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BOOKS ON ETHICS AND POLITICS: THE ART OF GOVERNING THE SELF AND OTHERS AT THE OTTOMAN COURT

In our time, kings ignored libraries and only built madrasa libraries as usual except for the library of our great sultan—who honored our time with his presence and shadow. It is reported that there is no book, be it religious or non-religious (*sharʿī wa ghayr sharʿī*), or Arabic or Persian, which cannot be found in this library, all beyond the reach of the madrasa students' hands. May Allah continue the rule of this sultan and extend his life till the end of times.[1]

The above statement by the Ottoman scholar Taşköprülüzade (d. 1561) concerning Sultan Süleyman's (r. 1520–66) library does not appear to be an exaggeration, considering the sheer number and diversity of books cited in his encyclopedia of sciences, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda fī Mawḍūʿāt al-ʿUlūm* (The Key of Happiness and Light of Nobility in Objects of Science). In this work, which features about 2,000 titles representing some 350 disciplines, Taşköprülüzade considers the imperial library of Süleyman as a successor to the three great caliphal libraries of the Abbasids, the Fatimids, and the Andalusian-Umayyads. Before Süleyman, at least since the time of Mehmed I (r. 1412–20), book collecting had been a family tradition among the Ottoman sultans, and Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) was no exception. Although we do not have a full catalogue of Süleyman's books, the inventory of Bayezid II's imperial library, which lists 7,200 titles, certainly justifies Ṭaşköprülüzade's praise.

As far as works on ethics and politics are concerned, the inventory of Bayezid's library presents as much mystery as it does information about the identity of books listed in it and how they are classified. The abundance of anonymous titles offers a puzzle that may never be entirely solved, even after exhaustive research has been undertaken on the matter. As a diligent cataloguer, ʿAtufi may simply not have had enough information to identify the authors of a large number of works which probably circulated under such generic titles as *Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk* (Advice to Kings). Moreover, many other works seem to have been listed according to their perceived content, such as *Akhlāq* (Ethics) and *Siyar al-Mulūk* (Manners of Kings), rather than by their actual titles. Yet a shortage of information cannot account for some of the most conspicuous omissions in Bayezid's library. A good example is the Aqqoyunlu scholar Dawani's (d. 1502) *Lawāmiʿ al-ʿIshrāq fī Makārim al-Akhlāq* (Lights of the Rising Sun on Ethical Virtues), better known as simply *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* (Jalalian Ethics). Given Dawani's fame at the Ottoman court and the even greater fame his work on ethics acquired among the learned, it is highly unlikely that Bayezid did not know who wrote this work. Without mentioning the author, ʿAtufi lists six anonymous copies of *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, all in Persian, under the category of *taṣawwuf* and describes them as *min qibali taṣawwuf* ("pertaining to Sufism").[2] These copies are listed right after those of Nasir al-Din al Tusi's (d. 1274) *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* (The Nasirean Ethics), a predecessor to Dawani's book on ethics. Yet, among his large corpus of well-known works, the only one attributed to him in the inventory is the *Sharh al-Rubāʿiyāt* (Commentary on Quatrains), which Dawani dedicated to Bayezid II.[3] If we can assume that the *Makārim al-Akhlāq* was the one by Dawani, the omission of his name is puzzling, unless perhaps the identity of the author was considered to be too obvious to mention.

On the topic of ethics and politics, Bayezid's library boasts an impressive array of sources across different languages and genres, from all phases and geographies of Islamicate culture spanning from Spain to India.

Besides the specific works that can easily be identified as pertaining to ethics, politics, or both, a large number of other works ranging from chronicles to books on theology are included in this section because they contain substantial discussions of these subjects. To make things more complicated, there is an even larger pool of works represented here that are not on these topics per se, but that were widely used as principal texts on proper morality and governance, such as wisdom literature, animal parables, and didactic poetry. These include such works as Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) *Rabī al-Abrār wa Fuṣūṣ al-Akhbār* (The Spring of the Virtuous and Bezels of Histories), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's (d. 940) *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* (The Unique Necklace), Saʿdi's (d. 1292) *Bustān* (Garden) and *Gulistān* (Rose Garden), as well as the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Marzbān-nāme* (The Book of Marzbān), and *Jamasb-nāma* (The Book of Jamasb), which are listed in other sections of the inventory.

Despite holding a surprisingly high number of Turkish language texts, particularly on the topics of history, literature, and Sufism, Bayezid's library on ethics and politics is clearly biased towards Persian works. For example, in addition to being represented in Arabic versions, Ghazali's (d. 1111) *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk* (Ingots of Gold on Advice to Kings), Turtushi's (d. 1126) *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (The Lamp of Kings), and the *Kalīla wa Dimna* were all available in Persian as well. By the time the inventory was compiled, a number of well-known texts on ethics and politics were also available in Turkish that seem to have enjoyed a wide readership, including *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* (The Path of God's Bondsmen) by Najm al-Din Daya (d. 1256), *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* by Ghazali, and the *Qābusnāma* (The Book of Qābūs) of Kaikawus (d. after 1082). In addition, a few Turkish works on ethics had already reached fame in this period, such as Eşrefoğlu Rumi's (d. 1469–70) *Müzekki'n-Nüfūs* (Purifier of Souls), Musa İzniki's (d. 1434–35) *Münebbihu'r-Rākidīn* (Admonisher of the Languid), and Şükrullah's (d. after 1464) *Enīsü'l-Mülūk* (Companion of Kings). Unless they are listed under different titles, we can cautiously conclude that these Turkish works were not available in Bayezid's library. One notable exception, however, is Sinan Paşa's (d. 1486) *Taḍarruʿnāma* (The Book of Humility), a text written in an exceptionally refined literary Turkish, which may have made it

appealing to the learned readership of Bayezid's court, of which the author was a respected member.[4]

In a process that started with the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1451–81) and lasted for about a century, Ottoman literary culture became more exposed to Persian thinking on ethics, politics, Sufism, and literature, which overshadowed the earlier revival of vernacular Turkish. Persian was dethroned with the rise of Arabic, following the conquest of the Arabic-speaking south and the gradual rise of literary Turkish as the administrative language of the empire in the mid-sixteenth century. Reflecting this linguistic shift, Taşköprülüzade felt compelled to append the phrase "but it is in Persian" in his encyclopedia to books he described on any given discipline, including *al-ʿilm al-siyāsa* (The Science of Governance).[5] Apart from the Ottoman rulers' infatuation with the Persian language, the reigns of Mehmed II and Bayezid II witnessed the influx of a large contingent of bureaucrats and Sufis from the East whose principal language of literary articulation was Persian. A representative example of such Persianate literati is Musannifek (d. 1470), who composed two works on politics in Persian: *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarā* (The Gift of Ministers) and *Tuḥfa al-Mulūk* (The Gift of Kings).[6] Fifteenth-century Ottoman ruling elites were well aware of the Timurid renaissance in arts and letters and engaged in a courtly competition to attract scholars and artists. This was hardly the case with the Arabic-dominated Mamluk domains of the south. The Ottomans did not seem particularly eager to follow the equally fascinating Mamluk renaissance in letters or to attract the learned from Egypt and Syria, even though students from the Ottoman world frequently studied in Cairo and Damascus. The fifteenth-century Mamluk realm was exceptionally prolific in terms of political and ethical works, but most of these titles were brought to Istanbul libraries only in the later sixteenth century, following the 1517 conquest of Egypt.

