

The transmission history of a text of joint authorship by Barbara Kellner-Heinkele*

The investigation of a work by several authors constitutes a task of particular interest within the large and multi-faceted field of text transmission and text edition. This paper attempts to show that it is not only through a philological and codicological approach that the problems involved in such a work might be solved, but also by taking into consideration the biographies of the authors and their personal concern when writing on that specific subject.

One example for such a text is the Ottoman biographical collection *Devḥatü l-Meşāyih* which was written between 1744 and 1846, that is over a period of more than a century. It consists of a basic work with six continuations (*zeyl*), and is written by four more or less well-known authors of very different stature and background¹.

The first was Süleymān Sa'düddīn Mustakīmzāde Efendi (1131/1719-1202/1788), one of the most prolific and versatile Ottoman 'ulamā of the 18th century², a member of the Kādirīye and Naqşbandīye orders, who stood in a direct line of transmission (*rivāyet*) from Şeyḥ 'Abdalḡanī an-Nābulusī³ (1050/1641-1143/1731) and whose Sufi descent (*silsile*) went back to Şeyḥ Aḡmad as-Sirhindī (971/1564-1034/1624)⁴. Mustakīmzāde did not participate in the popular racing for posts and honors. As a private scholar, he composed an impressive number of works that reflect both his comprehensive classical Islamic learning and his Sufi leanings.

The second author, Seyyid Meḡmed Münīb Efendi (Ḥoca Münīb), was very different from Mustakīmzāde; this highly talented 'Ayntābī came to Istanbul around 1770 to make a career and succeeded in penetrating into the highest political and 'ulamā circles. He died in 1238/1822 in exile where he was sent about fifteen years earlier by Sultan Maḡmūd II (1808-1839) because of his role in the palace revolution under Selīm III (1789-1807) and Muştafā IV (1807-1808)⁵.

The third author, Süleymān Fā'ik Efendi (1148/1784-1253/1837), had made his way from the position of a scribal apprentice in the Grandvezir's offices (*mektübī-i şedāret odası*) to that of a high official in the Grandvezir's service and the central finance administration (*mālīye*). During the reign of Sultan Maḡmūd II he posed as a self-taught scholar and critic in the jet-set of the Empire⁶.

Finally the fourth author, 'Abdül'azīz Mektübīzāde Efendi (1216/1801-1279/1862), was a provincial kadi who tackled with scholarly writing in periods of unemployment⁷.

Devḥatü l-Meşāyih contains a series of 104 biographies of Ottoman sheykhülislams or müftis, i.e., of the highest dignitaries within the 'ulamā class. The biographies are arranged not alphabetically or according to periods of reign of sultans (*tabaka*), but rather in chronological order, i.e. according to periods in office. Eighty-eight of the one hundred and four biographies were included in Mustakīmzāde's basic work (finished in 1744, resp. 1745⁸) and in the two *zeyls* which he wrote within the next forty years. Those three parts cover the period from what was then considered the origins of the office of sheykhülislam in the beginning of the 15th century⁹ down to the reign of Sultan 'Abdülḡamīd I in the last quarter of the 18th century. A number of Mustakīmzāde's contemporaries are therefore also included.

Seyyid Münīb on the other hand described seven contemporary sheykhülislams in his two *zeyls* which are dated c. 1800 and 1806 respectively. Both Süleymān Fā'ik and Mektübīzāde wrote about the same nine sheykhülislams of their time in their *zeyls* which are dated 1833/34 and 1844 respectively. While Mustakīmzāde's contribution covers about half of a complete manuscript, Münīb's takes about two thirds of the remaining half. Süleymān Fā'ik and Mektübīzāde's continuations share the last third in equal parts.

In its literary form, *Devḥatü l-Meşāyih* is indebted to 'Oşmānzāde Aḡmed Tā'ib's (d.1136/1724) *Ḥadīkatü l-Vüzerā* (dated 1718), a work that describes the lives of Grandvezirs in chronological order. This genre became quite popular in the second half of the 18th century and remained so right into the 19th century¹⁰. While Mustakīmzāde can be considered as one of the fathers of this genre, along with Aḡmed Resmī (1112/1700-1197/1783) and others, the continuers of *Devḥatü l-Meşāyih* just had to follow a given model.

