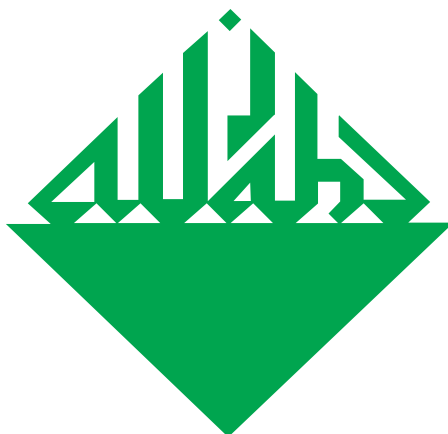


# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

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COLLEGIAL LEADERSHIP AND ELECTION  
IN MUHAMMADIYAH: INSTITUTIONAL WAYS TO DIFFUSE  
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IN POST AUTHORITARIAN INDONESIA:  
FIGURE, FIELD, AND THE COMPETING DISCOURSE

Ahmad Nuril Huda

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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*Mehmet Özay*

## An Overview on Ottoman Manuscript Collection in Sayyid Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas Library

**Abstract:** *This paper endeavors to give a quick view of the Ottoman manuscript (Osmanlı elyazmaları) collection at Sayyid Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas Library (SMNAL) of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) by reviewing a published catalog. The Ottoman manuscripts, which mean texts written in the Ottoman Turkish language, were collected during the first part of the 1990s, inventoried, and cataloged during the early period of ISTAC. The collection possesses two hundred manuscripts on diverse subjects. This makes the SMNAL the most pertinent library in Southeast Asia, a place hoard of Ottoman Turkish manuscripts. This initiation of acquiring a certain number of Ottoman manuscripts by Sayyid Muhammad Naquib al-Attas which seems to have been purchased in the late decades of the twentieth century is no doubt an opening towards the path to the study of the Ottoman civilizational and intellectual eco-system among the Malay scholars and students of the Ottoman studies (Turcologists).*

**Keywords:** Ottoman Manuscripts, Sayyid Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas Library, ISTAC, Muslim Civilization in the Malay World.

**Abstrak:** *Tulisan ini berupaya untuk memberikan gambaran sekilas tentang koleksi naskah Usmani (Osmanlı elyazmaları) di Perpustakaan Sayyid Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas (SMNAL) Institut Internasional Pemikiran dan Peradaban Islam (ISTAC) Universitas Islam Internasional Malaysia (IIUM) dengan meninjau sebuah katalog yang diterbitkan. Naskah Turki Utsmaniyah dikumpulkan pada paruh pertama tahun 1990-an, diinventarisasi, dan dikatalogisasi pada periode awal ISTAC. Koleksinya memiliki dua ratus manuskrip tentang berbagai subjek. Hal ini menjadikan SMNAL sebagai perpustakaan paling relevan di Asia Tenggara yang menyimpan naskah-naskah Turki Usmani. Inisiasi perolehan koleksi Naquib al-Attas terhadap sejumlah manuskrip Usmani yang dibeli dari berbagai negara pada akhir dekade abad ke-20 tidak diragukan lagi merupakan pembuka jalan untuk mempelajari ekosistem peradaban dan intelektual Ottoman di kalangan orang Melayu, cendekiawan, dan mahasiswa studi Ottoman (Turcologists).*

**Kata kunci:** Naskah Turki Usmani, Sayyid Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas Library, ISTAC, Peradaban Muslim Melayu.

**ملخص:** يحاول هذا المقال تقديم لمحة عن مجموعة المخطوطات العثمانية (Osmanlı elyazmaları) الموجودة في مكتبة السيد محمد نقيب العطاس (SMNAL) التابعة للمعهد العالمي للفكر والحضارة الإسلامية (ISTAC) التابع للجامعة الإسلامية العالمية في ماليزيا (IIUM) من خلال مراجعة الكتالوج المنشور. والمخطوطات العثمانية والتي تعني النصوص المكتوبة باللغة التركية العثمانية (التركية العثمانية) - أو التركية المنطوقة كما ورد في بعض المخطوطات - خلال فترة الدولة العثمانية، فقد تم جمعها في النصف الأول من التسعينيات، وتم حصرها وفهرستها في بداية فترة ISTAC تضم المجموعة مائتي مخطوطة في مواضيع مختلفة. وهذا يجعل مكتبة السيد محمد نقيب العطاس المكتبة الأكثر صلة في جنوب شرق آسيا التي تخزن المخطوطات العثمانية. ولا شك أن هذه المبادرة باقتناء عدد معين من المخطوطات العثمانية التي يبدو أنه تم شراؤها من بلدان مختلفة في العقود الأخيرة من القرن العشرين، هي بمثابة فتح نحو الطريق نحو دراسة النظام البيئي الحضاري والفكري العثماني بين الملايو. علماء وطلاب الدراسات العثمانية (التركولوجيون).

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** المخطوطات العثمانية، مكتبة السيد محمد نقيب العطاس، المعهد العالمي للفكر والحضارة الإسلامية، الحضارة الإسلامية.



The article having a synoptic overview, describes the published catalog of the Ottoman manuscript<sup>1</sup> inventoried at Sayyid Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas Library (SMNAL) of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation (ISTAC) International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM).<sup>2</sup> Besides the mentioned book, the present writer had access to the SMNAL manuscripts and could crosscheck at least some of the materials and their contents. The Ottoman manuscripts<sup>3</sup> in this library are a part of the more extensive collections from different languages such as Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Malay, all of which contribute to some or a more considerable extent to the same civilisational sphere.<sup>4</sup> The total manuscript collection contained in the library is around 20000 volumes. Two hundred (200) volumes of this number belong to the Ottoman collection. So it means that one percent of the whole collection is in Ottoman Turkish.<sup>5</sup> This considerable number of manuscripts in diverse languages including Ottoman Turkish, enables SMNAL to serve academicians and researchers more effectively.

At first, when one looks closely at the list in the annotated catalogue, one acquires the impression that there is no specific thematic direction for deliberately collecting these manuscripts. Neither is there a specialization in the genre. Beyond this fundamental issue, some researchers aiming to find some exciting documents, including letters, decrees, and maps, referring to the Ottoman Empire and Malay World correspondences through the *longue durée* period, namely, between the sixteenth and early twentieth centuries are not sufficient either.<sup>6</sup> This provides insight specific and unique between the two regions, namely, the Ottoman territories and the Malay Archipelago, which is not present in known manuscript collections.<sup>7</sup>

These manuscripts were first compiled under the *Bibliographical Series* (No. 9) in 1995, and a second edition was published in 2019 by ISTAC - IIUM by the efforts of Haji Ali Ahmad and Zainiah Haji Md. Sood. This work might be considered as a brief introduction to the historical and intellectual heritage of Malaysia.<sup>8</sup> These manuscripts were brought in by Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas or his direction throughout the decades.<sup>9</sup> In particular, as understood from the brief introduction, most of the collection was acquired between 1990 and 1995. Only 10 Urdu manuscripts were included in the purchasing process in 1992 (Ahmad and Sood 2019a, ix).