As shown by the multiple copies of Sufi classics by such famed authors as Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240), Najm al-Din Daya, and Hamadani (d. 1385), Bayezid's library heavily favored works on ethics and politics written from a distinctly Sufistic perspective. Juristic works, however, mostly written in Arabic and circulating in Mamluk domains, were clearly not favored, even those representing the most authoritative texts of medieval

Islam. One notable exception is *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*; ʿAṭūfī cites the title without an author, which could be Mawardi (d. 1058) or Abu Yaʿla (d. 1066).[7] Besides Bayezid II's own well-documented interest in Sufism, his library holdings perfectly reflect the spirit of the times, which was characterized by the broader sway of Sufism on Islamic thought and practice in the post-Abbasid world, more so to the east of the Nile. Thanks to the eclecticism and inclusivism of Sufism, Sufi authors turned it into an authoritative discipline that incorporated and reinterpreted all other branches of learning, from mathematics to jurisprudence, in order to redefine humankind's existential position, morality, and political organization. It was commonplace that even the most prominent jurists and scientists had strong Sufi affiliations. From the decline of the Seljuks until the rise of a new bureaucratic consciousness, Sufi writing on politics became common in the Ottoman Empire. The most influential authors on government in this period, from ʿAbdurrahman Bistami (d. 1454) to Idris-i Bidlisi (d. 1520), treated government as part of a broader Sufistic cosmology. The shift was even more visible in the area of ethics, to the extent that *taṣawwuf* and *ʿilm-i akhlāq* could be used interchangeably. Thus, it is not surprising that *taṣawwuf* and *ʿilm-i akhlāq* are considered as part of the same category in ʿAtufi's inventory: *Tafṣīlu Kutub al-Taṣawwuf wa-Kutub al-Naṣāyiḥ wa-al-Mawāʿiẓ wa Kutub al-Manāqib al-Mashāyikh wa-al-Awliyāʾ*

Quddisa Sirruhum wa-Kutub ʿIlm al-Akhlāq (List of Books on Sufism, and Counsels and Admonitions, and Miraculous Deeds of Shaykhs and Friends of God, may God bless their secrets, and the Science of Ethics).[8]

What is remarkable is the classification of books. Not only are most books on ethics and politics listed under this heading, but some obviously non-Sufistic works, such as Tusi's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, Ibn Miskawayh's (d. 1030) *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (The Refinement of Character), and Mawardi's *Adab al-Dīni wa al-Dunyā* (Refinement of Religion and the World) were specifically described as *min qibali taṣawwuf* (On Sufism).[9] If we take Islamic encyclopedic works as representative, we can see that this approach was the product of a broader post-Abbasid reconceptualization in epistemology. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's (d. 1210) early encyclopedia of sciences, *Jāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm* (Compendium of Sciences), for example, de-scribes sixty sciences, including *siyāsa*, *akhlāq*, and *ādāb al-Mulūk*, but not *taṣawwuf*. However, more elaborate later encyclopedias, both Fenari's (d. 1431) *Anmuzaj al-ʿUlūm* (Classification of Sciences) and Bistami's *Fawāʾih al-Miskiyya fī Fawātiḥ al-Makkiyya* (Perfumes of Musk on the Meccan Openings), present *taṣawwuf* as a separate discipline in addition to the other sciences.[10] But even considering the introduction of *taṣawwuf* as a new branch of learning, ʿAtufi's classification still reflects a markedly Sufistic outlook. Taşköprülüzade, writing a few decades later, also presents *taṣawwuf* as a distinct discipline but lists Tusi's *Akhlāq* under *al-ʿilm al-siyāsa* rather than under Sufism, as ʿAtufi did.[11]

Given that ʿAtufi lists a large number of titles on ethics and politics under various categories across the inventory, this essay will be limited to the examination of a select group of works that had a lasting impact on Ottoman thought and that may be arranged under three broad categories: Sufism, mirrors for princes, and philosophy. This inevitably leads us to exclude a considerable number of works dispersed under various other disciplines, including jurisprudence, theology, and occult sciences. We also do not discuss literary works, which are often full of ethical and political teachings. Given that works of literature pose a specific set of questions to address, from style to language, it may be more appropriate to analyze them separately. Suffice it to say that literary works, especially didactic verse and prose, such as the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Marzbannāma*, and *Jamasbnāma*, constitute an indispensable component of Ottoman ethical and political thinking and are impressively well-represented in Bayezid's library.

SUFISM

Apart from the many copies of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) and *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Meccan Openings), which are loaded with political images and which continuously inspired Sufi-minded political authors, ʿAtufi lists three copies of Ibn ʿArabi's *al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Mamlaka al-Insāniyya* (Divine Governance in Reforming the Human Kingdom).[12] Despite being overshadowed by his *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt*, this lesser known work by Ibn ʿArabi is one of the principal texts that

channeled his mystical philosophy into the broader stream of Ottoman political thought. *Al-Tadbīrāt* was one of his earliest books, written in Sevilla around 1194, when he was 29.[13] The intended purpose of the book is not government per se, but the administration of the self. More specifically, it is an allegorical treatise on the ontology of humans, whose constitution is explained by reference to a body politic. In *al-Tadbīrāt*, Ibn ʿArabi considers the operation of the body politic, as explained in the pseudo-Aristotelian text, *Sirr al-Asrār* (Secret of Secrets), as a metaphor for governing the self. The work elaborates on the physical composition and function of humans as part of creation and divine government. Yet conversely, *al-Tadbīrāt* can also be read as a treatise on government, explained through the metaphor of the body. This is what makes the work unique and equally appealing to rulers as a handbook of leadership, and to Sufi disciples as a manual of self-exploration and way-faring. As he makes abundantly clear in his later works, Ibn ʿArabi conceives the rule of one's self and the rule of society to be part of the same cosmological pattern, which rests on the conviction that divine government is a manifestation of God's names and attributes. The first two chapters of the book explain in detail the nature and status of the spirit as the caliph of the human body. This concept of the caliphate is no different from the view of the caliphate as God's vicegerent over creation, which Ibn ʿArabi discusses extensively in his *Futūḥāt*.

Unlike Ibn ʿArabi, Najm al-Din Daya never gained an authoritative status in Ottoman Sufism as a master Sufi. Yet his *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* was one of the most influential texts on broader Ottoman thought. All five copies of the work in Bayezid II's library were in Persian.[14] In form and content, this work is similar to Ghazali's *Iḥyā al-ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, but gives a more specifically Sufistic treatment of ethics, piety, social organization, and rulership. Najm al-Din Daya fled to Anatolia from the Mongol onslaught and met with the Seljuk ruler ʿAlaʾeddin Keykubad (r. 1220–37). He composed *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* in Anatolia and dedicated it to ʿAlaʾeddin in 1223, but never received due attention from the sultan or his learned circle. He departed from Anatolia rather disappointed, but left a work behind him that would soon become a manual for many Sufi orders and royal courts, including that of the Ottomans. From China to Egypt, the work

quickly turned into one of the most studied texts on the Sufi way of life.[15] Besides being represented by numerous copies in Persian, the text was translated into Turkish multiple times. Its fifth part on rulership was reproduced in large numbers and was circulated as a separate work, in both Persian and Turkish versions. Şeyhoğlu (d. 1414) translated the first four chapters of the fifth part in 1401 under the title *Kenzü'l-Küberā* for an Ottoman statesman, Paşa Ağa.[16] Şeyhoğlu's partial translation and additions to the text and his omission of any reference to the original text made the work appear to be an original composition, even to modern scholars.[17] Kasım b. Mahmud el-Karahisari (d. 1486) translated the full text for Murad II in 1441, and this became the definitive rendering of the work into Turkish until modern times, with numerous copies preserved in Ottoman libraries.[18] Kasım Çelebi (d. 1518), a shaykh from the Halveti order and the spiritual master of the more famous Bali Efendi (d. 1553), translated the work into Turkish for Mehmed II, but this translation failed to gain the same currency as that of Karahisari.

Hamadani's (d. 1385) *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk* (The Treasury of Kings), of which ʿAtufi lists two copies, is similar to the *al-Tadbīrāt* or the *Mirṣād*, but focuses specifically on rulership.[19] Unlike the *Mirṣād*, whose influence waned somewhat after the fifteenth century, *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk* gained in popularity throughout the sixteenth century and afterwards, becoming one of the most influential Sufi texts on Ottoman political thought. Since Hamadani established the Hamadaniyya branch of the Kubrawiyya order, his teachings attained a cult status in and around the Indian subcontinent, while only gradually gaining currency in the Ottoman realm.[20] His synthesis of Ibn al-ʿArabi and Najm al-Din Kubra, clearly visible in his *Zakhīrāt*, made Hamadani's teachings particularly welcome to Ottoman ulema, Sufis, and their disciples among the ruling elite.[21] In composing *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk*, Hamadani also relied heavily on Ghazali's *Iḥyā ʿUlūm al-Dīn* and *Kimyā-i Saʿādat* (The Chemistry of Happiness), two works that were held dear by most Ottoman learned men at all times.[22] Further, Hamadani's use of Davud-i Kayseri (d. 1350) in elaborating on Sufistic conceptions of the caliphate brought attention and fame to Kayseri's teachings.[23] *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk* was translated three times over the course of

the sixteenth century: Süruri Efendi (d. 1561–62) translated it for Prince Mustafa (d. 1553), Zihni for Selim II, and Mustafa Katib for Murad III in 1577.[24] Süruri was a disciple of Ṭaşköprülüzade, who made extensive use of *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk* in composing his treatise *Asrār al-Khilāfa*.[25]