The number of extant manuscripts seems to suggest that this biographical work on the sheykhülislams met with considerable interest. Of Mustakīmzāde's basic work, I was able to trace thirty-one manuscript copies and most probably, more will turn up in future. I was able to find twenty-three copies of his first continua-

tion and sixteen of the second. Münib's first continuation is represented by twenty manuscripts, his second by eleven. I have also traced eight manuscripts of Süleymān Fā'ik's *zeyl* and six of Mektübizāde's. They make up altogether forty-four manuscripts of varying length, i.e. they contain from one to seven parts, but only two of them contain the full work of seven parts¹¹.

Editing such a text with a 'biography' of its own poses a number of problems. The main difficulty lies in the mixed character of text tradition, e.g. one and the same manuscript might represent different text traditions, because the various parts might have been transcribed from different copies. One or more parts might derive from excellent texts, while the rest goes back to mediocre ones. A change of handwriting calls for caution, but does not necessarily signal a change of source. In some instances, originally separate manuscripts were mixed, i.e. parts of the work from one manuscript were subsequently bound into another volume. In some cases the copyist was obviously unaware that he had missed a *zeyl* or had mixed them up. At this point the question of stemma must be raised. It seems that the only way that might lead to some satisfactory result is by establishing the interrelation of the available manuscripts for each of the seven parts of the work separately¹².

However, it is not only the efforts of scribes, illuminators and collectors that will affect today's editorial work; the content and spirit of a text will influence it too. *Devhatü l-Meşâyih* is a historiographical work as far as it gives historical dates and facts about a particular circle of personalities; their superior rank in Ottoman society is understood, but the history of their time remains of minor importance. It is also a work of some literary interest, particularly in reference to its genre as a biographical work. It can, e.g. be studied as such in comparison with other series of biographies. Among the four authors, Mustakîmzāde handles best the method of classical biographical writing as it was established in the Islamic lands over the centuries¹³. Although not as detailed as the biographies of 'ulamā by Şeyhî (1078/1676-1144/1731-32) or as readable as 'Atā'î (991/1583-1045/1635)¹⁴, it is rich with poetry and pious phrases, thus avoiding the text's rattling with data. It is Mustakîmzāde's merit to have, for the first time, presented the prestigious office of sheykhülislam via its representatives.

Originally, the book was meant to please a sheykhülislam and thus fulfil young Mustakîmzāde's secret hope to eventually open up a *müderres* career for him. At the age of 25 he also wanted to prove with his first large book his comprehensive learning and genuine devotion to the 'ilmîye. But, of course, he was still at the lowest echelon of the ladder, studying and collecting teaching authorizations (*icāzet*).

The case of Münib is quite different; he wrote his two voluminous *zeyls* in the prime of his life, when he

was a candidate for the kadiship of Mecca (1799) and later (1804) became a member of Sultan Selim III's consultative council (*meclis-i mükālime*). At this time, he could probably hope quite realistically that one day he would himself be able to reach the highest office of sheykhülislam. His writing constitutes a supreme example of Ottoman linguistic bombast. It is not a biographical work in the strict sense of the word, but rather a stunt of theological scholarliness. Why did he write it? In his introduction he does not tell us openly, but refers to the wishes of a powerful friend and sponsor. Although this is a frequent *topos*, Münib's intimacy with sheykhülislams of the time and sheykhülislamzades suggests that he was indeed leering upon a promotion.

Süleymān Fā'ik and Mektübizāde again stuck to the rules of biographical writing: Süleymān Fā'ik as a mocker of Ottoman high-society¹⁵ who nevertheless relished quite openly his intercourse with the rich and the powerful. The success of his earlier biographical work, a continuation of Aḥmed Resmî's *Halîfetü r-rü'esā* (biographies of *reisülküttāb* or chiefs of chancery)¹⁶, might have encouraged him to tackle with another column of society, the müftis of his time, some of whom he must have known closely. His writing is much less polished than Mustakîmzāde's, certainly straightforward in comparison with Münib's and fresher than Mektübizāde's.

Mektübizāde is the most modest among the four authors, judging both from his intellectual output and his success in life. But he was the only one who wanted to write as a historian, at least in the Ottoman sense of the word. This judgement can be gathered not only from his other writings, but also from the introduction to his *zeyl*, where he writes that he was only concerned in straightening out those facts that Süleymān Fā'ik had twisted. Thus, Mektübizāde turns out a true partisan of the good old order of the Empire, at a time when the solid ground seemed slipping away.

