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WHO WAS ÜMMİ KEMAL? ¹

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ABSTRACT

Historians of Turkish literature have properly recognized Ümmi Kemal as a *tekke* poet of the 15th century. This recognition falls short, however, of an adequate understanding both of his historical identity and of the interest and importance of his poem. Ümmi Kemal's *divan* survives today as virtually unique literary evidence for the character of (at least) one Anatolian branch of the Safavid *tarikât* centered in Ardabil. The sources available for a study of the poet-sheikh are compared and evaluated, including the previously ignored *Menakub* of Derviş Ahmed. An attempt is made to judge Ümmi Kemal's literary historical place from the point of view of the development of the Safavid political movement and its relations with the Ottomans.

It is curious that a man whom M. Fuad Köprülü recognized, nearly half a century ago, as "one of the most remarkable mystical poets" of 15th century Anatolian Turkish literature remains even today obscure and misunderstood. Yet this is precisely the case with a man called Ismail who took the penname (*mahlas*) Ümmi Kemal (or Kemal Ümmi).² It is all the more curious when one considers that the number of *tekke* poets from that century whose *divans* survive today can be counted on one hand. Elsewhere in his writings Köprülü displayed little interest in the poet. His example has been followed by most subsequent literary historians and anthologizers who, if they mention Ümmi Kemal at all, content themselves with repeating the very scant and generally misleading information which has been in circulation since the beginning of the century.³ My purpose here is not to explore the poetry of Ümmi Kemal but to inquire into the circumstances of his life — so far as they may be deduced — in order that we may see him from the proper historical perspective.⁴ For, as we shall see, Ümmi Kemal occupies a rather unique position in Anatolian Turkish literature, a situation

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entirely ignored by other writers and one which will help to explain the general indifference of the older Ottoman sources, an indifference which has in no small way contributed to the apathy of the literary historians and critics of our own time.

Bursalı Tahir Bey's notice sums up what little the earlier Ottoman authors know about Ümmi Kemal. Brief and poorly informed though that is, the notice has continued as the principal source for modern writers.

Kemal Ümmi was one of the **pir**-brothers (**pirdaş**) of the sheikh Cemal-i Khalveti, and one of the successors (**halife**) of Mehmed Bahaeddin Erzincani. Although it is recorded in the biographical sources that he died in Karaman in the [Hicri] year 880, according to the chronogram "**şefkat**", the grave of a man of the same name is a place of pious visitation in Manisa. It is written in the **Tezkere** of Latifi that he had a friendship with Nesimi.⁵

Tahir Bey notes further that Ümmi Kemal left a sizable **divan** of mystical poems, of which he quotes a short excerpt, and closes with the observation that the poetry is deserving of study from the point of view of the history of the Ottoman language.

The inadequacy of Tahir Bey's account is a consequence of the skimpy nature of the Ottoman sources on which he relied. The earliest of these is Latifi's **Tezkere**. This collection of biographies of the poets, however, provides only scant information: that Ümmi Kemal was a **native** of Larende, in the province of Karaman (he says nothing about where the poet died). The bulk of the brief notice is given over to an anecdote — referred to by Tahir Bey — linking Ümmi Kemal's name with that of Nesimi. But the author of the **Osmanlı Müellifleri** has left out the intriguing detail. To this I shall return in a moment. Mustafa Ali, author of the **Kunh al-Ahbar**, follows the substance of Latifi's remarks, adding merely that Ümmi Kemal travelled to Iran and served many sufi masters.⁶ It is only with Ayyansarayi that we find, apparently for the first time, reference to his affiliation with the Khalveti **tarikât**. Yet this reputed connection with the Khalvetiye is perhaps the one aspect of Ümmi Kemal's life most frequently mentioned by modern authors.⁷ It should be noted that the early Khalveti sources themselves make no mention of him.⁸ It is significant that Latifi, no mean judge of poetic talent, includes him at all, while Taşköprüzade, author of the oldest surviving Ottoman biographical work devoted to the lives of the early "saints and scholars", ignores him entirely despite Ümmi Kemal's presumably impeccable **tarikât** pedigree, at least if we accept Ayyansarayi's testimony. We will do well to keep this discrepancy in mind.⁹

Latifi's story, referred to by Tahir Bey, is as follows :

This anecdote comes from the **dedes**. The said Kemal Ümmi went with Nesimi to the **tekke** of Sultan Şüca and sacrificed a tray ram of his. Angered at this act of theirs, Baba Sultan put a razor in front of Nesimi and a noose in front of the aforementioned [Ümmi Kemal], thus indicating [the manner of] their passage from this world [to the next].¹⁰

Now Nesimi's martyrdom is well known. He was flayed alive in Aleppo, in 1404 according to most modern authors.¹¹ Latifi's anecdote is nothing surprising there. But what connection could he have had with Ümmi Kemal and should we believe, in the face of the silence of the other sources, that the latter also was a victim of orthodox Ottoman prosecution of religious extremists? Sheikh Şücaeddin [Karamani], Latifi's "Baba Sultan", is said to have flourished in the early 15th century and, perhaps significantly, to have been a follower of Sheikh Hamid of Kayseri (later Aksaray). If we accept the year 1475 (880) for the date of Ümmi Kemal's death — Tahir Bey's source, here again, seems to be Ayvansarayi — there is a possible anachronism. Ümmi Kemal must have been a very old man in 1475 if, as a young dervish, he had had an acquaintance with Nesimi more than 70 years earlier. Furthermore, whatever friendship there may have been between Nesimi and Ümmi Kemal did not result in the adoption, by our poet, of the heretical Hurufi doctrines which led to the other's execution. On the other hand it should be noted that the historian Ali places Ümmi Kemal among the poets of the time of Murad II (reg. 1421-51) and that Ümmi Kemal's **mürşids**, by his own testimony, were men who died during the first three decades of that century.¹²

The only remaining biographical detail on which the Ottoman sources offer any information is the location of Ümmi Kemal's final resting place. As we have seen, Latifi is silent on the matter, as is Ali. Ayvansarayi, on the other hand, writes assertively, "He is buried in his **zaviye** [dervish lodge] in Karaman, his native land". By now we should be prepared to receive this author's information with caution, and it comes as little surprise that there is no support for his assertion in modern historical and descriptive accounts of Karaman.¹³ As for the "Kemal Ümmi" buried in Manisa this is apparently a different and later individual.¹⁴ The Anatolian city of Aksaray might equally be proposed as the site of Ümmi Kemal's grave on the basis of a remark in Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*.¹⁵ A claim is also made for the Bythinian city of Mudurnu, by Müstakimzade, writing in the late 18th century.¹⁶ Finally there is a tradition — apparently of recent origin — that the poet was buried in Niğde.¹⁷

While there is nothing unusual in the rival claims of towns and cities to possess the last remains and relics of popularly venerated men and women, it is curious that in the case of Ümmi Kemal there survives neither material evidence nor, apparently, genuine local tradition of any age to support even one of the contradictory claims recorded above.¹⁸ There are only undocumented statements, presumably based on

hearsay. All the more surprising then to find a flourishing, but virtually unknown, oral tradition concerning Ümmi Kemal in the province of Bolu. And not only that but a village, until recently called "Tekkeümmükemal", in which are buildings commonly held to be his *türbe* and *tekke*.¹⁹ And finally, a manuscript saint's life — the *Menakıb-ı Kemal Ümmi* — of uncertain age but convincing authenticity, which adds written evidence to the unheralded claim of the Bolu mountains as the setting of Ümmi Kemal's later life.²⁰

This *menakıb* work, whose author is the otherwise anonymous "Derviş Ahmed", survives in an apparently unique, if defective manuscript: a work presumably unknown to the Ottoman authors and scarcely better known by modern writers.²¹ The frequent geographical references, not only to Bolu (the province rather than the city) but also to villages of that region, and especially to the surrounding mountains ("Ağa Dağ" and "Boz Armut Dağları") make it clear that the author was personally familiar with the area, perhaps himself a sheikh in the *tekke* of the village.²²

Despite the considerable interest of Derviş Ahmed's work, the historical facts to be gleaned from it are regrettably few. And without question, therefore, the single most important source for the life of Ümmi Kemal is his own manuscript *divan*, the one enduring tangible legacy which he left behind. If only the biographers and chroniclers (with the obvious exception of Derviş Ahmed) had troubled to look more closely at this poetry they would have been able — if they had wanted — to write their brief notices with greater accuracy and insight. "If they had wanted", because there may have been good reason, indeed, for them to prefer *tarikât* obscurity for this man of the Bolu mountains.²³



Before going on to consider the exact nature of Ümmi Kemal's *tarikât* affiliation let us briefly note some of the remarks in his *divan* which cast light on him, as poet.

Kanı o Celaleddin Sa'di ü Sena'i/Elvan u Veled 'Aşıkı 'Attar ölüm var (f. 74a)

Kanı Sa'di Celaleddin Attar/Veled Gülşehri Elvan kondı göçdi (f. 95a)²⁴

For artistic inspiration, then, Ümmi Kemal looked back to both Turkish and Persian poets of the 12th to 14th centuries. Where are they, he asks rhetorically; they have all come and gone: Jalal ad-Din Rumi, Sa'di, Sana'i and Attar, (Sultan) Veled, Aşık (Paşa), Elvan (Çelebi) and Gülşehri. Death is inescapable. The list reads like a "Who's Who" of Persian mystical poetry in its golden age together with the best known early Anatolian poets who formed a personal as well as literary link between that tradition and its Ottoman continuation.²⁵ With a knowledge of these poets Ümmi Kemal was well prepared to carry on that tradition; his own poetry is proof that he had the skill to match.