MIRRORS FOR PRINCES

There are nine works in the inventory that are attributed to the last Sasanian king, Anushirwan, and these can all be considered within the broader field of ethics and politics. Since at least the time of Ibn Muqaffa, Anushirwan had appeared in advice literature as a role model for rulership. Examples of hadith attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that praise this king as a just ruler facilitated his favorable reception in all later dynasties. Alongside the overall rise of the Persian language and Iranian models of government and courtly life, Anushirwan's fame and authoritative status increased continuously since early Abbasid times. For Ottomans too, Anushirwan (along with Ardashir) was a favorite character for illustrating foundational principles of government, such as justice. Anushirwan was commonly believed to have written an advice book, also referred to as a testament, which circulated as a separate volume and was quoted at length in histories, advice books, and works of literature. In addition to *Kitāb Tāj fī Sīra Anushirwān* and *Karnāmag-i Anushirwān*, both of which were attributed to Ibn Muqaffa, a number of medieval authors, including Thaʿalibi, Tabari, and Ibn Qutayba, extensively quoted the narratives of Anushirwan. Bayezid's library seems to have held a representative sample of various editions of these texts, which were attributed to Anushirwan. In ʿAtufi's inventory, four of these texts are entitled *Naṣīḥatnāma* and two are called *Pandnāma*, in line with their common titles, whereas two copies have the word *kunkura* ("crown ornament") added to the title. Among these, three are said to be in verse; they may well be extracts from Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* or Saʿdi's *Bostān*.[26]

Also written as a testament was Kaykawus's *Qābusnāma*, which caught the attention of the Ottomans from early on. The book is one of the most sophisticated examples of Persian mirrors for princes that reflect the experience of a smaller dynasty surrounded by larger ones at a time when the fragmented Abbasid empire became a battleground for many regional houses of power. Kaykawus, an otherwise little-known ruler of the small Ziyarid dynasty, composed the *Qābusnāma* for his son Gilan Shah in 1082–83.[27] This work, which is also known by such titles as *Andarznāma*, *Pandnāma*, *Naṣīḥatnāma*, and *Kitāb al-Naṣīḥa*, is a comprehensive manual for the development of a ruler who is virtuous, just, competent, and sound in body and soul. The work seems to have been popular among the Turkish principalities of early fifteenth-century western Anatolia, who had much in common with the Ziyarid dynasty of eleventh-century western Persia. There are six known translations of this text from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries under different titles.[28] It is possible that the earliest of these translations was an anonymous one that seems to have been completed between 1370 and 1386.[29] Another anonymous translation, preserved in the British Library, displays characteristics of early western Anatolian Turkish and conveys the original text only selectively.[30] Şeyhoğlu Sadreddin translated the *Qābusnāma* for the Germiyanid ruler Süleyman Shah between 1361 and 1387; a copy of this translation is preserved in the Cairo National Library.[31] Soon after, Akkadıoğlu translated the work for an obscure vizier in service of the Ottoman prince, Emir Süleyman, who lost his long struggle for the throne in 1411.[32] In 1427 Bedr-i Dilşad composed a work in verse, *Murādnāme*, using the *Qābusnāma* as his primary source text, and dedicated it to Murad II.[33] By far the most popular of these early translations was undertaken by Mercümek Ahmed (d. after 1431–32) upon the request of his patron Murad II, of which numerous copies are preserved in manuscript libraries.[34] Apart from translations, the original Persian text of the *Qābusnāma* was also extensively copied, quoted, and circulated among the Ottoman readership. Of the three copies of the *Qābusnāma* listed in the inventory, ʿAtufi places two in the categories of *al-istilāḥāt al-ṭibbiyya* (medical terms) and *al-tawārīkh* (history), but does not specify their language. Given the primacy of Persian at the Ottoman court at this time, it is possible that these two texts are in Persian. The third copy is already listed under *al-dawāwīn al-farisiyya*.[35]

Contemporaneous with the *Qābusnāma* is a work by the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), the *Siyāsat-nāma*, of which three copies are listed: two under *taṣawwuf* titled *Siyar al-Mulūk*, and one under *tawārīkh* titled *ʿUmūr al-Salṭana* (On Affairs of Rulership).[36] With a reputation as an illustrious and wise vizier, Nizam al-Mulk is an oft-quoted figure in historical and political literature, especially in Persian and Turkish traditions. From a modern scholarly perspective, his *Siyāsatnāma* is considered to be a prime example of the *Fürstenspiegel* genre in Persian literature and is treated as a benchmark when examining any other Persian work on rulership. Yet this canonization is largely a product of the modern era. Despite Nizam al-Mulk's fame as an exemplary vizier, his work gained popularity and authoritative status only gradually. One simple reason for this may be that replicating the vizierate as conceived and instituted by Nizam al-Mulk would have been a risky endeavor in post-Seljuk polities until the rise of bureaucratic empires in the early modern era. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Mehmed II's institutionalizing reforms and the rise of *devshirme* statesmen in administration made Nizam al-Mulk's manual of government relevant again. Because of the low profile of the vizierate in the Ottoman state prior to the conquest of Constantinople, not much had been written on the governance of viziers. Although the *Siyāsatnāma* was not translated into Turkish until the eighteenth century, it became an authoritative source of inspiration for a new generation of Ottoman bureaucrat-authors who wrote on the vizierate and government from the sixteenth century onward.

The remarkably long and sophisticated work on the vizierate by Musannifek (d. 1470) titled *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarā* (The Gift of Ministers) was written in 1456 and dedicated to Mehmed II's most outstanding grand vizier, Mahmud Paşa (d. 1474). This work stands as a testament to the rising profile of grand viziers and the institution of the vizierate in the Ottoman empire.[37] Musannifek was already a prolific scholar in Herat before he moved to Konya in 1436, where he taught at a madrasa and trained a number of high-profile students including Mahmud Paşa's protégé, the grand vizier Karamani Mehmed Paşa (d. 1481).[38] As a mystic affiliated with the Zayniyya order and an accomplished scholar on con-

ventional disciplines of Islamic learning, Musannifek's lifelong pursuit was to reconcile Sufism with theology and jurisprudence while adopting a less accommodating attitude towards philosophy. He later joined the Ottoman court at the request of Mahmud Paşa and composed two short treatises on rulership before writing *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarā*.[39] These texts, one on the vizierate and the other on the sultanate, are formulaic summaries of political wisdom written in a textbook style for reference or memorization. Organized in ten chapters, *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarā* is a moral treatise written from a distinctly Sufistic perspective, stressing the position and significance of the vizier in government but not its institutional aspects. Musannifek situates the vizierate within the broader framework of Sufi cosmology, where he defines the sultan as God's caliph and the vizier as the sultan's caliph.[40]

Another canon of Persian mirrors from the eleventh century is Ghazali's *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, better known simply as *Naṣiḥa al-Mulūk*. The inventory lists six copies of this work under three titles: three as *Naṣiḥa al-Mulūk*, two as *Siyar al-Mulūk*, and one as *Tuḥfa al-Mulūk*.[41] The actual number of copies may be higher, however, because there are about a dozen other works with these titles listed without an author. Ghazali's work is less focused on government per se than on the Sunni creed of the ruler and his morality. Written at a time when the executive leadership of the caliphate had passed to the Seljuks, Ghazali seems more concerned with countering the spread of the Isma'ili faith than with principles of good government. *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk* consists of two parts; the first on creed, and the second on good governance, with a focus on justice illustrated by anecdotes. Although composed in Persian, its Arabic translation quickly turned into a manual of faith and governance across the post-Abbasid dynasties. Later, the work was translated back into Persian. Its first part was translated and reworked by the Ottoman scholar Amasi in a book titled *Mir'ātu'l-Mulūk,* which he dedicated to Mehmed I in the early fifteenth century.[42] As the many references, reworkings, and abridgements of *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* show, the Arabic version became increasingly popular among the Ottoman ruling elite. Although we do not know whether another translation of the work was undertaken before or during the reign of Bayezid II, later

Ottoman scholars rediscovered *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* in the context of the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry in the sixteenth century, during which at least three different translations into Turkish were made.[43] The Ottoman infatuation with this text never faded, as indicated by many later translations.[44]