Devhatü l-Meşâyih, this many-faceted series of biographies with its colorful background and varied styles was condensed into a handbook by Aḥmed Rif'at (d. 1293/1876), rearranged and printed as a lithograph in the second half of the 19th century¹⁷. A comparison of the two versions shows that the integral text of the manuscript work is a better witness of its time and of the personality of its authors than the well-meant abridgement. In order to support this argument, some concluding remarks will be devoted to one particular feature of Mustakîmzāde's basic work. This goes to show, how the general political atmosphere and the personal involvement of an author could mould a text and even lead to a separate track of textual transmission.

As we have seen earlier, Mustakîmzāde was twenty-five years old and ready to enter the higher ranks of the *müderres* career, when he finished a first version of *Devhatü l-Meşâyih* (1157/1744). It contained the bio-

تاریخچه و تحقیاتی مخوم ختم خام داستا بنولده سلطان سیم
 قریبه بنا بورد قلدی مدرسه موسسه لرده میداننده
 رصد نشین منظره ارام اولدیله دفعه اولیده النی است
 قدره تنگ بر معدرائی و آخر عهد محمد خاذه و ماعد احمد
 سیمان خاذه و ناینده ده ایکی سندن زیاده وقتی سینه
 سلطان سلیمانده امر ایلدی طاهر الدین فارس کلیل
 فاضل سیکو شمانل ایدری نعهده اسد بغفرانه بکائی عبدالله
 افندی راده مدرسین کرادن احمد مثلا افندی صاحب
 ترجمه تک راده کریمه محترمه سید حفظه الله تعالی
 شیخ الاسلام جامع ارباب ستم مولانا السید بیجان الله
 ابن شیخ محمد افندی ابن شیخ حسین شیخ بر محمد
 مستطیر اسلوی ولان ارض و مده افای عنفوان شباب
 و ایلای ردای صاب ایلد کده شمس بق قدم و نه
 باروی اهتمام ایلد کلیل سعی و اجتهاد و تحصیل بضاعت
 و استعداد عقیده تغذات رب عند الناس و اترس
 فضل و ابدله اولد یعنی تعظیم و تکمیل ذات ابجوت ترک لذت
 و جزئیات و کلیاتده تعاضل ایدوب استا بنولده قدم
 و لغت و تمدن ارباب رسوم ایددی زمان جنبه کان محمد
 خانک بیک طغس بری حد و دینه کلنجو خدمت شهزادگان
 جوانخان ایلد فایق القرآن و لوب بعدده طغس سکرده
 نقابت اشرافه قرین لطافت و لشیکین خلق محمد خان
 و جلوس سلیمان خان ناسنده بونلر بین لغت الکریم
 صاحب نعبین نام اولمعه شیخ الاسلام داغ زاده افندی
 بالاقضا اختیار نزل و ایلد کده طغس ان طغوز ریسع لایله
 اولن ایکنجی کونی بونلر زیور بخش صدر واکا فتوی دوشن

سعادت بوشلرینه ایس خلعت بیضا قلندی ماضی
 هیبت و بیکی من عواقبها اللیب نجوم باغبان ایلد وزیر
 اعظم سیاوش باش شهبه و اهلای شهر بوجو سیده
 طایفانک دخی سر سیر لری جسد بد لرندن تبعید و لوب
 صدر رصد ارمله وزیر اعظم ناسخی سمعیل باش تسجید
 اولد کده کندی به بعد داغ داغ زاده افندی بی مغنی تک
 قصد یله بونلره عذر و سنده مزبورده جمادی الاخره سنده بر
 سکرده ارض و مده مترقب ارتفاع شان و قدر اوشلر
 ایددی جنت مکان مصطفی خان نانی بیک بوز اقسی جاب
 الاخره سنده جالس ادراک سلطان اریکه جهان سنی
 اولد کده علاقه تعلیم و تعلمه رعایت حق علم شریفی درایت
 تفویض امور قوت ابجوت ارض و مده دعوت و لوب
 سنه مرقوم رمضان شریفی متصفه دار الیمنه ادرینه
 دخول ابدوب شعر به المله الزهراء اخصت منیره
 دخی لکوکب السیاقه صارانامه مغربو سنه مزبورده
 شوانک اون برنده شیخ الاسلام امام محمد افندی مقامه
 جامی و آئی فتوییه نابنا وصول و مغنی مستقل صاحب تعین
 کامل علی ان صلی العوان اولدی ده ده شعره
 و شان الفنی الاستغریه بحاله حوادث دهر المهن نظام
 فکر فصیح عسره و مذله سرور عم صحت و سفام
 لا عوام ملک غایه و نه نایه و ایام غر و خسر و تمام
 شیده سخی بیک بوز بیک و ن بسن تاریخچه فقه ظهور
 ایدنجه حرکت حشرات انا سنده نبات مناسب کور مملکه
 سنه مزبورده ربیع الاولده ارض و مده نامور اولوب قصیده
 ادرنده سفینه ایلد عبوز نصیبنده ایکن استا بنول ایکن

