

AN INVESTIGATION ON SUFI-HAGIOGRAPHY BOOKS (*MANĀQIB-NĀMAS*) IN THE FRAME OF SUFI LITERATURE

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Abstract

This article discusses the Sufi-hagiography books (*manāqib-nāmas*) in the frame of their importance as academic resources. Before brief presentations of some of the sample works, the limitations of the sample selection, types, language and expression features were given. Their characteristics that would be a reference for future academic studies were summarized under a separate title and a wider perspective on *Manāqib al-‘Ārifin* tried to be given. The conclusion is obtained as a result of this study reveals the excitement of a researcher of Sufi studies without turning a blind eye to the “exaggerated, legendary” narrative criticisms directed in the field. It also includes an admiration for the treasure opens in the sense that leads Sufism its distinctive feature which is not being just a mere “talk” (*qāl*) rather being a “state” (*hāl*) in the context of state experiences and free disposal (*taşarruf*) of the friends of God (*awliyā*).

Keywords: Sufi-hagiography books, Manāqib-nāmas, Manāqib, Karāma, literature

TƏSƏVVÜF ƏDƏBİYYATI ÇƏRÇİVƏSİNDƏ SUFİ MƏNAQİBNAMƏLƏRİNİN ARAŞDIRILMASI

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Xülasə

Bu məqalədə sufi mənəqibnamələrinin akademik mənbə kimi önəmli olmasından bəhs edilir. Bəzi örnəklərin qısa təqdimatından əvvəl, nümunə olaraq seçilmiş mənbələrin məhdudluqları, növləri, dil və ifadə xüsusiyyətləri verilmişdir. Gələcəkdə elmi tədqiqatlar üçün istinad olacaq xüsusiyyətləri ayrı bir başlıq altında ümumiləşdirilmiş, geniş perspektiv isə Mənəqibül-Arifin adlı başlıq altında müzakirə edilməyə çalışılmışdır.

Bu araşdırmanın sonunda əldə edilən nəticə bir təsəvvüf tədqiqatçısının həyəcanını ortaya qoyur və bu sahədəki “şişirdilmiş, əfsanəvi” nəqli tənqidlərə də göz yummadan, “Övliyaların hal təcrübələri və təsərrüfləri” kontekstində təsəvvüfü bütün elmlərdən fərqləndirənin təkcə “qal” deyil, “hal” olduğunu göstərən xəzinəyə heyranlığı ehtiva edir.

Açar sözlər: Təsəvvüf-hagioqrafiya kitabları, Mənəqib-namələr, Mənəqib, Kərəmə, ədəbiyyat

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Introduction

Among the sources of Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), one of the genres with the largest volume of works is Sufi-hagiography books (*manāqib-nāmas*)¹. The aim of this study is to make a general analysis of manāqib-nāma literature. Within the study's limits, the sample selection has been narrowed down to the works in Aşkar's book called *Tasavvuf Tarihi Literatürü* (*Literature of the History of Sufism*).² First of all, the literal meaning of the name given to the related genre and the concepts and types, language and expression features ascribed to the term's literal context over time were tried to be presented. Brief introductions were given about the works related to the sample selection, and their characteristics that would be a reference for future academic studies were summarized under a separate title. In this study, it has been tried to open a wider window on *Manāqib al-Ārifîn*, which is the most commonly used reference in academic studies on manāqib-nāma literature, including the criticisms directed to the work. The last section deals with manāqib-nāmas in terms of the issues of being a reference source and includes the discussion in both historiography and Sufi studies over the issue of "extra-ordinary acts or/and states of the friends of God (*awliyā'*)" called karāma³, which essentially gives this genre its most critical content and originality.

Literal Meaning of Manāqib-nāma and Other Meanings Assigned as a Genre of Literature

The word "manāqib", which is the plural of the Arabic word "manqaba," expresses "a person's praiseworthy qualities such as virtue, skill, and merit."⁴ Devellioğlu defines it as "anecdotes and stories of people, mostly well-known or historical" in the *Ottoman-Turkish Encyclopedic Dictionary*.⁵ The Turkish Language Society, in the *Turkish Dictionary*, defines it as "the narration about the lives and extra-ordinary behaviors of religious elders or famous people in history or the narrative about extra-ordinary events."⁶ Ayverdi defines "manqaba" as "an anecdote or story that tells the superior qualities, moral virtues, extra-ordinary deeds and behaviors of religious elders, heroes and historical figures in an epic-legendary style" in *Asırlar Boyu Tarihi Seyri*

¹ "Manāqibnāma" is a name of literature type in the Sufi culture and is mostly called "Awliyā' Stories" in other languages. In this study, the original form of the word is preferred because, as introduced in the following sections, its translation is not enough to cover all the meanings attributed to the term.

² Mustafa Aşkar, *Tasavvuf Tarihi Literatürü* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2015): 190-236.

³ Here the original word is "karāma." In Sufi literature, the term "karāma" is usually used for the unbelievable, extra-ordinary acts of awliyā' that cannot be explained by the scales of the physical world.

⁴ Asım Efendi, *Kâmus Tercümesi*, "n-k-b" article, V.I, p. 513. The word manqaba is in Turkish language. It is widely pronounced as "menkıbe." The word in this form does not exist in dictionaries, and indeed the plural form of "manqaba" should be manāqib.

⁵ Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, (Ankara: Aydın Kitapevi, 2012): 713.

⁶ *Türkçe Sözlük*, 1653.

*İçinde Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlüğü (Great Turkish Dictionary with Examples in Its Historical Course for Centuries).*¹

It is seen that the word has been used in different meanings in various works. In the 9th century, it was first used as the name of the sections containing the hadiths about the virtues of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h) with its meaning of “a praiseworthy, beautiful deed, action.” The content of virtue is also found in manāqib-nāmas in which the wise words of Sufis are compiled. In the content of the works written about the Sufis in the period when the ṭarīqas began to develop, both virtue and bibliography are among the meanings attributed to the word. The concept of “karāma” was added to its content with the formation of the first great ṭarīqas such as Qādiriyya and Rifā’iyya. We can say that “manāqib-nāmas” and “the tradition of writing manāqib” have emerged since this century.² With the biographies of the imams of the schools of jurisprudence (*madhhab*), meaning eulogy (*na’t*) for the praise and odes of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Twelve Imams, it has gained a different meaning in the context of virtue.³ Although not mentioned much in the literature, works on the moral and physical characteristics of Prophet Muḥammad called *shamā’il* by al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī also find their place in the manāqib-nāma literature from time to time.⁴

In summary, under the manāqib-nāma genre, as a type of literature, attention is drawn to concepts such as virtue (*faḍīla*), extra-ordinary acts of awliyā’ (*karāma*), bibliography, *shamā’il* and praise (*madḥiyya*), but when we look at the content and types, it is seen that different concepts can also be used in this literature parallel to the message to be given. In this sense, it is controversial to draw the boundaries, especially to reveal the distinguishing features in terms of bibliographic studies.

Contents and Types of Manāqib-nāmas

In the texts of manāqib, extra-ordinary acts of awliyā’ (*karāma*) are at the center of the events. Karāma which means “to be good, moral and generous,” is defined as “an extra-ordinary state that manifests for God's righteous, pious friends” in the dictionary.⁵ However, as Güngör emphasizes, the main thing to convey in manāqib is not the events, but the messages and moral content behind these events.⁶

It can be said that this narrative style, which developed in parallel with the spread of Islam in the Anatolian territories, found a good ground for itself

¹ İlhan Ayverdi, *Asırlar Boyu Tarihi Seyri İçinde Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*, C.2, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 2010): 2030. *Türkçe Sözlük*, 2030.

² Haşim Şahin, “Menâkıbname”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 29 (2004): 112-114.

