

THIRST FOR WISDOM, LUST FOR CONQUEST: AHMEDI'S 14TH CENTURY
OTTOMAN ALEXANDER ROMANCE

A Master's Thesis

by

KAMİL ERDEM GÜLER

The Department of History

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

Ankara

September 2013

To Dr.Ulya Ertem

THIRST FOR WISDOM, LUST FOR CONQUEST: AHMEDI'S 14TH CENTURY
OTTOMAN ALEXANDER ROMANCE

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

KAMİL ERDEM GÜLER

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

September 2013

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

.....

Dr. Evgenia Kermeli-ÜNAL

Thesis Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

.....

Prof. Dr. Özer ERGENÇ

Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

.....

Prof. Dr. Semih TEZCAN

Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences.

.....

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel

Director

ABSTRACT

THIRST FOR WISDOM, LUST FOR CONQUEST: AHMEDİ'S 14TH CENTURY OTTOMAN ALEXANDER ROMANCE

Güler, Kamil Erdem

M.A., Department of History, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

Supervisor: Dr. Evgenia Kermeli

September 2013

This study presents an analysis on the intellectual paradigm of the 14th Century Anatolia based on Ahmedî's Ottoman Turkish Alexander Romance, *İskendername*. The time frame that we would like to focus on is the late 14th Century, the period of the emergence of the intellectual culture correlated with the political developments of the Ottoman State. Ahmedî's History of Ottoman Empire, which is a part in *İskendername*, was analyzed by historians of the Ottoman Empire but in this study we analyzed the complete work in order to comprehend the main intellectual tendencies of the 14th Century Anatolia. Therefore, primarily the gravity of the intellectual history along with social and economic history was expressed and we presented studies on Ahmedî and Ahmedî's *İskendername*. The historical process that Ahmedî bonded is analyzed and by that the relation between Ahmedî and his patrons were examined. The features of the 14th Century shaped Ahmedî and his intellectual approach on the questions of his time. Moreover, we inquired Alexander Romances, as a literary genre and as universal epics. We also argue that universal character of Alexander the Great was utilized by different cultures and each society

implemented their own cultural themes as Ottomans did with Iskendername. The political fiction of Ahmedi served as an intellectual and ideological implementation of the emerging Ottoman political institutions. Finally, the other poets of the time, Şeyhi and Şeyhoğlu were examined in comparison to understand the intellectual inclinations. It is argued that the main patterns of the Ottoman intellectual life were shaped by the amalgamation of the orthodox doctrines of Imam Gazali and Sufism. Hence, these intellectual themes were examined with the notion of knowledge, existence, melancholy and aesthetics.

Keywords: Ahmedi, Iskendername, Alexander Romance, Aesthetics, Sufism, Tevhid, Kelam, Oriental Literature, Piety, Divan

ÖZET

BİLGELİK ARZUSU, FETİH ŞEHVETİ: AHMEDİ’NİN 14.YÜZYIL OSMANLI İSKENDERNAME’Sİ

Güler, Kamil Erdem

Master, Tarih Bölümü, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Üniversitesi

Tez Danışmanı: Evgenia Kermeli

Eylül 2013

Bu çalışma Ahmedî’nin 14.yüzyılda yazmış olduđu İskendername eserinden yola çıkılarak dönemin düşünsel paradigmasını analiz etmektedir. Bu kapsamda analiz edilen zaman dilimi Osmanlı entellektüel kültürünün siyasi gelişmelere bağılı olarak geliştiğı 14.yüzyıldır. Ahmedî’nin yazmış olduđu İskendername’nin içinde yer alan Osmanlı Tarihi bölümü Osmanlı tarihçileri tarafından incelenmiştir ancak bu çalışmada Anadolu’da ortaya çıkan 14.yüzyılın düşünsel paradigmasını kavrayabilmek için İskendername’nin tamamı incelenmiştir. Bu sebeple ilk olarak düşünce tarihinin önemi belirtilmiş ve Ahmedî ve Ahmedî’nin eseri hakkında gerçekleştirilen çalışmalar incelenmiştir. Ahmedî’nin ait olduđu zaman dilimi ve Ahmedî’nin patronlarıyla ilişkileri analiz edilmiştir. 14.yüzyılın özellikleri Ahmedî’yi ve zamanının problemlerine düşünsel yaklaşımlarını şekillendirmiştir. Bunun yanında, Büyük İskender romanlarını bir tür olarak ve evrensel destanlar olarak inceledik. Büyük İskender’in evrensel şahsiyeti farklı kültürler tarafından kullanılmış ve her toplum Osmanlıların İskendername’ye yaptıklarına benzer olarak destanlarına kültürel temalarını eklemişlerdir. Ahmedî’nin siyasi kurgu romanı

oluřmakta olan Osmanlı siyasi kurumlarına entellektüel ve ideolojik bir temel oluřturmuřtur. Son olarak, dönemin diğeri řairlerinden řeyhi ve řeyhoğlu ile karşılařtırmalar yapılarak dönemin düşünce yaklaşımını anlamaya çalıştık. Osmanlı entellektüel yaşamı İmam Gazali'nin ortodoks öğretilerinin ve Sufi öğretilerin birleşiminden şekillenmiştir. Böylelikle, bahsi geçen düşünce temaları bilgi, varlık, melankoli ve estetik bağlamında incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ahmedi, İskendername, İskender Romanları, Estetik, Sufizm, Tevhid, Kelam, řark Edebiyatı, Züht, Divan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to Dr. Evgenia Kermeli, who supervised this study, for her extreme critiques, suggestions, guidance and support. Introducing me about the Islamic political thought and Islamic philosophy, she assisted me to be able to cope with a study on intellectual history.

I would like to thank Prof. Özer Ergenç and Prof. Semih Tezcan, for their valuable comments and critiques as jury members. Prof. Ergenç provided much contribution to this work, not only by his assistance to develop my Ottoman Paleography and Ottoman Diplomats but also he spent his precious time for my study. Prof. Tezcan is the first person that informed me about the genre of Alexander Romance and his insightful thought contributed this work much. Also, Dr. Oktay Özel shared his valuable ideas about historiography and history, thus the questions he mentioned encouraged me to focus on intellectual history.

The main idea of this study is originated by the politics and history discussions that we held in Bilkent University with Muhsin Soyudoğan, Erdem Sönmez, Onur Usta, Can Eyüp Çekiç, Suat Dede, Ali Can Ergür and Metin Batıhan. I am very appreciated for their comments, ideas and great support for this work. Last but not least, I would like to thank Kadriye Göksel and Seval Güzelkılınç for their encouragement and valuable support to this study.

Needless to mention, Saadet Büyük deserves the greatest appreciation for her patience during this study and her encouragement whenever I desperately needed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Why intellectual history matters?.....	1
1.2. Studies on Ahmedi and Iskendername.....	5
CHAPTER II: TIME, POET AND PATRON.....	13
2.1. Time.....	13
2.1.1. Historians that established the Ottoman Empire.....	22
2.2. The Patron.....	33
2.3. The Poet.....	43
CHAPTER III: THE NARRATIVE.....	54
3.1. Ahmedi's Alexander Romance.....	66
3.2. Manuscript.....	70
3.3. Summary of Romance.....	71
CHAPTER IV: KNOWLEDGE, MELANCHOLY AND BEAUTY.....	80
4.1. Old and Young.....	80
4.2. Knowledge and Faith.....	82

4.3. Quest, War and Melancholy.....	100
4.4. Aesthetics.....	106
CHAPTERV: CONCLUSION.....	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	114

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Why intellectual history matters?

Change and evolution of matter within time remains nothing in the hands of human beings and within the social production of human existence economic structure of society determines most of the political, social and eventually intellectual developments. Surely, at the certain stage of this production the conflict would arise and matter would generate its form accordingly with the relations of production. Most of the times the intellectual would alienate himself from this process and ironically with all his pragmatism and conformity, he is the one provides ideas.

Yet, if one could comprehend the process of production and mechanical change of time and matter, transformation of the basic form of these are irresistible. On the other hand the main ontological assumptions on the matter remain insignificant but the idea remains solid. Hereby, with that formulation one might assume that intellectual history is more pragmatic since although the basic form of ideas might change within the historical development, a priori state and rationale remains. Nevertheless, ideas are not independent from society and social structure.

The most definite notion about that is all ideas have past and that form of ideas challenges contemporary world.

Therefore, conflict and challenges that human beings face cannot be resolved by history. History cannot cope with the spirit of time and actually does not have an original structure of challenging¹. However, forging ideals within history might provide an ultimate dialogue between past and present. Creating an imaginary history mostly viewed as sinful, illegal, immoral and deadly. Then, why intellectuals cannot distort something that is already distorted?

Besides the ethical question, it is clearly understood that political mind (or political animal) would seek this to be utilized as a political instrument. Marxism and positivism strictly materialized coherent with the spirit of time. Hegel's inquiry of the mind in the past and his ambition to create an ideal German society was transformed by Marx but Hegel's theory was not upside-down. Hegel commenced his dialectic with thought, then resumes with nature and ends with spirit; on the other side Marx's dialectic commenced with nature and continues with thought². Also, Marx pointed the relation between human being and nature; in which the origin of production relations and transformation of human and matter as a part of nature pointing the historical materialism. For Marx, 'the nature which develops in human history the genesis of human society - is man's real nature; hence nature as it develops through industry, even though in an *estranged* form, is true *anthropological* nature³. This was the actual manifestation of historical materialism.

¹ Hegel pointed on the rationale of history as, '...it is always demanded from rulers, statesmen and people to get some experiences from history. However, history and experiment thought us that people and governments never get anything from history and act accordingly with history...'

Friedrick Hegel, *Tarihte Akıl*, 2003, pp.24-25

² Robin George Collingwood, *Tarih Tasarımı*, 2007, p. 180.

³ Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto*, 1908, p. 38.

However, the problem within that system is the idea and rationale was neglected from the history since the history was turned into a production relations. Since the relation between nature and human determines the human nature, then mind was bounded –and depended- on nature. Thanks to Gramsci, idea and mind relocated to political system by his culture theory. Marx focused on production relations and class struggle in history but unlike Marx, Gramsci focused on state and its political strategies. Civil society, which was the spring of mass ideas, church, schools, trade unions, etc. was functioning to implement ideological frames of superstructure⁴. Also, Louis Althusser focused on that institutions (starting from small units to political establishments like governments) by defining them as ‘ideological state apparatuses’⁵. What Althusser puts forward was very unlikely to Marxism. However, he linked the Marxist historical materialism with Freudian unconsciousness theory. The concept of over determination could enter the Marxist literature by Althusser’s essay ‘Contradiction and Over determination’ that was expressing the complex causality form on political events⁶. Although his ambition was to provide some explanations of Marx’s unconscious proletariat, he actually portrayed the intellectual and the development of ideas on the basis of politics.

If culture and ideas are functioning for the state and ideology as a political instrument, then how could the idea and discourse generate any political thought? Indeed, there are two aspects of political thought that might be asserted. One is the fact that in the suitable political and social conditions, the function of the ideology – and basically ideas- might materialize the fiction. Political units propagandize their

⁴ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 1971, pp. 260-3.

⁵ Althusser, (Ideology and State) 14-20 Althusser did not put forward his psychoanalytical discourses that are linked with Marxism since the Freud’s metaphysical approach towards science made him isolated from positivist and materialist researchers.

⁶ Althusser, Louise, *Contradiction and Overdetermination in For Marx*, 1969, pp. 87-128.

magnificent and splendid existence, which might not reflect reality. Since society has a tendency to create its own myth the social and political phenomenon might be shaped and formed based on the myth. Second indication might be the form of the political thought, identified by historicism. History of political thought makes the conception socially approved and ethical.

History and thought are intertwined in Hegel's philosophy of history. All histories are intellectual history for Hegel, therefore, historical process is nothing more than logic, and sequence within time is irrelevant⁷. Events within history are not coincidence but obligation⁸. Surely, Hegel was not trying to mention the significance of destiny but, as Marx, he brought history into a linear equation. The true form of the state should enrich consciousness of its people and provide them freedom⁹.

If the ideal claim of Hegel would be reinterpreted it might be assumed that thought itself is a mode or implementation of liberty. Surely, state does not possess any credit in this assertion but the form of politics could be changed or influenced by any intellectual historian. The *modus operandi*¹⁰ of this study is not determining and detecting the circulation of ideas within cultures, but in fact, it is the inquiry for thoughts in 14th century –towards present- and their direct or indirect affect on cultural patterns. Therefore, there is no intention of creating cultural dialogue

⁷ Collingwood, p. 173.

⁸ Collingwood, p. 173.

⁹ Hegel, *Tarihî Akıl*, pp. 115-119, Hegel sought the historical development within the frame of state's mission of creating free individuals and the development could arise by that. 'This is a point of fundamental importance in our science, and one which must be constantly respected as essential. And in the same way as this distinction has attracted attention in view of the *Christian* principle of self-consciousness — Freedom; it also shows itself as an essential one, in view of the principle of Freedom *generally*. The History of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of Freedom; a progress whose development according to the necessity of its nature, it is our business to investigate.' (The Abstract Characteristics of Spirit, 21)

¹⁰ Methodology would be very extreme for this work of analysis.

between past and present, but it is the analysis of intellectual “dogma” that might be traced towards contemporary world. The conservative intellectual “dogma¹¹” was refrained the thought to be rotten in history and forgotten but although the cultural structures and political institutions changed, the political or social thought that influences living individuals remained firm: All that is solid melts into air¹² but thoughts were not solid enough to melt.

1.2.Studies on Ahmedi and Iskendername

Most of the historians studying Ahmedi focused on the Epic of the Ottoman Empire, which was a part of the Iskendername. Nevertheless, there has been no comprehensive research on complete Iskendername text. One of the most significant studies on Ahmedi and the part related to the Ottoman Empire is Nihad Sami Banarlı’s ‘Ahmedi ve Dasitan-ı Tevarih-i Mülük-i Al-i Osman’ article that was published in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*¹³. Banarlı provided vital information on the life and works of Ahmedi other than his Ottoman History section in Iskendername. However, the Iskendername was analyzed as a compilation of ‘stories’ (hikaye) and ‘tales’ (masal) with encyclopedic information of Ahmedi¹⁴. The story and tale description of

¹¹ In the modern Turkish political thought dogma is remembered with retrogradation because of the fact that the use of term was different from West. Dogma did not seen as a tool of idea preservation but instead it was regarded as opponent of modernization.

¹² Marx mentioned about the unreliability and changeable structure of modern world with that, ‘All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.’ (Marx, Communist Manifesto. Marx referred that for capitalist social structure but in fact, this analysis could be traced back to antiquity because the common question on human life is the basic contradiction between the belief system and social reality. This could not be referred only for modern capitalist societies.

¹³ Banarlı, Nihad Sami. ‘*Dasitan-ı Tevarih-i Mülük-i Ali-i Osman*’, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*-4 (1939), pp.49-176.

¹⁴ Banarlı, 61.

the text should not make historians to neglect the text since these concepts in Islamic terminology had different meanings. Banarlı, Köprülü¹⁵ and Josephy Thury¹⁶ analyzed the Iskendername as a cultural theme related to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire but they did not utilize the text as a source of history. According to Brockelmann, tale (masal-mesal) referred to resemblances of prophets and followers of Prophet Mohammed¹⁷. These tales and legends intertwined with historical figures and historical events and they could be viewed different forms –like animals- and in different times¹⁸. Although tales and legends would be atemporal and seen as fiction, they still could depict historical event or character.

Ahmed Ateş studied a new transcription of the History of Ottoman Empire of Ahmedi as he found Banarlı's work 'extremely flawed' and 'defected' in inserting Persian headings and sub-headings¹⁹. However, Kemal Sılay emphasized that this was due to the author's usage of various manuscripts for his study²⁰. Nihal Atsız transcribed the text guided by Banarlı's transcription²¹ but he neglected the variants of manuscripts 'because according to him textual variants do not have any significance from the point of view of history²²'. Removal of the Persian sections from the book led Kemal Sılay to attribute this to Atsız of his politics of ultra-nationalism. However, this statement could be misleading since Atsız prepared a compilation of books on the emergence of the Ottoman Empire by various Ottoman

¹⁵ Köprülü. Mehmet Fuat. 'Anadolu'da Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı'nın Tekamülü', Yeni Türk Mecmuası, No.4, p.281-292, 1933.

¹⁶ Jozsef, Thury. 'XIV. Asır Türk Dili Yadigarları', Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası, V.2 p.81-133.

¹⁷ Carl Brockelmann, "Mesel", İslam Ansiklopedisi, c. 8, MEB. Basımevi, İstanbul, 1979, s. 120.

¹⁸ Brockelmann, 120.

¹⁹ Ahmed Ateş, "Metin Tenkidi Hakkında (Dasitan-ı Tevarih-i Müluk-i Al-i Osman Münasebeti İle), Türkiye Mecmuası VII-VIII,1 (1942), PP.253-267.

²⁰ Sılay, XVI.

²¹ Çiftçioğlu Nihal Atsız, "Ahmedi ve Dasitan-ı Tevarih-i Müluk-i Al-i Osman' in Osmanlı Tarihleri: Osmanlı Tarihinin Anakaynakları Olan Eserlerin, Mühassaslar Tarafından Hazırlanan Mertin, Tercüme ve Sadeleştirilmiş Şekilleri Külliyyatı (İstanbul:Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949), pp. 1-35.

²² Sılay, XVI. 'nusha farkları tarih bakımından hiçbir ehemmiyeti haiz olmadığı için'

historians and simplified all of these histories as well. In addition, Atsız collected various manuscripts from different libraries and compared these different manuscripts during his study on the history of Aşıkpaşazade²³. Therefore, it would be unfair to reflect Atsız as a scholar that neglects the variants of manuscripts.

Gibbs, prominent Ottoman literature historian studied on Ahmedi and his works into the cultural tradition of poetry. Ahmedi was first Ottoman romancist for Gibbs and he was following the tradition derived from Aşık Paşa and Yunus Emre²⁴. Gibbs depicted the tale as ‘a kind of encyclopedia embracing in abstract all human knowledge²⁵’. For Gibbs, Ahmedi was part of ‘a less mystic fashion the glory of God and the praises of the Prophet... certain points of Sufi lore.²⁶’ Ahmedi’s approach on Sufi tradition would be further discussed. Ahmedi seems to had acquired some traditional Sufi conceptions in his works.

Kemal Sılay studied Ahmedi and his ‘History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage (Dasitan-ı Tevarih-i Mülük-i Al-i Osman) but his approach was rather different than the other scholars worked on the subject. Sılay’s analysis on the Ahmedi’s Ottoman History focused on the gaza notion. According to Sılay, ‘history of the Ottoman Empire is a pious representation of its founders and the glorification of militant Islam as its ideology²⁷’. Sılay noticed that the medieval mind could ‘find a creative way of amalgamating the two’ that is religious concepts and historical facts²⁸. Contrary to modern approaches to the subject, Sılay’s analysis sought history with cultural themes including legends.

²³ See Nihal Atsız, Aşıkpaşaoğlu Tarihi, Ötüken Neşriyat.

²⁴ Gibbs, Ottoman Poetry, V.I, 260.

²⁵ Gibbs, 266.

²⁶ Gibbs, 269.

²⁷ Sılay, Kemal. ‘History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage’, XIII.

²⁸ Sılay, XII.

Moreover, Sılay obtained an unpublished article of Prof. Uli Schamiloglu which is related with the Black Death and its natural influence towards the Anatolian population²⁹. However, the surprising notion in Schamiloglu's thesis is albeit the historical phenomenons were well documented by Ottoman historians, Black Death was not mentioned in any Ottoman sources³⁰. Discussions on the emergence of the Ottoman Empire usually based on the rare but very histories written in 14th and 15th centuries. Schamiloglu's research reveals that the reliability of these histories is controversial since they did not reflect a very significant historical event that took place in 14th century Anatolia. On the other hand, Ahmedi mentioned about the bubonic plague in the Iskendername. Ahmedi mentioned his concern to 'keep out the vermin, literary snakes and ants in the formulaic and alliterative expression *mar-u mur* as well as flies and mosquitoes³¹. Sawyer noted that Ahmedi reflected his days in Egypt since there was a widespread bubonic plague in Egypt³² but Schamiloglu emphasized that the plague emerged in Anatolia as well. In any case, Ahmedi pointed that he had some concerns of plague. Hence, not only the emergence of the Ottoman Empire but also the general questions of the 14th century Ottomans might be analyzed by the mainstream contemplation of 14th Century Ottomans that addresses cultural and political patterns.

The most comprehensive research related to Ahmedi and his Iskendername was conducted by Caroline Sawyer. In her PhD thesis titled 'Alexander, History, and Piety: A Study of Ahmedi's 14th Century Ottoman Iskendername'. In this study, Sawyer pointed out that Alexander the Great was reflected as a model ruler and that 'Ahmedi seeks to legitimize his patrons' authority in both the secular and sacred

²⁹ Sılay, XII.

³⁰ Sılay, XII.

³¹ Sawyer, 103.

³² Sawyer, 103.

realms³³ by using Alexander³⁴. However, in this work, Alexander the Great was not analyzed as a model ruler for the Ottoman society and Ahmedi's patrons but viewed as a simple mortal human being like the prophet Mohammed. In Qur'an, the notion of sin was attributed to every human being including prophets and Mohammed committed sins as well³⁵. The definite inquiry of the 'evil' and 'good' human beings in the modern society might cover the good and evil characteristics of historical figures, therefore Ahmedi portrayed a universal figure that is sinful, lustful, naïve, curious and eventually that would meet with his true and sole love, God.

Besides that, Ahmedi's possible ideological inclination to the Ash'ari rhetorical school was in line with his reflections of rulers. Regarding to the Ash'ari school, the good and evil could not be comprehended by the mind but the sacred judgment of God would determine the last decree of what is good and evil³⁶. Hence, Sawyer's analysis on Alexander tale missed Ahmedi's intellectual approach and the intellectual tendencies of the 14th century Anatolia. Same notions could be detected in different intellectuals that were contemporary to Ahmedi³⁷.

³³ Silay, XII.

³⁴ Sawyer, viii.

³⁵ Commencing by Adam's lust for the forbidden fruit, Moses's murder and the great fault of prophet David, most of the prophets committed sins as regular human beings regarding to Islam and Mohammed was no exception. Sometimes Allah warned Mohammed on certain issues in Qur'an: "Behold! Thou didst say to one who had received the grace of Allah and thy favor: "Retain thou (in wedlock) thy wife, and fear Allah." But thou didst hide in thy heart that which Allah was about to make manifest: thou didst fear the people, but it is more fitting that thou shouldst fear Allah. Then when Zaid had dissolved (his marriage) with her, We joined her in marriage to thee: in order that (in future) there may be no difficulty to the Believers in (the matter of) marriage with the wives of their adopted sons, when the latter have dissolved (their marriage) with them. And Allah's command must be fulfilled." (Qur'an, Ahzab:37) and also, 'Lo Mohammed! Patiently, then, persevere: for the Promise of Allah is true: and ask forgiveness for thy fault, and celebrate the Praises of thy Lord in the evening and in the morning.' (Qur'an, Al-Mumin:55) In that verse, Allah expected from Mohammed to ask for his forgiveness. See, Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır Tefsiri.

³⁶ There is a notion of Hüsn and Kubh in Ash'ari school and the good and evil could only be judged by God.

³⁷ One of them was Sheikh Bedreddin of Simavna.

Sawyer's analysis pointed the significance of the Islamic mythical characters in Alexander romance. Sawyer mentioned about the function of Hızır as he was the representing segment of the sacred knowledge contrary to Alexander's worldly figure³⁸. On the other hand, the function of Hızır was over interpreted. The Hızır figure in Islamic societies was described as a responding tool of God for the spiritual requirements and expectations of people³⁹. In Sufi and mystic tradition of Islam, Hızır has a role of guidance for people that are lost and shoing them the truths about Islam⁴⁰. Therefore, Ahmedi and most of the Islamic romance writers inserted Hızır to warn their characters on behalf of God. Sawyer analyzed Hızır in Iskendername as a represented character of the high court, on the contrary, Alexander as a popular rather than courtly figure⁴¹. However, the relations between the court and lame were actually ambiguous and therefore it is difficult to locate Alexander in the popular culture. Even it would be controversial to assert that Iskendername is a popular romance. For Inalcık, religious epics like Saltukname and Battalname were popular religious tales and emphasizing the spirit of *gaza*⁴². On the other hand, Iskendername contains information about religion, cosmology, astronomy and other sciences rather than *gazi* tales. Ahmedi posed Alexander as a lustful warrior that desires to conquer world for glory as well as he described him as a *gazi* warrior, fighting for the sake of God⁴³.

Although Sawyer analyzed Ahmedi's Iskendername in detail and revealed Ahmedi's symbolic narrative technique, her study is primarily a literary critique rather than a historical analysis. The social structure and cultural themes of the 14th

³⁸ Sawyer, 204.

³⁹ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "İslam- Türk İnançlarında Hızır yahut Hızır- İlyas Kültü", 2007, p. 217.

⁴⁰ Ocak, 91-101.

⁴¹ Sawyer, 204-205.

⁴² Inalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography", 155-163.

⁴³ Dursun Ali Tökel, *Divan Şiirinde Mitolojik Unsurlar*, 2000, pp.192-193.

century Ottoman Empire was not taken into consideration. Sawyer revealed that the worldly achievement meant less than the spiritual self-development regarding to Ahmedi. However, what she neglected was the historical phenomenon of the time mentioned. Ahmedi reflected his melancholy and depression within the historical process that was a bound with wars, disease and death. In addition, the work and Ahmedi was analyzed within Islamic tendencies but the consequences of the Ottoman pre-modern patronage system, which constituted the relation between the patron and the poet, to Ahmedi's work is not the subject of the inquiry. Moreover, Sawyer translated some couplets of Ahmedi's Iskendername in her work and her work is the first that translated some parts of Ahmedi's text. However, in some points she mistranslated the text. For instance, she wrote Caesar and Feylekus as same the personalities but they were completely different characters from each other in the original tale⁴⁴.

The aim of this thesis is analyzing Ahmedi's Iskendername within the intellectual and ideological patterns of Ottoman Empire and Ahmedi's religious tendencies that were reflected to the text were inquired. The tale of Alexander was analyzed as a tale of Ahmedi's personal life as well. Inquiry on Ahmedi and his Iskendername is maintained with this dual perspective and Ahmedi was studied within his historical process. The impact of the historical phenomenon on his thoughts and his life provided some information based on the cultural life of 14th century Ottoman land. Lastly, in this study, it is suggested that literary sources like romances might supplement information related to the emergence of the Ottoman Empire rather than focusing on mere history texts written in 14th and 15th centuries.

⁴⁴ See Sawyer, 25.

Hence, in the first chapter, general patterns of the 14th century are discussed within the framework of social and political phenomena. Historical events that motivated Ahmedi to write his tale are discussed briefly. Political power was the source of knowledge and determined the intellectual formation of the 14th century and the patrons of Ahmedi are analyzed as well. Lastly, the intellectual life in 14th century Anatolia, contemporaries of Ahmedi and a brief biography of the poet are studied.

