Turkish and Iranian Political Theories and Traditions in *Kutadgu Bilig*

WORKS FROM the Uyghur period comprise a rich body of written sources of genuine Turkish culture outside the Islamic cultural sphere. It is well known that the Karakhanids, while crossing the Islamic cultural frontier, at the same time assimilated and vigorously maintained Uygur culture. Turkish scholar Reşid Rahmeti Arat made available to us the sources of Uyghur and Karakhanid culture and paved the way for the renaissance and expansion of that culture. His publication of a superb edition of *Kutadgu Bilig,* one of the greatest monuments of Turkish culture, undertaken according to Western philological methods on the basis of the texts considered earlier by Vambery and Radloff, placed the study of Turkish cultural history on a firm foundation. In his introduction (*Kutadgu Bilig,* II, *Tercüme,* p. VIII), Arat states, "In this work of Yusuf Hâs Hâcib, not only those who deal with language and literature of the Turks, but also with Turkish social sciences, Turkish history and Turkish cultural history in general will find a gleam which will illuminate their own respective fields." Reşid Rahmeti Arat promised to take up an analysis of the echoes of this work in the literature of neighboring cultures *(Metin,* I, XXI), but unfortunately death prevented it.

In this humble tribute to the memory of Reşid Rahmeti Arat, whom we remember as a great Turkish scholar and a respected brother, we will attempt, using the text which he published, to distinguish the genuinely Turkish traditions from the Indo-Iranian views of ethics and statecraft which dominate the work.

According to Barthold, *Kutadgu Bilig* can be placed among a diverse group of Oriental, among them Persian, works which were written "to instruct emperors, officials and other people in ethics." The work was written "in the spirit of Islam from beginning to end," and there is little likelihood that it was influenced by the Uyghurs.[1a] According to Arat, however, *Kutadgu Bilig* "is a work which was

undertaken with the aim of showing men what was necessary to be blessed with complete understanding, in this world and the next." Yusuf Hâs Hâcib was more than anything else a poet-thinker. "A philosophy which analyzes the meaning of human life and which sets forth the obligations of society, and consequently of the state, establishes a philosophical system for life." This work was probably written out of a concern, aroused by internal strife in Central Asia, that "principles of ethics be set forth anew."[1b] Arat, moreover, rightly pointed out that the one who attempts to derive an interpretation of the work on the basis of its constituent parts could be mislead.[2] Arat noted the presence of an Iranian influence in the work in the use of *aruz* meter, in the great number of Arabic and Persian terms, and in the mention of Arabic (*Tazi tili*) works and of the Persian *ulema (Tajik bilgesi)*. In all probability Yusuf knew both Arabic and Persian.

According to the late Sadri Maksudi Arsal, *Kutadgu Bilig* is a work which aims at educating, such as *Telemaque*. Its objective is to convey to future generation the thinking of eleventh-century Turkish intellectuals on ethics and public administration. "The point of view on social life, ethics and public administration is entirely that of the pre-Islamic Turks."[3] "Almost all of the educational and intellectual material is taken from Turkish life." "The proverbs the author employs are old Turkish sayings."

"We can accept these legal and ethical theories, and this state organization, as a somewhat idealized summation of those predominant in the Muslim and Uygur Khanate of the eleventh century."[4] While Arsal's point stands, that the ideas in the work "were taken from the intellectual and ethical treasure collected throughout the Turkish historical experience," nevertheless some foreign influence is generally admitted. As Otto Alberts argued, Ibn Sina cannot be considered as an influence;[5] the influence of Farabi, and of the Chinese philosopher Confucius, is more evident. On the qualities necessary in a sovereign, on the public administration and on the importance of justice, there is "a marked resemblance" between the ideas of Farabi and those of Yusuf.[6]

Evidence indicates that some of Confucius' works existed in Uygur translation. There are "undeniable similarities" between his views on ethics, law and public administration and those of Yusuf.[7]

Let us remind ourselves at this juncture that from a simple methodological standpoint, these notions are rather diffuse, and in order to show the definite influence of any one of these writers, it will be necessary to establish particular points of correlation.

The nature of *Kutadgu Bilig* can be determined directly from the introductions, in verse and prose, amended to it later. According to these, the genre, in other lands known as *ededü 'l- mülûk, âyinü 'l-memleke or pandnâme-i mülûk,* is known among the Turanians as *kutadgu bilig*. And according to these introductions, the book relates requirements for the administration of cities and states, knowledge incumbent upon administrators, the requirements and conditions of sovereignty, and the reasons of the collapse or the survival of states.

1. INDO-IRANIAN TRADITIONS IN *KATADGU BILIG*

Yusuf undoubtedly was familiar with Firdausı's *Şehnâme*. He records (couplet 280) the words of the Iranian Afrâsiyâb to the legendary Turkish hero Tonga Alp-er. The mention of Dahhâk and Ferîdûn can be taken as proof that the *Şehnâme* was well known in his environment (couplet 241). And *Kutadgu Bilig* was written in the same meter *(faûlun faûlun faûlun faûl)* as the *Şehnâme*. However, we must at the same time note that the views expressed in Yusuf's work, while related to a set of ideas on statecraft which had spread and taken root throughout the eleventh-century Islamic world, can be traced to much older Indo-Iranian sources.