³ Ahmed Ateş, *Menâkıb*, MEB. İslâm Ansiklopedisi, V.7: 701-702; Haşim Şahin, “*Menâkıbname*”, *DİA*, V.29: 112-114.

⁴ Ali Yardım, *Hadis I-II*, İstanbul: Damla Yayınevi, (1997): 6.

⁵ Süleyman Uludağ, “Kerâmet”, *DİA*, V. 25: 265.

⁶ Erol Güngör, *İslâm Tasavvufunun Meseleleri* (İstanbul: Ötüken Publications, 1984): 105.

because of the fairy-tale narratives describing the epics and supernatural events of the lands it is in. With the widespread of Sufism in the Islamic world, the word *manqaba* began to be used to express the wise words of the Sufis and their exemplary virtuous behavior.¹ Resembling with the same developments in the 11th century, it is not surprising to come across the *karāma* concept in parallel with the *awliyā'* concept and see that it was written.² According to Ocak, “*manāqib-nāmas*” are narratives that are believed to be true in their own contexts and considered semi-sacred.” Regarding the content and the features that distinguish *manāqib* from other types of writing, he further states that:³

“Its heroes are real and holy persons; events have a specific place and time; it is not made up just for fun, or to explain an object or natural phenomenon; they are believed to be true; they are semi-sacred and impose themselves like a dogma; they can occur while the *walī* they mention is alive or dead; they have an extremely short and simple narrative style.”⁴

On the other hand, Pehlivan, in his article, summarizes the differences between legend and *manqaba* as the hero's being alive, the severity of belief, experience, temporality, the subject of the text, and draws attention to the fact that the main purpose of these texts is to explain the sacredness of the religious personality. We see that the content of the works, which were originally written for the founder of *ṭarīqas* has expanded over time to include families, vicegerents (*khalīfa*), and even other Sufis in the chain of spiritual authority of the *ṭarīqas*.⁵ In addition to the contents describing a single *walī* or *awliyā'* belonging to a *ṭarīqa*, there are also works describing *awliyā'* belonging to various *ṭarīqas* who lived in different periods, which are often defined as *manāqib-nāmas*.⁶ In addition, it is possible to come across works in which the *awliyā'* are integrated with cities.⁷ The subjects related to the lives and heroism of the sultans, grand viziers and viziers in the Ottoman period were also added to the subjects of *karāma* of the *ṭarīqas* and Sufi personalities.⁸ In addition, genres that find expression with the words *tadhkira*, *rashaḥāt*, *karāmāt*, *maqāmāt*, *nafaḥāt* are also shown as works that have the quality of a *manāqib*.⁹ In the last quarter of the 15th century, the works named *Walāyat-nāma* and the

¹ See also. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-Şūfiyya, Tabakātü's-Sūfiyye*, ‘Alī al-Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla* works of Sufis such as Bāyazīd Bisfāmī, Junayd al-Baghdādī, and Abū Ḥafş al-Ḥaddād which include the wise words and virtuous behavior of Sufis.

² See also. Works written after the deaths of *ṭarīqa* patriarchs are such as ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and Aḥmad al-Rifā‘ī.

³ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menâkıbnâmeler (Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992): 33.

⁴ Ocak, *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menâkıbnâmeler*, 65-69.

⁵ Şahin, *Menâkıbname*, 112-114.

⁶ See also. Kuṭb al-dīn al-Yūnīnī, *Manāqib al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī*, Aḥmad al-Aflākī, *Manāqib al-‘Arifīn*, Nabḥānī, *Jāmi‘ karāmāt al-awliyā’*.

⁷ See also. *Manāqib al-Awliyā’ al-Mişr*, *Tadhkira al-Awliyā’ al-Baghdād*, *Manāqib al-Baghdād*.

⁸ See also. *Manāqib of Maḥmud Pasha al-Walī*, *Manāqib of Sulṭān Suleiman*.

⁹ See also. ‘Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā’*, Sāfi, *Rashaḥāt al-‘ayn al-ḥayāt*, *Maqāmāt of Yūsuf al-Hamadānī*.

most famous of which is *Walāyat-nāma* of Ḥājī Baktāsh is considered as a type of manāqib-nāma.¹ Furthermore, religious-epic works such as *Baṭṭāl-nāma*, *Dāneshmand-nāma*, *Şaltūq-nāma*, which talk about the life and adventures of heroes and their extraordinary powers, are also evaluated within the genre of manāqib-nāma. In this context, *Tadhkira of Satuq Bughra Khan*, which tells the life of the Karakhānid Emperor Satuq Bughra Khan is shown as the first Turkish manāqib-nāma because of its hero is a walī who shows karāma and the manqabas in the work are literally awliyā'.²

Language and Style Features

Language and style are related to the narrator as well as the narrative. The passion, devotion, and testimony of the author who wrote the text were put into lines with specific sentences for the author. In this context, the identity of the author can be evaluated in terms of the content and reliability of the narrative, as well as in terms of language and style.

Gülerer, in his article, after putting the definition of the literature as: “the product of oral culture describing one or more extra-ordinary acts (*karāma*) revealed by a narrator, who believes that the event he is telling is true and real, of the person he believes to have extra-ordinary/sacred powers in conversation environments created by curious groups regardless of time and place,” he gives the following determinations about the authors who wrote the work:

The author could be a dervish who has personally reached the walī he is talking about and is in contacts with him like Güchchük, the author of *Walāyat-nāma of Othman Baba*, or Dervish Burhan, the author of the *Manāqib-nāma of Hacım Sultān*. The author may be one of the relatives of the walī he is talking about. For example, Elvan Çelebi, the grandson of Baba Ilyās al-Khorāsānī, wrote *Manāqib al-Qudsiyya* for his grandfather. The author may be a person with a strong and cultured literary personality who grew up in the ṭarīqa coterie represented by the walī in the centuries after the walī personality he dealt with like Aḥmad al-Aflākī, the author of *Manāqib al-‘Ārifīn*, who wrote his work in Persian after Mawlānā Jalāl-al-Dīn Rūmī. The author may be an ordinary dervish from the same ṭarīqa as the walī he is dealing with, who knows the tradition but does not have a significant literary personality. For example, the small-volume of *Walāyat-nāma of Abdāl Mūşā*, whose author is not known, must have been written by a dervish, presumably like this. It may be possible for an artist from outside the ṭarīqa to write a manāqib-nāma. For example, the author of *Walāyat-nāma of Sayyid ‘Alī Sultān* is understood from the pen name Jathbī, which is mentioned in one of the verse pieces in this work. Author may be a person with a strong literary personality who is close to state

¹ *Walāyat-nāma* of Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī, which is thought to be written by Uzun Ferdawsī and tells about the life of Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī, *his relations with statesmen and scholars, and his death, is the best known example of this type. Walāyat-nāma of Abdāl Mūşā, Walāyat-nāma of Sayyid ‘Alī Sultān, Walāyat-nāma of Sultān Shujā’ al-Dīn, Walāyat-nāma of Othman Baba and Walāyat-nāma of Baktāshī Koyun Baba. It can be mentioned among other manāqib-nāmas in the tradition.*

² Şahin, “*Menākıbnâme*”, 155-193.

administrators outside the *ṭarīqa*. For example, Abū al-Khayr al-Rūmī, the author of the work called *Şaltūq-nāma*, is a person close enough to attend Sultān Cem's private discourses. *Şaltūq-nāma*, written by Abū al-Khayr al-Rūmī, is one of the epic works of the Islamic period and contains the *manāqib* of Sari Şaltūq.

