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TURKISH SOURCES XXX

BATTALNAME

Introduction, English Translation, Turkish Transcription,
Commentary and Facsimile

(Part 1: Introduction and English Translation)

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Chapter 1

THE ANATOLIAN TURKISH RELIGIOUS-HEROIC PROSE NARRATIVES AND THE *BATTALNAME*, A FRONTIER EPIC-WONDERTALE.

INTRODUCTION

A work whose oral roots may reach as far back as the arrival of the Danishmendid Turks in Malatya, the *Battalname* (*Baṭṭālnāme*) is perhaps one of the earliest prose works of Islamic Turkish literature in Anatolia. It is a significant composition because it inaugurated a famous cycle of religious-heroic prose narratives whose eponymous heroes, immortalized as *ghazis* (Muslim warriors of the faith) fight, oftentimes single-handedly, to achieve the conquest (*fath*¹) of Byzantium (*Rûm* or *Rûm ili*). Several scholars have called these long narratives epic works dealing with the religious heroes of Anatolia. The heroic action of the *Battalname* is set within the historical context of the Arab confrontation with Byzantium in Anatolia during the early Abbasid period (the narrative stops at the middle of the ninth century and well *before* the arrival of the Turks in the region), whereas the victorious adventures of the heroes of another two religious-heroic narratives, the *Danishmendname* (*Dānişmendnāme*) and the *Saltuqname* (*Şaltuqnāme*), are set within the context of the Turkish advance on Byzantium. These three works of Anatolian Turkish literature are the main representatives of the heroic cycle of legends that deal with different aspects and periods of the Muslim efforts to achieve the conquest of Byzantium. This conquest is depicted as the result of the brave heroism of the protagonist Ghazis, Arabic and Turkish successively, struggling, not always successfully, for the cause of Islam. Their goal is the incorporation of Byzantium into the Abode of Islam (*dār al-islām*), even though this term does not appear frequently in the works themselves. These Turkish works celebrate the local religious heroes of Islam in Anatolia.

As the Central Asian frontier of Islam facing the Turks became a zone of conversion in the tenth century, it allowed for the infiltration of the Turks into the lands of Islam.²

¹ For the use of term *fath* to refer to the Islamic conquests, see Donner 1991: 50.

² See Ayalon 1976 for a discussion of the Turkish frontier in terms of the mamlūk phenomenon that had already brought several Turkish male slaves into positions of military power within Islam, and for a comparison of the nature of the different possible contacts across the Turkish and the Byzantine frontiers.

Having adopted a Persian version of Islam while maintaining several of their own pre-Islamic traditions, the Turks assumed control with the establishment of major dynasties over northeastern Iran, the central Islamic lands, southeastern and central Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia and Syria. As they started crossing the pagan Central Asian frontier during the Samanid period, the converted Turks moved through and settled throughout the Islamic lands. They became heirs to the local Muslim civilizations, Persian and then Arabic, while their conquests along the Christian Byzantine frontier made them heirs to the local Byzantine civilizations, a process that culminated in 1453 when the Ottoman Sultan styled himself formal successor of the Byzantine emperors (*qaysar-i Rûm*³). The Turks, moving into Anatolia set a cultural cross-fertilization in motion that combined elements from the various traditions they encountered. Above all they saw themselves as successors to Islamic traditions and norms. It was their need and desire to emulate and translate them which constituted the driving force behind the cross-fertilization that led to impressive achievements and the development of a fully fledged literary language, known as Anatolian or Ottoman Turkish.

The *Battalname* is just such an achievement, emerging from within the general context of the process of acculturation which prepared the ground for the later development of the written literary language. More specifically it illustrates the earlier phases of the process by which the Turks arriving in Anatolia adopted, adapted and 'translated' the local oral tradition of heroic storytelling. Such a heroic tradition did exist on both sides of the centuries-old borderzone between Byzantium and Islam, which stretched from Tarsus along the Taurus mountains through Cilicia all the way up to Malatya/Melitene and the mountains of Armenia in eastern Anatolia. Life on the frontier marches provided the material for a rich heroic tradition of poetry and storytelling. This tradition survived through the ages in such works as the anonymous poem of *Digenes Akrites*⁴ and the so-called 'acritic' modern Greek folk songs⁵ on the Byzantine Greek⁶ side, and in the folk prose epic (*sîrat*) known as the *Sirat Delhemma*, also known as the *Sirat of the Mucâhidîn*,⁷ and actually entitled *Sirat of*

³ Besides becoming an official title of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, the term *qaysar-i Rûm* is one of the most widely used terms of the frontier literature itself, either when referring to the Byzantine emperor himself or to other dignitaries (perhaps those bearing the title *caesar*) in the Byzantine army.

⁴ Between Beaton 1993, Beaton 1989: 27-48, Beck 1989 [1971]: 119-168 most of the vast bibliography should be covered.

⁵ See Beck 1989 [1971]: 97-118. The term 'acritic' is a scholarly designation; Herzfeld 1980: 61. For a useful critique of the classification criteria used for acritic folk songs, see Saunier 1993.

⁶ There is also the Armenian oral folk epic of David of Sasun that could be considered as belonging to the Byzantine qua Christian side. For limited bibliography, see Pertusi 1974: 274n. For incisive interpretations of the rich Indo-Iranian material incorporated and surviving in the Epic of Sasun, see especially Russell, 1994, 1995a, b.

⁷ Sivan 1968 :10. It should be noted that the campaigns and achievements of various Arab caliphs and rulers, especially of the Hamdanids figure prominently in certain famous poems of classical Arabic poets. For an anthology translated in French by M. Canard, see Vasiliev 1950: 297-376.

the Amīra Dhelhemma and her Son 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb and of the Amīr Abu Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāl and of 'Uqba the Master of Error and of Šūmadris the Deceiver etc.,⁸ on the Arabic side.

Material from this extended frontier region, including Cappadocia, provided the subject matter for most of the Turkish frontier epic literature. Out of the several Turkish petty potentates that were established on the fringes of the Great Seljuk state in eastern Anatolia in the two decades following the battle of Mantzikert (1071),⁹ it is the Danishmendid emirate that can be closely associated to and historically connected with the oral beginnings of the frontier literature as it has survived in the written texts of the *Battalname* and the *Danishmendname*. The hero of the *Danishmendname* was also the founder of the eponymous dynasty. Whatever his historical origins, according to the *Danishmendname* he was a descendant of Sayyid Battal Ghazi, the hero of the other work, the *Battalname*, which is thereby appropriated as representing the illustrious past of the Danishmendids.

THE ARABIC SOURCE: *SIRAT DELHEMMA*

The *Battalname* was first introduced to Orientalist scholarship by Fleischer in 1848, when it was described as a Turkish *Volksroman*. In 1871 Ethé published an excellent German translation on the basis of post-sixteenth century manuscripts found in Dresden, Leipzig and Vienna and of a Tatar lithograph edition.¹⁰ While he amplified Fleischer's title, calling it a *Volks- und Sittenroman* he maintained Fleischer's view that it was an Anatolian Turkish work written for the purposes of exciting the ghazis. At the close of the nineteenth century, another German Orientalist, Hartmann (1899) in a brief note drew attention to the

⁸ This is the title of the Cairo edition of 1327/1909 that is quoted by Canard (1961: 158): *Sīrat al-amīra Dhāt al-Himma wa-waladihā 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb wa'l-amīr Abū Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāl wa-'Uqba ṣayḥ ad-dalāl wa-Šūmadris al-muḥtāl* etc. For the *Sīrat Delhemma*, see Ahlwardt, 1896: 107-112; Canard 1932, 1935, 1937, 1961, EI, Dhāt al-Himma, al-Baṭṭāl; Ibrāhīm Sālim, nd; Pérès 1958: 31-33; Steinbach 1972, Canova 1977; Kruk 1993 (on the *Sīrat Delhemma* as the warrior woman type work *par excellence* of Arabic literature and with a comparative discussion on frequent themes and motifs regarding warrior women in Arabic popular romances).

⁹ It may be excessive to call these local hegemonies 'emirates' considering their extremely loose political structure. Several of them were 'founded' by 'veterans' of Mantzikert, whether commanders of the Seljuk army (Saltuqids of Erzerum), servants (ḡulāms) of the Sultan Alp Arslan (Sökmen of Persarmenia, Van and Akhlat region, also called Šāh-i Armīn) or Turcoman emirs in the service of the governor of eastern Anatolia appointed by the Great Seljuks (Mengüceq of Erzincan and Divriği, Artuq around Diyar Bakr). A nominal allegiance to the Great Seljuks of Iran was a common characteristic, whereas they all had the predictable different political emphasis because of their geographical position. Eventually they would all be incorporated to the Seljuk sultanate of Konya. For a brief overview, see Golden 1994: 350-3, as well as Vryonis 1971: 115-7 and Cahen 1988: 16-21, 49-54.

¹⁰ See Ethé 1871: V-X (Introduction).

similarities of the work with the Arabic *Delhemma* cycle.¹¹ Next came a mythological analysis of the *Battalname* by Hüsing (1911), who argued that the work was essentially a Turkish reworking of Persian material about Rostam. Even though Hüsing's views were never much taken up by any other scholar,¹² they are very much to the point as we shall see in the next chapter. Then there was a very complete and thorough footnote on Battal and the *Battalname* by Köprülü in 1919,¹³ but the initiative of Battal studies and of frontier epics in general was then to be seized by the school of Brussel's Byzantine historians like the indefatigable Grégoire, and prominent Arabists, like Marius Canard.

Canard was the first to identify Sayyid Battal Ghazi as the Turkish version of the Arab hero Amir Abū Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāl of the Arabic *Sirat Delhemma*. This Arab hero appears and plays a significant role in the second and largest part of the *Sirat*, which was itself identified as the source of the *Battalname* (Canard 1932: 2-3). In the second part of the *Sirat Delhemma* the action is centered around Malatya and the narrated events take place during the first hundred or so years of Abbasid rule, ending shortly after the death of the caliph al-Wathiq billah (d. 847). In the *Sirat Delhemma*, even more so in the *Battalname*, Battal is closely associated with Malatya since he serves under the command of the governor (*amir*) of Malatya, who was a historical figure of the ninth century.¹⁴ Similarly historical, but not related with Malatya, was the origin of the *Sirat* figure of Battal. He has been identified with a historical person which according to various sources¹⁵ is called Abū Ḥusayn (or Abū Muḥammad) 'Abd Allāh al-Baṭṭāl (al-Antāqī, or aṣ-Ṣamī). He was an Arab commander of the Umayyad period who may have taken part in the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717 and who died in 740 during an Arab defeat at Akroinon, a location close to modern-day Afyonkarahisar. While the early chroniclers furnish us with very few

¹¹ See Grégoire 1936: 572n1.

¹² Not even by Mélikoff, who also reached a similar enough conclusion and drew attention to the close connection of the Turkish prose narratives with their Persian counterparts (Mélikoff 1960 and especially 1962: 29-43).