It is observed that the writers of the annotated catalogue applied a kind of description of the contents of the manuscripts based on the alphabetic list of titles such as *Diwan*, *Fatawa*, *Fiqh*, *Majmua* etc.<sup>10</sup> It is understood that these descriptions are fundamentally based on the notes provided by the previous collector or collectors (Ahmad, Sood, and Zaniah 2019a, ix). An eighty-two (82)-page book is a catalogue called ‘*Annotated Title Catalogue*’, which introduces pieces in alphabetical order with short information supplied by previous owners and collectors. It will be helpful to classify these manuscripts under five distinct categories such as religion (*fiqh*, *Qur’anic exegesis*, *Sufism*), ethics, politics (*siyasetname*), literature (*edebiyat*), science, cosmology and some others. The book includes basic information on two hundred (200) pieces. However, almost one hundred and seventy pieces have been already digitalized and more than thirty (30) pieces are yet to be added to the catalogue.

### Some Details of the Works in the Collection

Manuscript writing processes by religious scholars in diverse fields and literary circles and later on those works’ being copied by certain literate people for different reasons signified undoubtedly a salient social change that directly impacted the expansion of the literature works with their side branches, such as binderies, illuminations, decorations etc., thereby causing the commercialization of literary works in Ottoman society (Waley 2017, 10). The types of manuscripts can be categorized basically under three titles: original productions, compilations and translations.<sup>11</sup> In this respect, the ones observed to be the original productions of respected scholars and copied versions by some professional writers such as *katib*,<sup>12</sup> can be classified into the written and compilation categories.

The themes and subjects of the Ottoman manuscripts in the collection, in a general perspective, illustrate a variety of genres such as administration, legal matters,<sup>13</sup> religion or religious studies. The latter group embraces the majority of the works in distinct scholarly categories such as Qur’anic exercises,<sup>14</sup> *fiqh*,<sup>15</sup> *akidah/aqid* (*akide*),<sup>16</sup> theology,<sup>17</sup> mysticism,<sup>18</sup> *tasawwuf*,<sup>19</sup> *Sufism*<sup>20</sup> and *nübüvvet*<sup>21</sup> (Prophethood). Besides these, there are some other genres, including *diwan*,<sup>22</sup> humor,<sup>23</sup> folktale,<sup>24</sup> history,<sup>25</sup> dictionaries,<sup>26</sup> *lûgat*,<sup>27</sup> traveler’s notes, science, politics (*siyasetname*),<sup>28</sup> military (*askeriyye*),<sup>29</sup> *nasihatname*<sup>30</sup>, honest manner<sup>31</sup> and travel.<sup>32</sup>

There are some compilations that I assume to have been done by the earliest collectors in the past to present the relevant pieces in a single book format. For instance, the works titled *Manafi' al-Nas*<sup>33</sup> and *Mecmu'a*<sup>34</sup> can be presented as examples of this style. Under the title of science, there are *sa'atname* which means the 'book of hours',<sup>35</sup> pharmacology,<sup>36</sup> medical studies,<sup>37</sup> medicine,<sup>38</sup> astronomy (*ilm-u nucm*),<sup>39</sup> cosmography,<sup>40</sup> astrology (*fortune telling*),<sup>41</sup> horoscope,<sup>42</sup> creation of the world and miracles of the prophet.<sup>43</sup> Some works are under science classification, such as *chedwel-i irifa*, which is related to measuring sun altitudes. These genres prove that the collection has a wide range of documents. This diversification does not allow a researcher to observe the whole aspect of a single genre. However, at least it gives a taste of a sample to detect the content and the variety of Ottoman manuscripts in Malaysia.

Titles of the individual books are listed under each heading with multiple copies such as *Bahjat al-Fatawa* (3 / 7, 8, 9),<sup>44</sup> *Besarat-Nama* (4 / 11, 12), *Durr-i Mekkun* (10-11 / 29, 30, 31)<sup>45</sup>, *Far'id* (13 / 35, 36, 37; 14 / 38, 39); *Fatawa* (15 / 40, 41; 16 / 42, 43, 44; 17 / 45, 46, 47, 48; 18 / 49, 50); *Fiqh* (19 / 52, 53), *Muhammediyye* (49 / 112, 113; 50 / 114, 115, 116; 51 / 117),<sup>46</sup> *Nasihah-al Muslimin*, (53 / 124, 125; 54 / 126), *Nata'il-al Funun* (54 / 127, 128), *Old Arabic Turkish Dictionary*, (55 / 130, 131), *Old Turkish Qur'an Commentary* (56 / 132, 133), *Saadat-nama* (61 / 144; 62 / 145), *Saat-nama* (63 / 146).<sup>47</sup>

Among these works, dictionaries appear to have been salient during the early literature in transmitting knowledge and knowledge production between Persian and Ottoman Turkish languages.<sup>48</sup> Because of this and some other historical reasons referred elsewhere in the article it is not surprising that there are some Persian and Ottoman dictionaries are in the present collection. In addition to it, there are some manuscripts providing some inter-language works such as dictionaries and translations. These are as following table.

Table 1. The manuscripts in the dictionary and translated text category

Dictionaries	Translations
1. Turkish Arabic Dictionary: No. 137;	1. From Arabic to Turkish: (Nos: 18, 54, 55, 80, 82, 97, 120, 144, 145, 153, 154, 160, 162, 163, 178, 179). 2. From Persian to Turkish: (Nos: 1, 14, 81, 152). <sup>51</sup>
2. Turkish Persian Dictionary: (Nos: 77, 79, 185, 186, 187). <sup>49</sup>	
3. Arabic Turkish Dictionary: (Nos: 76, 78, 130, 131, 167) (Ahmad, Sood, and Zaniah 2019b, 77–78). <sup>50</sup>	

One other classification is about the works which are mainly *Dīwān* (poetry) in bilingual Turkish and Persian such as Ms Nos 25, Nos 26, Nos 102 and a manuscript in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian (Ms Nos 20). As far as I could classify, there are five different writing styles for all mentioned manuscripts, which are provided as the number of pieces as *Riqa* five manuscripts, *Nash-riqa* three manuscripts, *Nash-taliq* six manuscripts, *Taliq* 48 manuscripts, *Nash* 106 manuscripts. Sometimes there is information for whom the manuscript was copied or produced. For instance, it is stated that Birgivi's *Tarikat-ı Muhammediyye* was translated into Turkish (*lisan-ı Turki*) and commented on by the order of someone named Muhammed Osmani (MSS 14, 1).<sup>52</sup>

### A Closer Look at the Collection

At the very outset of this observation, it is seen in the annotated catalogue that subjects do not classify the collection. Instead, they are listed by assigned numbers in alphabetical order. Some pieces in the collection are Persian, Arabic and Chaghatay Turkish.<sup>53</sup> However, the rest seems worthy of scholars interested in Ottoman cultural and civilisational life.