In the later years of the Sassanid state, a number of advice books appeared, bearing the name *Andarznâma* or *Pandnâme,* which aimed at teaching sovereigns the essentials of sound administration. The most important of these, the letter of Tansar, gave ethical and political advice, using the era of Husrev I Anûşirevân as a utopian model.[8] Another, the *Treatise of Buzurdjmihr,* achieved such significance for medieval Islamic history that it was translated into Ottoman Turkish.

In the Islamic period, a number of treatises appeared which can be collectively considered as under ancient Iranian influence and under the general rubric of *âdâb,* discussing ethical rules, governing, public administration, protocol, etiquette, and practical living. In Islam, the first example of these was that of Ibn Mukaffa[c], an Iranian who converted to Islam from Zoroastrianism. Such treatises form the majority of his works translated from Pahlavi. During this time he also translated a work entitled *Kalilagh ve Demnagh (Kelîle* ve Dimne) from Pahlavi to Arabic. The basis of this work is a book of advice for sovereigns written in Sanskrit, the *Pañçatantra.*[9] The work seeks to impart political and administrative rules and ethical lessons, expressed through terse, laconic wisdom in animal tales. The Pahlavi

translation of the work, attributed to Burzôe, the wise Vezir of Anûşirevân, is lost. The work was later translated from Persian to Arabic, with a supplement, by Munshî Ebu 'l-Maᶜâlî Nasrullah in the name of the Gaznavid Sultan Behrâmşâh (1118-52).[10] This work was in great demand in Sasanid Iran. The aim of all of these practical ethical and political books was to show people, through stories taken both from imaginary tales and from real life, and through philosophical aphorisms, the way to a happy life, and especially to teach sovereigns the secrets and practical rules of successful administration. They expressed the religio-ethical and political thinking and the philosophy of life of pre-Islamic, upper-class Iranian society. In the introduction to *Kelîle ve Dimne*[11] Ibn Mukaffaᶜ asserts that the work is a useful guide to statecraft for the monarch, and that Anûşirevân administered the affairs of his lands in accordance with its principles.

A story Tabarî relates from Sassanid sources reflects the ancient Iranian conception of the state: Kisrâ Parvîz accumulated huge sums in his treasury. But in order to do so, he permitted oppression. As a result (that is , because currency was being kept out of circulation and collecting in the treasury), the price structure collapsed and it became difficult to earn living. The people turned against the state. It was charged that, among other wrongs, he had in particular exercised severity in the collection of taxes and by taking money from the hands of the people had made survival difficult. He was found guilty and dethroned. In response, Kisrâ gave this answer: "After God himself, the things which support a sovereign and give him power are money and armies. Armies and weapons are only obtained with great financial resources. The necessary financial resources can only be procured by earnest effort and by expending force in the collection of taxes. We were not the first to amass revenues in the treasury - finance and a treasury are the foundation of statehood and sovereignty. It is one's power against one's enemies."[12]

Here the ideas that, on the one hand in order to retain power an army, and because of that a treasury, are needed, and on the other hand that amassing revenues leads to oppression of the people, that the accumulation of large amounts of gold and silver in the treasury makes it difficult for the people to earn a livelihood, are juxtaposed as contrasting policies. This conflict is resolved with the concept, reflecting a more sophisticated interpretation, that subjects generate wealth who have no fear of life and well-being, while impoverished subjects have a diminished capacity to pay taxes. Thus it is necessary,

in order to fill the treasury, to place the subjects under a mild and just administration and to prevent oppression.

According to *Kelîle ve Dimne,*[13] "the security of the subjects is dependent on the Emperor, on the presence of piety in state affairs, and on reason, consistency and justice." With justice, concern and compassion, and with the demonstration of authority and punishment of evil, the ruler succeeds in securing prosperity and bringing the world under his rule.[14] In the *Kâbusnâme*[15] (written in 1082), a later work reflecting the ancient Indo-Iranian tradition, we find the same view formulated in this way: "Mark this well, that sovereignty is gained by military power, and military power by the power of gold; gold is obtained through prosperity, and prosperity abounds through justice and fairness. So do not neglect justice and fairness." This formula, known as the "circle of justice," is expressed even more clearly in *Kutadgu Bilig* (couplets 2057-59):

> To preserve the state, a large army and many soldiers are needed; to feed the army there is need of great riches and wealth; in order to obtain this wealth the people must be prosperous, *for the people to prosper just laws must be set forth.*[16] If any one of these is neglected all four will cease, and if all four are neglected, the kingdom will begin to come apart at the seams.

