" frame story along with the "Story of Dânâ-dil" as a substory, but six of the seven substories are excluded. Continuing with the analysis, the ninth part includes "The Jackal and the Lion" frame story and the "Sufî and Sweets Dealer" substory but omits four others. The tenth part, centred on the "Caracal and Lion" frame story, excludes two substories. Moving forward, the eleventh section contains the "Zahit and Frank" frame story, and only one out of four substories is included, namely "Man with Two Wives" The twelfth part, featuring the "Hilâl and Bila" frame story, and surprisingly does not include any of its three substories. In the thirteenth section, the "Shah's Daughter and Jeweler" frame story also stands alone, with none of its substories included. Lastly,

the fourteenth part, focusing on the "Padishah and Two Princes" frame story, omits both of its two substories.

Hezarfen's selective inclusion of the stories provides an opportunity to explore his thought process. Frame stories that retain their substories can be divided into two groups. First ones are the necessary stories for fourteen wisdom narrative to work, meaning the stories concerning wisdom of each section and substories concerning *Kelile ve Dimne*'s adventures. Others are more thematically relevant one for Hezarfen's advice. The eighth section advises avoiding spiteful and malicious people and disregarding their chatter. It also advises disregarding their kind words.[24] The ninth section advises the ruler to cultivate a forgiving approach to maintain the loyalty and trust of his statesmen and subjects.[25] The eleventh section states that a person shouldn't ask for more as it would lead to loss of what he already has and will be in a worse condition than before. Therefore, a person should be content with the blessings they have and should not engage in activities that are not suitable for their standing to obtain more.[26] This selective pattern in story inclusion and exclusion within the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* may have been influenced by factors such as practicality and considerations of the intended audience's literary knowledge and preferences. Additionally, it offers insights into the topics that most intrigued Hezarfen Hüseyin within the story cycle. Notably, the themes emphasized by Hezarfen in these stories revolve around avoiding malevolent individuals and their flattery, recognizing the value of astute advisers, and gaining a deeper understanding of one's position within the world. It becomes evident that Hezarfen aims to convey a message about the critical role of trusted advisors, particularly considering his own diminished popularity after the passing of his patron, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa. Through his careful selection of stories, Hezarfen might be subtly imparting insights into his experience, value, and adeptness at navigating the complex realm of court politics, while also highlighting the enduring significance of wisdom and discernment in governance.

[24]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 86r.

[25]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn, 92r-92v.*

[26]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,110v*

3.3 A Handbook for Vizier

According to Bak and Benecke, it is hard to advocate for change or resolve conflict through a direct discourse in pre-modern societies.[27] It is a challenging task to voice criticism in the court where grudges are usually paid in blood. In this light, Hezarfen's interactions with viziers from the Köprülü household illustrates the complex relations between advice and criticism, as well as between patron and client. Ottoman scholars' opinion on the Köprülü viziers were divisive. Köprülü Mehmed Paşa's strict policies and harsh punishments were in contrast with the evident return to order in Istanbul and gradual empowerment of the empire because of his policies. Evliya Çelebi depicted Köprülü Mehmed in a negative light due to his attitude against Evliya's patron Melek Ahmed Paşa. Fındıklılı Silahdar Mehmed Ağa painted Köprülü Mehmed's rule as a reign of terror in his history.[28] Whereas historians such as Mehmed Halife approved Mehmed Paşa's harshness as his actions suppressing janissary and sipahi influence reinstated order. Historians like Nihâdî and Şeyhî praised his protection of the state former calling him musahhih-i devlet (corrector of the state) and latter naming him a protector of the empire.[29] Following Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed is held in much higher regard, Evliyâ explains his difference from his father stating that unlike his bloodthirsty father, Fazıl Ahmed was a virtuous ghazi with an Aristo like mind.[30] Furthermore, historians like Naima increasingly adopted a vizier centric understanding that reads the Ottoman history primarily through the vizier's actions rather than the sultan.[31]

This paradigm shift was related to changes in the social and economic composition of the Ottoman state in addition to the political shift occurred during the rise of the Köprülü dynasty. Gottfried Hagen notes that the court historian slowly disappeared from the 17^{th} historiography during the seventeenth century, being replaced by authors from middle strata of *ilmiye* and *kalemiye*. This transition can be observed as early as 1624 with the history of janissary officer Hüseyin Tugî, which detailed the dethronement of the Osman II.[32] Instead of the elaborate prose used by

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[27] Janos Bak, Gerhad Benecke, Religion and rural revolt: *papers presented to the Fourth Interdisciplinary Workshop on Peasant Studies. Dover, New Hampshire,* (USA: Manchester University Press, 1984).

[28] Tülay Artan, "Imaginary Voyages, Imagined Ottomans," 83.

[29] Çalışır, "A Virtious Grand Vizier," 11.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Cumhur Bekar, "Köprülü Mehmed Paşa'nın Osmanlı Tarih Yazımında Değişen Algısı" Tarihyazımı, no. 1 (Summer 2019): 72.

[32] Hagen, "Afterword," 253.

court historians like Kemalpaşazâde, Mustafa 'Âlî and Karaçelebizâde, historians of bureaucrat and *ulema* origin preferred a simple and straightforward style.[33]

Hezarfen's writings can be seen as one of the prime examples of vizier-centric understanding of the 17^{th}century as Hezarfen's advice primarily concerns the grand vizier. Throughout the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* Hezarfen underlines importance of advice and criticizes court members with low morals. He advises the sultan to disregard and silence the gossipers because it is hard to find a good vizier.[34] Still, Hezarfen advises controlling the vizier through employing critical thinking advisors, closely surveying the vizier's actions and warn the vizier concerning his trajectory. Furthermore, even if they commit mistakes Hezarfen urges rulers to exile them to İpsala or Malkara rather than to execute them as it is hard to find good and reliable people.[35] Hezarfen advocates for *ulema* and scholars as well, stating that it is necessary to acknowledge their power and worth, recognize and reward the merit of the veteran scholars while warning against rewarding unworthy people and causing them to plague the country. He adds that prayers and hindsight of the learned would prevent harm to the state.[36] Furthermore, he advises the sultan to converse with historian *musahib*s at least once a week and advises not to hold grudges against their honest words.[37] This raises the suspicion that if Hezarfen had a similar experience and fell from good graces of the sultan or the grand vizier.

Hezarfen underlines the importance of advice many times throughout his text. He conveys the importance of humility for the grand vizier and highlights the necessity of advice for them as receiving guidance themselves, they can effectively and rightfully offer counsel to the sultan.[38] His advice for the grand vizier includes keeping secrets, being accessible, and maintaining a good entourage, preferably composed of meritorious individuals. Similarly, he advises the grand vizier to have an open door policy.[39] The grand vizier must fearlessly advise the Sultan on matters of religion and state, and never hesitate to speak the truth. Moreover, the grand vizier should appoint deserving individuals from humble backgrounds to important positions and maintain a close relationship with them but should keep them in good condition

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[33]Hagen, " Afterword," 255.

[34]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn*, 152v.

[35]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 153r.

[36]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 151r.