¹³ See Köprülü 1966: 198-9.

¹⁴ He is called 'Amr b. 'Ubayd Allāh in the *Sirat Delhemma* and 'Umar b. al-Nu'mān b. Ziyād in the *Battalname*, and is identified with the historical Abbasid amir of Malatya 'Amr b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Marwān al-Aqtā' al-Sulamī who took part in the famous raid of the caliph Mu'tasim against Amorion in 838 and died during a summer expedition (*sa'ifa*) in 863 (Canard 1932, 1961: 170-1). For an overview of the historical sources, especially Mas'udi, see Canard 1932: 4. According to Mas'udi (VIII: 74), portraits of both Battal and 'Amr and of five other figures were hung in Byzantine churches. Note that the grandson (called Abū'l-Ḥafṣ and himself an amir of Malatya) of the same historical 'Amr (Ἀμερ or Ἀμβρων in the Byzantine sources), may have served as the model of the Arab emir Musuros (Μουσουρός) of Digenes Akrites (Grégoire 1929-30: 329-334). In 928 Abū'l-Ḥafṣ joined the Byzantine side (but did not convert or settle there, Alexiou 1985:LXII), whereas the Arab emir of the poem married the daughter of a Byzantine general after having been baptized a Christian, settled in Byzantium and became the father of the hero, Digenes Akrites.

¹⁵ These sources include: a) Arabic: Tabari, Mas'udi, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Kathir, Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, Abu'l-Maḥāsīn, b) Persian: Bal'amī, c) Greek: Theophanes and d) Syriac: Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahré and are presented and discussed by Canard 1926, EI, al-Baṭṭāl.

historical facts about him, various accounts and anecdotes in later sources (tenth-twelfth centuries) attest to his legendary popularity as a military hero feared by the Byzantines. Mas'ūdi (early tenth century) mentions 'Abd Allāh al-Baṭṭāl as one of the wily Muslims admired by the Byzantines for their ruses and portraits of whom were placed in a church next to those of Christians famous for their energy, courage, and resourcefulness.¹⁶ Presumably the icons of the Muslims were hung there for the Christians to anathematize or for some other apotropaic reason. Such a use is actually depicted in the *Sirat Delhemma* where Battal hears of a monastery where pictures of the prophets (*ṣuwār al-anbiyā'*) are hanging, including that of the Prophet Muhammad, and proceeds to find out after his enquiries with the local priest that the portrait of Muhammad is there for Christians to vent their anger.¹⁷ In other sources Battal is associated with Maslama's siege of Constantinople in 717, where he is appointed to hold guard at the gate while Maslama tours the city on horseback, and given orders to enter and ravage the city if Maslama does not return by the mid afternoon prayer.¹⁸ Finally special mention should be made of another group of anecdotes that appear in several post twelfth century sources after brief mention of Battal's involvement in the 717 siege. This material is derived from a Syrian tradition of a biographical notice related by Ibn 'Asākir (d.1176), and also appears in the *Sirat Delhemma*. Canard has grouped them in four themes: 1) Battal "the bogeyman" who appears in a Greek village after a mother has threatened to deliver her crying child to Battal; 2) Entrance into a Byzantine convent, whereby Battal is given asylum in a convent after he has been taken ill with abdominal pains; there he is assisted by the abbess in avoiding the investigations of a patrician whom he eventually kills and returns to marry the abbess and capture all the nuns; 3) Entrance into Amorium by a ruse, whereby Battal rejoins the Muslim troops he has been separated from only after presenting himself as an envoy of the emperor to the patrician of Amorium and forcing him to reveal the whereabouts of the Muslim army; 4) Death in the

¹⁶ Mas'udi, *The Meadows of Gold*, VIII:74-75. Mas'udi mentions six Muslims: "... the man whom Mu'awiya sent to steal away a patrician of Constantinople, who was then brought back to that city after he had been struck in fulfillment of the *lex talionis*. The other people represented are: Abd Allah al-Battal, Umar ibn Ubaid Allah al-Aqta' [=the governor of Malatya and a figure of the *Sirat*], Ali ibn Yahya the Armenian, al-Ghuzayyil ibn Bakkar, Ahmad ibn Abi Qatifa, and Corbeas the Paulkician, governor of the town of Ibriq which today belongs to the Greeks" (trns.Lunde 1989: 319).

¹⁷ Steinbach 1972: 80. See also his footnote (n9) about Goldziher on the Jews of Medina who had "icons" of their enemy for cursing purposes.

¹⁸ This is the account of the Persian translation of Tabari by Bal'amī (trans. Zotenberg, IV: 239-242). In the account of the *Kitāb al-'Uyūn* (11th or 12th century) Battal takes part in the siege as one of the two commanders of the guard of Maslama (see Canard 1926: 84-94); there is also a romantic account of a single-handed combat by Battal, see Canard, EI: 1103. In Ibn al-'Arabi's (d. 1240) *Muḥādarat al-Abrār wa-Musāmarat al-Aḥyār*, Cairo, II: 223-33, the account of Bal'amī is repeated and Battal is presented as the commander of the frontier contingents of the *thuḡūr* of Syria and Jazira, see Canard 1926: 99-102, EI, al-Baṭṭāl: 1103.

battlefield with the emperor Leo (Ilyūn) looking after him during his last moments and allowing his burial by the Muslim captives.¹⁹

It is therefore only thanks to an 'epic transfer' that this pseudo-historical Battal of the Umayyad eighth century was turned into a contemporary of the ninth-century Abbasid amir of Malatya, 'Amr b. 'Ubayd Allāh in the *Sirat Delhemma*.²⁰ There is another Arabic narrative besides the *Sirat Delhemma*, which is inspired by the figure of this governor of Malatya and the frontier wars with Byzantium. It is known as the *Tale of Umar b, al-Nu'man*, and even though it must have started out as an independent work, it found its way into the *Arabian Nights*. It relates the wars of the King of the Muslims (who is loosely inspired on the figure of Umar of Malatya) and his ally, the Christian King of Constantinople, against the Christian King of Caesarea.²¹

Canard (1937: 184) believes that the first part of the *Sirat Delhemma* and the *Tale of Umar al-Nu'man* in the *Arabian Nights* both represent a Syrian-Umayyad *gest* centered around Maslama's expedition in which Battal took part. However, despite the numerous legends about Battal's role, he is expunged from both works. In the first part of the *Sirat Delhemma* his role is taken over by Sahsah son of Jundaba and Delhemma's grandfather, and in the *Tale of Umar al-Nu'man* by a hero called Sharrkan (or Sharrukan). Canard bases his conclusion on the fact that Sahsah's adventures correspond closely with the anecdotes of the Syrian tradition of Ibn Asakir (Battal's entry in a convent and his 'conquest' of the head nun) and the popular account of Maslama's siege as related by Ibn al-Arabi. The first part of the *Sirat Delhemma* was very likely a Kilabite epic, praising the tribe of the Banu Kilāb to whom Maslama belonged through his wife Rabāb. The Kilabite storytellers appropriated the deeds of Battal, a non-Arab in their account, and ascribed them to Sahsah.

Canard further believes that the second part of the *Sirat Delhemma* and the *Battalname* represent a "geste méliténienne", into which Battal has been 'transferred' together with another famous Umayyad hero, Abd al-Wahhab. This 'epic of Malatya' must have been put together by storytellers or *rawis* (*rāwī*), shortly after the Arab defeat by the Byzantine general Petronas and death of Malatya's governor 'Amr b. Ubayd Allah at the

¹⁹ Canard (1937: 184n, EI: 1103) mentions the following sources reproducing Ibn 'Asakir's report: Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg, V: 129, 132, 134, 186-87; short version), Sibṭ b. al-Cavzi, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, manuscript Paris 6132, fol 160ff, short version), Muḥammad b. Ṣākir al-Kutubī, 'Uyūn al-Tavāriḥ, manuscript Paris 1587, fol 177^v-179^r, detailed version), Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari, *Masālik al-Aḥsār*, ed. F. Taeschner, Bericht Über Anatolien, Leipzig, 1929, pp.64-68 and Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidāya wa'l-Nihāya*, IX: 331-334. Even though these episodes are included in some form in the *Sirat*, as Canard notes (EI: 1103), the authors reporting them distinguish them from the "lies" of the *Sirat Delhemma*.

²⁰ Grégoire 1936, Canard 1926: 113-116, 1937: 183-86.

²¹ See Paret 1929, Christides 1962.

battle of Marj al-Usquf (AD 863)²², since the last events mentioned in the *Sirat Delhemma* take place in the aftermath of the Muslim defeat. Regarding the same "geste méliténienne", Grégoire was the first to advance the suggestion that the same event is also echoed in the Byzantine poem of *Digenes Akrites*.²³

The second part of the *Sirat Delhemma* was, according to Canard, originally a Sulaymite epic praising Malatya and turning Battal into a member of the Sulaym tribe, as a result of a literary rivalry with the Kilabite storytellers. Nonetheless the *Sirat Delhemma* in the form it survives today is a Kilabite epic which deals mainly with the sprawling rivalry of the two tribes.

We know that a version of the *Sirat Delhemma* existed by the mid-twelfth century from the autobiographical statement by the twelfth-century North African polymath Sama'wal b. Yahyā al-Mağribī who records how he enjoyed reading with the prose epics as a young boy:

At the age of between ten and thirteen, I was very much attracted by historical information and stories. I was eager to read what happened in ancient time and to know what had taken place in past centuries. I read the different collections of stories and anecdotes. From that I transferred my predilection to the long fanciful tales, and then to the big novels [diwān], such as the stories [diwān] of Antār, Dhu'l-Himma and Battal, the story [akhbār] of Alexander Dhu'l-Qarnayn ('the two-horned'), of al Anqa' (the Phoenix), and Taraf ibn Ludhan, and others.²⁴

²² The victory of Petronas, considered a milestone by Ostrogorsky, is illustrated in the illuminated Scylitzes manuscript (fol. 73v); see Grabar 1979. For references to the historical sources on the battle, see Kolia 1991:211 n60. There are also interesting *acclamations (acta)* pronounced at the triumphal procession at Constantinople, see Kolia 1991:212n61, 290-2. The *acta* in question, transmitted in *De Ceremoniis* (I, ch.78) were meant to be pronounced on the occasion of the defeat and killing of a chief amir (ἄκτα ἐπὶ μεγιστάνῳ ἀμυρῶ), and scholars have claimed (Bury 1907: 434) that they were pronounced for the first time in 863 during the reign of Michael III (Kolia 1991:290). Kolia believes that both types of sources display a pronounced religious coloring which she considers evidence for the 'holy war' aspect of the campaign of Petronas. As far as the *acta* preserved in *De ceremoniis* are concerned, those for the occasion of the defeat and death of an amir do not display as strong a religious feeling (and as pronounced an ideology of holy war in Kolia's view) as do those meant for the occasion of any defeat over the Arabs. These are also contained in *De Ceremoniis* and are 'updated' to the *reconquista* spirit of the mid-tenth century (Kolia 1991: 291-2), which makes them roughly contemporary with the composition period of the 'epic of Malatya' on the Arabic side.