Another type of classification of the works in the collection can be based on the centuries in which the works were produced authentically or copied by others over time.<sup>54</sup> Concerning the century-oriented classification, the earliest copies belong to the fifteenth century, which contains only four (4) pieces representing the smallest number in the collection. The manuscripts range in diverse centuries, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, known as the classical periods,<sup>55</sup> to the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With this regard, it is possible to classify roughly the relevant manuscripts into the centuries and the number of manuscripts for each century follows:

1. Eighteenth century with a number between seventy and eighty ( $\approx 70-80$ ).
2. Nineteenth century with a number above sixty ( $> 60$ ).
3. Eighteenth century with a number above thirty ( $> 30$ ).
4. Sixteenth century with above fifteen ( $> 15$ ).

Moreover, thirty-seven (37) manuscripts seem to have been copied by respective scholars or scribes based on the brief explanations in each colophon. The manuscripts were the products during the

publication process under a royal monopoly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, once an prescribed change happened after the seventeenth century, more individuals could reproduce their manuscripts or order writers (*kātib*) to copy any manuscripts works.<sup>56</sup>

I think it is also important to understand the number of places in Ottoman geography in which these manuscripts were produced both by the original authors and copiest as well. In this context, the name of towns and cities are mentioned as either the name of the author such as Toqadi (Tokadi) or the place where the manuscripts written such as Kilis. There are eighteen (18) place names which are mostly in contemporary Anatolia from İstanbul to Trabzon and from Uşak to Diyarbakır, which are found out in the collection.

It is arguable whether the above-mentioned century-oriented classification of the Ottoman manuscripts in the collection provides an effective overall picture of Ottoman literary and intellectual life. However, it no doubt reveals some avenues of research to the readers and researchers. In this context, I would say that Ottoman manuscripts with a specific place among the general Islamic manuscripts produced globally convince us of individual developments and interactions with various important scriptural cultures such as the ones developed in Persia, Arabia and the Turkic world. Moreover, these intellectual and civilizational products were undoubtedly recognized as invaluable before “the invention of typography changed the face of the world” (Sarton, 1955, 89). As observed in this collection, Persian written culture and illuminations had a high level of influence upon the Ottoman literary life. This is in fact a natural development based on the historical stages of the Turkic nations’ migration and settled in Persian geography commencing from the early Saljuki era, namely, 11<sup>th</sup> century. This process allowed Turks to acquire the intellectual culture of the established Persian society. This influence is even observed in the spoken language of Ottoman Turkish which includes Persian vocabulary and rules abundantly that continued to exist till the late decades of the nineteenth century (Péri 2019, 195).

### **Some Prominent Ottoman Scholars and Their Works**

The collection contains the works of some very famous scholars, such as Peçevi İbrahim,<sup>57</sup> İsmail Hakkı Bursevi,<sup>58</sup> İbrahim Müteferrika (80/192),<sup>59</sup> Abdullatif Firişteoğlu (fifteenth century)<sup>60</sup> and Birgili

Mehmed Efendi (sixteenth century).<sup>61</sup> The family backgrounds of these names reflect the social composition of Ottoman society to some extent. For instance, technical and administrative tasks were allocated to the converted Muslims or individuals raised as Muslim after taken from their families, particularly from the Balkans region during the conquering periods and particularly during the Classical Age of Ottoman history. The individuals belonging to this group whose works are encountered in the collection are, for instance, İbrahim Müteferrika, Peçevi İbrahim etc. Another group considered came from established or notable *ulama* families. These were the ones who systematically acquired an education in classical Islamic sciences and later produced significant works such as Mehmed Birgivi (1523-1573), İsmail Hakkı Bursevi (1653-1715) etc.

The importance of the work of Imam Birgivi is observed in his initiation of reform or renewal in the Ottoman context during his lifetime in the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> The context of revivalism is related mainly to his work titled *Tarikat-ı Muhammadiya* (The Path of Muhammad),<sup>63</sup> which seems to be one of the essential works in the collection. There are also transactions and commentaries on *Tariqat-i Muhammadiya* as follows for instance *Farāid al-'aḳāid al-bahīya fī hāl mushkilāt al-ṭariqāt al-Muḥammadiya* (Ahmad and Sood 2019b, 13). One other work of Birgivi is *Vasiyetname* (The Last Will and Testament), his most famous work.<sup>64</sup> This manuscript informs the readers commencing from the first pages about the existence of the Creator and his features and is a *tawḥīd* book (Birgivi 1246, 1–4).

The collection includes pertinent pieces written by distinguished scholars during the early centuries. İbrahim Müteferrika (1674-1745/47?), for instance, known for introducing printing presses to the Ottoman society and causing modernisation processes, penned down one of the exciting manuscripts titled “*Usul al Hikam fī Nizam (Nidham) al Umam*” (*Rational Bases for the Politics of Nations*) (80 / 192), printed in the year 1731-2. Müteferrika introduced the printing machine into the Ottoman literary world.<sup>65</sup> The other important work belongs to Muhammed Birgivi. Birgivi’s works are among the most valuable ones because the name of Imam Birgivi has been well-established in the Ottoman intellectual world. The title of his work is *Wasiyatname*.<sup>66</sup> The book is a commentary on fundamental Islamic tenets intended to inform the general public. Since it was written, the book has become a

practical handbook and served in the transmission of general Islamic knowledge amongst the public.

Moreover, one of the most salient bodies of this collection belongs to the various religious studies. Among these works are some classics such as Peçevi Tarihi or *Tarih-i Peçevi (History of Peçevi)*, which is quite sizeable (*cild-i kebir*) written by İbrahim, an historian in the early sixteenth century. This is a work entitled *mecmua*, which means anthology of history.<sup>67</sup> Besides, there was a large size *Şehnâme* (Shah-nama) of Ferdusi,<sup>68</sup> two copies of the Yusuf and Zulaikha<sup>69</sup>, two abridged copies. In addition, some works seem to be garnered by diverse manuscripts in the form of *risala*. These are as follow: Al-Bab al Khamis fi bayan (2 / 4), Besaretname (4 / 11-12),<sup>70</sup> Durru Meknun (10 / 29), *Kash ful Asrar* (27 / 73), *Mecmua* (33 / 84).<sup>71</sup> These works are mixed of languages and are based on the *risala*.

The Ottoman collection contains almost every subject, including astronomy, cosmology, hajj guidelines, anthology, theology, Sufism, *siyasetname*, and ethics, known during the abovementioned periods. Furthermore, it is also interesting to think sociologically about how and by whom these diverse genres shed light on cultural and intellectual lives in relevant societies produced in the past. As in other societies, some particular segments of Ottoman society were interested in these religious, cultural and civilisational works. At first, no doubt, the religious scholars (*ulama*), learners and teachers at the madrasa institutions, literary networks, and political elites dominated these fields in the form of first-hand producers and as the ones ordered to the experts and scriptwriters to pen down the relevant documents.<sup>72</sup>

Besides that, there were also translation ventures. In particular, the works authentically written in the Arabic and Persian languages were ordered to be translated for some different reasons by the scholars network, as mentioned earlier. For instance, Mehmed Birgivi's (Mehmed Efendi from Birgi)<sup>73</sup> *Tarikat-ı Muhammadiya*, initially written in Arabic and titled *Al-Tarikat'ul Muhammadiya fi beyani's-sireti'n-Nebeviyyeti'l-Ahmediyye* was ordered to be translated into Ottoman Turkish (*lisan-ı Turki*) (Birgivi, 1065H/1655).<sup>74</sup> Another example from the collection is *Menasik el hajj*. The author of this book states that he worked hard for a long time to compile this book utilizing some Arabic works available in Mekke to inform Turkish readers. The latter did not read nor understand Arabic and he intended to disseminate all necessary information about the Hajj

ritual through his book to the Turkish Muslim communities in the Ottoman State (Yusuf 1589, 1, 3).