Plate 5. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. turc. 84, ff. 138b-139a.

contested. It is however not only the cost factor which speaks in their favor, but also that they can carry the flavor and directness of the authors' and scribes' personality. This reasoning is certainly valid in the case of the *Devhatü l-Meşâyih*.

APPENDIX

Translation of Mustakîmzâde's biography of Sheykh-ülislam Seyyid Feyzullâh Efendi, according to both the original and the final version of *Devhatü l-Meşâyih*.

The translation is based on the Paris (P) and Munich (M) manuscripts presented in the paper. The following MSS

were also used: Paris, B.N., suppl. turc 1044; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, H.O. 227; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Ktph., Bağdatlı Vehbi 1148. A readable translation was preferred to a literal rendering of the Ottoman text. My thanks go to Dr. Hussam Saghir of the University of Frankfurt for his help with the Arabic.

MS Paris

The holder of two titles (sheykhülislam and Sultan's preceptor, *câmi'ü r-riyâsetayn*) Mevlânâ es-Seyyid Feyzullâh Efendi b. eş-Şeyh Meĥmed, twice in office.

After spending his childhood and youth (*iftâ'-ı 'unfuvân-ı şebâb ve iblâ'-ı rıdâ-ı şibâ*) in his birthplace Erzurum, he

عطفدن اور نیک سبب جیف و طیفان ایندن باغیانک
 اولو اولان قاصد لرلی مکار و جودت لرلی باسنده
 ابرام ایدوب و قعه کبرایلی تجرید اولد و دوزد لوسوز منون
 برید اولوبت حیرت فرمای اول شعور و فیصل دعوی مظلوم بیک
 و ابسته یوم شورا اولوز امور ظهور ایلدی تخصیص حال عیث
 کلال طلال فرج اولمقدن ناعده السنه لی منخ اولمقدن کیت
 خامه خوشنوام میدان بیانده عنان دغدی مولانا موسی
 ایلمک سال شهاب دگرینه تاریخ انه شهبه بلاست بیک
 واقع اولمشد اکر نه احد بوسانده و احسنه طیب نواله اول
 اتنا ده سنه سابقه دن بری ادرنده قاضی نولن بیکشم
 حسین افندی فرصت غنیمت زدی و بوسدر رانا طولی ایلده قریر
 العین اولوبت و درای محمد باست ایلده استقبال عساکر بحیه
 ایچون او مانع کلد کلرنده اقتضای وقت بنابر ریح الاونک
 اون درنده رتبه والای فتوی ایلده بیکام اولدی لکن بر
 فتوی مضایقه بجا نله تقید مقدر و بر امره مدخله مسیر
 اولدین عسکر قهر منظر بر ایلده شیخ الاسلام سابق امام
 محمد افندی نابینا ارتقای سنه فتوی ایلده کده حسین افندی
 عدم ختفا سنی باعث نفی و اجلاسی اولوب وسیله اعتبار
 مادمه رونما اولمقدن بالاستقلال تجرید و اسما لولندی القصد
 سعید و شهبه اکر مرادته باللطف المزید حضرت لری اعجوبه
 زمان و نادره دوران فاضل بیدانی سپید جانی و سعید
 الدین نفاذانی بیدانی حاصلی بونیک مکر بانی ایدی شعر
 لبس علی احد بستنکر ان کجج العالم فی واحد
 جامع نور لامع ابی الفتح قریب مدرسه موسسه ایده واقع
 کن بخانده موقوفه اولان کتب نفیسه بی مطالعده و اطرا