²³ Grégoire 1929-30 [=1975/II]: 331-335 believes that echoes of this Byzantine victory are to be found in *Digenes Akrites* (GIII: 62-78, E 500-12), identifying the historical accounts of the battle in Genesis and Theophanes Continuatus as the sources on which the author(s) of the poem of *Digenes Akrites* based part of their account. Both historical sources report that the amir of Melitene was soundly defeated and his troops massacred or dispersed except for the amir's son who briefly escaped only to be captured later in the Charsianon theme. In the passage of *Digenes Akrites* the emir, the Arab father of Digenes, is reminiscing about earlier exploits and mentions the Byzantine encirclement of the Arabs and his heroic escape, elements which Grégoire believes correspond well with the historical accounts (Grégoire 1929-30: 338).

²⁴ Mentioned by Canard EI Dhu'l-Himma, p. 238, and quoted in Rosenthal 1962: 42-3 and Irwin 1994: 88. For the Arabic text see Schreiner 1898: 417-8. Sama'wal proceeded to more in-depth study of Islamic history and by 1163 converted to Islam, thereby providing us with a *terminus ante quem* for a written text of the *Sirat Delhemma*.

What Sama'wal would have read, claims Canard (1937: 185), would have already been a Kilabite recomposition of the original Sulaymite epic. The *Sirat Delhemma* as we know it was composed by the Kilabite storytellers during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the Kilabi tribe fought against Byzantium under the leadership of its Mirdasid amirs, next to the Hamdanids, the Fatimids and Turkish condottieri. At the time the Byzantine armies included Bulgars, Abkhazians, Georgians, Petcheneges and Franks in their ranks, historical reality well reflected in the Arabic text. By the period of the Crusades, the Kilabite storytellers had joined the Umayyad (first part of the *Sirat Delhemma*) and the Malatya gests (second part) into one huge composition. Accordingly, the Kilabite storytellers turned Abd al-Wahhab, an Umayyad hero who was a Kilabite by virtue of being Delhemma's son,²⁵ into an Achilles of the Malatya gest, making the Sulaymi Battal an Ulysses figure. Not only is Battal attached to the Kilabites, but the Banu Kilab and Delhemma dominate the scene to the extent that the Malatya ruler Amr, a Sulaymi is depicted in negative tones and is almost a traitor at times, despite his heroic wars.²⁶

THE SIRAT DELHEMMA WITHIN ARABIC LITERATURE.

By the twelfth century at least some types of Arabic prose fiction works were recognized as legitimate forms of literature and enjoyed significant prestige, bearing in mind the clear preference for poetry by literary critics and audiences alike. Consider for instance the social prestige associated with familiarity with the moralistic animal fables of *Kalila wa Dimna* throughout the medieval Islamic world, including Arab scribes, courtiers and court functionaries, or the works of the *Maqamat* genre, whether by Hamadhani (968-1008) or Hariri (1054-1122) (Irwin 1994: 79-80). By virtue of the social prestige and literary complexity respectively, these works most certainly formed part of the medieval Arabic *adab*, the cultural formation of a well educated 'gentleman'. *Adab*²⁷ was not, in that period, a synonym for literature in general or *belles-lettres* in particular (Irwin 1994: 81). These morally and linguistically sophisticated works were accepted as *adab* and illustrate that prose stories did belong to the intellectual repertoire of 'cultured' classes of people. Likewise, as Irwin demonstrates with a brief survey of works from the Abbasid, Mamluk and

²⁵ A fact never mentioned in the *Battalname* where Delhemma is never mentioned.

²⁶ Uqba, the traitor-renegade figure who dominates the action as an anti-hero, is also a member of the Banu Sulaym tribe. He does have a great role in the same capacity in the *Battalname* as well, but his tribal affiliation is not relevant or even mentioned. On the protagonists of the *Sirat Delhemma*, see Canard 1961: 158-163, 165-169.

²⁷ On *adab* see the chapter by Hartmut Fähndrich in Heinrichs 1990.

Ottoman periods (1994: 81-7), several established scholars and belletrists 'transcribed' stories contained in the *Arabian Nights* and took an interest in storytelling. These *literati* were, as polyglot scholars, in a good position to enrich Arabic storytelling with new and 'foreign' elements. Moreover, storytelling was not exclusively reduced to the mostly anonymous storytellers of the *Arabian Nights* and the prose works like the *Sirat Delhemma*.

What did not belong to *adab* however, were the so-called *khurafa*, lies or fantasies, tales for women and children which is what works like the *Arabian Nights* and the *Sirat Delhemma* mainly consisted of. All the *literati*, scholars, judges and historians alike were in agreement in their condemnation of these prose fiction works. The case of Battal is telling, because whenever material about him found its way into works of *adab* or historiography, their authors were keen to disclaim any connection with the *khurafa* in circulation about him. So despite the fact that there were no categories to classify their sophisticated rivals like *Kalila wa Dimna* and the *maqamat* as literature, and bearing in mind that storytelling had its place, albeit limited, within *adab*, narratives in fairly simple prose enjoyed, if that's an appropriate word, a very low status or no status at all.

Interestingly works as far apart as the *maqamat* and the *Sirat Delhemma*, but both perhaps equally popular within their respective spheres of influence and audience, share a fascination with the figure of the trickster. In the *maqamat* we find a sort of "grammatical trickster, master of linguistic artifice, making use of metaphors, puns, parallelisms, alliterations and *hapax legomena* to talk himself out of scrapes" (Irwin 1994: 80), whereas in Battal we find an anti-hero ready to put ruse and merciless stratagem into effect to rescue someone or himself from a crisis related to the Arab-Byzantine confrontation.

BATTAL AS THE LOCAL HERO OF MALATYA AND THE DANİSHMENDİD TURKS

Whatever the reason for the epic transfer of Battal to the second part of the *Sirat Delhemma*,²⁸ as a result of it Battal became associated with the region of Malatya and must

²⁸ Grégoire suggests (1936: 574) that the historical Battal was transferred to the legendary Battal because of an orthographic misidentification! The Byzantine historian Theophanes mentions, regarding Battal's death at Akroinon (Afyon Karahisar) at 740, that Battal's detachment was preceded by a force of 10,000 men, lightly armed raiding Anatolia and led by a certain Ghamer (Γάμερ). According to Dionysius of Tel Mahré and other Arab sources (FHA 100), there was a certain Gamr b. Yazid under the general command of Sulayman. Finally, according to Gabrielli ("Il califfato di Hishâm," *Mémoires de la Société royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, 7,2 (1935)), in 743, razzias into Anatolia continued by two brothers of the caliph Walid II, al-Nu'mān and Gamr. Now Grégoire ingeniously proposed that the historical Battal who was connected with a certain Ghamr, was transferred to the legendary Battal who was connected to the famous orthographic namesake of Ghamer, 'Amr or 'Umar of Malatya (fl. 838-863). Moreover, Battal was associated with Malatya because of Malatya's governor (and Battal's co-general), Malik who also died at Akroinon with Battal. (On the ascribing of a tomb next to Battal's tomb at the tekke of Seyyit Gazi close to Eskişehir, to Malik Ghazi, see Hasluck 1929: 708.) Finally, Theophanes' Ghamer was the brother of

have become a sort of local hero. This fact provides the clue as to the adoption of the legends regarding Malatya and Battal by the Danishmendid Turks. The Danishmendid emirate came to include major cities in Cappadocia (Sebasteia/Sivas, Amaseia/Amasya, Neocaesarea/Niqsār, Caesarea/Qaysariyya, Ankyra/Anqara, Gangra/Çankırı), but its nucleus was the city of Malatya/Melitene, situated very close to the Euphrates on an important stretch of the traditional Arab Byzantine frontier. On the basis of its role in the Arabic *Sirat* alone, Wittek's characterization of Malatya as the city of frontier warriors *par excellence* is perfectly justifiable (1936: 295). It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the Turkish newcomers fighting for and around Malatya and especially the leaders of the Danishmendid dynasty who established control there for the better part of the twelfth century,²⁹ took an interest in the local cycle of legends and attached themselves to the local heroes, thereby establishing a continuity with the Muslim Arab past.³⁰

A eminent scholar of Turkish folklore and literature, Pertev Boratav suggests that the composition of the *Battalname* should be dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century and the Seljuk period because there are no indications in the work that the conquest of Anatolia has been completed or that Istanbul has been captured, elements that would reasonably date the work to the early Ottoman period. Moreover, Boratav claims, the fact that in some redactions the story about the discovery of Battal's tomb during the early thirteenth century may also be an indication that the last "insertion" to the *Battalname* was by a scribe of the Seljuk period since there are no references to a later period. (Boratav *IA*: 348)

Boratav further suggests that the *Battalname* must have had an Arabic work as its model since it is clearly quite distinct from the *Book of Dede Korkut* which may be considered a more characteristic example of the type of oral epic³¹ compositions the nomadic Turks brought with them from Transoxiana. Boratav's observation is incontestable. In the *Book of Dede Korkut* we find an alternation between prose and verse and a self-contained structure and narrative technique within each story, whereas the *Battalname* contains no

Nu'mān, which might explain why in the *Battalname* Umar of Malatya is not known as the son of 'Ubayd Allāh, but as the son of al-Nu'mān. The same is true for the Arabian Nights story of 'Umar al-Nu'mān, even though the eponymous hero is no longer the governor of Malatya. In both works 'Umar is the grand child of Ziyād (which Grégoire further suggest might be a metathesis of Yazid, Ghāmer's father). In the *Sira Delhemma*, however, 'Umar is still called b. 'Ubayd Allāh.

²⁹ Melik Ahmed Danishmend entered history during 1097-1100 as a rival of the Rûm Seljuk sultan Qılıç Arslan competing for Malatya, and as an ally of his against the Crusaders; Mélikoff, 1960: 71-101, *EI*: 110. Malatya was the prestige capital of the dynasty even after the dynasty split into the Sivas and Kayseri branches and it was the last stronghold to fall to the Seljuks of Rûm when they finally annexed the remnants of the emirate in 1178.

³⁰ Canard 1937: 187. In fact, as we have already seen, by the time the Danishmendids were in solid control of Malatya in 1124, a version of the *Sirat Delhemma* may very well have already been written down.