In the writing of the *manāqib-nāmas*, elements such as the event, person, place, and time are constructed by the author in the form of a story. Although a language that the public can understand is preferred, it would not be wrong to say that there is a more literary expression in the transfer of oral culture to writing. Generally, a simple transfer that conveys the message it contains rather than a style concern attracts attention. Regardless of the length of the work, it is arranged by the author in the form of chapters (*bāb*) or stories. When separately told stories are brought together, a meaningful totality is formed that does not require historical follow-up.¹

A Review of Examples

It has been discussed that *manāqib-nāmas* should be evaluated as different from a biography or historiography. In this context, Mustafa Aşkar's selection of examples in the historical process, which includes explanations about why it was included in the literature as a *manāqib-nāma* is given in section 2.1, with brief introductions, and the importance of the relevant selection in terms of academic studies in section 2.1.1 in a subheading. Due to the fact that it is one of the most used works in terms of sources in Sufi Literature, *Manāqib al-‘Arifīn*, needed to be examined in more detail and to address its criticism in section 2.2.

Some Selected Examples from the Historical Process and Their Brief Introductions

The authors and subjects of the works, which are given chronologically according to the death dates of Sufis mentioned in the *manāqib-nāmas*, are briefly as follows:²

Manāqib-e Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī: Written by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī about Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī (d. 815-16). It is noteworthy that it was written before the *ṭarīqa* period and was closer to the *Siyar* form. Karkhī's life, the hadiths he narrated, asceticism, his relations with scholars, the degree of fear of Allāh, his servitude, endeavors, advices, words, and views on art and professions are included.

Asrār al-Tawhīd fī Maqāmāt al-Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd: The author of the work, in which Abū Sa‘īd Abū al-Khayr (d.1049) is told, is his grandson Abū Sa‘īd al-Meikhenī. Shaykh Sa‘īd's education, his discipline (*riyāḍā*) and struggles (*mujāhada*), his pīrs, shayks and his *ṭarīqa*'s genealogical tree

¹ Salih Gülerer, “*Türk Kültüründe Menâkıbnâmeler ve Menâkıbnâme Yazıcılığı*”, Tarih Okulu Dergisi, Y.6 S.XVI (2013): 233.

² Aşkar, *Tasavvuf Tarihi Literatürü*, 190-236.

(*shajara*), his extra-ordinary acts (*karāmāt*), stories about other shaykhs, his bequest, and posthumous extra-ordinary acts are described.

Jawāhir al-Abrār : Khāzīnī, who lived in Turkistan and came to Istanbul during the reign of Selim II, wrote the work during the reign of Murat III (1593). The first sections of the work, which tells about Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī (d.1166-7), describe what those who follow the path of Sufi way should do, five attributes of the sons of Ādam (*ban-e Ādam*), outward (*zāhir*) and inward (*bāṭin*) cleanliness, seclusion (*khalwa*) and *arbaʿīn*, being away from hesitation against the shaykh, and the forms and degrees of dhikr. It also deals with extremely comprehensive topics such as the chain of Yasawiyya ṭarīqa, the necessary features for the *khilāfa*, the types of walāya, the audition (*samāʿ*), *Mankaba of Kiracuk Mountain*, *Mankaba of Baba Mačīn*, *Mankaba of Imām Mergazī*, *Mankaba of Khazān Khan*, *Mankaba of the Suri Tribe*, *Mankaba of Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār*, forty-four stations (*maqām*), the qualities of the perfect divine guide (*murshid al-kāmil*), ten attributes of the disciples (*murīd*), necessities, sunnas, courtesies (*adāb*), stations of ṭarīqa, attitudes towards shaykh, Khiḍr and Elias (Ilyās).

Bahjat al-Asrār: The author of the work, whose is given by Kātib Çelebi as 1262, is Shattanūfī (1247-1314), and the work is about the great Sufi ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.1165-66). The author conveys the religious and sufi views of his Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, to whom he follows, the manāqib narrated on his contemporary Sufis, the visions of the sufis who expressed their opinions about al-Jīlānī, and the life of the Pīr.

Tansūt al-Khātīr: It is the translation of the Arabic manāqib-nāma named *Talṭīf al-Khātīr fī Manāqib al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir*, which was written by Ḥāfīz Maḥmad Diyāʿ al-Dīn Efendi. The author of the Arabic text is Shaykh Maḥmad Ṣādiq Sehābī. The Sufi that the work is subject to is ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.1165-66), and the most important feature that distinguishes the work from other manāqib-nāmas is the order and classification of the subjects in it. Fifty-five manāqib are told under separate headings. After the historical information given in each chapter, the chapters are covered with karāmāt and manāqib. At the beginning of the work, there are appreciations by five different Qādīrī shaykhs.

Manāqib-e Ahmad al-Rifāʿī: The author of the work, which is understood to have been written during the reign of Sulṭān Othman III, and published during the reign of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz by the statement in its introduction, is unknown. The subject of the work is Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (d.1182). The work lists the manāqib and karāmāt of the Shaykh, Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, who is one of the Sufis about whom the most works have been written, in a fluent language from beginning to end.

Manāqib-e Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī: Muḥyī al-dīn Gallipoli is the translator of the original Persian work into Turkish. The subject of the work is the Sufi Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d.1182); his lineage, education, initiation to ṭarīqa, his relations with some statesmen, his good treatment

against evil, his virtues and kindness. It tells about the shaykh's endurance and patience against all kinds of hardships. It also conveys his role on easing the resentment between the dissolving of resentment between Ibn al-‘Arabī and Qunawī, his designation as an emeer of pilgrimage (*amīr al-ḥājj*), his guidance with Jalāl al-dīn Karatāi, and his meeting with Najm al-Dīn Kubrā.

Manāqib al-Oudsiyya: The work written by Elvan Çelebi, who is one of the sufi-poets of the century and a member of Sayyid Abū al-Wafā's ṭarīqa, Wafā'iyya, is about Baba Ilyās al-Khorāsānī, the leader of the famous Babā Revolt in 1240. His settlement in Anatolia, his disciples, his relationship with the ruler of the age, his relationship with his shaykh Dede Gharqin, his life, and the revolt are told. The work, which talks about the four sons of Baba Ilyās, also includes the life story of ‘Āshiq Pasha, and the stories of the vicegerents (*khalīfa*) of the personalities mentioned.

Al-Durr al-Semīn fī Manāqib al-Shaykh Muhyī al-dīn: From some of the information he gave in his work, the author of it Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qārī al-Baghdādī, who is understood to have lived in the 16th century, and it is about Ibn al-‘Arabī (d.1240). It is more of a biographical apologia book than a classical style manāqib-nāma. The first part of the work tells about the life and states of ‘Arabī. In the second part, the stance of the scholars towards him is presented by dividing them into three groups: Those who support him, those who keep silent, and those who declare him as an unbeliever (*takfīr*).

Al-Burhān al-Azhar fī Manāqib al-Shaykh al-Azhar: Written by Shaykh Aḥmad Ḥamdī al-Qādirī and describing Shaykh al-Akbar Muhyī al-dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, the work is in the nature of an apologia rather than a classical style manāqib-nāma. It consists of three main sections, which include the names of his works, the works, and the thoughts of the scholars and Sufis after him, such as Suhrawardī, Qāḍī Bayḍāwī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunāwī, al-Suyūfī. It also gives a list of Ibn al-‘Arabī's works.

Manāqib-e Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī: The author of the work is controversial and Gölpinarlı is the one who simplifies and analyzes the work. The subject of the work is the Sufi Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī (d.1271). The work, named as *Walāyat-nāma*, is a wide-ranging biography of Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī, starting from his birth, describing his relations with Aḥmad Yasawī, his arrival in Anatolia, his journeys to Mecca and Hajj, and his extra-ordinary acts (*karāmā*).