[37]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 150v-151r.

[38]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn*, 110v

[39]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 153v.

as not to let them be influenced by others. However, the grand vizier should not support or protect incompetent individuals in their roles. Instead, they should entrust significant responsibilities to influential and respected figures within the court. The grand vizier should embody calmness and piety, guiding the Sultan away from materialistic inclinations and steering him towards righteousness. It is crucial to prevent the wealth of the people from being misappropriated by the sultan, as this could lead to the downfall of the entire state.[40]

3.3.1 Mystic Warnings for a Fundamentalist court

The long struggle between radicals inspired by Kadızâde Mehmed and *Sufî*'s stands as one of the most remarkable influences impacting intellectual output in the 17^{th} century. Hezarfen's treatise was delivered to the court of Mehmed IV who patroned some of the most prominent *Kadızâdeli* preachers. Hezarfen's scholarly career flourished in a heated atmosphere that saw the rise of the second wave of *Kadızâde* mentality. From the 1630s to the 1680s violent clashes erupted between the zealous Kadızâdelis and their Sufi adversaries. These conflicts were fueled particularly by the former's hostility towards *bid'at* practices, such as Sufi rituals *sema* and *devran* and popular substances consumed like tobacco, coffee, and wine.[41] The Ottoman government's official stance towards this movement was contingent upon the power dynamics at the court. Köprülü Mehmed Paşa disbanded the Kadızâdeli presence in Istanbul after he became the grand vizier. However, his son Fazıl Ahmed Paşa financially supported Vanî Mehmed Efendi, who advocated a hard-line religious policy and held anti-Christian and anti-Jewish sentiments. Where did the Köprülü dynasty stand amidst waves of Kadızâdelî preachers?

The affiliation between Vâni Mehmed and the Köprülü dynasty appears to be a crucial point of criticism aimed at the Köprülüs. This criticism was evident in chronicles of the period, and also prevailed within very intellectual circles the court and the Köprülüs funded. To such an extent that *Sufî* mystic Niyâzî-i Mısrî (d.1694) likened Vânî's presence to pestilence. Mısrî's antagonistic attitude towards Vânî was based on both latter's anti-Sufi policies and Mısrî's apparent jealousy towards Vânî's personal influence. In Mısrî's perspective, Vânî's influence was seen as potentially eroding the Köprülü lineage, much like how he believed Vânî had extinguished the

[40] Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn*, 153v-154r.

[41] Tülay Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression," 379.

Ottoman line.[42] Mısrî further criticized Vânî through his reliance on imperial authority, likening the support of the Sultan to a concrete wall Vânî relied on.[43] He also seems to tie Köprülü influence with Vânî as well.

In Mısrî's view, Vânî's corruption of both the Ottoman and the Köprülü dynasties were the root cause of the defeat in Vienna and the deposition of Mehmed IV (1688). As Mehmed IV consolidated his power and began to exert more direct control over the empire, the remnants of the Köprülü influence hindered his efforts to establish absolute authority. Consequently, Vânî Mehmed Efendi was exiled to Bursa where his family held prestigious titles. According to Terzioğlu, Vânî had managed to enhance his influence in Bursa before his exile, largely due to the support of the Köprülü Family.[44] The puritan ideas he revived endured beyond his passing, just as his lineage did. In this context, it becomes important to question how Vânî Efendî's legacy aligns with the image of the *Kadızâdelis*.

Vânî vehemently opposed certain innovations, Sufi practices, and the practices of high-ranking *ulema.* He was noted for his fanaticism against dervishes, sheikhs, and other nationalities (*milletlere*).[45] Furthermore, Marc David Baer claims that Fazıl Ahmed Paşa played a significant role at Islamization of Istanbul. He portrays Fazıl Ahmed Paşa as a reformist and revivalist figure in the political and religious realms of the Ottoman Empire, citing his invitation and patronage of Vânî Mehmed Efendî.*Marc David Baer, The Great Fire of 1660 and Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul" International Journal of Middle East StudiesVol 36, no.2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 164.* On the other hand, Muhammed Fatih Çalışır, illustrates a different Fazıl Ahmed Paşa who follows an adaptive and systematic approach to statecraft, stating that Ahmed Paşa played a pivotal role in revitalizing the Ottoman imperial capabilities by actively promoting the creation and widespread dissemination of new and updated knowledge within the Ottoman realms.[46] It is more probable that, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's actions against Jewish minority was based on their changing economic role in the Ottoman Empire, as while this censure and acquisition of Jewish holding were continuing, Fazıl Ahmed continued to grow his patronage network of non-Muslim Ottoman minorities like his establishment of post of Imperial Dragoman of the Porte and patronage of drago-

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[42]Derin Terzioğlu, *"Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısrî, 1618-1694"* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1999) 336.

[43]Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," 342.

[44]Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident," 154

[45]Kepecioğlu, *Bursa Kütüğü* IV., 222.

[46]Çalışır, "A Virtuous Grand Vizier," 169-171.

mans such as Panagiotis Nikusios and Alexander Mavrocordatos. Furthermore, the family worked with Italian doctor Giovanni Mascellini and funded translation projects aiming to incorporate new learning to the empire's intellectual sphere.

Thus, it can be said that the court of Mehmed IV consisted of a variety of people with different backgrounds. Through Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's patronage, both orthodox Sunni and *Sufi* scholars interacted and influenced the court. However, by the late 1680s the power of the *Sufi* faction was waning, while figures like Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi were on the rise. Therefore, Hezarfen's writings were directed to a court which was different from the one he was accustomed to operating within. It appeared that he was gradually pushed out of the vicinity of the grand vizier as the position was taken over by Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa. This exclusion might be the reason why he developed connections with his adversaries like Musahib Mustafa Paşa. Nevertheless, Hezarfen maintained his connections with the Köprülü household, particularly with Vişnezâde İzzetî and Ankaravî Mehmed. Despite this, he did attempt to interact with Merzifonlu, as he dedicated two of his books to Merzifonlu Mustafa. The first one, the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn,* contained underhanded warnings to Merzifonlu regarding his way of vizierate; while the second one, the *Telhîsü'l Buldân*, involved criticisms of Merzifonlu, was written at the request of leading figures in the court.[47]

3.4 The *Enîs* within Hümâyûnnâme Corpus

The role of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* in Ottoman history extends beyond its relevance to the political events of its time. The epitome of the *Kelile ve Dimne* stories in Ottoman culture was Ali Çelebi's translation based on the *Envâr-ı Süheylî* named the *Hümâyûnnâme*. Ali Çelebi presented the book to Sultan Süleyman I which enjoyed the book immensely[48] Ali Çelebi's *Hümâyûnnâme* quickly became a timeless "hit" resulting in a hundred and nine direct copies of the work through following centuries.[49] It influenced several fields as it provided fertile ground for the flourishing Ottoman *nasihatname* and *adab* culture. A new miniature field adhering to the Ottoman school emerged around the *Hümâyûnnâme*.[50] Both the *Kelile ve Dimne* and

[47]Özdemir and Lokmacı, "Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılığında Bir İntihal Örneği," 346.