³¹ See Rossi 1952: 25-7, Finn 1977.

verses at all and its stories are composed, exactly like its Arabic prose epic counterparts, "for serial delivery over a period of weeks and days."³²

As for the Arabic model on which the Turkish work was based, it would have to have been composed before the arrival of the Danishmendids in Malatya (1124), argues Boratav, since they are not mentioned at all. As we have seen, the *Sirat Delhemma* itself seems to have been taken down in writing before or around this time, but it could not have served as the actual model for the *Battalname* because of the different emphasis in their contents, in the mixing of the ingredients so to speak. As Canard (1937: 185) has aptly put it, while in the *Sirat Delhemma*, a Kilabite work, Battal, plays, at best, Ulysses to Abd al-Wahhab's Achilles while Amir Umar is reduced to a minor and negative role since both he and Battal belong to the rival tribe of Banu Sulaym, in the *Battalname* Battal plays Roland to Amir Umar's Charlemagne. Boratav suggests that it was the Arabic storytellers who were responsible for the transformations that made their way into the *Battalname*. They would have been well disposed to the Banu Sulaym, and therefore Amir Umar is deprived of the treacherous role he has in the *Sirat Delhemma* and Battal is likewise elevated to a protagonist with a clearly heroic role.

Canard on the other hand believes that it was the Turkish storytellers who were responsible for the re-telling of the story and the transformation of Amir Umar and Battal into Charlemagne and Roland respectively. While he does not specifically insist on this point, perhaps a good argument supporting his view is that if the re-telling had been the work of Sulaymi storytellers, they might have also exonerated the figure of Uqba, another one of their tribesmen, who is a most treacherous crypto-Christian anti-hero and remains every bit as boastful and odious in the *Battalname*. Canard is in any event very much to the point when he argues that the Turkish recomposition of the *Sirat Delhemma* into a Malatya based work like the *Battalname* did preserve the golden era of Malatya and the 'original' heroic spirit which was in fact much subordinated to tribal pride and politics in the *Sirat* itself (Canard 1937: 186-7).

According to this widely held view, the *Battalname* would represent an act of appropriation inasmuch the frontier Turks appropriated a glorious Muslim pedigree personified in Battal. For the purposes of dynastic legitimation, Battal became a *sayyid* through genealogical descent from Ali. He was put in the faithful service of the amir of Malatya, and married into the family of Amir Umar.

It is an attractive proposition to suggest, as most scholars have, that the Turkish newcomers to eastern Anatolia, and the Danishmendids in Malatya in particular, sought to

³² Irwin 1994: 88 The sentence continues: "and have much in common with nineteenth-century European *feuilleton* literature."

relate and connect their activities with those of their fellow Muslim Arab predecessors and therefore appropriated the heroic figures of the golden era of Malatya. Certainly, later on and as part of the heroic tradition initiated with the *Battalname*, the Danishmendids attached themselves to Battal by putting forth a claim of descent from Battal's sister in the, the *Danishmendname*, the heroic narrative devoted to their founder, Melik Danishmend. The opening story of the *Danishmendname* shows the Danishmendid ghazis linking with the ghazis of the *Battalname* who survived the Byzantine counter-attack. Melik Danishmend continues the task of *ghaza* where Battal and his companions had left off and the Danishmendids, who were descended from a sister of Battal, were directly linked to Malatya's "golden age."

Furthermore, it is well known that for several of the Turkish war lords (*begs*) active in twelfth-century southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria-Jazira, ghazi was part of their name. There was only one such Danishmendid, Amir Ghazi, but there were several Artuqids and Zangids called Ghazi, e.g. Il Ghazi Alpı and Najm al-Din Ghazi.³³

All this would seem to support the attractive idea that the Turkish warriors also were ghazis who took over the ghazi traditions of their Muslim predecessors. It is not entirely clear, however, that we can so easily assume that the Turkish nomads arriving in Anatolia did in fact think of themselves in religious terms and identified themselves as ghazis. Nor is it a foregone conclusion that they were in fact consciously appropriating a pre-existing tradition to serve their own needs, since we have very few sources on how they thought about what they were doing, and most of them are by no means straightforward to interpret. For instance we have the evidence of copper coinage that establishes the fact that several of these locally quite powerful Turkish begs promoted the public display of the term *ghazi*, but the other side of the coins frequently present a most un-Islamic figural representation of diverse, but for the most part Hellenistic and Roman, origin. While a number of these figures may have an astrological significance, quite a few clearly do not, and it is not easy to determine their iconography or intended message.³⁴ What they do seem to indicate, and this seems to be typical of most such Turkish petty principalities, including Battal's descendants, the Danishmendids, is that there were several manifestations of the symbiotic coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims which would have surprised even open-minded ulema. And even though they did not have exclusive rights over the conferral of the term ghazi, the ulema were the ones who provided its religious and ideolo-

³³ See Hillenbrand 1981, 1985. On the important evidence of monumental inscriptions for their conscious propaganda of holy war and ghazi and/or mujāhid themes, see Van Berchem 1893, Elisséeff 1952-4, Rabbat 1995. For the best overview of the use of holy war ideology, see Sivan 1968.

³⁴ On Turcoman figural coinage, see Mitchel Brown 1974, Whellan 1980, Lowick 1985, Sprengler 1992. See also Oikonomides 1983 for the bilingual Danishmendid seals.

gical meaning. Whether or not works like the *Battalname* were to their liking, they would not have found much to disapprove of in the heroic ghazis like Battal glorified in such works. If the figural coins of the Turkish Ghazi begs represent, roughly speaking, a certain sense of pragmatism, the *Battalname* clearly presupposes an easy to grasp ideological confrontation. This is not to say that the two positions are mutually exclusive, or that pragmatism is irreconcilable with a religious ideology. Clearly the two positions could have existed side by side. The fourteenth-century Ottoman emirate has posed similar issues and problems regarding the existence and the role of a so-called ghazi ideology amongst the men in arms who were responsible for the establishment of the emirate on former Byzantine territory still inhabited by former Byzantine subjects. These issues have given rise to an enormous historiographical debate³⁵ which should serve as ample warning that we should not rush to interpret the existence of ghazi titulature or plain onomastics, and the conjecturally dated *Battalname* as evidence that the Turcoman dynasties of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would have considered themselves carriers of a ghazi ideology and would have had to 'patronize' and identify with such ghazi dominated works like the *Battalname* soon after their arrival in Anatolia.

Whether or not the Turcomans around Malatya and the Danishmendids in general who soon found themselves spread out over central and northern Anatolia, considered themselves carriers of the ghazi ideology can not be determined by the *Battalname*, unless we conjecture that the extant version was put in circulation while the Danishmendids were still in Malatya (Malatya was one of their last cities to fall into Seljuk control in the late twelfth century), and that the men in arms patronized it, in other words were its target audience.

That the Turkish storytellers turned Battal into an unquestionable hero operating out of Malatya and that the Danishmendids had a role to play in this, may be safe enough conclusions. However, neither they, nor the absence of mention of the any Turkish dynasty or the Ottomans themselves safely date the *Battalname* to the Seljuk period. Unfortunately none of the above mentioned arguments help date the composition of the *Battalname* as it has survived in its earliest manuscript dated 1436-7, well within the Ottoman period. Nobody of course would argue that the *Battalname* was composed on that date, and the evidence of the manuscript itself leaves no doubt that it was a copy of an earlier manuscript. Just how much earlier is impossible to say with certainty. Clearly stories were circulating

³⁵ For an enticing sample of recent scholarship, see Heywood 1988, 1988a, 1989, Imber 1986, 1987, 1995, İnalcık 1968-70, 1983, Jennings 1986, Lindner 1983, Tekin 1989, Zachariadou 1993. For an excellent and most recent review of the historiographical positions, see Kafadar 1995: 2-59.

and passed on orally, but it is better to err on the side of caution and venture no conjecture as to their nature based on the extant written version of the fifteenth century.³⁶

SAYID BATTAL GHAZI AND THE *BATTALNAME* WITHIN OTTOMAN LITERATURE

Clearly then one should bear in mind that the *Battalname* and the *Danishmendname* may not have been taken down in writing until the early fifteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries respectively. As a result, these two main representative works of the Turkish frontier epic should be placed within the general context of pre-1453 Anatolian Turkish literature and not only within the framework of Danishmendid history. The fact of the matter is that as written texts, rather than as irrecoverable oral narratives possibly going back to the twelfth century and beyond and on which the written texts are based, the two works are products of fifteenth-century Anatolian Turkish literature. The discovery of a manuscript of the *Battalname* dated 1436-7 and edited here for the first time, establishes a *terminus ad quem* for the extant written version, and both its language and its insistence on *ghaza* (*ğazā*) as a leitmotif conform well with what we know of other works of the fifteenth century. As already noted, for some time scholars have (e.g. Köprülü, 1992 [1943]: 40-52) grouped the *Battalname* and the *Danishmendname* together with the *Saltuqname* as the main representatives of Turkish frontier narratives in prose. Furthermore, scholars, especially Köprülü, have pointed out that these works, and particularly the *Saltuqname* (Köprülü, 1992: 48), display a significant similarity to two related kinds of works: 1) the prose narratives known as 'legends of the saints' (*evliyā menāqıbnāmeleri*) dealing with the lives of important founders or members of mystical orders in Anatolia,³⁷ and 2) the first anonymous Ottoman

³⁶ For instance, while a considerable part of the evidence that the early Ottomans were motivated by a religious, ghazi-dominated ideology, is based on the evidence that the Ottoman Sultans had adopted the title ghazi as inscribed on the famous "Bursa inscription" of 1337/8 (Imber (1995: 140n4) introduces another piece of hard evidence, an inscription on a bridge in Ankara dated 1375, where ghazi is mentioned as one of the titles of Murad I (1362-89)), an important part of the debate has to do with the interpretation of works of literature. As Wittek himself first insisted, the legitimizing ghazi ideal of the early fourteenth-century Ottomans was soon to be reflected in literature and the *Alexander Romance*, an Ottoman mathnawi composed by Ahmedi in the 1390s. As Imber points out Ahmedi's verses leave no doubt, despite what the message they try to promote, that the terms *ghazi* and *ghaza* were religious terms which came to replace the terms *aqıncı* and *aqın* of the vernacular language.:

Those servants of religion made raids against the infidels

For that reason they called holy *aqın*

(Imber 1995: 140)

Imber sees this change of terminology not as a mere shift from Turkish to Arabic/Persian vocabulary as was and would increasingly become the trend of 'learned' writing, but as an indication of a ideological development according to which "mere 'raiders' become 'holy warriors'" (Imber 1995: 140). Tempting as it may be, it would be quite misleading to use the extant *Battalname* to comment on the popular conceptions of ghaza during the Danishmendid and Seljuk periods.