Walāyat-nāma-e Koyun Baba: It is understood from the manāqib-nāma that the real name of Koyun Baba, who was accepted as one of the combatant (*alperen*) friends of Allāh who came to Anatolia from Horasan, is Sayyid ‘Alī. Again, as can be understood from the work, he is considered a contemporary and student of Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī.

Latā’if al-minan: The work written by Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī about Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d.1258) and Abū l-‘Abbās al-Mursī (d.1287). The work, which deals with the main subjects of Sufism, such as friends of God (*awliyā*), friendship with God (*walāya*), unveiling (*mukāshafa*), extra-ordinary acts (*karāmā*), reflects the views of the Shādhiliyya ṭarīqa, of which the author

Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī is also a member. The work begins with a very broad introduction. Then, Mursī’s way stations (*manāzil*), his unweillings (*kashf*), his scrupulosity (*warā’*), his knowledge (*‘ilm*), verses he interpreted from the Qur’ān and their allusionary (*ishārī*) meanings, the hadiths he interpreted, his words about the realities (*ḥaqā’iq*) and stations (*maqāmāt*), his dhikr and prayers; the dhikr and daily prayers of Shaykh Abu’l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and the praise (*na’ī*) for the Prophet written by Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī are included.

Risāla-e Sipahsālār: Written by Farīdūn Aḥmad Sipahsālār, the work has been translated into Turkish three times by Ahmet Avni Konuk, Mithad Bahārī Hüsāmī and Tahsin Yazıcı. The subject of the work is Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d.1273). The work consists of an introduction, and three chapters. In the first chapter, Sulṭān al-‘Ulamā’ Bahā’ al-Dīn Walad is discussed as a single section. The second chapter includes three sections on Mawlānā’s birth and life, his friends in discourses (*ṣoḥba*), his worships (*‘ibādāt*), his godwariness (*taqwā*), and spiritual wayfaring (*sulūk*). The third chapter talks about Mawlānā’s teachers, friends, disciples (*murīd*), and notables of his vicegerents (*khalīfa*).

Manāqib-e Hājī Bayram Walī and Ghāzī Murād Khan: The author of the work is unknown, and the Sufī who is the subject of the work is Hājī Bayram Walī. Without giving any biographical and historical information about Hājī Bayram Walī, the events that took place between him and Murād II are explained, and it is only two pages long.

Manāqib-e Ak Shams al-dīn: The author of the work is Amīr Ḥusayn Enīsī, and it is about the Sufī Ak Shams al-dīn (d.1459). At the beginning of the manāqib-nāma, there is information about Ak Shams al-dīn’s lineage tracing to Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr, and his place of birth. The work, which tells about the spiritual masters (*murshid*), his vicegerency (*khalīfa*), and his life, includes the manāqib of Ak Shams al-dīn and the conquest of Istanbul. It also mentions about his shaykh Hājī Bayram Walī and his vicegerents.

Manāqib al-Malāmiyya al-Bayrāmiyya: The work written by La’līzāda ‘Abd al-Bāqī Efendi (d.1746), one of the Bayrāmī-Malāmī’s, includes the biographies and *manāqib* of the Bayrāmī-Malāmī shaykhs.

Manāqib-e Malāmiyya al-Shuttāriyya al-Bayrāmiyya: The author of the work is Mustaqīm-zāda Suleiman Sa’d al-Dīn (d.1787), and it tells about the biographies and extra-ordinary acts (*karāma*) of the famous Sufīs from the Bayrāmī-Malāmī ṭarīqa.

Manāqib-e Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Samarqandī: Sayyid Nizām is the author of the work, which is about Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Samarqandī, the son of Sayyid Yahya Shirwānī (d.1463), the second shaykh (*pīr-e thānī*) of the Khalwatiyya ṭarīqa. It is mentioned that this manāqib-nāma is actually a work called *Jāmi’ al-Manāqib*, which contains more than ten thousand manāqib in Persian, and there is a work of a person named Shaykh Shahāb al-dīn Hindī called *Jāmi’ al-Bawāriq*, in which there are about seven hundred manāqib

belonging to Samarqandī. Sayyid Niẓām states that he composed the manāqib-nāma by translating twenty-four reliable manāqib that he selected from these works.

Manāqib-e Shaykh Wafā': The work about Shaykh Wafā' (d.1491), the most important representative of the Zayniyya ẓarīqa in Anatolia, was written by Abd al-Rezzāq Efendi (d.1757), and the life and extra-ordinary acts (*karāma*) of Shaykh Wafā' Qunawī are narrated.

Walāyat-nāma-e Othman Baba: The subject of the work is Sufi Othman Baba, and it was written by KüChük Abdāl, one of the vicegerents (*khalīfa*) of the shaykh, five years after his death. Manāqib-nāma contains important information, especially for the first-period research about Baktāshī ẓarīqa.

Manāqib-e Sharīf and Tarīqat-nāma e Pīrān (Tadhkira-e Khalwatiyya): The author of the work is Yūsuf Sinān al-dīn, and it contains detailed information about Jamāl Khalwatī (d.1494), Sunbul Sinān (d.1571), Merkez Muşliḥ al-dīn Efendi (d.1551), and the author's father, Ya'qūb al-Garmiyānī. In addition to their biographies, extensive information is given about the struggles and disputes between the 'ulamā' and the shaykhs in Fatih Mosque about the samā' and dawrān.

Manāqib-e Bashiktāshī Mudarris Yahyā Efendi: The author of the work, which is compiled from the schekāic addendums, some historical sources, and poet memorandums, is Maḥmad Nūrī Efendi, the son of Shaykh Ḥasan Ḥusnu Efendi, and the work is about Bashiktāshī Mudarris Yahyā bin 'Omar 'Arabī (d.1570). It tells about the beautiful character traits and morals of the shaykh. The work contains information about Yahyā Efendi's correspondence with the Shaykh al-islam of the period, and his dīwān and poems under the pseudonym Mudarris.

Manāqib-e Shaykh Mahmūd al-Uskudārī: The author of the work, which is about 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hudā', the founder of the Jalwatiyya ẓarīqa, is Naw'izāde 'Aḩā'ī. The work tells about 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hudā's life and his meeting with Uftāda, who trained him spiritually. He talks about the hardness of discipline (*riyāda*), his arrival in Istanbul, his settlement in Uskudar, his zāwiya and his duties as preacher in Fatih Mosque, Uskudar Mehremāh Mosque, and Yeni Mosque.

Manāqib-e Shaykh Sha'bān al-Walī: The work about the life and extra-ordinary acts (*karāma*) of Sha'bān al-Walī was written by 'Omar Fu'ādī, one of the leading figures of the Sha'bāniyya ẓarīqa. Moreover, it is stated that Fu'ādī, who participated in Sha'bān al-Walī's discourses and enlightened by him, was nine years old when he died. The work, which contains extensive information about walāya and karāma, includes the life and manāqib of the shaykh, and the lives and karāmāt of the four vicegerents who succeeded Sha'bān al-Walī. In the last part, there is a section about the author's life.

Tuhfa al-'Asrī fī Manāqib al-Miṣrī: The work written by Muṣṭafā Luṭfi Efendi, one of the shaykhs of the Miṣriyya ẓarīqa, is an addendum to Ibrāhim Rākim's *Wāqi'āt al-Miṣrī*. Along with the life and manāqib of Niyāzi al-Miṣrī,

the lives of personages and vicegerents who were shaykhs in the Mişriyya  ar ıqa are included.

Al-shajara al-durriyya f  Man qib al-S d t al-H middiyya: The work, which gives information about Mawl n  Sayyid H mid and the Naqshband -Kh lidiyya in Anatolia together with Sayyid H mid's man qib, is important in the context of mentioning the issues of Sufism and was written by Abd al-Hak m al-Mardin .

Al-San s  al-kab r: The work written by Mu ammad  ayyib al-Ashhab is about Mu ammad bin  Al  al-San s , the founder of the North African  ar ıqa, San siyya.