Added to Bayezid's collection on ethics and politics are two well-known texts composed by authors from the West of the Mediterranean: al-Turtushi's (d. 1126) *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (The Lamp of Kings) and Ibn Zafar's (d. 1169) *Sulwān al-Muṭāʿ fi ʿUdwan al-Atbaʿ* (Consolation for the Ruler during the Hostility of Subjects). The Andalusian scholar Turtushi's *Sirāj al-Mulūk* had long served as a master text of political thought before entering the Ottoman intellectual milieu with four copies listed in Bayezid's library, two under *taṣawwuf* and two under *tawārīkh*.[45] Reflecting the text's canonical status, Taşköprülüzade cites it in his *Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda* as one of two works on "the science of manners of rulership" (*ʿilm ādāb al-mulūk*) along with Ibn Zafar's *Sulwān al-Muṭāʿ*.[46] Turtushi composed *Sirāj al-Mulūk* in Egypt in 1122 and dedicated it to the vizier Ibn al-Bataʾihi.[47] This work is an anecdotal narrative highlighting principles of government taken from various strands of Islamic thought, from jurisprudence to philosophy. It was later translated by Vusuli for the Ottoman sultan Selim II as *Şems-i Hidāyet* (Sun of Guidance) in 1584.[48] Apart from the wide circulation of the work in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, *Sirāj al-Mulūk* served as a source text from which numerous other authors derived stories to illustrate political ideas. As for Turtushi's student Ibn Zafer, the inventory lists three copies of his work, two under *taṣawwuf* and one under *tawārīkh*, with a slightly different title.[49] Born in Sicily under Norman rule, Ibn Zafar is better known as a philologist who had an adventurous life around the Mediterranean. With clear influences from Turtushi's *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, Ibn Zafar composed his work in Sicily in 1159 and dedicated it to his patron and friend, Amir al-Qureshi. The book was later rendered into verse and was translated into Persian in the fourteenth century.[50] The work was spared the translation frenzy of the sixteenth century and was only rendered into Turkish in the nineteenth century. Unlike many other mirrors, this one was specifically written for a prince under intense political and social pressure, which makes it particularly suitable to the reign of Bayezid, who was facing similar challenges at the time.[51]

PHILOSOPHY

In political and ethical philosophy, Bayezid's library features works from a wide range of traditions, including Greek, Arabic, Persian, and Indian. A cursory look reveals that the *ishrāqī* (illuminationist) strain of Islamic political philosophy is better represented than the *mashshaī* (peripatetic) school. Among the notable works, two by Plato are listed: *al-Ādāb al-Mulūkiyya wa-al-Akhlāq* (The Manners of Kingship and Ethics) under *taṣawwuf*, and *al-Siyāsa al-Madaniyya* (Government of Cities) under *ḥikma*. Both are indicated as being collections of the philosopher's dialogues.[52] Considering the classification of these works, we can only surmise that the former may include Plato's *Politicos*, while the latter may contain his *Politeia*, which Hunayn b. Ishaq translated as *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* (The Book of Rulership).[53] In the same tradition, the inventory lists four texts by Farabi under *taṣawwuf*, all generically titled *al-Akhlāq wa-al-Taṣawwuf* (Ethics and Sufism). This could refer to any one (or a compilation) of the many works Farabi (d. 950) authored on politics and ethics. It is equally difficult to identify the four similar titles that are listed without an author. Two copies of *Taqwīm al-Siyāsa al-Mulūk* are listed under *taṣawwuf*.[54] In various manuscript collections, *Taqwīm* is recorded as being a compilation of the works of Plato by Farabi. So are the other four similar titles of *al-Ādāb al-Mulūkiyya wa-al-Akhlāq al-Ikhtiyāriyya* that are listed under *taṣawwuf* in the inventory.[55] Whether or not they were compiled by Farabi, these texts are pseudo-Platonic.[56] A manuscript copied in 863 (1459) and now preserved in the Köprülü Library in Istanbul is entitled *Taqwīm al-Siyāsa al-Mulūkiyya wa Akhlāq al-Ikhtiyāriyya wa Maʿāsh Tabiʾiyya* (Rectification of the Governance of Kings and Voluntary Ethics and Natural Livelihood).[57] The introduction indicates that the work is a compilation of Plato's treatises by Farabi that concludes with Aristotle's advice to Alexander the Great.

It is no less problematic to identify the eight works that are attributed to Aristotle. Six of these titles

indicate that the work contains Aristotle's advice to Alexander, or Dhu al-Qarnayn, his epithet in Islamic sources.[58] These texts may well belong to the genre of short apocryphal testaments that are commonly appended to advice books, similar to those attributed to Anushirwan. Although it is unlikely, they could also be copies of Aristotle's *Ethics*, a work known to exist in Arabic, unlike Aristotle's *Politics*. Among the listed works, we can safely identify only one title: *Tarjuma Kitāb al-Siyāsa fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsa al-Maʿrūf bi Sirr al-Asrār* (Translation of the Book of Rulership on Governance titled the Secret of Secrets), which is placed under tawārīkh.[59] *Tarjuma Kitāb Aristatalis li-Ḥunayn bin Isḥaq fī ʿIlm al-Firāsa* (Translation of the Book of Aristotle by Hunayn b. Ishaq on the Science of Physiognomy), listed under *firāsa*, is probably another copy of this work.[60] This pseudo-Aristotelian text was first penned by Yahya ibn al-Bitriq (d. 815) and underwent various renditions in later centuries.[61] Better known as *Sirr al-Asrār*, the work was one of the most widely circulated and translated texts in all Muslim polities and in Europe alike. It would be surprising if there were only two copies of this wildly popular text in the palace library at a time when occult sciences had become mainstream. In its various renditions, *Sirr al-Asrār* served as a master text for Sufis and occult specialists alike, particularly those closely connected with courtly life. Given the marked interest in occult sciences shown by Bayezid II and his courtiers, we might surmise that many more copies of the work were represented in the inventory under the anonymous titles on *firāsa*. In Ottoman thought, *Sirr al-Asrār* served as a popular source text that compiled political treatises and, beginning with the translation of Ferdi in the sixteenth century, it was translated into Turkish several times.[62]

Among the more recognizable works on ethics and politics, the library held multiple copies of Ibn Miskawayh's two canonical works on ethics: *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (Purification of Morality) and *Jāwidān Khirad* (Perennial Wisdom). Despite having received as much blame as praise from his contemporaries and from later scholars, Ibn Miskawayh's legacy in the realm of ethical thought is second to none. All four copies of his *Tahdhīb* are listed under *taṣawwuf*.[63] The work is generally credited as being the first and, arguably, the most authorita-

tive treatment of ethics as a distinct discipline in the Islamic philosophical tradition. The *Tahdhīb* reconciles not only Platonic and Aristotelian doctrines but also traditions of Islamic morality and the Persianate wisdom. It served as a master text for virtually all major works on ethics that followed, most notably, for those composed by Ṭusi and Davani. Ibn Miskawayh's emphasis on Platonic cardinal virtues for the inculcation of the righteous man as well as his ideas on the mutability of human nature had a lasting impact on all later strains of ethical thought, especially on Sufi-minded authors. Ibn Miskawayh's lesser known work, *Jāwidān Khirad*, which he compiled long after the *Tahdhīb*, was obviously more popular at the Ottoman court, where nine copies existed, all listed by the librarian under *taṣawwuf*.[64] Ibn Miskawayh, himself a librarian at the Buyid court, composed the work after his extensive quest through the vast philosophical literature to which he had access.[65] *Jāwidān Khirad* takes its title from the apocryphal text attributed to the legendary Persian ruler Houchang, which is also included in the work.[66] It is an eclectic compendium of philosophical wisdom from Indian, Persian, Greek, and Islamic sources. ʿAtufi does not associate Ibn Miskawayh's name with any of the copies of this work, however, and he specifies only two as being in Persian, and two as being selections from *Jāwidān Khirad*. Although we cannot definitively identify which specific versions of *Jāwidān Khirad* were held in the library, the fact that some copies are mentioned alongside *Tahdhīb* leads us to surmise that most, if not all, of these texts were compiled by Ibn Miskawayh.[67] The popularity of the text may be partly a result of humanistic endeavors during the reign of Mehmed II, who relentlessly sought to recast the state he inherited in the image of great ancient empires. He thus went to great lengths to collect texts of ancient learning and to support authors who were conversant in them. But apart from the personal interests of this ambitious sultan, texts such as *Jāwidān Khirad* conventionally served as repertoires of wisdom and illustration for any author writing on ethics and government, or any tutor training princes in the art of rulership.