In the second chapter, different narratives on Alexander's life and deeds are emphasized and the Alexander Romance's historical development in Islamic world and in the east is studied. Alexander's historical character is transformed into a heroic figure that reflected to political fictions and created a genre, called the Alexander Romance and the genre is one of the subjects of this work. Moreover, although there are transcriptions of the Ottoman History part of the text into English, the first complete summary of the tale in English is written in this study.

In the third chapter, the reflections of the text to the history are studied but the main objective of that chapter is to analyze the intellectual tendencies of the 14th century Ottoman Empire. Other than Ahmedi, works of the prominent poets of the 14th century, Şeyhi and Şeyhoğlu Mustafa were utilized to inquire the mainstream intellectual structure. In addition, the lieu of poets and function of literary texts in Ottoman social and political life is the subject of this chapter. Parallel to historical phenomena of the 14th century, the notion of death and melancholy is discussed. Finally, the concept of the beauty, love and desire are discussed within the framework of Ottoman intellectual life.

CHAPTER II

PATRON, POET AND TIME

2.1. Time

In order to conduct a very basic inquiry related to the intellectual norms of the Ottoman Empire in the 14th century, it would be necessary to depict the poet, the time and their correlation. Simple tendencies of political, social and economic life would portray the poet and his Iskendername. The motives that influenced the poet to write the Iskendername is actually concealed within the time he lived. The poet was traumatized by several social and political events and Iskendername is the reflection of these incidents. Destruction of states, cities and death of emperors, kings and ordinary people dragged the poet into a nihilistic life and eventually he transferred his pessimism with his romance.

The age of terror was about to come to closer. There was no more Mongolic threat in Europe and Anatolia⁴⁵. Lack of rapid invasions, including looting and pillage, could ease the pain of the people. Nevertheless, the Great Empire of Terror, the Mongols, was not united and strong enough to control all places they had

⁴⁵ The Mongolian Empire had threatened both East and West but after their dispute over succession, they could not reach farther than Syria. (Morgan, David. 'The Mongols and Eastern Mediterranean: Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204'. In Arbel B.; et al. Mediterranean Historical Review (Tel-Aviv, Illinois, USA: Routledge), 4, 1, 204. pg. 138

conquered⁴⁶. Anatolian princes declared their loyalty, fidelity and dependence to the Mongol House of Ilkhanates however, political enforcement towards these principalities was not possible⁴⁷. On the other hand, princes should pay their taxes to Ilkhanate Khan in order to survive⁴⁸.

People like Ahmedi would experience the destruction of the Great Ilkhanate Empire, its disintegration and eventually its evanescence. There is a tendency between scholars studying in the 21th century on correlating the social and political formations to the collapse of Soviet Union, which is believed to have caused a great trauma over masses. There is no doubt that there are some influences of this historical phenomenon but certain political and social structures remained firm. It was what made conquerors to survive and kings to remain in one place.

Although political power survived Mongols, the masses had yet another challenge to face. The west faced the catastrophic disaster of Black Death during the early 14th century⁴⁹. One third of the population in Eastern Europe died out of this disease and was displaced⁵⁰. Albeit, 14th century was the last crescendo of that natural disease and people eventually set accustomed to the periodic visit of this disaster. In Europe, especially in the west, people commenced settling in cities, established universities and libraries as continuing their intellectual/theological tradition⁵¹. Hence, the 14th century saluted the great expansion of urban life and the

⁴⁶ Morgan, 138.

⁴⁷ Finlay, George. 'The history of Greece from its conquest by the Crusaders to its conquest by the Ottomans, 384. Also, see C.P. Atwood, Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire, Monq Khan.

⁴⁸ They Seljukid Sultanate of Rum and Empire of Trebizond became vassals of the Mongolian Empire via Ilkhanates. Finlay, 384.

⁴⁹ Herlihy, David. 'The Black Death and the Transformation of the West', 17.

⁵⁰ David, 18.

⁵¹ Backman, Clifford. 'The Worlds of Medieval Europe', 247-252.

appearance early bourgeoisie in Western Europe⁵² although the significance of holding land was not going to be challenged till the 20th century.

Ahmedi did not only experience the catastrophes in the 14th Century, but he was also influenced by the consequences of these events. The collapse of great empires like the Ilkhanate Empire, gave way to merchants' expansion⁵³. There were no more Mongolic threat in Asia and China and further East was not anymore a mystery. Ahmedi's Alexander was a very suitable character to depict the period. The fear of death and the inquiry of new places intertwined. The curiosity of Alexander to discover new places and his fear of death resemble the main inclinations of the time.

Merchants remained the same but their places of travel expanded. There were two reasons of that; one was the end of the Eastern threat of Mongols since, eventually their collapse was reasoned by its internal challenges⁵⁴, and second was the new requirements of the emerging 'middle class'⁵⁵ in Europe⁵⁶. The latter was actually the consequence of the former but new financial and economic

⁵² Pirenne, Henri. 'L'origine des constitutions urbaines au Moyen Age' in *Les villes et les institutions urbaines*, I, p.50.

⁵³ Although Mongols structured an economical unity by providing safe trade routes, their collapse handed over the hegemony on trade routes to private merchants. Allsen, Thomas T. (1987). *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259*. University of California Press, 211. The other argument related to the collapse of Mongolian Empire and the new economic formation in globe is about the destruction of Mongol Empire caused much prosper economic developments in the splitted parties like Ilkhanates. See Morgan, David. "The Decline and Fall of the Mongol Empire" appears in Volume 19, Number 4 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (2009), 427-437.

⁵⁴ The Mongolian Empire did not hindered the commercial activities in Asia but the Empire possessed the hegemony of economic activities. Even Genghis Khan supported domestic and international trade but he requested tax from merchants. Vladimortsov, Boris. '*The life of Chingis Khan*'. B. Blom., 74.

⁵⁵ The medieval concept of middle class should not be comprehended as contemporary middle class or bourgeoisie. Basically, as Pirenne asserted they were the people of commerce of industry. Pirenne, 93.

⁵⁶ Henri Pirenne constructed a Western Medieval City on commerce and industry. The requirements of industry motivated merchants to seek for new resources., Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, 93.

developments influenced the traditional trade routes and the trade system⁵⁷. In addition, the exchange material was not only commodities but also ideas. Starting from the medieval times to the contemporary world, books as a source of intellectual knowledge was regarded as 'the middle class' tools of vanity and fashion. Knowledge was not only a power but also it functioned for flaunting between houses⁵⁸. Perhaps, this was a reason why one of the oldest İskendernames of Ahmedi is found in the London⁵⁹ and the Paris⁶⁰. This might not show the intellectual integrity but it reflects the circulation of cultural themes between different societies. This was the consequence of the entertaining and joyful form of literature because by nature, literature is universal.

A young man, named Marco Polo, commenced his global expeditionary venture as a result of his class quest that was ready to finance adventure unlike aristocracy⁶¹. Marco Polo was 17, when he set sail from Italy to India⁶². Due to his curiosity, his voyage filled with venture, throughout seas, oceans and lands likened

⁵⁷ The Chinese market was open to foreign traders during Mongolians. After the collapse of Mongolian Empire, China was closed for foreigners and foreign merchants for 300 years. This actually motivated the urban bourgeoisie to discover new places. Janet Abu-Lughod. 'Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350', p. 340-348

⁵⁸ On the trade of books and its function as pomposity and pride see, Graham Pollard, "The University and the Book Trade in Mediaeval Oxford," in *Beiträge zum Berufsbewusstsein des mittelalterlichen Menschen* ed. by P. Wilpert and W. Eckert (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964), pp. 336-44 and See Christopher De Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984).

⁵⁹ 16th century manuscript of Ahmedi is in British Museum in London, see Rieu, Charles. 'Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum, 162.

⁶⁰ The oldest manuscript of Ahmedi is in France. It is dated 1416-17 that was four years after Ahmedi's death. Silay, Kemal. XIX.

⁶¹ This is a typical clash between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, in other words the struggle between the new money and the old money. The old money was based on family or lineage and collected assets to prevent from economical stagnation and by that to maintain social mobilization. On the other hand, the new money was possessed by the lower class and based on consumptionism and the social mobility is maintained by the social challenge of individuals. Scholz, Claudia W.; Juanita M. Firestone. "Wealth". In George Ritzer (ed.). *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Blackwell Reference Online. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. On the other hand, the new money was possessed by the lower class and based on consumptionism and the social mobility is maintained by the social challenge of individuals.

⁶² Parker, John. 'Marco Polo'. *The World Book Encyclopedia* 15. 648-649.

was to that of Alexander the Great, who set out with similar aims against his mentor's, Aristotle's, advices⁶³. At the same time, in the East, Ibn Battuta, an Arabic merchant, noted his travels towards East and West⁶⁴. Ibn Battuta arrived to Bursa during Orhan's reign, and he was invited to the court of Orhan and enjoyed Ottoman's hospitality⁶⁵. Perhaps, Ibn Battuta, as an intellectual merchant⁶⁶, might have share his world view with some people during his visit to Anatolia. As mentioned above, books on a variety of themes were considered as entertaining and intellectual commercial commodities were pricey even in today's standards. Information itself was an expensive and difficult notion in terms of accessibility and it was considered a valuable asset for both merchants and urban literary class⁶⁷.

Therefore, we should take into consideration the very fact of possession of knowledge by few. Most serious and sophisticated academic works originated in places that enjoy status and political power. Hence, that social mechanism was shaping the intellectual and intellectual life in 14th century⁶⁸. The relationship

⁶³ In Iskendername, Ahmedi created characters to represent certain notions of Islam. Aristotle represent the wisdom/reson, on the other hand, Alexander represents soul, (Ünver, İsmail. *İskendername*, 23). Two characters are struggling with each other and represents the struggle between reason and soul. Alexander's curiosity and temerity was against Aristotle's wisdom.

⁶⁴ Marco Polo's travels were recorded in *Livres des merveilles du monde* (Book of the Marvels of the World) and Ibn Battuta wrote himself the *Rihle* (Gift to These who Comtemplate the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Travelling). Authenticity of both of the sources would not surprise the reader: It was the age of exploration and revealing something earthly meant something like discovering a marvel.

⁶⁵ Ibn Battuta: *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*. Translated and selected by H.A.R. Gibb. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power. (New York: Robert M. McBride & Company,), 126.

⁶⁶ When Ibn Battuta travelled to Konya, he read and heard that Alexander the Great constructed the city of Konya. Not to mention Konya's significance as a religious center in terms of Sufism in Anatolia but he collected local tales and legends about the places that he reached. Ibn Battuta, 126.

⁶⁷ Books were expensive items due to the technology and scarcity of publications. See Martin D. Joachim. *Historical Aspects of Cataloguing and Classification*. Haworth Press 2003, p. 452. for the value of medieval books. Also, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge University, 1980).

⁶⁸ Prof. Halil İnalcık analyzed the relationship between the patron and poet within the patrimonial state structure of Max Weber. İnalcık, Halil. 'Şair ve Patron', 10-11. His cultural patronage explanation excludes the economical requirements of the poet and linked the subject (the poet) directly to the sultan's power. Relations on the moral bases based on the honor and loyalty could not

between a patron and an intellectual was basically financial as much as it was political. Intelligentsia was -as it has always been- the very element of forming political sources for the ruling authority, other than its function of providing amusement to the sultan⁶⁹.

Perhaps the most universal notion that human beings engaged and encountered with is politics. After the Black Death in the west and Mongolic destruction and several harsh rebellions in the East, new political entities were established. In Anatolia, new principalities, replaced the Sultanate of Rum (Anadolu Selçukluları), dispersed throughout Anatolia⁷⁰. Most of the princes were leaders of certain tribes and challenging each other⁷¹. Ahmedi was born at this very turning point of Anatolia, maintained by endless wars and restless rivalries⁷². He spent most of his lifetime in the western side of Anatolia, Germiyani and Ottoman lands⁷³. Hereby, it would be necessary to mention some aspects of the main scene of our poet.

In Anatolia, the notion of destruction and exploration were intertwined and run parallel to the fear of death and the lust of knowledge. The sources of knowledge

be underestimated, nevertheless, financial requirements of the poet, mainly salary to live, constructed that relation.

⁶⁹ The sources of knowledge as part of the political authority would be observed in Germinaynid principality. Medreses were under the patronage of central authority rather than other social organizations like religious organizations (tariqats) or Ahis (brotherhoods). See, Çiftçioğlu, İsmail, *Germiyanoğulları Dönemi Kütahya Medreseleri*, 161.

⁷⁰ John Joseph Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 79-82.

⁷¹ "Certain inherent weaknesses in the structure of Seljuk government seem apparent from the beginning. One of these is the tendency toward division and decentralization seen in the Turkish conception of leadership as vested in the entire family, in the extension and utilization of the military "fief" system, and in the dependence upon this and other types of indirect administration throughout the different parts of the empire." Klausner, Carla. 'The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration' (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1973). 9.

⁷² Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History*, (New York: OUP, 2005). 35. "For the next several centuries, Anatolia would be a kind of 'wild west,' where historic Turkic competition between micropolity and macropolity would continue, becoming reconfigured over time under the impact of Islamic culture and a new environment."

⁷³ Köprülü, Fuat. 'Ahmedi' *İslam Ansiklopedisi*

accumulated in the hands of the political and economical power and therefore, in turn maintained the intellectual development under its patronage. In the west it was the urban middle class⁷⁴ and in the east it was the patrimonial state as Inalcık exerted⁷⁵. The general tendencies of the 14th century were mentioned and we would like to analyze the themes that influenced Ahmedi and his worldview in particular.

In particular, the strong ruler of Germiyanids, Yakub I, ambitioned to extent the territory of his state. The result of his zeal was to achieve great economic development. There is no intention on elaborating the economical structure of Germiyanids but modern researchers traced their economic success in the daily lives of Germiyans. The Germiyanid state was located in the south of the Ottoman lands. The main center of the state was in Kütahya and their territory reached to Denizli at its westernmost line towards the Aegean basin. Germiyanids was established in 1330s and remained until 1429 and throughout this period they displayed a vivid urban culture⁷⁶.

One of the most significant evidence is the organization of Ahi brotherhood. Ahis were divided into different guilds and maintained the city infrastructure of Denizli and Kütahya⁷⁷. They built religious centers in various cities and caravansaries throughout the eastern part of Kütahya and the western part of Denizli⁷⁸. Concerned about the well-functioning of these buildings and services they

⁷⁴ Pirenne, 156-167.

⁷⁵ İnalçık, 'Şair ve Patron', 9-17.

⁷⁶ For more information on Germiyanids see Peter Malcolm Holt, 1986, The Age of the Crusades: the Near East from the eleventh century to 1517, p. 176, Longman, University of Michigan,

⁷⁷ Yakupoğlu, Cevdet. "Germiyanogulları Muhitinde Ahiler ve Zaviyeler" 2269-2270

⁷⁸ Yakupoğlu, 2270.

established several foundations (vakıfs)⁷⁹. These foundations served significantly to the fundraising for Ahi works⁸⁰.

The ruling class built also other urban institutions, such as medreses. There were four medreses in the Germiyanids territory that of Yakub Bey, İshak Fakih, Balabaniye and Vacidiye⁸¹. Several areas of knowledge formed the curriculum of these schools with astronomy being the most significant discipline⁸². It is assumed that Vacidiye was a great observatory at that time⁸³. Perhaps Ahmedi had acquired or developed his talents on astronomy in these schools. However, the interesting notion in the case of medreses is its implementation and function. As mentioned, ‘the ruling class’ constructed these units and there had been no involvement of Ahis or the other social organisms to their establishment⁸⁴. One reason behind that might have been the ruling class’ zeal of dominating science and by that dominating knowledge. Since these medreses did not have any fund raising potential, they might have been a burden for the other social organisms. This might provide some basic insight of the relation between a poet, scientist or an artist with a patron and the formation of cultural hegemony. On the other hand, tekkes established by Ahi funds might function for providing certain information for people. The medieval world did not conserve the knowledge only in medreses because the knowledge itself was religious and it was about life. Therefore, parallel with the social order which would

⁷⁹ Yakupoğlu, 2269-2270.

⁸⁰ Yakupoğlu, 2269-2270.

⁸¹ Çiftçioğlu, İsmail, Germiyanogulları Dönemi Kütahya Medreseleri, 161

⁸² Çiftçioğlu, 161

⁸³ Çiftçioğlu, 164-165

⁸⁴ Regarding to Yakupoğlu’s article medreses were established only by Germiyanid statesmen.

be described as the *gemeinschaft*, the medieval mind amalgamated the science in the medrese and in tekke and knowledge was the outcome of that social mechanism⁸⁵.

Modern Ottoman historians, who are studying the foundation stage of Ottoman Empire, have a tendency to neglect the very existence of the other principalities in Anatolia, except the Karamanoğulları but the cultural pattern of these principalities are pointing that the Ottomans had no extraordinary social and economic system comparing to other places like Kütahya and Denizli. The famous traveler Ibn Battuta travelling through the lands of Germiyanids depicted similar impressions for the Ottomans: The Ahis were hospitable and very well organized. They fed him and let him stay in the Tavas castle⁸⁶. The aim of this analysis is to indicate that when Ottomans expanded their territorial sovereignty in Anatolia, there was no need for social adjustment and conformation since the Islamic cultural features –urban, political or social- were similar in Anatolia. Parallel to that that social adjustment Ahmedî, as an actor of Ottoman intellectual life, responded with conformity to this process as well. Ottomans inserted minares on Byzantine Monasteries and utilized them as mosques⁸⁷ and similar to that Ahmedî only inserted couple of chapters for his new patron after the Ottoman's obtained the Germiyanid territory. Simply this might be called as Ottoman pragmatism since it might be viewed in all economic, political and social aspects including literature, history and arts. There were no ossified social and economical tendencies –within a specific region and timeframe- that could define Ottomans for this age. Perhaps their

⁸⁵ I owe Mrs. Kermeli for showing me the strong personal relations in communal life of Islamic and medieval world.

⁸⁶ Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler, Haz. İsmet PARMAKSIZOĞLU, 2.Baskı, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 2000, s. 11-15.

⁸⁷ One of the instances for conversion of monasteries to mosques would be the conversion of Lips Monastery into the Molla Fenari İsa Cami. Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang (1977). Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17 Jh (in German). Tübingen: Wasmuth, 127.

pragmatism and eagerness to change brings some difficulties for the historians to analyze the emergence of Ottoman state.

2.1.1. Historians that established the Ottoman Empire

In this part, it is intended to analyze the main social and political themes of the Ottoman land that affected Ahmedi and his Iskendername within the dispute on the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. Because the dispute among historians on the subject of the emergence of the Ottoman Empire is almost limited to gaza, frontier and nomadic life based on histories written in 14th and 15th centuries. There is a general tendency among modern historians to focus on only histories and histories of the time mentioned but other written sources are neglected. For instance, most of the historians studied the emergence of the Ottoman Empire utilized Ahmedi's Ottoman History section, which was part of the Iskendername. However, there is no work on complete text of Ahmedi's Iskendername. Therefore, the other literary texts were seen as literature texts, full of legends and myths and showing no 'historical reality'⁸⁸. On the other hand, in this study, it is suggested that Ahmedi and his Iskendername –and all literary sources- could be useful sources for illuminating dark

⁸⁸ The very example of this dilemma is Heath Lowry's critique for Wittek's analysis on the issue of gaza. For Lowry, Iskendername was 'not intended to to be a versified chronicle. Rather it resembles a *nasihatname* (book of advice for rulers). Lowry, Heath. 'The Nature of the Early Ottoman State', 30. In Lowry's argument it could be viewed an inquiry for the 'chronicle' to comprehend the issue of gaza. The literary source on the other hand, might provide more information than a chronicle. In addition, albeit Iskendername could be defined as a mirror for princes, Ahmedi did not advice his rulers.

The other scholar concerned with the issue is Pal Fodor. Regarding to Fodor, Iskendername is not a historical work but 'work of art.' He also mentioned that the work in caution would 'provide some assistance in the elucidation of certain problems concerning the earlier Ottoman history. Fodor, Pal. 'In Quest of the Golden Apple', 22. Fodor noticed that there might be outcomes of the cautious analysis on Iskendername. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that the medieval mind and Ahmedi did not have concerns for differentiating the history, fact, legend, myth and art.

ages of Ottoman Empire. Mainly, the themes of Ottoman political life and daily life, such as gaza (holy raid) or life on the frontiers, could be analyzed via Ahmedî's Iskendername.

The foundation of the Ottoman Empire is remains today an issue of argumentation among Ottoman and Islamic historians due to the scarcity of historical sources. Historians that are stuck on the case of foundation of Ottoman Empire generally complained about limited sources and in fact, sources are few from the 14th century Ottoman state. Nevertheless, if historical analysis could be maintained by only historical sources and materials then, history as a discipline of either arts or science should obtain a new form based on the analysis of historical sources. On the other hand, the analysis of the subject mentioned there is evaluation of historical sources and constituting some basic discourses regarding the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

Alas historians and scholars that are studying the foundation of Ottoman State exerted their ideological claims on their analysis of the emergence of the Ottoman Empire⁸⁹. The heavy consequence of that problem is the fact that they did not present any new questions and problems to diversify methods to understand the process as well as they criticized analysis that are motivated with the different viewpoints. The most significant example on the case is the critiques towards Gibbons. The first critique for Gibbons' thesis on mixed race, which would be analyzed further, was Köprülü's study on the foundation of the Ottoman Empire that mentions the Ottoman

⁸⁹ Cemal Kafadar inquires the question in three motives that historians tended to approach the issue. First is based on the inquiry of racial form of Anatolia. The search for the 'real' Turks shaded the inquiry of the dynamics that caused the formation of the Ottoman Empire. The second problem is on violence that is related with the glorifying the victories and also comprehended as a motive that rise of Ottoman power. –Nevertheless, Kafadar missed the point of barbarism that is related with nomadic and sedentary life of Ottoman Empire- Lastly, the hostile national tradition asserted the question of inheritance of Turco-Muslim traditions or Byzantine-Greek notions. Kafadar, Cemal. 'Between Two Worlds', 23-24.

Empire was established by Turkish race⁹⁰. The political concerns of Köprülü asserted evidences for disproving Gibbons' mixed race theory but he could not exert new methods of analysis to comprehend the process of the foundation.

Moreover, Ottoman historians in general⁹¹ reluctant to other disciplines like anthropology, sociology, linguistics, ethnology and archeology on a process that possess few historical documents. However, Ottoman history become as a discipline that requires certain analysis on certain events based on the requirement of technical features (most significant of them is surely Ottoman language). Therefore a historian that copes and struggles with technical requirements of Ottoman historiography became abstained of maintaining analysis and creating arguments on events. The influence of empirical determinism of positivism still remains in the intelligentsia in Turkey⁹². On the other hand, it is suggested that benefiting from other disciplines and their methods of research might facilitate to comprehend the unsolved questions of history.

Poet, scholar and eventually historical character like Ahmedi has not become the focal point of historical research but rather figure only in literature critique. Ottoman historians that are studying the foundation process extracted stories of scholars, poets and writers like Ahmedi without placing them in their intellectual milieu. Hence, one of the ambitions of this work is to analyze the processes that created intellectuals like Ahmedi and their impact to their contemporary audience.

⁹⁰ Köprülü's construction of the Ottoman Empire was based on Turco-Muslim population flow into Anatolia and Kafadar mentioned that as 'Köprülü's vision was hailed and continues to serve as a building block of Turkish national historiography', Kafadar, 10.

⁹¹ For Kafadar, on the case of the emergence of the Ottoman Empire there is a general consensus between scholars in Turkey and international scholars.

⁹² One of the most prominent and famous historians in Turkey, Prof. Ortaylı claims that historian could not be a real historian unless one does have enough skills in Ottoman language. (Ortaylı, İlber. Tarih Yapmak/Tarih Yazmak İkileminde Türkiye, Perşembe Konferansları, 60). Still in modern academy it is possible to view positivist analysis on the issue, see Kafadar, pp. 13 and pp. 29.

The first and the most important question regarding the origins of the Ottoman Empire would be their identity and ethnicity. Gibbons' assertion of emergence of a new race became a very popular thesis⁹³. For Gibbons, Osman, the 'naïve' military and political leader of Ottomans, was actually polytheist⁹⁴. This would not be surprising since political formation brings along social and cultural change. On the other hand, Giese claimed that although it is certain that many people converted from Christianity to Islam, the idea that the conversion determined is wrong⁹⁵. Giese constructed his thesis on the Ahi brotherhood⁹⁶. Like Giese, Ömer Lütfi Barkan mentioned the significance of mystical sufis in converting Christian elements to Islam⁹⁷. However, it was Wittek's gaza thesis that became the predominant framework for analysis⁹⁸. Shortly, Wittek suggested that the *raison d'être* behind the Ottoman emergence was gaza (holy war) against infidels and the Ottomans' unique location on the border to Byzantium facilitate this process⁹⁹. Following Wittek's assertion, Köprülü, in his ambition to refute Gibbons' mixed race thesis, highlighted the significance of Turkic elements that motivated the rise of Ottoman Empire as a synthesis of Seljukids, Danishmends and Anatolian principalities¹⁰⁰. Contemporary historians have acknowledged these theories and proceeded in accepting or refuting them.

⁹³ It is interesting that Gibbons is the most criticized Ottomanist by historians. His work became a very popular tool for historians for showing their capabilities on analyze. Personally, I could not read any historian's work better observed the contemporary subjects and objects, interpret sources of the past and analyze the relation between the primary and latter than Gibbons.

⁹⁴ Gibbons, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu. pp. 20-21

⁹⁵ Giese, Friedrich. 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş Meselesi', Söğüt'den İstanbul'a, 156. This was not mentioned as a unique motivation in terms of emergence of the empire.

⁹⁶ Giese, 159.

⁹⁷ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler*, Vakıflar Dergisi. Vol. II. Ankara, 1942, pg. 279-304.

⁹⁸ Wittek, Paul. 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğuşu' tr.Fatmagül Berkay Pencere Yayınları June 1995.

⁹⁹ Wittek, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğuşu, 44-46.

¹⁰⁰ Köprülü, Kuruluş, 127.