Importance of Selected Works as Source Literature

The importance of the above-mentioned man qib-n mas whose brief introductions are presented, and which can serve as a reference source for future academic studies, can be summarized as follows:¹

- *Man qib-e Ma  r f al-Karkh * gives information about the first period of the history of Sufism, is important in terms of the Sufi it deals with and its content. In addition to being the oldest reference in studies on renunciation (*zuhd*), it is thought that his views on art and professions can still have guiding qualities today.

- *Asr r al-Tawh d f  Maq m t al-Shaykh Ab  Sa  d* is important in terms of giving Ab  Sa  d's state experiences, and valuable in terms of giving information about Khor s n Sufism.

- *Jaw hir al-Abr r* is an important source for the studies on Yasawiyya and the life of A mad Yasaw , which is pointed out as one of the foundations of Turkish culture.

- *Bahjat al-Asr r* is important in the sense of being the first man qib-n ma (primary source) about   Abd al-Q dir al-J l n  and has been the source of other man qib-n mas written about   Abd al-Q dir al-J l n .

- *Tans t al-Kh tir* is a work that was published in Istanbul during the reign of Abd al-H mid II, and attracted a great deal of attention in Sufi circles. It is important as a work where important information and clues can be found about Q diriyya and is   Abd al-Q dir al-J l n .

- *Man qib-e A mad al-Rif   * is very important in terms of narration and telling about Shaykh's extra-ordinary acts (*kar ma*) from beginning to end. It can be shown as one of the reference sources for studies on his  ar ıqa. The founder of the  ar ıqa, on which the most studies and works are done, is one of the Sufis.

- *Man qib-e Shaykh Aw ad al-D n Kirm n * is one of the reference works that should be evaluated in Sufi studies. The subject of Sufistic quarrels is also important for a historian to get clues.

¹ A kar, *Tasavvuf Tarihi Literat r *, 190-236.

- *Manāqib al-Qudsiyya* is an important source for the history of Anatolia in the 13th and 14th centuries, because of the fact that there are true stories about the dynasty of Baba Ilyās, which has one of the deep-rooted influences on the political, social, and religious life of the period.

- *Al-Durr al-Semīn fī Manāqib al-Shaykh Muḥyī al-dīn* is a useful resource in terms of being the first copyright in the sense of defending Ibn al-‘Arabī, giving a rich bibliography about ‘Arabī, his own works, works written in his period, later sources, works defending and criticizing him and providing sources for the works written in the West.

- *Al-Burhān al-Azhar fī Manāqib al-Shaykh al-Azhar* is an important work in terms of giving the reviews on *Ibn al-‘Arabī* in the works of sufis such as *Suhrawardī*, *Qāḍī Bayḍāwī*, *Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunāwī*, *al-Suyūṭī* and in the sense that it gives a list of works of *Ibn al-‘Arabī* (284 titles). It also gives the names of the commentators of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* commentaries.

- *Manāqib-e Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī* together with *Maqālāt*, is one of the most basic sources about Baktāshiyya and Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī. In addition, it has a value in terms of including information about the Yasawī tradition in Anatolia.

- *Walāyat-nāma-e Koyun Baba* is important in terms of shedding light on the Islamization of early Anatolia.

- *Laṭā’if al-minan* besides shedding light on the researches about Shādhiliyya ṭarīqa, it has a very scientific writing technique with its features such as supporting the issues with verses and hadiths, bringing Sufism and Shariah together while dealing with the subjects.

- *Risāla-e Sipahsālār* differs from the Sufi history literature in that the author sees the Sufi he is talking about personally and wrote the work based on his own witnessing. It is an important source because it is about Mawlānā Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī.

- Although *Manāqib-e Ḥājī Bayram Walī* is shown as insufficient in terms of volume and content, it is included in Mustafa Aşkar's literature selection in terms of the personage it covers.

- *Manāqib-e Ak Shams al-dīn* is an important source in terms of providing information about Ak Shams al-dīn and Bayrāmiyya, as well as information about the conquest during the peak period of Ottoman history.

- *Manāqib-e Malāmiyya-e Bayrāmiyya* is important as it reflects a lifestyle and mentality of sufism in terms of telling the melāmī shaykhs and their states rather than giving a ṭarīqa.

- *Manāqib-e Malāmiyya-e Shuttāriyya-e Bayrāmiyya* states that Ḥājī Baktāsh Walī's giving vicegerency (*khilāfa*) to Amīr Sikkīnī often leads to misinterpretations, and gives a detailed account of an attitude named Malāmiyya that occupies an important place in the history of Sufism.

- *Manāqib-e Shaykh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Samarqandī* as a biographical study, states that some information can be provided that it passed the filter of human criteria such as history, intellect, socio-psycho history.

- *Manāqib-e Shaykh Wafā'* is an important work for getting to know *Shaykh* and, in terms of studying of the period.
- *Walāyat-nāma-e Othman Baba* contains important information, especially for early researchs on Baktāshiyya, and is one of the most voluminous works on this subject.
- In addition to the biographies of the shaykhs, *Manāqib-e Sharīf and Ṭarīqat-nāma-e Pīrān*, includes extensive information about the struggles and disputes between the 'ulamā' and the Sufis in the Fatih Mosque on the issue of samā' and dawrān.
- *Manāqib-e Bashiktāshī Mudarris Yaḥyā Efendi* is important in terms of conveying a biography free from karāmat and manāqib.
- *Manāqib-e Shaykh Sha'bān al-Walī* is among the most common works in scholarly and Sufi circles as it is pointed out as one of the healthiest sources because the author personally witnessed the events. It can be counted as one of the main sources that can be consulted within the framework of scientific principles on Sha'bāniyya branch of Khalwatiyya and Shaykh Sha'bān al-Walī.
- *Tuḥfa al-'Aṣrī fī Manāqib al-Miṣrī* is one of the rare manāqib-nāmas written about a Sufi and his ṭarīqa and had the chance to be published at the time it was written.
- *Al-shajara al-durriyya fī Manāqib al-Sādāt al-Ḥāmidiyya* is especially important in that it touches upon the problematic issues of Sufism issues in the introduction part of the work and gives information about Khāliidiyya in Anatolia.
- *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, the work is important in terms of being a first-hand source about Muḥammad bin 'Alī al-Sanūsī, the founder of Sanūsīyya, who resisted 19th-century North African colonialism.

Manāqib al-'Ārifīn and Its Criticisms

The reason why this manāqib-nāma is one of the most famous and most referenced works in the Sufi literature is undoubted that it is about Mawlānā Rūmī. the Persian work of Aḥmad al-Aflākī (d. 761/1360), *Manāqib al-'Ārifīn*, includes the most extensive information about Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad Rūmī and Mawlawiyya, and it has been shown as one of the most important works of Turkish Literature in the 13th and 14th centuries. Aḥmad Aflākī, who used the sources of *Risāle-e Faridūn Sipehsālār*, Sulṭān Walad's *Walad-nāma*, *Rabab-nāma*, *Intihā'-nāma* and Bahā al-dīn Walad's *Ma'ārif*, Shams-e Tabrīzī's *Ma'ārif* and Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad Rūmī's *Fīhi mā fīh* and *Maktūbāt*, learned many sciences of his time and was known by the nickname of Aflākī among the people, especially because of the importance he gave to the knowledge of stars called falakiyyāt.¹ In terms of language and style, Aflākī promised in the preface of the work that he would write in a way that everyone can understand. As a matter of fact, the work was handled with a fluent style, like a folk novel.