³⁷ For the most complete treatment of the *menāqıbnāme* genre see Ocak 1992b, especially pp. 45-65 about the Anatolian Turkish works.

chronicles (mostly in prose) composed, at the earliest, in the fifteenth century. In fact it is customary for Turkish scholars to consider the *Danishmendname* and the *Saltuqname* as 'historical romances' (Köprülü 1992: 42) or as hagiographical narratives (*vita*) of a 'historical' nature³⁸ (Kafadar, 1995: 67, 94) because their subject matter deals in part with the historical activities of Turkish frontier warriors in *Rûm ili*, Anatolia in the *Danishmendname* and mostly the Balkans in the *Saltuqname*. While the characterization of these works as 'historical' rightly indicates their close relationship with "the historical writing," which "came into its own among Turcophone Anatolians in the fifteenth century," and in particular with the major strands of the historiographical output of the Ottomans (Kafadar, 1995: 94), it is misleading inasmuch as it excludes works of very much the same genre. In other words, it excludes works that are either safely dated to the early fifteenth century, such as the *Battalname*, works that survive in post-fifteenth century manuscripts but are 'ascribed' to authors who lived in the fifteenth century, such as the *Hamzaname* (*Hamzanâme*) and the *Suleymanname* (*Suleymânâme*), or finally works that can be dated to the fifteenth century partly because their heroes are mentioned in the *Battalname* and the *Danishmendname*, such as the *Abu Muslimname* (*Abū Muslimnâme*). The heroes and protagonists of these works may all predate the Turkish period in Anatolia, but there is no indication in the texts themselves, nor any compelling outside reason why the celebrated achievements of the Muslim champions, whether today we would call them Arab or Persian, would have been received as anything but 'history' by their (admittedly hard to define) audiences. All of these heroes are presented and celebrated as Muslims and nothing else besides, fighting for the defense and victory of Islam. What counts is the superiority of Islam and what are important and thus recounted are those historical events that guarantee its triumph or prevent its demise.³⁹ Even the revealing report of the compiler of the *Saltuqname* who stated in his work that Prince Cem, who ordered the compilation, would rather listen to the stories (*menâqib*) of Sarı Saltuq than to story (*qışsa*) of Hamza, should not be construed as evidence of a distinction of Arab versus Turkish heroes, nor of course of a preference for (Turkish) 'history'

³⁸ Accordingly Kafadar (1995: 93) writes that "the earliest written rendering of an Anatolian Turkish narrative of a "historical" nature seems to have been the *Danishmendname*, composed in 1245" because of the possibility that what might be termed its first written redaction (for which there is no manuscript evidence but only the testimony of the explicit of the author of the extant second redaction) may have been composed for the first time in the mid thirteenth century. Whether the earliest work or not, the extant written version, allegedly composed in the mid fourteenth century (see Mélikoff 1960: 57-63), fits well with "the historical writing" which "came into its own among Turcophone Anatolians in the fifteenth century," and in particular with the major strands of the historiographical output of the Ottomans (Kafadar, 1995: 94).

³⁹ For an comprehensive analysis of the Arabic *Sirat Delhemma* (Volksroman) as a source for the popular perception of Islamic history, see Steinbach, 1972: 20-32.

over (Arabic) 'legends'.⁴⁰ Even though the *Danishmendname* and the *Saltuqname* do indeed contain far more actual historical detail and circumstance than the *Hamzaname* and the *Battalname*, this is not a sound reason to consider only the former as 'historical narratives', particularly as the latter seem to have even directly influenced the fifteenth century Ottoman chronicles as, for instance, in the case of the conquest of the Aydos castle (see Wittek 1965, Hickman 1979).

What does set the *Battalname* and its sequels (*Danishmendname*, *Saltuqname*) as a group apart from the other prose narratives of the same genre is their frontier nature, the fact that they all deal with the conquest of *Rûm ili*, understood successively as different geographical areas in the three works. Once again, however, the classification of these works into frontier narratives dealing with Rûm versus as opposed to more generic narratives about the early champions of Islam, is a modern categorization. It would be hard to show that the frontier narratives dealing with Rûm were in fact more popular precisely because they took place in more familiar geographical settings. While the statement of the compiler of the *Saltuqname* mentioned above does support this hypothesis, there are not too many indications that the myth and cult of Melik Danishmend or Sarı Saltuq survived long outside the local level or ever achieved the wide spread popularity of Sayyid Battal. It is true, however, that Sayyid Battal achieved 'undying glory' both in ritual and in myth.

THE RITUAL CULT OF SAYYID BATTAL GHAZI

The ritual cult of Sayyid Battal was localized in the complex built around his tomb, which survives to this day near a village called Seyyit Gazi. Initially it consisted of a tomb and mosque probably built in the early thirteenth century, in a location close to Eskişehir and along the then borderzone between the Anatolian Seljuks and the Byzantine empire of Nicaea. According to a restoration inscription inside the mosque dated 1511, the mosque and the buildings (*hadhā'l-masjid wa'l-binā'*) were built during the days of the Seljuk Sultan Keyhüsrev b. Qılıç Arslan in the year 1207-8 and were renovated during the reign

⁴⁰ See Kafadar, 1995: 190n63. This statement should be read as a preference for familiar geography and local history rather than "at one level a preference of "Turkish" over "Arab" heroes." The continued popularity of Sayyid Battal more or less throughout the Ottoman period as attested by the number of manuscripts of the *Battalname* and the vitality of the cult around his main shrine in Anatolia, as well as the veneration of other 'Arab heroes' like Ayyūb Ansāri (see Hasluck, 1928, II: 702-735), constitute sufficient proof that there was no such ethnic distinction. It is worth noting that within the context of Anatolian Turkish literature the word 'Türk' meant 'Muslim' in its unmarked use, whereas its marked uses were limited to the designation of the (Turkish) language and the nomadic tribal etc Turks either outside the realm of Islam or as a separate sub-group within it (but rarely designating the totality of the Turkish speaking Muslims).

of Sultan Bayazid II.⁴¹ However, according to traditions first recorded in the seventeenth century and surviving orally to the present day,⁴² they were built by the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keyqubad I (r. 1220-1237), after Battal appeared to his mother, Ummuhan Hatun, in a dream and requested a proper burial at a site across a certain Castle of the Messiah which appears in the *Battalname*. This is how Hasluck (1926: 707) summarizes the legend regarding Battals' tomb:

"The 'castle of the Messiah' was given by Ala-ed-din, Sultan of Rum (1219-36) to his general Hazarasp. One of the latter's shepherds, named Kodlija [Qutluca], while feeding sheep on the hill opposite the fortress, saw there a miraculous light. He became as if enchanted, and his sheep gathered together to the spot. Hazarasp, being informed of the miracle, built a chapel on the site and it became a pilgrimage. The spot was not connected with Sidi Battal till he himself appeared in a dream to the mother of Ala-ed-din, who was a descendant of the Prophet, and bade her build him a monument at the castle of the messiah, where he had met his death. The mother of Ala-ed-din went to the castle and made inquiries, and another vision was vouchsafed to her in confirmation of her dream; the earth opened showing a door, through which she passed down a flight of seven steps to find the Arab warrior standing armed before her."

Both the oral traditions and the inscriptions about the existence of Battal's tomb in the early thirteenth century are confirmed by another important and reliable early source which is in fact the earliest testimony about it, the *Kitab al-Ziyarat* of al-Harawi (d. 1215), surprisingly little adduced by scholars dealing with the türbe of Battal.⁴³ Harawi opens the chapter dealing with the route from Nicaea to the southern regions of the land of (the Seljuks of) Rûm: "En haut d'une colline à la frontière du pays, la tombe d'Abū Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāl." (Harawi/Sourdél-Thomine 1957: 131).

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, all of the above are confirmed by the existing buildings, which despite their inconsistencies with other buildings of the thirteenth century (Yenişehirlioğlu 1984: 15-20), show that a türbe for Ummuhan Hatun, an iwan-type madrasa with an open courtyard, as well as the türbe of Battal and a masjid were built during the Seljuk period. All the buildings were later 'restored' and extensively rebuilt at different periods. For instance the türbe of Ummuhan Hatun and the madrasa were covered by a roof

⁴¹ Menzel 1925: 120. For the best architectural description of the tekke, see Yenişehirlioğlu 1984.

⁴² For the written versions, see Kâtip Çelebi, *Kitâb-i Cihânnümâ*, Istanbul (1145 AH), p. 64, and Ethé 1871, I: 213-217 (Dresden, manuscript 123); for the oral traditions, see Hasluck 1929 II: 705-710, Konyalı, 1974, II:2251-55. On the complex see also Ocak 1992: 186-93.

⁴³ With the exception of Vryonis; see Vryonis 1971: 222.

and transformed into a zawiya building in the Ottoman period, perhaps as early as the fourteenth century (Yenişehirlioğlu 1984: 20).

According to inscriptions⁴⁴ significant restoration work took place under the auspices of the famous ghazi-family of the Köse Mihaloğulları.⁴⁵ In 1464, so during the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (r. 1451-81), the türbe of Battal was "constructed and plastered," most likely incorporating the original Seljuk building by Ali from the Köse Mihaloğulları (Yenişehirlioğlu 1984: 22). In 1511, during the reign of Sultan Bayazid II (r. 1481-1512), the masjid was restored and transformed into a mosque. Another inscription deserves special mention because of its implications. Above the entrance, on a ramp that leads to the complex of Şayyid Ghazi there is the following inscription:

"As-salām 'alaykum yā Sulṭān Sayyid Baṭṭāl Ğāzī sanat 717 (1317)."⁴⁶ Historically this is a particularly important inscription because it is dated to period when the Ottoman emirate would have brought the area under its control. The Ottoman salutation (Yenişehirlioğlu 1984: 8) to Sayyid Battal Ghazi is a clear sign that the frontier begs were recognizing the role of Sayyid Battal and paying honorary tribute to him from early on. One might argue that this inscription lends some weight to Wittek's thesis of the Ottomans seeing themselves as ghazis by the early fourteenth century, since the inscription mentions the key term *ghazi*, albeit as part of Battal's name. Of course the fact that the term *ghazi* is part of Battal's name and not some sort of separate (and learned) title, precludes any comparison with the contested Bursa inscription of 1337 which ascribes the title "Ghazi son of a Ghazi, Sultan of the ghazis" to the deceased Ottoman *beg*. The inscription at *Seyyit Gazi* does, however, show that the Ottomans were aware of the fame of a person whom Wittek might have called *ghazi par excellence*, and wanted to associate themselves with him at a considerably early stage of their career. Such a conscious effort is entirely in tune with their general cooperation with the so-called colonizing dervishes who frequently participated in their military campaigns (Barkan 1942; Ocak 1992; Yenişehirlioğlu 1984: 8).

As Ocak points out (1992: 189), it is likely that before 1511 the monastery itself was used as a dervish lodge (*zawiya*). The *Vilayetname* of Hajji Bektash (*Vilāyetnāme of Hācī Bektaş*), a *menāqibnāme* most likely composed in the last twenty years of the fifteenth century by Uzun Firdawsī of Bursa,⁴⁷ mentions the visit (*ziyāret*) of Hajji Bektash to the convent (*dergāh*) of Sayyid Ghazi (Gölpınarlı 1958: 72-3). The *Vilayetname* even goes so far

⁴⁴ See Menzel 1928: 120-25, Aslanbay 1954: 133-120, Konyalı 1974/II: 2246- 58, Ocak 1992: 189.

⁴⁵ See Lindner 1983: 34-5 and T. Gökbilgin, "Mihaloğulları," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 8: 285-92.