This political philosophy dominates the work of Yusuf Hâs Hâcib. He turns to it in a number of passages and attempts to elucidate it in a variety of ways. For example:

> The people became rich and the land prospered; they praised the ruler in their prayers. For they were saved, painful things were removed. The wolf lay down with the sheep . . . they passed through a time of peace and security, and all things prospered for the people and the state. The state built new cities and towns. The state treasury was filled with gold and silver. The ruler was comfortable, he had attained peace of mind; his fame and prestige spread throughout the world (couplets 1039-44).

> O Ruler! If you desire to reign in your country for a long time, you must carry out just laws, and you must protect

> your people. With law is your territory expanded and the realm enjoys good order; with oppression your territory shrinks and the world is ruined. Oppressors destroy their palaces with own oppression, and in the end perish from poverty themselves (couplets 2033-35).

A number of other examples in *Kutadgu Bilig* reflect this concept (see couplets 894-95, 5540, 5459-63, and 1924-28). In order to demonstrate the primary role of justice within this framework, Yusuf makes the ruler, Kün-Togdı, his symbol of justice (couplet 68). "The foundation of the state is the path of justice (*bu beglik köki ol könilik yolı,* couplet 821). The other principles, which emerge subsequently, are "the state," "reason," and "contentedness." "The state" is symbolized by Vezir Ay-toldı. His son Ogdülmış is "reason." "Contentedness" is represented by Odgurmış, a relative of the Vezir (it is noteworthy that, in the manuscript, the terms "state" and "subjects" are Arabic words, transmitted in their Persian form).[17]

The objectives of the ruler, who represents justice, are these (couplets 5540-50 and 5574-84):

1. To maintain the standard of gold and silver coins.
2. To govern the people through just laws and give no opportunity for the strong to do dominate the weak.
3. To prevent banditry.
4. To open roads and keep them safe.
5. To treat everyone in accordance with their status in life.

Another treatise which reflects Sassanid tradition, attributed to the time of Ardaşîr b. Bâbek, lists'[18] the duties of the ruler as: leading the subjects into good circumstances through justice, keeping the roads safe, protecting the subjects' homes, and keeping the hand of oppression far from them. [19] In the *Siysâtnâme* of Nizâmu 'l-Mulk (first three parts), which for the most part reflects traditions of the ancient Iranian state, the duties of the ruler are to subdue and punish criminals, to bring every servant into their rightful place and station in accordance with their individual capabilities, to ensure the peace of mind of the subjects through justice, and to develop the country by building new canals and bridges and by fostering new cities and villages. Above all, it is the duty of the ruler, on certain days of the week, to personally hear the complaints of his subjects and directly meet out justice. This type

of advice literature is always concerned with preserving the class structure of society, with treating everyone according to their status in life, with "placing everyone according to their status."

In the *siyâsetu 'ş-şer'iyyes* of Muslim jurists, the duties of the Caliph or the Sultan are described within the limitations of concepts originating in the same sources, in almost the same way. Naturally, the duty of guarding and executing the *sharia* is added.[20] The administrative functions of the state are parallel, as well as the understanding that it rests on the pillars of the army, the treasury and justice. Thus, three principal agents of the ruler are required: first, young men who wield the sword (the army); second, a wise and learned man who provides counsel and administers state affairs (the Vezir); and third, skilled and intelligent scribes who account for the state's income and expenditures and keep its treasury filled (the bureaucracy).[21]

In this state system, which relies on the absolutist rule of the sovereign, justice (*'adl*), understood as the prevention of abuse and oppression of the people by those in authority, and of the weak by the powerful, is considered the most important duty of the ruler. With the Sassanids, and later in the Islamic states, this basic duty was accomplished through the institution of the great *dîvân* and the Sultan's meting out justice after personally hearing the complaints of the subjects. Anyone could come to this *dîvân,* which was called variously *mezâlim dîvâni, dâru 'l-'adl,* or *dîvân-i 'âlî,* and present his complaints.

Among the Sassanids, every subject had the right to come to the *divan* during the first week of each month and directly read their complaints to the ruler.[22]

Nizâmu 'l-Mulk, in his *Siyâsetnâme,*[23] explains the real objective of this custom. Two days each week, without fail, kings were to listen directly to the complaints of their people and see that justice was served. Thus, evildoers throughout the land would be discouraged from doing wrong, for fear of the ruler's justice. The complaints were usually directed against those who abused the authority they possessed to act in the name of the king. They could also protest an order, law or directive issued directly by the king. The king's decision was to be immediate and final. The hearing of these complaints was a means of demonstrating the absolute authority of the sovereign in all matters. Thus the great divan was a forum which manifested in the highest degree the justice and the sovereignty of the ruler, and was the institution which most clearly demonstrated the essence of the orien-

tal state. In all of the Islamic states as well as the Sassanid state, this institution was afforded the highest degree of significance.[24] In *Kutadgu Bilig* justice is defined in the same manner and with the same importance as in the traditional Irano-Islamic states (especially, on what constituted Kün-Togdı's justice, part XVIII, couples 792-822). The Prince states that a throne rests on three legs and cannot bend in any direction. "My acts and words are for all people alike."