[48]Bülbül, *Hümâyûn-nâme,* 18-19.

[49]Bülbül, *Hümâyûn-nâme*, 144

[50]Şebnem Parladır, "Ali Çelebi'nin Hümâyunnâmesi," 49-50.

the *Hümâyûnnâme* hold a unique place within the political advice genre, merging entertainment with ethics through a blend of the whimsical tales of animals and the grim realities of political life. This juxtaposition places the reader in an almost surreal proposition that serves as a cautionary tale about the intricate nature of power dynamics.

Beyond the shared lineage with the *Kelile ve Dimne* stories, the *Hümâyûnnâme* and by extension the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* were simplified texts in terms of language use. Kâtib Çelebi shed light on the contemporary preferences for prose texts, defining the science of prose as covering accounts that are 'the accounts that are deemed proper, clear, beautiful, appropriate [to the positions] and the rules, which pertain to them.'[51] Ali Çelebi clarified his purpose in simplifying text as complexity and elaborateness of Kaşifî's language created challenges for the audience in the lands of Rum. Similarly, Hezarfen also explained his reason for creating an abridged version, stating his aim to enhance clarity and accessibility.[52] Thus, showcasing how vernacularisation and expectations of readers dictated new trajectories in the Ottoman literature. It can be said that the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* marked a significant change in the *adab*, through combining it more direct advice thus bringing together practical and theoretical applications of *adab*. Utilization of stories as support for arguments and moral lessons is a tradition as old as the literature itself, still Hezarfen's practical and relatively direct way of doing it over the course of the last two chapters demonstrates that he brought dynamism and a breath of fresh air to the corpus through the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*.

Furthermore, like many texts, the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* also served as a referential text or a textbook. This is evident from reader notes in the Süleymaniye version. Examples of notetaking on the manuscript indicate its use as a reference book. Readers annotated Persian words and provided their meanings, such as explaining that *puzine* means monkey.[53] In addition to this, knowledge of characters in story are identified in these side notes, such as species of *Kelile ve Dimne*.[54] Rubah (which means fox) is also identified as a fox in notes.[55] This practice of using the text as a reference extends further, as advice sections are included in a later *mecmua* thus demonstrating the text's utilization in professional adab as well.

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[51]Ekin Emine Tusalp. "Political Literacy and the Politics of Eloquence: Ottoman Scribal Community in the Seventeenth Century" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2017), 154.

[52]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 3v-3r.

[53]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn*, 7v.

[54]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 8v.

[55]Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 9v.

Practicality is a central concept within the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*; as Hezarfen Hüseyin's editing, cutting, and reordering of stories underscore the precision of his writing. In contrast to more traditional texts within the *Hümâyûnnâme* corpus, where entertainment takes precedence, the *Enîs* focuses on practicality. Hezarfen frequently omits sections from stories, skips entire subplots or meta plotlines, and deconstructs the frame story if they do not practically support his advice in the following two chapters. While there are several abridged versions of the *Hümâyûnnâme*, such as Ahmed Midhat's *Marzubânnâme.* They lack the same emphasis on practicality and directness found in the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn.* In this regard, it can be argued that no successor followed Hezarfen's path, perhaps due to the straightforward and unembellished nature of his transmission of stories which lacked significant additions or alterations. When the immediate context of the book as an advice book presented to Merzifonlu lost its relevance after that era, its artistic and playful elements were not substantial enough to provide acclaim. However, it's remained popular enough for continued copying until the 19^{th} century as copies of the text date around 19^{th} century.

In this regard, Tekdemir's assumption of popularity of Hezarfen's works overlooks the survival rates of manuscripts. Although there are three surviving copies of the *Enisü'l-Arifin* it does not necessarily means that Hezarfen's works were totally unpopular. Even highly popular printed books that have been produced in incredible amounts for early modern era have notoriously low copies that made it to our day. Out of 200,000 indulgences printed in turn of the 16^{th} century by Montserrat Benedictines only 6 remains to this day.[56] Countless popular and referenced books became lost throughout the history of Islamic literature and even the amount we have left from the Hümâyûnâme corpus is much lower than the number of copies penned or printed. It is highly unlikely that Hezarfen's Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn continued to be copied and circulated in great numbers after its initial production, as such popular texts generally have higher survival rates. However, later date of the Süleymaniye and the British manuscript demonstrates that it stayed relevant enough to be copied at in 18^{th} and 19^{th} centuries. Relative modesty of the copies can be considered as an indicator of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*'s popularity as an *adab* text utilized by scribal community as well.

[56] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 30

3.4.1 Aim for Practicality: Quick literature? An abridged book of tales

Hezarfen Hüseyin's aim for practicality necessitated a different approach to storytelling to realize his goal for increased accessibility and practicality. His way of doing this was to leave popular narrative tools and tricks outside of the text. Digressions, parenthetical remarks, and audience aside sections are popular tropes of storytelling persisting through ages.[57] Yet unlike traditional texts, like Rûmî's *Mesnevî* or Ali Çelebi's *Hümâyûnnâme*, the *Enîs* is bereft of such diversion to keep the reader engaged. Removal of digressions and introductory sentences aimed at keeping reader or listener engaged and entertained emphasizing the practicality of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*. Language of the *Hümâyûnnâme*, therefore story sections of the Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn are written in elegant but simple prose. Hezarfen further simplifies the language by removing long sentences from the text.

> Hümayunname
>
> Şetrebe çün nâm-ı şīr ü sibâı işitdi ġâyet-i vehminden iṭâatden ġayrı çâre bulmayup eyitdi: Eger beni siyâsetden [H-49b] emīn ılursan ve def-i şūr u şerr ü żararına żâmin olursan fermânuna muṭī oluram ve vesīle-i murâfaatun ile şeref-i idmet ve kerâmet-i mülâzemet buluram. Dimne eymân-ı ġılâ u şidâd ile gâva itimâd u itiâd virüp maiyyet ile cânib-i şīre müteveccih oldılar. [U-41b] Dergâh-ı şīre arīb varıca Dimne ilerü vardı. Gâvun udūmundan aber virdi. Bir zemândan ṣonra gâv geldi. Şerâiṭ-i idmeti yirine getürdi.[58]
>
> Enîs'ül-Ârifîn
>
> (14) [...] Şetrebe çün nâm-ı şîr ve sibâ'ı (15) işitdi gâyet-i vehminden itâ'atden gayrı çâre bulmayub eyitdi (16) eger beni siyâsetden emīn kılursan fermânına muti' olurum. Dimne (17) eymân-ı gılâz u şidâd ile gâva i'tikâd virüb ma'iyyetiyle cânib-i (18) Şīre müteveccih oldılar. Dergâh-ı şīre karīb varıcak Dimne (19) ilerü vardı gâvıñ kudûmundan haber virdi. Bir zamândan soñra (20) gâv geldi. Şerâ'it-i hizmeti yerine getirdi.[59]

Furthermore, Hezarfen excludes substories entirely, removes poems and abruptly continues the narrative where the abridged story ends, producing a dizzying reading experience that distrupts the flow of the text:

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[57] İlhan Başgöz, "Digression in Oral Narrative: A Case Study of Remarks by Turkish Romance Tellers" *The Journal of American Folklore* Vol. 99, No. 391 (Jan.-Mar., 1986): 5-6.