However, instead of determining or detecting the main motivation of the establishment of Ottoman Empire, it would be much more accurate to analyze completely social strata and political subjects of 14th century. Wittek mentioned the gazi feature of Ottoman warriors motivated by holy war against infidels across the Ottoman borders¹⁰¹. On the other hand, Köprülü mentioned about the tribal features of that new political unity¹⁰². Hence, that tribal pragmatism and their relations with the frontier and the other side of the frontier provided the Ottomans with some instruments to establish a political unity. However, many Anatolian principalities contained that feature; therefore it was not particular to Ottomans. Frontier leaders marched against the Mongols with the gaza spirit¹⁰³. Although, Imber's (and other historians') critiques pointed out the weak assumptions of Wittek and of the gaza thesis as motivation for the establishment of the empire, this holy war remained as one of the most significant implementations during the formation and development of the state. For İnalcık, the Ottoman state 'was a small principality dedicated to Gaza, the holy war against infidel Christianity'¹⁰⁴. On the other hand Rudi Paul Lindner harshly criticized the gaza thesis and even his anti-thesis for Wittek deserves important credit, in some points Wittek and gaza notion were misinterpreted because Wittek emphasized a very motivation of the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. Whether Ottomans utilized that gaza notion for material reasons or spiritual and ideological claims, this vital motivation on Ottoman social structure could not be underestimated and neglected¹⁰⁵. For Lindner, Gaza was not related to religion

¹⁰¹ Wittek, Kuruluş, 42-47.

¹⁰² Köprülü, Kuruluş. 75-81.

¹⁰³ İnalcık, 'The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State' International Journal of Turkish Studies, 2/2 (1981-82), 71-79.

¹⁰⁴ İnalcık, Classical Age, 3

¹⁰⁵ It is interesting that Alexander was not a gazi warrior although he conquered the world but Ahmedi portraided only Ottomans that came last and conveyed the power of Islam as gazi warriors.

because the Ottomans launched holy raids against Germiyanids as well¹⁰⁶. In addition, he mentions that Christians were not under the oppression of Muslim Turks to convert and even Ottomans did not change the name of places that they conquered¹⁰⁷. Unfortunately, this naïve argument could not be seen as social analysis if Barkan's colonizing dervishes are taken into consideration. Islam's coercive character should not be underestimated in that case since that tolerance would require obligatory compromise from Christian community¹⁰⁸. Alliance with local Christians did not always meant tolerance but it should be comprehended as Ottoman pragmatism. This question would be discussed further but before that it should be mentioned that Lindner's argument of relation between gaza and religion – even though it contained religious rhetoric- is significant since holy raids against the infidels could maintain an economic source for Ottomans.

Although it might not be the only motivation of the emergence of the Ottoman state, gaza existed in 14th century Ottoman cultural life. Ahmedi mentioned about these gazi warriors and their deeds in his Alexander Romance. Even in the 15th century the gaza notion existed by providing booties for Muslim soldiers by Ottoman sultan: Aşıkpaşazade, with his naïve approach to this question, mentioned that there had been lots of gazas at his time and he involved in them and obtained some slaves¹⁰⁹. Perhaps that cultural theme, originated by Islam was mixed with economic acquisition for Muslim warriors. Therefore it might not be referred as main

¹⁰⁶ Lindner, Rudi Paul. 'Stimulus and Justification in the Early Ottoman History', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27/2 (1987), 207-224.

¹⁰⁷ Lindner, 215-224.

¹⁰⁸ This issue would be analyzed further but basically, the Islamic tolerance on Christian community is actually wrong phrase by nature since 'tolerance' is attributed as 'a fair, objective and permissive attitude toward these whose opinions and practices'. On the other hand, Ottomans obtained taxes in order to provide tolerance. Yet, there was an Islamic tolerance among Christian but it had a price and this is not a tolerance but it was very simple form of coercion.

¹⁰⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, *tevarih*.

ambition of establishment of the state, as Wittek did, but it might be conceived as zeal of obtaining reputation and economic revenue for gazi warriors¹¹⁰.

Life in frontiers was intriguing as well. The notion of frontier was strictly different comparing to contemporary world. First, there were no single and determined border; Muslim and Christian communities would live intertwine. Aşıkpaşazade tried to explain this relation by mentioning a story about Osman and Gündüz: One day, Osman called Gündüz and asked him about how to conquer these lands, and muster the army. Gündüz suggested looting these places but Osman rejected this idea since he wanted to have good relations with their neighbors to develop Karahisar. Therefore, he presented his gratitude and friendship to the lord of Bilecik. He had very good relations with Bilecik. Whenever they went to high lands, they left their properties. In addition, they dispatched these items not by men but by women¹¹¹. Besides that, Osman tried to emphasize the significance of a market and he wanted his market to function properly and justly¹¹². Surely, Aşıkpaşazade was trying to mention the significance of these particular issues and thus he sent some messages to his contemporaries. In any case, the friendship and alliance between Köse Mihal and Evrenos points the pragmatic Ottoman establishments. Nevertheless, the reason behind that bilateral relation was to defeat the enemy by peace. In the conclusion of the chapter, Aşıkpaşazade suggested to stay alert against the enemy and defeat him by cheating:

Hile et düşmene ta kim vire el
Ki fırsat bulasın zinhar başın al

¹¹⁰ In contemporary Turkish bureaucracy duty (vazife) means something different from the original term. For instance, a diplomat, who would be missioned for something, has to accept the mission. Otherwise, he/she would be humiliated in the Ministry office. The reputation of state officials could be maintained by these missions. Therefore, they are not only for obtaining salary for living but also shaping a personality of these political characters.

¹¹¹ Aşıkpaşazade Bab 9

¹¹² Aşıkpaşazade Bab 9

Yidür ni'met içür şeker şarabın
Ko key ola ana bulasın mecal

Veli gafil yörime etmesin al
Ki peşman fayde virmez olsa melal¹¹³.

In another chapter we would analyze the strategy of deception further using the Iskendername. Aşıkpaşazade described the basic Ottoman way of fighting. Before bloodshed, politics prevented destructive wars and deceptions were legitimate in the gaza rhetoric since it was against infidels.

Contemporary scholars and writers believe that Islam did not allow missionary work¹¹⁴. The usual rhetoric is that Islam does not engage in missionary work but it is a call for Islam (tebliğ). However, it is very difficult to differentiate the practice of missionary and a call. As indicated after the Mongol conquests and raids in the East people fled to Anatolia including dervishes and abdals¹¹⁵. Some of these dervishes settled in Anatolia and established their convents: some of them settled into rural areas and became occupied with animal husbandry and agricultural production and some joined the Ottomans during holy war and military campaigns¹¹⁶. After these conquests they established their convents on the lands that they captured, worked for the development of infrastructure of cities with Ahis and created cultural centers¹¹⁷. At first, they worked a part from the state apparatus; however since they enjoyed privileges from the state¹¹⁸, they became ideological units of the Ottomans. Hence, dervishes and abdals became prominent elements of

¹¹³ Aşıkpaşazade Bab 9

¹¹⁴ Very recently Ministry of Religious Affairs in Turkey made an official statement and argued that missionary in Islam does not exist, Islam has a notion of tebliğ (to call), <http://diyanetahaber.com.tr/bizde-teblig-varidir-misyonerlik-yoktur.html>

¹¹⁵ Köprülü, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu, 101-103.

¹¹⁶ ibid, 101-103.

¹¹⁷ Still Bursa is one of the most important cities that contains the Ottoman cultural patterns and the city reflects the Islamic ideology to visitors. Perhaps that was the main motivation that Ahmedî commenced to write on Ottomans after he arrived to Bursa.

¹¹⁸ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Kolonizatör Dervişler*, 279-304.

Islamic cities as they promoted the Islamization of new areas¹¹⁹. These religious ‘radicals’¹²⁰ were different from vagrant beggars who lived a bohemian life in the cities. Bureaucrats and sultans honored and protected them¹²¹. Even Osman allegedly acquired his mission of the establishment of a glorious empire from a very notable dervish, Şeyh Edebalı¹²². Hence, although they are presented in the literary genre as poor beggars in a semi-sedentary life this image should be readdressed and all these segments should be investigated within its own dynamics.

Moreover, dervishes of that time reflected the different aspects of Islam. Turks that came from Central Asia brought their traditional belief systems along with their enthusiasm of quest and wealth. They were practicing their Islamic rituals with alcohol and opium and women and men were very close to each other¹²³. At the beginning of the 14th century Barak Baba had large follower group and Islamic diet¹²⁴. Thus, he thought that he was exercising a catharsis that would make him reach to Allah¹²⁵. Because of these extremities sometimes conflicts emerged between state and dervish groups. Beliefs of Turks, including their heterodoxy and non-conformist manners, created an image of low capacity of understanding and weak religion¹²⁶. When Ahmedi went to Bursa with his patron Emir Süleyman, he complained about the dervishes of Bursa because of their hypocrisy and ‘disgusting’ vanity¹²⁷. For an intellectual like Ahmedi, who studied in Egypt Orthodox Islamic

¹¹⁹ Barkans emphasized that with all their illiterate and uncultivated features they implemented Islamic notions to cities. Barkan, *Kolonizatör Dervişler*, 290-304.

¹²⁰ Köprülü, “Bektaşîliğ’in Menşe’leri”, *Cem Dergisi*, Year 5, vol. 52 September 1995

¹²¹ One of the most sophisticated types of these dervishes was Şeyh Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi. Sultan Murad IV honored him and also sultan was his follower. *Diyânet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*; c.4, s.338

¹²² Aşıkpaşazade, *tevarih*

¹²³ Melikoff, 201.

¹²⁴ Melikoff, 201.

¹²⁵ Melikoff, 202.

¹²⁶ Melikoff, 200.

¹²⁷ Köprülü, ‘Ahmedi’, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. pp.216-221.

doctrines, these people were actually ignorant and illiterate. Köprülü depicted them as ‘a people who do not have a capability of high philosophical discussions and creating discourses, ignorant and subject to the utter nihilism and immorality’¹²⁸. Neither could they embrace the traditional regulations of Islam, nor could they break away from their ancestors’ beliefs¹²⁹. In addition, their mediator position between Islamic cults – and intellectuals- and society should not be despised. Although modern historians and Ottoman historians criticized their practices, it is difficult to distinguish discourses of so-called elite intellectuals, like Ahmedi, Şeyhoğlu, Aşık Paşa, with dervish sayings. For instance, Ahmedi and Şeyhoğlu were defending the significance of drinking wine for decreasing the pain of life¹³⁰. Ahmedi suggested a relatively bohemian life since that world is temporary¹³¹. Perhaps they were seen them as opponents for intellectuals and this might be the reason of their critiques due to their close relations with state. In fact, they were politically much more efficient than poets and intellectuals in terms of propagating and defending Islamic ideology.

Despite this, the approach of the state towards these religious groups was different. All political characters lived in 14th century Anatolia had some acquaintances with the Babai Revolts and they would not want to trigger bloody incidents again. Hence, they were close to these religious units although they did not approve of their practices. Osman was close to Edebali and Bektaşî tarikat and its followers were companions of Ottoman sultans serving the state¹³². Therefore, the cultural life of Ottomans in 14th century should not be examined with strict arguments since all segments of social and political life were intertwined and

¹²⁸ Köprülü, Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri, 124-125.

¹²⁹ Melikoff, 102

¹³⁰ Ahmedi, 400: Bade anuñdür ki anı nuş ideler/Kamu kayguyu feramuş ideler/Lezzeti bi-hoş olub yetinmehdurur/Kendü kendüzün unutmahdurur.

¹³¹ Ahmedi, 162.

¹³² Melikoff, 224.

‘positive’ and ‘negative’ aspects of the social life could not be comprehended easily. Political and social life was constituted on a fluid relation between society and state. This elusive and intertwined relation with all its pragmatic structure allowed Ottomans to experience different political and social issues. Looking into this social frame in strict codes would not provide any discourse for a historian but it makes the analysis more complex. Rather than the influence of positivism and historicism on Ottoman history, we suggest that the inquiry on Ottoman medieval mind would provide scholars new perspectives on their political and social analysis related to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

As it was mentioned above Aşıkpaşazade mentioned Ottoman pastoral movements. Nomadic elements were disliked and unwelcomed when the Ottoman state developed and became the Sublime Port¹³³. In a time that nomadic life brought its place into a sedentary rural life because of the vast bureaucratic enterprise¹³⁴. Nevertheless, the nostalgia of the nomadic life remained as one could catch the depiction of Ottoman pastoral life in Bellini’s Mehmed¹³⁵. However, Osman and his fellowmen experienced the nomadic lifestyle¹³⁶. Surely, he also experienced the city life with markets, buildings and rapid conquests as Aşıkpaşazade described. In any case, 14th century Ottoman state was moveable¹³⁷. Usually it is assumed that Bursa was the first capital of Ottomans, then Edirne became the second capital city and finally it was Istanbul. Until Mehmed II most of the Ottoman sultans executing the order in these cities but they did not settle in only one city. This mobile structure of state and society might facilitate the conquests since new lands for settlement was the

¹³³ Lindner, 215-220.

¹³⁴ Lindner, 215-220

¹³⁵ Lindner, 215-220

¹³⁶ Gibbons, 20-25.

¹³⁷ Gibbons, 20

issue for nomadic elements. One could easily detect these features in Ahmedî's Alexander Romance. In Ahmedî's *Iskendername*, Alexander also possessed a moveable empire; he brings physicians, philosophers, magicians, fortune tellers, jesters, etc. with him to new lands that he was looking for. Ahmedî's choice of Alexander in his epic might be only a coincidence but due to the spirit of time, Ahmedî as a poet and historian might be influenced by his nomadic life experience of his patrons. Alexander's passion for obtaining wisdom and knowledge met with Osman and his followers' zeal of conquest. They did not have any certain strict rules and they were open to every alternative way that could provide wealth to the Ottomans. Therefore, the similarity of Osman's tale as a gazi warrior that sought for new lands to conquer and benefit could meet with Alexander's lust of conquest and knowledge in Ahmedî's *Iskendername*.

2.2. The Patron

The first patron of Ahmedî was the Süleyman of Germiyans¹³⁸. He was not as powerful as his grandfather Yakub but he defended the Germiyanid principality from the assaults of the Karamanoğlu till he had to convey his lands to the Ottomans¹³⁹. Although Ahmedî's birthplace is not certain, he probably turned back to his hometown after his education in Egypt¹⁴⁰. It was actually unfortunate for Ahmedî to commence his literature career in Süleyman of Germiyans's court. As mentioned, the political situation in Anatolia was complicated. Small principalities

¹³⁸ Köprülü, Ahmedî, İA, 217.

¹³⁹ Uzunçarşılı, Germiyanogulları, İA, 767

¹⁴⁰ Köprülü, Ahmedî, İA, 216.

ambitioned to dominate each other. After long battles against the Karamans, the Germiyanids could not manage to evade their assaults¹⁴¹. Lastly, Süleyman of Germiyan assisted other principalities to avoid fighting against the Karamans¹⁴². Notwithstanding, the Karamans could not be stopped¹⁴³.

Then, one day Süleyman of Germiyan called his son Yakub to persuade him to create an alliance with the Ottomans¹⁴⁴. However, it is interesting because Süleyman of Germiyan told that ‘if you want to possess these lands, we should make an alliance with Ottomans. Therefore, give my daughter to Bayezid¹⁴⁵’. Then Aşıkpaşazade mentioned that whole land possessed by Ottomans because a man, named Hüseyin of Germiyan, sold all lands¹⁴⁶. After that, the Ottomans with Murad marched to the south and captured the Germiyanid lands¹⁴⁷. Perhaps Hüseyin was a traitor of the Germiyan because after the death of Murad, Yakub claimed the lands of Germiyan back. He was suppressed eventually but he fled to Timur and requested his assistance to have his land back¹⁴⁸. He marched with Timur and possessed his land after the war of Ankara¹⁴⁹. During the interregnum, he lost his land to the Karamans but thanks to Ottoman support, he could regain his political power and land¹⁵⁰. On the other hand, he also assisted the son of Mehmed Çelebi, Mustafa, to fight against his brother Murad¹⁵¹. After Mustafa’s defeat, he aimed to create cordial relations with the Ottomans. Probably the Ottomans were involved with the intrigue

¹⁴¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Germiyanogulları*, I, 768.

¹⁴² Uzunçarşılı, 768.

¹⁴³ Uzunçarşılı, 768.

¹⁴⁴ Öztürk, Necdet. ‘Mevlana Mehmed Neşri’nin Cihannüma’sı’, 94-96

¹⁴⁵ Yavuz, Saraç. ‘Aşıkpaşazade ve Tevârih-i Al-i Osman’, Bab 49.

¹⁴⁶ I could not acquire any information about this person.

¹⁴⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, Bab 50.

¹⁴⁸ Uzunçarşılı, 768.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 768

¹⁵⁰ *ibid*, 768.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 769.

and plot in the Germiyanids but in any case this was the story of the Germiyanid decline.

Unlike his father Yakub spent most of his time fighting against the Ottomans, therefore, he could never been the patron of our poet. Talented and highly educated Ahmedi witnessed that plot and the end of a state. Fuat Köprülü and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı emphasized Süleyman of Germiyans' desire of worldly pleasures like wine and 'beauties'¹⁵². Perhaps the assault of Karamans dragged Süleyman of Germiyans and his court into a melancholy and thus he intended to alleviate his depression with wine and court affairs. In these difficult times, Ahmedi suggested his patron to drink wine to suppress his concerns about political issues as well¹⁵³. As Ahmedi depicted it, Süleyman of Germiyan liked earthly things like love, food, drink¹⁵⁴. He was not a warrior but still he was politician and he ambitioned to prevent the Karaman threat over the Germiyans. Somehow, eventually he succeeded in his purpose by integrating his state with Ottomans.

When Süleyman of Germiyans decided to unite the Ottomans and the Germiyanids he dispatched his notable and beloved statesman and scholar, Hacı İshak, to the Ottomans with this offer¹⁵⁵. Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri mentioned the same story about how the Germiyanids pleaded to a marriage bond¹⁵⁶. This was actually a very profitable trade for Süleyman of Germiyans. He retreated to Kula and spent his time under Ottoman protection¹⁵⁷. Still, both Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri probably exaggerated the wedding and the enthusiasm of Germiyans for this marriage. Germiyanids were extremely generous to their court members, including

¹⁵² Köprülü, Ahmedi, 216-217 and Uzunçarşılı, Germiyanogulları, 767-768.

¹⁵³ Köprülü, 218 and Ahmedi, 400.

¹⁵⁴ Köprülü, 218.

¹⁵⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Bab 49.

¹⁵⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, Bab 49; Neşri, 94-96.

¹⁵⁷ Uzunçarşılı, 768.

poets¹⁵⁸. When Şeyhoğlu left the Germiyanid court after the death of Süleyman of Germiyan, Mehmed complained him for his extra demands from Ottomans¹⁵⁹. According to Hammer it was Ottomans who made the request for marriage¹⁶⁰. In any case, for Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri, it was a very great opportunity to insult the historic rivals of the Ottomans.

After the wedding, Bayezid was assigned to Kütahya as a sanjak beyi¹⁶¹. Our poet's and one of his patrons' ways intersected in this place. Bayezid liked Ahmedî's talents on literature and rhetoric¹⁶². He was also a talented physician, when working for Süleyman of Germiyan¹⁶³. Thus, Bayezid kept him in his court until he dispatched Ahmedî to his son Emir Süleyman. Nevertheless, Bayezid was not a man of literature, but of war. Like his ancestors, he was trained as a gazi warrior and although he was assigned to Kütahya, he marched with his father in campaigns¹⁶⁴. According to Aşıkpaşazade the year of marriage and assignment of Bayezid was in 1381-82¹⁶⁵, hence he could not stay in Kütahya for a long time since he became sultan in 1389¹⁶⁶. Within these 7 to 8 years Bayezid constantly joined fights both in Anatolia and the Balkans¹⁶⁷. That could provide him sufficient information about basic diplomacy and Ottoman politics.

¹⁵⁸ Uzunçarşılı, 769.

¹⁵⁹ Hammer emphasized sultan Mehmed's complaint on Seyhoglu because Seyhoglu had spent the payment on his way and demanded more from sultan Mehmed. Hammer, v.I, ...

¹⁶⁰ Hammer, 95.

¹⁶¹ Uzunçarşılı, 768.

¹⁶² Tuba Işınsu İsen mentioned that Bayezid used to send his compliments to poet Ahmedî and Şeyhî. İsen, Tuba Işınsu. 'II. Selim Dönemi Sonuna Kadar Osmanlı Edebi Hamilik Geleneği', PhD Thesis, 33.

¹⁶³ Köprülü, 217.

¹⁶⁴ ibid, 217.

¹⁶⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Bab 52.

¹⁶⁷ Yinanç, Mükrimin Halil. 'Bayezid I', İA. 369-398.

In 1389, Murad called his two sons, Yakub and Bayezid, to the Battle of Kosovo¹⁶⁸. The Ottomans were victorious in the battle but a Serbian soldier on the battlefield assassinated Murad¹⁶⁹. Public officials called Bayezid to his father's tent, informed him about his father's death and proclaimed their loyalty to the new sultan Bayezid¹⁷⁰. Then they called Bayezid's brother Yakub to his father's tent and killed him there¹⁷¹. According to Aşıkpaşazade, anxiety upon the janissaries emerged thus; Bayezid distributed some coins to soldiers¹⁷². Neither Ahmedi, nor Şükrullah mentioned about this slaughter but this might be related with the content of the issue since it was very fresh for these writers and it was a delicate subject.

It is unknown whether the relation between Ahmedi's patrons changed after the death of Murad on the battlefield since the Germiyanids reclaimed their land. It could be assumed that Ahmedi had strong connections with the Germiyanids since he worked for them for a long time. Also, his critique of Bayezid, which will be analyzed further, could be viewed as evidence of Ahmedi's stand. In any case, Bayezid suspended the politics of Anatolia for a while and turned back to the Balkans¹⁷³. He made another diplomatic marriage with Maria Despina, sister of Serbian King Lazar¹⁷⁴. He maintained alliances with Balkan principalities and Byzantium and turned back to Anatolia¹⁷⁵. He suppressed revolting princes in Anatolia against the Ottomans, including his brother-in-law Yakub of Germiyan¹⁷⁶. On the other hand, the Byzantines noticed the coming threat of Bayezid and started

¹⁶⁸ *ibid*, 369.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid*, 369.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*, 369.

¹⁷¹ *ibid*, 369.

¹⁷² Aşıkpaşazade, Bab 56.

¹⁷³ Yinanç, 370.

¹⁷⁴ Yinanç, 370.

¹⁷⁵ Yinanç, 370-371.

¹⁷⁶ Yinanç, 371.

the construction of strong walls¹⁷⁷. Bayezid wrote a threatening letter to Emperor Ioannes to demolish the walls¹⁷⁸. Bayezid spent most of his time in battle especially in Anatolia¹⁷⁹. Nonetheless, he fought in the Balkans as well. The Hungarian King Sigismund appealed to the Pope for a crusade and he mustered an army in Nicopolis. Bayezid left the battlefield victorious¹⁸⁰. As it was tradition, he developed the infrastructure of Bursa with the booty from Nicopolis¹⁸¹.

He was also resuming his diplomatic missions in Middle East since Timur entered to Anatolia through the Dicle River¹⁸². Bayezid ambitioned to create a strategic alliance with Egypt against Timur and therefore, there had been intensive correspondence between two states¹⁸³. Besides that Ottomans were fighting in multiple frontiers. Bayezid launched a siege to Constantinople but he had to resume his campaign towards Karamans as well, in which that ambition concluded with the capture of Konya¹⁸⁴. The siege of Constantinople ended with a treaty in favor of Ottomans by the interminable insistence of Çandarlı Ali Paşa¹⁸⁵. On the other side, after the death of sultan Barkuk in 1399, Bayezid annulled the treaty between Egypt and Ottomans and captured the Egyptian lands in Anatolia, Malatya, Darende and Divriği¹⁸⁶.

This view depicts the form of new state which was much more different than Osman's or Orhan's state. Probably same strategies were issued but state and bureaucracy was bigger now. Bayezid had diplomatic enterprises, political

¹⁷⁷ Yinanç, 371.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid*, 371.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid*, 371.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid*, 372.

¹⁸¹ *ibid*, 373.

¹⁸² *ibid*, 374.

¹⁸³ *ibid*, 374.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid*, 374-75.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid*, 373. Ioannes should paid 10.000 florins annually.

¹⁸⁶ *ibid*, 374.

ambitions, economic objectives and like his ancestors motivation of war against everyone that are opposed to Ottoman development. Although Bayezid could not spent most of his time in Bursa due to the intense campaigns towards east and west, Bursa became an imperial city with full of ideological institutions.

Although Bayezid was a warrior in nature, he was extremely cultivated comparing to his predecessors¹⁸⁷. With all his arrogance and aims to battles, he was a statesman and successful political character. During his reign he received lots of complaints about venality of Kadis¹⁸⁸. Most of them were collecting bribes and people became disturbed and annoyed by this¹⁸⁹. Bayezid called all kadis to his court, listened to them and punished them in accordance with their crimes¹⁹⁰. Ahmedi denoted that event in his epic:

Osmani ki adleydi Ömer
Bildi ki olur kadılar bidadger

İşleri rüşvet durur tağyir-i şer
Hiç anmazlar ne durur asl u fer

Dünyeyiçün ki ana gerekmez nazar
Hakkı batıl batılı hak dir bular

Cem itdi kamusını sordı ol
Ne ki aldılar girü virdürdi ol

Gereğince itdi anlara ceza
Yavuz işliye yavuzlukdur seza

Cehid ile bir zerre getirdi yola
Rastrulık hod olardan nice ola¹⁹¹

These social problems and resolutions of state towards them were probably experienced by Ahmedi. The notion of justice was classical rhetoric of Islam but

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 389-390.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 390.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 390.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 390.

¹⁹¹ Ahmedi, 273-278.

justice might not be fair every time. Yakub of Germiyan and the other princes applied to Timurs court to obtain the justice in Anatolia, since their lands were captured by Ottomans. After some humiliating correspondances between both sultans, Timur marched on Bayezid, defeated the Ottoman army and let the other Anatolian principalities to be reestablished¹⁹². It is not known what happened to Bayezid after all but state survived by that great defeat.

Before the Battle of Ankara, Emir Süleyman, one of the six sons of Bayezid, was staying in Kütahya and Bursa¹⁹³. Probably Ahmedi met with Emir Süleyman in Kütahya and entered his court. Emir Süleyman was favorable prince because he had connections with the bureaucracy in Bursa. Most of the political ties between princes and statesmen could be settled during war times in the 14th and 15th centuries. Emir Süleyman fought with Candarlı in the Battle of Nicopolis and rewarded by his successes¹⁹⁴.

After the defeat of Ankara Emir Süleyman fled to Rumelia and proceeded some diplomatic attempts to possess the throne himself¹⁹⁵. Then he marched against his brother Mehmed and captured Bursa¹⁹⁶. Despite the traditional story that Emir Süleyman remained inactive in Bursa, spent most of his time with wine and Turkish baths, he was occupied with Anatolian politics¹⁹⁷. He marched against Karamanids and when they offered their peace terms as alliance with Emir Süleyman, he approved their offer¹⁹⁸. Dimitris Kastritsis in his work, *The Sons of Bayezid*, underlined the fallacy of the depiction of Emir Süleyman as pleasure seeking, drunk

¹⁹² Yinanç, 386.

¹⁹³ Köprülü, 217.

¹⁹⁴ Kastritsis, 119.

¹⁹⁵ İnalçık, 'The Classical Age', 17-19.