> I settle matters with justice (*könilik*);[25] I do not distinguish between nobleman and slave. I settle the matter promptly; I do not detain those who seek truth. Whoever comes to my door oppressed and seeking justice will depart from me satisfied. My wrath rests on the oppressors. All are equal in the eyes of the law (couplet 812: *törü bulsa mindin kapugka kelip,* here *kapu* is used, as it was with the Ottomans, in the sense of that place where the ruler administered the affairs of state, i.e., the *divan*).

Inasmuch as governing rested on ethics, the most important topic the *nasihat-nâme* literature addressed was the qualities required of a sovereign. Above all, in governing the sovereign should rely on reason and knowledge: *bilig birle begler budun başladı: ukuş birle il kün işin işledi* (couplet 1952).

The necessity of reason and knowledge is repeated often in lengthy passages in *Kutadgu Bilig* (for example, couplets 1948-73). He who acts with reason and knowledge is blessed in this world and the next (couplet 1973).

Knowledge and reason hold great importance in the Indo-Iranian tradition as well. According to *Kelile ve Dimne,*[26] reason is the pillar of happiness and the key to achieving success. The *Kâbûsnâme* (translation, p. 349) expresses the idea in this way: "In everything consult reason (*ʿakl*) and knowledge (*bilü*), and then act. Reason and knowledge are the Vezir and advisors of a king."

Kutadgu Bilig follows this Indo-Iranian tradition, as shown in the following couplet: "A man grows by reason and matures by knowledge. A man with both is respected. If anyone doubts me, observe Nûşîn Revân"(Anûşîrevân, couplets 289-90).

One of the primary requirements of a ruler in *Kutadgu Bilig* is *hilm,* (gentleness, forbearance), the necessity of being gentle and conciliatory with regard to the subjects. "He who desires to govern men must be of gentle character and gentlemanly conduct . . . his tongue must be sweet, and he must show personal humility." Being the symbol of

justice, law and punishment, the ruler must not follow his own sentiments. Moreover the Vezir, the chief administrator, must without fail be gentle and soft-spoken (couplets 546-52). According to *Kelile ve Dimne,*[27] of the necessary virtues of the ruler, *hilm* (that is, gentleness), *sahâvet* (generosity) and *şecaat* (courage), the most important is *hilm. Hilm* makes the person of the king "honored and revered," makes both the army and the subjects satisfied with him and grateful to him, and the kingship stays stable. A single evil action in violation of this principle causes the ruin of the world and the resentment and hatred of the people. *Hilm* is realized through the counsel of wise and experienced men. Enemies never overrun the land whose ruler, through *hilm,* has bound its army and subjects to himself.

Another of the duties of the ruler was to show generosity to all in accordance with their status.[28]

In general, there is much agreement between *Kutadgu Bilig* and the Indo-Iranian tradition on the other virtues incumbent upon the king.

Kutadgu Bilig states: "The prince must be honest, not covetous, of gentle character (couplet 2000)," "the prince must have a truthful tongue and an honest heart (couplet 2010)," and "generosity and humble heartedness are necessary for a prince (couplet 2049)."

The *Kâbusnâme* (pp. 347-64) lists the virtues of kingship as: to show justice and kindness, to flee from illegitimate activities, to avoid impetuousness, to make things easy for people, to tell the truth, and to be faithful to one's word.

For Nizâmu 'l-Mulk, the necessary qualities for a ruler were "decency, goodness, a forgiving spirit, humility, generosity, truth, forbearance, gratitude, mercy, knowledge, compassion, knowledge, wisdom and justice." And according to him, a disposition unbefitting to a prince was one of "malice and envy, conceit and hatred, greed, lust, falsehood, avarice, a bad temper, cruelty, selfishness, impetuousness, ungratefulness and inconsideration."

The same traits are considered evil in *Kutadgu Bilig* (couplets 2010-78). Negligence, cruelty, deceitfulness, cowardice, stinginess, obstinacy, pride and conceit, impetuousness, and a violent temper must never characterize a ruler.

Consequently, there is no doubt that the concept of the state, and the rules of governing and of ethics found in *Kutadgu Bilig* rely in broad dimensions on Indo-Iranian sources. These interpretations were passed into the common cultural heritage of all Muslim countries. That Yusuf Hâs Hâcib knew of the ancient Iranian traditions flourishing in eastern Iran and

Mawarunnehr in the tenth and eleventh centuries is certain. The Kara khanids, who had accepted Islam in the mid-tenth century in the regions centered around Balasagun and Kashgar, at the end of that century took the region of Mawarunnehr from the Muslim Samanids, who had preserved strong Iranian traditions (Rûdegî translated *Kelîle ve Dimne* into Persian verse under the patronage of the Samanids, themselves related to the descendents of the Iranian Sassanids[29]).