[58] Bülbül, Hümâyûn-nâme, 326.

[59] Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l Ârifîn,* 11r.

Hümayunname

Ben menzile vü maḥallümden ve mertebe-i evvelümden tenezzül itdüm. Kelīle cevâb virdi ki: Mıṣrâ: Cân-ı men od-kerdeī od-kerde râ tedbīr nīst. Bu tīşe-i belâyı pâyuna yine kendün urdun ve bu ġubâr-ı fitneyi yine sen aldurdun. Sana ol manṣūbe olmışdur ki ol zâhide olmışdur. Dimne eyitdi: Ne vech ile olmışdur ol? ikâyet: Kelīle eyitdi: Rivâyet iderler ki pâdşâhlardan birisi bir zâhide bir kisvet-i zībâ ve ilat-i dībâ aṭâ ıldı ve bir düzd-i ṭarrâr u ayyâr ki âdir idi ki ḥiṣâr-ı Keyvân'a nab uraydı ve dīde-i Zühre'den sürmeyi apaydı ve acūze-i dehrüñ aġzından ṣaızın alaydı, bu ḥâle muṭṭali olup ır-ı ṭamaı ḥarekete geldi ve ayâl-i ilat ile alvet-i zâhide varup dest-i irâdet ile dâmen-i idmetine teşebbüs itdi ve taallüm-i âdâb-ı ṭarīat ve eṭvâr-ı ḥaīatde cidd-i temâm gösterdi, tâ ol ḥīle ile maḥrem-i alveti olup bir gice furṣat bulup ilati götürdi ve râh-ı beyâbânı ṭutdı. Çün ṣabâḥ oldı zâhid alveti ilatden âlī ve mürīd-i cedīdi ġâib ü nâ-bedīd buldı. Bildi ki ol kūtâh-âstīnüñ dırâz-destligidür.[60]

Hümayunname

Bu meseli anunçün getürdüm tâ bilesin ki bu gird-âb-ı belâ ve ġar-âb-ı miḥnete sen seni atdun ve bu bâb-ı renc ü meşaâti sen sana feṭḥ itdün. Beyt: Sen itdün kendü gülzârun yirin âr / Yiridür k'olasın bülbül gibi zâr Mıṣrâ: Âir ze ki nâlīm ki ez mâst ki ber-mâst. Dimne eyitdi: Belī râst söylersin ki bunı yine bana ben itdüm, velī sen bu bâbda ne tedbīr idersin ve bu udenün ḥallinde ne ḥīle tedârük eylersin?[61]

Hezarfen

(5) Ben menzil ve mahallimden ve mertebe-i evvelimden tenezzül etdim. (6) Kelile cevâb virdi ki bu tîşe-i belâyı pâyuña yine kendüñ urduñ (7) ve bu gubâr-ı fitneyi yine sen kaldurdun Beyt Sen itdün kendi (8) Gülzârıñ begüm hâk / Yeridir Gâvla sen bülbül gibi zâr. Dimne eyitdi (9) Belī rast söylersin ki bunı bana yine ben itdüm velî sen bu bâbda ne (10) tedbir idersin ve bu 'ukdenin halline ne hÎle idersin. [62]

[60] Bülbül, Hümâyûn-nâme, 328-330.

[61] Bülbül, Hümâyûn-nâme, 340.

[62] Hezarfen Hüseyin, Enîsü'l Ârifîn, 12r.

3.5 Ottoman Ethics

The Ottoman understanding of *adab* encompasses both a subject matter and a corresponding genre of literature. As a subject, it includes a wide range of topics related to sovereignty, including practices of statecraft and ceremonial expressions of political culture. As a literary genre, it is aimed at courtly audiences and members of the cultural elite, with the intention of conveying exemplary royal conduct and principles of governance. For instance, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, a renowned bureaucrat, historian, and prolific writer, offers several works that exemplify Ottoman *adab* literature towards the end of the 16^{th} century.[63] While *ada*b is concerned with establishing proper conduct, imparting virtues, ethics, and cultivating professional and scholarly skills; a new type of advice literature emerged in the Ottoman Empire, beginning with writers like Âlî. This new category of writings focused on the current state of the empire, as exemplified by works such as those of Koçi Bey and Lütfi Paşa. These writings can be seen as symptomatic of the significant transformation that the Ottoman Empire underwent during the 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries. Furthermore, both the target audience of literary production and authorship expanded to include the middle-ranking echelons of the state hierarchy during the 17^{th} century.

Abou al-Haj explains that similar to Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî's *Nushatü's-selâtîn*, Koçi Bey's *Risale* was a partisan tract that aimed to bring back the disenfranchised ruling elite of the empire as the central force, reminiscent of the "golden age" of the empire, spanning from Mehmed II to the end of Süleyman I's reign.[64] Hezarfen shares this concept of a golden age with other Ottoman advice and history writers. He praises Sultan Selim's rule and mourns Şehzâde Mustafa's death.[65] However, he also recognizes the contemporary needs of the empire and introduces new dimensions to the ongoing narrative. For instance, while he reaffirms the golden age in his later work, the *Telhîsü'l Beyân fî Kavanin-i Âl-i Osman*, he acknowledges that each era has its own requirements, rules, and evolving nature.[66] Most of the points he made

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[63] Tülay Artan, "The First, Hesitant Steps of Ottoman Protocol and Diplomacy into Modernity (1676-1725)", *The Court Historian* (2021), 29-43, 26 (1).

[64] Abou el-Haj, "Review Article: Metin Kunt," 222-223.

[65] Hezarfen Hüseyin, *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn*

[66] "illa her husus yazıldığı üzere yerlü yerinde olmak her asırda müyesser değildür. Nihayet bir devletin asırlarına göre biribirinden farkı olur. Daima nesk-i vahid üzere olagelmemişdir. Zira mukteza-yı etvarı tabiat-ı temeddün ve ictima böyle olmakdır. Hilafı reca olunmaz,", "Pes, bu asırlar ol zamana kıyas olunmaz. Zira a'mal-i düvelde etvar-ı ihtilaf üzere olmak mukteza-yı tabiat-ı devlet ve mucib-i emr-i temeddün ve cemiyyetdir. Her asrın bir örfü ve bir muktezası vardır". Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, Telhîsü'l-Beyân Fî Kavânin-i Âl-i Osman, ed. Sevim İlgürel, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1998), 142-198, in Abdülhamid Kırmızı, "Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-Beyân fi Kavanin-i Ali Osman*, haz. Sevim İlgürel, Ankara: TTK, 1988, xxix+338 s." in *Notlar3: Târih Okumaları: Kendi Metinleriyle Osmanlı*

Figure 3.1 Table I

Persian	Islamic	Classical Greek
Erdeşir (Ardashir I)	Abdülmelik Mervan	Aristotâlîs (Aristo)
Nûşîrevân (Khosrow I)	Abdurrezzâk es-San'ânî	Batlamyûs, (Ptolemy)
Büzürcmihr (Bozorgmehr)	Ali b. Ebu Tâlib	Bûkrât (Hippocrates)
Minûçehr (Manuchehr)	Ebu'l Me'âlî	Câlînûs (Galen)
Efrâsiyab (Afrasiyab)	Haccâc b. Yûsuf	Eflâtûn (Plato)
	Halife Me'mun	Hermes
	Harûn er-Reşîd	İskender (Alexander III)
	Mansûr b. Haccâc	Kikradus (Fikradus)
	Me'mûn	Sokrat (Socrates)
	Melikşah I	
	Mu'tasım	
	Mü'eyyed	
	Sâhib b. Abbas	
	Şakîk Belhî	
	Sâlim Aftas	

in the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* are expanded in the *Telhîsü'l Beyân.* Hezarfen did not just convey the narrative of the sources he utilized in his writing but he also expanded the discourse by adding his own remarks.