¹⁹⁶ Kastritsis, 119.

¹⁹⁷ Kastritsis, 120-121.

¹⁹⁸ Kastritsis, 120-121

character; ‘while there are indications that Emir Süleyman did indeed enjoy wine and courtly life –and he was in good company, since such habits by no means uncommon among medieval Islamic rulers- these stories in fact reflect a deeper agenda of the opposition to the project of transforming the Ottoman emirate into a centralized sedentary empire on the Seljuk or Byzantine model.¹⁹⁹ Even though this claim (drinking wine) towards Emir Süleyman might point a ‘deeper agenda’ of transforming state, it was not very unusual for medieval sultans to drink wine. Ahmedî portrayed his own patrons as heavy drinker –especially Süleyman of Germiyanids- and sometimes he suggested drinking with them²⁰⁰. It is obvious that he could not dare to suggest such matter if it was not approved by his patron. Still, Ahmedî did not refrain to indicate that drinking results reverse influence on Emir Süleyman comparing to Süleyman of Germiyanids²⁰¹. Hence, although Emir Süleyman’s death might not be the consequence of drinking, he had a usual habit of drinking wine and he liked feasts²⁰².

Emir Süleyman was also reflected as a ruler, who is fond of feasts instead of fighting. Again, most of these arguments originated from his rivals’ counter-propaganda albeit Süleyman Çelebi was not like his father, who was very enthusiastic of marching to the east and west intensively. Even his friend and poet Ahmedî described him as a man, who had peaceful manners although he was strong:

Gerçi leşker ü var u genc ü destres
Likin itmez mülk almaga heves

Himmeti katında anun mülk-i zemin
Bir üvezün kanadıncadır hemin

¹⁹⁹ Kastrisis, 122.

²⁰⁰ Köprülü, İA, 217.

²⁰¹ Köprülü, İA, 217.

²⁰² In fact Süleyman’s death might be a discourse of Ottoman historians for indicating the villany of drinking, since he was the eldest son of Bayezid, who deserved the throne more than his brothers but he could not acquire the power.

Mülk isdese olmadın arada harb
Feth olayıdı ana şark u garb

Ol mürüvvetlü durur ehl-i ata
Ol fütüvvet issidür ni'me'l-feta²⁰³

Nevertheless, Emir Süleyman was portrayed as an arrogant and ambitious ruler as well, who rejected to fight by Abdülvasi Çelebi, a contemporary of Ahmedi and Emir Süleyman. For Abdülvasi, he had the sword to conquer the Ottoman lands but he missed that opportunity. He criticized Emir Süleyman for showing his arrogance:

Bir ulu kardaşı tutmuşdı anı
'Dir idi ben tutaram bu cihanı

Benim hükmümde gerek her ne vasa
Nedür İsa Muhammed ya ne Musa!'

Kılıc tutar ili tutmadı kılınç
Uş il gelsün kimesde varsa kılınç

While Emir Süleyman was fighting against his brother Mehmed and the Karamanids, his younger brother Musa was rising in Rumelia²⁰⁴. He was supported by Balkan principalities and aspired to Emir Süleyman's throne²⁰⁵. Emir Süleyman sent an army against Musa but his army was defeated near Sofia²⁰⁶. After the defeat Emir Süleyman's bureaucrats and commanders deserted Musa's rising power and changed side²⁰⁷. Probably the reason behind that change sides was Emir Süleyman's collapse of power, despite the fact that there were lots of rumours about Emir Süleyman, which were mentioned before.

²⁰³ Ahmedi, 305-308

²⁰⁴ Cezar, Mustafa. 'Mufasssal Osmanlı Tarihi', 227.

²⁰⁵ İbid, 227-230.

²⁰⁶ İbid, 227-228.

²⁰⁷ İbid, 227.

In any case, the eldest son of Bayezid was dead and the struggle between brothers resumed until the death of Musa²⁰⁸. After Mehmed became the sultan, the Ottoman land was filled with blood. Now, it was time to reestablish the state after 11 years and there should not be conflicting parts. Hence, Mehmed did not bear a grudge on anyone and he allowed Çandarlıs to remain in office and all court members of his brothers were transferred to his court. This disaster taught Ottomans to form their policies much more cautiously. Ottomans experienced only some trivial defeats before the Battle of Ankara, which was extremely unexpected since they were victorious in all fronts.

2.3.The Poet

Neither the birth place nor the birth year of Ahmedi is certain but he was born sometime during the middle of the 14th century in Anatolia²⁰⁹. His real name was not Ibrahim, and as a poet he followed the tradition and acquired a pseudonym²¹⁰. He was educated in Anatolia and then he went to Egypt²¹¹. As Köprülü notes this was the basic educational tradition of period²¹².

His master was a famous professor of Egypt, Sheikh Ekmelleddin of Bayburt²¹³. He was the most popular scholar in Egypt and he gained even the respect

²⁰⁸ *ibid*, 234.

²⁰⁹ Köprülü, 'Ahmedi', 216

²¹⁰ *ibid*, 216.

²¹¹ *ibid*, 216.

²¹² *ibid*, 216.

²¹³ *ibid*, 216.

of the Egyptian sultan, Baybars²¹⁴. It should be noted that Sheikh Bedreddin, executed by Mehmed I as a result of his revolt, was Sheikh Ekmelledin's student as well²¹⁵. Therefore, he had a very interesting peer during his educational life and some of his notable friends in Egypt were Molla Fenari and Hacı Pasha²¹⁶.

There was a rumor related to Ahmedi's visit to Egypt²¹⁷. One day he went to fortune teller with his friends²¹⁸. The fortune teller stared at Ahmedi and told him that he would become famous by his poems but not because of his scientific talents²¹⁹. Probably the teleological approach of authors mentioning this created a myth to reinforce the literature talents of Ahmedi rather than his scientific wisdom. However, Ahmedi's scientific talents, especially on medicine and pharmacy, would not be disregarded. He definitely had a wide knowledge on medicine since he translated the famous medical writer, Ibn Sina²²⁰. Even in his *Iskendername* he instilled some information about medicine, in which we will be mentioned further.

After his scholarly training in Egypt, he turned back to Anatolia and started living in Kutahya, which was the land of Germiyans in the 14th century²²¹. He commenced his literature career in the Süleyman of Germiyan's palace. Süleyman of Germiyans was very interested in poetry and arts²²². He was the patron of most notable poets of the time like Şeyhoğlu Mustafa²²³.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 216.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, 216.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 216

²¹⁷ Gibb, E.J.W. 'A History of Ottoman Poetry', 261.

²¹⁸ Gibb, 261.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, 261.

²²⁰ Köprülü, 'Ahmedi', 217.

²²¹ Gibb, 262.

²²² Köprülü, 'Ahmedi', 217.

²²³ *Ibid*, 217.

Like in the bureaucracy and the other sections of the social and political systems there was a great rivalry between poets²²⁴. Poets aimed to denigrate each other in order to ingratiate their ‘well-beloved’ patrons²²⁵. That was exactly what Ahmedi experienced with Şeyhoğlu Mustafa in the Germiyan palace. Both poets were writing *mesnevis* and *kasides* dedicated to their patrons and they were trying to humiliate each other in the court of Sultan Süleyman²²⁶. The quarrels of poets and the other artists might be the daily joyful activities of sultan’s court.

But Ahmedi had very close companies and allies like Şeyhi²²⁷. Şeyhi was very famous poet of that age and was one of the most significant intellectuals. He studied with Iranian intellectuals, like Curcani, and the critical approach towards the Islamic determinism could be viewed in his works²²⁸. Justice was the main theme that was analyzed deeply by Şeyhi, in his work *Harname*. Thus, Ahmedi could engage with Sufism in the company Şeyhi. The difference of both segments could not be seen obviously in Anatolia during that age. Anatolia was not one of the best cultural centers of Islamic world but it was importing intellectuals from Iran and Egypt.

The school of Bagdad was ruined long time ago and most of the Iranian intellectuals concentrated on Sufism²²⁹. Anatolia was under the influence of that Sufi-heterodox Islamic cultural social life, in which philosophy, which used to be the golden branch in Islamic doctrine, could not be defended by intellectuals. In addition, there was no reason to set up any intellectual center into Anatolia because of the political instability. Nonetheless, some patrons as in the Germiyans and the

²²⁴ Köprülü, 217-218.

²²⁵ Köprülü, 218.

²²⁶ Köprülü, 218.

²²⁷ İbid, 217.

²²⁸ Faruk Timurtaş. ‘Şeyhi’, İA. Vol.11, s.474

²²⁹ Sawyer, 55.

Ottomans could maintain an intellectual environment for poets, jurists, doctors and pharmacists.

Ahmedi and his peer were sophisticated and versatile enough for Anatolia. They were effectuating their professions and besides that they were scribing texts for the sake of their patrons. The poet should not be comprehended as a poet only. Ahmedi was very talented in pharmacy and medicine and he was acting on his profession while also producing intellectual texts for his patron²³⁰. Satisfaction of the patron would be for the benefit of the poet as well. Since Süleyman of Germiyan was depicted as a man that was fond of poetry and arts, it could be assumed that Ahmedi had prominent place in the court.

Süleyman of Germiyan was depicted as an uncultivated sultan²³¹. Even some scholars were criticized him as rustic and member of a peasantry life²³². He loved drinking and carousing and poets were part of that life²³³. Poets did not only produce poetry but they had to participate in the entertainment life of their patrons whenever it was demanded. Accordingly with the court tradition, he gathered lots of poets like Ahmedi in his court. The tale that is the subject of this work is started in the court of that rustic and uncultivated peasant-sultan's court.

However, heirs of Seljukids, Karamanlis, commenced their attacks to Germiyans. As mentioned, Süleyman was rather peaceful than a warrior sultan and that might give a chance to old Sultan to die in his bed in that time by not jeopardizing his throne with a venture of conquest. Thanks to the Ottomans, Sultan Süleyman of Germiyans could dispose of his political and military responsibilities by

²³⁰ Köprülü, 'Ahmedi', 219.

²³¹ Köprülü, 216.

²³² Köprülü, 216.

²³³ *ibid*, 216-217

giving his court and land to Ottomans. Daughter of the sultan became the bride of young prince, Beyazid, who was going to encourage Ahmedi in writing the Iskendername.

It is not certainly known what Ahmedi had done during this period. Probably, he met with Bayezid and greeted in his court but it could be during his sultanate or before he ascended the throne. In any case, Ahmedi was favored by Sultan Bayezid during his sultanate²³⁴. Nonetheless, before Bayezid, he became the poet of another Emir Suleyman of that age. It was a great coincidence that his former patron and his new patron-prince were both Emir Suleyman since he dedicated his romance to both. His slippery attitude of passing over from the Germiyan Sultan to Ottoman prince made him criticized by his rival Seyhoglu but eventually, Ahmedi took favorable position in Emir Suleyman's court²³⁵.

However, the determinants of the paradigm of that age were providing that pragmatism and Ahmedi was only adapting that form. In addition, Ahmedi was very conscious of the problem of changing patrons and he mentioned in his works about this issue. He was talented historian and philosopher that he knew the fact that politics would dominate the history by executing the power to all cultural spheres. He wrote: 'One could not defend himself if he exhausts his power and no one would follow the powerless and dead ruler²³⁶.' Hence, he could defend himself and his attitude against his poet rivals during his shifting patronage.

Ahmedi enjoyed the appreciation shown by Ottoman court. Bayezid was a strong and tempered conqueror. He fought in east and west and tried to conquer the

²³⁴ *ibid*, 219.

²³⁵ *ibid*, 216.

²³⁶ Ahmedi, 357.

‘magical, shining city’ that would fascinate all the rulers of that age, as well as poets and artists²³⁷. Aiming the impossible was giving inspiration to Ahmedi. The relations on frontiers and mobile life in terms of conquests and *gazas* in Ottoman land might have fascinated Ahmedi.

Tranquility that he could find in Ottoman court did not last long. Afterwards the Mongol invasion that was more than a century before, the Empire of Timur, which was spreading horror and fear to hearts of Anatolians, was coming from the east. After long correspondences between Timur and Bayezid that was recalling each other to be wise and sagacious, Timur arrived to Anatolia to ‘teach a lesson’ to young and arrogant ruler²³⁸. The desperate poet wrote about this tragedy in *Iskendername*:

Felek yire givürüben Timur’ı
Konukladı et ilen mar u murı

Şah-ıdî dün Bayezid ile Temür
Bu gün anı mar yir ü bunı mür

Bu arada Rum’a yürüdi Temür
Mülk toldı fitne vü havf u future

Çün Temür’un hiç adli yog-ıdı
La-cerem kim zulm ü cevri coğ-ıdı²³⁹.

Hence the poet experienced the death and misery of his strong patron after the defeat before Timur’s army.

He lost a patron and a sultan but this time was different from the previous one as the state was destructed. Bayezid’s four princes were alive but peace and tranquility disappeared. For centuries, people of Anatolia raised their children

²³⁷ Yinanç, ‘Bayezid’, 389-390.

²³⁸ For their correspondances see Abdurrahman Daş. ‘Ankara Savaşı Öncesi Timur ile Yıldırım Bayezid’in Mektuplaşmaları’ *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.15, pp.141-167.

²³⁹ Yaşar Akdoğan.1988. ‘İskendername’den Seçmeler’, 11.

pointing at the fearless Tatars and Mongols. The terror of them was still alive even after they left Anatolia and this time they actually came to Anatolia and carnage was reborn due to the internal conflict. Bayezid, on the other hand, was never going to be forgiven by historians since he called the evil upon Anatolia and caused massacre and the death of thousands, but most significantly he was going to be criticized for ruining the state.

His new patron was not like the former one and Ahmedi really liked him²⁴⁰. Prince Süleyman of Ottomans was young and strong²⁴¹. Very likely to sultan Suleyman he liked poetry and arts but prince Suleyman was much more cultivated and conveyed Ahmedi a higher lieu than the one he used to in the Germiyani palace²⁴². He was a heavy drinker, young, passionate and strong²⁴³ like Alexander. It is not surprising to view Alexander through the persona of Suleyman. He was criticizing the old Sultan Suleyman of his drinking habit, but he was glorifying his young patron's heavy drinking²⁴⁴.

Nevertheless, during the anarchy period of Ottoman history, called as Interregnum (Fetret), it is not certain whom Ahmedi was serving. Some biography writers mentioned that he was under the patronage of the great conqueror, Timur²⁴⁵. Moreover there is an anecdote describing the relation between Timur and Ahmedi: One day Ahmedi and Timur were in Turkish bath and Timur demanded from Ahmedi to calculate the value of everyone in the bath. Then Timur left last and he asked his value and Ahmedi valued him at 80 coins. Timur surprised, told him that

²⁴⁰ Köprülü, 'Ahmedi', 217.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, 217.

²⁴² Mustafa Cezar. 2010. 'Mufasssal Osmanlı Tarihi', 224.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, 224.

²⁴⁴ Köprülü, 'Ahmedi', 217.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 217.

only his loincloth costs 80 coins. Ahmedi smiled and answered , “I valued only for your cloth, otherwise you would not worth even two coins²⁴⁶.”

The authenticity of this narrative is surely suspicious. All intellectuals of that age and even the next generation were trembling in the mention Timur. Ahmedi might not experience such a daring event but in any case, purpose of the writers was to humiliate Timur before a poet.

For some biography writers, Timur admired Ahmedi’s artistic talents and called him to his court in order to persuade him to work under his patronage²⁴⁷. Ahmedi was very talented and probably one of the best poets of his century thus biography writers’ anecdote focused on him. They respected Ahmedi in all centuries because of his talent and perhaps because of his first history writing experiment.

After Emir Süleyman regained his power during the Interregnum period, he recalled Ahmedi to his court²⁴⁸. Süleyman Çelebi regained Ahmedi joyful life again but he was not young as he had been and Emir Süleyman was not that much powerful²⁴⁹. The only explanation with regard to that very fact is Ahmedi had concerns that he might not find his patron. He liked to serve in Emir Süleyman’s court but anarchy was a fact making life precarious.

During the Interregnum, Ahmedi also suffered poverty. However, he endured all these sorrows and affliction, as he mentioned²⁵⁰. Patience and endurance is a cultural theme of the century; one who would be patient, he would get the reward. Pain and passion result with compassion. This compassion should not be

²⁴⁶ Gibbs, 262-263.

²⁴⁷ Köprülü, 217.

²⁴⁸ İbid, 217-218.

²⁴⁹ İbid, 218.

²⁵⁰ İbid, 217.

comprehended as individual manner, behind that feature there was a political and social notions as well. In Ottoman political life, patience is a very virtue of bureaucrats, since they might have to wait for a lifetime to have the blessing of their beloved sultan. After all that painful process, they would get the favor of their sultan and that is the one and the very significant worldly affair. Perhaps Ahmedi was aiming to get the blessing and compassion of his beloved and puissant sultan after all that time of destitute.

Nonetheless, most probably, the poet's finances were sore. Living without a patron for a poet would be extremely difficult since there would be no funding and no protection. The latter might be less significant for a modern viewer but in a period of despair and anarchy a patron for an intellectual, is the only salvation source.

Once Emir Süleyman pushed away his brother Mehmet Çelebi from Bursa, Ahmedi settled into Bursa with his patron²⁵¹. Bursa was the city of the Ottoman sultans and extremely esteemed city by people²⁵². Ahmedi lived for a long period of time in Bursa after he settled and it would not be surprising that he wrote the Ottoman history in Bursa that was the cradle of the empire. Bursa was not only a strategic city but also she was conveying all the respect of victors for the 'beauties of the past'. Mausoleums of previous sultans and the mosque of Murad Hüdavendigâr and Orhan Gazi, as ideological centers, might have attracted the attention of the old poet.

It is for certain that he wrote his short Ottoman history part in his Alexander-Romance for taking the attraction of his patron by the very nature of his occupation.

²⁵¹ *ibid*, 217.

²⁵² *ibid*, 217.

However, while he was under the patronage of Süleyman of Germiyan, he did not write a history for Germiyans. The reason behind this was probably he tasted an exact imperial experience and lifestyle in Bursa. The city might make him write this history including lineages, since he observed mausoleum of sultans like Osman and Orhan. It is not known for certain why Ahmedi did not produce a history of the Germiyans but Ahmedi did not write the history of the Ottomans until he came to Bursa. When the Germiyanid lands passed to Ottomans, Bayezid ruled these territories and Ahmedi was in service of Ottomans before his arrival to Bursa. Still he did not write anything related to the Ottoman History.

However, neither the romance nor the history could provide him reputation in his age. After his patron was murdered by his brother Musa Çelebi, Ahmedi was disgraced and fell out of favor with the society and new sultan. He stayed in Bursa but people of Bursa did not like him since he was made a faulty choice by standing with Emir Süleyman during the time of anarchy. On the other hand, he acknowledged the people of Bursa as hollow hearted and hypocritical²⁵³. In any case, he had very difficult times in Bursa after his patron had been killed and he was old enough to a success after he patiently waited for the happy ending. Perhaps his old age was the reason why he did not turned back to Edirne although his new patron was in Edirne and people of Bursa insulted him. Or, the young sultan did not want him in his court.

After a while, he requested from Mehmed Çelebi to be sent to Amasya:

Yakdı beni bu gurbet iy menba-ı mürüvvet
Vakti durur k'icazet irüp bulam revane²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Köprülü, 'Ahmedi', 217.

²⁵⁴ Akdoğan, 'İskendername'den Seçmeler', 5.

Mehmed Çelebi approved his request and he was sent to Amasya for a mission of court secretary. His literature life was concluded and it was very suitable time that biography writers could end his life as well. Since he had no political mission historians would not write the rest of his life either. He tragically faced the death as he mentioned in his romances, ‘no one has pity on the other unless he lives²⁵⁵’.

²⁵⁵ Ahmedi, 357.

CHAPTER III

THE NARRATIVE

The history and myth about Alexander the Great portrayed him as a man that possesses glorious war skills, it adores his youth and talents and his desire for immortality²⁵⁶. Alexander originated a cult that made political characters in history to perceive him as a role model²⁵⁷. It is not certain whether he had foreseen such popularity; what is certain though, is that he was following ancestral line²⁵⁸. Alexander became an immortal character by epic-tellers, historians, romance writers and society itself, like his ancestors. It would not be surprising that a leader that possesses these notions would come forward as a universal figure in literary works.

Ptolemy, Alexander's intellectual general, wrote the first account of Alexander's conquests. Aristobulus, respected member of Alexander's scientific crowd and famous historian Arrian continued the story²⁵⁹. They were all contemporaries of Alexander and accompanied Alexander during his campaigns. The second generation of authors were Quintus Rufus and Plutarch²⁶⁰. The information

²⁵⁶ Bosworth, 2005. Alexander the Great, 339.

²⁵⁷ Bosworth, Alexander the Great, 339. (His grassroots could be sought through Heracles and Dionysos.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 339.

²⁵⁹ The Greek Alexander Romance, 9. Callisthenes was originally Egyptian.

²⁶⁰ The Greek Alexander Romance, 9. Alexander romance was culturally dispersed within societies and for sources about the written forms of Alexander romance, 'I.Friedlaender. Die Chadhirlegende und Der Alexanderroman, 1913, Leipzig; Kroll, ed. Historia Alexandria Magni, Berlin, 1926; B.Kübler, Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis, Leipzig, 1888. Nöldeke, Theodor. 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des

concerning the conquests and expeditions of Alexander were derived from these historians.

Surely, there would be fiction about a world ruler like Alexander but surprisingly that came from the writer that had been exiled from the court of Alexander. Callisthenes, who was Aristotle's nephew met with Alexander when his uncle was tutoring him²⁶¹. Callisthenes became Alexander's court historian and he was the one who wrote the first Alexander Romance²⁶². Nonetheless, Callisthenes was disgraced and executed before the Asian conquest but strangely he took up Alexander's life till his deathbed²⁶³. This is the reason he is called as Pseudo-Callisthenes since his narrative was mostly fiction. Regardless this story, he gave birth to a genre called as Alexander Romance, producing in every century and make Alexander immortal.

Since Callisthenes was a native Egyptian, his Alexander was made Egyptian as well. According to this narrative Persians defeated the Egyptian king and sorcerer Nectanebo, who fled to Greece. Nectanebo impregnated Olympia, the wife of Philip, by disguising as the god Ammon²⁶⁴. There was a prophecy mentioning that Alexander would free Egypt from the Persian, in which he succeeded eventually. Alexander's great conquests towards Persia and India, his romantic and naïve character towards of women were expressed in the prose tale of Callisthenes. 'The Pseudo Callisthenes appealed to the medieval audience in two ways: its hero, in his attributes and achievements, embodied medieval man's conscious and unconscious

Alexanderromans' Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe XXXVIII (1890), Abhandlung V, 11-17; Budge, *The life of Alexander the Great Being a Series of Translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander by Pseudo-Callisthenes*, London, 1896

²⁶¹ A.B. Bosworth, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* Bd.19 H.4 (Nov.1970), pp.407-413.

²⁶² *The Greek Alexander Romance*, 8.

²⁶³ *The Greek Alexander Romance*, 8. Richard Stoneman mentions that the reason of his execution might not be a simple reason.

²⁶⁴ W. Budge.1896. *'Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great'* pp. 2-10.

ambitions, and its account of the marvels of India captured his imagination.²⁶⁵, Alexander's mythical and historical personality was intertwined in his text and created popular audiences for the text²⁶⁶.

Popular depiction of Alexander resumed with the translations of Callisthenes' work. It was firstly translated by Julius Valerius and Leo²⁶⁷. Surely, Romans admired the heroic character of Alexander the Great and utilized his greatness for their ideological claims. Nonetheless, the most significant result of these translations might be the legends written about Alexander in Europe.

There are also Syriac, Pahlavi, Persian and Arabic Alexander romances²⁶⁸. The most significant source regarding the tales was Ethiopian romance which was dated from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century²⁶⁹. The origin of that source was Greek text but it was a mere translation of Leo²⁷⁰, therefore, the authenticity of the Callisthenes' source is controversial. In the ninth century, the Greek text was Islamized by the translation of the text into Arabic²⁷¹. However, the source of the Arabic version was again the Syrian History of Alexander that was dated to the seventh century²⁷². The Ethiopian version and Syrian version had been deislamized and rechristianized within time and that changed with several translations within time²⁷³. The interesting notion in these interpretations and reinterpretations is the fact that the Islamic Alexander tales were written at the very early age of Islamic

²⁶⁵ Southgate, Minoo, Iskandarnamah, A Persian Medieval Alexander Romance,1

²⁶⁶ Historians like Rufus and Plutarch were not as popular as Alexander. Because the heroic figure of Alexander was created by Callisthenes and the audience might prefer that prose tale rather than history records.

²⁶⁷ Southgate, Minoo, Iskandarnamah, A Persian Medieval Alexander Romance,2

²⁶⁸ Andrew Runni Anderson, "The Arabic History of Dulcarnain and the Ethiopian History of Alexander." 434.

²⁶⁹ Andrew Runni Anderson, 434.

²⁷⁰ Andrew, 434.

²⁷¹ Andrew, 434.

²⁷² Andrew, 434.

²⁷³ Andrew, 435.

expansion. Early Islam could compromise these epics. The newly formed Islamic institutions to appropriated the ancient heroic ruler and transformed him into an Islamic character. Hence, it could be assumed that Islam reconstructed the universal history on mythical and legendary characters and Alexander the Great was an excellent implementation for that ideological formation. Islam's universality intersected with Alexander's universal popularity and probably that inspired the Muslim people to form Islamic institutions like Ottomans, but it was a mainstream tool for Islamic institutionalization as well.

Western literature had Rufus and Plutarch as well as Callisthenes' Alexander but the common narrative about Alexander was Latin and derived from a Jewish text²⁷⁴. The 13th century prose compilation was in French and resumed that tradition covering some stories concerning Alexander's voyages²⁷⁵. The western literature was very productive on Alexander prose narratives in 13th century. Epics on Alexander were written in German, Italian and French²⁷⁶. Alexander acquired a heroic character as well in the west and Alexander's journey aimed at paradise²⁷⁷. However, when Alexander reached the gates of the paradise, he was rejected by angels and by that Alexander said, 'why should we go and look for Paradise when we can make one of our own?' and started plant trees²⁷⁸. This also shows the universality of Alexander not only because his story was written in different cultural environment and translated into several languages but also because of the main point of Alexander's

²⁷⁴ M.Esposito, 198. For the Jewish text, 'Israel J. Kazis, 'The Book of the Gestis of Alexander Macedon', The Medieval Academy of America, Massachusetts, 1962'

²⁷⁵ Roman d'Alexander (Les Faits de Romains) was the French narrative on Alexander. Esposito, 198.

²⁷⁶ M.Esposito, 199-200. Esposito expressed that he could not find any Alexander romances in English, Scotch or Irish but I am very sure of that there are several tales of Alexander in English although they were not dated for 13th century.

²⁷⁷ M.Esposito, 203-205.