The Karakhanids, while having entered the Islamic cultural sphere, were at the same time dependent on high Uygur culture, which had flourished in the east.

Outside of a few Irano-Islamic technical terms in *Kutadgu Bilig,* the language used to treat its abstract subject matter is completely Turkish. As Arat has proven, this Turkish was without a doubt the Turkish used in the Uygur region. There are indications that Yusuf was no stranger to the culture and philosophy of Uygur Burkanism (Buddhism).[30] It is possible that he saw political books of the time which had been translated into Turkish from Sanskrit. Just as Indian political views were transmitted via Iran, so they may also have been brought by way of the Uygurs.

2. TURKISH STATE TRADITIONS IN *KUTADGU BILIG*

While on the one hand Yusuf employed Anûşirevân as a model, on the other hand he also passed on the ideas of a number of Turkish masters, mentioning them by name.[31] Moreover, he supported his own ideas with Turkish proverbs. That he puts forth these words which, more than any, embody the Turkish traditions of state (couplet 276):

Körü barsa emdi bu Türk begleri
Ajun beglerinde bular yigleri.

Paramount in the Iranian state tradition was the absolute authority of the ruler. Indeed, this authority was above the law; it was limited only by the concept of justice. We have seen that in most of the *pandnâmes* justice was pursued as a pragmatic objective, the profit of which was constantly alluded to (the absence of justice breeds unrest and conflict, impoverishes the people, and drys up the sources of the ruler's treasury).[32] The execution of justice was the unique prerogative of the ruler; objective traditions limiting his absolute authority never developed. Justice manifested itself as the favor and benevolence of the ruler in the great *divan.* The *pandnâme* writers could find

no other means of guaranteeing justice than to rely upon such ethical principles as the ruler's sense of justice and possession of moderation and gentleness.

Side by side with the Iranian concept of the state and of government in *Kutadgu Bilig* is the view, powerfully expressed, that kingship is inseparable from *törü* (law and orderliness), or even that governing consists of the personification of *törü* and *kut.*

"This Kün-Togdi is the just law itself"
(*bu kün togdi tigli törü ol köni,* couplet 355).

"The kingdom stands on the law"
(*törü birle beglik turur ol örü,* couplet 355).

Yusuf addresses the ruler:

"O blessed fortune *(kut),* O goodly law *(törü)*"
(couplet 939)

"The bond and lock of a land consist of two things: vigilance and law; there are essential"
(*biri saklık ol bir törü il köki,* couplet 2015).

"A prince who establishes just[33] laws in the land will bring order to his land and enlighten its days."

"Aprince will bring to order his dominion and people by the way of law."
(*törü birle tüzse ili budnini).*

"By establishing just laws and applying them without partiality, a ruler can guard his rule for a long time."
(couplet 2033)

Törü in the Turkish state tradition is inseparable from the sovereignty of divine origin *(kut).* A *kagan,* especially the Turkish *kagan* who founds a state, must definitely establish a *törü.* In the *Selçuknâme* Yazıcızâde explains that Oghuz Khan "leaving his will and testament, established the törü. According to the Orkhon inscriptions when Bumin Kagan, the founder of the *Kök Türk* state, took the throne, he "organized and ruled the

state and törü of theTurkish nation," and after that spread their rule in all directions, building an empire (the publication of H.N. Orkun, Eski Türk Yazıtları, I, Ankara, 1936, D.I, D.II; Tekin E1).[34] When the state, which had collapsed for a time, again entered a struggle for independence, Elteriş Kagan brought the people back to the törü of the ancestors and mobilized them and thus set in motion the broken Turkish nation, I D.13, II D.12, I D.14).

Explaining the strength of the state, Bilgä Kaghan said, "We had a country which was won and organized in this way, and which had its *törü*" (I D.22). This famous passage in the inscription continues, "except God above does not collapse, except the earth below does not give away, who can destroy your *el* (state) and *törü?*" (I D.22 Tekin, E 22). The raw material of the *törü* was the customary law, the *yosun,* which oversaw socio-political organization in Central Asian society. But the *yosun* becomes törü by the action of the founding *kagan.* The *kagan* supplements it with his own decrees and establishes the state. The *törü* is a synthesis of the objective legal tradition which binds the sovereign. The significance of the *törü* in the Turkish tradition of the state must have resulted from a reliance on customary law, which was fastidiously observed among the tribes. One of the real reasons, and perhaps the primary reason, for the dispute between the Seljuk rulers and the Oğuz tribes, after the Great Seljukid conquest of Iran, may have been the appropriation by the Seljukids of a concept of sovereignty along the lines of the Iranian Chosroes, and the activities contrary to the *törü* associated with the customs of the Oğuz tribes.