There has been confusion over the poet's penname (*mahlas*), some authors writing Kemal Ümmi and others, Ümmi Kemal. The poet himself uses both, but his preference would seem to be the latter:

Kullarun kemteridür İsmail/Ne var Ümmi Kemal ise lakabı (f. 79a)²⁶

"İsmail is a humble slave. What does it matter that his nickname is Ümmi Kemal?"

Derviş Ahmed uses the form Ümmi Kemal consistently throughout his life of the shelkh, although the title added to the work in a later hand (the title page being lost) is given as **Menakıb-ı Kemal(-i) Ümmi!**²⁷ But whichever form he uses, Ümmi Kemal, like other near eastern poets, takes full advantage of the possibilities of offers for punning. "Kemal", a common male name, has the meaning of "perfection", while **Ümmi** means illiterate. So the poet writes :

Gerçi adumdur Kemal Ümmi veli noksan özüm (f. 102b)

"True, my name is Kemal Ümmi but I myself am lacking."

And again : punning on the astronomical meaning of **kemal** ("for the moon to become full") :

Aceb ne gurra olubsın cihana Ümmi Kemal/Sakın ki degme kemalün olur sonunda zeval (f. 48b)

"Ümmi Kemal, what a marvellous new moon you are for the world! Only beware, at the end of every full moon there is decline."

Humility or conceit? Reading Ümmi Kemal's **divan** we sense that the poet was aware of his own considerable reputation. His warnings, directed towards himself, might then be interpreted as something other than disingenuous cliché. For the sufi poet, struggling to rid himself of worldly preoccupations, the gift of the muse must have seemed, ironically at times, a heavy burden.

As for "Ümmi" Kemal's illiteracy, this seems to be merely another example of an unjustified claim made by, or on behalf of, many others going back at least as far as Muhammed. The tradition that the prophet himself was illiterate must have added a certain piety, if nothing else, to the claims of numerous later poets. In any case, with our own poet the word play which he indulges in revolves exclusively around the word/name "Kemal" and not the attribute of illiteracy. Derviş Ahmed's earnest protestation to the contrary notwithstanding, it seems most likely that Ümmi Kemal was indeed quite literate.²⁸

Although there is little chance of knowing what time span, in the life of the poet, is represented by the poems which survive today in the manuscripts there are frequent allusions to old age :

Tıfıllık vardı ve geçdi yigitlig/Uyanmaduk dahi geldi kocalık (f. 92a)

"Childhood came, young manhood passed. Still we did not wake up, old age came."

Kırk yaşadum nefsum elinden kaçub/Uş dahi kurtırmazam ah vah (f. 98b)

"I've lived many [lit., "40"] years. Still I can't escape from the clutches of my 'self'."

Gönlün karasın agartmadun/Gerçi oldı saçun sakalun ak²⁹

"You did not whiten the black of your heart even as your hair and beard turned white."

While any one of these lines might be taken in a figurative, rather than literal, sense, the sentiment is too frequently and vividly expressed to be mere chance. And indeed much of the poetry leaves the impression of being the work not of a beginner but of an artistically mature personality.³⁰



Ümmi Kemal makes no secret of his connection with the Safavid **tarikât**, centered in Ardabil (Erdebil/Erdevil) in Azerbaijan.

Kant ol Cüneyd ü Hasan-î Basri ü Karhi/Şibli ü Safi Malik-i Dinar ölüm var (f. 73b)

Where are those revered early followers of the mystical way: Junayd, Hasan Basri, Karhi, Shibli, Malik-i Dinar and Sheikh Safiyüddin, the founder of his own **tarikât**? Death overtakes all.³¹ Other references are scattered throughout manuscript copies of the **divan**.

Erişeli o şah-i Erdevil'e/Ne 'azm-i Mısır u ne Şiraz kıldı (f. 65b)

"Since he [i.e., Kemal] reached that Shah of Ardabil he has set out neither for Cairo nor Shiraz."

Ümmi Kemal's links with the early Safavids are reiterated by Derviş Ahmed:

'Aziz için dedi ba'zılar olan
Yeri olmış idi evvel Horasan
Oradan Ruma anı geldi derler
Safi Sultan'dan el aldı derler (f. 1b, 9-10)
"Now some said about that saint [Kemal]:
His place was first Khurasan.
They say he came from there to Rum,
They say he took the hand of Safi Sultan."

There are two difficulties here with Ahmed's testimony: first, that Ümmi Kemal "took the hand of Safi Sultan," and second, that "his place was first Khurasan." The first is easily resolved if we understand the hemistich in a figurative way: that Ümmi Kemal received his guidance from the **teaching** of Safiyüddin as perpetuated by his descendant (Hoca Ali). The second is more of a problem. Does Ahmed mean that Ümmi Kemal was a **native** of Khurasan (contradicting all the Ottoman accounts) Or does he place Ardabil in northeastern Iran?! His use of the expression **ba'zılar... derler** ("some say") should be taken as proof that Ahmed was not well informed either of the chronology of Ümmi Kemal's early life or of the geographical locus of early Safavid activity. In any case, Ümmi Kemal's language betrays no trace of an eastern Turkic dialect.

The most detailed and explicit statements about Ümmi Kemal's *tarikât* affiliation, however, are those made by the poet himself in two poems, one a *mersiye* (elegy) the other a *medhiye* (eulogy), devoted to his own spiritual guide, Hoca Ali, son of Sheikh Sadreddin and grandson of Sheikh Safiyüddin. This is the eulogy.

1. Ol mürşid-i kamil ki ulu şeyh ü velidür
Güneş bigi nurl tolu 'aleme celidür
2. Ol şehri şer'iatde şehinşeh-i tasavvuf
Ol bahr-i hakikatde yüzen lem-yezelidür
3. Ol asî ü neseb birle ulu 'aleme tolu
Her himmeti 'ala vu kerameti 'alidür
4. Der memleket-i keşf ü keramet ü vilayet
Ber mesned-i irşad Süleyman meselidür
5. Ol 'ışk u safa ravzasının bülbülidür hem
Ol lutf ü vefa gülşeninün taze gülidür
6. Keşf ü 'atayadur anun mansıbı hakdan
Sanman ki heman kesbi vü 'ilmi 'amelidür
7. Ma'nide makamına makal ermez anun
Suretle velikin o veli Erdevllidür
8. I görmeyen ol Şibli vü Tayfur u Cüneydi
Gel Hoca yüzün gör ki olarun bedelidür
9. Anun yüzi ten gözi degül can gözi görür
Anun sözi kal dilü degül hal dilidür
10. Anun işi zahirde degül batın iledür
Anun yolu 'am yolu degül has yoludur
11. Anun evi halk evi degül hak kapusudur
Anun eli süfli de degül 'ülvi elidür
12. Anun kamu buyruğına hiç çun çera yok
Her işidenün dedüğü lebbeyk belidür
13. Zî bahtlü sultan ki kamu mir ü selatin
Tapusına müştak kapusunda kuludur
14. Erer ebedi devlete ol yarı sevenler
Zira ki anun bahtı Hûda'dan ezelidür
15. Yüz bine yakın var eli altında halife
Kim cümle dutub verdüğü ol Hoca elidür
16. Her talib ü 'aşıklarını cezbe kıluban
Elden ele yeldüran anun 'ışk yoludur

17. Hanında dünî gün doyınur cümle halayık
Da'ım hanedanı hiç ıssuz olmaz alidür
18. Cem'iyetine hazır olur galib erenler
Her gah şu dağda ki Sevelan Cebelidür
19. Üçler yediler kırklar üç yüzler ulusu
Ol şeyh-i cihan kutb-i zaman Hoca 'Alidür
20. Ol Bey u Emirün bu Kemal Ümmi fakirün
Yolında dahi tuhfesi yok can u dillidür
21. Ol bahr-ı muhit içre degül katraca kadri
Kim her hülefa mevci vü ırmağı gölidür
22. 'İşk ile okun medhini o şeyh-i 'Aceminün
Demen ki bu bir Türki ü Rumi 'Arabidür³²

Meter : Hezec (mef'ülü mefâ'ilü mefâ'ilü fe'ölün)

1. That perfect guide who is a great sheikh and saint :
His light is plentiful like the sun; it is manifest in the world.
2. He is the shah of shah of sufism in that city of the law.
He is the eternal swimmer in that sea of truth.
3. With that lineage and descent he fills the whole world
His every grace is great, his every miracle exalted.
4. In the country of discovery and miracle and sainthood
He is the likes of Süleyman, on the throne of instruction.
5. He is the nightingale of that garden of love and pleasure;
He is the fresh rose of that rose garden of favor and constancy.
6. His status is a revelation and gift from God.
Do not suppose that it is acquired nor that his learning is practical.
7. In actuality words do not reach his high station;
Only in external appearance is that saint an Ardabili.
8. Oh, you who do not see Shibli or Tayfur or Junayd,^a
Come! See the face of Hoca for it is a substitute for them.
9. It is not the eye of flesh but the eye of the soul which perceives it.
His speech is not the language of common talk; it is the language of mystical states.
10. His concern is not with the manifest but with the hidden.
His way is not the public way; it is the way of the select.
11. His house is not the house of the people; it is God's royal court.
His hand is not low [i.e., in this world]; it is sublime.