¹ Tahsin Yazıcı, "Menākībül-Ārifīn", DIA, V.29: 114-115

It is understood from the sources that Aflākī that he was initiated by Ulu 'Ārif Çelebi (d.1316), the son of Mawlānā, and did not leave his side until his death, and also participated in his travels in Azerbaijan and Anatolia, and wrote his work named *Manāqib al-'Ārifīn* and *Marātib al-Kāshifīn*, the first form of *Manāqib al-'Ārifīn*, upon the request of his shaykh. After the death of Ulu 'Ārif Çelebi, he became affiliated with 'Ābid Çelebi as a tomb keeper. After that, he had initiation from Wājīd, Shahzāda, and Amīr 'Ādīl Çelebis respectively, while he was busy expanding the previously written manāqib under the name of *Manāqib al-'Ārifīn* and completed it in 1353.¹ According to Gölpınarlı's statement, both *Risāla-e Sipehsālār* and *Manāqib al-'Ārifīn* were translated into Turkish by Lokmānī Dede in 1504 with some additions and amendments.² In Tahsin Yazıcı's translation named *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri*, the work consists of ten chapters after the introduction. These are respectively biographies of Mawlānā's father Sultān al-'Ulamā' Bahā al-dīn Walad, Sayyid Burhān al-dīn Muḥaqqiq al-Tirmīzī, Mawlānā Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad Rūmī, Shams-e Tabrīzī, Şalāḥ al-dīn al-Zarkūbī, Ḥusām al-dīn Çelebi, Sultān Walad, 'Ārif Çelebi and Shams al-dīn Amīr 'Ābid, and the tenth chapter is devoted to the children of Mawlānā and those around him and the ṭarīqa genealogy.³

The assessment made by Tahsin Yazıcı at the introduction of the translation is remarkable:

“Manāqib-nāmas about the awliyā' of Islam -with the exception of a few- have not been properly studied. However, one of the most studied and emphasized works among the books written on Muslim awliyā' is this book, translated by Aflākī. Undoubtedly, he owes this chance to the fact that he mentioned Mawlānā. As a matter of fact, everyone who wrote about this great man and Sufi poet felt the necessity to make use of this work either directly or indirectly. However, it is necessary to be careful while making use of this work, which contains very rich information, but also information that is incompatible with reality.”

Another criticism came from the historian Ramazan Şeşen who is underlining the biographical value of the work, while stating that chronological data are neglected. Tahsin Yazıcı, in the section titled “The Sources of the Work” states that Aflākī included almost one-third of *Risāle-e Sipehsālār* in his work, but he followed a more chronological order. The criticisms generally point out that Aflākī created a compilation in a sense by taking many sources and making additions and sometimes changes. Tahsin Yazıcı listed these quotations and the changes made on them one by one according to their sources and showed them. One of the general criticisms directed at manāqib-nāmas is that they are written by the author who puts his shaykh above everything else, and this carries the risk of not being impartial. Although Aflākī

¹ Tahsin Yazıcı, “Ahmed Eflākī”, DIA, V.2: 62.

² Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâdan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, (İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınları, 2009): 15.

³ Ahmed Eflākī, *Ariflerin Menâkıbnâmeleri (Menâkıbü'l-Ārifin)*, tr. Tahsin Yazıcı, (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınları, 2011): 7-12.

is not included in the sources that he used while dealing with the subject, his additions about the extra-ordinary acts (*karāma*) of Mawlānā cause the question of “reality” in this sense, but also include an aspect that can be understood by those who are on the Sufi path. Likewise, annihilation in the shaykh and the excitement is undoubtedly one of the stations on this path.

Manāqib al-‘Ārifīn, as in many other manāqib-nāma, is important in terms of giving the state experiences and the commentaries of the awliyā’ in the context of the illusionary interpretations of the verses and hadiths. Shams-e Tabrīzī said, “(The Qur‘an) was sent down gradually by God, who created the earth and the lofty heavens.” The “place” mentioned in verse (Ṭā Hā 20:4) is the body of the Prophet Muḥammad; He interpreted the “heavens” as his thought, realization, and brilliant imagination. While Mawlānā explains the creation of the world, the hadith of *the world is carrion*.¹ Regarding the hadith, he stated that in order for the world not to look like a carrion; it is necessary not to demand the world, that all pursuits other than the love of Allāh are like carrions; and that the aim is to seek only Allāh and see the works of Allāh in all things. Mawlānā mentions the knowledge of ‘ayn al-yaqīn while giving information about the meaning of the verse: *Actually, they see that punishment as unlikely. But we see it close* (Ma‘ārij 70:6-7). Mawlānā states that Allāh will give the knowledge of ‘ayn al-yaqīn to the servant He wants and it is not possible for the servant to understand the secrets of the universe with this knowledge. Mawlānā interpreted the cleaning in the verse *Keep my house clean* (Baqara 2:125) as the cleaning of the outward (*zāhir*) and inward (*bāṭin*).² The verses that Mawlānā included in his explanations about the nafs were interpreted as complementary to each other within the framework of their apparent and allusionary (*ishārī*) meanings. Shams-e Tabrīzī, after stating that the verse *joyfully they receive manifestation with their Lord* (Āl ‘Imrān, 3:169-171) refers to martyrs, he said that a person will be considered a martyr or war veteran in this world when he defeats his nafs al-ammāra. It is possible to multiply examples. However the importance of *Manāqib al-‘Ārifīn*, which is the source work from which these allusionary (*ishārī*) interpretations were obtained, is especially emphasized here. An academic study in this field is the doctoral dissertation dated 2019, titled “Sūfī Menākıbnāmelerinde Âyet ve Hadislerin İşârî Yorumları” done in Çukurova University Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Basic Islamic Sciences. On the other hand, one of the main sources of the doctorate study dated 2018, titled “Menākıbnāmelere Göre XIII. Yüzyıl Selçuklu Anadoluşunda Tasavvufî Zümreler” done in Selçuk University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of History, is the work of Aflākî.

Aflākî, who compiled and conveyed the incidents about various awliyā’, as well as voicing the subjects he witnessed himself in his work. He sometimes

¹ Eflākî, *Ariflerin Menākıbnāmeleri*, 500-502.

² Eflākî, *Ariflerin Menākıbnāmeleri*, 410.

conveyed what he listened to as an oral history transfer, and sometimes the moments he personally witnessed. In this context, there may be justified criticisms of the work, and the validity of these criticisms in the context of the literature should be investigated. However, it is clear that the work is a versatile resource, both to analyze the historical texture in order to understand the period and to shed light on the studies of Mawlānā. The master's thesis dated 1999, and titled “Eflākî`de Kültür ve Sanat: Fiziki Çevre ve Sanatlar” done at Marmara University, Institute of Turkic Studies, has shown how Mawlānā and the people around him structured almost the entire social fabric of Konya, a city that was quite outstanding in determining the culture of the period, and essentially constituted as a touchstone for the Seljuk History. The master's thesis titled “Menâkıbnâmelere göre Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti” done in the Department of History of the Medieval History, Institute of Social Sciences at Kafkas University, dated 2018, deals with Aflākî's work as a historical source. A project titled “13.yy Anadolu Coğrafyasında Sûfilerin Ayak İzleri ve Taç Kapılar” prepared at the Institute for Sufi Studies, Üsküdar University follows the data on the influence of Mawlānā on the architectural texture of the period and the Sufis traveled through Aflākî's clues. Examples can be multiplied not only in terms of Sufi literature, but also especially in Anatolian geography 13th and 14th century historical studies. *Manâqib al-`Arifîn* is important for many interdisciplinary fields including cultural, social, economic, arts and crafts of the period.

The Issue of Manâqib-Nâmas Being a Reference Source

While the discussion of reference source, objectivity and reliability in Sufism has developed especially within the framework of the concept of “karâma”, its acceptance as a source literature in terms of historical studies has developed in the focus of other discussions within the context of its legendary narrative.