رهوا مشنده تجربات و حاشی ایند بحث شتاده دفع ضار
 بیور مشرک دین ببالا دکار با بیتی الایحکار نام اوراد ک
 و زبان ترکی ایلده موشح لطف شتابی جامعته بر مجموع ک
 و خدمت امانت فتواری ایلده مشرف اولان کامی افندی مجرم
 قلمبند نه و نه فتواری دخی کورلدی مدت فتواری دفعه اول
 زمان محمد خاندن تیشش سب کون قدر زمانه ده سلطنت
 مصطفی خاندن سکر بختی سنه مقداری قراری وار ذرا اول
 ایجاد دن حال اصد رزق القدر مشیخت اسلامیه ده دفعه
 سنه فتوی اولنک نهر بلندی و اطوار دلسنده غایب
 رفکار کمال حمیدی مفتی الانام اکر مرادته باله و ام مستبد
 الساده صاحب السعاده السید مصطفی افندی و قاه آید
 من اکا لامه و قاه بتقریر علی الدوام حضرت لری و السید لقی
 افندی و السید محمود افندی جناب لری دخی استانبول دن
 معزول و تقرب درگاه الالهیه موصوفه و اکر مرادته

Plate 6. MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. turc. 84, ff. 139b-140a.

made every effort (*teşmîr-i sâķ-ı ikdâm ve şedd-i bâzû-yu ihtimâm ile tekmîl-i sa'î ve itihâd*) to acquire knowledge and develop his talents (*taħşîl-i bîza'a ve isti'dâd*). Afterwards he went to Istanbul and became acquainted (*ülfet*) with people of polished manners (*erbâb-ı rûsûm*) and adopted their refined life style (*temeddün*). In the reign of the late Sultan Mehmed, he became superior to his peers (*fâ'ik el-ekrân*), because he served as preceptor (*hizmet-i ta'lîm*) of the fortunate princes until 1097 [begins on 28 November 1685]. Later, in 1098 [begins on 17 November 1686], he came within reach of favors (*ķarîn-i eltâf*) by being elevated to the office of *nakîbû l-eşraf*. When in the course of Mehmed Hân's deposition and Süleymân Hân's accession to the throne Sheykhülislam Debbâğzâde was pressured (*bi'l-ikhtizâ-i ihtiyâr*) into retirement, the high position of

sheykhülislam fell to (*baħş*) Seyyid Feyzullâh. On 12 Reb. I 1099 [16 January 1688], the white robe of honor was put on his fortunate shoulders (*dûs-u sa'âdet-püşlarına*). At the time when the Grandvezir Siyâvuş Paşa became a martyr under the attack of the rebels (*bâġiyân*) and upon the reaction of the people of the city, the ignominious heads (*ser-i bî-ferleri*) of the mutineers were severed from their evil bodies (*cesed-i bedlerinden*), and when Nişancı Ismâ'il Paşa was favored with the elevation to the rank of Grandvezir he acted unjustly (*ġadr*) towards Seyyid Feyzullâh with the intention of making of Debbâğzâde Efendi, his kindred soul (*hem-demâġ*), his müfti. On 28 Cem. II of the aforementioned year [1099/1688], Seyyid Feyzullâh began waiting in Erzurum to become sheykhülislam once again (*müterakķib-ı tekarrür-ü şadr*). When in Cem. II 1106 [begins on 17