Furthermore, Hezarfen draws upon a wide spectrum of Islamic philosophical and literary traditions throughout his work. In addition to quotations from the Qur'an and *hadith*, he extensively references an array of sources known from the *adab* tradition; including Greek philosophers, historical personalities, religious figures, and mythological characters, which are interwoven into the supplemental stories he introduces within the final two chapters. His references span the three primary strands of Islamic thought, encompassing Persian, Islamic, and Classical Greek figures that hold prominence in Islamic literature.[67] The distribution of these references, as illustrated in Table I, can serve as an indicator of the foundational elements underlying Ottoman advice literature.

It might appear intriguing that the majority of Hezarfen Hüseyin's references stem from the early Islamic period rather than from *Sufi* or medieval or early modern Perso-Islamic sources. Şakîk Belhî is the only *Sufi* figure listed in the table. However, the references to Persian and Greek figures are notably more frequent and in-depth. This can be explained by the significant position both traditions occupy in Sufi

Tarihi, Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı Araştırma Merkezi, (2002-2004): 50.

[67]For Greek philosopher's Hezarfen mentioned in *Tenkihü't-Tevârih-i Mülük* See: Yurdaydın, *İslam Tarihi Dersleri*, 137-138.

narratives.

The *Kelile ve Dimne* stories themselves are often utilized in *Sûfi* narratives. Christine van Ruymbeke finds it surprising that Rûmî explicitly mentions the *Kelile ve Dimne* as one of his sources because Rûmî is generally not known for citing or referring to his sources. However, van Ruymbeke argues that Rûmî's audience, which was less scholarly compared to circles of poets and scholars, would appreciate such a reference. The *Kelile ve Dimne*was a well-known and widely circulated collection of fables, which would have been more familiar and accessible to the general audience than complex and 'highbrow' philosophical works. By referencing the *Kelile ve Dimne*, Rûmî was able to establish a connection with his audience and make his teachings more relatable and understandable to a wider range of people.[68]

One way of looking at the popularity of the fables and the *Kelile ve Dimne* in ethics is considering the construction of the story as an extension of one's worldview, a tool to demonstrate superiority of a particular view in a literary arms race. In her insightful article, Karla Malette explains the popularity of the *Kelile ve Dimne* in relation to game theory; highlighting how its narrative, transmission, and the scholarship that flourished around it formed distinct layers, each participant engaging in a form of strategic interaction. Malette conceptualizes the idea of game as a meta-reality that mirrors real-life dynamics. She interprets the layered structure of the stories as a bargaining game, in which the players employ their tales to propose potential solutions to moral dilemmas.[69]

Beyond the text itself, translators, scribes, copyist, and storytellers select from the corpus of tales those that resonate the most with them. In the third circle, scholars rummage through past and contemporary scholarship and propose new readings that will excite academia.[70] Thus, in each cycle, a new *Kelile ve Dimne* narrative is produced, engaging in a continuous dialogue with tradition and the dissemination of the text. According to Malette, games are temporally bounded, setting them apart from reality and play. However, games are also influenced by future considerations, successful players prioritizing present achievements while enhancing their prospects for future success.[71]

In this sense the *Kelile ve Dimne* stories can be seen as a space where ethics are

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[68]Ruymbeke, "The 'Kalīla Wa Dimna' and Rūmī:," 87.

[69]Karla Malette, "Narration as Raumschach: Kalila and Dimna in time, space and languages" *Postmedieval* 13, (2022): 313-18.

[70]Karla Malette, "Kalila and Dimnah as Raumschah," 320-323

[71]Karla Malette, "Kalila and Dimnah as Raumschah," 325.

continually debated among scholars, artists, writers, and philosophers. Further reinforcing this, the *Kelile ve Dimne* stories themselves harked back to an ancient tradition of referential or completely ground-up reworks in a new context. Hezarfen Hüseyin is no stranger to debates, owing to his engagement in theoretical discussions. His writings not only reflect the intellectual trends of his time but also contribute to the ongoing ethical discourse concerning court politics.

Hezarfen himself proclaims that he is a member of the Nakşibendî Sufî order. The order traces its *silsila* back to Yusuf Hamadani and was organized by Bahauddin Nakşibend (d. 1389) in the 14^{th} century. The order became a political power in Central Asia and Afghanistan, starting in the late 15^{th} century. Unlike most *Sufi* orders who participated in a variety of antinomian practices, the Nakşibendi's were close practitioners of the sunna. The order practices silent *dhikr* and stresses the purification of the soul; therefore they were able to oppose more radical, antinomian movements within Islam.[72] The Nakşibendîs had a strong presence in the Ottoman Empire, especially around centres like Bursa. In addition, they had a favourable relationship with the authorities, as they were more in line with *Hanefi-Sunni* practices, enjoying protection by the state from suppression during anti-*Sufi* campaigns. They had a sizeable presence among scholars and bureaucrats and fostered one of the widest tekke networks in the empire.

As an adherent of the order, Hezarfen utilizes a lot of Sufi concepts in the book. However, more intimate and fundamental parts of the Sufi experience, such as adherence to a sheikh, following the holy line of a *silsile* or achieving spiritual ascension are left out of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn.* What we know about Hezarfen's views on spiritual matters are very limited, as his writing directly discussing his religious beliefs are not extant. From what we have it is evident that Hezarfen's bite-size answer to the turmoil and chaos he saw rising in the empire is one rooted in tradition and philosophy, albeit drenched in Sufism and packaged with an appropriate dose of entertainment and flair.

[72] Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (Leiden-Köln: E.J Brill, 1980), 90-91.

4. CONCLUSION

The present thesis undertakes a comprehensive exploration of Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi and his treatise, the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn.* I introduce Hezarfen Hüseyin and his intellectual milieu, explore his place in the Köprülü patronage network, and contextualize the author's contribution to the *Hümâyûnnâme* corpus, and its place in Hezarfen's bibliography. The thesis explores the literary roots of the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* through tracing its genealogy from the tradition of *adab.* It demonstrates how Ottoman intellectuals played an active role in the formation of the decline paradigm concerning the 17^{th} century and how their direct and textual interactions with European writers contributed to the construction of the Ottoman image.