²⁷⁸ M.Esposito, 205.

inquiry was eternal peace attained by his extreme curiosity. The historical character is mixed with legendary themes and formed cultural patterns for many societies.

The extraordinary character of Alexander the Great found its way into biblical sources as well. The Book of Daniel mentioned about a Greek King that will destroy Medes and the Persians but however, after he will reach peak of his power, he will die. His kingdom will dispersed into four kingdoms²⁷⁹. Although the name of Alexander was not mentioned in the text the symbol of Alexander the Great, the horn and the story of his defeating the against Persians and eventual division of the empire into four allow us to identify him. Unlike the Book of David, in the first book of the Hebrew Book of the Maccabees, Alexander is explicitly mentioned²⁸⁰. “Alexander the Great, Greek king, terminated the silence of the world and enlivened the nations, thus he involved for the origin of the Land of Israel²⁸¹.” Finally, a hero like Alexander appears in the divine book of Islam, the Qu’ran. In the Qu’ran god refers the story of Dhul-Qarnayn, which means two horned in Arabic. Dhul-Qarnayn

²⁷⁹ Daniel 5:5-8; 21-22 ‘And I was pondering, and behold a he-goat came from the west over the surface of the entire earth, and it did not touch the ground, and the goat had a conspicuous horn between its eyes. And it came to the horned ram that I saw standing before the river, and it ran toward it with the fury of its power. And I saw it coming up to the ram, and it fought with it, and it struck the ram and broke both of its horns, and the ram had no strength to stand before it; so it cast it to the ground and trampled it, and there was no one to save the ram from its hand. And the he-goat waxed exceedingly huge, and when it became strong, the great horn broke, and an appearance of four sprouted in its stead, to the four directions of the heavens... And the he-goat is the king of Greece, and the great horn that is between his eyes-that is the first king. And the broken one, in whose stead stood four, represents four kingdoms [that] will rise from a nation, but not with its strength.

²⁸⁰ The Book of Maccabees, Chapter I-1-7, ‘Now it came to pass, after that Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, who first reigned in Greece, coming out of the land of Cethim, had overthrown Darius king of the Persians and Medes. He fought many battles, and took the strong holds of all, and slew the kings of the earth. And he went through even to the ends of the earth, and took the spoils of many nations: and the earth was quiet before him. And he gathered a power, and a very strong army: and his heart was exalted and lifted up. And he subdued countries of nations, and princes: and they became tributaries to him. And after these things, he fell down upon his bed, and knew that he should die. And he called his servants the nobles that were brought up with him from his youth: and he divided his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive. And Alexander reigned twelve years, and he died. And his servants made themselves kings every one in his place. And they all put crowns upon themselves after his death, and their sons after them many years, and evils were multiplied in the earth.’

²⁸¹ Book of Maccabees, Chapter I-1-7

conquers the east and west, and then he built a great wall between two challenging nations, Gog and Magog that are signs of apocalypse²⁸². Although Dhul-Qarnayn and Alexander are not accepted as identical by some Islamic scholars, most of the writers and poets narrated Dhul-Qarnayn as Alexander the Great.

One of the most controversial claims regarding the Dhul-Qarnayn's historical personality is identifies him as Alexander the Great. Some of scholars rejected the idea that was indicating that Dhul-Qarnayn was Alexander the Great. Ebu'l Kelam Azad, who was a politician and scientist, claimed that he proved the fact that Alexander the Great was not identical with Dhul-Qarnayn²⁸³. Alparslan, using Ebu'l Kelam Azad's arguments mentioned that 'Alexander never constructed a wall distinguished worldwide and was not merciful against his rivals²⁸⁴'. Unfortunately, both Prof. Alparslan and Ebu'l Kelam approached the subject with religious bias.

²⁸² Al-Kahf Surah indicates the ventures of Dhul-Qarneyn and Hızır, the Green Man. 'They will ask thee (Muhammed) of Dhul-Qarneyn . Say : I shall recite unto you a remembrance of him . Lo! We made him strong in the land and gave unto every thing a road . And he followed a road . Till , when he reached the setting place of the sun , he found it setting in a muddy spring , and found a people thereabout : We said : O Dhul-Qarneyn! Either punish or show them kindness . He said : As for him who doeth wrong , we shall punish him , and then he will be brought back unto , his Lord , who will punish him with awful punishment! But as for him who believeth and doeth right , good will be his reward , and We shall speak unto him a mild command . Then he followed a road . Till , when he reached the rising place of the sun , he found it rising on a people for whom We had appointed no helper therefrom . So (it was) . And We knew all concerning him . Then he followed a road . Till , when he came between the two mountains , he found upon their hither side a folk that scarce could understand a saying . They said : O Dhul-Qarneyn! Lo! Gog and Magog are spoiling the land . So may we pay thee tribute on condition that thou set a barrier between us and them? He said : That wherein my Lord hath established me better (than your tribute) . Do but help me with strength (of men) , I will set between you and them a bank . Give me pieces of iron till , when he had levelled up (the gap) between the cliffs , he said : Blow! till , when he had made it a fire , he said : Bring me molten copper to pour thereon . And (Gog and Magog) were not able to surmount, nor could they pierce (it). He said: "This is a mercy from my Lord; but when the promise of my Lord cometh to pass, He will lay it low, for the promise of my Lord is true.'

²⁸³ Prof. Dr. Ali Alparslan, 438. Regarding the Prof. Alparslan he demolished the legend that continued for centuries and he provided great contribution for the Islamic cultural history'. If the scientific ambitions of the researchers are based on proof and reality, this work would not contribute to neither science nor cultural history. Because cultural history does not claim any proof or refutation, instead the main enthusiasm and motivation in that work is maintaining a cultural dialogue between past and present. Genealogy of cultural themes or patterns are not the subject of this work but culture's circulation within peoples in the past and contemporary world is the main concern in this thesis.

²⁸⁴ Alparslan, 441.

The wall of Alexander could not be found and therefore that argument might be reasonable but Alexander's mercy cannot be evidence against the identification. Scholars of tafsir, the science of Quranic interpretation, like Ebu'l Kelam Azad, Hüseyin Tatabai, and Mekarim Shirazi pointed that the historical character of Dhul-Qarnayn was Cyrus the Great²⁸⁵. Although Alparslan indicated that the famous Islam historian Tabari remained silenced on this issue, Tabari wrote about Iskender in his history and Iskender-i Dhul-Qarnayn was parallel with the depiction in the Quran²⁸⁶.

Tabari's history on the account of Alexander the Great was different from the religious text. As it could be viewed most of the biblical sources and the Quran were similar with each other. The strong ruler, possessed his power from God, claimed the world dominion, marched to west and east and succeeded in his campaigns. On the other hand, in Tabari's history, the tale of Alexander the Great was told in detail but it was again parallel with these texts. Alexander destroyed the army of Persians, slayed the murderers of Darius and married his daughter, Rushanak, whom was called as Roxanne in the Greek tale²⁸⁷. Also, Tabari's history includes correspondence between Alexander and Darius, Alexander's curiosity and desire of knowledge and his tragic –and also poetic- death.

As mentioned, Alexander's tale was found in a Zoroastrian book. However, he is depicted as a man full of vile. After the Islamic expansion in Central Asian and

²⁸⁵ Alparslan, 256; Tafsir of Ibn Kathir, Quran, 18:84; Tafsir of Al-Mizan, vol. 26. There are speculations on the historical character of Dhul-Qarnayn and some of them are mentioning that Sura 18 was pointing either Moses, Alexander or Gilgamesh. (Brannon Wheeler, 'Moses or Alexander? Early Islamic Exegesis of Qur'an 18:60-65', Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 57, no. 3 (Jul.1998) pp.191-215.

²⁸⁶ Alparslan, 441. Alexander's tale was depicted after the story of Darius, Alexander's father. Tabari, 88-97.

²⁸⁷ Tabari, 88. She was different in Ahmedi's romance as well. Ahmedi did not marry Darab's daughter but he felt in love with Gulsah, daughter of Zeresb.

Iran, new Alexander romances were written. Indeed, the most interesting oriental romances concerning Alexander the Great were written by Persian poets and writers. One of them is undoubtedly the famous Persian poet Ferdowsi and his masterwork Shahnamah. The 10th century epic did not only form a new aesthetic style that influenced Persian and Islamic poetry, but also was a great ancient history of Persia. Alexander the Great was depicted as the shah of Persia. In the text it was mentioned as Iskender-i Rumi (Alexander the Greek/Romanoi) but in the narrative he made Alexander as he was originally Persian²⁸⁸. Like Ahmedi's tale, Alexander's father was Dara and the ruler that he fought against was his own brother. Hence, he was no Greek but originally Persian.

Filakus (Philip) gave the sovereignty to Alexander and appointed Aristo as Alexander's vizier²⁸⁹. After the war between Dara and Alexander, the Persian emperor fled but he was killed by two of his ministers on the expectation of getting the favor of the new shah²⁹⁰. Alexander caught Dara in the deathbed and cried as his own brother was dying. Ferdowsi mentioned the sorrow of the Alexander and his brother's will after his death²⁹¹. Alexander avenged his brother's death by killing the two ministers Jamusipar and Mahiyar and wrote a letter to the mother of Roshung, the daughter of Dara. Alexander felt in love with Roshung and marry her and their love made the Persia prosper²⁹².

²⁸⁸ It is not certain where did Ferdowsi read the tales about Alexander but Ferdowsi depicted him a ruler from the house of Keyanis. This is showing that there were oral and written sources about Alexander before Ferdowsi's epic. (İsmail Ünver, 10). Besides that, according to Ritter the text was taken by a translation from Greek to Pahlavi during the reign of Khosrau I. (İslam Ansiklopedisi, Firdevsi)

²⁸⁹ Ferdowsi, 457.

²⁹⁰ Ferdowsi, 466.

²⁹¹ Ferdowsi, 'Shahnama', 466-467

²⁹² Ferdowsi, 467.

Then Alexander marched towards India and threatened the emperor Kaid. The old emperor surrendered and presented four valuable gifts; which were a beautiful girl, the daughter of Kaid, a talented physician, a wise philosopher and a valuable goblet. After Alexander conquered the land of Kanuj, he went to Mekke and in one kingdom he saw two trees. One of them was male that was speaking during the day and the other was female, speaking during night. They were making wishes come true²⁹³. Alexander hoped in his heart that a considerable part of his life still remained to be enjoyed. Unfortunately, tree responded with a terrible noise and Alexander asked his advisers the meaning of that. A priest approach to him and told him that he had 14 years to remain alive. Alexander wanted to turn back home, see his mother and children but the priest told him he is going to die in Kashan²⁹⁴. Alexander was depressed and left this city and moved to another place. There, he built a strong and huge wall between Yejuj and Mejuj (Gog and Magog). Eventually he journeyed to the city of Kashan and died in there. This tragic conclusion was remained to be influential in Islamic Alexander Romances after Ferdowsi as well.

The other Persian narrative about the life and deeds of Alexander the Great was Nizami Ganjavi²⁹⁵. His romance contains 10.500 couplets and was written in 12th century onwards²⁹⁶. Nizami divided his romance into two sections; the first part is sharafnameh and the other part is iqbalnameh. In Sharafnameh, Nizami told the story about the birth of Alexander, his succession to the throne of Greece, the invasion of Egypt, the conquest of Persia and his marriage with the daughter of Dara. Alexander's discoveries of new places and new creatures appear in that book. His visit to Mekka and his encounter with Queen Nushaba of Barda and her amazon

²⁹³ Ferdowsi, 479-491.

²⁹⁴ Ferdowsi, 523-525

²⁹⁵ Abel, A. 'Eskandar-nama' EI, 127-129.

²⁹⁶ *ibid*, 127.

horde, the great conquests are mentioned in that book²⁹⁷. After all conquests, Alexander commenced looking for the water of immortal life but unfortunately he failed. Nizami concluded the Sharafname with Alexander's failure.

In Sharafnamah, Alexander appears to the audience as a heroic figure that conquers and has ambitions to dominate the world, therefore, Nizami told the tale of worldly Alexander. On the other hand, in Iqbalnamah, Alexander is a moral figure and he constructed extensive new ethics, based on Aristotelian structure, for Islamic thought. Nizami wrote a huge analysis on the reasons of the death of Alexander. Alexander is not a warrior or conqueror in Iqbalnamah but he was a sage or rather a prophet²⁹⁸. The epic tradition concluded in Iqbalnamah and Alexander as an ideal ruler became an ascetic figure.

The Persian epic on Alexander was not limited to by only these two great authors. A century later, in 13th century and during the reign of Sultan Muhammed

²⁹⁷ A very detailed analysis was made by Abel, A. (1978), "Eskandar nāma", Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Ed., vol. 4:127–129. Online: Abel, A.; Ed(s). "Iskandar Nama." Encyclopaedia of Islam. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2007. Brill onlien edition).

²⁹⁸ Encyclopedia Iranian, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/eskandar-nama-of-nezami>. François de Blois' analysis on this work is vital in order to comprehend the difference between two works. Nizami did not divided two book without any reason. In one book he was trying to show the moral codes of the medieval Islamic-Persian world and in the other one he was showing the worldly affairs of Alexander. Also, Alexander as a hero was analyzed by contrast with Nizami's other heroic figures. 'Whereas the *Šaraf-nāma* clearly belongs to the tradition of Persian epic poetry—though Neẓāmī makes no attempt to emulate the style and manner of the *Šāh-nāma*—in the *Eqbāl-nāma* he shows his talents as a didactic poet, an anecdotist and a miniaturist. Some critics have compared the *Eskandar-nāma* unfavorably with Neẓāmī's other two "historical" epics, *Ķosrow o Šīrīn* and *Haft peykar*. Much of the attraction of the latter works for the modern reader resides doubtless in the fact that their protagonists, the Sasanians Ķosrow Parvēz and Bahrām Gōr (qq.v), are depicted as essentially positive but flawed heroes. Neẓāmī's Alexander, by contrast, is the ideal king, a philosopher and a prophet to boot, and in virtually every chapter Neẓāmī turns to his patron with advice and admonition, holding up this perfect ruler as a model of wise kingship. But the implied contrast between an ideal past and an imperfect present also creates a kind of tension which in its own way is perhaps as interesting as that between the contradictory aspects of Ķosrow's character. The *Eskandar-nāma* also has a lot of local color in the episodes set in the Caucasus, which must have appealed to the poet's intended audience, and perhaps the most attractive character in the poem, Queen Nūšāba, belongs to that area, as does the Armenian princess who is the heroine of *Ķosrow o Šīrīn*. Indeed, a striking feature in all three of the mentioned poems is the prominence of strong female characters.'

Şah Alaaddin, a new epic on Alexander's life was written -by Emir Khusrev-i Dihlevi²⁹⁹. Unlike the other epic writers, Dihlevi mentioned about masnavis (romances) and wrote advices to his son³⁰⁰. Nevertheless, his narrative does not include specific details about Alexander, like his birth, his destiny and dreams. In the narrative Alexander marches to China and north, inquires for the water of immortal life, constructs the great wall between Gog and Magog, falls in love with Chinese beauty, turns back to Azerbaijan and demolishes the pagan idols³⁰¹. Moreover he noticed the insistence of Greek philosophers not to believe in God and they were eventually punished by the wrath of god. Alexander was informed that he was going to die very soon and he died after that. After his death his son Iskanderus, refuses to be the sultan³⁰².

It is for sure that Dihlevi read many of sources about Alexander. Advices to son and sultan make this work a member of siyasetname literature. The Persian epic was influenced by Nizami's work but Dihlevi noted that 'on the subject of Alexander, Nizami wrote as well but since the information provided Nizami was read differently, two works are different³⁰³. Also, Dihlevi puts two arguments related to Alexander's spiritual features as he was a prophet or saint; Dihlevi preferred the latter³⁰⁴ since Alexander's prophetic image could raise the question in religious interpretation.

The Persian epics related to the Alexander was not only restricted with Alexander romances. Since Alexander was a subject for narrative in order to exert some advices by underlining social and moral values of the time, there were other

²⁹⁹ Ünver, Iskendername, 11.

³⁰⁰ Ünver, Iskendername, 11.

³⁰¹ Ünver, 10.

³⁰² Ünver, 10.

³⁰³ Ünver, 11.

³⁰⁴ Levend, Ali Şir Nevai, Ankara 1965, C. I., s. 175-168.

works written on other historical characters but mentioned Alexander as well. The most important of this kind is surely Musa al-Tarsusi's *Darabname*³⁰⁵. This time the story focused on different characters on Darab's daughter Roxanne. In this fascinating prose work, Darab's daughter called Buran Dokht, unlike the classical tales; she was not taking all credit and praise because of his beauty but for her strength³⁰⁶. Darab loved her and taught her all the arts which befitted a prince and she was called as Buran Dokht because she had a moustache and had no fear for any man³⁰⁷. After she learnt her father's death, she promises for vengeance and she fought against Alexander successfully, she was captured by Alexander but she refused to marry him against Darab's last will, eventually she fled from Alexander's court³⁰⁸. Alexander sought for her and found her while she was bathing and Buran Dokht accepted to marry Alexander since he saw her naked³⁰⁹. Alexander and Buran Dokht fought together against India, China and other empires together and finally when Alexander started looking for water of immortal life they split and Alexander died³¹⁰. For Hanaway, the daughter of Darab represents the warlike goddess Anahita of the pre-Islamic pantheon³¹¹. Therefore, perhaps the author implemented some pre-Islamic traditions based on oral literature. The Islamic transformation of Iran after the expansion of Islam in Iran and Central Asia might hinder the proliferation of these traditional works, but Persian authors and poets found the way of adopting classical Persian to new Islamic form.

³⁰⁵ <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/darab-nama>

³⁰⁶ Hanaway, Anahita and Alexander, 287. She could wield a club weighting 250 mans.

³⁰⁷ Hanaway, 287.

³⁰⁸ Hanaway, 287.

³⁰⁹ Hanaway, 287.

³¹⁰ Hanaway, 287.

³¹¹ Hanaway, 295.

Other Persian sources like Zoroastrian narratives omitted the glory and victories of Alexander and viewed him as a murderer³¹². According to the tradition Alexander slaughtered Zoroastrian priests and destroyed their sacred books and temples and eventually became the enemy of Iranians³¹³. On the other hand, Islam reshaped the universal history and Alexander. Nevertheless, Alexander adopted by Islamized Persian culture that casted significant role as a protector of mankind, the saint and a prophet.

The legend of Alexander was not only transmitted by written sources. Popular culture internalized the legend and it was changed it within time. Every writer, poet and society changed the legend according to their social and cultural requirements. When the 19th century an American traveler visited Samarkand, he noted that, ‘The things that were accomplished by Alexander or Dhul-Qarnayn are preserved there and known by everyone³¹⁴’. Romance is dispersed within different geographies and produced several cultural forms.

3.1. Ahmedi’s Alexander Romance

The romance that would be analyzed in this work is a classical version of the Eastern Alexander romance literature. Ahmedi constructed his work based on various sources but surely he was influenced by other romance writers and attached some cultural patterns to Alexander’s legend. The similarity between eastern romances made scholars think that most of these works were imitation or copies of the previous

³¹² Minoo S. Southgate, Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era, 278.

³¹³ Minoo S. Southgate, Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era, 278.

³¹⁴ Robert Dankoff, Divanü Lügati’t Türk’t e İskender Efsanesi, 1.

works. However, most of the texts were different from each other since every author added his own thoughts, desires or will according to his milieu.

It is not incorrect that Ahmedi translated some couplets from Persian to Turkish. However, Ahmedi's Iskendername is the first Alexander romance written in Turkish. However, this work could not be degraded as only it is a mere translation from Persian epics as Blochet indicated³¹⁵. Some parts of Iskendername was taken from Shahname of Ferdowsi, like Alexander's birth and origin, expedition on India, visiting of Ka'be and also some parts from Nizami's romance like Alexander's relations with Greek philosophers, Alexander's identification with Dhul-Qarnayn³¹⁶. On the other hand, Ahmedi attached additional parts to his romance like the love between butterfly and fire, god's names and adjectives, Alexander's disguise as an ambassador to the court of Zeresb and his love for Zeresb's daughter, Alexander's travels towards the Indian islands, his fights against Turkish groups, jins and demons³¹⁷. Hence although there are some translations and imitations, Ahmedi included new chapters and made the work authentic and resembling some aspects of Anatolian cultural patterns.

Analysis claiming Ahmedi's romance as translation from Persian epics derived from the Ottoman literature scholars (tezkireciler). For instance, the 16th century scholar Sehi Bey, mentioned that the Iskendername was translated from Penc-Genc-i Nizami's book into Turkish³¹⁸. Still Sehi Bey praised the delicacy of Ahmedi's romance because he implemented some beauties to his book³¹⁹. However,

³¹⁵For Blochet this work is only the translation and imitation of Persian epics into Turkish. (Blochet, Catalogue, Paris, 1800). Nevertheless, not only this work was not translated from Persian to Turkish, but also all Persian romances differed from each other.

³¹⁶ Ünver, 12.

³¹⁷ Ünver, 12.

³¹⁸ Sehi, 54..

³¹⁹ Sehi, 54

some of these authors like Latifi and Hasan Çelebi did not like the romance of Ahmedi because they did not like his poems³²⁰. In any case, Ahmedi's prose writing became a very famous work in Ottoman literature.

Besides, Ahmedi's work was different from other prose writers in terms of style. Since he studied in Egypt and was talented in natural sciences, he endeavoured to present his skills in his work. A prose work mixed with natural sciences and philosophy. He exerted some of his ideas from Sufism, ethics, philosophy, politics, astronomy, geography, history and medicine³²¹. Because of this feature of the romance, Ahmedi might be counted as the first Ottoman encyclopedist compiling social and natural sciences.

Despite criticism towards Ahmedi and his masterpiece, the romance was read by Ottomans in centuries. In the 17th century the famous traveler and author Evliya Çelebi read the information about Alexander from Ahmedi³²². Ahmedi's Iskendername manuscripts were found in Asia and the Middle East –especially in Iran- and Turks outside of Anatolia enjoyed reading the text³²³. Hence, this work addressed diverse audience since it was a popular romance and satisfied the literary taste of courtly manners by its delicacy.

Anatolia was great proliferation center of romances in 14th century. Most of the romances written at this time were either love romances or Islamic epic tales (gazavatname), analyzed in this work, but a romance about Alexander in the 14th century was actually interesting. As it was indicating Alexander could be utilized as an historical and mythical figure to construct the Islamic literary and ideological

³²⁰ Latifi, 82; Hasan Çelebi, c.I, s.148

³²¹ Ünver, 10.

³²² Surely, a great intellectual like Evliya Çelebi used lots of sources for depicting Alexander but Ahmedi was one of them and he used couple of couplets of Ahmedi.

³²³ Köprülü, İA, Ahmedi.

institutions. The Alexander Romance's function of institutionalization was discussed previously; therefore, the newly established states of Anatolia that demands territorial expansion might ambioned to implement Alexander tales as it was during the birth of Islam. It is not certain whether Ahmedi wrote his universal history on the basis of these but although he exerted some issues of universal history, his approach on his could not be neglected.

The medieval mind did not focus on certain subjects of science or arts rather they were polymaths. The might ambioned to present an entertaining poetry by the romance or it might be history that informs the present about the past. Or, it might be both of them. However, what is certain is Ahmedi ambioned for the inquiry of knowledge on basic human life and essence of the universe. Ahmedi clearly expressed his motivation in this work:

Ben hakikat şerhin ederim sana
Bu hikayet bir bahanedür bana

Ben tarikat şerhin ederem sana,
Bu hikayet bir bahanedür bana.

This story is only a pretext and he was only trying to show the truth and the true way of religion. The poet was willing to express that he was constructing a discourse or rhetoric instead of a history. Modern scholars evaluated his work as unnecessary for historical analysis but in fact his ambition was not writing a history but expressing his thoughts.

3.2. Manuscript

There are lots of manuscripts of Ahmedi's Iskendername in different places in libraries in Turkey and in the world³²⁴. This manuscript is composed of 116 pages and 8754 and part of Istanbul University Library No. 921. Thanks to İsmail Ünver, the manuscript was published though there are no complete transcriptions of the texts in Turkish. The manuscript was written by Nebi bin Resul bin Yakub and dated the completion of the text 17 Ramadan 847, which is January 3rd, 1444, Wednesday³²⁵. This manuscript is Ahmedi's longest Iskendername written and the oldest one³²⁶. It is written neatly but there are some titles missing, therefore, it might require some comparison with other manuscripts.

There are not much works on Ahmedi and his romance. Surely the most significant of them is Ünver's publication of Iskendername. Although he did not translated the document into modern Turkish or formed the transcription, he analyzed the content and parts of the romance. Ünver made some transcriptions of the romance but still there are some transcription mistakes that Ünver made³²⁷. The other work is a Nihad Sami Banarlı's article on Ahmedi's Alexander romance and Ahmedi, which is almost parallel with Fuad Köprülü's claims on the romance and the poet. Finally, Caroline Goodwin Sawyer wrote her PhD thesis on this subject, titles as 'Alexander, History, Piety: A Study of Ahmedi's 14th century Ottoman Iskendername³²⁸'. Sawyer's work provides endless questions and great inspiration

³²⁴ İsmail Ünver detected 32 manuscripts in Turkish libraries and plenty in different libraries in Europe.

³²⁵ Ünver, 27.

³²⁶ Ünver, 27.

³²⁷ Ünver, 4a (put the mistake)

³²⁸ Sawyer, Caroline. Columbia University.1997.

for historians and other scholars willing to demand on Ahmedi and Alexander romance. The first analytical research on the subject was conducted by Sawyer although her work did not relate the text to Ottoman history or the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

3.3. Summary of the Romance

Dara was a strong ruler of Persia and one day he wanted to conquer Greece and became the shah of that region. He summoned his generals, mustered his army and marched against Greece. When the Caesar heard that he became depressed because he knew that he was going to be defeated but there was nothing to do, yet he gathered his army as well and met with the army of Dara³²⁹. Eventually Dara defeated Caesar, killed him by hanging and possessed the land of Greece. Dara gave the Greek lands to Filikos and demanded six thousands golden eggs as a tribute. Then he impregnated the daughter of Filikos and turned back to Persia. En route he told Filikos to look after the baby and ordered him if it would be a boy, he would possess all the Greek lands³³⁰.

After Dara's death, his son Darab became the ruler and Filikos had a son, named Zulkarneyn. Aristo became the tutor of him and Alexander reinforced his skills and talents by his tutor's advices. Socrates, Hippocrates, Aristotle and Plato were his advisers and demanded some suggestions on politics³³¹. After that he

³²⁹ Ahmedi, 319-401.

³³⁰ *ibid*, 421-545

³³¹ *ibid*, 450-483.

became the ruler of Greece and refused to pay tribute to Darab³³². After insulting correspondences between two rulers, Alexander marched against Persia and defeated the army of Darab. Darab fled but assassinated by two of his ministers that were killed by Alexander because of their betrayal³³³.