The *yasa* of Genghis Khan is, essentially, nothing else but the *törü* of the Turkish state, and *törü* can expand our knowledge of the *yasa.*[35]

Yusuf strongly expressed the lofty position of the törü in the Turkish state with this couplet: "A kingdom is a good thing. But better is a *törü,* and it must be correctly applied" (*idi edgü beglik taki edgürek: törü ol anı tuz yoritgu kerek,* couplet 454).

It is no coincidence that notable Turkish sovereigns who founded states were promulgators of law codes *(kanunnâme).* According to the early Ottoman chroniclers, who strongly reflect old Turkish traditions, after he had declared his independence Osman Gazi established laws.[36] Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-81), the true founder of the Ottoman Empire, promulgated two law codes, one for the subjects and one concerning state administration. Finally, Süleyman the Lawgiver (1520-66), who made the Ottoman state a world empire, also published a law code. These codes were a collection of laws relying

solely from imperial decrees and had nothing to do with the *sharia;* in other words, they can thus be considered a result of Turkish state tradition.

In *Kutadgu Bilig* this universal concept of state considerably transformed the concept of "justice" of the Iranian state tradition. Justice was not an act dependent upon the sovereign, it was the *törü,* applied directly and impartially.

The second principle which reflects the Turkish tradition of the state in *Kutadgu Bilig* emerges as the sovereign's duties towards the people. As we have noted above, Yusuf follows the Iranian state tradition when in certain passages he emphasizes the importance of collecting revenues: the treasury is the foundation of rule (especially see couplets 5459-64). Ogdülmiş comments about the prince who said this:

> Open your treasury and distribute the wealth. You make men happy, and they will carry out your every request. . . . Let your men be many, let them become a great mass, and when your army is large they will make raids and fill your treasury. (couplets 5479-90)

> If a prince is generous, his fame spreads throughout the world . . . around him warriors gather, and make an army, and with his army he attains whatever he desires. Be generous, make grants, let them eat and drink; . . . why should a prince who rules the world hoard wealth; an army can readily obtain wealth for him. (couplets 2050-56)

The prince of a great city states, "the people must be content, and to make the people content they must have full bellies" (couplets 5353-55). This is because "the concern of the common folk is always for their bellies. . . . never let them have too little to eat and drink" (couplets 4327-30).

In the Orkhon inscriptions the fundamental purpose of the ruler is to feed and clothe the people, the *karabudun,* to make them prosper. They stress this point as the greatest success of a *kagan.* Bilgä says, "I became the *kagan* and brought all the poor and common people together, and I made the poor people rich, and I made many those who were few" (H. N. Orkun ed. I C 10, Tekin, E24). "Sitting on the throne, my uncle organized and nourished the Turkish people. He made the

poor people rich and made the few people many" (I D 16, 17, Tekin, E 16). "I revived a people who had died, and nourished them. I clothed the naked, made the poor people rich and made the few people many" (I D 29, Tekin, E 29).

Undoubtedly, the birth of this principle as an institution is related to tribal life on the steppe. The duty of a prince, in its truest sense, was to create the opportunity of filling the peoples' bellies. *Toy,* which passed into Persian as *khân-i yagma,* was an institution which was never abandoned, being fitted carefully into every Turkish state, right down to the time of the Ottomans. In times and places in which it was natural that the Iranian theory of the state hold sway, the toy took on more of a symbolic meaning. But in Central Asia its significance always appears to have been real. In the *Siyâsetname* of Nizâmu 'l-Mulk,[37] we find one of the most insightful descriptions of this institution:

> The emperor, saying that those who come to him in the mornings should find something to eat, always took care to have an elaborate feast set out in the palace. For if there is no immediate need among those who come to sit down and eat, then it is meaningless to have food brought at meal-times. But without fail, this feast was prepared in the mornings. . . . Sultan Tughrul took care to prepare extraordinary lavish feasts and to set out various kinds of foods. When he mounted his horse and went riding of hunting, he would have prepared such foods as were necessary. . . . The khans of Turkistan accepted as a matter fully the responsibility of the state that their subjects have an abundance of food. When we went to Uz-kend in Samarkand, it was heard from the lips of some gossips that the Cikillis (Çigils) and those from Mawaraunnehr always say, "from the time we went in to the Sultan until we departed, we ate sweet bread at a feast."

Ibn Battuta describes this custom in the principality of Kastamonu in the 1330s:

> It is the custom of this Sultan to take his seat in his audience hall every day after the afternoon prayer; food is brought in and the doors are opened, and no one, whether townsman or nomad, stranger or traveller, is prevented from partaking.