12. There is no 'how' or 'why' to his every command.
The response of all who hear is 'Yes! At your service!'^b
13. Behold the fortunate sultan! Every prince and ruler
Is filled with desire for his service and is a slave at his court.
14. Those who love that friend reach eternal happiness
For his fortune is from God; it is eternal.
15. Under his hand are near one hundred thousand successors.
It is the hand of Hoca which all of them took and by which they were given leave.
16. Attracting every seeker, every lover it is his way of love^c
Which has caused them to run from place to place.
17. Day and night all the people are satiated at his table.
His dynasty is never vacant; it is his family.
18. The invisible saints are always present at his gatherings.
On that mountain which is Sevelan Mountain.^d
19. He is the greatest of the Three, the Seven, the Forty and the Three Hundred.
He is Hoca Ali, that Sheikh of the World, Pole of Time.^e
20. This miserable Kemal Ümmi has no gifts
For that Lord and Prince — [his only gift] is his heart and soul.
21. His [Ümmi Kemal's] worth is not that of a drop in that ocean.
[Hoca Ali's] every successor is [like] a wave, a river or a lake.
22. Sing, with love, the praises of that Iranian sheikh.
Do not say he is a Turk, a Rumi or an Arab.^f

NOTES TO THE POEM

- a For Shibli and Junayd see above, n. 31. Yayfur is better known as Abu Yazid (Bayazid) al-Bistami. See Farid al-Din Attar, *Muslim Saints and Mystics* (tr. Arberry), 100-24.
- b "Yes!" Mankind's answer, before creation, to God's question, "Am I not your Lord?" (Kuran vii, 171). It is also the affirmation uttered by the pilgrim during performance of the rites at Mecca.
- c "way of love": the poet refers to the sheikh's *tarikāt*.
- d Sevelan Mountain: Kuh-i Savalan, a prominent peak at over 15,000 feet, lies about 20 miles west of the city of Ardabil.
- e For the hierarchy of saints which revolves around the pole (*kutb*) see Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre: Risalat al-Nushiyya ve Divan* (İstanbul, 1965), 296-97.
- f "Rumi": a native of, or settler in, the province of Rum, broadly understood as Asia Minor.

In the elegy Ümmi Kemal spells out the year in which the Hoca died :

Kaçan defn oldu ol genci bil et hicretde sağınca/Sekiz yüz otuz ikinci cemaziyü'l-evvel ayında

"Reckon the date of the Hicra when that youth was buried: the month of **Cumada al-awwal**, the 832nd year."

This would put the time of the Hoca's death between February 6 and March 7, 1429, thus confirming the commonly accepted year.³³

Did Ümmi Kemal travel to Ardabil and experience direct initiation into the Safavid order at the hands of Hoca Ali? That would seem to be the implication of the line quoted above ("Since he reached that Shah of Ardabil..."), and there is no reason not to take that verse at face value. On the contrary, elsewhere in his poetry Ümmi Kemal refers with deep veneration to the Anatolian mystic who must have mediated this contact: Sheikh Hamid ibn Musa, also known as Ekmeççi (or Somuncu) Baba, whose own **tarikât** training came at the hands of the same Hoca Ali of Ardabil. An important figure in Anatolian **tarikât** history, Sheikh Hamid is better known in the early Ottoman biographical sources than Ümmi Kemal. He is best known as the **mürşid** of Hacı Bayram, but otherwise his teaching and activity are very scantily documented.³⁴ Ümmi Kemal left a second elegy, on Sheikh Hamid. It does little, however to clarify the details of Hamid's life other than that he died on the night of Berat [14/15 Şaban] in the **hicri** year 815 [=19/20 November 1412] and that his given name was Ubeydullah. While the poet refers to both of his spiritual guides as **mürşid-i kâmil** ("the perfect teacher") he reserves the expressions **şeyh al-şüyuh** ("sheikh of sheikhs") and **şeyhümüz** ("our sheikh") for Sheikh Hamid.³⁵



There should no longer be any doubt as to Ümmi Kemal's **tarikât** affiliation. It remains to consider the echoes of that Safavid commitment in his **divan** and, finally, the broader historical perspective from which to consider our poet.

The **tekke** poets shared, of course, a common purpose — the exaltation of God and the justification of the mystical approach to Him — and a common literary language — a more or less homogeneous dialect of Anatolian Turkish, to a greater or lesser extent influenced by earlier Persian and Turkish poets. Yet the very existence of a wide spectrum of **tarikât** organizations is proof enough that the avenues of approach diverged significantly. At the same time genuinely creative poets, even under the heavy influence of tradition, must be expected to forge distinctive idioms and styles. To suppose the contrary, even where "originality" itself was not highly prized, is to question the very nature of literary art. If we are to advance at all the critical study of Turkish **tekke** poetry we must be prepared to display those distinctions. Clearly a comparative approach would be the most effective.

For the pre-16th century period, however, the only **tekke** poets whose **divans** are at all well known are Yunus Emre and Eşrefoğlu Rumi.³⁶ For the rest, as in the case of Ümmi Kemal, either the poetry remains unpublished and unedited, or it survives in such limited quantity that no clear impression can be gained from it. Consequently

the anthology form continues to be popular in this genre. But by its very nature the anthology is selective and tends to perpetuate literary judgements and standards of earlier generations. (Examples could be shown of poets being repeatedly represented by the same two or three poems over and over again.) Respect for aesthetic integrity is minimal: editors may excerpt freely choice lines of favored poems so that the resulting text is only a shadow of the original whole. (as in the older Ottoman *tezkeres* themselves, the part is often of more interest than the whole.) Worst of all, the anthology succeeds in levelling. The distinctive idioms, styles and rhythms disappear. In their place emerges a "type", in which the familiar clichés parade endlessly across the page. We are left with an impression of *tekke* poetry as a genre, but with little or no feeling for any one *tekke* poet. In such a situation it is impossible to develop critical opinion. We must therefore begin at the beginning.

Postponing a more narrowly literary analysis for separate study it is appropriate first to establish the historical identity of the poet as fully as possible. As against the strictly biographical information which we have presented above, the language of Ümmi Kemal's *divan* offers revealing insight into the meaning of the poet's *tarikât* career. A close look at the verbal content of the poems helps us to identify the figure behind the poetry. Based on a close reading of the entire *divan*, what follows is a considered but nevertheless tentative view. Four separate topics are considered.

Da'va

The word *da'va* (more often, *da'vi*, in Ümmi Kemal's poetry: "assertion, claim, case" or, perhaps better, in the contemporary sense: "cause") recurs frequently although the precise nature of this "cause" is not made explicit. While the poet often ridicules himself for the emptiness of his claim, this typical self deprecation should not mislead us.

'Amelden zerrece ma'ni görünmez/Heman da'vi gelür da'ım dillümden (f. 84a)

"Not a trace of meaning appears from my actions; only the cause comes from my tongue, always."

Beni bu halk eyü sanur yalan da'vime inanur/Ne bilsün zerke aldanur ki pür 'eyyar u tarraram (f. 68a)

"The people think well of me and believe in my false claim. What should they know They are taken in by hypocrisy since I am a rogue and thief."

And again, speaking to the reader/listener, but implicitly of course to himself:

Da'vi kıluban 'ud ü 'abirem deme çünkim/Ma'ni odına derdile göynüb tütemezsün (f. 122b)

"Do not make your claim saying 'I am aloes wood and perfume,' for you do not

burn and smoke with pain in the fire of true meaning."³⁷

Finally, in a challenging tone he asserts the superiority of his own *da'vi* :

**'Aşıkam ben deyüben da'vi kılan çokdur veli/Pehlûvan oldur ki meydan aldı her mer-
daneden**

**Bu Kemal Ümmi gibi avare vü biçare kul/'Alem içre ne doğubdur ne doğısar ana-
dan (f. 105a)**

"True, there are many who advance their claim saying, 'I am the lover.'

But the hero is he who takes the field from every other. In this world no slave was ever born — nor ever will be — as idle and destitute as this Kemal Ümmi."

From very early in the history of Islam special causes were championed under the banner of *da'va* (Arabic, *da'wa*), but the term came to be used particularly by extreme, militant Shi'ite factions, especially by propagandists for the medieval Fatimid (Isma'ili) cause. With that movement, of course, Ümmi Kemal had no connection. His repeated use of the term suggests however that among some circles of early Safavid propagandists, it retained a special signification.³⁸

Gaza-Gazi

The notion of sacrifice for the sake of attaining one's desire thoroughly infuses Muslim mystical poetry. The giving up of one's own life is, therefore, the ultimate and necessary sacrifice, and is consistently recommended, as the way to true mystical fulfillment. This self sacrifice is broadly understood in the sense of the abandonment of all things other than God (*mâ sivâ Allah*), an embracing of complete poverty and an acceptance of total dependance on God's will. There is also an underlying but unmistakable suggestion that the "ultimate sacrifice" itself may be required. And the history of sufism is punctuated with examples enough of true martyrs for their cause. It seems likely that there were countless other unnamed victims.

The mystic poets inevitably found much, in this paradoxical and alluring notion of finding eternity through annihilation, to challenge their skill at word play :

Bu 'ışka cari verendür hoş bahadır/Kİ dizar ol şehide kan bahadır (f. 84b)

"He is the happy hero who gives his life for this love, for the face of God costs that martyr his life."

The idea of martyrdom may be phrased in somewhat different language with the emphasis being transferred to the heroic struggle with the "self" (*nefs*), an ongoing conflict which occupies the mystical seeker at various stages of his vocation. The struggle may be portrayed as "holy war" (*gaza*; from the Arabic, *ghaza*):

Gazavat kılur isen nefsin öldür/Kim ol gerçek cihad gey akındur

Taharet cevşenin himmet silahın/Amel seyfin kuşanığör takın dur³⁹

"If you perform the **gaza** then kill your 'self' for that true holy war is a great attack.

Gird yourself with the armor of cleanliness, buckle on the weapon of zeal, the sword of action."

Or again :

Muhacir olur isen kıl menahiden hicret/Gaza sevab gerek ise nefis ile uğraş
(f. 46b)

"If you are an emigrant take flight from what is forbidden. If the **gaza** is to be meritorious then struggle with the 'self'.