The first chapter presented the roots of Hezarfen Hüseyin's intellectual framework, offering a comprehensive portrayal of the 17^{th} century as an epoch marked by transformation, reform, and intellectual connectivity. Hezarfen's close relations with European scholars and his utilization of Roman and Greek sources gave rise to the notion among modern scholars that Hezarfen Hüseyin, along with his intellectual circles, may constitute the initial indications of Ottoman inclinations toward the West. However, providing a detailed account of the origins of advice literature in Perso-Islamic culture and demonstrating the role of *adab* in Ottoman literature, the first chapter demonstrates that Hezarfen's writings had a traditional Perso-Islamic background.

The second chapter of this thesis explores Hezarfen's journey to Istanbul and his entry to the elite circles of the Ottoman court through Köprülü patronage. It introduces the Köprülü dynasty as patrons with a renewed imperial project that envisioned a global empire in a diplomatic and intellectual dialogue with contemporary developments in other parts of the world. By examining the intellectual environment surrounding Hezarfen Hüseyin, this chapter discusses the representation and agency of Ottoman intellectuals in constructing their image in Western sources. His relationships with Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli and Antoine Galland unveil intri-

cate dynamics of scholarly exchange during the 17^{th} century and its repercussions among Orientalists. A concise overview of Hezarfen's writings and the works about him reveals that his viewpoints, moulded by the intellectual environment, especially Vişnezâde İzzetî, largely aligned with the prevailing scientific notions of European scholars at the time of their interaction, but did not derive from them.

Hezarfen frequently engaged in theoretical debates with European scholars and shared insights from a comparable position of proficiency. Therefore, it is unreasonable to take his works as precursors to a Western turn in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, it is evident that Ottoman writers were active parts of a dialogue with western Orientalists' similar research interests rather than being passive subjects of research. This underscores the notion that Hezarfen's encyclopaedic writing style and utilization of sources did not stem from his encounters with the West alone. Instead, they resulted from a convergence of global trends spanning the entire Eurasian region and from the anthologizing culture that predecessors and colleagues like Mustafa 'Âli and Kâtib Çelebi revitalized.

The final chapter delves into the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* by contextualizing it within the writing traditions on which it is founded, its position within contemporary Ottoman literature, and its role in shaping Ottoman political ethics. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's treatise focuses on delineating the ideal qualities of both the ruler and the grand vizier. Notably, the text reflects the nascent shift of focus to the grand vizier among Ottoman scholars. Moreover, distinct from a conventional *siyasetnâme*, Hezarfen employed a more contemporary form of entertainment. He presented a practical work enriched by commentary that addresses perceived issues during Mehmed IV and Kara Mustafa's rule. In doing so, he underscores the significance of wise counsel. Presumably, this approach served both to caution Mustafa Paşa and to underscore Hüseyin's own value. Therefore the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* can be perceived as an adab text that endeavours to both reaffirm Hüseyin's importance to his new patron and to showcase the ethical and aesthetic preferences of a scholarly scribe. This is achieved through a deliberate process of selecting, condensing, and reordering stories in alignment with the practical quality that Hezarfen sought to attain.

Hezarfen's observations concerning the Ottoman Golden Age and his perception of the state's decline should not be accepted at face value, as they mirror the prevailing narrative espoused by the majority of Ottoman historians. However, Hüseyin Efendi introduces his own nuances to this narrative, responding to the religious and political climate. He subtly conceals his critique beneath general explanations of the ideal qualities of rulers and advisors. Yet, his words unmistakably allude to Mehmed IV through references to hunting, while also implicating Kara Mustafa

Paşa through mentions of the significance of sound guidance, forgiveness, and keeping good counsel. Furthermore, in alignment with the Islamic scholarly tradition, Hezarfen extensively draws upon Greek philosophers, Persian rulers, mythological figures, and religious personalities as fictive interlocutors or sources, and he also accentuates *Sufi* concepts. Given that the *Kelile ve Dimne* stories themselves were also found in *Sufi* writings, one can argue that Hezarfen Hüseyin's work promotes this perspective during a period when the court is increasingly veering towards orthodoxy due to the growing influence of Sunna-minded advisors.

Contemporary scholarship has debated whether Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's works can be classified as original. From my analysis of the emergence of encyclopaedic tendencies and the *şerh* tradition within Ottoman literature; it becomes evident that Hezarfen himself, along with his readers, might not have been overly concerned with the originality of his writings. He functions more as an author-compiler than a sole author when his bibliography is considered. The composition reveals itself as a compilation of stories. The initial chapter contains narratives directly taken from the *Hümâyûnnâme*, while the subsequent chapters interweave diverse stories to bolster Hüseyin Efendi's arguments. Even if we set aside the matter of original argumentation, Hezarfen's choice of stories and his interaction with the texts still showcases a notably innovative approach.

Unfortunately, there seems to be no known successors to Hezarfen's practical storytelling. Nevertheless, his written work must have garnered a certain degree of attention after its dissemination, considering its multiple reproductions and incorporation into a *mecmua* or private anthology. This indicates that Hezarfen's work did indeed resonate with the tradition of *adab*, finding an audience without any concern about its originality.

This thesis has concentrated on exploring the various layers of meaning and diverse backgrounds of intellectual production in the Ottoman world of the 17^{th} century. It offers an overview of encyclopaedic writing practices, capturing the evolution of the discourse in response to the demands of Ottoman readership, and the emerging concepts of modernity. This connection is exemplified by linking the *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn* to the *adab* and *şerh* tradition, providing a comprehensive panorama of the literary landscape. Hezarfen Hüseyin and his bibliography deserve greater study and recognition as a scholar of great productivity. However, he is seldom mentioned by contemporary literati, although he was in the centre of the lively intellectual world of the late 17^{th}century. Hezarfen facilitated important connections with European scholars and diplomats who reciprocally shared similar intellectual and scientific interests. This study further demonstrates that cultural changes of the 17^{th} cen-

tury were multi-dimensional, and were a mixture of early modernity and traditional practices of the Perso-Islamic tradition. Overall, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's distinct choices as a writer opened the path for new descriptions of authorship in the 17th century and illustrate the vibrancy of the Ottoman intellectual realm, which was connected to both the Muslim and the European realm through complex social, political, and intellectual networks.