The Question of Source in Historical Studies

The vast majority of Turkish historians did not accept them as historical sources, as they regard manâqib-nâmas as works full of extra-ordinary events and have nothing to do with reality. In the West, works on the lives of Christian saints have been widely used since ancient times, especially after the 19th century such books were collected under the name of “hagiography”, and after careful criticism, they were offered for use in fields such as religion, history, and sociology.¹

In this sense, for the first time in Turkish historiography, M. Fuad Köprülü used the walî manâqib-nâmas while writing the chapter about Aḥmad Yasawî in his work named *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*. Köprülü, later in his article “Anadolu Selçuklu Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları” mentioned the necessity

¹ Şahin, *Menâkıbname*, 112-114.

of making use of manāqib-nāmas as historical sources, and then Zeki Velidi Togan, Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, Orhan Köprülü, Ağâh Sırrı Levend and Ahmed Yaşar Ocak revealed the importance of these works in terms of history.¹ In Orhan Köprülü's doctoral study titled “Tarihi Kaynak Olarak Anadolu'da XIV. ve XV. yüzyıllarda Anadolu'da Bazı Türkçe Menâkıb-Nâmeler”, manāqib-nāmas as historical sources are evaluated in three groups; the epic stories of religious-military heroes, the manāqib-nāmas of the awliyā', and manāqib-nāmas of the Sufis who established ṭarīqas in big cities and their disciples. Ağâh Sırrı Levend cited manāqib-nāmas in terms of literary history in his book *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi-Giriş*. Today, one of the studies on methodology, which will shed light on how to benefit from manāqib-nāmas at a healthy and academic level, is the work titled *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menâkıb-Nâmeler (Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım)* by Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. In his work, Ocak examined the manāqib under two main headings: Manāqib based on historical facts and fictitious ones. Manāqib based on historical facts, summarizing with the assessment that “one of the goals is to glorify the hero, the walī, these real events have been deformed or camouflaged with the motifs of manāqib.” Ocak examined the issue of imaginary manāqib under three headings; manāqib originating from social value system of the society, manāqib based on a moral theology, and manāqib with the purpose of propaganda.²

It is possible to reach information about some historical events and personalities that are not found in other sources by making use of manāqib-nāmas. Mehmet Şeker's article titled “Türkiye (Anadolu) Selçukluları Tarihine Dair Bazı Kaynak Çalışmaları ve Menâkıb-Nâmeler'le Fütüvvet-Nâmeler” shows the importance of manāqib-nāmas not only for the Seljuk Period but also for the Period of Principalities. Zeki Velidi Togan stated that, based on the manāqib of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, he reached information about the struggle and intrigues between the Chagatai amirs at that time, the rising bread prices due to the famine, and the use of the Khārism dinar called “adlı.” It is possible to have information on many subjects from *Manāqib al-Ārifīn* such as Mawlāna Jalāl-al-Dīn Rūmī's relations with the Seljuk and Mongol rulers, the destruction of Konya by Bayju and Geyhatu, the lives of dervishes, Seljuk-Mongol relations, the Mawlawiyya with Baktāshīyya and other ṭarīqas, Ārif Çelebi's relations with Saruhanoğulları. It is also possible to obtain original information from *Walāyat-nāma-e Koyun Baba*, about the social and economic situation of the people living in Central Anatolia, centered in Osmaniçık, their beliefs, the relations of Fātih Sultān Maḥmad and Bāyezīd II., the Balkan conquests from *Walāyat-nāma-e Othman Baba*, the lifestyles and beliefs of the Turkmens in the Teke region from *Walāyat-nāma-e Abdāl Mūşā*, the traces of

¹ Mehmet Şeker, “Türkiye (Anadolu) Selçukluları Tarihine Dair Bazı Kaynak Çalışmaları ve Menâkıb-Nâmeler'le Fütüvvet-Nâmeler”, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları: Y. 3, S.5 (2005): 79-95.

² Ocak, *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menâkıbnâmeler (Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992).

the pre-Islamic Turkish period, the ancient Turkish traditions and customs from the Baktāshī roots, the effects of other religions on the Baktāshī manāqib-nāmas.¹

In short, the value of manāqib-nāmas as a source of history is obvious. However, it is inevitable to confirm by making comparisons in academic studies. In this sense, further research can be made on the use of manāqib-nāmas as a source in Funda Alaslan and Ahmet Şimşek's compilation titled "Bibliyografya: Tarihyazımı, Metodoloji ve Felsefesiyle İlgili Türkçe Eserler Bibliyografyası."

The Issue of Karāma in Manāqib-nāmas as a Reference Source

Within the limitations of this study, without mentioning the discussions on the differences between karāma, miracle and extra-ordinary states, etc. intensely, the content of the concept of karāma has been tried to be conveyed within the framework of manāqib-nāma. As a term, karāma is defined as "an extra-ordinary state that arises from God's righteous, god-wary, walī servants." The word "free disposal (*taşarruf*)", meaning "doing business based on an authority", has also been used synonymously with karāma in Sufism.² While the expressions describing the extra-ordinary states of awliyā' were shared with great excitement and pleasure in the Sufi classics, they were also criticized by many top personalities. Likewise, the need for karāma for the murīd to believe in his shaykh causes discussions about the rank of the disciple on the path; sensitive issues such as the fact that this disposition is a curtain for the walī himself are discussed. Another important issue in this regard is in the context of the relationship between walī and karāma directed to the Sufis in Sufi studies. Particular attention is drawn to this issue, which is expressed as the mistake of attaching walāya to karāma, and it is stated that karāmāt are the narrations transmitted in the disciple circles. Ibn al-'Arabī deals with the subject under the title of breaking of habit (*kharīq al-'āda*) in Futūhat in three parts: miracle (*mu'jiza*), karāma, and magic. Miracle belongs to prophets, karāma belongs to awliyā' and righteous servants, and magic belongs to commoners (*awāmm*).³

Except for legitimate reasons, showing karāma and the pleasure of the nafs and for pride were decried by the Sufi masters. It is possible to summarize the opinions of the Sufis about the karāma as follows:

1. It is essential to hide the karāma. Karāma is the gift from Allāh. A perfect human is not concerned with it, but with his duties of servitude. The term "to show karāma" emerged in the following centuries. Real Sufis know

¹ Şeker, "Türkiye (Anadolu) Selçukluları Tarihine Dair Bazı Kaynak Çalışmaları ve Menâkıb-Nâmeler'le Fütüvvet-Nâmeler", 79-95.

² Uludağ, "Kerâmet", DIA., V. 25: 265-268.

³ Suad al-Hakim, *İbnü'l Arabî Sözlüğü*, tr. Ekrem Demirli, (İstanbul: Kabcacı Yayınevi, 2005): 416.

that when karāma occurs, Allāh is testing them, and they behave anxious and sensitive about it.

2. Uprightness (*istiqāma*) is essential, not karāma.
3. It is essential to abide by the Shari‘a, not the karāma.
4. Karāma is to destroy bad habits.