The notion of **gaza**, in the sense of physical struggle with an infidel enemy, was not lacking in Safavid history. Its role there, however, especially in the early period, cannot be compared to that of the **gaza** in the northwest Anatolian Ottoman principality which came into even greater prominence during the 14th century. The mid-15th century reorientation of the Safavid order under Junayd and his son Haydar was accompanied, to a considerable extent, by the adoption of political **gaza**. In their time, in the words of one recent student of early Safavid history, "the **ghaza** became a 'state' policy and the constant occupation of the order, its leaders and their followers." Yet even before this time there had been periods when the **gaza** assumed greater significance in the activity of the order, and one of these was precisely the period of Hoca Ali's leadership.⁴⁰

Is it merely coincidence that we find, in Ümmi Kemal's **divan**, the name of his Anatolian **mürşid**, Sheikh Hamid, consistently linked with the words **gazi** ("warrior for the faith") and **şehit** ("martyr for the faith")?

Şehid oldu o gazi hak yolında/Ki şeytan ile yetmiş yıl savaştı (f. 72a)

"That **gazi** became a martyr for the sake of God since he fought for 70 years with with the devil."

And again :

Kanı ol sufi u safi şehid ü cahid ü vafi

Zehl gazi kim ol Allah yolında terk-i ser kıldı⁴¹

"Where is that sufi, that pure one who strives and accomplishes Behold that **gazi** who gave up his head for the sake of God."

The biographical sources do not suggest a martyr's death for Sheikh Hamid. Yet these lines of the poet beg to be interpreted literally rather than figuratively. Let us note also that Derviş Ahmed devotes considerable space in his *menakib* work to the martyrdom, not of Hamid, whom, he does not mention, but of Ümmi Kemal's son Cemal, an apparent victim of extravagant excesses of behaviour and words. Recalling Latifi's anecdote it is difficult to refrain from speculation over the cause(s) of the reported (or implied) martyrdoms of Ümmi Kemal, his sheikh and his own son. Even if that anecdote is apocryphal Ümmi Kemal must have been well conditioned to the thought of death, if not by the hangman's noose then by the rigor of his own spiritual struggle.⁴²

Zikir

Zikir (from Arabic, *dhikr*: "a mentioning or recollecting (especially the name of God), a litany") plays a central role in the practice of all Muslim mystical orders. The incorporation of *zikir* expressions into the poetry which was nurtured by the *tekke* environment is therefore not surprising. The regular repetition of the word "Allah", or of any of the names of God, or of any of the ritualistic expressions of faith may be said to constitute the use of *zikir* in poetry. The frequency of such examples in Ümmi Kemal's poetry leaves one with the impression that *zikir* served as a stimulus, and provided a metrical model of sorts, for the improvisation of poetry. Nearly 20 poems, from a *divan* in which approximately 160 poems survive, appear to be built upon a *zikir* foundation. It is difficult to make comparisons with other *tekke* poets of the 14th and 15th centuries because of the limited materials available. It should be noted, however, that Gölpinarlı includes only one such poem in his most recent edition of Yunus Emre's *divan* which includes over 300 poems. The *divan* of Eşrefoğlu Rumi, less than half that size, includes four poems clearly based on *zikir* expressions.⁴³

Ümmi Kemal's *divan* yields two poems of unusual interest with respect to the use of *zikir*. The first shows the degree to which the poet is concerned with the mnemonic formula determining the metrical character of the hemistich:

Mefâ'ilün fe'ilâtün mefâ'ilün fe'ilat/Her işde fa'î ü muhtar hakkdur o fa'al (f. 57a)

(The meter is technically *müctes müsemmen mahbun mahzuf*, one of the poet's favorites.) The final hemistich, while not a *zikir* formula itself, suggests just that through the juxtaposition of four names of God, two of them linked back to the mnemonic feet of the first hemistich through the figure *istikak* (use of words of different form but derived from a common root). The second example shows how the function of the mnemonic device, itself meaningless groups of Arabic syllables, has been taken over by a kind of *zikir* expression:

Sen bakasın sen bakasın sen baka/Biz fenayuz biz fenayuz biz fena (f. 50a)

Here the mnemonic formula *fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün* (which exemplifies the meter, *remel müseddes mahzuf*) is replaced by the repeating Turkish sentences (!) *sen ba-*

kasım ("You are eternal.") and *biz fenayuz* ("We are ephemeral."). The poet does not, in fact, use either of these metrical sentences as a repetitive element elsewhere in this poem (than in the concluding line quoted above) so that by our own definition they do not qualify as *zikir* expressions. Yet that is precisely what they are; that they played a constructive role in the formulation of other lines of the poem can hardly be doubted. The importance given to *zikir* recitations is so well known that it can as a surprise to find this practice put to the use of poetry. The examples from Ümmi Kemal's *divan* provide strong, concrete evidence for that practice.

Derviş Ahmed's *Menakıb* work gives us additional insight into the type of *zikir* which Ümmi Kemal practiced. The mystic poet is twice described as "the one who created the *zikir* from the throat." Unless we are to believe that the type of *zikir* attributed to Ümmi Kemal, by one of his followers, was the exact opposite of that which he actually practiced we must read the following couplet as another example of exaggerated poetic self-deprecation :

Kavilde zahiren hoşam fiilde batinen boşam/Zikirde gerçi hamuşam şirde ehl-i güftaram (f. 67b)

"In speech I am outwardly pleasant; in acts I am inwardly empty.

Although I am silent in the *zikir* I am a man of many words in my poems."

Surely what he means is that his poetry "makes itself heard" among the people while his *zikir* is weak and ineffective. (The couplets which precede and follow this one are similarly) self disparaging. Yet even while belittling his accomplishment in the *zikir* he acknowledges his reputation as a poet!)⁴⁴

Ahmed writes further, quite unpoetically, that Ümmi Kemal received the inspiration for this *zikir* from the bleating of the sheep which he reportedly tended. In his haste to credit the sheikh with the discovery of this particular form of *zikir* Ahmed overlooks Ümmi Kemal's own words, which present a more sophisticated view of the matter :

Bu kâinat yogiken var idi zikir-i kadir:/Denilmedin dahi kun la ilah illâ Allah (f. 31a)

"The ancient *zikir* existed even when this existence did not, even before the word, "Be!" was spoken. There is no god but God."⁴⁵

Communal life

Perhaps the single most important event in the social and religious history of Anatolia in the first half of the 15th century was the now well known revolt of 1416, generally linked with the name of Sheikh Bedreddin. Despite the interest which the revolt holds for students of Ottoman history it is still not entirely clear how the teachings of Sheikh Bedreddin, the communist life style which his followers practiced and the economic and political interests of Turcoman tribesmen coalesced into a large scale uprising which momentarily threatened the stability of the Ottoman regime.

It is known, however that Bedreddin's followers perpetuated themselves for several generations in Rumelia. The movement's apparent attempt at rapprochement between Muslims and Christians has also attracted attention.⁴⁶

While there are no connections between the revolt of Bedreddin and the known activities of the Safavid *tarikât* poet Ümmi Kemal, there are certain points which bear reconsideration. Among these points we should note the following: that Bedreddin and Sheikh Hamid were acquainted with one another and perhaps shared similar views;⁴⁷ that the prominent Hacı Bayram of Ankara (d. 1430) was also, with Ümmi Kemal, a mürid of Sheikh Hamid; and that the day-to-day application of Hacı Bayram's *tarikât* teaching was communalist in character.⁴⁸ Two aspects of the daily life of the Bayrami dervish movement in particular are worth recalling:

Hacı Bayram worked at agriculture; he sowed the seed and reaped and gathered the harvest together with his dervishes. What was collected he distributed to the brothers, keeping a quantity for his *tekke* in proportion to its need. In his *tekke* even laundry was washed as a communal activity. The *ilahîs*, later called the laundry "cry" and set to music, made the dervishes forget their weariness. Later, in *tarikats* which accepted the the audible way [in the *zikir*], this fixed tune, being adapted to various *ilahîs*, came to be chanted during the *zikir*.⁴⁹

With these bits of historical information in mind it is possible to read Ümmi Kemal's poetry in a somewhat brighter light. He speaks often of planting and harvesting.

**Sen bu dünya tarlasında hayr tohumın saçağör/Ta ki 'ukbi hirmeninde degme denen
ola mut**

**Hayr u şer kîm ne kılursa anı bulur bi-guman/Her ne ekse anı biçer buğday u arpa
nohut (f. 114a)**

"Cast the seed of goodness in this world's field so that your every grain will amount to a quart on tomorrow's threshing floor.

Whatever deeds one does, whether charitable or evil, they find him in the end. As he sows so he shall reap; barley, wheat and chickpea."

And in another poem:

Hayr et ki dünya ahiretün tarlası durur/Her kul bugün ne tohm eker ise yarın biçer
(f. 113b)

"Do good! For this world is the field of the next. Whatever each slave shall sow today, that he shall reap tomorrow."

Other variations on the theme could be pointed out; what is significant, again, is their frequency. Given the poet's preference for strong, realistic imagery should we not see here the influence of the poet-sheikh's *tekke* environment and his own activity in the field?

There are no references to laundry in Ümmi Kemal's poetry but there are many to soap and water! All have to do with repentance.

Gel tevbe pınarında safa sabunu birle/Yu kalbünü hasid ü kindar ölüm var
(f. 73a)

"Oh, jealous and vindictive one, come! Wash your heart in the spring of repentance with the soap of purity. Death is inescapable!"