Darab witnessed Alexander's honorable and loyal act of slaying the traitors and bequeathed his country, army and treasure to Alexander and died. After his conquest of Iran, all Turan submitted his authority and justice but only the king of Zebilistan, Rüstem did not approved his superiority³³⁴. Also, Hürmüz of Kabilistan did not comply with Alexander's rule and there was a warrior of Rüstem's family called as Zeresb in Kabilistan. Zeresb was honorable, strong, brave and wise warrior³³⁵. Alexander disguised as an envoy to reach the court of Zabilistan and talked to Zeresb for weeks. Zeresb noticed that the person that he was talking to was more than an envoy because of his manners. Zeresb knew that it was Alexander and everyday at home, he was telling about Alexander at home and that resulted with the love of Gulsah (Roxanne), daughter of Zeresb³³⁶.

Gulsah felt in love without seeing Alexander and Alexander saw him via her picture sent by the maid of Gulsah. Their painful and melancholic love resumed with great romantic correspondences³³⁷. Finally, Alexander called Aristotle and ordered him to get Gulsah for him. Unfortunately, due to ancestral challenges Zeresb did not approved Alexander's offer and attracted Alexander's wrath³³⁸. Zeresb mustered a huge army though he was defeated by Alexander and his soldiers fled to Sistan. The

³³² *ibid*, 558-934.

³³³ *ibid*, 934-1112.

³³⁴ *ibid*, 1358-1365.

³³⁵ *ibid*, 1354-1378.

³³⁶ *ibid*, 1331-1335.

³³⁷ *ibid*, 1340-1933.

³³⁸ *ibid*, 1458-1643.

city remained under siege since Alexander did not want his lover to get hurt. Siege was concluded by with the fled of Gulsah to Alexander and Zeresb declared his submission to Alexander since he became desperate³³⁹.

After that, Alexander aspired Sind and India, in which were ruled by Fur and Keyd respectively. When Alexander demanded submission from Keyd and he accepted his offer since he was warned by God that Alexander was going to rule the entire world. Keyd deceived Alexander with his daughter, a talented physician, skilled philosopher and mystical goblet. Alexander convinced that Keyd submitted his rule and then marched on Sind. After a war with elephants and powders, Alexander became victorious and killed Fur.

Greatest and strongest enemies of Alexander were eradicated and now, Alexander commenced seeking some new places and new creatures. As a classical figure of mesnevi literature, he fought against dragons by people's demand of assistance. He constructed a ship to see the earth and seas; marched to Rayic Island and ordered his scientists to collect different species in these islands³⁴⁰. He viewed thousands of different species and kinds.

Then claimed China for his empire and send an envoy to king of China, Tamgac Han, who was also ruling Turks in that region. He submitted Alexander and survived his kingdom. Whoever applied with Alexander's rule possessed great wealth and gifts and whoever denied his power; they faced with Alexander's wrath.

Afterwards Alexander met with some people that were in misery and extremely thin. Alexander asked about them and they blamed on two nations, Yecüc

³³⁹ *ibid*, 1650-1933.

³⁴⁰ Surely, there would not be any specific positive correlation, it reminds the audience Darwin's expeditions to inquire new species. Alexander's curiosity was portraying the polymath, renaissance man in the late medieval ages.

and Mecüc (Gog and Magog). Alexander constructed a great wall between these two nations and prevented their trespass on these walls.

Alexander fought against dragons, monsters and demons; rescued thousands of people and provided them life of prosperity. If he had any difficulty in his quests, angels assisted him to survive and deal with the trouble. Established cities like Merv, Semerkand and Herat and while travelling in these places he saw a statue, inscribed names of prophets and saints, kings and conquerors and a warning for himself, 'do not make wrong in your mission.'³⁴¹

Alexander's travel to Egypt is astonishing as other Islamic romances since Ahmedi studied in Mamluk's Egypt. When Alexander visited Egypt, he constructed a city and a great lighthouse³⁴². On the top of the lighthouse, Alexander constructed a magical statue; whenever enemy approaches the statue was turned towards the direction of coming armies and providing intelligence about the enemy army. Unfortunately that lighthouse was demolished by Abbasids.

There was a female ruler in Maghreb called as Candace (Keydefa). She was a very wise ruler and she had a powerful army and state and she was wealthy as well. Candace ordered her painter to paint Alexander's picture and when she saw his image, she admired him and thought that the entire world would be ruled by him in the near future. On the other hand, Alexander heard about the beauty and wisdom of Candace and he wanted her kingdom³⁴³. For that he sent an envoy to make her accept his dominion and give him some tribute.

³⁴¹ *ibid*, 2140-2785.

³⁴² *ibid*, 4358-4455.

³⁴³ *ibid*, 4444-4543.

Surprisingly, the story turns out in different direction with Candace. She responded Alexander and refused his offer but this time it was not a matter of honor, glory or ancestral clash but only wisdom. Candace told Alexander that he is the real ruler of the entire world and all the world population submitted to his authority but since Alexander advanced in philosophy and sciences during his quests, he should have know the fact. The fact is the world is evanescent and it is tricky, therefore no one should believe in worldly things. Also, Candace dispraised Alexander for demanding tribute from his neighbor. Alexander gathered his army again and marched towards Maghreb and on his way there was a ruler called as Varka. Varka's daughter was married to Candace's son, Kanderush. Alexander defeated Varka and took Kanderush as a captive³⁴⁴.

The captivity did not last long since Alexander wanted to play a game with Candace. He made his vizier an emperor and asked him to kill Kanderush. Alexander disguised again as a servant and begged the emperor not to kill Kanderush. The fake emperor sent Alexander as an envoy to Candace with Kanderush. Nonetheless, Alexander failed in his game and regretted what he had done because Candace noticed his face. Candace forgave him but wanted Alexander to promise not to attack her land³⁴⁵.

Still Alexander was spiteful and wanted to have his vengeance. Day and night he was thinking how to destroy Candace's kingdom. Since Alexander was talented in engineering, he calculated a construction of channel to choke Candace's kingdom with the water of Mediterranean. All the cities in Maghreb submersed under water

³⁴⁴ *ibid*, 4587-4602.

³⁴⁵ *ibid*, 4602-4712.

and most of them were destroyed by water. By this, Ethiopian lands, Yemen and Arab peninsula passed to Alexander's rule³⁴⁶.

Nevertheless, Alexander wanted more to conquer but his ministers could not find any place for him and suggested him to remain in peace. Alexander, on the other hands, was hungry for wars and constructed a discovery ship to find new places. For a year, ship moved in ocean but it could not detect anything and turned back. Alexander was uncomfortable of what is happening and asked about the world history to Aristotle while he was drinking. After the world history had been told, he wanted the eternal world since he was the ruler of this world. He went to Bagdad first, then Hejaz and eventually, Ka'ba.

After all the conquests, Alexander commenced his spiritual journey to conquer the eternal life. Alexander became a thrall of his lust and arrogance. Candace tried to show him his weakness but he broke his word and destroyed her kingdom. Also, he desired more than worldly things but he coveted to possess heaven. Alexander had the greatest intercession and favor of God but now, he faced with the most dangerous and harmful sin of Islam: he claimed himself as a god due to his great conquests. It is interesting that Ahmedi did not mention that act as a sin. Surely, he knew that Alexander's act of claiming himself as a god was sin and could not be forgiven but Ahmedi made this usual and normal although it was not moral. This was due to Ahmedi's belief and comprehension system that was created in 14th century Middle East geography.

During Alexander's visits in holy places, he saw a graveyard. Strangely the grave was like it was made for Alexander because the gate melted upon Alexander's

³⁴⁶ ibid, 4700-4802.

touch. When Alexander advanced, he saw corpse of a king with a crown on his head and on the top of the body there was a message for Alexander: ‘The ruler that claims the possession of east and west! You give much credit for your faith but your faith might turn. I ruled the world for two hundred years and now became the servant of death. Lands that I conquered and the wealth that I obtained could not save me. Take this warning and be careful.’³⁴⁷ Alexander felt depressed with that warning and cried after he read that. He went to Mecca and prayed much in there and devoted himself for praying. Then he turned back to Egypt but he had a fear and concern in his heart because he realized that his destiny turned and he was going to die soon³⁴⁸.

In order to prevent his death, Alexander ordered his philosophers and scientists to find a solution for his death and they suggested him to find the water of eternal life (ab-ı hayat). Aristotle left the rule of the state to Aristotle and his son Alexanderus (Iskenderus). He commenced his journey to find the water of eternal life with Hızır. Nevertheless, Alexander’s inquiry for the water turned as a discovery of religion and god. First he met with Brehmens that were extremely poor but dedicated themselves to ascetic lifestyle. Alexander admired them and their living.

After that he saw a large dome and inside the dome there was a corpse with crown again. Also, there was a direct message for Alexander saying, ‘Alexander the Great Ruler! When you come to there you will learn the earthly matters. I am Dhul-Qarnayn that ruled the world and I came to world 4.400 years ago. I search for the water of eternal life like you but the death found me eventually. Take a lesson from

³⁴⁷ ibid, 8433-8442.

³⁴⁸ ibid, 8471-8483

my faith!’ When Alexander read the warning he felt a deep sorrow and cried again. He did not want to die but the death was waiting for him³⁴⁹.

The water of eternal life was in the land of darkness (zulemat) and it was covered with all evils of the world. Alexander fought lots of creatures and demons to reach land of darkness³⁵⁰. Sometimes Hızır used his sacred skills to overcome troubles. When they reached the land of darkness they could not see each other and great storm erupted, swept away most of the soldiers of Alexander. Alexander sought for Hızır but he was missing and Alexander was lost in the darkness³⁵¹. The water of eternal life could be obtained by Hızır and Alexander could nothing more than pain and suffering. He was punished by his arrogance and vanity.

Finally, Alexander could flee from the land of darkness and settled somewhere beautiful. He established his camp in this beautiful forest and in the midnight a tree spoke to Alexander and heralded his death. He was going to die and nothing of his treasure was going to remain³⁵². When Alexander heard that, he immediately prepared and turned back to Iran. A fortune teller saw that his death was approaching and told him that. Alexander wrote a letter to his mother and turned back to city Zu. Now, he was very sick and there were no other treatments for him, therefore he prepared his testament. He wanted to be carried by sultans after he died, he ordered to be put into a golden coffin but one of his hands should remain out of the coffin. Everyone should take a lesson from the Alexander that conquered the

³⁴⁹ *ibid*, 8442-8589.

³⁵⁰ *ibid*, 8501-8510.

³⁵¹ *ibid*, 8510-8519.

³⁵² *ibid*, 8529-8555.

world and died with nothing in his hands. His corpse should be carried to Alexandria and the place of his grave should not be known by anyone³⁵³.

After Alexander died people mourned for him, poets wrote tales about him, philosophers and historians discussed about him. Mother of Alexander, Rukiye wanted his son Alexanderus to be the emperor but since he was a good philosopher, he rejected the worldly power³⁵⁴. He passed his days with ascetic life in a quiet and isolated place. Therefore, Alexander's empire fell into anarchy because of the fights between his generals.

³⁵³ *Ibid*, 8542-8553.

³⁵⁴ 8550-8625.

CHAPTER IV

KNOWLEDGE, MELANCHOLY AND BEAUTY

4.1. Old and Young

Unlike most of the epic characters Alexander was not depicted as a strong man by birth. Until his great quest to East his physical power was not praised by Ahmedi. He was successful on archery but his great achievement stemmed from his high intellectual skills. If this text's intended audience was prince, then one could expect that knowledge runs parallel to military skills. Therefore, in the age of gazis, intellectuals were not marginalized or perhaps, the reason behind Ahmedi's ambition to put himself into a higher lieu in the court might be related with Ahmedi's expectation to obtain the gratitude of his patron.

After the Persian Emperor Dara's invasion of Rum, the land was given to Feylekus³⁵⁵ by the condition of regular tax payment to Persia³⁵⁶. Dara also took the daughter of Feylekus, impregnated and left her in Rum. He ordered Feylekus that if his baby would be male, all this Rum will be his property and Feylekus would be

³⁵⁵ In the tale of Callisthenes, Alexander's father was Philip and Alexander did not have any relations with his enemy Dara.

³⁵⁶ Ahmedi, 307-383

responsible of him till he grows up³⁵⁷. Comparing to Greek versions of Alexander romance, apart from the theme of love and the desires of Alexander, women were neglected in Ahmedi's novel. In the Greek version, there is significant role of passionate Olympia, who indeed raised Alexander the Great for her desire of vengeance from his husband Philip.

In Ahmedi's text Feylekus looked after Alexander and he provide him with a very benign nanny. He obtained decent manners from his elders and his nanny, and then he became a young boy. He was educated Islam and by that he could observe people³⁵⁸. He was taught philosophy, physics, theology, mathematics, life of prophets and politics. When he was ten, he became a philosopher and due to his talents in astronomy he learned the secrets of stars. He challenged Socrates, Hippocrates and Plato in medicine. He became a great archer. When he was 15 years old, Feylekus died and Alexander became the shah³⁵⁹.

This type of education and self-training was common trait in enederal societies where in fact most of the princes were young, when they reach the throne. Ahmedi's patron Süleyman was old enough, but Ahmedi was also tutoring the young Yakub. Surely there was a notion for respect to elders. The discipline and sterilized training far from the society might have form different type of personalities in palaces.

In any case, Ahmedi is seeking advantage from these young princes, who would be eventually his future patrons. Also, Ahmedi mentioned about the inequality between being young and old. Although in agedness provided wisdom for

³⁵⁷ Ahmedi, 392-396

³⁵⁸ Ahmedi, 520-525

³⁵⁹ Ahmedi, 525-536

a man, young one would be much more advantageous³⁶⁰. It is interesting because this issue was very examined in the original Greek version. Probably Ahmedi was depicting his own young and old patrons.

Another feature is the issue was related with the war between the Caesar of Rum and Dara of Persia. This might be reflecting the old Süleyman and young Bayezid. Dara wanted to conquer the Rum and when Caesar of Rum get the information about the he felt very bad. Because he realized that he could not achieve any success in a war against Dara³⁶¹. Thus he failed and hanged him but the essential point is Ahmedi's comment on this defeat:

Zira ol piridi Dara nev-cüvan
Ol zaif idi vü bu nev-pehlivan

Pirden hergiz yigitlik gelmeye
Yigidile pir hem-ser olmaya³⁶²

It is known that Süleyman was not killed but he retreated to Kula but he was also old as indicated by Ahmedi and expected a life without war. Courage and bravery was essential notions in the medieval world and as Ahmedi saw these features in the gazi Ottoman warriors and Sultans, Süleyman seemed that he was lacking on these account.

4.2. Knowledge and Faith

Sometimes the poet might be a seen as a friend of his patron and his role might be more than giving joy and following court manners. In a patronage system as foundin the Ottoman state, the subject could not critiques that could temper their

³⁶⁰ Ahmedi, 342-346

³⁶¹ Ahmedi, 319-341

³⁶² Ahmedi, 340-341

patrons³⁶³. It is known that some poets that faced with the wrath and anger of their patrons resulted mostly with death and heavy punishments. Nevertheless, the source of critique was different. Advices towards the ruler were not transmitted directly; instead the poet or the writer was describing the ruler even. The description of the poet might not resemble the facts about the patron but the difference between the text and ruler was actually the advice to the ruler. Otherwise the subject would be fired from the court³⁶⁴, or worst he might be killed.

Ahmedi always pointed the vitality of counseling in Alexander Romance, in which he could be in a better position or he could protect his existing position. Since there were no certain rules, certain positions or duties could not be determined as well. A poet could be mentioned as a scholar, philosopher or a physician as well as he could be a statesman. Hereby, the poet appears as an adviser in this narrative and formulated an intellectual system for his audience accordingly with –and within- the traditional Islamic thought, which would be analyzed further. In any case, as an intellectual, Ahmedi consolidated the mainstream Islamic thought that was common in Anatolia and constructed an ideological discourse by his literary narrative with his examination of the ontology of self and knowledge itself.

The basic inquiry on the existence would be inquired on God. God was the center of everything in medieval mind and explanations of phenomenon could be asserted on God. The general outline of the existence of everything is formulated as ‘for confessing divine unity (*tawhid*) entails removing all so-called ‘gods’ from the world; indeed, replacing them all with One whose originating relation to the universe will never cease to occupy uniqueness of the attestation ‘There is no God but God’,

³⁶³ İnalçık, Şair ve Patron, 17.

³⁶⁴ İnalçık, Şair ve Patron 17

its novelty and its intractability in human discourse³⁶⁵. Every particular on earth finds a place in God's divine and eternal unity. Qur'an depicted the emergence of the rest as 'God said 'Be!' and it is'³⁶⁶. Therefore, the creation on matters and living creatures are blessing of God, therefore, it was the God first and solely existed, then by his divine command knowledge emerged.

The origin of knowledge is thus related with the self and God. Therefore Ahmedi used young Alexander to acquire the information on the essence of the universe and knowledge³⁶⁷. When Alexander became the sultan, he asked a question to his advisers about the origin of the universe³⁶⁸. First he asked to Aristo and he claimed that the origin of the universe is fire and everything is originated by fire and will turn back to fire accordingly³⁶⁹. Hypocrites claimed that it was air and everything will be air after all³⁷⁰. Platon asserted that it was water since every living creature is fed by water. It would not be wise to construct a building on water or living in the water³⁷¹. Lastly, Socrates suggested that it was earth, in which everything will be coalesced with water³⁷². With the suggestion of four philosophers, Aristotle's four classical elements were represented as origin of the universe. This material approach was actually the main rhetoric of Hellenistic philosophers³⁷³ of Islam.

³⁶⁵ Burrell, David. 'Creation'. *Classical Islamic Theology*, p.141.

³⁶⁶ Qur'an, 2:117.

³⁶⁷ Alexander image that is surrounded with conquests, honor and glory was useful for Ahmedi because somehow it provided him an intellectual immunity. He might not require that but the arguments that he was engaging in or asserted by himself were dangerous in late medieval Anatolia.

³⁶⁸ Ahmedi, 586-592.

³⁶⁹ Ahmedi, 596-598.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 598-602

³⁷¹ Ahmedi, 602-607.

³⁷² Ahmedi, 586-607

³⁷³ The term Hellenistic Philosophers is derived from Henri Corbin's description of Islamic philosophers that involved in neo-Platonic philosophy. Corbin, 325. The term philosopher is problematic for most of the modern and ancient Islamist scholars. Indeed, Hellenistic Islamic philosophers are correct term since most of their methods of inquiry are parallel with Hellenistic philosophers. Though they were criticized by most of the Kalam (rhetoric) scholars marginalized the

Advices of philosophers on the origin of the universe³⁷⁴ resemble the well praised Islamic inquiry in Hellenist Islamic school³⁷⁵. On the other hand, Ahmedi made Hızır to argue with that approach. After all, Hızır rejected the views of these four philosophers. He argued that all these philosophers does not respect the ancient and defend the new created (muhdes). All these matters were created after God, first there was God. The inquired thing (şey) is Allah and everything came after God³⁷⁶. Second, he pointed the significance of god's divine unity and power³⁷⁷. Also, if there are two things one should be chosen because two cannot be approved; and the correct choice is the always the ancient one because of its precedence³⁷⁸. Lastly, he suggested that one could inquire with science (akli ilim) and approve science of religion –real science- (nakli ilim) the divine unity of god³⁷⁹. Then Plato approved Hızır's arguments and made him teach the religion to philosophers³⁸⁰. In a discussion for the enquiry of the origin of the universe, Hızır pointed the truth and showed the God is a priori object of all matters of the universe.

Evidently Ahmedi inserted *nakli ilim* into the core of science and knowledge and replaced *akli ilim* follows Hızır's discourse on the subject. Ahmedi's contemporary Şeyhoğlu analyzed the subject parallel to Ahmedi:

Bu dahı külli ger aklı koyaydı
Bir uğurdan eğer ışka uyaydı

Olurduk geldüğümüz gün melamet

term falsafa (philosophy) from the hikmet (spiritual wisdom). Henry Corbin's 'Histoire de la philosophie Islamique' was translated by Turkish Islamist scholar Hüseyin Hatemi and seperation could be seen in the translator's forewords. Corbin Henry, İslam Felsefesi Tarihi, 9.

³⁷⁴ Origin of the universe was asked as 'cevher' (essence).

³⁷⁵ The most commonly known information about this tradition is the four temperaments of human body. On the four sides of a square there are fire, earth, air and water. All are parallel with four elements and represents hot, dry, moist and cold respectively. Very likely to Aristo, Avicenna aimed to analyze senses on that schema.

³⁷⁶ Ahmedi, 608-619.

³⁷⁷ Ahmedi, 620-679.

³⁷⁸ Ahmedi, 634-642.

³⁷⁹ Ahmedi, 654, 'Naklile anlatsa tasdiki olur, aklile bilinse tahkiki olur'.

³⁸⁰ Ahmedi, 681-686.

Cihanda bulmayısayarduk selamet

Melametdür çü ışkın evvel işi
Hem ol yoldan olur sonra ilişi³⁸¹

However, this does not reflect that rationale was underestimated. Human comprehension of self and the world would only be possible by both worldly and divine sciences.

Müdaradur gehi ışk u gehi akl
Okırı isen budur mani budur nakl

Bu ikisiyle olur iş müyesser
Müyesserdür ger oldıysa mukadder³⁸²

Similar to Seyhoglu, prolific poet of the 15th century, Şeyhi depicted these two sciences respectively based on their significance as akli and nakli but he also inserted one more science, which is *hakiki* (fact)³⁸³. The ‘fact’ could only be known by God and human beings could not comprehend this wisdom³⁸⁴. Yet, there were two sciences that human could reach knowledge and the divine science was more significant than the *ilm-i akli* but still the latter was complimentary of the first one.

Surprisingly, Ahmedi did not need to make other philosophers draw out their ideas unless the he aimed to show the truth to his reader. Instead he rotated his scientific exploration and literary narrative into an ars rhetorica. Simply, this classical Greek discipline of philosophy could become a very significant counterpart of Islamic *ilm-i kelam* (science of rhetoric, science of discourse). The subject of the rhetoric is well defined by Aristotle: ‘rhetorical study... is concerned with the modes of persuasion. Persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration ... the orator’s demonstration is an Enthymeme... the most effective of the modes of persuasion’³⁸⁵.

³⁸¹ Şeyhoğlu, Hürşidname, 2806-2808.

³⁸² Şeyhoğlu, 234.

³⁸³ Şeyhi, 42.

³⁸⁴ Şeyhi, 42.

³⁸⁵ Aristotle, Rhetoric, 1327.

Parallel to that, ilm-i kalam is a study of speech or words through dialectics³⁸⁶. Orators of the two sides claimed their ideas and with the synthesis of two arguments a discourse originated.

Indeed, this discussion resembles the rhetorical arguments on apparent (zahir) and inner face (batin). Ahmedi ambitioned to underline the actual superiority of batın over zahir, since god is a priori notion to matter and matter is reflection of its superior creator. This argument did not underestimating the significance of ulum-u akliyye (sciences), but he put the ulum-u nakliyye (religious sciences) into superior position that could provide some evidences of supreme and divine unity of god and existence of god.

Moreover, there were four philosophers in the debate with four ideas but after all, Ahmedi made Hızır to unite these counter-arguments and put them into category of ulum-u akliyye. This debate was actually between Hızır and Aristotle and the other philosophers were only the implementations of showing the four basic elements of universe. However, in that debate the origin of the matter is inquired as well as the universe. The first argument is every matter created by god and by nature the matter itself is a unity. The origin of the universe is god and after that matter (cevher) emerged no matter what it is. Ahmedi pragmatically did not analyze form of the matter instead he only pointed the unity of the matter and its origin, god.

The science of rhetoric theorized with the critiques towards philosophers. Basically, it was to ‘establish conclusions about Islam through some form of arguments and to defeat the advocates of error using universally accessible techniques³⁸⁷.’ On the other hand, philosophy and sciences were *bid’a* and heretical

³⁸⁶ Wolfson, Harry Austryn (1976). The Philosophy of the Kalam. Harvard University Press, p.1

³⁸⁷ Leaman, Oliver. Classical Islamic Theology, 79.

innovations³⁸⁸. Moreover, Gazali underlined that the science of rhetoric was comprehensive and all Muslims could not involve with that science; rather it was for special and elite group³⁸⁹. For Gazali, *ilm-i akli* could only be approved if it is parallel with *Şeri'a*, if it is not for proving the existence of God, it would be heretical³⁹⁰. Therefore, Gazali marked the limits of *ilm-i akli* and put forward the *ilm-i nakli*.

It was not only Ahmedi that praised the science of kalam but he was the only person that reflected a dispute in writings that was the core of science of rhetoric. Şeyhoğlu Mustafa mentioned about the significance of *kıyas* (comparison) in kalam:

Muarrifler ki vardur cüst ü çalak
Hemin ikrar iderler Ma'arefnak

Muabbibler ki cevherler durur pak
Kamu tekrar iderler Ma'abednak

Pes ayruklar ne bildiler kıyas it
Ana layık ne kıldılar kıyas it³⁹¹

In addition, Şeyhoğlu follows the path of Imam Gazali and pointed that only few 'real' Muslims should involve with science of kalam because the Prophet ordered that scientists/philosophers are successors of prophets³⁹². Şeyhi underlined the similar assertion with Şeyhoğlu:

Bu ilmi sanma her agah bilir
Nedir Allah bes Allah bilir³⁹³

Therefore, the science of rhetoric was perceived as distinguished subject and only few could comprehend the essence of this science.

³⁸⁸ Ibid, 79.

³⁸⁹ Imam Gazali, İtikad'da Orta Yol, 9.

³⁹⁰ Gazali, 20-21.

³⁹¹ Şeyhoğlu, Hurşidname, 71.

³⁹² Şeyhoğlu, Kenzü'l-Kübera, 21.

³⁹³ Şeyhi, 43.

If these texts were only literature works and purposed entertainment and joy for the patron, poets would be excluded for this elite science. However, literary text was more than sources of entertainment and fiction but they functioned to establish norms in the society. Three poets that were analyzed, amalgamated the *ilm-i akli* and *ilm-i nakli*, and their union, *tevhid*, was to path to reach God. *Tevhid*, on the other hand, is the same with *ilm-i kelam* in literature³⁹⁴. Yet, poets perceived themselves as a part of the distinguished group and most essentially, they were philosophers as well.

However, claiming to be a philosopher would be unacceptable in 14th century Anatolia. Known philosophers as Avicenna and Farabi were strictly criticized by Imam Gazali³⁹⁵. On the other hand, before that the rhetorical discussion between philosophers and Hızır, Ahmedi explicitly showed his ideas about the Hellenistic philosophy and philosophers. Religion was transmitted by prophet Muhammed and Greek philosophy could not reach his level³⁹⁶. Greek ideas are doctrines of Zoroastrian; and philosophy is back to back with evil. There is an evil in philosophy and with evil human can reach to heaven³⁹⁷. Hence, philosophy and Greek ideas were evil but they were necessary evil to understand the world. Only through one could comprehend the eternal and divine Ruler, God. Perhaps, Ahmedi did not want to disturb and annoy his patrons while he was writing his narrative including Greek philosophers, in which were non-Muslims and ‘heretics’.