### **Manuscripts: An Intellectual Medium**

One apparent reason during the early centuries why the manuscript writing process developed sustainably is because these materials were the inevitable tools for teaching and learning processes. As such, it was a constant process to have produced copies of various works for the needs of relevant parties such as students and *ulama* circles at religious study centers (*madrasah*) recognized as knowledge centers in İstanbul, Bursa, Konya, etc. without disregarding the learned groups in other provinces and regions as well. And it enhanced with the supporting fields of artisanship such as art, illustration, book binding, ink and paper production etc. at least till the invention printing machine.

Besides, writing and copying manuscripts in diverse genres such as literary and art played a crucial societal role for certain status groups in the Ottoman society such as high-level authorities in state structures such as pashas, the wives of the elite and notable families etc. In this regard, the seekers of knowledge and those who had an intention of having a tune to the intellectual fashion of the day looked after possessing relevant literary and intellectual works.

Manuscripts generally disseminate extra information such as the name of copyists, date, place, type of writing materials and so on (Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia 2008, vii). Although these elements are considered secondary compared to the content of the main text and its writer(s), they are also salient in containing pertinent historical data. The files should be analysed in three ways to gain a general view of the manuscript collection. The first is to categorize the files based on the genres. The second is to conduct a critical evaluation of each manuscript. The third is to classify the manuscripts based on their written or copied years.

While the scope of this review article does not apply to the second one, I have attempted to have a general classification of the work based on the periods they were produced. This is because I believe will help the current and future researchers. In addition, there are some relatively minor issues that I can deal with about the manuscript collection. These are assumed to assist potential researchers in gaining a better insight into the collection and its contents to some extent.



## Ottoman Manuscripts: A General View

The title of the collection is “Ottoman manuscript” (*Osmanlı elyazmaları*)” which means texts written in the Ottoman Turkish language in Arabic calligraphy.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, in general, as accepted in palaeography, these texts are considered as being in the Ottoman Turkish language (*Turkiyah al-Uthmaniyah*). This language is no doubt a direct reflection of the Islamization of the Turkish language. In another saying, the Turkish language, like the other languages, namely, Persian, Urdu and Malay, were also developed into an Islamic-scripted language (al-Hassan and Hill 1986, 9). Moreover, later, during the time of the Ottoman State, this language became notoriously known as Ottoman Turkish.

The works in this collection vary in themes and subjects. Besides the types of sciences and themes of these documents, they are also unique examples of the artisanship about their book covers, writing styles, materials and illuminations/ ornamentals (*kitab-ı nefise* and *musaweran*) observed in the initial pages. These materials with distinct themes and genres provide initial research activities which might be utilized by researchers from diverse social science departments in Southeast Asia. Some of these manuscripts are richly illuminated, giving readers a taste of these works’ aesthetic and artistic values.<sup>76</sup> In this context, I would say that Ottoman manuscripts have a special place among general Islamic manuscripts produced globally, convince us of individual developments and interactions with various important scriptural cultures. Moreover, these intellectual and civilisational products were undoubtedly recognized as invaluable before “the invention of typography changed the face of the world” (Sarton 1955, 89).

## The Ottomans’ Interest in Art and Literary Works

In general, the genres mentioned above are not the original productions of certain Ottoman scholars, but some are based on the translation activities and rewriting processes of specific works of other scholars. A few of them are a combination of mixed topics with some other themes, which seems to result from the respective writer combining their work with bound different files in a single one. It is understood that the Ottoman sultans acquired several Persian works by confiscating the properties of certain bureaucratic elites who were deceased or unseated

from their official posts. The importance of acquiring Persian Islamic cultural products must have been recognized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' Ottoman bureaucratic elite. The reason for certain attempts to acquire the manuscripts might be related to the personal taste or aesthetics of the buyers. However, when one revisits the related era, namely, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in a closer way, there was a particular attempt by the Ottoman State and its representatives to prove that the Ottomans had already gained the status of global imperial power. This phenomenon which shows the close relationship between art and politics is also observed in some other authentic writing processes, as seen in the sample of the *Khitayi Travelogue* narrating the old Silk route from the Ottoman territories and borders to China through Central Asia (Emiralioglu 2012, 161).

Unsurprisingly, the collection has some Persian-translated versions of some works. It should be emphasized that the Ottomans possessed the Persian intellectual and literary works in the palace library and specific individuals' private libraries. Because Persian productions of manuscripts were quite famous, the political and bureaucratic elite had specific intentions to acquire these works either as presents happened through some occasions during celebrations, commemorations such as weddings, circumcisions, ascensions to the throne, the demise of the sultan and distinguished members of the state or they bought them directly from the book merchants (Uluç 1999, 85–107).

Some pieces are translations from the Persian language. The translation activities were, in particular, crucial processes during the sixteenth century that recorded the military engagements and initiatives for peace between the Ottomans and the Safavids. The Ottomans admired the art, scientific works and products, which provided definite opportunities to access the Persian intellectual world through various channels. During those decades, the Ottoman governors, Persian envoys to the *Sublime Port* and private collectors contributed significantly to exchanging intellectual products from one side to the other. Some works were supplied as 'diplomatic gifts' sent through various occasions such as wedding ceremonies, the circumcision festivals of palace children and peace processes, etc. (Uluç 1999, 5–13).<sup>77</sup>

In this regard, the scope of the collection is quite tempting for raising a greater interest of the researchers. Probably, the initial attraction comes from the general title of the collection, say, the Ottoman manuscripts.

There is no doubt that the Ottoman writers and copyists contributed much to the establishment of intellectual discourse in various fields of study, but at the same time, as observed in the collection, the knowledge and artisanship of the Persian authors, scholars and including the designers and illuminators cannot be denied.<sup>78</sup> This proves that the Ottoman cultural and intellectual environment was under Persia's specific influence during the late sixteenth century. There are no overlapping but intermingled processes of illustration of writing tradition created by the Ottoman and Persian scholars. Some other contributors, including illuminators, artists, bookbinders, etc., who took part significantly in producing a book are undoubtedly unseen actors. As remarked briefly elsewhere in this article, the Ottoman political and bureaucratic elites gained access to the Persian products of literary and religious works, particularly during the second part of the sixteenth century, among which some seem pretty popular.