January 1695] the late (*cennet-mekân*) Sultan Muṣṭafâ II ascended the imperial throne and embellished the seat of worldrule (*zîver-i erîke-yi cihân-bânî*), he favored (*ri'âyet*) the bond between teacher and pupil (*'alâka-yi ta'lîm ve ta'allum*) and bestowed his protection (*şiyânet*) on the right of noble knowledge (*ḥakḳ-i 'ilm-i şerîf*). In order to commit to Seyyid Feyzullâh the charge of the affairs of *fetvâ*, he invited him back from Erzurum. In the middle of Ramadan of the afore-mentioned year [c. 30 April 1695] Seyyid Feyzullâh entered the abode of felicity (*dâr el-meymene*), Edirne, and on 10 Şev. [24 May 1695] he reached for the second time the lofty place of *fetvâ*, in replacement of Sheykhülislam Imâm Mehmed Efendi. In 1115 [1703], while the movement of the vermin [i.e. the rebellion, *hareket-i haşerât*] came to the surface and holding out (*sebât*) seemed no longer reasonable, he was appointed to go to Erzurum, on Reb. I [begins on 15 July 1703]. While he was in the town of Varna intending to make the passage by ship, an advance guard (*kâşîdlar*) of the rebels, who had drawn the sword of oppression (*sell-i seyfi-heyf*) against Edirne, insisted on his return there. The event of Kerbela was repeated and that heartburning day was yet seen [again] to the bewilderment of understanding people (*heyret-fermâ-yi ehl-i şu'ûr*). The claim of injustice (*mazlûmiyet*) will remain an open question (*âbeste*) that will be solved on the Day of the Last Judgement. It happened on the date [chronogram in Arabic]. 'He became a martyr without doubt' (1115). [Blessing in Arabic] May God honor him with His closeness and may He bestow His grace on him. Among the works of his pen are his *evrâd* under the title *Kitâb al-aḫkâr bi'l-'aşîy wa'l-abkâr* (Recitations for evenings and mornings), a collection in Turkish under the title *Muvaşşah-ı leṭâ'if-i şittâ* (Dispersed subtleties in *muvaşşah* form) and a collection of his *fetvâs*. His first period in office under Sultan Mehmed lasted for seventy-five days, the second, under Sultan Muṣṭafâ, lasted eight and a half years. Among his noble sons are Seyyid Mürtezâ Efendi and Seyyid Mehmed Efendi who at present are dismissed from the kadiship of Istanbul. His grandson (*kerîmezâde*) Mîrzâzâde Sa'îd Efendi is dismissed from [the kadiship] of Bursa. During the afore-mentioned event [of Edirne], Yekçeşm Hüseyin Efendi, who had been kadi of Edirne since the year before, was made happy with the kadiaskership of Anadolu according to the saying 'A chance is a godsent'. When he came with Grandvezir Râmî Mehmed Paşa to the [imperial] tent because of the encounter with the rebel soldiers (*istikbâl-i 'asâkir-i bâğtye*) he reached his desires on 14 Reb. I, according to the necessities of the time, with the elevation into the rank of müfti. But before a *fetvâ* could become an act (*mücâmele*) ordained by God's will (*muḳadder*) through his signature and before anything could be interfered with (*müdâhale*) in the name of God (*müyesser*), the former sheykhülislam Imâm Mehmed Efendi was raised to the office of *fetvâ* for the second time, because the overpowering soldiery (*'âsker-i kâhr-mazher*) insisted on it. Since Hüseyin Efendi had no hiding-place, he was banished, but since this event was considered of minor importance (*bir madde-i rûnümâ olmamağla*) the description of it [in a separate chapter] was omitted.

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The holder of two titles (sheykhülislam and Sultan's preceptor, *camî'ü r-riyâsetayn*) Mevlânâ es-Seyyid Feyzullâh Efendi b. eş-Şeyḫ Mehmed, twice in office.

After spending his childhood and youth in his birthplace Erzurum, he made every effort to acquire knowledge and develop his talents. After he had understood that the difference of ranks in the eyes of men and God is achieved by God's grace and by proper conduct, he abandoned the worldly pleasures for the sake of a perfected character (*tekmîl-i zât*) and became versed in the particular and universal sciences (*cüz'iyât ve külliyât*). Afterwards he went to Istanbul and became acquainted with people of polished manners and adopted their refined life style. In the reign of the late Sultan Mehmed, he became superior to his peers, because he served as preceptor of the fortunate princes until 1097. Later, in 1098, he came within reach of favors by being elevated to the office of *naḳîbü l-eyrâf*. When in the course of Mehmed Hân's deposition and Süleymân Hân's accession to the throne Sheykhülislam Debbâğzâde was pressured into retirement, the high position of sheykhülislam fell to Seyyid Feyzullâh. On 12 Reb. I 1099, the white robe of honor was put on his fortunate shoulders. At the time when the Grandvezir Siyâvuş Paşa became a martyr under the attack of the rebels and upon the reaction of the people of the city, the ignominious heads of the mutineers were severed from their evil bodies, and when Nişâncı Ismâ'îl Paşa was favored with elevation to the rank of Grandvezir he acted unjustly towards Seyyid Feyzullâh with the intention of making of Debbâğzâde Efendi, his kindred soul, his müfti. On 28 Cem. II of the afore-mentioned year, Seyyid Feyzullâh began waiting in Erzurum to become sheykhülislam once again. When in Cem. II 1106 the late Sultan Muṣṭafâ II ascended the imperial throne and embellished the seat of worldrule, he favored the bond between teacher and pupil and bestowed his protection on the right of noble knowledge. In order to commit to Seyyid Feyzullâh the charge of the affairs of *fetvâ*, he invited him back from Erzurum. In the middle of Ramadan of the afore-mentioned year Seyyid Feyzullâh entered the abode of felicity, Edirne, and on 10 Şev. he reached for the second time the lofty place of *fetvâ*, in replacement of Sheykhülislam Imâm Mehmed Efendi. He became a müfti of absolute powers (*müstakill*), master of appointments (*şâhib-i ta'yîn*), of perfect dignity and public renown.