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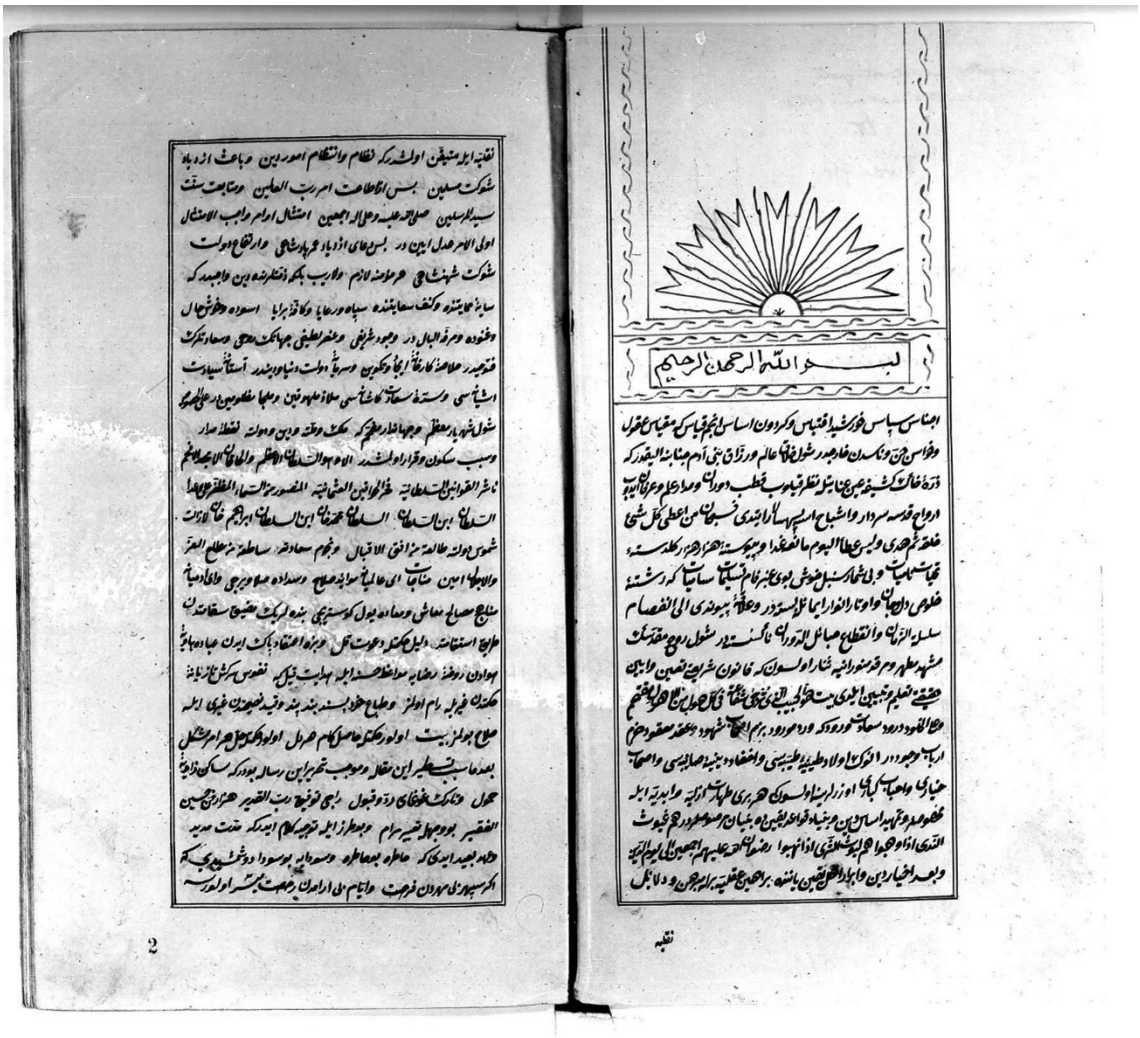
APPENDIX A

Figure A.1 Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn* Süleymaniye Library, Düğümlübaba Collection No. 227. 1v-2r.

APPENDIX B

Figure B.1 Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn* Vatican Apostolic Library, Vaticani Turchi No. 94. 1v-2r.

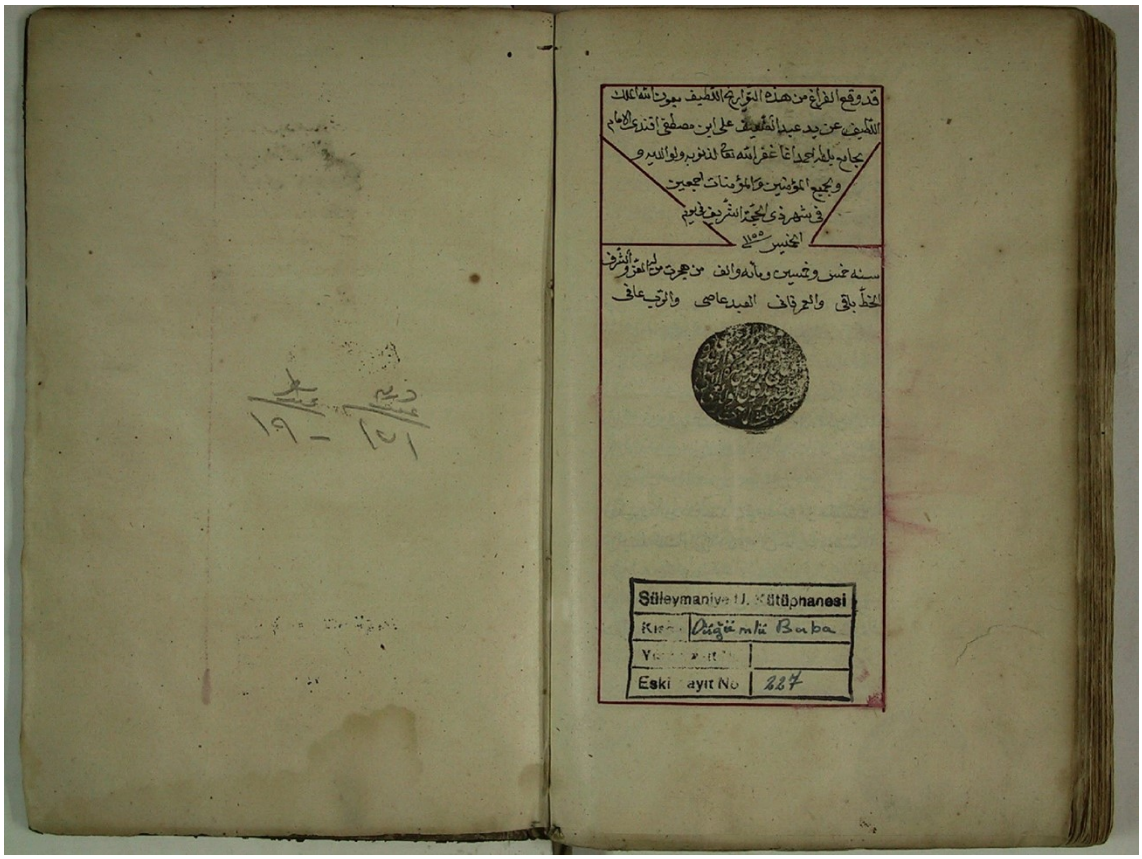


APPENDIX C

Figure C.1 Lâmi'î Çelebi, *Şerefü'l-İnsân.* Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi Collection No. 2741. 1v-2r.