### **Continuity of the Taste of the Art of the Seljuk Turks**

The tendency among the political and bureaucratic elites towards Persian art and design appearing in manuscripts might be considered a continuity of a tradition established in the early centuries among the Turkish political elites in the Seljuki State. It is a fact that Islamic communities, including the Seljuki Turks, acquired cultural and civilisational elements of Persian heritage commencing from the early stages of their Islamization process. One can assert that the migration process of the Turkic communities from Central Asia to West Asia, including through Persian territory, allowed them to engage intentionally and emphatically with the established Persian cultural and intellectual institutions. In particular, state organization and relevant bodies of the state structure, court elite and learned individuals inherited Persian cultural characteristics during this process. This cultural diffusion is observed in the forms of the titular names of the Seljuki rulers and the language of the literary works. The direct encounter with Persian culture through inculcation expanded the social life of the Anatolian Turkish communities in the thirteenth century. Among these elements were Persian literary works produced constantly, as observed in the works of Ibn Bibi, Aqсарayi, Jalal al-Din Rumi (Mevlana), etc. (Crane 1994, 264).

Here it is also interesting to touch on the issue of the concept of the Ottoman Qur'an used in some research papers. The relevant writers prefer to use this concept because of observing and witnessing the Qur'ans produced by the Ottoman State and society members in various places. On the other hand, they implicitly disregard the origination of Ottoman Qur'an writing, including the ornamentation and illumination of these works that were authentically and initially Ottoman. They were generally expressed in other political, artful and architectural forms borrowed and at least intermingled with the established cultural forms in neighboring regions such as Persia.

It would be better to say something about the art of illumination, an inevitable element in manuscript production. In this regard, the terms Evliya Çelebi utilizes for architectural decoration are extensive. Moreover, he classifies ornamentation into two groups: Islamic and Rumi. He tells us what the Rumi elements are: motifs that are derived from plants, such as *dal-kirma* (broken or undulating branches), *zulf-i nigar* (literally side lock of beauty, possibly a species of flower) and *nilufer-i Cin* (peony) (Bates 1994, 259).

The young academicians and researchers from Malaysia and the neighboring countries should be grateful to the collector of these manuscripts, which allow at least a taste of the world of Ottoman manuscripts to some extent. Although fast-growing technology allows researchers currently to be able to reach relevant documents, including manuscript papers, via online access available through personal and institutional subscription connectivity, I think the manuscript libraries still need to be visited physically. Moreover, the Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas Library at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) serves this purpose accordingly. These pieces of manuscripts are ready to be subjected to academic investigation for theses and dissertations. All these works are under the inventory of the mentioned library and in the service of potential researchers based on certain conditions.

## Conclusion

The presence of some Ottoman Turkish manuscripts in a public university library, namely the Sayyid Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas Library (SMNAL) of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) at the International Islamic University

Malaysia (IIUM) in the region is very important. It shows the vision of the founding father of this library, Sayyed Naquib al-Attas and he no doubt rendered excellent service and made a meaningful contribution by acquiring this collection at ISTAC through his intellectual venture.

The Ottoman collection at SMNAL, comprising broad and diverse subjects and themes, is marvelous, although there is no specialization in the genre and a significant systematic approach is necessary. On the other hand, one can assert that this collection is unique in terms of its distinct volumes, diversity of topics and contents. Although there is some Ottoman intellectual heritage in the form of “the Ottoman Qur’ans” that survive in Southeast Asia (Akbar 2015, 312), which are important in terms of their illustrations and ornamentations, it is safe to assert that the collection of SMNAL does not have a match in other relevant collections in any research institutions and libraries in the whole region. On the other hand, it is essential to know that this collection does not include any materials -either a single document or any compiled works- about Ottoman-Malay World relations.

This collection of Ottoman manuscripts plays an important role undoubtedly for young researchers with relevant linguistic backgrounds to get familiar with diverse subjects regarding Ottoman intellectual life. Although the collection does not represent an orderly compilation, the researchers might find out some relevant documents selected from the collection. As argued by some people living in the era of digital literacy, accessibility to sources in physical libraries for research activities is no longer necessary. However, I still believe that the sources like manuscripts are to be relevant enough to be scrutinized closely in relevant venues.

Pertaining to my closer look at the collection, I argue that the total number of manuscripts could be lesser in case one takes into consideration that there are similar versions of some manuscripts devoted to the same authors. For instance, among them are there in particular Mehmet Birgivi’s *Vasiyetname* and *Tarikat-ı Muhammadiyya*, Ahmed Bican Yazıcıoğlu’s *Durr-i Meknun*, Mehmet Bican Yazıcıoğlu’s *Muhammadiya* and collections such as *Bahjat al-Fatawa*, *Besarat-nama*, *Fatawa*, *Hayriyye* and Shahidi’s *Tuhfa* (*Tuhfa-i Shahidi*). There are both the different versions of these books and some commentaries that exist at the same time. Thus, it makes the total number of the books in the collection to be considered in reality less than two hundreds. Another

point is that the annotated catalog should be revised or a new catalog should be prepared by being Turkified.

Although the current annotated catalogue is available and useful for researchers, it would be beneficial to prepare a new version of this annotated bibliography about the existing collection by providing more details. The new version should be in the form of fully Turkified writing and include more details about the existing manuscripts.

Probably, beyond the acknowledgement of a few experts in the region, namely, Southeast Asia, the collection held in SMNAL is not well known to the academic world and the public. Although the number of the Ottoman manuscript documents is not high, this possession makes SMNAL an essential library and a destination for academicians from diverse fields of social sciences in Southeast Asia to the world of Ottoman documents. Although current academics rarely show interest in past written documents such as Ottoman Turkish manuscripts, I hope SMNAL would be a potential place to create some interest shortly.

## Endnotes

1. Manuscript, originally a Latin word, means a document which is written by hand on certain materials such as papers, clay, skins, barks, woods, various types of leaves such as palm, bamboo etc. which were determined by the climate and geographical realities (Ismail 1987, 215; Taylor 1972, 449).
2. This library has a notoriously known public university library in Southeast Asia. And it has been constantly enriched since its' establishment in 1987 till today by acquiring various sources including manuscripts and source belonging to diverse languages. The overall observation gives an impression that the collection was purchased from a library or a small collector. And the library was officiated by the Malaysian federal state authorities in 2012.
3. It means "manually inscribed books" written by hand. These sorts of documents vary "from administrative to literary compositions". On the other hands, just document and relevant materials are called manuscripts by some points of views (Déroche 2005, 11).
4. One can assert that the importance of few African languages have been historically inevitable. SMNAL and other regional libraries might enrich their collections by acquiring some source material from these languages.
5. I would like to express my thanks to the staff of SMNAL, in particular the director of the library, granting me the entry to the section of special collections and providing sufficient information about this collection in ISTAC. Since the collection is only allowed online, it was great to have a closer observation to at least some of the pieces of the collection.
6. This sentence refers to the correspondences written by the Acehnese, commencing from the early decades of the sixteenth century or at least the late decades of the sixteenth century and later on continued by other Malay Sultanates such as Jambi, Sulu, Johor etc. and individual prominent families, scholarly circles etc. to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The question is why the founding father of this library did not initiate to collect the manuscripts/letters/correspondences pertaining to the mentioned historical relationships between the Ottomans and the Malay world is yet answered.
7. I could not obtain basic data about where these Ottoman Turkish collections have been acquired. It is also important that these manuscripts are only in the form of books, not separate letters or minor compositions. Although I tried to correspond with one of the writers about an annotated book so as to acquire information about the writing process, I could not get any reply.
8. It is stated that the recent publication in 2019 was done because of the official visit of the President of Turkey. It seems that the authorities beyond an academic concern had an intention to provide some materials as proof that there are intellectual connections between two nations. However, it is an obvious question rightfully to be asked that this material present in the manuscript collection could serve this naive purpose or not.
9. My request to have an interview with Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas was not realized for an unknown reason. My intention was to collect information directly from Naquib al-Attas himself and have a detailed writing process for this article. I believed that the information would be very supportive academically.
10. It is understood that the writers of the annotated catalog used more than the attached notes written in German. But I could not find these small notes in the library. There is one work, though, classified under *Fiqh*, but is in fact it is a literary work whose title is *Şehname (Shah-name)* by Firdevsi (Ahmad and Sood 2019a, 19).
11. Thirteen pieces in the annotated catalogue are translations. These are as follow: (1 / 1), (32/120), (62/145), (64/150-152), (65/153-154), (67/160), (69/162-163), (74/175), (75/