⁴⁶ Menzel 1928: 112.

⁴⁷ Author also of an Ottoman *Suleymanname*, Gölpınarlı 1958: XIX-XXV.

as to claim that it was Hajji Bektash's visit that dissipated the doubts that existed about the tomb's location (Gölpınarlı 1958: 72, 84).

In fact, before becoming a renowned and economically fairly important Bektashi tekke in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Faroqhi 1989), the convent built around the tomb Battal was one of the more important centers of the wandering dervishes,⁴⁸ in particular the *abdals of Rûm*, at least according to some fifteenth and sixteenth-century sources. There was a close connection between the tekke of Sayyid Ghazi and the wandering dervishes, the socially deviant dervishes who, by the seventeenth century would be subsumed into or overtaken by the "classical" Bektashi order as it was transformed under the pressure of the Ottoman state (Karamustafa 1994: 83-4). By the early sixteenth century the band of wandering dervishes in particular who were associated with the tekke of Sayyid Ghazi came to be known as *abdals* (*abdâls* or *abdâlân-i Rûm*) and *ışıqs*. It should be noted, in order to appreciate their connection with the Ottomans, that the fifteenth century chronicler Ashiqpashazade ('Āshiqpaşazāde) mentions the *abdâlân-i Rûm* in a well known passage (Giese 1929: 201), as one of the four wandering (*seyyāh*) groups in Asia Minor, next to the *ğāziyān*, the *bacıyān* and the *aḥıyān*.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the *Vilayetname of Otman Baba*, (composed 1483), the *menaḳıbname* of the patron saint of the *abdals*, shows the dervish-ghazi Otman Baba enjoying a close and daring political relationship with the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II.⁵⁰

The *Vilayetname of Hajji Bektash* claims that it was Hajji Bektash himself who first decreed that the *ḥācılar bayramı*, in other words the important feast of sacrifice, should be celebrated at the tekke of Battal, confirming the importance of the tekke by the end of the fifteenth century.⁵¹

We have an excellent account of the early sixteenth century *abdals* in an important work by Vahidi (Vāhidi) entitled *Menāḳıb-i Ḥ'oca-i Cihān ve Netice-i Cān*, composed in 1522,⁵² in which one of their distinguishing characteristics is their allegiance to the tekke of

⁴⁸ See Imber 1978

⁴⁹For a survey of the *abdâlân-i Rûm* during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and their connection to the early Ottomans, see Ocak 1992: 85-103; see also Mélikoff 1980.

⁵⁰ On Otman Baba, see Karamustafa 1994: 46-49, 133n71 on the earliest evidence for a connection between the Janissaries and Hajji Bektash found in the *Vilayetname*; for an analysis of the *Vilayetname*, see İnalçık 1993: 19-36.

⁵¹ The gathering for the mourning of the death of Imam Husayn should take place at his own convent (Gölpınarlı 1958: 84).

⁵² Edited by Karamustafa, 1993. Vahidi's account is the main and most reliable source for the *abdals*. "Vāhidi (fl. first half of the sixteenth century), the outspoken Ottoman Sufi critic of deviant renunciation, was vehement in his rejection of the [mendicant] dervishes as shameless hypocrites and impostors who traded in the religious sensibilities of the naturally ignorant and credulous common people" (Karamustafa 1994: 6). For the most thorough survey on the Ottoman and western sources on the *abdals*, see Karamustafa 1994: 70-78.

Sayyid Ghazi, which they held to be their Kaaba.⁵³ The *abdals* were distinct thanks to their striking physical appearance (naked except for a felt garment (*tennüre*) and a woolen belt and with clean shaven faces and heads) and accoutrements, the most characteristic of which included the so-called 'hatchet of Abu Muslim' and the club of Sultan Shuja,⁵⁴ leather pouches (*cur'adan*), one for flint and the other for hashish, as well as spoons with ankle-bones and dervish bowls. They also had peculiar customs like self-cauterization and tattooing themselves with Ali's sword or name. In fact they considered 'Ali their true guide, while they were not bound by any of the standard religious observances, including prayer.⁵⁵

The importance of the cult of Sayyid Battal for the *abdals* is also confirmed by the account (first published in 1548) of Giovan Antonio Menavino, a Genoese observer who "spent some years in Istanbul during the reign of the Ottoman sultans Bāyezid II (r. 1481-1512) and Selīm I (r. 1512-20)" (Karamustafa 1994: 108n15). His account on the "dervisi"⁵⁶ of the tekke is particularly interesting because it states that the chief of the more than five hundred dervishes housed there was called "Assambaba," [Ā'zam Baba] which means father of fathers." This observation offers evidence of the highly respected position of the shaykh of the tekke of Sayyid Ghazi among the wandering dervishes (Qalandars) of the Ottoman empire. Menavino also describes with considerable detail the great yearly celebrations of the *qurbān bayramı* held at Sayyid Ghazi that brought together the wandering dervishes from all over Anatolia and the Balkans, as mentioned in the *menaḳıbnames* of Hajji Bektash, Hajim Sultan (Hācim Sultān) and Otman Baba.⁵⁷ With this information there can be little doubt as to the popularity of the cult of Sayyid Ghazi by the early sixteenth century.

Another comment by Menavino deserves mention because it connects the cult of Battal with his 'myth' as found in the *Battalname*, Menavino introduces his account of the tomb of "Scidibattal," by writing that they [i.e. the dervishes there, but perhaps people in general] "say that he was responsible for the greatest part of the conquest of Turkey" (Menavino: 72) This claim of course is celebrated in the *Battalname* and which goes a long way towards explaining the popularity of and respect for the hero among the Ottoman ghazis.

⁵³ See Karamustafa 1993: 130 [=fol. 45a l.10]: bize çün Ka'bedür Seyyid ocağı / anuñçün götürür biz bu çerāğı; "The hospice of Seyyid is like the Ka'be for us, that's why we carry these lamps" Karamustafa 1994: 72.

⁵⁴ On Sultān Şücā', an extremely important shaykh of the *abdals* whose türbe is located very close to that of Battal, see Ocak 1992: 192-3.

⁵⁵ Karamustafa 1994: 71. Most of the above description is taken from Vahidi' account.

⁵⁶ Menavino's account is reproduced in its entirety in Karamustafa 1994: 72-3 and this translation will be abbreviated 'Menavino'.

⁵⁷ For references, see Ocak 1992: 175; the celebrations are called *Hacc-i ekber* in the *Vilayetname* of Otman Baba.

It is a favorite tenet of Ottoman historians that towards the end of the fifteenth century the religious practices and attitudes of the nomadic and semi-nomadic population of Anatolia were increasingly seen as heterodox from the point of view of the central government which was taking itself more and more seriously as the seat of religious orthodoxy (much like the Byzantines had viewed the 'heresies' from the same capital before them), particularly against the threat of the Safavid propaganda which was clearly and rapidly becoming an appealing alternative for all the discontented.⁵⁸

It would seem that already Bayazid II (r. 1481-1512) supported the Bektashi order in an effort to win the sympathies of at least some of "God's unruly friends,"⁵⁹ as betrayed by his architectural patronage of certain Bektashi convents in Anatolia, including the enlargement of the convent at Osmancık in Bithynia, the early Ottoman heartland, and at Hajji Bektash, from that point on indisputably the central convent of the order (Faroqhi 1995: 35). The restorations of the tekke at Seyyit Gazi may also be inscribed within this appeasement policy of the Ottoman Sultans.

Bearing in mind that the Bektashi order became an organized order no earlier than the late fifteenth-century, it is not entirely clear when the *tekke* of Seyyid Ghazi became part of the order's structure. Certainly the respectful references to the tomb of Seyyid Ghazi in the *Vilayetname* (Gölpınarlı 1958: 72,84) and the restorations during the reign of Sultan Bayazid II could be taken as evidence of some sort of 'proto'-Bektashi affiliation. By the mid-sixteenth century however, several documents (Ahmed Refik 1932, Ocak 1992: 128-9, Ocak 1993: 250-3) and other sources (Ashiq Çelebi, Ocak 1992: 190, translation Karamustafa 1994: 76) clearly report unruly practices, including dancing and extensive use of musical instruments. One such scathing report about conditions prevailing at the tekke was submitted by Ishreti (İşreti), the kadi of Eskişehir, to Sultan Suleyman in the mid sixteenth century.⁶⁰ It speaks of the tekke as center of vice and immorality where "vagabonds (*bağdallar*) who had forsaken their parents and *abdals* who had become *ışıqs*" gathered.⁶¹ The government's response, as revealed by archival documents,⁶² was to order the expulsion and imprisonment of the trouble-making *abdals* and *ışıqs* and the re-establishment of

⁵⁸ See Imber 1979, Faroqhi 1985: 35.

⁵⁹ Karamustafa 1994

⁶⁰ For the colorful description of the *abdals* of Sayyid Ghazi Ocağı based on the report of İşreti (d. 1566-7) who was appointed kadi of Eskişehir in the late 1550's and inspected the tekke, see the entry on İşreti in 'Ashiq Çelebi's biographical dictionary (Meredith-Owens 1971: fol. 175^{a-b}) and Karamustafa 1994: 76 for a translation.

⁶¹ "Vilâyet-i Anadolıda Seyyid-i Ğâzi tekiyyesi ki bir dâr-i fısq u dalâl olup her yirden atasın anasın azarlatmış bağdallar işden qaçup ışiq olmuş pöste ki şqalend<er>ş abdüllar" Meredith-Owens 1971: fol. 175^{a-b}. Notice the pun on Battal, clearly indicating that the word *bağdal* could have a very negative connotation as well.

⁶² See Faroqhi 1989 and Ocak 1992: 127-129 with references.

the madrasa which had obviously fallen to misuse. Nevertheless, the expelled dervishes slowly reestablished control of their headquarters without incurring further wrath from the government. Clearly not even the Ottoman central government seems to have been all that successful in turning against the dervishes in control of the lodge of the famous hero, probably because of the dervishes' connections with the Janissaries, but possibly also out of fear of upsetting the keepers of such a well known figure as Battal. Whether these *abdals*, otherwise ubiquitous in pre-fifteenth century Anatolian and even Balkan countryside (and in modern historiography as well since Köprülü's 1935 article on Anatolian dervishes, had always been in control of the tekke, or whether they took refuge there during the more serious persecutions in the southeast, as was the case in other places (Faroqhi 1995: 35) we can not really tell.

Faroqhi (1981) has shown, on the basis of archival material, that on the whole, the *zawiya* of Sayyid Ghazi in the sixteenth century functioned much like the *zawiyas* of better organized orders like the Mevlevi, on a smaller scale but with uninterrupted government support.