One work that lent Ibn Miskawayh's ethical teachings even greater currency was Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, which offered a broad and authoritative

exposition of the discipline of ethics in language that was more accessible to readers west of the Nile. Bayezid's library lists ten copies of the work, of which seven are specifically labeled as *taṣawwuf*.[68] The inventory attributes one additional title to Tusi, called *Sīra al-Mulūk*, which is listed under *ḥikma* and which may well be just another copy of *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*.[69] Having founded the Maragha School of astronomy under Ilkanid rule, this versatile scholar and his disciples were well known to the Ottomans from the very beginning.[70] The first textual engagement with Tusi's *Akhlāq* by the Ottomans that we have on record is Amasi's aforementioned Turkish *Mirʾāt al-Mulūk*, the second half of which is based entirely on Tusi's text. Whether directly or indirectly, the influence of *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* is clearly visible in major Ottoman works on ethics as well.[71] Tursun Beg (d. 1499), a historian during the reign of Bayezid II, used *Akhlāq-i Naṣirī* in composing the introduction to his chronicle where he summarizes the science of government.[72] Tusi's synthesis of philosophy, Islamic theology, and Sufism made this text the definitive treatment of politics and ethics in the Persianate world. Dawani's and Kashifi's more distinctly Sufistic rendering of *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* made Tusi's text even more appealing to the Ottomans from the sixteenth century onwards. Taşköprülüzade's lengthy commentary on the *Akhlāq* by the fourteenth-century theologian Adud al-Din al-Iji (d. 1355) relies heavily on the work of Tusi.[73] The *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* is also one of the three major sources for Kınalızade ʿAli's (d. 1572) *Aḫlāḳ-ı ʿAlāʾī* (Alaian Ethics), which became the standard Ottoman canon of ethics soon after its composition in 1565.

Besides these classics of ethics and politics, Bayezid's library boasts sixteen copies of Suhrawardi's (d. 1191) controversial *Ḥikma al-Ishrāq* (The Philosophy of Illumination), nine of which are commentaries on this work that one would expect to see in any courtly library in the Ottoman and eastern dynasties. Although there is no indication of the identity of the commentators, two authoritative commentaries were known to the Ottomans: those by Shahrazuri (after 1288) and Qutb al-Din Shirazi (d. 1311), who both produced professional editions of the text and commented extensively on it.[74] This founding text of the philosophy of illumination is not a work on politics or ethics per se, but it may well be considered as

such because of its coverage of these subjects, and its later impact on Ottoman political thought. Written in the twelfth century, *Ḥikma al-Ishrāq* served as the main inspiration for the mystical conception of the caliphate, which was later infused with more sophistication by Ibn al-ʿArabi and his disciples.[75] Ahmed Bican, for example, used the work in his popular Turkish commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*. Likewise, Musannifek cited Suhrawardi as one of his sources in his compendium on Sufism, *Ḥal al-Rumūz wa Kashf al-Kunūz* (Solving Mysteries and Discovering Treasures), which he dedicated to Mehmed II, who owned his own copy of *Ḥikma al-Ishrāq*.[76] Given Bayezid's spiritual inclinations as well as the presence of many Sufi-minded scholars in his court, it appears this text was uniquely suited to the intellectual and political environment of the era. The most noticeable adherent of Suhrawardi's political thought at Bayezid's court was none other than Idris-i Bidlisi (d. 1520). His *Hasht Behisht* (Eight Gardens), a comprehensive history of the Ottoman dynasty from its beginning up to the end of this sultan's reign, interprets history in a way that is markedly illuminationist. Similarly, Bidlisi's later political work, *Qanūn-i Shahenshāhī* (The Law of the King of Kings), also promotes the idea of a mystical caliphate as envisioned by Suhrawardi.

CONCLUSION

Besides reflecting Bayezid II's own inclinations and tastes, as well as the scholarly and literary interests of his entourage, this sultan's library testifies to the political ambitions of a rising empire, as envisioned by his father Mehmed II. The library offers a good collection of works on ethics and politics that were held in high regard among the learned and conveyed the experience of empires from antiquity to the time of the Ottomans, including advice to and testaments of legendary rulers, from Alexander to Anushirwan. Though it certainly built on Mehmed II's book collection, Bayezid II's library shows a clear break with the reading tendencies of the Ottoman court from the first half of the fifteenth century. Although we do not have an inventory for the libraries of Mehmed I and Murad II, we know that much of what they commissioned or received as dedicated

works were Turkish translations of well-known classics on ethics and politics. This practice of reading in Turkish seems to have shifted markedly in favor of reading in Persian during the latter half of the fifteenth century. The influx of learned men from the East and the active acquisition of books meant that the Ottoman court was continuously fed with Persian works, some of which were written by those immigrant or refugee scholars themselves. On the other hand, the sway of Sufism on Ottoman thought appears to have not only continued but further solidified at this time. Sufism mediated among different branches of knowledge in the broader Islamic tradition, but also served to appease its revolutionary currents, such as the Hurufis, by promoting strains of Sufism that fully reconciled esotericism with mainstream theology and jurisprudence. Many Sufistic works on ethics and politics were at the same time works on true faith, such as Ghazali's popular *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, which as mentioned above is a work that focuses on rectifying the ruler's faith rather than providing guidance on rulership.

The inventory of books on ethics and politics also suggests that the Ottoman court was more closely connected to the Persianate political culture that dominated the successor states to the Abbasids in the East (particularly after the Mongols) than it was to the Mamluk south, where the Arabic language and jurists dominated the literary landscape. The Ottoman ruling elite were better attuned to the artistic and scholarly achievements in the East, as they engaged in a vigorous competition to attract outstanding learned men to their court. The Ottomans succeeded in attracting such luminous scholars as Musannifek, Şükrullah, 'Ali Kushji (d. 1474), and Bidlisi but they failed, for example, in the case of Abdurrahman Jami (d. 1492). The linguistic affinity of Persian and Turkish, and the spread of many Sufi orders with branches in both Ottoman and eastern polities, facilitated the formation of artistic and scholarly networks that included Bayezid II's court.

Finally, the diversity and multiplicity of titles on ethics and politics reflect the growing demand for the education of the ruling elite at the Ottoman court. When the Ottomans were defeated by Timur in 1402, they responded by commissioning the translation of political works, most of which were Persian, into Turkish. This was followed by Murad II's broader translation project that endeavored to make textbooks in various disciplines available for the inculcation of a new learned class in administration. This process gained momentum under Mehmed II, who had the privilege of receiving an exceptional education thanks to his father's unprecedented patronage of learning. With Mehmed's newly conceived bureaucratic empire and *devshirme*-dominated ruling class, education became more competitive and more specialized, which only increased the significance of libraries, both personal and institutional, including the one in the imperial palace. Although each book that ended up in Bayezid's library has a history of its own, the overall collection must at least partly reflect the scholarly and ideological preferences of the learned men who were attracted to the Ottoman court.

NOTES

1. Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāşköprīzāde, *Mawsūʿa Muṣṭalaḥāt Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda fī Mawḍūʿāt al-ʿUlūm*, ed. R. al-ʿAjam and ʿA. Daḥrūj (Beirut: Maktaba Lubnān Nāshirūn, 1998), 68.
2. MS Török F. 59, 114 {2–7}.
3. Ibid., 146 {18–19}; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (hereafter TDVİA), s.v. "Devvânî," by Harun Anay.
4. MS Török F. 59, 143 {13}.
5. Ṭāşköprīzāde, *Mawsūʿa Muṣṭalaḥāt Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda*, 488–89.
6. ʿAlāʾuddīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Mesʿūd al-Bistāmī al-Şahrūdī [Muṣannifek], *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarā*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2855; *Tuḥfa al-Mulūk*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Şehit Ali Paşa 2797.
7. MS Török F. 59, 96 {11}.
8. Ibid., 105 {14–16}.
9. Ibid., 114 {1–2}, 122 {16}, 111 {10–11}.
10. See Kemal Faruk Molla, "Mehmed Şah Fenâri'nin *Enmûzecu'l-Ulûm* adlı Eserine Göre Fetih Öncesi Dönemde Osmanlılar'da İlim Anlayışı ve İlim Tasnifi," *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar* 18 (2005): 245–73.
11. Ṭāşköprīzāde, *Mawsūʿa Muṣṭalaḥāt Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda*, 489.
12. MS Török F. 59, 132 {8}, 134 {7–8}, 147 {15}.
13. Nihat Keklik, *Muhyiddin İbnü'l-Arabi: Hayatı ve Çevresi* (Istanbul: Būyūk Matbaa, 1966), 107.
14. MS Török F. 59, 108 {8–9}, 113 {15–16}, 138 {6–7}.
15. Najm al-Din Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return*, trans. Hamid Algar (North Haledon, NJ: Islamic Publications International, 2003), 20.

16. Şehabettin Tekindağ, "İzzettin Koyunoğlu Kütüphanesinde Bulunan Türkçe Yazmalar I," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 16 (1971): 133–62.