According to Âşık Paşa-zâde, at the Ottoman palace, "when the time came for afternoon prayer, the people came in and ate."[38] And in 1664 when the Crimean army came to the Imperial army, "a meal was spread out, and the abundance of food was beyond description. Even after the Tatar army 'plundered' the feast, food was left to be freely given to the men of the imperial army as well."[39]

In a state the essence of which was urban life, such as in the Karakhanid state, *Kutadgu Bilig* was compelled to give a broader definition to this institution. In fact, Yusuf divided people into three groups: the wealthy, the middle class and the poor. The ruler must "above all care for the poor." The burden of the rich must not be loaded onto the middle class; this would upset and impoverish them. The ruler should act in a way that the poor become middle class and the middle class become wealthy (couplets 5560-67).[40] Thus, Yusuf reconciled the Turkish tradition with the Indo-Iranian concept which viewed the wealth of the treasury as deriving from the people's prosperity.

Together with the *Divanu Lugati 't-Türk* of Mahmud Kaşgari, *Kutadgu Bilig* comprises the richest source we have encountered in examining how and to what degree Central Asian Turkish culture survived in the society and state of the Turks after their entrance into the sphere of Islamic culture. Above we have focused only on statecraft. There is no doubt that comparative studies on the public institutions, socio-political terminology, customs and traditions found in this source will in great measure enlighten us on the problem of the continuity of Central Asian Turkish culture down to the Ottomans. Rahmeti Arat, in presenting this source in a scholarly manner, has opened before us a great treasury of Turkish antiquity.[41]

NOTES

1a. V. Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Hakkında Dersler* (Istanbul, 1927), pp. 121-23.

1b. *Text,* vol. 1, p. XXV

2. *Ibid.,* p. XXIII.

3. S. M. Arsal, *Türk Tarihi ve Hukuk* (Istanbul, 1947), pp. 90, 98.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
5. *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie,* VIII (1901), p. 330.
6. S. M. Arsal, *ibid.*, p. 119.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 120
8. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanids* (Copenhagen, 1936), pp. 58-61.
9. On the *Pañçatantra* see Kemal Çağdaş, *Pañçatantra Masalları* (Ankara, 1962). The date of the work cannot be determined. Dates proposed range from 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 9-10). In ancient India, most philosophical codes on ethics are connected with the name of Kautiliya; the author of *Pañçatantra* is also reminiscent of him (on Kautiliya see N. Ch. Bandyopadhyaya, *Kautiliya or an Exposition of his Social Ideal and Political Theory,* Calcutta, 1927). According to this work, which relies on a materialist ethic, the guide of humanity is reason, and in order for one to discover personal happiness it is necessary to show consideration for the happiness of others. One should rely on experiences of the past for guidance. Its economic point of view is that the productive masses are the foundation of the state. The state is made up of seven elements: the sovereign, ministers who advise him, subjects, fortresses, offensive and defensive forces, the treasury, and allies. The sovereign must treat the subjects as his children. He represents complete authority. This authority is derived from laws which regulate the world. The sovereign is charged with carrying out the law. Crimes are punished according to the law. The primary aim of the sovereign is justice. In administering justice he must not follow his personal desires or animosities. The standard of justice is impartiality. In the administration of justice a second element is reason. The most important way of carrying out justice is for the sovereign to personally hear complaints and issue redresses. The objectives of the sovereign are to protect the lives and property of his subjects, oppose oppression and violence, administer justice impartially, encourage agriculture and commercial development, and bring prosperity to the people. On ancient Indian state theory in general see B. Prasad, *Theory of Government in Ancient India (Post-Vedic)* (Allahabad, 1972).
10. Mocteba Minovi has done an excellent, scholarly edition: *Tarcuma-i Kalîla wa Dimna* (Tehran, 1343).
11. *Ibid.*, p. 29
12. Tabarî, *Tarih al-umam va 'l-mülûk,* translated by A. Temir-Z. Kadiri, vol. III (Ankara, 1965) pp. 1238-49.
13. P. 319.

14. P. 27.
15. *The Nasîhatnâma known as Qâbûs-nāma of Kai Kā'ûs b. Iskandar,* ed. R. Levy (London, 1951), p. 125. This book, a typical *pandnâme,* was translated by Mercimek Ahmed for Murad II (see the edition of O. Ş. Gökyay, Istanbul, 1944, p. 337).
16. The italised verse is as follows: *budun baylıkınga törü tüz kodun.*
17. *Devlet* and *raᶜiyyet,* respectively.
18. In Arabic works of the *nasîhatu 's-selâtîn* or the *siyâsetu 'ş-şer'iyye* genres, the formula is usually expressed: *kaff al-żālimᶜan' il-mażlūm.*
19. *Rasâ'ilu 'l-Bulagâ,* ed. M. Kurd Ali, third ed. (Cairo, 1964), p. 383.
20. Objectives of the Caliph: to execute justice and apply the *sharia* to protect the public peace, to use punishment to support these aims, to defend the realms of Islam, to collect monies prescribed by the *sharia,* to pay salaries, to appoint persons to the service of the state and constantly control their actions.
21. *Kutadgu Bilig,* couplets 5910-14. For adminstrative organization in Iran in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğuqen und Horezmshahs (1038-1231)* (Wiesbaden, 1964).
22. Christensen, p. 298.
23. *Siyar al-Mulûk* (Siyâset-nâme), ed. H. Darke (Tehran, 1962), p. 19.
24. On this institution see E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam,* Second printing (Leiden, 1960), pp. 83-86, 443ff.
25. R. Arat translates *könilik* as *doğruluk,* uprightness or truth. A secondary meaning is justice, and this is a better translation. Couplet 821: "A kingdom's foundation rests on truth," should rather be translated, "A kingdom's foundation rests on justice." This basic principle of the ancient and medieval state was expressed in the West in the form *Ivstitia Regnorum Fundamentum.*
26. P. 408.
27. Pp. 347-50.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 8. In the introduction which he placed at the beginning of his history, Tursun Beg, who served Grand Vezir Mahmud Paşa as his private secretary for twelve years during the time of Mehmed the Conqueror, repeated the classic Indo-Iranian traditions regarding the