By the time Evliya Chelebi (III: 13-4) visited the lodge in 1648, the tekke, though perhaps not as economically prosperous, was still nonetheless a very popular and busy place. Evliya reports on two hundred Bektashi dervishes being there. It continued to function as a Bektashi tekke until the final abolition of the orders in the Republican period.⁶³ When Menzel visited in 1909 and again in 1911 to study the inscriptions, though the place was obviously operating on a diminished scale, nonetheless there were pilgrims who had come on a tour of Bektashi sites in Anatolia from as far away as Central Asia (Menzel 1925: 93). In fact, as Köprülü also reported in 1919, there was a tomb ascribed to Battal at Aqsu in Chinese Turkestan (Köprülü 1996: 198).

The purpose of this survey of the cult of Sayyid Battal is to demonstrate that at least until the seventeenth century the tekke of Sayyid Ghazi was one of the more important sites in the practices of the wandering dervishes all over Anatolia and was recognized as a respected sanctuary by the Ottoman government. Inasmuch as it had become a center of pilgrimage not only for the *abdals* in Anatolia but even for those who spent most of their lives in the Balkans, like the patron saint Otman Baba himself, it may be said to have achieved a sort of universal, 'pan-Ottoman' rather than local status. While not underestimating the widespread cult of Sarı Saltuq in the Balkans and the Dobruja area in particular, it is clear that as far as the cult is concerned, there was no general preference of "Turkish" over "Arabic" warrior-saint figures.

⁶³ For a survey of the later history of the tekke, see Aslanbay 1954, Yenişehirlioğlu 1984: 11-4.

THE MYTH OF THE *BATTALNAME*.

Coming to the myth aspect, we unfortunately have no way of ascertaining whether the popularity of the cult had anything to do with the popularity of the *Battalname* itself. We have noted that it substantiated the claim that Sayyid Battal was responsible for a great part of the conquest of Rûm, but we can not claim that it contributed significantly to the popularity of the cult. On the other hand, the connection of the tekke with the ghazis and the family of the Mihaloğulları in particular, as well as the general connection of the Bektashis with the Janissaries who paid allegiance to their patron saint, Hajji Bektash, provide sufficient evidence for the claim that the cult influenced the popularity of the myth. We know from western sources which were more likely to describe such practices, that the Janissaries not only invoked the name of Battal before charging in battle,⁶⁴ but read or performed the *Battalname* as part of their curriculum training in the Topkapı Palace.⁶⁵

As indicative of the popularity of the *Battalname*, one could point to the several manuscripts dated from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century as well as to the lithograph editions of the late nineteenth century.⁶⁶ The only direct influence of the *Battalname* as a text on other works is an eighteenth century verse adaptation. It was composed in 1769 by Kâtipzâde Dârendeli Baqâ'î, who based himself on a full manuscript and submitted his work to the grand vizier Silâhdâr Mehmed Pasha during the reign of the Sultan Mustafa III (r. 1757-1774).⁶⁷

The information provided about Battal, always as a historical figure, in Ottoman sources such as Evliya Çelebi and in the history of Müneccimbaşı (*Ta'rih-i 'Umumi Sahâ'ifü'l-Ahbar*, I: 801-814), is based partly on the *Battalname* and partly on the Arabic sources on Battal (of particular importance in this regard is the Turkish translation of Tabari). Evliya recounts a story about Sayyid Battal Ghazi which also occurs in the *Battalname*, in connection with the so-called *qız qulesi* in Istanbul (Zılloğlu 1976, I-II: 325-7), and mentions Sayyid Battal with his *Battalname* name of Ja'far Ghazi in connection with the caliph Harun al-Rashid.⁶⁸ More so than any others, these references offer significant

⁶⁴ Baudier 1625: 207-8, quoted in Ocak 1992: 186n194. See also Hasluck 1929: 708n2.

⁶⁵ We owe this important testimony directly linking the Janissaries to the *Battalname* to the Polish convert Bobovi, alias 'Ali Ufki Efendi, who spent some time in the palace himself. See Fischer 1985: 77-9, quoted in Necipoğlu 1992: 114-5.

⁶⁶ For a list, see Köksal 1983: 17-9, 21.

⁶⁷ For a list of manuscripts in Turkey, see Köksal 1983: 19-20.

⁶⁸ Harun al-Rashid's legend in connection with the sieges of Constantinople and Battal developed after the conquest of 1453 and appears in the in the anonymous Ottoman chronicles which incorporate the

evidence for two important points: First, as already indicated, Sayyid Battal was presented as a historical figure, and second, the acceptance by learned writers of material that originated in the non-learned milieus of popular culture, is an indication of the type of influence popular culture could have on high-brow writers.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the association of Sayyid Battal with the Arab sieges of Constantinople, reflected in various Arabic sources, is also depicted in the "low-brow" anonymous Ottoman chronicles in connection with the legend of Saint Sophia. As Yerasimos has shown (1992: 46-7, 180-2), the material contained in the anonymous chronicle of 1491 derives mostly from the Arabic tradition, but does include one topos-legend also mentioned in the *Battalname*.

Finally, one could mention as part of the myth of Sayyid Battal the references to him in the folk poetry related to the Bektashi circles. This material is not dependent on the *Battalname* at all, and in fact has much more to do with the cult of Sayyid Battal by the Bektashi dervishes.⁷⁰

In conclusion, despite the considerable popularity of the ritual and myth of Sayyid Battal, it would be exaggerated to claim that the *Battalname* was more popular than its sequels or the other heroic-religious narratives. Likewise, it would be wrong to claim that the *Battalname*, taken alone or together with its sequels actually stood apart representing a sort of separate frontier epic tradition within Anatolian Turkish literature. Rather, they formed part of the larger tradition of prose narratives that flourished in the fifteenth century and included heroic-religious geste, works of hagiography and the chronicles dealing with the House of Osman.⁷¹

There are two more types of works that first appeared in the fifteenth century and are closely related with the heroic-religious narratives and with the living traditions of the frontier. They are also closely related to each other, a fact which is reflected in their common designation as *ghazavatnames* (*ğazāvātname*). The first kind is represented by the versified chronicle on the Ottomans titled *Ghazavatname* and included in the Alexander Romance (*Iskendernāme*) of the late fourteenth century poet Ahmedi (Ahmedi) who dedicated his work to the ottoman Prince Suleyman, and by the sections dealing with the House of Aydın⁷² and the House of Osman as the second and third parts of the *Dusturname*

History of Constantinople (1491); for a discussion, see Yerasimos 1990: 180-1. Evliya's account of Battal owes a lot to these sources.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of this phenomenon regarding material about Battal in Arabic writers, see Boaz 1991.

⁷⁰ See Kafadar 1995: 92-3.

⁷¹ The fifteenth century saw the "blooming of a literate [ie. written] historical imagination among the representatives of post-Seljuk frontier energies" Kafadar 1995: 93.

⁷² This section may also be called a *ghazavatname* since it starts with the following mişra': "diñle imdi bir ğazādan nāme sen"; see Mélikoff, 1954: 45.

(*Düstürnâme*), a versified universal history commissioned by Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474), the grand vizier of the Sultan Mehmed II and completed by a certain Enveri in 1465.

Although these parts of the *Iskendername* and the *Dusturname* share the theme of *ghaza* with the fifteenth-century heroic-religious narratives and chronicles already mentioned, they are early Ottoman *mathnawis* written in a markedly more learned style.

The second type of works designated as *ghazavatnames*, are the *ghazavatnames* proper so to speak, namely the prose accounts of the campaigns and exploits of various ghazis who were, for the most part, historical figures of the Ottoman empire. None of them can be dated earlier than the fifteenth century, while most of them were recorded after 1500.⁷³

⁷³ For a comprehensive survey of these works, see Levend 1956.

CHAPTER ONE.
Husayn Ghazi and the Gazelle of Mihriyayil

There was a young man called Ali from the sons of Abdullah whose mother was also descended from the daughters of Ali. This Ali was staying in Medina. When he realized how things stood and how the secessionists had taken over everything, he escaped from Medina one night and came to Baghdad, where he stayed for a year. From there he moved to Malatya. Now there was a ruler in Malatya who was called Ziyad. He was a descendant of the sons of Umar the Commander of the Faithful, and was a faithful God-fearing monotheist believer. [P 3^b]

Ali came to him and Ziyad gave him a warm welcome and offered him the Friday sermonship, so Ali stayed four years there until he died. He left a son behind, Zayd Rabi', who turned out to be a very learned man, so they gave him the Friday sermonship. He held the post for thirty years and he also died leaving two sons behind; one was Hasan, the other Husayn. Hasan had a beautiful voice and became a very learned man, and as for Husayn, he became a barve warrior. Seven times the army of the Caesar of Rûm attacked and seven times he defeated it. He seized six cities and twelve fortresses that he pulled down and destroyed. Then the ruler of the city, Ziyad, died and his son, Nu'man, sat on the throne. He was an incredibly beautiful and faithful and God-fearing believer. They entrusted the Friday sermonship to Hasan and the post of commander-in-chief to Husayn.

Those days the Caesar of Rûm was such a coward at heart that he used to set up seven milestones out of his fear for Husayn and then make an agreement with Husayn that he should not go beyond these milestones. Every year the caesar used to send tribute, or rather gifts and presents, as he called them. Husayn, on his part, did not venture out to that side. Indeed, he used to go hunting, and he never returned empty-handed. [A1]

One day as Nu'man was sitting with the begs of Malatya, they announced the good news that his son had been born. Everyone rejoiced and he was glad and prepared festivities. They named the boy Amir Umar. They feasted for seven days. Then one day Husayn was hunting around the mountains of Syria when he saw a gazelle with a decorated brocade saddle-cloth. He spurred his horse but the gazelle ran away. Husayn exclaimed, "I am not giving up until I get hold of you and bring you as a gift for Nu'man's son Amir." So he exclaimed but meanwhile the gazelle ran away, entered a cave and disappeared. Husayn dismounted and entered into the cave. He took a step or two and he saw a yellow horse standing there like a rainbow. There was a bundle tied to the bridle and the saddle, a lance pierced into the ground in front of it, and a splendid mace fastened on the † *turfil*.