In any case, Greek philosophy was a significant subject of Islamic thought. Islamic philosophers are remembered for their translations and interpretations on

³⁹⁴ Tarlan, Divan Edebiyatında Tevhidler, 7, Fasikül III.

³⁹⁵ Leaman, Oliver. Classical Islamic Theology.

³⁹⁶ Ahmedi, 265.

³⁹⁷ Ahmedi, 265-269.

Aristotle, Platon and Galien³⁹⁸. Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, İbn Hindu, İbn Maskuyeh, Al-Bagdadi were some of the Islamic philosophers. Ahmedi was not directing a unique critique to these significant intellectuals. The greatest intellectual assault to their experimental and rational approach to science and theology came from Imam Gazali from Khorasan. Gazali ambitioned prove that rational faculties could not be sufficient for comprehending the fact (hakikat)³⁹⁹. Nonetheless, his methodology for criticizing these philosophers was again composed of rational dialectic to shift his argument to a debate⁴⁰⁰. Philosophers like Ibn Sina tended to analyze the nature within natural process and the main tool of that process was will⁴⁰¹. On the other hand, Gazali implemented divine subject within that process. For philosophers, if cotton was burned it was caused by fire but Gazali inserted god before fire and the natural cause, which was fire, was erased from the equation since the main will is determined by god⁴⁰². Gazali asserted his dogma with self (nefs) that one could discover the truth (hakika) with his own soul⁴⁰³. Surely, his successor utilized his method of rhetoric and rational dialectic in order to expose their ideas but the main theme, ‘self’ (nefs) and ‘soul’ (ruh) was to be remained in Islamic thought.

The impact of Gazali to classical Islamic thought made philosophers wear dervish coat and find themselves and their ideas in Sufism. According to Henry Corbin, criticisms of Gazali and Suhreverdi, vanguard of the Ishrakiyye School, terminated the question of whether Sufism or philosophy is right because their critique integrated both⁴⁰⁴. It could be suggested that the grassroots of Ahmedi’s critiques on Greek philosophy and his assertion of finding the truth with the main

³⁹⁸ Corbin, 278.

³⁹⁹ Corbin, 326.

⁴⁰⁰ Corbin, 323.

⁴⁰¹ Corbin, 327.

⁴⁰² Corbin, 327.

⁴⁰³ Corbin, 322.

⁴⁰⁴ Corbin, 329-30.

subject, self or essence (nefs/öz), lies on Gazali's criticisms⁴⁰⁵. Ahmedi, who sustained the intellectual tradition that resumed for centuries, pointed two Islamic ideal approaches –apparent versus esoteric- and brought into a discussion.

Gazali's inquiry of knowledge in self and constant development of human beings towards reaching the God was mentioned by Ahmedi as well. Human form was reflection of features of God, therefore, if the philosopher sought the essence or God, he should analyze himself⁴⁰⁶.

Mazhar-ı İsmu'llah insandur hemin
K'ol kamu esmaya cami'dur yakin⁴⁰⁷

The real wisdom was concealed in human spirit and that knowledge should be revealed by human beings:

Şem-i can key ruşen işler işledi
Bu kadir cisme şefa bağısladı

Kabul itdi anı ilm ü hikmete
Kıldı layık anı fazl u rahmete⁴⁰⁸

The precious knowledge that human beings had sought was actually hidden in human itself. The reason could not be underestimated but the reason should function to incite men to comprehend his soul. Şeyhoğlu pleaded to release his spirit from his body to understand the real:

Beni benüm elimden kurtarıvir
Mübeddel kıl beni al u seni vir

Çü sendendür müyesser cümle maksud
Gerekmez olmazam ben bana ma'bud⁴⁰⁹.

⁴⁰⁵ Probably, Ahmedi was following the Ash'ari sect, which is still a prevalent Islamic school and practice in Anatolia.

⁴⁰⁶ Ahmedi, 192.

⁴⁰⁷ Ahmedi, 193.

⁴⁰⁸ Ahmedi, 198.

⁴⁰⁹ Şeyhoğlu, 126-137

In addition, poet Şeyhi emphasized the impossibility of knowledge without God's unity and divine authority and found the real reason in God with his spirit:

Muhit cümleye-vü-cümle bihaber andan
Delil halka vü halk ana kılur istidlal
...
Dilersen irmeğe tevhid-i zata esmadan
Nazar sıfatına kıl gör bedayi'-i ef'al
...
Kamu garaib-i mülk-ü acaib-I melekut
Ki akl nakline bulmaz ne mebde'-ü- ne maal⁴¹⁰

Hence, these instances reflect the Sufi tradition in literature but since the notion of *tevhid* is the subject of these works, they are political discourses as well. The knowledge and wisdom and every faculty that human possess is reasoned by God and only few could be aware of that 'fact'. These cultural sources points that poets placed themselves into a high court and knowledge could not be source of mass.

The narrative did not exclude the classical doctrines of Islam; in fact Alexander, who was an ideal Islamic ruler, had Greek advisers and tutors. Caroline Sawyer addressed that dualism in a different way; 'Both Alexander and Hızır, in their mediating and, in differing ways, transcendent roles, help evade the problems that face Ahmedi in his attempt to harmonize secular with sacred knowledge and popular with courtly tradition⁴¹¹'. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to indicate that Ahmedi attempted to harmonize secular with sacred knowledge since his Islamic tendency puts him into a Islamic Kalam and doctrinal school, Ash'ari⁴¹². Albeit all

⁴¹⁰ Tarlan, 14, Fasikül III.

⁴¹¹ Sawyer, 204.

⁴¹² 'God provided all creatures intellect and human is superior to other creatures. With that praise one should believe that no one that possess absolute power will torment the other. In fact, justice is one of the adjectives of god and it exist in god. Nevertheless, Ash'aris believed that good and bad, goodness and evil could not be understood by intellect and only divine authority appoint that. For them, due to god's domination over action, god could do anything that it deserves and since there is a wisdom in it and its actions could not be questioned. If god wish it could throw the its subservient to inferno or make the rebellious into the heaven and reward him. Because the matter, the subject

contradictions that life brought upon contrary to doctrines and theories, the secular notions of life was within the boundaries of *Şeri'a*⁴¹³. The patterns of his thought could be viewed in the debate that is mentioned above. Four philosophers asserted their claims of the essence of the universe and eventually Hızır's rejection was showing Ahmedi's thought on the issue. Every matter derived from god and the essence is god itself. It is correct that Ahmedi differentiated sacred claims of Hızır with philosopher's assumptions but the latter was not 'secular' at all. The worldly might be the correct term for this issue but the knowledge itself was not secular. The boundaries of knowledge was within *Şeri'a*, therefore, the secularity of the knowledge would not describe the inquiry that Ahmedi aimed at. Islamic philosophers analyzed the truth (hakikat) with different interpretation (tevil) and examinations (tahkik) but that does not indicate a secular paradigm that had been evolved in 14th century Anatolia. Besides these, in this debate it is not possible to view any harmony between the worldly and divine notions since every worldly matter contains the divine within.

Sawyer's approach is actually derived from the political concepts of Islamic heterodoxy and orthodoxy. For the 14th century Ottomans and the principalities in Anatolia, as it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the common attribution is that Islam was not strict as it was in the 16th century and onwards. The practical life

and the judgement is his own possession. If we pay enough attention to that issue, we assume that politics that make philosophy as an instrument has a huge part. In philosophy and Sufism as an Islamic thought system, good and evil are proportional. In one side it is good and on the other side it is evil. One that gives benefit to someone, harms the other. If that proportion is removed action would remain, then subject will act accordingly with his skills/character (istidad). Created subject contains that istidad in his essence and everything is right or wrong accordingly with its disposition therefore the action is not bad it is just.

Ash'ari does not reject the god's justice; but for them everything is just since every action contains divine wisdom (hikmet). We cannot know, understand and ask the wisdom in god. Rational dialectic and intellect cannot choose the good and evil. What is expected from the subject is sole subordination; everything is known by god. (Gölpınarlı, Abdülbaki, 260-261)

⁴¹³ We mentioned about Imam Gazali's description of reason. It could not transcend the Divine Union, it should be within the lines of religion.

might reflect some evidences of Islamic heterodoxy but narratives and classical doctrines were showing the reverse. The famous judge of 15th century, Sheikh Bedreddin was a contemporary of Ahmedi and he mentioned, in his work ‘Varidat’ god’s creation of opposite things but the evil could not be maintained by god⁴¹⁴. Very likely to that claim, Ebussuud Efendi, the Şeyhül’Islam of Süleyman the Magnificent, indicated that both goodness and evil are created by god but the exercise of the evil is materialized by a person that is responsible⁴¹⁵. Also, he pointed that god is excluded from all places and covers sky and earth, knowledge and power⁴¹⁶. Ahmedi was in the same tendency with Ebussuud Efendi and Bedreddin as it could be detected in the debate between Hızır and philosophers.

Apart from Ahmedi other poets did not mention about Greek or ancient Islamic philosophers in literary texts. Surprisingly the 18th century poets, Nabi and Belîğ interested in ancient Greek philosophers more than the 14th century poets and acclaimed their wisdom:

Olmuş idi bahr-ı funün içre nun
Hikmet-i tab’ında Aristo zebun (Nabi)⁴¹⁷

Derunum cilvegah-ı hikmet-i ma’na olup hala
Müheyyayım gelürse bahse Yunanın Aristosu (Belîğ)⁴¹⁸

Philosophers were named as *Sahib el-Mantık*, *el-Feylesuf* and *el-Hakim* but still they were inferior to the ‘real ulema’⁴¹⁹. Although Alexander and his mentor did not become a major theme in the 14th century literary apart from Ahmedi, neo-Platonic ideas imbedded into the Sufi schools were subject of poets. Perhaps, poets like Şeyhi

⁴¹⁴ Bedreddin, Varidat, 15.

⁴¹⁵ Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları, 176.

⁴¹⁶ Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları, 176.

⁴¹⁷ BİLKAN, Ali Fuat (1997). Nâbî Dîvânı, İstanbul: MEB Yay, 437.

⁴¹⁸ DEMİREL, H. Gamze (2005). 18. Yüzyıl Şairlerinden Belîğ Mehmed Emîn Dîvânı, 37.

Malatya: Öz Serhat Yayıncılık.

⁴¹⁹ Yekbaş, Hakan. ‘Divan Şiirinde Yunani Şahsiyetler’, 285.

and Şeyhoğlu did not emphasized the Greek philosophers as the latter were irrelevant with their works.

The other argument related to Ahmedi's assertion on Greek philosophy would be related to the social fear and insecurity in 14th century Anatolia. After several ravages, wars, epidemics and mass destruction, one could detect certain widespread neurosis and trauma in daily life and intellectual claims. Matter was dangerous and deceptive since for centuries Islam fought against people that were praying to idols and never questioned the possibility of divinity within these objects. Ironically, matter represented mere apparent but in fact it represented god's existence. Same question existed in medieval European societies. Because of the irregularity, degenerated form and hostility among human they might cause distrust; however, object was not the apparent, it was representing something⁴²⁰. Eco found the social peace with the dialogue between human and god since objects represent divine in medieval Europe⁴²¹. Peace, justice and hope that were assaulted might reemerge since matter and human are integrated in god's soul.

Turning back to the narrative, Alexander demanded from his advisers to write him letters concerning the order of the state and how the state is ruled. First Plato wrote his letter mentioned that in order to the state 'you should praise and remember god all the time; submit and believe the destiny; be virtuous, gentle and patient; pay importance to science; behave with compassion to your people; be friendly to your enemy in order to trap him in time; do not trust women; do not drink wine since it would destroy your order⁴²²'. Then Aristotle suggested that 'leave the arrogance, which is the behavior of Satan, do not do anything without counseling and do not do anything with your own will, do not be mistaken by worldly commodities, spend

⁴²⁰ Eco, Umberto, 85.

⁴²¹ Eco, 35.

⁴²² Ahmedi, 692-743.

them for your friends; be forgiver but slay the cruel; do not be fond of properties, everything passes⁴²³. Thirdly, Hippocrates advised him that ‘always be just; do not be seized by lust; discipline your soul to stay away from wrath; if you want to be remembered in the world be kind and do favor to people; be suave and genial⁴²⁴.’ Finally Socrates wrote that ‘do not listen to ignorant people and do not be jealous; do not split blood unnecessarily; order could only be maintained by justice and *siyase*; if you lust for something you would be on the way of evil; be careful what you are saying because you cannot turn back the time; do not trust anyone⁴²⁵.’ Four philosophers’ compilation of advices was the first Ottoman *Pendname* presented to sultans. It was surely not sophisticated as Ismaili writer and statesman Nizam al-Mulk’s *Siyasatname* (The Book of Government) but it was depicting the Islamic values of late medieval. Nizam al-Mulk’s *Siyasetname*, on the other hand, defined all the institutions in a city and covers ‘the proper role of soldiers, police, spies, and finance officials⁴²⁶.’ Arrogance, betrayal, lust and pride would result with self-destruction and interestingly Ahmedi actually told the story at the beginning. Young Alexander’s future was certainly predetermined and he was going to neglect his advisers’ suggestions and face with self-destruction. He was going to find himself in the lust of war and women, drink lots of wine, destroy lots of cities, his avarice was going to be unpreventable and finally by ignoring god he was going to commit the greatest sin of betraying the god that provided him the ultimate power.

Ahmedi depicted a man that always demands counseling and by that he was aiming to underline the significance of his Islamic doctrine. After Alexander defeated Darab and went to India, the sultan of India gave him a philosopher, a

⁴²³ Ahmedi, 693-803

⁴²⁴ Ahmedi, 803-844

⁴²⁵ Ahmedi, 844-877

⁴²⁶ Lapidus, Ira History of Islamic Societies (Cambridge University Press, 2002) , 151.

physician, a magical chalice and a beautiful woman. Between lines 2249-2774 Alexander requested some ideas from the philosopher on the creation of universe, astronomy, human body, soul, matter, time, light, earth, existence of god and prophets⁴²⁷. Perhaps Ahmedi sought to satisfy his patron by exhibiting his skills on sciences. After all the astrological information, Ahmedi made the philosopher to tell Alexander the truth (hakikat) about the universe: ‘You can ask more about these but the truth that you are searching is not on the sky but on the ground, these newly created things are unnecessary and what you are looking for is hidden in the past; Forget the intellect because the hakikat is hidden in God; in the essence of it there is no intellect and your mind cannot understand it⁴²⁸’. Curious Alexander was forcing his intellectual skills and constantly asking questions to scientist and philosophers but all the truth was turning back to god. Ahmedi’s warning for Greek philosophy turned back to stage again. Pure science inherited from Greek philosophy was evil but it was necessary evil since it was facilitating to understand the universe but also it might result with self-destruction. Philosopher told Alexander about the past rulers that are engaged with the worldly things, including worldly knowledge and all resulted with arrogance and destruction⁴²⁹. The discovery and inquiry of knowledge was seen as dangerous although it was desired by human. The human desire of knowledge and quest for that was resembled by Alexander.

For Şeyhoğlu avarice was the most destructive faculty of human beings as well because it was heresy:

Ucb u nahvet tohmını gönlünde dikme la-cerem
Kibr ü benlik ağacından küfr ile tuğyan biter⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ Ahmedi, 2488-2491.

⁴²⁹ Ahmedi, 2506-2528.

⁴³⁰ Şeyhoğlu, Kenzü’l Kübera, 85.

In addition Şeyhoğlu underline that the avarice was weakness of *ulema* because their eagerness to know might drag them into heresy⁴³¹. Therefore, the weakness of avarice was the greatest threat for rulers and *ulema*. Accordingly with the time frame that they wrote their works, they might address the subject to Bayezid or Timur, since Bayezid's arrogance was depicted as the reason that destructed the Ottoman state and Timur's pride caused extermination of cities.

However, the most possible subject of this avarice part of Ahmedi is his patron Süleyman and his brother Musa Çelebi. Aşıkpaşazade depicted the pride of Süleyman:

Gururı mansıbun yoldan çıkardı
Sevinüp alduğun elden çıkardı

Ne itdün halka kim yüzün çevirdi
Sevenler cümle gönülden çıkardı

Şarab ü çeng ü çagana vü hem saz
Musahibün olar başdan çıkardı⁴³²

Similar to Aşıkpaşazade, Abdülvasi Çelebi mentioned about the arrogance of Süleyman Çelebi:

Yüzün çevürdi ata tahtın ister
Ne ata tahtı dünya bahtın ister

Diller berü geçe tuta cihanı
Begenmez berü geçeki hanı

Olup magrur mal u ni'metine
Diler kasd ide ulu devletine

...
Varana dir ki kılıcumla aldum
Benimdür uşbu il fi'l-cümle aldum

Ol dahı benümdür uş geçerem
Bana kim karşı turur çün göçerem⁴³³

⁴³¹ Şeyhoğlu, Kenzü'l Kübera, 121.

⁴³² Aşıkpaşazade, Bab 67.

⁴³³ Abdülvasi Çelebi, 1761-1769.

Both Şeyhoğlu Mustafa and Ahmedi experience the destruction of his patron and perhaps he addressed the avarice of Alexander to Süleyman Çelebi.

The lust for knowledge could be interpreted as a sin for some Islamic schools but it could be exerted that Ahmedi was under the influence of Ash'ari sect and although this desire was not endorsed, it was not interdicted as well. Ibn Arabi, with all critiques towards the sect, indicated that god cannot be enforced on judgments; therefore his rewards and punishments are unknown⁴³⁴. Though, this should not be interpreted as agnosticism because the subject acts accordingly with his faculties by birth. Therefore, Alexander's actions were accordingly with his faculties and they could not be judged. It was all correct that the idea about the ontological assertion of the matter contains the god within its essence but still the mere knowledge and wisdom were very notions of Islamic thought. Ahmedi might not mention the scientific explanations of Indian philosopher and did not put Hızır this time for refusal but instead he expressed his knowledge on sciences and religion.

The modern world tends to formulate morality and life itself with good and evil but these notions were not determined very strongly. Since the good and evil (hayru şer) was proportional (nısbı), then every good contains the evil inside and the evil contains the good. That cultural pattern and intellectual system that Ahmedi and lots of intellectuals of that age engaged in was extremely suitable for Ottoman pragmatic life style. This pragmatism was going to be change within centuries in Ottoman Empire as well due to bureaucratic developments but this intellectual system still remains.

⁴³⁴ Ibn Arabi, Fütühat-ı Mekkiyye II:339; v:11.

4.3. Quest, War and Melancholy

After his lectures from philosophers and advisers, Alexander marched to east. Battles did not obstruct Alexander's expedition. According to the narrative Alexander's greatest battle was towards Persia. Two brothers fought bravely with their great armies and finally Alexander's brother, Darab fled from the battle field after his defeat and killed by two of his ministers. Alexander had his brother's vengeance but still he was in deep regret and sorrow. Surely, this was not related with Ahmedi's depiction since most of the romances included this section as well. However, the universality of the subject might have taken the attraction of Ahmedi. The tragic death of Emir Süleyman might influence since he was killed because of his brother as well. Again it was for the throne and made Musa into a deep sorrow as it was depicted by Ottoman historians⁴³⁵.

The tale depicted brothers as they were alienated from each other since Alexander's father left his mother and neglected him and turned back to Persia. On the other hand, Dara became the legitimate and lawful heir of the throne. After all the battles, Alexander realized that he caused the death of his brother and felt great regret. This was the materialization of the tale because alienated sons of Bayezid fought against each other for survival. Refraining from the transcendental interpretation, Ahmedi might depict Alexander with pain and regret and protested war:

Dünya niçün işbu ceng ü girder
Ne gerek çünkim değıldür payidar⁴³⁶.

⁴³⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, Bab 67, "They told Süleyman that his brother arrived. He said he could not possess authority over Süleyman's territory. He fled and went to a village but peasants killed Süleyman. Musa cried: "Why did you kill my brother?" and by his sorrow he burnt the village.

⁴³⁶ Ahmedi, 1230.

War was inevitable and requisite for the Empires of Islam. Fighting for religion and purging the world from heretics is a duty for Muslims, Qur'an⁴³⁷. Also, prophet Muhammed was not only a man of politics but he was a military leader as well⁴³⁸. Therefore, it was not a question of interpretation for Muslims since the war was heralded by Islam and its sources. Nevertheless, it was inevitable for human beings not to be influenced by war in their practical lives. On the one part, there were gazis dedicated their lives for the glories of Islam and gaining wealth and honor by wars and on the other side, people that suffers from the war and dragged into a great tribulation and undesirable bohemian life.

In a way, Ahmedi was a nihilistic poet as well since all his life he experienced wars and destructions. He was constantly complaining about war and death. After the invasion of Timur, he wrote these lines,

Aşıkare gördün oş olmaz nihan
Nece yihıldı yahıldı bu cihan

Yakılır Bagdad u yıkılır Haleb
Yerine köy yapılmaz bu aceb

Gördüğün cennet-sıfat iklim-i Rum
Bak nece oldı yıkılub me'va-yı bum⁴³⁹

The war was intolerable but inevitable as well and nothing could be reestablished after all. The enthusiasm that is mentioned in previous chapter could not be found in Ahmedi's writings. Death was usual for Ahmedi as most of the people living in Anatolia in late 14th century but the difference was Ahmedi lost his patrons during that process. The relation between the patron and poet was complicated because the remote and money based relations might turn into a friendship and love within time.

⁴³⁷ There are several verses of Qur'an offering wars against infidels like al-Anfal/11-15-19-39.

⁴³⁸ Maxime Rodinson described Muhammed as an armed prophet. (Rodinson, Maxime, Mohamed, 101).

⁴³⁹ Ahmedi, yk. 5a

The desperate poet did not only suffer financially but he lost most of his friends within war times.

Eventually, prevalent deaths and slaughters dragged him into a bohemian and depressed understanding of life. Mainly the poet mentions about the impermanent and unfaithfulness features of life. Ahmedi told the tragic death of Caesar of Rum as,

Dünyanın işi budur işbu pişesi
Vay ana kim dünyadur endişesi

Dünya gencine çünkü değmez rencine
Ne heves itmek gerekdür gencine⁴⁴⁰

He even wrote a chapter regarding the infidelity of world and life,

Dünyada çün yokdurur bir dem sebat
Pes hayal-i habdurur bu hayat

...
Ger felek olursa bu kez sana that
Yarın iltürmin yirün altına rahat

...
Pes gönül bağlamagıl bu menzile
İtimad eylemegil ab u gile⁴⁴¹

It is undoubted that Ahmedi wrote these lines based on his Islamic faith system but there were no glory of death. The romance provides some examples of great victories but none were glory for Ahmedi because they were temporary in this life. The gloomy and depressing life was fearful and could not be trusted; therefore one should not rely on the materials that life provides.

However, this bohemian life structure was not peculiar to Ahmedi. Şeyhi stressed on the similar subject as well:

Biz atduk okumuz nevbet senündür
Bir az gün bu yalan devlet senündür

İnanmagıl ogul gerdun-ı dünya

⁴⁴⁰ Ahmedi, 372-74

⁴⁴¹ Ahmedi, 411-415

Ki bin yıl ni'meti degmez bu gune

Ne hacet akıl olana fazihat
Ölüm hali yeter pend ü nasihat⁴⁴²

Moreover, Şeyhoğlu Mustafa comprehended weakness of human beings and pleaded to God:

Hudaya sen ganisin biz gedayuz
Bu der-gahı koyup kanda gideyüz

Egerçi aşiyüz düp düz güher-kar
Senünle aceb bazarumuz var⁴⁴³.

All achievements would worth nothing since this world is temporary and every human beings are temporarily living in this world. In the late 14th century Anatolia, poets that are analyzed experienced same questions with Ahmedi and stressed the same issues as well.

It is difficult to detect emotions for a historian and there is no intention of studying on emotions in history but the poets are people of emotions and their depressions and melancholy usually refers some notions about the general context. Within that framework, it might be asserted that Ahmedi placed melancholy at the center of life. The notion of death was about the fear and about the experiences that Ahmedi involved but this time melancholy appears with love. Ahmedi commences his tale with the love between fire and butterfly because love could save people from the fear of death but again it was covered with melancholy as well. No one could be rewarded by god unless one suffers. There should have been pain and grief to achieve the desired:

⁴⁴² Timurtaş, Şeyhi, 73.

⁴⁴³ Şeyhoğlu, Hurşidname 100-101.

Varlığını yık ki hoş-dem olasın
Kendünü yitir ki yarı bulasın

Dermend ol kim sini sora Habib
Derdi olana ilac eyler tabib.⁴⁴⁴

Ahmedi embraced the life as contemporary world's popular claim based on arabesque and melancholy⁴⁴⁵. He also told the audience that people could obtain this information from Ahmedi since he suffered much before,

Ahmedi oldugiün suznak
Oldı her gışdan sözi zer gibi pak⁴⁴⁶

This argument of pain and melancholy was not particular to Ahmedi because as it was mentioned this was the subject of Sufism as well. Ahmedi unconsciously points to audience a very remarkable example of a discourse related to the 14th century Ottoman social life: The pain and suffer was very common and widespread and people should not resist for that but to obey.

Şeyhoğlu Mustafa showed his melancholy to his audience that he could not achieve anything and he had nothing:

Hudaya ben kulundan bi-neva yok
Ki bin derdüm var illa bir deva yok

Başum taguk gözüm tolu elüm boş
Ayak baglu yürek taglu halum us

Kavi nefsum alu aklum bilüm süst
İşüm mühmel tenüm kahil dilüm cüst⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ Ahmedi, 40.

⁴⁴⁵ It is very interesting that there had been a very recent discussion about the arabesque music in Turkey. Famoust pianist Fazıl Say claimed that arabesque music and arabesque lifestyle consciously drugs people and enforces masses not to produce but to obey.
<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/21918428.asp>. As we mentioned before the Sufi tradition had such notions as well.

⁴⁴⁶ Ahmedi, 53.

⁴⁴⁷ Şeyhoğlu, Hurşidname, 120-122.

Şeyhi mentioned the same depression with Ahmedi and Şeyhoğlu but other than these two poets, he suggested to ‘drink’ and ‘love’ to alleviate the pain of life.

Sakiya Şeyhi’ye bir gam ragmına bir cam getir
Kim anın cür’ası bin canı ferah-nak eyler

Nefes kim ıřksuzdur zevksüzdür
Kuru taşdur gönöl kim şevksüzdür⁴⁴⁸

Albeit, his complaints Şeyhi was not depressed as Ahmedi and in his divan he suggested love and drinking and spend joyful time. Orhan Pamuk described the Ottoman social melancholia as a result of the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire based on cultural works in Istanbul⁴⁴⁹. Parallel to his theory, it might be asserted that poets were influenced by the destruction of the Ottoman Empire but all of them could live to see the rise of the state again. Therefore, the better assertion on the issue would be the Sufi tradition that characterized these poets. For Ibn Arabi, perfect human beings (*insan-ı kamil*) could comprehend the God by knowing themselves⁴⁵⁰. On the other hand, knowing themselves required certain alienation from the society to reach God⁴⁵¹. The melancholy that we analyzed in the 14th century court might be caused by that alienation and loneliness. Eventually, it was the belief that would alleviate the pain of these and this belief was intertwined with love.