5. Karāma is a veil (*hijāb*). Karāma can also be an obstacle. Those who cling to karāma neglect their real duties. Sensing this danger, Sufis acted as if karāma had never happened.¹


However, it is accepted by all those who is god-wary (*muttaqī*) that there are examples in the Qur‘an and hadiths cannot be explained by the human. A person whose name is not mentioned in the Qur‘an suddenly brings the throne of the queen of Sheba to Prophet Solomon, the provision coming to Maryam directly from Allāh (Āl ‘Imrān 3:37; Maryam 19:25), the Aṣḥāb Al-Kahf's sleeping with their dogs for a long time in a cave (Kahf 18:16-26), the return of the baby to the mother of Prophet Mūsā (Qaṣaṣ 28:7-13), the events of Khiḍir and Dhu'l-Qarnayn (Kahf 18:60;83-98) exemplify the events from which extraordinary states arose in the Qur‘an.² Prophet Ya‘qūb, who smelled Yūsuf's scent all the way from Egypt, said to those who blamed him: *By Allāh (with a knowledge given to me) I know what you do not know* (Yūsuf 12:96). This verse, and especially the story of Khiḍir and Mūsā, which shows that Khiḍir has a different kind of secret knowledge than the one given to Mūsā, is frequently cited as a few of the examples that prove that there is a spiritual comprehension and God-given knowledge that Allāh bestow upon some of His servants.³ Karāmāt that emerged from the Companions (*Aṣḥāb*) of Prophet Muḥammad while he was alive are included in hadith books.

Examples can be multiplied, but the karāma motifs performed by Sufis that are similar to the ones in the Qur‘an can be found in Nurdan Kılınç İnevi's article “Kur‘an Kaynaklı Karama Motifleri.” These are: The appearance of extra-ordinary conditions during and after birth, protection from burning in fire, managing forces of nature and events as one desires, removing one's presence in the world before the body dies, ascension to heaven on a horse, the ability to travel very long distances in an instant (*ṭayy al-makān*), ability to stay for a long time without eating and drinking, changing the nature and attributes of matter, bringing fruit from trees without fruit, growing fruits and flowers out of season, hearing and announcing the remembrance (*dhikr*) of inanimate

¹ Reşat Öngören, “Tasavvufun Temel Meseleleri”, unpublished lecture notes (2019-2020); Selçuk Eraydın, “*Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar*”, 123-124; Dilaver Selvi, *İslami Kaynaklarda Velâyet ve Kerâmet*, (İstanbul: Hoşgörü Yayınları, 2012); Ayhan Bekir, “Tasavvufta Mu‘cize ve Kerâmet”, Urfa (1995); Nurdan Kılınç İnevi, “Kerâmet Motifi Üzerine Bir Araştırma”, Süleyman Demirel University Institute of Social Sciences, unpublished doctoral thesis, Isparta (2019); Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, v. val., “*Doğuştan Günümüze Büyük İslâm Tarihi*”, 361-362.

² Uludag, “Kerâmet”, 265.

³ Şeker, “Türkiye (Anadolu) Selçukluları Tarihine Dair Bazı Kaynak Çalışmaları ve Menâkıb-Nâmeler’le Fütüvvet-Nâmeler”, 79-95.



beings, crossing a river, lake, or sea, springing water from stone or rock from the ground, using the service of wild animals, talking to animals, informing about the future, reporting past happenings, seeing God/hearing God's voice, resurrecting the dead, resurrecting a human, resurrecting an animal, healing the patients, receiving God-given banquet or food. Considering the titles of the extra-ordinary states and acts shown by awliya' in the Sufi culture, the importance of supporting these examples with the Qur'an is obvious.

As a result, on the one hand, the concepts of walī and walāya do not present a structure supported by karāma, on the other hand, the existence of karāma in the belief system is presented with evidence in the literature. These evidences are, in a sense, an answer to the criticisms made over the concept of karāma to manāqib-nāmas. As it is emphasized in sections above, it is possible to understand what poured out from the pen of an author who has annihilated in his shaykh within the framework of the relationship between the disciple (*murīd*) and the spiritual guide (*murshid*). Sufis understand and make sense of the extra-ordinary states in manāqib-nāmas in a systematic that prioritizes the knowledge gained through unveiling (*kashf*). In this context, it is inevitable to evaluate these extra-ordinary states within the framework of Sufi methodologies, firstly in the Qur'an and then in the Sunna, then to consider the closeness of the author with the friend of God and to provide a comparatively study from other sources.

Conclusion

The main sources of Sufi literature are the works on renunciation (*zuhd*) which contain narrations about the ascetic life of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions, Classics, Ṭabaqāt, Awrād, Maktūbāt, allusionary Qur'an commentaries (*ishārī tafsir*), Ādāb books written in the period of ṭarīqas, manāqib-nāmas which have a very large volume of works like Maktūbāt. In the history of Sufism, starting from the oldest reference works on ascetism to the hallmark of Ibn al-‘Arabī, and the stance of Mawlānā's period, from the states masters of ṭarīqas and Sufis to the works they gave we are facing with a literature that can be consider reference sources in many ways in Sufi studies; in addition to the works of history, sociology, folklore, economy, art, craft, commercial, political, and so on. It is also clear that this vast literature carries clues as a resource for many fields. Primary source qualifications appear in almost every academic study, especially the ones on the Anatolian geography, Seljuk and Period of Principalities.

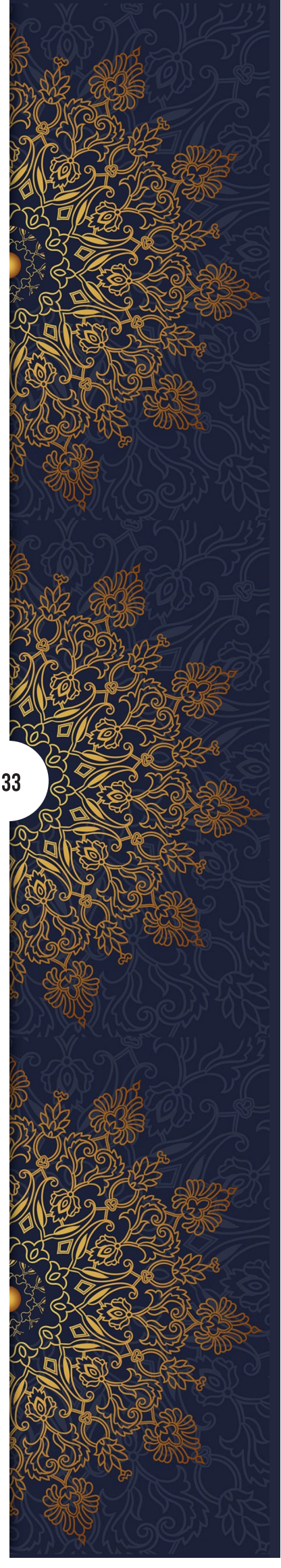
In the literal context, the most important feature can be shown as the transfer of the knowledge of the state experiences (*ḥāl*). Likewise, information such as walī's characteristics, genealogies, awrād, ādāb, uşul, arkān and etc. can be obtained from other literature sources. However, we see that manāqib-nāmas stand out as a primary source, especially in the context of "karāma and extra-ordinary circumstances." The richness of this knowledge is indisputable for Sufism. The closeness of the author to his shaykh, his physical and

metaphysical journeys, and his associations in discourse environments, his living with his shaykh are valuable in terms of witnessing the information conveyed. This is a proof. In many academic studies, the ṭarīqa shaykh's daily and anecdotal life are narrated as if they were two separate life narratives developed independently from each other. Although this separation is not a meaningful distinction from with the Sufi point of view, it shows that manāqib-nāmas have been accepted in different disciplines and they need to be transferred in the related studies. Recently, especially in post-2000 postgraduate studies, the intensity of the theses made specifically on the axis of originality supports this approach.

Besides its value in the context of literature, another important feature of manāqib-nāmas is the transfer technique. The language of our mind is the language of stories. Isn't the transmission of the oral tradition, verbal memory, and the narrative technique, which makes it easier for the reader to keep the oral memory in mind, a technique used in the educational system even today? This method once again underlines the value of manāqib-nāmas in terms of keeping the tradition alive and transferring it. Undoubtedly, as in all other literature reviews, the reliability of the information obtained should be investigated. This evidence-proof method is different for every branch of science addressed by manāqib-nāmas. In any field, the primary duty of a good researcher is this questioning.

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