It requires little stretch of the imagination to hear in this couplet something very similar to the "laundry cry" of the contemporary Bayramiye dervishes. In the absence of better texts, these — and other — passages from Ümmi Kemal's *divan* may be offered as the strongest literary evidence available to support the view that a communal *tekke* life style was practiced by dervish groups in Anatolia under the influence of the "ancestral" Safavid order in Ardabil.

The Arabic word *tarik* (plural: *turuk*) means fundamentally "way" or "road" and later, by extension, "a manner of behavior, a set of regulations," an "order" according to which one lived; "a mystical order." The word found its natural counterpart in Turkish *yol*. Hence one of the terms most widely used in early Anatolian Turkish to describe a follower of the mystical way was *yol eri* ("man of the road"). As might be expected, references to the "way" and to "followers of the way" are common in *tekke* poetry. Whether the word *yol*, together with many compound forms, occurs more frequently in Ümmi Kemal's *divan* than, say, in Yunus Emre's would require a laborious counting. Whatever the result might be, there is no question that Ümmi Kemal favored the word greatly.

İ yol eri nefis ü hevadan sakın/Yol urucu kibr ü riyadan sakın (f. 98a)

"Hey, man of the road, beware of self and desire. Beware of the highwaymen, pride and hypocrisy."

Kanı bir eyü yoldaş u koldaş u karındaş/Batıl yolu vu halkı koyub hakka uyası⁵⁰

"Where is a good companion of the way, a supporter and brother, one who will leave the false road and the people, and conform to God?"

Ümî Kemal is at home, in his poetry, with the road and the traveller along the road. In some of his best lines he speaks with an unusual vigor and realism of imagery, suggesting that he was personally familiar with the rigors and dangers of travel on the great exposed highways of Anatolian plateau or the winding paths of mountain upland.

Dünya muhabbeti sepişür şol uyuz bigi/Yoldaş clana katı yapışır kuduz bigi

Ger parpılanmasa kudurur kime uğrasa/Aç kurt bigi dalar çalar azgun donuz bigi
(f. 127a)

"Love of the things of this world is contagious like the mange. It fastens itself to the follower of the way like a mad dog.

Unless he is treated,⁵¹ the one who is attacked goes mad and bites like a hungry wolf, strikes like a wild boar."

To put these fragments of poetry in perspective we must come back to the question of Ümî Kemal's place in the 15th century Safavid **tarikât**.

Although Hoca Ali, Ümî Kemal's **mürşid-i kâmil**, is sometimes said to have given a new direction to the teaching and practice of the Safavid order, it is his grandson who is prominently recognized as the first of the Safavid dynasty to openly espouse a Shi'ite position. Driven out of Ardabil by the Kara Koyunlu leader Cihanshah, Junayd visited Anatolia around 1450 as a political exile. Where earlier Ottoman sultans had sent annual gifts to Ardabil in recognition of the reputation of the Safavid sheikhs, now Sultan Murad II rejected Junayd's request for land on which to settle. "Several sheikhs may pray on a single prayer rug." Murad is said to have remarked, "but no throne is large enough for two rulers." In Konya, where Junayd turned next for help from the Karaman ruler, he found that even the prayer rug was too narrow: a certain Sheikh Abdüllatif of the Zeyni **tarikât**, accusing him of outright heresy, hastened him on his return journey eastward. Junayd's son Haydar reaffirmed the new orientation of the Safavi order and is considered responsible for introducing the distinctive red headgear of the order's followers.⁵²

By the end of the century an irreversible process, not yet fully understood, had taken place which transformed the formerly Sunni **tarikât** at Ardabil, under the hereditary leadership of the Safavid family, into a Shi'ite political movement whose acknowledged leader, a teenage boy, considered himself little less than the incarnation of God. In the meantime Ardabil "headquarters" had sent numerous **da'is** into Asia Minor and they in turn had palpable success in gaining the sympathy, if not immediately the open allegiance, of large numbers of the population. The first significant manifestation of the success of this missionary activity was the revolt of the Safavid partisan Shah Kuli, dubbed Şeytan Kuli ("Slave of the Devil") by the Ottomans, in 1511. It is not difficult to see that this revolutionary change of policy in Azerbaijan would have far reaching consequences.⁵³

When and how, if at all, did these momentous changes personally affect the life of Ümî Kemal? Uncertainty regarding the dates of his life makes it difficult to

answer the question. One thing is clear however: nothing in his *divan* suggests allegiance to a Shi'ite teaching or doctrine. Ümmi Kemal was no Alevi poet, much less another Hatayi. Barring the possibility of a painstaking expurgation of all expressions of Shi'ite sympathy from his *divan* at a sufficiently early date to have affected all surviving copies (one of which goes back to 923/1517) — something which seems unlikely in the extreme — we must conclude that, if Ümmi Kemal lived into the second half of the 15th century (as tradition would have it) he did not follow the new direction of the Safavid shahs. Rather, he must have continued in his adherence to the original Safavid orthodox sufi teaching. Now if we accept the year 1475 as the date of his death — and there is, let it be admitted, no clear evidence for or against it — we should consider the possibility that he became an "innocent victim" of Ottoman suppression of *kızılbaş* activity. The real interest, after all, of Latifi's anecdote lies not so much in the linking, *per se*, of our poet's name with the Hurufi Nesimi, with whom in any case he shared little or no common philosophical ground, as in the implication of his martyrdom.⁵⁴ Is there any evidence then of Ottoman retaliation against Safavid sympathizers in the years preceding the death of Sultan Mehmed II himself, in 1481? The sources speak openly of none, but we should not overlook certain events of the year 1468 (872 H). After Mehmed had subdued the Karaman stronghold of Konya and personally entered the city, the then grand vizier, Mahmud Pasha, was sent to take Larende. In the aftermath of the campaign a large number of Turgutlu tribesmen were executed for their support of the local rulers. Further, a part of the population from each of the conquered cities was also ordered to move to Istanbul as part of Fatih's program of developing the recently conquered former Byzantine capitol. Did Ümmi Kevillage of the Bolu mountains? Recognizing that it is pure speculation, one could find here an explanation for Ümmi Kemal's seemingly curious choice of a final residence. Without the evidence of archival documents, however, the chance of clearing away this baffling question is slim indeed.⁵⁵

With regard to his poetry, however, the case is considerably simpler. Ümmi Kemal's "Ardabil connection" doomed his *divan* to obscurity. Even if the poet himself avoided Ottoman retaliatory measures against Safavid supporters for what was considered the double crime of political treason and religious heresy, there remained at the turn of the 16th century no organized *tarikât* in Anatolia to preserve Ümmi Kemal's work. The harshness of the example set by Selim I in the aftermath of the revolt of Shah Kuli may not always have been followed by his successors, but the Ottoman "establishment" viewed the Safavid organization as anathema. The writers of chronicles and biographical dictionaries, members of that establishment, found it convenient to ignore those whose pedigrees were possibly tainted. Sheikh Hamid and Hacı Bayram could not be ignored because of their widespread popularity and, perhaps also, because both were dead long before Junayd appeared in Anatolia with his heretical views. There is little doubt that Ottoman chroniclers were nearly as zealous in whitewashing over questionable chapters and personalities in their histories as their Safavid counterparts were in doctoring the early accounts of Sheikh Safiyüddin's *tarikât* and his own genealogy.

Ümmi Kemal could more easily be overlooked because he seems neither to have founded a *tekke* nor to have established a clear line of succession by appointed *halifes*

to carry on the tradition which he himself adhered to — or so at least own explanation and that of Derviş Ahmed. Nor should the importance of a *tarikât* tradition in the preservation of *tekke* poetry be underestimated.⁵⁶

Ümî Kemal's unusual position in the history of Anatolian Turkish literature lies first of all in the very fact of his survival. With the disappearance of the Safavid *tarikât*, (an inevitable consequence of the revolutionary realignment in Ardabil), Ottoman Safavid poets became an extinct species. Whether Sheikh Hamid or Hacı Bayram ever composed poetry in *divan* quantity is not known; what survives is too fragmentary to have any real literary value.⁵⁷ But beyond this uniqueness through survival Ümî Kemal's *divan* remains an outstanding example of powerful and imaginative poetry in the service of a dedicated commitment to the ideals of one late medieval mystical order. Ümî Kemal recognized his own skill even while despising it as an aspect of "self-ness" from which to be freed. Latifi's positive judgement — running against the grain of 16th century Ottoman attitudes — is adequate witness to Ümî Kemal's literary rank. As his poetry becomes better known perhaps the estimate of his earliest critic will be accepted. In the meantime it may be true poetic justice that Ümî Kemal's name has survived almost exclusively in the fastness of villages in the Bolu mountains.⁵⁸

NOTES

- 1 I wish to thank Metin Kunt and the full editorial board for offering me this opportunity to publish the results of my research in Turkey during the past year. I am indebted to the University of California for financial support, during a combined sabbatical leave and leave of absence, which made it possible to carry out this research. I would also like to express my appreciation for their help and warm hospitality to the directors and staffs of the several libraries where I pursued the subject of this paper. My special thanks go to Bay Muammer Ülker, director of the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi; Bay Muzaffer Gökman, director of the Beyazıt Kütüphanesi; and Bay Kemal Çiğ, director of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi. Finally, I wish to thank Professors Andreas Tietze and Robert Dankoff for reading this article and suggesting a number of corrections, most of which I have happily adopted.
- 2 The question is from Köprülü's article "Turks (Ottoman Turkish Literature)," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leyden, 1934) iv, 945. He reiterated this evaluation in his (*Eski Şairlerimiz*) *Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi* (Istanbul, 1934), 68. For the poet's *mahlas* see below, p. 79.
- 3 Elsewhere Köprülü refers to Ümî Kemal, in passing only, in his article "Dede Korkut kitabına ait notlar, 3: Ozan," *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, Yıl 1, Sayı 3 (1932), 136. (The article was reprinted in his *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Hakkında Araştırmalar* (Istanbul, 1934, 273-92, and again in *Edebiyat Araştırmaları* (Ankara, 1966: TTK, vii, seri-sayı 47), 131-44.) Oddly enough he makes no reference to Ümî Kemal in his *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Istanbul, 1918; reprinted: Ankara, 1966). Similarly Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı ignores the poet in his *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf* (Istanbul, 1961) and, so far as I can see, in his numerous other writings on the genre of *tarikât* literature, except for a thumbnail sketch and an abbreviated version of a single poem, in *Divan Şiiri: XV.-XVI. Yüzyıllar* (Istanbul, 1954: Varlık), 11 and 33-36. Among books published in the West, Ümî Kemal's name is notably absent from A. Bombaci, *Histoire de la Littérature Turque*, tr. by I. I. Melikoff (Paris, 1968); and from W. Björkman's article "Die altosmanische Literatur" in L. Bazin et al (ed.), *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta ii* (Wiesbaden, 1964).
- 4 I leave a more thorough study of the *divan* to a second article and to a forthcoming book in which I consider both Ümî Kemal and his contemporary Eşrefoğlu Rumi.