17. Kemâl Yavuz, *Şeyhoğlu: Kenzü'l-Küberâ ve Mehekkü'l-Ulemâ* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1991), 10–16; Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, *Ḫurşîd-nâme (Ḫurşîd ü Feraḫşâd)*, ed. Hüseyin Ayan (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1979), 16–23.

18. See, for example, Ḳāṣım b. Maḥmūd Ḳarahisārī, *İrşādü'l-Mürīd ile'l-Murād fī Tercüme-i Mirṣādü'l-ʿİbād*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1650.

19. MS Török F. 59, 140 {13–16}.

20. For a brief analysis of Hamadani's political teachings in the context of Indian political thought, see ʿAzīz Aḥmad, "Trends in the Political Thought of Medieval India," *Studia Islamica* 17 (1962): 121–30.

21. *TDVİA*, s.v. "Hemedânî," by Tahsin Yazıcı.

22. Mīr Seyyed ʿAlī Hamadānī, *Ẕakhīrat al-Mulūk*, ed. S. M. Anvārī (Tabriz: Intishārāt-i Muʾassasa-i Tārīkh va Farhang-i Iran, 1979), 39–46.

23. For comparison, see Hamadānī, *Zaḫirat al-Mulūk*, 289–334 and Qayṣarī Rūmī, Muḥammed Dāvūd, *Sharh-i Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, ed. Seyyed Jalāl ad-Dīn Āshtiyānī (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i ʿİlmī va Farhangī, 1375), 1–286.

24. Agâh S. Levend, "Siyaset-nameler," (hereafter TDAY) *Belleten* (1962): 167–94; Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuarâ*, 2 vols., ed. İ. Kutluk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1978), 1:394.

25. Ṭāşköprīzāde, *Risāla fī Bayān Asrār al-Khilāfa al-Insāniya wa al-Salṭana al-Maʾnawiya*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah Efendi 2098.

26. Ulaş T. Sivrioğlu, "İslâm Kaynaklarına Göre Nuşirevân-ı Âdil," *History Studies* 5 (2013): 225–52.

27. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Kaykāvus b. Eskandar," by J. T. P. de Bruijn.

28. Eleazar Birnbaum, *The Book of Advice by King Kay Kāʾus ibn Iskander: The Earliest Old Ottoman Turkish Version of His Ḳābūsnāme* (Duxbury: Harvard University Printing Office, 1981); *TDVİA*, s.v. "Keykâvus b. İskender," by Rıza Kurtuluş; Levend, "Ümmet Çağında Ahlâk Kitaplarımız," *TDAY Belleten* (1963): 89–115.

29. Eleazard Birnbaum, "A Lifemanship Manual: The Earliest Turkish Version of the Kabusname," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1977): 3–64.

30. Enfel Doğan, "On Translations of Qabus-nama during the Old Anatolian Turkish Period," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 5 (2012): 76–85.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Âdem Ceyhan, *Bedr-i Dilşad'ın Murâd-Nâmesi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: MEB, 1997).

34. Rıza Kurtuluş, "Keykâvus b. İskender."

35. MS Török F. 59, 166 {2}, 191 {13–14}, 248 {6}.

36. Ibid., 140 {19}, 141 {1}, 197 {9}.

37. Ibid., 140 {13}; ʿAlī b. Majdüddīn el-Şahrūdī Bistāmī [Muṣannifek], *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarā*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2885.

38. Ṭāşköprīzāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1975), 100–102.

39. Bistāmī, *Tuḥfa al-Salāṭīn* [*Tuḥfa al-Mulūk*], Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Şehid Ali Paşa 2797, ff. 73b–75b; Esad Efendi 1663, ff. 333b–335b; *Tuḥfa al-Wuzārā*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2885.

40. Bistāmī, *Tuḥfa al-Wuzārā*, 46a.

41. MS Török F. 59, 136 {6}, 140 {13–18}, 144 {11–12}, 147 {8}, 197 {6–7}.

42. Aḥmed b. Ḥüsāmeddīn Amāsī, *Kitāb-ı Mirʾātü'l-Mülūk*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 1890.

43. ʿAlāyī, *Netīcetü's-Sülūk fī Terceme-i Naṣīḥatü'l-Mülūk*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Pertevniyal 1011; ʿÂşık Çelebi, *el-Tibrü'l-Mesbūḳ fī Naṣīḥati'l-Mülūk*, TSMK, Bağdat 351; Aḥmed bin el-Şeyḫ Muṣliḥuddīn el-Edhemī [Muʿallimzāde], *Terceme-i Naṣīḥatü'l-Mülūk*, Bayezid Devlet Kütüphanesi, Bayezid 3902.

44. For an incomplete list of these translations, see Levend, "Siyaset-nâmeler."

45. MS Török F. 59, 141 {4–5}, 144 {4}, 191 {9}, 197{8}; for a copy of the work with Bayezid's seal, see Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2844.

46. Ṭāşköprīzāde, Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā, *Mawsūʿa Muṣṭalaḥāt Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda*, 149.

47. *EI2*, "Ṭurṭūshī," by A. Ben Abdesselem.

48. Vuṣūlī Meḥmed Efendī, *Şems-i Hidāyet*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Reisülküttap 772.

49. MS Török F. 59, 144 {3, 5}, 197 {4}.

50. For the Persian translation, see Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Riyāẓ al-Mulūk fī Riyāẓāt al-Sulūk*, ed. Karīm Ṣādirī (Tabrīz: Hāshimī Sūdmand, 1381 [2002 or 2003]).

51. R. Hrair Dekmejian and A. Fathy Thabit, "Machiavelli's Arab Precursor: Ibn Zafar al-Ṣiqillī," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27 (2000): 125–37.

52. MS Török F. 59, 141 {7}, 360 {5}.

53. *TDVİA*, s.v. "Eflâtun," by Fahrettin Olguner.

54. MS Török F. 59, 197 {11}, 198 {8}.

55. Ibid., 139 {5}, 141 {7}, 145 {14}, 146 {3–4}.

56. Rüdiger Arnzen, "On the Contents, Sources and Composition of Two Arabic Pseudo-Platonics: *Multaqaṭāt Aflāṭun al-ilāhī* and *Fiqar ultuqiṭat wa jumiʾat ʿan Aflāṭūn*," *Oriens* 37 (2009): 7–52.

57. Fārābī, *Taqwīm al-Siyāsa al-Mulūkiyya wa Akhlāq al-Ikhtiyāriyya wa Maʿāsh Tabiʿiyya*, Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1228.

58. MS Török F. 59, 145 {11–12}, 197 {17–19}, 198 {12–13}.

59. Ibid., 198 {6}.

60. Ibid., 304 {9}.

61. Michele Campopiano, "A Philosopher between East and West: Aristotle and the Secret of Secrets," *Lampas* 46 (2013): 282–89.

62. Naṣūḥ Nevālī, *Ferruḫnāme*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hafid Efendi 253.

63. MS Török F. 59, 122 {15–18}, 123 {1–2}, 140 {11–12}.

64. Ibid., 111 {2–5}, 122 {19}, 123 {3}, 137 {19}, 141 {4}, 145 {3}.

65. *TDVİA,* s.v. "Câvîdân-Hıred," by Mustafa Çağrıcı.

66. M. S. Khan, "An Apocryphal Work: The 'Jāvidān Khirād' of Miskawayh," *Islamic Studies* 37 (1998): 371–80.

67. For a discussion of different versions and copies of *Jāwidān-khirad*, see Roxanne Marcotte, "An Early Anonymous Persian Moral Text: The Jāvidān Khirad," *Islamic Studies* 36 (1997): 77–87.

68. MS Török F. 59, 112 {10–13}, 113 {1}, 114 {1–2}, 136 {18}, 140 {3}, 146 {3}, 343 {4–5}.

69. Ibid., 124 {18–19}.

70. See Salim Aydüz, "Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī's Influence on Ottoman Scientific Literature," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 17 (2011): 21–38.

71. See, for example, Arzu Süren, *Şükrullâh-ı Şirvâni'nin Nahlistân Adlı Eserinin Metni ve Metin Tercümesi* (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 2006), 70.

72. Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, ed. M. Tulum (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1977), 16.

73. Taşköprîzâde Ahmed Efendi, *Şerhu'l-Ahlâki'l-Adudiyye*, ed. Elzem İçöz and Mustakim Arıcı (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014).

74. John Walbridge, *The Leaven of the Ancients: Suhrawardī and the Heritage of the Greeks* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2000), 211–13.