This melancholic love was dedicated for the blessing of god. The lover was motivated with the pain to reach the god. As all the monotheistic religions, for Islam life was a bridge towards the god and it was difficult to pass that. On the other hand, love in particular meant a notion which is joyful, wicked, erotic but aesthetic. The

⁴⁴⁸ Timurtaş, Şeyhi, 74.

⁴⁴⁹ Konuk, Kader. “Istanbul on Fire: End-of-Empire Melancholy in Orhan Pamuk’s Istanbul,” *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 86:4 (2011), 249–61.

⁴⁵⁰ Chittick, William. ‘Imaginal Worlds: Ibn al-Arabi and the Problem of Religious Diversity’, 36.

⁴⁵¹ Ibn Arabi, ‘The Bezels of Wisdom’, tr.Ralph Austin (New York, 1980), pp.71-77.

love between Gulsah and Alexander did not narrated to the audience by Ahmedi but instead, he mentioned about the process of uniting each other. Gulsah and Alexander felt in love without seeing each other and Alexander could not resume his fight against Zeresb since he did not want to hurt his lover. The peace between Zeresb and Alexander made lovers united. After all the pain between lovers they could reach each other eventually. However, it is still interesting because Zeresb firstly refused Alexander's offer although he knew that her daughter was in love with Alexander but after the war, although it was not over, he accepted Alexander's terms. Sawyer associates this part of the tale with the marriage of Bayezid and Suleyman's daughter⁴⁵². The wedding could be associated with Ahmedi's patrons but in the real life, love would not be subject of politics. On the other hand, Ahmedi settled love in between war and peace. The desired was the sinful and although Alexander was warned by philosophers not to be motivated by his lust, he committed a sin. The sin was very lustful but it was an aesthetic object in the romance.

4.4. Aesthetics

The depression and melancholy could not only be associated with static life of Ottomans. Before that the idea was analyzed as it was providing harmony within social frame along with the passivity of people towards wars and destructions. Nevertheless, if the idea could be analyzed within the context of aesthetics, the outcome might be another sign of conviction or perception in Ottoman society. The beauty might be surrounded by sorrow and gloom and Ottomans might construct

⁴⁵² Sawyer, 91-92.

their aesthetics perception on within these emotions. The medieval mind had such notions and it might be asserted that these were universal and not peculiar to Ottomans. Umberto Eco mentioned about the *ubi sunt* (where are they?) rhetoric that was prevalent in Ottoman culture. “Where are the past magnates of the past, where are the glorious cities, where are the wealth of arrogant people and pieces of strong?... Human could find the consolation of disappearing beauty with the inner beauty.”⁴⁵³ Ahmedi portrayed the *ubi sunt* rhetoric in his verses as well:

Yidi başlu ejderhadur bu cihan
Bir nefes vermez kimseye aman

Niçeler benim diyu bu şark u garb
Ejdeha vu divile eyledi harb

Niçeler benim diyu bu bu bezmgah
İns ü hüsniyle düzetdi nermgah

Niçeler arayış itdi taht ü tac
Niçeler yakutdan düzetdi tac

Ol kamudan kalan uş efsanedür
Mülk Allahun ki cavidanedür⁴⁵⁴

The late medieval and early renaissance human beings perceived the beauty not very differently from the Islamic aesthetics. The beauty is universal and extremely humane although it might be sinful as well.

Aesthetics is correlated with process for reaching the God and beauty is the process itself⁴⁵⁵. Tolstoy’s ideas on art is parallel with Gazali’s formation of beauty; ‘the greatest purpose of art is to show common features of all human beings and spread the idea that all human beings derived from the same origin⁴⁵⁶’. As all the

⁴⁵³ Eco, Umberto, 27-28.

⁴⁵⁴ Ahmedi, 312-316

⁴⁵⁵ Şahin, Naim. ‘Gazali’de Etik-Estetik İlişkisi’, 113.

⁴⁵⁶ Irwin, Sanat ve İnsan, s.69.

other things in the world, the beauty and the beast were created by god and they were parallel with the good and evil⁴⁵⁷. The aesthetics in Islam, therefore, correlated with the process and motive of human beings reaching the God. Life is an experiment for human beings to reach the God.

There is a direct correlation between sinful and beautiful. The religious norms tend to regulate social order as well as human desires. The most desired and lustful are generally the most sinful, or the reverse might be asserted: the sinful might be the most lustful. ‘Religion appreciates the ascetic life but it also covers the sensual pleasure as a blessing of god⁴⁵⁸’. Qur’an forbidden drinking of alcohol but it also heralded a heaven with rivers of wine! As it was mentioned, the poet indicated balefulness of wine but also pointed its benefits like taking away the pain. However, the beauties in that were not based on an action, simply drinking a wine or converge of lovers, but the desire was the object of aesthetics.

The endless process was the source of pleasure and desire instead of reaching the main demand. This might be the main difference between the western perception of aesthetics because Renaissance man in the west found the beauty in *claritas* (external and visible), on the other hand, Ahmedi’s rhetoric rejected the a priori visible. The visible was obliged to disappear and the external was not real:

Her neyi kim gözlerün görür ayan
Oldurur ol anun içinde nihan

⁴⁵⁷ İbid, 112.

⁴⁵⁸ Goodman, Lenn. ‘İslam Hümanizmi’, 106.

Therefore, Ahmedi constructed his aesthetic perception on the process, instead of the final happy ending. The hidden was beautiful and could be achieved by pain and melancholy.

On the case of sin, Ahmedi facilitates the analysis because he regarded himself as a sinful personality and prayed for Prophet Mohammed's blessings:

Bini iste kim günahum çokdurur
Arada bir hayr işüm yokdurur
...
Çünkü sensin pes şefi' ül- Müznibin
Ben şefa'at senden isterem hemin⁴⁵⁹

The audience should not be surprised to see the poet as a sinful person because based on his faith system (itikad), sin was a nature of human beings. Alexander was sinful person but he was neither good nor bad; the last decree was going to be given by god not by historians or scholars. In that sense, Ahmedi and his faith system were closer to agnosticism than any other rhetoric schools of Islam.

This ideal system of social and political thought and perception of aesthetics were not combined and linked with the thought of heterodoxy. That structure of thought should be analyzed within the context of schools of Islamic schools. Ashari School, accordingly with Sufism, with all its liberal understanding of religion, was an orthodox sect of Islamic political and social thought. The features of the schools were analyzed previously and it is very clear that it had certain norms on the ontology, aesthetics and knowledge.

⁴⁵⁹ Ahmedi, 276-281.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Ahmedi was one of the most prominent poets of the 14th century Ottoman cultural and intellectual environment. His intellectual skills and the content of the Iskendername reflect the way intellectual life of the 14th century Anatolia advanced in the small principalities of the Ottomans and the Germiyans. In addition to this, urban life was also developed. The late 14th century Ottomans were familiar to the urban culture and the city life of Anatolia and the Middle East.

Ahmedi was shaped by his experience and the world that he lived in. These 14th century motives were mentioned in his masterpiece, the Iskendername. The Mongolic invasions that terrorized the Middle East and Eastern Europe, was still bearing their effect. The political power of the Mongolian Empire was not as it used to be in the past, but in Anatolia their dominion was to be destroyed by small principalities. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire through the Balkans and Anatolia created a new power. Nevertheless, the Timurid invasion through Anatolia resulted to the defeat of the Ottomans. Unlike the Empires of Genghis, Alexander and Timur fortunately, the Ottomans were institutionalized and they re-established their ruined state. The last fifty years of the 14th century for Ottomans was an age of

turmoil. The Black Death was still present, principalities were fighting each other and the Mongols were still a threat for Anatolia.

The poet depicted the main themes of the 14th century; wars, epidemics and disease. His depictions were not only artistic work dedicated to his patrons but also they were manifestations of the political and cultural implementation of the rising empire. Modern scholarship did not pay attention to Ahmedi's Iskendername since it is actually an epic for sultans and filled with legends. It would not be wrong to refer to the text as political fiction that presents advice to the ruler and exerts certain political discourses. Additionally, Ahmedi's Iskendername is more than a literature work since it covers many issues related to science and knowledge.

Although the question on the emergence of the Ottoman Empire is analysed vis-à-vis issues of nomadic and urban life, and the relation on the frontiers, and the gaza intellectual and cultural issues of the 14th century were not discussed comprehensively. Therefore, one of the aims of this thesis was to discuss the cultural themes of the early Ottoman Empire. In this perspective, Ahmedi and his entourage were not only poets to entertain their patrons but they were also intellectuals engaging in ideological discourse. In addition the relation between the poet and the patron was analysed within the patrimonial state structure. Ahmedi's patrons in the Germiyans were Yakub and Süleyman of Germiyans and in the Ottoman Empire they were Bayezid, Süleyman Çelebi and Mehmed Çelebi. Tragically, until his death, all his patrons were killed. The trauma and sorrow of the poet is reflected in many passages of the work. Ahmedi like many intellectuals of his time had to entertain and educate masters whose patronage was essential for their wellbeing. The fate of the poets was however somehow connected to that of the court and in times of turmoil, it was rather precarious.

Alexander the Great became a universal and heroic figure for writers, poets, scholars, and authors. Islam, Christianity and Judaism embraced the Alexander the Great and inserted him into their cultural patterns. It was not different in Islam and even in the very early stages of the rise of the Islamic Empire, Alexander Romances from Greek and Ethiopian were translated into Arabic and Islamized. Alexander the Greek became a Muslim hero that fought to conquer the world by the God's blessing. Alexander was a requisite character for the institutionalization of the Islam because he was an invisible and glorious character and he was presumed as a Muslim warrior.

The other aim of this thesis was to describe the notion of poetry and poet in the Ottoman society. Imam Gazali and Ibn Arabi shaped the Islamic tradition followed by intellectuals of the 14th century Anatolia. For Gazali science of Kelam had superiority to all sciences and only an elite and special group of people could be involved with this science. Ahmedi, Şeyhi and Şeyhoğlu perceived themselves as members of this privileged ensemble. They perceived the concept of *Tevhid* as it was expounded in kelam philosophy. The expected notion from the poet was to point the path, *tarik*, to the audience and convince them that God is the creator of the universe and everything originated from God.

The path promoted by the believer alienated him from the society and therefore, he is faced with melancholy. However, this was not the only reason of melancholy and the depression apparent in the works of these poets. They lived within wars, disasters, diseases and basically with death, therefore, they knew that everything was mortal but unlike today, they experience the notion of death more frequently.. Nevertheless, for the 14th century intellectuals, it was only a process and it was neither good nor bad. As without a pain, they believed that they could not reach the good, which meant reaching to God as well. The life is an experience that

allows individuals to understand what is right and wrong. The last decision of right and wrong was under the authority of God and they could not be defined but sins could be forgiven by God since the right and wrong is not explicit. Nevertheless, this ethical inquiry of good and bad or right and wrong should be within the boundaries of *Şeri'a*, otherwise all the inquiry would be heretical. According to this theory, ignorance is the thing that make human beings suffer because the good and evil is unknown. On the other hand, one should follow his thirst for wisdom but the transcendental form of this action would make one heretic as well. Hence, modesty was advised by medieval intellectuals.

The only solution for neglecting this pain of life would be love and joy. The beautiful and aesthetics was a means in the process of reaching God. Beauty was not enough to reach God but merely the process for doing so. The beauty concludes after the process because desire concludes with the eternal love. Although there are similarities between the notion of beauty in Ottoman cultural life and aesthetics in the West, the visible did not resemble the beautiful. The mystical and concealed notion was the beautiful and inquiry of the hidden beauty was comprehended as beautiful by Ottoman poets in 14th century.

Looking into the text of Ahmedi one can easily discern his endeavor to use metaphoric notions of Alexander's inner journey to knowledge and ultimately to discovering God's omnipotence in an effort to set an example for his temporal princes and the larger court audience. At the same time though, Ahmedi simplifies complex concepts of Islamic theology, he was very familiar with due to his former education to create a bridge between formal *kelam dicta* and mystical Sufism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Ahmedî, *İskendernâme*, (Trans.) İsmail Ünver. 1983. *İskendername*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Aşıkpaşazade. 1947. *Tevârih-i 'Al-i Osman*. Nihal Atsız, ed. İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi.

Aşıkpaşazade. 2007. *Tevârih-i 'Al-i Osman*. Kemal Yavuz, and Yekta Saraç, eds. İstanbul: Gökkubbe Yayınevi.

Şeyh Bedreddin. 1990. *Varidat*. Trans. Cengiz Ketene. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Qur'an, Al-Kahf Surah, 18:83-18:98 ayet, Süleyman Ateş.

Tace'd-din Ibrahim bin Hizir Ahmedi. Silay, Kemal (ed.). 2004. *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and Their Holy Raids Against the Infidels*. Harvard: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations Harvard University.

Secondary Sources

Abel, A. (1978), "Eskandar nâma", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Ed., vol. 4:127–129. Encyclopaedia of Islam Online Edition

Abel, A.; Ed(s). "Iskandar Nama." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2007. Brill online edition

- Abū-Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad al- Ġazzālī. Kemal Işık (trans.) 1971. *İtikad'da Orta Yol : (al-İktisād fî'l-İ'tikād)*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Abu-Lughod, Janet. 1989. *Before the European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Akdoğan, Yaşar (ed.) 1988. *İskendername'den Seçmeler*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Akdoğan, Yaşar (ed.) 1988. *Ahmedi Divanından Seçmeler*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Akün, Ömer Faruk. “Şeyhoğlu”. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Vol.11: pp. 481-185.
- al- Fārūqī, Ismā‘īl Rājī and al Faruqī, Lois Ibsen. 1986. *The Cultural Atlas of Islam*. Newyork: Macmillan publishing Company
- Alparslan, Ali. 1994. “Zülkarneyn Ya Kuruş-ı Kebir”. *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*. 513.
- Althusser, Louis. 1984. *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. Great Britain: Thetford Press.
- And, Metin. 2007. *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı- İslam Mitologyası*. İstanbul: YKY.
- Anderson, Andrew Runni. 1931. “The Arabic History of Dulcarnain and the Ethiopian History of Alexander.” *Speculum*. 6/3: pp. 434-445.
- Ateş Ahmed, “Metin Tenkidi Hakkında (Dasitan-ı Tevarih-i Müluk-i Al-i Osman Münasebeti İle), *Türkiyat Mecmuası* VII-VIII,1 (1942), PP.253-267.
- Atwood, C.P. “*Monqe Khan*” *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, 2004.
- Ayan, Hüseyin (ed.) 1979. *Şeyhoğlu Mustafa Hurşîd-nâme: İnceleme- Metin- Sözlük-Konu Dizini*. Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi.
- Banarlı, Nihad Sami. “Dasitan-ı Tevarih-i Müluk-i Ali-i Osman”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* Vol. 4: (1939), pp.49-176.
- Barkan, Ömer Lütfi. 1942. “İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*. II: pp. 279-304.
- Birkan, Ali Fuat. 1997. *Nabi Divanı*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Bloch, E. 1800. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*. Paris: Bibliothecaire a la Bibliotheque Nationale. Vol. 3. 1161-2017.
- Boor, Helmut. Yaşar Önen (trans.) 1981. *Tarihte, Efsanede ve Kahramanlık Destanlarında Attila*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

- Bosworth, A.B. 1970. "Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte Bd."19 H.4: pp.407-413.
- Bosworth, A.B. 2005. *Büyük İskender'in Yaşamı ve Fetihleri, Fetih ve İmparatorluk*. Ankara: Dost Kitabevi.
- Boyle, John Andrew. 1974. "The Alexander Legend in Central Asia". *Folklore*. 85/4: pp. 217-228.
- Brockelmann, Carl. "Mesel" , *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8, MEB. Basımevi, İstanbul, 1979, s. 120-121.
- ,Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis (ed.) 1896. *The life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*. London : C. J. Clay.
- Cezar, Mustafa. 2010. *Mufasssal Osmanlı Tarihi V.I*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Chittick, William C. 1989. *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn Al-Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination*. United States of America: State University of Newyork Press.
- Collingwood, Robin George. 2007. *Tarih Tasarımı*. Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları.
- Corbin, Alain. 2007. Courtine, Jean- Jacques, and Vigarello, Georges. *Bedenin Tarihi 1: Rönesans'tan Aydınlanma'ya*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Corbin, Henry. Hüseyin Hatemi (trans.) 2010. *İslam Felsefesi Tarihi V.I*. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Crone, Patricia. Hakan Köni (trans.) 2007. *Ortaçağ İslam Dünyasında Siyasi Düşünce*. İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları.
- Çiftçioğlu, İsmail. 2006. "Germiyanogulları Dönemi Kütahya Medreseleri," *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 15: 161-180.
- Dankoff, Robert. 1993. "Divanü Lugati't-Türk'te İskender Efsanesi", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*. 96: 207-216.
- Demirel, Gamze. 2005. *18. Yüzyıl Şairlerinden Belig Mehmed Emin Divanı*. Malatya: Özserhat Yayıncılık.
- Divitçioğlu, Sencer. 2008. *Osmanlı Beyliği'nin Kuruluşu*. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık.
- Düzdağ, Ertuğrul M. 1983. *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*. İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi.
- Eco, Umberto. 2009. *Ortaçağ Estetiğinde Sanat ve Güzellik*. İstanbul: Can Yayınları.

- Edman, Irwin. 1991. *Sanat ve İnsan*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Elizabeth L. Eisenstein. 1980. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Esposito, M. 1918. "A Medieval Legend of the Tterrestrial Paradise". *Folklore* 29/3: pp.193-205
- Ferdowsi, A. 2006. *Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings*. Newyork: Penguin Group Inc.
- Fleischer, Cornell H. 2008. *Tarihçi Mustafa Ali: Bir Osmanlı Aydın ve Bürokratı*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Fodor, Pal. 2000. *In Quest of the Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military Administration in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: The Isis Press.
- Gagnebin, Murielle. Simla Ongan (trans.) 2011. *Psikanalitik Bir Estetik İçin*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Gibb, Elias John Wilkinson. 1900. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*. England: The Thetford Press.
- Gibbons, Herbert A. 1998. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*. Ankara: 21.Yüzyıl Yayınları.
- Goodman, Lenn E. Ahmet Arslan (trans.) 2006. *İslam Hümanizmi*, İstanbul: İletişim.
- Gölpınarlı, Abdülbaki. 1987. *Tarih Boyunca İslam Mezhepleri ve Şiilik*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. International Publishers.
- Granger, Frank. 1918. "Eastern Versions of the Romance of Alexander". *The Classical Review*. 32/3: pp. 73-74
- Güldaş, Ayhan. 1996. *Abdülvasi Çelebi: Halilname*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Hammer, Joseph Von. Mümin Çevik (ed.) 2010. *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları
- Hamel Christopher. 1984. *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Hanaway, William L. "Anāhitā and Alexander", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 102/2: 285-95.

- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. 2003. *Tarihte Akıl*. İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi.
- Hegel, George Wilhelm Friedrich. 2001. *The Philosophy of History*. Kitchener, Ontario: Batoche Books
- Herlihy, David. 1997. “*The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*”, Harvard University Press.
- <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/21918428.asp> (14.09.2013)
- <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/eskandar-nama-of-nezami> (14.09.2013)
- Ibn Arabi, Muhyiddin. 2007. *Fütühat- ı Mekkiyye 2*. İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık.
- Gibb, H.A.R. (trans) *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company,
- Imber, Collin. 2002. *The Ottoman Empire 1300- 1650*. Newyork: Palgrave Macmillan
- İnalcık, Halil. 1994. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- İnalcık, Halil. 2000. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*. London: Phoenix Press.
- İnalcık, Halil. 2006. *Şair ve Patron- Patrimonyal Devlet ve Sanat Üzerinde Sosyolojik Bir İnceleme*. Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları.
- İnalcık, Halil. 1962. The Rise of Ottoman Historiography (Historians of the Middle East, eds. P.Holt and B.Lewis, London) pp.152-167.
- İsen, Mustafa (ed.) 1990. *Latîfî Tezkiresi*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Martin D. Joachim. 2003. *Historical Aspects of Cataloguing and Classification*. New York: Haworth Press
- Kafadar, Cemal. 1995. “*Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*” Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Karamustafa, Ahmet T. 2007. *Tanrının Kuraltanımaz Kulları: İslam Dünyasında Derviş Tophulukları (1200- 1550)*. İstanbul: Yapı kredi Yayınları.
- Kastritsis, Dimitris J. 2007. *The Sons of Bayezid, Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Kay, Sareh. 1995. *The Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Konstan, David and Raaflaub, Kurt A(ed.) 2010. *Epic and History*. Singapore:

Blackwell Publishing.

Konuk, Kader. 2011. "Istanbul on Fire: End of Empire Melancholy in Orhan Pamuk's Istanbul." *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory*. 86/4: pp. 249-261.

Köprülü, Fuad. 2006. *Tarih Araştırmaları I*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.

Köprülü, Fuad. 2009. *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.

Köprülü, Fuat. "Ahmedi." *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 1. pp. 216-221.

Köprülü, Fuat. 2009. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.

Kutluk, İbrahim (ed.) 1978. Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi *Tezkiretü's Şuara* V. I. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Kutluk, İbrahim (ed.) 1981. Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi *Tezkiretü's Şuara* V.II. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Lapidus, Ira. 2012. *History of Islamic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levend, Ağâh Sırrı. 1965. *Ali Şir Nevaî*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi

Lindner, Rudi Paul. 1987. "Stimulus and Justification i Erly Modern History." *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*. 7/2: pp. 207-224.

Lowry, Heath W. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. United States of America: State University of Newyork Press.

Macrides, Ruth (ed.) 2007. *History as Literature in Byzantium*. Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing.

Holt, Peter Malcolm. 1986, *The Age of the Crusades: the Near East from the eleventh century to 1517*. New York: Longman, University of Michigan,

Marx, Karl. 1908. *Communist Manifesto*. Newyork: Newyork Labour News Co.

McKeon, Richard (ed.) 2001. *The Basic Works of Aristotle*. United States of America: C.D.C. Reeve

Melikoff, Irene. 1993. *Uyur İdik Uyardılar: Alevilik-Bektaşilik Araştırmaları*. İstanbul: Cem.

Meserve, Margaret. 2008. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*. England: Harvard University Press.

Morgan, David. 2009. "The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire", *Journal of the*

Royal Asiatic Society, vol.19, pp.427-337.

Nihat, Ali. 1934. *Şeyhi Divanını Tetkik*. İstanbul: Sühulet Basımevi.

Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. 2007. *İslam- Türk İnançlarında Hızır yahut Hızır- İlyas Kültü*. İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi.

Ortaylı, İlber. “Tarih Yapmak/Tarih Yazmak İkileminde Türkiye”. *Perşembe Konferansları*.

Özel, Oktay, and Öz, Mehmet (eds.) 2000. *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a: Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşu Üzerine Tartışmalar*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi

Öztürk, Necdet (ed.) 2008. *Cihannüma (Osmanlı Tarihi 1288- 1485)*. İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın.

Pala, İskender. 1986- 1993. “İskender mi Zülkarneyn mi?” *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*. 26: pp. 117-146.

Parker, John. ‘Marco Polo’. The World Book Encyclopedia vol. 15: pp. 648-649

Parmaksızoğlu, İsmet (ed.). 2000. *Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi'nden Seçmeler*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Pirenne, Henri. 1925. *Medieval Cities*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Pirenne, Henri. 1893. “L’origine des constitutions urbaines au Moyen Age” in Les villes et les institutions urbaines, I, vol. LXVII,:p.50)

Pirenne, Henri.

Rodinson, Maxime. Atilla Tokatlı (trans.) 1980. *Hazreti Muhammed*. İstanbul: Hür Yayınları.

Sawyer, Caroline. 1997. *Alexander, History, and Piety: A Study of Ahmedi's 14th Century Iskendername*. Columbia University. Phd Thesis.

Sehi Bey. 1980. *Tezkire Heşt Behişt*. İstanbul: Kervan Kitapçılık.

Shaw, Stanford. 1976. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey I: Empire of the Ghazis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Southgate, Minoo S. “Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era”, ”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 97/3: 278-284.

Southgate, Minoo S. 1978. *Iskandarnamah, A Persian Medieval Alexander Romance*. Newyork: Columbia University Press.

Tabari. (ed.) Ehsan Yar- Shater. 1999. *The History of Tabari*. Newyork: State

University of Newyork Press.

- Tarlan, Ali Nihad. 1936. "Divan Edebiyatında Tevhidler Tasavvufi Tevhidler: Umumi Tasavvuf Esasları. Fasikül IV: İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası.
- Tarlan, Ali Nihad. 1936. "Divan Edebiyatında Tevhidler: Fasikül I: Ahmedî, Şeyhî, Sadrî, Rabbânî". İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası.
- Tarlan, Ali Nihad. 1936. "Divan Edebiyatında Tevhidler: Fasikül II: Fuzulî, Nabî". İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası.
- Tarlan, Ali Nihad. 1936. "Divan Edebiyatında Tevhidler: Fasikül III. İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası.
- Tezcan, Nuran. 2006. "Aşk Mesnevîlerini Şövalye Aşkî Bağlamında Okumak". *Virgöl*. Eylül: pp.55-58.
- Jozsef, Thury. 'XIV. Asır Türk Dili Yâdigarları', *Millî Tetebbûlar Mecmuası*, Vol.2 pp.81-133.
- Timurtaş, Faruk. "Şeyhî". *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Vol 11: pp. 474-479.
- Tökel, Dursun Ali. 2000. *Divan Şiirinde Mitolojik Unsurlar Şâhîsların Mitolojisi*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. "Germiyanogulları". *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 4: pp.767-770
- Winter, Tim (ed.) 2008. *Classical Islamic Theology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Witteck, Paul.2000. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğuşu*. İstanbul: Pencere Yayınları.
- Wolfson, Harry Austryn. 1976. *The Philosophy of the Kalam*. Harward: Harward University Press.
- Yakupoğlu, Cevdet. 2009. "Germiyanogulları Muhitinde Ahiler ve Zaviyeler," *Turkish Studies*. 4/3: 2264-2285.
- Yavuz, Kemal. 1991. *Şeyhoğlu Kenzül-Küberâ ve Mehekkü'l-Ulemâ İnceleme -Metin-İndeks*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını.
- Yekbaş, Hakan. Divan Şiirinde Yunani Şahsiyetler. *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*. Vol 3/5: pp. 281-300.
- Yinanç, Mükrimin Halil. "Bayezid". *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Vol.2: pp.369-392.