- 5 **Osmanlı Müellifleri** i (Istanbul, 1333), 152-53; in the new edition (Istanbul, 1970), printed in the modern Turkish alphabet, the notice comes at pp. 141-42.
- 6 For Latifi see below, n. 10. Ali's history was compiled during the last decade of the 16th century. For the notice on Ümmi Kemal, **Kunh al-Ahbar** (Istanbul, 1869), iv, part 2, 243.
- 7 Hüseyin ibn İsmail (better known as Ayyansarayi), prominently regarded for his catalogue of Istanbul mosques, **Hadikat al-Cevami**, also wrote a slim volume of saints' lives, **Tercemet al-Meşayih**, which has not been published. For the notice on Ummi Kemal see the Istanbul MS. (Süleymaniye) Esad Efendi 1375, 55b.
- 8 Two independent studies, written at approximately the same time, give considerable detail regarding the early history of the Khalveti order in Ottoman lands: H. J. Kissling, "Aus der Geschichte des Chalvetijje-Ordens," **Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft** 103, N. F. 28 (1953), 233-89; and Tahsin Yazıcı, "Fetih'ten sonra İstanbul'da ilk Halveti Şeyhleri: Çelebi Muhammed Cemalettin, Sümbül Sinan ve Merkez Efendi," **İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi** 2 (1956), 87-113. There is no mention of Ümmi Kemal in Yusuf Sinan's **Menakıb-ı şerif ve tarikat-name-i piran ve meşayih-i tarikat-i aliyeh-i halvetiye**, one of the earliest sources on the Khalvetiye from within the order.
- 9 For Taşköprüzade see below, n. 12.
- 10 Latifi's **Tezkere-i Şuara**, written in 1546, was published in Istanbul (1314). The anecdote is at p. 286. It is paraphrased by E.J.W. Gibb in his brief discussion of Ummi Kemal, based entirely on Latifi and Ali: **History of Ottoman Poetry** i (London, 1900), 413. A valuable study of the poet-biographer is the unpublished thesis of Walter G. Andrews, Jr., **The Tezkere-i Şuara of Latifi as a source for the critical evaluation of Ottoman poetry** (University of Michigan, 1970). Unfortunately Andrews excludes from consideration Latifi's views on tekke poets.
- 11 For Nesimi see Kathleen A.R. Burdill, **The Turkic and Persian Quatrains of Nesimi** (Leiden, 1973). Cf. Gibb, **HOP** i, 343-68. Some authors place his death as late as 1417.
- 12 For Sheikh Şücaeddin see Ahmet Taşköprüzade, **Al-Şakaik al-numaniye** tr. by Mecdi (Istanbul, 1269), 94-95. For Sheikh Hamid see below, p. 80. Precisely because of anachronism Mehmed Halid (Bayrı) earlier doubted the reliability of Latifi's anecdote. ("Kemal Ummi," **Hayat** 11/43 (22 Eylül 1927), 15.) Doubtful chronology, however, does not necessitate dismissing Latifi's story altogether. See further, below.
- 13 So, for example, in İbrahim Hakki Konyalı's survey of antiquities: **Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Karaman Tarihi** (Istanbul, 1967).
- 14 The Manisa grave has long since been covered over by buildings. The «Kemal Ümmi Dede» buried there apparently died after the Hicri year 1000 (1591-92), according to the inscription on a replacement tomb stone. He must not, therefore, be confused with our Ümmi Kemal. For details see M. Çağatay Uluçay and İbrahim Gökçen, **Manisa Tarihi** (Istanbul, 1939: Manisa Halkevi Yay. 5), 126.
- 15 For this reference see below, n. 34.
- 16 **Mustakimzade, Mecellet al-nisab**, following the **İstanbul İktıfıkları Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu** i (Istanbul, 1946), 28.
- 17 So Nihad Sami Banarlı, **Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi** 2nd, revised ed. (Istanbul, 1971), 508. His statement appears to be based on the assertion of M. Zeki Oral that "(his) türbe is in Niğde": "(Kemali Ümmi)'nin Bir Ağıtı", **Akpınar (=Niğde Halkevi Dergisi)** Yıl 1, Sayı 12 (Şubat, 1936), 12. Oral later wrote that Ümmi Kemal was «buried» in the Yenice quarter of that city (**Akpınar**, Yıl 5, Sayı 54/61 (Mayıs-I Kanun, 1941), 16.) No document, inscription or photograph has been published to support that claim.
- 18 Perhaps the best example in Turkey of the multiple claims for a saint's tomb is that of Yunus Emre. See Mehmet Fuat, **Yunus Emre** (Istanbul, 1976), 13-16.

- 19 The oral tradition is first reported by Ali Vahit [Uryani?], "Kemal Ümmi Hakkında," *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri* Yıl 3, Eayı 30 (15 İkinci Teşrin, 1933), 212-15, following his visit to the village of "Tekke" in July of the previous year. He speaks of the annual pilgrimage to the village and summarizes the story of Ümmi Kemal and the ailing sultan. (This story has retained its currency and popularity, variants having been collected around Bolu more recently by Ahmet Uysal, Professor of English Literature at Ankara University. I am indebted to Professor Uysal for the opportunity to listen to two such recordings in his home in April, 1977.) Unfortunately Ali Vahit gives no description of the buildings connected with Ümmi Kemal. The location of the village, now called *İşıklar*, is shown in *Bolu II Yılığ* 1967 (Istanbul, 1968), map facing p. 51. I will deal with the oral tradition as well as the buildings and the pilgrimage in a separate article.
- 20 For this work see the discussion immediately following.
- 21 The single manuscript is at the Istanbul Millet Kütüphanesi: Ali Emiri Manzum 1323. It is described in *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1946), 547, no. 353. (The editors of the catalogue did not recognize Derviş Ahmed's authorship of the work and so list it among the "anonymous" saints' lives.) Agah Sırrı Levend refers to two manuscript *menakıb* works at the Millet Library (one being Manzum 1323) but does not see a connection between them. The work which he identifies as the *Menakıbnâme-i Kemal-i Ümmi* (Ali Emiri Manzum 1184) is in fact a translation of the *Shahname*. (See his *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* i (Ankara, 1973: TTK viii. seri-sa. 18), 438.) It has not been possible so far to determine whether a second copy of Derviş Ahmed's work actually exists at the Millet Library.
- 22 For references to Bolu and the mountains see f. 1a of the manuscript; for the villages, f. 3a. The Aladağ chain of mountains, the highest point of which is the famous *Köroğlu tepesi*, limits the Bolu plain to the south of the city. (See "Bolu" (Besim Darkot), *İslam Ansiklopedisi* ii, 707.) The village of *İşıklar* lies in this chain.
- The author identifies himself on f. 29a. It seems natural to identify him with "Aşık Ahmed", author of the poems on the final 13 folios of the *menakıb* manuscript. And so Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri* i (Istanbul, n.d.), 302. When Derviş Ahmed lived, however, is amatter for speculation. That he was "one of Ümmi Kemal's dervishes," as Ergun supposes (and so also Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Tekke Şiiri Antolojisi* (Ankara, 1955), 160), appears less certain. The language of the *menakıb* work lacks entirely the archaic character typical of Ümmi Kemal's poetry. Although Aşık Ahmed wrote eulogistic poems in memory of Ümmi Kemal that is not sufficient reason to assume a direct, personal relationship between the two. The author of the *menakıb* refers to three sons of Ümmi Kemal (two of them by name), who apparently succeeded their father as pirs of a village *hanekah*. (See the ms., ff. 7a, 12b and especially 23b). It seems likely that these sons were all dead at the time of Derviş Ahmed's writing of the *menakıb*. I personally doubt whether the work was written before the mid 16th century.)
- 23 This is not the place to discuss in detail the manuscript tradition of Ümmi Kemal's "divan." (Although so described by the copyists, that term is perhaps only loosely applicable since the collection of poems consists almost exclusively of *ilahis*.) Eight copies are described in *Istanbul Kitaplıkları Türkçe Divanlar Kataloğu* i, 28-31. Several other manuscripts are known in Ankara as well as Istanbul while a single copy has been identified among European collections of Turkish manuscripts. Even so, the *divan* is much less widely dispersed than, for example, those of Eşrefoğlu Rumi, Mahmud Hüdayi or Niyazi Mısri, representative *tekke* poets from the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. The manuscripts vary considerably, one from another, and show some signs of having been expurgated. (See below, n. 33.) For the purpose of this article I follow the reading of the copy at the Beyazıt Kütüphanesi: Umumi 3357 (with emendations, where necessary, from the other Istanbul copies). This is perhaps the single most reliable manuscript and includes the greatest number of poems (141) found in any one copy, constituting a large majority of all those in the *divan*. The manuscript bears no colophon and is of uncertain age.
- 24 The couplet is found in the poem from which Latîfî draws his brief quotation and which is most often cited as an example of Ümmi Kemal's art and style.