[Arabic] verse (*tawîl*):

*There is no stability in the condition of man,
No given order in the events of fate,
Then drunkenness and then temperance, once power and then
humiliation,
Then happiness and then grief, once health and then sickness,
There is an apogee to the years of rule and a conclusion,
And there is a limit to the days of might and a termination.*

In 1115, while the movement of the vermin came to the surface and holding out seemed no longer reasonable, he was appointed to go to Erzurum, in Reb. I. While he was in the town of Varna intending to make the passage by ship, an advance guard of the rebels, who had drawn the sword of oppression against Edirne, insisted on his return there. The event of Kerbela was repeated and that heartburning day was yet seen to the bewilderment of understanding people. The claim of injustice will remain an open question that will be solved on the Day of the Last Judgement. Entering into details does not only produce an unpleasant weariness (*bâ'îs-i kelâl-ı muz'ic*) and depression, but also leads to no result (*muntic*) whatsoever, and therefore the graceful (*hoş-hîrâm*) reedpen was not lead into the expla-

nation of that subject. Chronogram on the year of the Sheykhülislam's martyrdom: 'He became a martyr without doubt' (1115). May God honor him with His closeness and may He bestow His grace on him. During the aforementioned event, Yekçeşm Hüseyin Efendi, who had been kadi of Edirne since the year before, was made happy with the kadiaskership of Anadolu according to the saying 'A chance is a godsent'. When he came with Grandvezir Rāmī Mehmed Paşa to the tent because of the encounter with the rebel soldiers he reached his desires on 14 Reb. I, according to the necessities of the time, with the elevation into the rank of müfti. But before a *fetvā* could become an act ordained by God's will through his signature and before anything could be interfered with in the name of God, the former sheykhülislam İmām Mehmed Efendi was raised to the office of *fetvā* for the second time, because the overpowering soldiery insisted on it. Since Hüseyin Efendi had no hiding-place, he was banished, but since this event was considered of minor importance the description of it was omitted. In one word, the fortunate martyr, may God honor him with utmost kindness, was a marvel of the time and a prodigy of the period, a second Sayyid [Alī b. Muḥammad] al-Ġurġānī and Sa'd [ad-Dīn] Taftāzānī. In short, the following distich [in Arabic] explains his personality:

*God has the uncontested power
To unite all existing things in one (i.e. Feyzullāh).*

He studied the fine books which are kept as *vaqıf* in the library of the medrese he established near the luminous Fatih mosque as one of his religious endowments, he wrote marginal notes into them and expressed his refutation of various points of discussion with glosses. I have seen a book of his *evrād* under the title *Kitāb al-aẓkār bi'l-'aṣyā wa'l-abkār*, a collection of *muwaṣṣaḥ* under the title *Leṭā'if-i ṣettā* and a book of his *fetvā*, written by the late Kāmī Efendi who had served as his *fetvā emīni*. Seyyid Feyzullāh's first term in office under Sultan Mehmed [IV] lasted seventy-five days, his second term under Sultan Muṣṭafā [II] lasted eight and a half years. One of his sons is the lord of the Seyyids, the master of good fortune, the present holder of the office of sheykhülislam, whose splendor surpasses that of his predecessors in the müfti lineage and whose admirable manners are superior to the conduct of Kamāl [ad-Dīn Mas'ūd] Ḥuġandī, namely Seyyid Muṣṭafā Efendi, [blessing in Arabic] may God honor him with duration [in office], protect him from pain and may He continuously encourage him to draw near. There are also Seyyid Mürteẓā Efendi and Seyyid Mehmed Efendi, who are dismissed from the kadi-ship of Istanbul and who are approaching the Throne of Grace. [Blessing in Arabic] Oh God, do not disperse them!

NOTES

* University of Frankfurt am Main.

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¹ For a more detailed discussion see my forthcoming *Der Stammbaum der Großen Scheiche*. Das biographische Werk *Devḥatü l-Meṣāyihī* von Mustakīmzāde und seinen Fortsetzern. Einleitung, Textkritik und Edition.