- 178-179). (Note: the first number refers to the page number; the second is the code number.)
12. These professionals, say, *katibs*, played intermediary roles between the original writers, their works and the readers (Zink 2006, 211). Although their major task was to copy the authentic text, it is not considered as a minor contribution, rather it was quite crucial for the transmission of a true version of the relevant text. As observed in the collection at SMANL, the works might have been produced and/or owned by higher ranks of bureaucrats.
  13. (45 / 100, 101), (58 / 137), (71 / 170), (79 / 188).
  14. (56 / 132, 133) (57 / 134).
  15. (3 / 7, 8, 9) (4 / 10), (12 / 34), (13 / 35), (14 / 38), (18 / 51), (19 / 52 53), (64 / 150).
  16. (1 / 3), (10 / 28).
  17. (21 / 57), (69 / 162).
  18. (12 / 32) (52 / 122), (64 / 151), (71 / 168).
  19. (59 / 60).
  20. (30 / 83), (53 / 123), (59 / 139), (61 / 143), (67 / 160), (68 / 161). Among them is a work entitled “*Silsilat ad-dahab*” is about the Naqshbandiyya Order (Ahmad and Sood 2019a, 67). (Note: In this context, the Qur’an (*Mushaf*) followed by documents in various fields such as Qur’anic interpretation (*fenn-i tefasir-i şerife*), Qur’anic stories (*fenn-i akhbar-i şerife*), Islamic law (*fenn-i fiqh-i şerif*), theology (*fenn-i kelam*), finance (*fenn-i mali*), Islamic spiritual philosophy (*fenn-i tasawuf*), medical sciences (*fenn-i tib*), lexicology (*fenn-i lügat*), syntax (*fenn-i nahv*), literature (*fenn-i edebiyat*), metaphysics (*fenn-i hikmet*) and essays (*mecmu’â ve resâil*). The name of *mushaf* is developed based on the traditional explanation: “... Zayd ibn Thabit is said to have written the sacred text on *Subuf*, almost certainly sheets of parchment, after it had existed in written form on many kinds of materials. ... The earliest copies of the Qur’an in codex format were produced... several terms were suggested: some favoured *mushaf*, derived from the root-word (*subuf*), an expression found in the Qur’an which means a group of single sheets” (Waley 2017, 9).
  21. (65 / 153).
  22. (8 / 21, 22, 23, 24), (9 / 25, 26, 27), (64 / 152), (66 / 155).
  23. (43 / 97).
  24. (49 / 111).
  25. *Tarih-i Peçevi*. This work is shown in the book on page 73 with the code number 174.
  26. (1 / 2), (28 / 76), (29 / 77, 78, 79). (Note: Dictionaries or lexicons were “the principal sources” that were to have been consulted in early centuries in the course of study Islamic texts (Massignon, 1997, 34).
  27. (44 / 99), (45 / 102), (55 / 130), (70 / 167).
  28. (59 / 140), (60 / 141, 142).
  29. (28 / 74).
  30. (53 / 124, 125), (54 / 126). (Note: *Nasihât-name* means “*book of admonition and advice*” which might be considered to some extent to *siyasetnames*.)
  31. (39 / 91).
  32. (6 / 17), (39 / 90), (57 / 136).
  33. (40 / 94).
  34. (43 / 97).
  35. There are four copies of this book (Ahmad and Sood 2019, 62-3). It is needed for the contents to be crosscheck whether they are the same or not.
  36. (48 / 110).
  37. (40 / 92, 93, 94).
  38. (39 / 90).
  39. (27 / 73). This is a work with different texts, one of which is about astronomical notes.



40. (11 / 30), (35 / 84).
41. (43 / 97) in *Mecmu'a*.
42. (76 / 181).
43. (47 / 105) (fols. 105b-120b).
44. These are collection of Turkish *fetvas* by the Shaik'ul Islam Ebulflz el-Yenişehirî.
45. The writer of *Durr-i Meknun* is Ahmat Bican Yazıcıoğlu who is well-known mystic. And there are few other works belonging to him such as *eEvar-el-aşikin* (12 / 32). (See, footnote 49).
46. This work contains religious poems and the writer is Muhammed Bican Yazıcıoğlu, the brother of famous mystic Ahmed Bican.
47. There are some works which seem not to have any relations with the Ottoman manuscripts such as *Hayr-abad* (Ahmad and Sood 2019, 22). I guess these are collected because of their inclusion in previous collections.
48. The Persian language became the medium of intellectual discourse and the medium of instruction at schools and private learning process during the initiation of teaching Persia was in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. With this regard, dictionaries played a crucial function and the first Persian-Ottoman Turkish dictionary was written in 802H - 1399/1400 CE by Hüsam b. Hasan el-Konevi in Anatolia (Öz 1977, 219).
49. These Persian-Turkish dictionaries are titled as *Tuhfe* which means 'handbook'. These manuscripts are mentioned by the writers in the collection such as *Tufha-i Lami'i*, *Tuhfa-i Omeriyye*, *Tuhfa-i Shabidi* and *Tuhfa-i Wabbi* (Ahmad and Sood 2019b, 76–78).
50. Sünbülzade (d. 1809) the writer of this dictionary was a well-known religious scholar who was knowledgeable in the Persian language. Because of this, he became an envoy to Karim Khan of Iran during the rule of Abdülhamid I (1774-1789). He wrote this work, which seems to be a sort of learning material for the sons of then Grandvizier Halil Pasha (Kuru n. d., 140-141).
51. There is translation of *Taberi Taribi* (*History of Taberi*) in the collection with MSS 175. It is understood that, though not clearly mentioned that this work was a translation from the Persian language to the Turkish language (*Turki dile*) as it is mentioned (et-Taberi n.d.).
52. This work of Birgivi is an extremely multi-dimensional work including not only *fiqh*, *kalam*, *ahlaq* (ethics), mysticism but also politics, psychology and economics. These characteristics makes this work classify with few others such as al-Ghazali's *Ihya Ulum ad Din* and Syah Waliullah Dahlawi's *Hujjatullah'il Baliqa*, which is similar (Orman 2001, 277).
53. *Chaghatay* is defined as one Turkish languages prevailing in premodern Central Asia. The language acquired the name "Chaghatay" because of the ruler's name Chaghatay Khan (1226-1242), one of the sons of Chinggis Khan. But the language became formalized in the fifteenth century (Schluessel 2018, vi).
54. After surveying the catalogue, it is determined that there are fifty-five pieces of the collection that were the ones copied from the originals. These ones are listed as follow. The first figure is the page number of the catalogue and second figure provides the number of the manuscript: (1 / 2), (2 / 5), (3 / 9), (4 / 12), (5 / 13), (7 / 18), (8 / 22), (9 / 26, 27), (11 / 30, 31), (12 / 32, 34), (13 / 35, 37), (14-15 / 39), (15 / 40), (16 / 42, 43, 44), (17 / 45), (18 / 49, 50, 51), (21 / 57), (23 / 61), (26 / 69), (30 / 80), (36 / 86, 87), (44 / 98), (49 / 112), (50 / 115), (52 / 121), (53 / 123, 124), (55 / 130, 131), (58 / 137, 138), (59 / 139), (60 / 141), (61 / 144), (63 / 148, 149), (66 / 155, 157), (69 / 162), (70 / 165, 167), (71 / 169), (73 / 173), (76 / 183), (79 / 189).
55. These centuries are also known the High Ottoman period. And, as observed in the