75. See, for example, Ahmet Bican who used *Ḥikma al-Ishrāq* in his commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ*: Ayşe Beyazit, *Ahmed Bîcan'ın "Müntehâ" İsimli Fusûs Tercümesi Işığında Tasavvuf Düşüncesi* (master's thesis, Marmara University, 2008), 56.

76. Ayşe Beyazit, "Ahmed Bîcan'ın 'Müntehâ' İsimli Fusûs Tercümesi Işığında Tasavvuf Düşüncesi" (master's thesis, Marmara University, 2008), 56; ʿAlî b. Maḥmūd el-Şahrūdī Bistāmī [Muṣannifek], *Ḥall al-Rumūz wa Kashf al-Kunūz*, ed. Yūsuf Aḥmad (Beirut: Kitāb Nāshirūn, 2013), 22; for Mehmed II's own copy, see Şihâbüddîn Es-Sühreverdî, *Hikmetü'l-İşrâk*, ed. Eyüp Bekiryazıcı – Üsmetullah Sami (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2015).

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS ON ETHICS AND POLITICS

(*Tafṣīlu* [...] *kutubi ʿilmi al-akhlāqi* [...] *wa-kutubi umūri al-riyāsati wa-al-salṭānati wa-al-siyāsati*)

1. "*Ādāb al-salṭana wa-al-wizāra*" (Refined Manners in Sultanate and Vizierate), Persian, 198 {2–3}.
2. "*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*" (The Ordinances of Government), 96 {11}.
3. *"Anūshirwān fī al-naṣāʾiḥ"* (Anushirvan's Counsels), 146 {3}.
4. *"Risāla siyāsat al-mulūk"* (The Treatise on Governance of Kings), Arabic, 198 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hacı Mahmud 2041 (seal of Bayezid II).
5. Bistāmī, ʿAlī b. Majd al-Dīn al-Shahrūdī (d. 1470). *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā* (The Gift for Viziers), 861/1457, Persian, 140 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2885, autograph, 861/1457 (seal of Bayezid II).
6. *"Dustūr al-wizāra fī qawānīn al-wizāra"* (Guidance for the Vizierate on the Laws of the Vizierate), 193 {18}.
7. Fārābī, Abū Naṣr (d. 950). *Kitāb al-Fārābī* (The Book of Farabi), 122 {16–17}.
8. Same as above, 122 {18–19}.
9. Same as above, 123 {2}.
10. Fārābī, Abū Naṣr. *Risāla li-al-Fārābī fī al-akhlāq* (Farabi's Treatise on Ethics), 140 {10–11}.
11. Fārābī, Abū Naṣr. "*Taqwīm al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya*" (Straightening of the Governance of Kings), Arabic, 197 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1228, 863/1459.
12. Same as above, "*Taqwīm al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya,*" 198 {8}.
13. Same as above (*al-Siyāsa al-mulūkiyya wa-al-akhlāq al-ikhtiyāriyya*) (Governance of Kings and Volunary Ethics), 139 {4–5}.
14. Same as above (*Ādāb al-mulūkiyya wa-al-akhlāq al-ikhtiyāriyya min multaqāt Aflāṭūn*) (Manners of Kingship and Voluntary Ethics: Selections from Plato), 141 {7}.
15. Same as above (*Ādāb al-mulūkiyya wa-al-akhlāq al-ikhtiyāriyya*), 145 {14}.
16. Same as above (*Ādāb al-mulūkiyya wa-al-akhlāq al-ikhtiyāriyya*), 146 {3–4}.
17. Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid (d. 1111). *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk* (Ingots of Gold on Advice to Kings), Persian, 136 {5–7}. EDITION: Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid. *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. Ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī. Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1972.
18. Same as above, 140 {13–14}.
19. Same as above, 140 {14}.
20. Same as above, 197 {6–7}.
21. Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid. *Siyār al-mulūk* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 140 {18–19}.
22. Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid. *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* (Counsel for Kings), Persian, 140 {15}. EDITION: Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd. *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. Ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī. Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1972.
23. "*Tuḥfat al-mulūk*" (The Gift for Kings), Persian, 147 {8–9}.
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25. Same as above, 140 {15–16}.
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27. Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240). *al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya fī iṣlāḥ al-mamlaka al-insāniyya* (Divine Governance in Reforming the Human Kingdom), 590/1194, Arabic, 147 {15}. EDITION: Ibn ʿArabī. *Al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Iṣlāḥ al-Mamlaka al-Insāniyya*. Ed. Ḥasan ʿĀṣī. Beirut: Muʾassasa Bahsun, 1993.

28. Same as above, 132 {8}.

29. Same as above, 134 {7–8}.

30. Ibn Ḥaddād, Shams al-Dīn Hamadāni (d. 1088). *Jawharat al-nafīs fī siyāsat al-raʾīs* (The Precious Gem on the Ruler's Governance), Arabic, 198 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: Ayasofya 4824, ff. 39–62 (Seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Ibn Ḥaddād, Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr. *al-Jawhar al-Nafīs fī Siyāsat al-Raʾīs*. Ed. Ridwān al-Sayyid. Mecca: Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz, 1996.

31. Ibn Miskawayh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 1030). *al-Ṭahāra fī tahdhīb al-nafs* (The Purity in Perfecting the Soul), Persian, 122 {15–16}. EDITION; Ibn Miskawayh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Tadhīb al-Akhlāq*. Ed. Constantine K. Zurayk. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1967.

32. Same as above, 122 {17–18}.

33. Same as above, 123 {1–2}.

34. Same as above, 140 {11–12}.

35. Ibn Miskawayh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Jāwīdān-khirad* (Perennial Wisdom), Arabic, 111 {2–3}. EDITION: Ibn Miskawayh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Tarjumah-ʾi Jāvīdān Khirad-i Mishkavayh-i Rāzī*. Ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānish'pazhūh. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1980.

36. Same as above, 111 {3–4}.

37. Same as above, 111 {4}.

38. Same as above, 111 {5}.

39. Same as above, 122 {19}.

40. Same as above, 137 {19}.

41. Same as above, 141 {4}.

42. Same as above, 123 {3}.

43. Same as above, 145 {3}.

44. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 759). *Pandnāma-i tāj-i Anūshirwān* (The Crown Book of Anushirvan's Counsels), Persian, 250 {5–6}.

45. Ibn Ẓafar, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1169). *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ* (Consolation for the Ruler during the Hostility of Subjects), Arabic, 144 {3–4}. EDITION: Ibn Ẓafar, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Sulwān al-Muṭāʿ fī ʿUdwan al-Atbāʿ*. Ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Damaj. Beirut: Muʾassasat ʿIzz al-Dīn, 1995.

46. Same as above, 144 {5–6}.

47. Same as above, 197 {4–5}.

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49. Iskāfī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 854). *Lutf al-tadbīr fī tadbīr al-riyāsa* (Kind Governance in Handling Rulership), Arabic, 198 {5}. EDITION: Iskāfī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Tahdhīb Kitāb Lutf al-Tadbīr fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*. Ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Bāqī. Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyya, 1993.

50. Same as above, *Lutf al-tadbīr fī ḥiyal al-mulūk*, 197 {14}.

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52. Jāḥiẓ (d. 869). *Kitāb al-tāj fī akhlāq al-mulūk* (Book of the Crown on the Science of Ethics), Arabic, 198 {1}. EDITION: Jāḥiẓ. *Kitāb al-Tāj fī Akhlāq al-Mulūk*. Ed. Fawzī ʿAṭawī. Beirut: al-Sharika al-Lubnāniyya li-al-Kitāb, 1970.

53. Same as above, 198 {1–2}.

54. Kātib Samarqandī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. *Aghrāḍ al-siyāsa fī ʿilm al-riyāsa* (Goals of Governance in the Science of Leadership), Persian, 193 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Aya-sofya 2884 (Seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: al-Kātib al-Samarqandī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ẓahīrī. *Aghrāḍ al-Siyāsa fī Aʿrāḍ al-Riyāsa*. Ed. Jaʿfar Shiʿār. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1349 (1970 or 1971).

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56. Same as above, *Qābūsnāma* (The Book of Qābūs), 191 {13–14}.

57. "*Kitāb fī ādāb al-salṭana*" (The Book of Refinement in Government), 198 {3}.

58. "*Kitāb Arisṭāṭālīs fī naṣīḥati al-Iskandar*" (The Book of Aristotle's Counsel for Alexander), 145 {11}.

59. Same as above, "*Kitāb Arisṭāṭālīs fī naṣīḥati al-Iskandar Dhī al-Qarnayn*" (The Book of Aristotle's Counsels for Alexander the Two Horned), Persian 145 {11–12}.