² For a study of his life and work see Ibnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl İnal's introduction to his edition of Mustakīmzāde's *Tuḥfe-i ḥaṭṭātīn*. Istanbul 1928, pp. 3*-85*. Also *EI²* s.v. 'Mustakīmzāde' (B. Kellner-Heinkele).

³ See *EI²*, s.v. 'Abd al-Ġhanī b. Ismā'īl' (W.A.S. Khali-di); al-Murādī: *Silk ad-durar* 3. Reprint s.l. of the edition Bülāq 1301/1883-84, pp. 30-38.

⁴ Cf. J.G.J. ter Haar's article in the present volume.

⁵ Our reference works have only brief notices on this interesting Ottoman, see e.g. Mehmed Tāhir Brūsālī: *Oṣmānlı mü'ellifleri* 2. Istanbul 1333/1915, pp. 34-36; more details can be found in Aḥmed Cevdet: *Tārīḥ*. Istanbul³ 1309/1892-93, vol. 4, p. 259; 5, p. 291; 8, pp. 173, 301, 356-359; 9, p. 182; 12, pp. 76-77, 138-139.

⁶ Most detailed on his life and work is Ibnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl İnal: *Son asır Türk şairleri* 1. Istanbul² 1969, pp. 352-355.

⁷ Cf. *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi* 1. Istanbul 1976, p. 18.

⁸ For the two tracks of text transmission see the latter part of my article.

⁹ A study of the facts behind this tradition is found in R.C. Repp's unpublished dissertation: *An examination of the origins and development of the office of Shaikh al-Islām in the Ottoman Empire*. Oxford 1966.

¹⁰ On this type of biographical collection cf. Agāh Sırrı Levend: *Türk edebiyatı tarihi* I. Istanbul 1973, pp. 364-379; see also Barbara Kellner-Heinkele: 'Osmanische Biographiensammlungen' in: *Anatolica* 6 (1977-78), pp. 171-194.

¹¹ Thirty-four manuscripts are found in various libraries of Istanbul: four are preserved in Cairo, three in Vienna, two in Paris, one in Berlin.

¹² For more details on the various manuscripts and on textual criticism see *Der Stammbaum der Großen Scheiche*, introduction. A particularity of *Devḥatü l-Meṣāyihī* is its great number of marginal notes, in most cases written by the authors, and the genealogical trees of sheykhülislams, also drawn in the margins.

¹³ Cf. Sir Hamilton Gibb: 'Islamic biographical literature' in: *Historians of the Middle East*, B. Lewis & P.M. Holt (eds.). London 1962, pp. 54-58; Ann K.S. Lambton: 'Persian biographical literature', *ibid.*, pp. 141-151; for Ottoman biographical writing: Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, pp. 249-444.

¹⁴ For a discussion of their work see Ali Uğur: *The Ottoman 'ulemā in the mid-17th century*. An analysis of the *Vakā'ü'l-Fuṣalā* of Mehmed Şeyhī Ef. Berlin 1986, introduction. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, No. 131.)

¹⁵ His *mecmū'a* contains numerous anecdotes of his famous contemporaries (MSS Istanbul, Üniversite Merkez Ktph. T. 3472 and T. 9577).

¹⁶ Printed in 1269/1853 in Istanbul.

¹⁷ Istanbul s.a., reprinted Istanbul 1978.

¹⁸ 1099/1688 and 1106/1695-1115/1703 in office; see *İA* s.v. 'Feyzullāh' (O.F. Köprülü); for a detailed study of the *Edirne Vak'ası* see Rifa'at Abou-el-Haj: *The 1703 rebellion and the structure of Ottoman politics*. Istanbul 1984. (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, No. 52.)

¹⁹ 1148/1736-1158/1745 in office; for a brief biography, see Mehmed Serhan Tayşi: 'Şeyhül-İslām Seyyid Feyzullāh Efendi ve Fezziyye Medresesi' in: *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 23 (1983), pp.9-100, here pp. 43-46.

²⁰ 1163/1750-1168/1755 in office; for a short biography see Tayşi: Seyyîd Feyzullâh', pp. 46-48.

²¹ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. turc. No. 84, dated 7 Muḥ. 1161/8 January 1748. See Aumer, *Verzeichniss* (München 1875), pp. 24-25.

²² Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc. 1097, dated Cem. I 1178/began on 27 October 1764 (see E. Blochet, *Manuscripts turcs* II (Paris 1933), p. 162).

²³ folio 57b, dated 1181/began on 30 May 1767.