- annotated catalogue the oldest manuscript goes back to fifteenth century which is titled “*Envar el-asiqin*”. This work which is about mysticism and was completed by Ahmad Bijan Yazıcioglu who “gained a saintly reputation” in Gelibolu in 1451 (Grenier, 2018, 37, 38). But this work like others in the collection is not original piece, rather it was copied on 23 June 1535 by Ahmad ‘Atiq-i Hamza (Ahmad and Sood 2019b, 12).
56. Some scholars argue that the Ottomans had higher literary levels compared with the European ones on the basis of the books production and diverse genres in the seventeenth century. Referring to Katip Çelebi (Hajji Khalifah), Will-Ariant states that there were over twenty-five thousands manuscripts in the fields of jurisprudence, science, medicine, rhetoric, biography, history and theology from diverse languages such as Arabic, Turkish (Ottoman), and Persian in the mid of the mentioned century (Durant and Durant 1961, 520).
57. His work appears on the catalogue (73/174). The first number refers to page number in annotated book and the second one the code number of the manuscript. And it is all the same in the coming pages as well. Peçevi İbrahim is a notorious Ottoman historian. He was born in 1574 in Peç (Fünfkirchen), on the borders of Hungary. Since he was skillful in finance matters, he was appointed in his mature years as Tokat Defterdarı, later on he got the same position in Bosna and lastly in Tuna. He passed away in 1650 in Budin (Fodor 2018, 206; Ülkütaşır 1947). Peçevi’s history starts from the latest era of Saljuki State and explains the process how Aladdin Keykubat appointed Ertuğrul, the father of Osman, the founding father of the Ottoman State, to be the ruler in his conquered regions (İbrahim n.d., 1). The book ends with the dethronement and execution of Sultan İbrahim (İbrahim n.d., before last page).
58. İsmail Hakkı Bursevi’s works exist in the collection are as follows: (6 / 15), (71 / 168), (59 / 140), (76 / 183). And İsmail Hakkı Bursevi (1652-1728) is known as a notorious sufi-scholar. He is also the writer of *Ru’hul-Beyan* which has a special place among the tafsir books during the Ottoman Era (Özönder 1970, 553).
59. The name of the books gives an insight that it is a name of a *tariqa*, a Sufi lodge. And this name occurred historically in Morocco, western part of the North Africa in sixteenth century in the works and the established body led by Abdallah al-Ghaznawi (d. 1528-9). The latter is recognized one of the ‘seven saints’ of the region (Cornell 2005, xiii).
60. Ferišteoğlu, whose full name is Ferišteoğlu Abdülmecid İzzeddin, composed *Isq-Name* in 833 H. This work is coded as 72 in the annotated catalogue.
61. *Birgi* is assumed to be a place name somewhere near to contemporary Balıkesir in the South of Marmara Region. And referring to this place, Mehmed (Muhammed) is called Mehmed Birgivi (r.a.), who is known as the sixteenth century mystic. Or as it is mentioned in an bibliography of Ottoman writers, his name is written as Birgivi Muhammed Efendi (Görkaş 1997, 121; Muharrem 1791, 1). Bursalı Tahir n.d., 284. On the other hand, there is also another usage such as ‘*Birgili*’ in literature. For instance, Birgili Efendi (Schmidt 1992, 354). There are nine pieces of Birgivi’s works in the collection. If we consider the all pieces are the same work then it means that the number of total collection becomes less than two hundred in terms of the differentiation of the works. There is some crucial research about Birgivi’s intellectual life. For instance Ahmet Turan Alkan (1981) and Emrullah Yüksel (1972) wrote on the subject.
62. Some scholars assert that there is a similarity between this work of Birgivi and Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s *Ihya Ulum ad Din* in terms of emphasizing on *bid’ah* that led the common Muslims to follow the path of the Prophet (pbuh) (Çağrıncı 2000, 473) Öztürk, 2001, 32). Some others works of al-Ghazali emphasises the elimination of *bid’ah* such as *Minhaj al-‘abidin* (n.d., 4).
63. This is a book on Islamic morals and ethics which might be considered as an updated

- version during the seventeenth century in Ottoman society. One can assert that this work is a reminder to the then Muslim community what they had lost or forgotten. In this sense, I think it is unmistakable to name Mehmed Birgivi as a revivalist through the combination of Qur'an and al-Hadith (*sunnah*), the sayings, deeds and tacit approvals of the Prophet (pbuh).
64. There are three versions of *Vasiyatname* in the catalogue by the given numbers of 195, 196 and 197 in the annotated catalogue. The last one is the translation to the Ottoman Turkish language, which is not mentioned in the catalog. It is codified as MSS No. 195. There is also one commentary upon this *Vasiyatname* (Testamentary), which was done by Sheyh Muslihaddin and the title of this commentary is *Nasihah al-Muslimin* (Ahmad, Sood and Zaniah 2019b, 53; Muharrem 1791, 3). But another source informs us that the commentary writer's name is Muhammed b. Muharrem (1714) (Arslan n.d., 557). This commentary is exist in the catalogue and collection coded as MSS 124. It should have been written as *Vasiyatname*, instead of Wasiyyat-Name. This work was translated by Muhammed bin Bir Ali into Ottoman Turkish as mentioned by the translator on page 1. This book is about fundamentals of Islamic credo. Commencing from page onwards the basic fundamentals of Iman is clarified. And This *Vasiyatname* (The Last Will and Testament) was translated by Tosun by Shaykh Tosun Bayrak al-Jerrahi al-Halveti and was published with *Tariqat Muhammadiya*, other infamous work of Imam Birgivi in 2005.
  65. İbrahim Müteferrika as a convert Hungarian Muslim worked as a script writer and translator. He was later invited into the Ottoman bureaucracy that supported the reform movement should not be limited to the military structure but it must be extended to the scientific revolution. This book in regard to understanding the era of the early part of the eighteenth century seems quite crucial. It resonates the reformers and guided the political elite through which ways the Ottoman State could be aligned with the developments in Europe (Black 2011, 268) Korkmaz, 1999, 286, 287). Since the era of Selim III (1789-1807) there was an aggrandizing the reform movement in the late of the same century (Creasy 1961, 458), which did no doubt gained some insight from the previous experiences and publications like the above-mentioned one. İbrahim Müteferrika presented his book to Mahmud I (1730-1754), the Ottoman ruler then. This year marks a salient change in terms of the direction of the political discourse towards the Westernization developed by the Ottoman political elite (Salgarla, 2010, 185-186). There were attempts to introduce the printing machine as observed in the initiation of Müteferrika. But, because hand-written practices had been well established for centuries as argued by Schmidt (1992, 354), there was a significant level of reluctance to accept this novelty. It is observed that the hand-written practice continued till the end of the nineteenth century. As such, some books were produced in mixed modes, namely both by hand-written practice and the printed in machine.
  66. See (81/195, 196, 197).
  67. İbrahim the historian mentions that this work is a *mecmua* (See: Original copy of *Peçevi Tarihi*, 7.) One of the famous and earliest *mecmua*, a collection of historical developments, is *Münşeat*. (See: *Mecmua-i Münşeat Feridun Bey*, (991/1583), Reprint, Rabi'ul Akhir 1274, İSAM (Islamic Research Centre Library, İstanbul).
  68. Ibn al-Muqaffa, a man who had done more in his short life than any before him to transform Arabic prose into a polished medium for literature, a task he accomplished largely through translation. From Greek he is stated to have rendered into Arabic Aristotle's *Categories*, *Hermeneutics and Analytics*, and Porphyry's *Eisagoge*, thus laying solid foundations for the study of logic in Islam. From Pahlavi he translated the *Khvadaynamagh*, the ancient *Book of Kings*, which later furnished Firdausi with