- 25 The Persian poets should be well enough known to require little comment: Sa'di of Shiraz (d. 1292), author of the *Gullistan*; Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273), spiritual founder of the Mevlevi mystical order (*tarikāt*) and author of the *Mesnevi* and *Divan-ı Shams-ı Tabrizi*; Sana'i (d. 1131) and Farid al-Din Attar (d. 1220), eastern Iranian poets who greatly influenced Rumi and the entire course of late medieval Islamic mysticism. For all of these see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, 1975). The Anatolian poets mentioned by Ümmi Kemal are four nearly contemporary figures of the latter 13th and early 14th centuries: Sultan Veled (d. 1312), son of Jalal al-Din Rumi and author of some of the earliest surviving Anatolian Turkish poetry; Sheikh Süleyman (or Ahmed) Gülşehri (d. after 1317), translator of Attar; Aşık Paşa of Kırşehir (d. 1333), author of the didactic *mesnevi* poem, *Garib-name*; and his son, Elvan Çelebi, whose works are now largely lost. (But see Mehmet Önder, "Eine neuentdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte der Seltshuken in Anatolien," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 55 (1959), 84-88, for a still unpublished work by him.) For all these Turkish poets see Björkman, "Die altosmanische Literatur," *PhTF* ii, 405-19. It is perhaps noteworthy that Ümmi Kemal does not refer to Yunus Emre, now generally considered the outstanding lyric-mystic poet of the early Anatolian *tekke* tradition. With the possible exception of Elvan Çelebi, about whose work so little is known, the four Anatolian poets named by Ümmi Kemal are more closely identified with a classical, than a "popular", tradition.
- 26 Murat Uraz is certainly in error when he writes that Ümmi Kemal sometimes used the *mahlas* "İsmail Oğlu" (*Türk Edip ve Şairleri* ii (Istanbul, 1939), 65). He confuses our poet with an otherwise unknown İsmailoğlu whose poems are bound together also with those of Eşrefoğlu (and others), in a volume at the Istanbul University library (T.Y. 5677). İsmailoğlu is immediately recognizable as an Alevi poet who has little in common with Ümmi Kemal.
- 27 Some authors give the name as Kemal-i Ümmi ("Illiterate Kemal") joining noun and adjective by the Persian *izafet*. Where the *mahlas* occurs in the poetry, however, metrical scansion does not support such a reading. The orthography of Ottoman Turkish in the Arabic script does not automatically indicate the presence or absence of the Persian construction. An interesting parallel is found in the 16th century Khalveti poet Sinan Ümmi who is also known as Ümmi Sinan.
- 28 The question of illiteracy has been raised earlier in regard to other poets. In the case of Yunus Emre (d. 1320?), also said to have known neither reading nor writing, there is now a consensus that he was quite literate. (So Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf*, 90-91, and Mehmet Fuat, *Yunus Emre* (Istanbul, 1976), 11-13.) The most convincing argument for literacy has been the unlikelihood that a truly illiterate man would possess the knowledge displayed for example, by Yunus Emre in his poetry. The same argument applies in the case of "Ümmi" Kemal, whose 'book' learning appears at least the equal of Yunus's. The nickname "Ümmi" is commonly encountered in biographical sources. Note the following: Abdulvehhab Ümmi (d. 1004) and Ahmed Ümmi (d. 1138), mentioned by Ayvansarayi (f. 47b). For the Khalveti poet Ümmi Sinan (d. 1664) and others with the same *lakab* see Gölpınarlı, *op cit*, 86-87 and 219-21. For Devîş Ahmed's comments see the *Menakıb*, ff. 2a, 7-2b, 4.
- 29 The text is from Istanbul MS (Süleymaniye): Dügümlü Baba 416, f. 31b. For other instances of similar sentiments see the Beyazıt manuscript, ff. 51a, 43a and 43b.
- 30 The terms *tüfilük* (also *oğlanlık*), *yığıtlık* and *kocalık* (*pirlik*), which Ümmi Kemal uses here and elsewhere, have a general sense: childhood, young manhood and old age. At the same time they refer to rather more well-defined periods in the life span of man. For a contemporary 15th century interpretation see Eşref bin Muhammed, *Haza'ınü's-Saa'dat*, ed. Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu (Ankara, 1961: TTK, xi. seri-sa. 9), 83-85, and facsimile plates lxxi (— ff. 69a-71a).
- 31 For more discussion of Sheikh Safiyüddin and the Safavid order see below, p. 81. For Hasan of Basra (d. 728), Malik ibn Dinar (d. ca. 748), Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (d. 815), Abu'l-Kasım al-Junayd (d. 910) and al-Shibli (d. 946) see the selections in Farid al-Din Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*, as translated by A.J. Arberry: *Muslim Saints and Mystics* (Chicago, 1966), 19-31, 161-65, 199-213 and 277-86.
- 32 My text is the Beyazıt (Umumi) copy of the *divan*, ff. 117b-118a. Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, the only recent author to give Ümmi Kemal the attention which he deserves, was familiar with this

- poem (and the elegy) but apparently did not realize the identity of Hoca Ali. See his *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Ankara, 1964), 281-82.
- 33 For the text see Umumi 3357, ff. 70a-71b, where the poem is mistakenly described as "Mersiye-i Hoca Sadreddin," apparently because of a misreading of a line referring to Hoca Ali's father. Neither the *mersiye* nor the *medhiye* appears in a majority of the copies of the *divan*. I would attribute this to the attempts of copyists to suppress Ümmi Kemal's true *tarikât* affiliation. There is no evidence that the poems were written by others and falsely attributed to him. Indeed, it would be difficult to rationalize such a suggestion, given the poet's relative obscurity.
- 34 On Sheikh Hamid see Taşköprüzade, *Al-Şakâik al-numaniye*, tr. Mecidi, 74-76. On him depends largely Ali's notice in the *Kunh al-Ahbar* iv, part 2, 112. We have seen already that another of Sheikh Hamid's followers was said to have been Şücaeddin, whose *tekke* Ümmi Kemal is said, (by Latifi) to have visited, together with Nesimi. According to some authors Şücaeddin was the disciple whom Sheikh Hamid dispatched to first bring Haçî Bayram from Ankara. (See A. Gölpınarlı, *Haçî Bayram Veli* (Ankara, 1960), 6.) Eviya Çelebi presents conflicting testimony on Sheikh Hamid's resting place. Among the "tombs of the perfected ones in Kayseri" he mentions that of "Al-şeyh hazret-i Hamid ibn Musa al-Kayseri" (*Seyahatname* iii (Istanbul, 1314), 137). In a description of Aksaray a few pages later, however, after noting the "Şeyh Hamid Veli Camii" in the Şeyhler quarter, "a domed mosque with one minaret," he mentions, among other worthy places of visitation, the tomb of the same Sheikh Hamid Veli. Near this, he writes, is the tomb of a sheikh Kemal Sultan, "an exalted pir from among the way of the perfected ones." (*Ibid.*, 193-94) Might this be a reference to Ümmi Kemal? The vague terminology masks Eviya's apparent unfamiliarity with other details of the sheikhs' lives.
- 35 For the second elegy, which is found in the manuscript *divans* more often than the two poems devoted to Hoca Ali, see Umumi 3357, ff. 68b-69b. M. Z. Oral published a transcribed text of the poem, based on an unidentified manuscript, in *Akpınar*, Yıl 1, Sayı 12 (Şubat 1936), 12-14.
- 36 For Yunus Emre see below, note 43. For Eşrefoğlu Rumi see the edition of Asaf Halet Çelebi (Istanbul, 1944) and, more recently, the present writer's unpublished PhD dissertation, *Eşrefoğlu Rumi: 15th Century Anatolian Mystic Poet* (Harvard, 1972).
- 37 The couplet is the more effective through the conjunction of aloe wood (ud, in the first hemistich), which was burned for its fragrance at funerals, and the fire (od, in the second hemistich) of self immolation.
- 38 For the *da'va* in early Islamic history see "Da'wa," *EI2*, ii, 168-70. Unfortunately the discussion of the use of the term does not extend into the Safavid period.
- 39 For the text see the manuscript at the Millet Kütüphanesi: Ali Emiri Manzum 42, f. 81a.
- 40 The quotation is from Michel M. Mazzaoui, *Shi'ism and the Rise of the Safavids* (PhD Dissertation; Princeton, 1966), 162-63. The same author's published study, based on his thesis research, is unavailable to me at the time of writing. On Hoca Ali, 128. And see further, below n. 32.
- 41 For the text see the manuscript at the Millet Kütüphanesi: Ali Emiri Manzum 41, p. 100.
- 42 For the long story of Ümmi Kemal's son, Cemal: *Menakıb*, ff. 12b-13b; the martyrdom is recorded on f. 14b, 1. And see also, below, p. 82.
- 43 For Yunus's poem, with *redif* "el-hamdü lillah," see Gölpınarlı, Yunus Emre, *Risalat al-Nushiyya ve Divan* (Istanbul, 1965), 116 (cxli). For Eşrefoğlu's poems see Çelebi's edition, 77-82.
- 44 For Derviş Ahmed's remark, *Menakıb*, f. 1b, 1: *Boğazdan zikir icad eden oldur*; cf. f. 23a, 5. It is not clear whether this is merely Ahmed's way of describing the audible or loud *zikir* (*zikr-i celli*) or whether he is speaking of the so-called "sawing *zikir*" (*zikr-i arra*). The latter is said to have been created by Ahmed Yesevi (d. 1167) and to have been widely practiced among Central Asian Turks. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 167-78 and esp. 175, n. 79. Cf., J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford, 1971), 197.
- 45 For Ahmed's view on the origin of Ümmi Kemal's *zikir*: *Menakıb*, ff. 23a, 11-23b, 2. "Be!" is God's command (*kün*) bringing the world into being (Quran ii, 1). For Ümmi Kemal, then, the *zikir* is pre-eternal.