state and governing. Acording to him the four virtues a ruler must possess are *ʿadl, hilm, sehâ', and hikmet.* Speaking of the importance of *hilm,* he transmits the proverb *"Mürüvvet şeriatı yener"* (generosity overcomes the *sharia*), *(Târîhu Abu 'l-feth,* p. 20).

29. V. Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihi hakkında dersler* (Istanbul, 1927), p. 75. On the Karakhanids, see O. Pritsak, *IA*, vol. VI, pp. 251-73; unfortunately, we have not seen the same author's unpublished dissertation on the subject.

30. Arat, *Kutadgu Bilig,* vol. I, *Metin,* "Giriş," p. XXII; S. M. Arsal, *ibid.,* p. 94.

31. *Kutadgu Bilig,* vol. I, *Metin,* p. XXVII.

32. On performing justice as a duty to God in ancient Iran, see the *At-tâc fi ahlâki 'l-mulûk,* attributed to al-Câhiz (Beirut, 1955), pp. 268-70.

33. We prefer "just"for *köni* here.

34. The new edition by T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968).

35. On this problem, see H. Inalcık, "Osmanlı Hukukuna giriş," *SBF Dergisi* 13/2, pp. 102-107; S. M. Arsal, *ibid.,* pp. 287-91.

36. Âşık Paşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân* (Istanbul, 1949), pp. 103-104: *"Bu bâb Osman Gâzî' nin kanunu ahkâmin bildürür."*

37. See the publication of H. Darke, p. 162; English translation of Nizâmu 'l-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules of Kings,* translated by H. Darke (London, 1960), pp.127-28.

38. On the great *toy* after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, see Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme,* vol.X, pp. 60-62.

39. Fındıklılı Mehmet, *Silâhdar Tarihi,* vol. I, ed. A. Refik (Istanbul, 1928), p. 271. On this tradition as a public institution in the Turkish state, see F. Köprülü, "Islâm âmme hukukundan ayrı bir Türk âmme hukuku yok mudur?" *II. Türk Tarih Kurultayı Zabıtları,* pp. 383-418.

40. This point has been made well known by I. Kafesoğlu: "Selçuklular," *IA,* fasc. 105, p. 390.

41. An English translation of *Kutadgu Bilig* is now available: *Wisdom of Royal Glory,* trans., with an introduction and notes, by Robert Dankoff, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1983.

Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the *Otman Baba Vilāyetnāmesi*

Vilāyetnāme-i sultan otman, also referred to in the work as *Vilāyetnāme-i Shāhī* or *Vilāyetnāme-i Sultan Baba,* was completed in August 1483 by one of Baba's dervishes, Küçük Abdal, a nickname given by Otman Baba himself.[1] From a reference in the work we learn that the author was with Otman Baba in the Dobruja in 1462. Written by one of Baba's dervishes who evidently collected material carefully, and from Baba's own words, the *Vilāyetnāme* constitutes an important source for an authentic account of Baba's life, the Sufi doctrine of abdalism, and the history of Rum Abdalları in general. Although presented and interpreted as a *manākibnāme,* Baba's life and extraordinary deeds are told in a way that allows us to penetrate the actual situations and motives. Instead of stereotyped stories common to such hagiographic literature, all of the stories obviously belong to Baba's own experiences. With this characteristic the work can be put in the same category as Manāḳib al-ʿĀrifin or Manākib-i Gülşhenī, rather than with the Ṣaltuḳnāme.[2] Here I shall concentrate on the data with regard to Baba's relations with the sultan, leaving a systematic examination of this important historical source to another study.

Küçük Abdal, author of the *Vilāyetnāme,* being well informed about the Sufi doctrine from which Otman Baba's deeds were derived, added an introduction with illuminating comments:

> This is the age of *vilāya (davr-i vilāya)* . . . *vilāya* is the shepherd of prophethood. Whoever is subject to the appearance of vilāya, he is the promoter of it in the outer and inner worlds, because prophethood is entrusted to vilāya. Anyone who is against vilāya and the holder of vilāya becomes a denier of prophethood, and therefore an infidel.

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