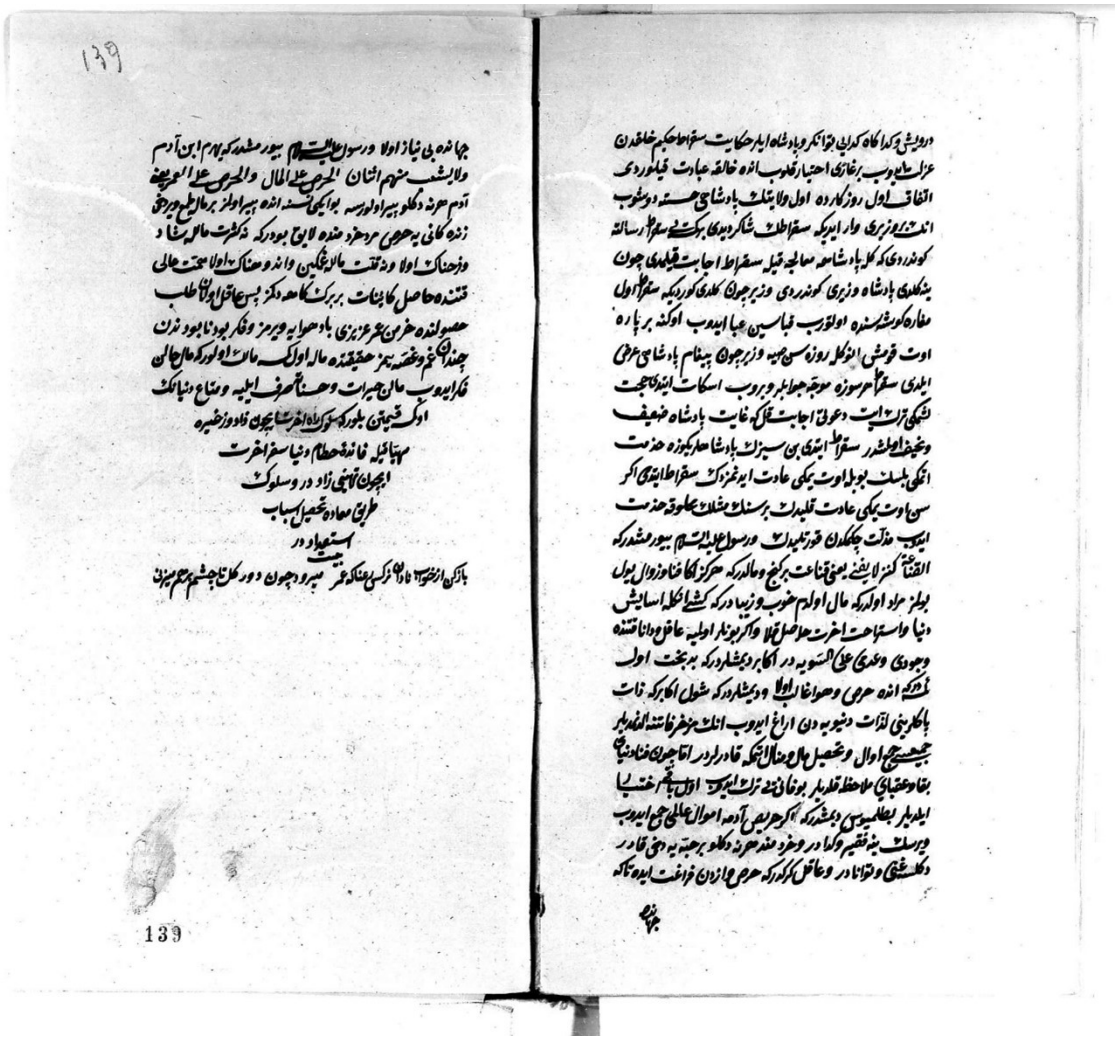
APPENDIX D

Figure D.1 Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn* Süleymaniye Library, Düğümlübaba Collection No. 227. 172v.



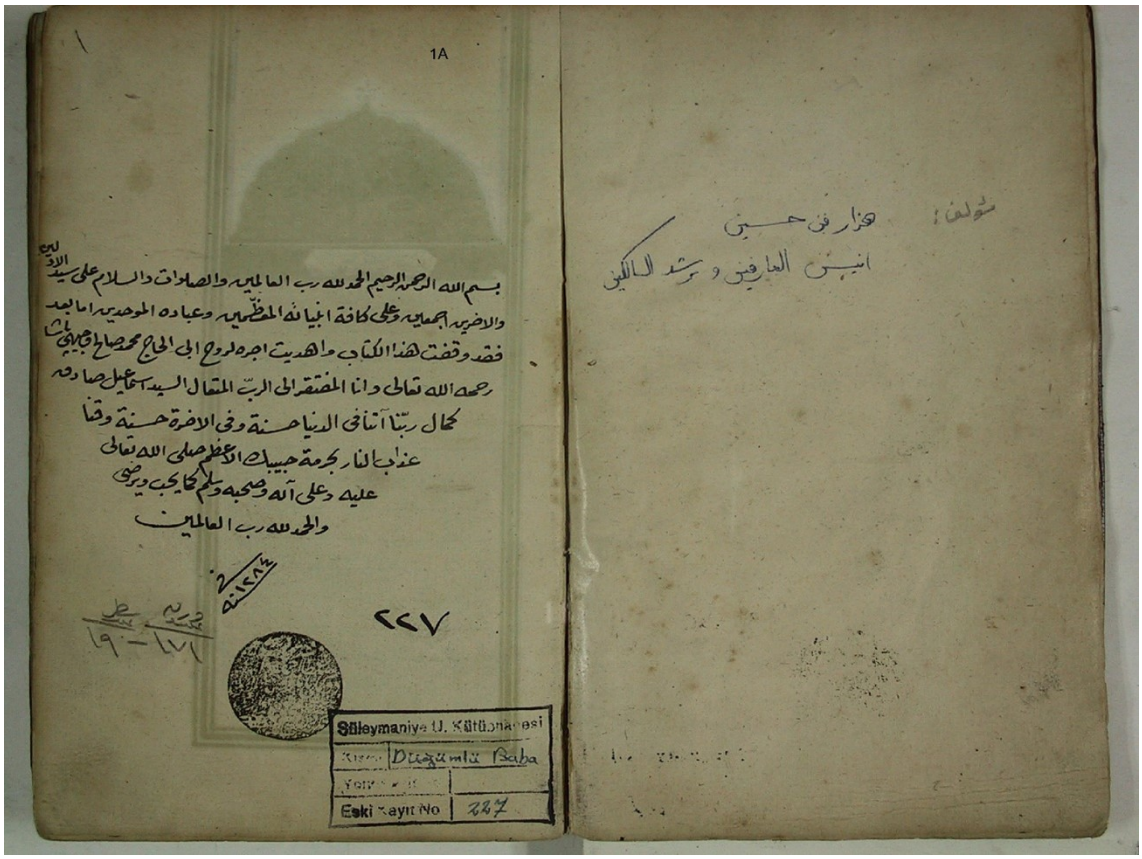
APPENDIX E

Figure E.1 Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn* Vatican Apostolic Library, Vaticani Turchi No. 94. 138v-139r.



APPENDIX F

Figure F.1 Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn* Süleymaniye Library, Düğümlübaba Collection No. 227. 1r.



APPENDIX G

Figure G.1 Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Enîsü'l-'Ârifîn ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikîn*, Vatican Apostolic Library, Vaticani Turchi No. 94. 1r.