- 46 H. J. Kissling's brief but balanced survey of the available sources and earlier studies is the best short introduction: *EE*, i, 869 ("Badr al-Din b. Kadi Samawna"). To his biography should be added Gölpınarlı's recent study: *Simavna Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin* (Istanbul, 1966) and the "life" of the rebel leader by his grandson, Halil: *Simavna Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manakibi*, ed. by Gölpınarlı and İsmet Sungurbey (Istanbul, 1967).
- 47 Bedreddin spent a short time in Azerbaijan (1402-3), perhaps attracted by the Safavid organization. His meeting with Sheikh Hamid in Konya, reported by the hagiographer Halil was most likely the result of common interests and mutual respect (See Gölpınarlı, *Türk Tasavvuf Şiiri Antolojisi* (Istanbul, 1972), 108). Kissling seems to give this meeting even greater weight, in his study of the place of the Bayramiye in 15th Century Ottoman history. See his "Zur Geschichte des Derwischordens der Bajramiyye," *Südostforschungen* 15 (1956), esp. 245-49. The extent of the influence of Sheikh Bedreddin's movement cannot yet be properly evaluated because of the scarcity and bias of the oldest available sources.
- 48 See Gölpınarlı, *Türk Tasavvuf Şiiri Antolojisi*, 108. Ménage errs in placing Hamid's death in 1403 ("Hadjdji Bayram Wali," *EE*, iii, 43.) as the evidence of Ümmi Kemal's poem (above) makes clear. Ménage concurs with Gölpınarlı in his view of Hacı Bayram's personal participation in everyday tasks involving physical labor.
- 49 Gölpınarlı, *loc. cit.* Musical texts to support Gölpınarlı's remarks apparently do not go back beyond the 18th century. Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun discusses the use of music in the *tekke* environment with reference to the surviving manuscripts, including the frequently cited *mecmua* of Müstakimzade, in his *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi* i (Istanbul, 1942); see esp. 14-15.
- 50 For the text see the manuscript at the İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi: Muallim Cevdet K. 485, p. 66.
- 51 "Unless he is treated": Ümmi Kemal uses the little attested verb, *parçılanmak*. Although the word is not found in the *Tarama Sözlüğü*, examples from the current spoken dialects are referred to in *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi* 6 — *Folklor Sözleri* (Ankara, 1952: TDK): "Halk hekimliğinin sağaltma usullerinden biridir. En çok kuduz, bazan kemik iltihabı ve verem gibi hastalıklara karşı uygulanır." (p. 103, emphasis added) Cf. M. Şakir, "Sinop'ta Halk Hekimliği," *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri*, Yıl 1, Sayı 2 (1931), 1-3. Cf. *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (Istanbul, 1968), 928 ("perpi").
- 52 Recent research on the Safavids has clarified many problems. Much however remains obscure, because of the inadequacy of the sources. Mazzaoui, *Shi'ism and the Rise of the Safavids*, is largely complemented by Hanna Sohrweide, "Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkung auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert," *Der Islam* 41 (1965), 95-223. For Junayd's visit to Anatolia see the older, but still reliable, study of Walther Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd*, tr. by Tevfik Bıyıkoglu (Ankara, 1948: TTK, iv. seri - sayı 5), 16-18. Hoca Ali's heterodox inclinations are accepted, without documentation, also by R. M. Savory: "Under Khwaca Ali there was a movement away from the orthodox type of mystical belief and practice, and for the first time Safavid religious propaganda assumed a Shi'i flavour." ("Safavid Persia," *Cambridge History of Islam* i (Cambridge, 1970), 396.)
- 53 The extravagant claims of the young Shah Ismail I — he was born in 1487 and set out on the road to political power at the age of 12 — survive in his *divan* where he used the *mahlas* "Hatayi". See V. Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shah Ismail," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1939-42), 1006a-53a. More complete versions of the *divan* have since been published, by S. N. Ergun and T. Gandjei, but Minorsky's remarks, together with Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal - Hayati - Kul Himmet* (Istanbul, 1962: Varlık), remain the best introductions. For the revolt of Shan Kuli see S. Tansel, *Sultan II. Bayezit'in Siyasi Hayati* (Istanbul, 1966), 227-57; cf. Sohrweide, 145-64. J. R. Walsh argues persuasively that the various "local insurrections" in Anatolia which so troubled successive generations of Ottoman rulers are to be explained less by reference to Safavid propaganda than by consideration of Turcoman tribal interests. "Safavid proselytism in the area was at best disorganized and erratic, undertaken on the initiative of local *shaykhs* whose religious views are rarely susceptible of definition..." ("The Historiography of Ottoman - Safavid Retavid Relations in the 16th and 17th Centuries," in B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (ed.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 197-211. (Most recently on Shah Ismail's poetry: Cahit Öztelli, "Les oeuvres de Hatayi" and Azizaga Mamedov, "Le plus ancien manuscrit du *Divan* de Shah Ismail Khatayi" in *Turcica* 6 (1975), 7-10 and 11-23, respectively.)

- 54 There is, of course, the possibility that Ümmi Kemal's martyrdom — if indeed it took place — was the consequence not of any Safavid tie but of some extravagant and extraordinary sufi behavior. Lacking a complete manuscript of Derviş Ahmed's work we have no way of knowing whether that "life" once offered any clues to Ümmi Kemal's mysterious end. It is worth noting that Eşrefoğlu Rumi, whose own link with Ardabil was through Sheikh Hamid's better known mürid Hacı Bayram, is also reported (in some sources) to have suffered a martyr's death, around the year 1469 (874 H). For further details see my dissertation, chapter 2.
- 55 For Mehmed's Anatolian campaign of 1468 see Franz Babinger, *Mahomet II le Conquerant et son temps*, tr: by H. E. Del Medico (Paris, 1954), 325-26. Fatih's repopulation of Constantinople is elucidated by Halil İnalcık, "Istanbul," *EE*, iv. The present day district of Aksaray takes its name from the central Anatolian city whence its early residents came. For a brief but incisive overview of the changes taking place within the ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 16th century see Irène Beldiceanusteinher, "Le règne de Selim Ier: Tournant dans la vie politique et religieuse de l'Empire ottoman," *Turcica* 6, 34-48.
- 56 To the preservationist capacity of the *tarikât* must be credited, for example, the enduring popularity of Eşrefoğlu Rumi's *divan* for more than four centuries. A good poet, Eşrefoğlu is nevertheless, in my opinion, excelled by Ümmi Kemal although the latter is far less well known. (Latifi ignores Eşrefoğlu, on the other hand.) Ümmi Kemal's poetry seems to be excerpted much less frequently in the manuscript anthologies and miscellanies which were often compiled by *tekke* enthusiasts. At the same time that Ahmed acknowledges Ümmi Kemal's connection with the Safaids he links his name to the Khalvetiye:

Tarîk-i Halvetî'de mahir idi

Keramat-i acayib zahîr idi (f. 2b, 8)

"He was outstanding in the Khalveti way:

His extraordinary miracles were manifest."

- But that is all, Ahmed makes no further reference to the Khalvetiye in his book. He does however note that Ümmi Kemal followed three different sorts of *halvet* ("seclusion"), information which we should understand quite literally, but without seeing in it any indication of Khalveti *tarikât* allegiance. In any event, the Khalvetiye does not emerge as a well defined *tarikât* organization until the mid 15th century. Both the Safaviye and the Khalvetiye recognize the teaching of Sheikh Zahid of Gilan, the pir of Sheikh Safiyüddin. (See Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 74 and passim, and note the *tarikât* genealogies opposite p. 30.)
- 57 For the surviving handful of Hacı Bayram's poems see Gölpınarlı, *Türk Tasavvuf Şiiri Antolojisi*, 110-16. For two poems by Sheikh Hamid see Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Tekke Şiiri Antolojisi* (Ankara, 1955), 84-86; of. Cahit Öztelli, *Halk Şiiri. xiv. - xvii. yüzyıllar* (Istanbul, 1955), 32-34.
- 58 It may be recalled that the historian Ali places Ümmi Kemal under the poets of the time of Murad II, not the sheikhs. (See above, n. 6.)

ÖZET

Ümmi Kemal, 15 inci yüzyıl tekke şairlerinden biri olarak bilinmektedir. Ancak Türk edebiyatı tarihçileri ne onun tarihsel kişiliğini ne de şiirlerinin asıl kıymet ve önemini hiç bir zaman tanınamışlardır. Ümmi Kemal'in divanı, merkezi Erdebil'de olan Safevi tarikatinın Anadolu'daki şubelerinden birinin niteliğine ışık tutan tek edebi delil olarak yaşamaktadır. Yazıda, Derviş Ahmed'in bugüne kadar unutulup da faydalanılmamış olan *Menakıb-i Kemal-i Ümmî* adlı eseri dahil, biyografik kaynaklar değerlendirilip kıyaslanmaktadır. Ümmi Kemal'in tarih içindeki yerini hem Safevi tarikati (sonra siyasi teşkilatı)nın gelişmesi bakımından hem de o teşkilatın Osmanlılarla münasebetleri bakımından tesbit etmeğe çalışılmaktadır.