

period, such as the Sarbadars of Khurasan. Yet the successor to the Eretnid state, the qadi-sultan Burhan al-Din Ahmad of Sivas, did just that. Steeped in the philosophy of Ibn 'Arabi and Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi, on which he wrote his own exegesis, the *Iksir al-Sa'adat*, Burhan al-Din claimed to embody Ibn 'Arabi's ideal of sainthood and of the 'perfect man'. Yet it seems this was not enough. Nearly a century after the demise of the dynasty, the qadi-sultan also emphasised his own Seljuq ancestry on his mother's side.²⁰⁷ Royal lineage was also claimed by Shaykh Bedreddin, who led a revolt against the Ottomans in 819/1416. It is far from clear what exactly Shaykh Bedreddin was seeking to achieve, but it seems he too asserted he was both a *walī* and a *nabī*; according to his grandson Halil Hafiz, he was also a descendant of both Jalal al-Din Rumi and the Seljuq Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad.²⁰⁸ For all the claims of the *awliya'*, and the undoubted interest that they provoked from the political elites, the power of sanctity, it seems, could only effectively be harnessed for political gain when linked to both the prestigious figure of Mawlana and the lustre of the dynastic name of the Seljuqs.

²⁰⁷ Peacock, 'Metaphysics and Rulership', 102, 103.

²⁰⁸ Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Simavna Kadısıoğlu Seyh Bedreddin ve Manâkıbı* (Istanbul, 2008 [1967]), 237–8; İlker Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 123–40; also on Bedreddin see Dimitris Kastritis, 'The Şeyh Bedreddin Uprising in the Context of the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–13', in Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *Halcyon Days in Crete VII. Political Initiatives From the Bottom Up in the Ottoman Empire* (Rethymos, 2012), 233–50.

Sufism in Society

Futuwwa in Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia

Sufism spread not only through the activities of holy families and their *khalīfas*. Perhaps the most important way in which it permeated Muslim, and non-Muslim society was as an organised form known as *futuwwa*. Some of our most detailed descriptions of the practice of *futuwwa* are provided by the Moroccan Ibn Battuta, who encountered it during his travels in Anatolia. *Futuwwa* evidently being an organisation unfamiliar to him, Ibn Battuta gives some detail of its adherents, known as *fityān* (sing. *fatā*, lit., 'youth, young man'), and its leaders, called *akhīs*, a word probably derived from the Turkish for 'generous', although it bears a close resemblance to the Arabic for 'brother' (*akh*).¹ Ibn Battuta describes them in the following terms:

The singular of *akhiyya* is *akhi*, pronounced like the word for brother (*akh*) with the first person [Arabic *akhi* = my brother]. They are in all of the Turkmen, Rumi land, in every town, city and village. There is no one in the world like them for great kindness to strangers, nor anyone quicker to offer food and satisfy [the traveller's] needs, or to admonish the oppressors, kill the police and their evil accomplices. The *akhi* among them is a man whom artisans and other unmarried, single young men make their leader. This is also [called] '*futuwwa*'. He builds a lodge [*zāwiya*] and places there furnishing and lamps and other necessary equipment. He serves his companions during the day while they seek their living, and in the afternoon they bring him what they earned and buy with it fruit and food and other such things which are used in the *zāwiya*. If a traveller comes that day to a city, they put him up with them, which is their [form of] hospitality, and they do not leave him till he departs. If no one comes, they gather together over food, and they eat, sing and dance, and leave to do their trades the

¹ See Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), 71, 86 s.v. *akhi*, *akhi*.

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