60. Same as above, "*Kitāb mubārak fī al-siyāsa wa-ghayrihā li Arisṭūṭālīs fī al-naṣīḥa Dhī al-Qarnayn*," 197 {17–18}.

61. Same as above, 197 {18–19}.

62. Same as above, 198 {11–12}.

63. "*Kitāb al-dharīʿa fī makārim al-akhlāq wa-al-naṣāʾiḥ*" (The Book of Means to Ethical Virtues and Counsels), 145 {8}.

64. "*Kitāb farāʾid al-sulūk*" (The Book of Precious Gems of Wayfaring), 197 {4}.

65. "*Kitāb fawāʾid al-dulūk fī faḍāʾil al-mulūk*" (The Book of the Benefits of Wayfaring on the Virtues of Kings), 144 {15–16}.

66. Same as above, 197 {14–15}.

67. "*Kitāb fī ʿilm al-akhlāq*" (Book on the Science of Ethics), 140 {2–3}.

68. "*Kitāb fī al-naṣāʾiḥ wa-al-akhlāq*" (The Book of Counsels and Ethics), 127 {5}.

69. "*Kitāb naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk*" (The Book in Verse, on Conversations of Kings), 194 {14–15}.

70. "*Kitāb Qāḍī al-Qirim fī ʿilmi al-akhlāq*" (The Book of the Judge of Crimea on the Science of Ethics), 113 {6–7}.

71. "*Kitāb rāḥat al-insān*" (The Book of The Human Being's Comfort, in Persian Verse) Persian, 198 {4}.

72. Same as above, "*Kitāb-i naẓm-i Pandnāmah-i Anūshirwān al-mawsūm bi-rāḥat al-insān*" (The Book of Anushirvan's Counsels in Verse, Known as The Human Being's Comfort), 255 {6}.

73. Same as above, 255 {17}.

74. "*Kitāb al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya*" (The Book of Governance of Kings), 198 {7}.

75. "*Kitāb fī al-siyāsa wa-umūr al-salṭana*" (The Book of Governance and Affairs of Government), 197 {12–13}.

76. "*Kitāb al-taṣfiya fī ʿilmi al-akhlāq*" (The Book of Purification on the Science of Ethics), 144 {10}.

77. "*Kitāb tabṣirat al-mulūk fī naṣāʾiḥ al-mulūk*" (The Book of Guidance for Kings on Counsels for Kings), 123 {11}.

78. "*Kitāb tajārib al-insān fī umūr al-salṭana*" (The Book of Human Experiences on Affairs of Governance), 197 {1–2}.

79. "*Kitāb tuḥfat al-mulūk*" (The Book of Gifts for Kings and Counsels), 124 {19}.

80. "*Makārim al-akhlāq*" (Ethical Virtues), Persian, 114 {2}.

81. Same as above, 114 {3}.

82. Same as above, 114 {3–4}.

83. Same as above, 114 {4–5}.

84. Same as above, 114 {5–6}.

85. Same as above, 114 {6–7}.

86. "*Maqālat Aflāṭūn fī al-siyāsa [ay al-madaniyyati]*" (Plato's Dialogues on Governance [Namely, Civic Life]), 360 {5}.

87. Māwardī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 1058). *Ādāb al-dīn wa-al-dunyā* (Refinement of Religion and the World), Arabic, 111 {10–11}. EDITION: Māwardī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. *Ādāb al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*. Ed. 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Abū Zayna. Cairo: Mu'assasat Dār al-Sha'b li-al-Ṣiḥāfa wa-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, 1979.

88. Same as above, 113 {5–6}.

89. Same as above, 114 {14}.

90. "*Minhāj al-mulūk wa-al-salāṭīn*" (The Path of Kings and Rulers) Arabic, 197 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Fatih 3520/1 (Seal of Bayezid II).

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92. "*Muntakhab Jāwidān-khirad*" (Selections from Perennial Wisdom), 137 {19}.

93. Najm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 1256). *Mirṣād al-'ibād* (Path of God's Bondsmen), 620/1223, Persian, 108 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: Ayasofya 2067, 752/1351 (Seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Najm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī. *Mirṣād al-'Ibād min al-Mabda' ilā l-Ma'ād*. Ed. Ḥusayn Shams 'Urafā. Tehran: Mīr Kamālī, 1958.

94. Same as above, 108 {8–9}.

95. Same as above, 108 {9–10}.

96. Same as above, 113 {15–16}.

97. Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1092). *Siyar al-mulūk* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 485/1092, Persian, 140 {19}. EDITION: Niẓām al-Mulk. *Siyar al-Mulūk (Siyāsatnāma)*. Ed. Hubert Darke. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bungāh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1968.

98. Same as above, 141 {1}.

99. Same as above, 197 {9}.

100. "*Pandnāma-i kunkura-i Nūshirwān*" (Anushirvan's Great Counsels), 255 {12}.

101. Same as above, 255 {16}.

102. "*Pandnāma-i Nūshirwān*" (Anushirvan's Counsels), 147 {4}.

103. Same as above, 147 {16}.

104. Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 1311). *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (Commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination), Arabic, 354 {2}. EDITION: Qutb al-Dīn Shirāzī. *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*. Ed. Asad Allāh Harātī. Tehran: [n.p.], 1895–97.

105. Same as above, 354 {3}.

106. Same as above, 354 {4}.

107. Same as above, 354 {5}.

108.   Same as above, 354 {6–7}.

109.   Same as above, 355 {8–9}.

110.   Same as above, 356 {2–3}.

111.   Same as above, 363 {3–4}.

112.   "*Risālat Arisṭūṭālīs ilā al-Iskandar*" (Aristotle's Treatise for Alexander on Affairs of Rulership), 198 {12–13}.

113.   "*Risāla fī al-akhlāq wa-al-siyāsa*" (Treatise on Ethics and Governance), 133 {17–18}.

114.   "*Risāla fī makārim al-akhlāq*" (Treatise on Ethical Virtues), 26 {9}.

115.   "*Risāla fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk*" (Treatise on Counsel for Kings), 127 {3–4}.

116.   "*Risāla mashḥūna bi-kalimāt ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu- fī naṣāʾiḥ al-mulūk wa-ghayrihim*" (Treatise Containing the Words of Ali, May God be Pleased with Him, on Counsels for Kings and Other Subjects), 123 {3–4}.

117.   "*Risālat sirr al-salṭana*" (Treatise on Secret of Government), 121 {8}.

118.   "*Risālat siyāsat al-mulūk*" (Treatise on Governance of Kings), 198 {10}.

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122.   Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash (d. 1191). *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (The Philosophy of Illumination), Arabic, 348 {19}–349 {1}. EDITION: Suhrawardī. *The Philosophy of Illumination*. Ed. and trans. John Walbridge and Hossein Ziai. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999.

123.   Same as above, 355 {5–6}.

124.   Same as above, 356 {10}.

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126.   Same as above, 355 {13–14}.

127.   Same as above, 355 {14}.

128.   Same as above, 355 {15–16}.

129.   Same as above, 358 {5–6}.

130.   Same as above, 363 {10}.

131.   "*Tarjamat Jāwidān-khirad*" (Translation of Perennial Wisdom), Persian, 111 {3–4}.

132.   "*Tuḥfat al-mulūk*" (Gift of Kings), 304 {14}.

133.   Ṭurṭūshī, Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd (d. 1126). *Sirāj al-mulūk* (The Lamp of Kings), Arabic, 144 {4}. EDITION: Ṭurṭūshī, Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd. *Sirāj al-Mulūk*. Ed. Muḥammad Fatḥī Abū Bakr. Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1994.

134.   Same as above, 191 {9}.

135.   Same as above, 197 {8}.

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137.   Same as above, 112 {11}.

138.   Same as above, 112 {12}.

139.   Same as above, 112 {12–13}.

140.   Same as above, 113 {1}.

141.   Same as above, 114 {1–2}.

142.   Same as above 343 {4–5}.

143.   Same as above, 136 {18}.

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145.   Same as above, 146 {3}.

146.   Same as above, 343 {4–5}.]

147.   Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn. *Sīrat al-mulūk* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 124 {18–19}.

148.   Yaḥyā ibn al-Bitriq. *al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa* (The Art of Governance in Rulership), Arabic, 198 {5–6}. EDITION: Yaḥyā ibn al-Bitriq. *Sirr al-Asrār*. In ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniyya li al-Naẓariyyāt al-Siyāsiyya fī l-Islām*. Cairo: al-Naḥda, 1954.