- inspiration and materials for his *Shah-nama*. As well as two manuals of statecraft and royal etiquette (Arberry 2008, 74).
69. The work depicts the story of the Prophet Yusuf and Zulaiha, the wife of Egyptian King.
  70. Besaretname which is also known as Fetihname is a genre in the form of a decree and letters that were produced to inform about the conquerers of the Muslim rulers and was sent to other rulers in neighboring countries. These letters were used to be presented by some invaluable materials and signified the power of the conquerers (Aksoy n.d., 470).
  71. It is better to define the word *Mecmua* at the initial state. It is an Arabic word and means to compile. There are versions of the word such as *cem*, *mecami*, *mecma* etc. The works in this genre are the one compiled diverse risalas belonging to different writers from religious field and others as well. For instance, *mecmua-i tevarih*, *mecmua-i feteva* among these referring to compilation of *risala* about history and religious fatwa (Uzun, n.d. 265). *Mecmua* is composed of distinct risala such as a Turkish mesnevi, a compendium on Islamic sect and creeds, a 'hikaye', a commentary on *Fiqh al-Akbar*, an Arabic *ad'ya* (prayers), Arabic translation of *Bayan al-Hikam* of Aristotels, a manual prayers, a Turkish treatise on Tasawwuf, a Turkish compendium of the cosmography of Qazvini, a discussion on the rational method (Ahmad and Sood 2019, 33-35).
  72. *Mecmua* is composed of distinct *risala* such as a Turkish *mesnevi*, a compendium on Islamic sect and creeds, a 'hikaye', a commentary on *Fiqh al-akbar*, an Arabic *ad'ya* (prayers), Arabic translation of *Bayan al-Hikam* of Aristotels, a manual prayers, a Turkish treatise on Tasawwuf, a Turkish compendium of the cosmography of Qazvini and a discussion on the rational method (Ahmad, Sood, and Zaniah 2019b, 33-35).
  73. For instance, the translator of *Tarikat-ı Muhammadiya* (or *Tarik-i Muhammadiya*) states that this work's translation into *lisan-ı Turki* was requested by someone named Mehmet Osman (Birgivi, MSS 197, 2; Birgivi, MSS No. 14, 1; Birgivi, MSS No. 157, 2).
  74. His full name was Şeyh Takiyüddin Muhammed bin Pir Ali Birgivi or Muhammed (Mehmed) bin Pir Ali, was born in 1522 in Balıkesir, southern part of Marmor Region. He spent his last years teaching as the head of the madrasah in Birgi and passed away there in 1573 (Muhammed Emin, 1980, 11; Küçük, 1980, 5-6; Fihrist Li Şerh el Birgivi, n.d., 3). As observed above, the name Takiyüddin like Şemsüddin, Muhyüddin are used as epithets to adore his scholarship (*ilm*) (See Birgivi, 1748/9. (81 / 199); Fihrist Lişerh el Birgivi 3).
  75. The title of this work is also mentioned as *Tarik-i Muhammadiya Ahmadiyya* (See: Birgivi MSS 14, 1). The same usage, namely, *lisan-ı Turki* is encountered some other translations such as *Mezheb al Asfiya İsmet'ül Enbiya Hafız Salih ibn el Hac Mehmed el-İslamboli* (MSS. No. 92, 1, SMNAL).
  76. The Ottoman language is described as a combination language of Turkish, Arabic and Persian and it was used officially between 1500-1928 during the reign of the Ottoman State.
  77. For instance, online catalogue, No 14, Ahmet Efendi, Katim (*diwan-i hatim*), (Ahmad, Sood, and Zaniah 2019b, 7).
  78. One of the signs of the importance of the Persian manuscripts is that these materials were mostly owned by military and bureaucratic elites (Ibid, p. 14). (Note: The influence of the Persian language, art and culture were not a new phenomenon for the Turks. Rather, Persian cultural acceptance was a reality, say in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but also to a large extent in the Saljuqi Era during which not only the political and religious elite but also common people also had affiliations with Persian culture (Crane, 1994, 264).
  79. The Persian manuscript industry experienced a certain advancement in the fifteenth

century in terms of “coloured and decorated papers” by applying novel techniques. These products were, in particular, for the literary works, viz., poetry. As mentioned in this text, the Persian manuscripts were in high demand not only by the Ottoman political and bureaucratic elites but also Timurid and Turkmen states (Déroche etc., 2005, 60). The interactions between the Safawid Iran and the Ottomans triggered the dissemination of arts pertaining to the manuscript writing process. One can assert that Tabriz, the capital city of Akkoyunlu was known as a home for Turcoman groups and became the center for this art industry (Déroche etc., 2005, 61).

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3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11<sup>th</sup>, 2007.

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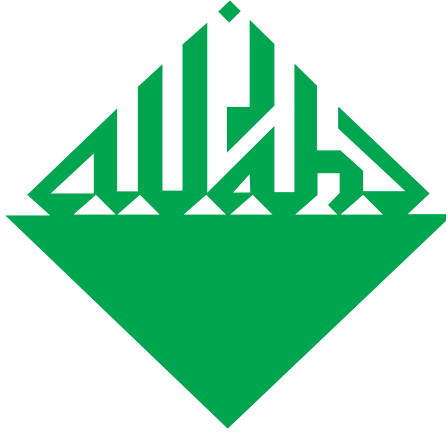


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*PESANTREN* ECOFEMINISM MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

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