Husayn saw it and was amazed. He exclaimed, "What on earth is a horse like this doing here?" He advanced to catch it, but it kicked its hind legs and Husayn had to jump back. He tried to catch it, but it was to no avail. Then a voice came from the corner of the cave: it said, "Ashqar, be obedient to this young man. The time when I will appear has not come yet. [A 2] God the exalted has granted you to Ja'far, who shall come and lead many *ghazas* on the face of this earth and shall rescue the world from the darkness of unbelief. Be obedient and faithful to this young man." As soon as the horse heard this voice it stood in its place. Husayn looked at all four sides but didn't see anyone. He advanced and took the horse's reins in his hands, pulled out the lance and saw that it had been written on it that it was the lance of Kaykawus. He untied the bundle and saw that two locks of hair of the prophet Adam, the belt of prophet David, the shield of Prophet Ishaq, and the armor of the commander of the faithful Hamza were all there ready for him. Husayn, glad and pleased, mounted his own horse and was off. On the way back he was thinking, "My Lord, who could Ja'far be that such a horse and such armor are to be given to him?" While on that thought sleep overcame him, so he dismounted, tied his horse and fell asleep right there on the spot. He dreamt of an old man coming and saying, "O Husayn, here's good news for you: Ja'far is your own son, and will come to life in a short while and make the whole of Rûm a realm of Islam. He will accomplish feats that no other hero has ever dared." Husayn woke at once, prostrated for a prayer of thanks, got up and mounted his steed and rushed back to the city. [A 3]

For a while things remained like that and then Nu'man b. Ziyad died and Amir was enthroned. Amir Umar became padishah and organized festivities and distributed robes of honor. Everyone was happy and rejoicing. In the midst of this rejoicing, a servant of his called Tawabil, a great hero himself, stepped inside the door and said something in Husayn's ear. Husayn's face lit up and became full of joy; Tawabil got out and left. Amir Umar asked, "Brave warrior, what is the news, let us know as well." Husayn Ghazi pronounced a prayer, and exclaimed, "A baby son of your servant came to life!" Now Amir Umar was well versed in the science of the astrolabe, he looked at the child's future in the astrolabe and observed the stars. He found the child's future very auspicious and offered the following reading, "Husayn Ghazi, your son shall turn into a great hero but also a great man of religion. He shall achieve feats that no-one else could manage. His name shall be Ja'far." He wrote down a few prayers and handed them over and said, "Have these tied to your head." Afterwards Husayn Ghazi entertained guests, and the town's noblemen all gathered at his place and for three days they were eating and drinking.

Then they took care of Ja'far. When he reached his third year everyone thought he was seven. [A 4] The beauty of his face was without equal. Whoever picked him up could

not put him down. Of course, Husayn would still go hunting every day. As for the Caesar of Rûm, he sent tribute to the caliph every year, and Husayn also send gifts and presents. One day Husayn went out hunting and after he had been hunting for three days, all of a sudden a gazelle appeared in front of him. Its brocade saddle-cloth was adorned with precious stones. Husayn thought, "Let me catch this gazelle alive and send it to Ja'far as a present." He threw a lasso a few times but it was not an easy task, the gazelle ran away crossing over to the other side of the mountain. Husayn followed it over the mountain, and when he looked down from the top he noticed a castle on the horizon and a splendid city at the feet of the castle. About forty thousands troops had camped in front of the crowded city and were resting. Barracks and tents of green and red brocade had been set up everywhere. One's stomach would be torn to pieces by the sound of the horses and people. This city was no other than Mamuriya itself. Its governor was called Mihriyayil and he was the brother of the wife of the Caesar of Rûm. They were three brothers all together: Mihriyayil was the elder, Mihran was the middle one, and the younger one was Shamasp.

Now, as it turned out that gazelle [A 5] belonged to Mihriyayil and would tread anywhere imaginable: no-one had the guts even to just look at it once. So the gazelle ran about until it got tired and wounded up in Mihriyayil's tent. He took a look at it and saw that it was exhausted. He got furious and said, "Find out at once who is chasing my gazelle and do not spare him, chop his head off." His servants rushed off and searched everywhere until they saw someone standing on top of a hill. They shouted, "Are you mad? Why have you started chasing after the padishah's gazelle?" Husayn answered, "Go and tell your lord that I am Husayn and I've taken a liking to this lovely gazelle here, so he had better hand it over to me. Otherwise I cannot be held responsible for making the world dark in his eyes." The servants rushed back to Mihriyayil and gave him the news. His blood froze with fear. Upon his command the whole army mounted and encircled Husayn, who had no proper armor with him and exclaimed, "You see, here I am without my armor, and I have even had a scary dream:" He put his trust in God saying, "You cannot erase anything from Fate's decree," and then he pulled a war-cry and charged in attack. He charged against the heart of the enemy, fighting at times with his sword, at times with his mace, and at times with his lance. He fought till the time of the evening prayer and made infidel blood flow like water. [A 6] [P 6^a] Twice he came across Mihriyayil, and brought him down with a single blow, passing over him. But he was himself wounded and lost plenty of blood from his wound. He became weak and had no power left to break the army's lines. His heavenly destiny and the power of fate drew near as they assailed and threw lassos at him. It was then that Husayn became a martyr. Nonetheless, however

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much they tried, they did not manage to catch his horse, which found the road to Malatya and set out in that direction, all soaked in red blood.

One day the companions Abdu'l-Salam and Juda and Ali b. Hashim and Yahya b. Mansur and Abdu'l-Wahhab were all sitting around when they saw Husayn's horse approaching all soaked in red blood. They shouted and wailed breaking into tears. Just as they were wondering aloud, "Who may have done this?" they noticed that Yahya b. Mansur, the messenger of the Muslims who was from the children of Umar b. Umayya, had arrived. He brought the following tidings, "Mihriyayil encircled Husayn in Mamuriya with forty thousand men. Husayn fought for three days, but at the end they martyred him." The Muslims mourned for seven days. Then they wrote a letter to the caliph. Tawamiq b. Ma'ad was the caliph at the time. He was greatly saddened and mourned for three days. Then he wrote back to Amir and the ghazi-begs of Malatya, warning them, "Watch out and do not be taken by surprise. Should the Caesar of Rûm march against you, inform me immediately." [P 6^b] He also sent a beautiful mantle to each of all these famous begs, along with kind words of advice: Do not be afraid and take refuge in God."

As soon as the tidings reached Malatya everyone rejoiced and was glad. They held a great assembly and deliberated. Amir said, "Friends, we need a commander-in-chief. Ja'far is still a child and cannot take his father's place. Until he grows up, you must find a man to be commander-in-chief." The notables debated and saw it fit to make Abdu'l-Salam commander-in-chief until Ja'far would grow up. Ten years passed after this, and for a while things stayed like that and the world was happy.

CHAPTER TWO

Ja'far Avenges his Father,
Kills Shamasp and Mihriyayil,
and is Named Battal by Ahmar Tarran.

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F. 7A

The story tellers say that when Ja'far became thirteen years old he was tremendously handsome and with a tall, slender stature. He studied the four books and developed such great skill in *tafsir* and *hadith* that they entrusted him with the Friday sermonship. When Friday came he got on the pulpit and delivered the Friday address and the people burst into tears and loud laments, as if Judgment Day had come. All the Muslims expressed their congratulations.

Then Ja'far developed a passion for the martial arts and became very skillful. Now there was a warrior-master called Gazban who was greatly skilled. Ja'far entered his service until he developed such a mastery of martial arts that he had no equal. He had no equal in horse racing and in lance throwing, [P 7^a] and no match in passing underneath a horse while racing, in handling the mace or the sword, or in wrestling. In all activities of this kind he acquired great skill and there was no-one else nearly as good. He was twenty cubits tall and sturdily built.

So one day he went out wandering and looking around with his companions. They performed their ablutions and prayer by some river bank and engaged in conversation. They spoke of Koranic exegesis and the sayings of the Prophet and Ja'far silenced them all. Then they all expressed their wish to see a demonstration of Ja'far's mastery of martial arts. They brought him a horse at once and he mounted it. He performed a display of his mastery, displaying skills no-one had seen before. They all prayed for him and congratulated him, saying among themselves, "He's turned out more skilled than his own father, so why does he not seek his father's position? Foreigners waste away his property while he walks around with all these skills but hungry and without a penny to his name." Ja'far responded, "Friends, come on, this is not the time. When I really show some skill, then I will claim my father's position." The whole crowd of them said, "What is this talk about skill? What he has shown us goes far beyond skill. In fact, you are already doing things no-one else could possibly manage." They talked so much about this that in the end Ja'far himself started to long for the position of his father. But evening had come so they returned to the city and everyone went to his home.

Ja'far came home to his mother. Her name was Sa'ida Hatun [P 7^b] and she came out to meet him and kissed him on his two eyes. She led him into the house and they came in and he sat down. She brought him food but Ja'far did not even touch it. His mother noticed that his eyes were filled with tears. She drew near, sighed and said, "My dear boy, why are you crying?" Ja'far said, "Mother, how could I hold my tears when they are squandering away what my father acquired with his sword. They all have a house to look after and hold property as well while I do not even have enough bread for my roe spread (*tarama*)." His mother burst into tears and said, "My dear boy, your father used to collect *kharaj* from Istanbul, the Caesar of Rûm himself used to lose his sleep out of fear for your father's sword. Now look at what we've been reduced to." And she cried even more. Ja'far said, "Do not cry anymore. I am not going to let anyone have my father's position. In fact, thank God I've completed all my studies and perfected my martial skills so I can and will seek my father's position." His mother said, "My dear boy, calm down now. Abdu'l-Salam is a person with his own people and a tribe, and he is also one of the Amir's people.

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They will never accept what you'll say, and there will be bitter feelings too. Be generous and do not say a thing, and let us see what the Lord has in stock for us."

That evening passed and at dawn Ja'far got up, performed his ablutions and came to the mosque where they performed the prayer. Once they finished the prayer and while all the amirs were there, Ja'far lifted his head and said, "Amir Umar, with your permission, your worthless servant would like to tell you something." Amir said, "Come on, let us hear it." Ja'far said, "I would like to ask for my father's position [P 8^a] since right now I am no more lacking than anyone else in heroism, attacking in battle or catching prisoners. Others are benefiting from my father's position while I walk around hungry and destitute." The heart of all those sitting around burned and they all agreed that Ja'far was speaking the truth. Then Abdü'l-Salam said, "Hey Ja'far are you really seeking your father's position?" "But of course" answered Ja'far and Abdu'l-Salam continued, "Well, your father got that position because he demonstrated great skills. You go ahead and demonstrate some skills first, and then come asking for the position. Your father's blood is still crying out for revenge, how can you even put a claim for his position? Your job is to study hard at some mosque or *madrassa* corner, you have nothing to do with riding horses and boasting about your manhood. Now, if you want us to give you your father's position go and avenge your father's blood and kill Mihriyayil. Then come back and I will give you your father's position." The crowd divided into two factions, one supporting Ja'far and the other Abdu'l-Salam, and there was a great debate. Ja'far got up and left and came to his mother. She saw that he was sad and said, "Light of my two eyes, what happened to you?" He quickly told her the story, and while they were talking about this, Ja'far's tutor (*lālā*), Tawabil, appeared and said, "Hey Ja'far, you didn't act wisely, why did you not inform me so that I could advise you? Abdu'l-Salam is a person with a great tribe and numerous followers behind him. There is no point in arguing with him right now." [P 8^b] But Ja'far paid no attention and did not even answer. Rather, he questioned Tawabil about Mihriyayil. Tawabil said, "He's a tall man of great height, a swarthy dark big man, a fearful warrior without equal. Moreover, he's the brother of the wife of the Caesar of Rûm, an evil cursed man. Watch out and forget about this obsession of yours, he's killed too many Muslims." Tawabil offered Ja'far advise until midnight. Then Ja'far got up and left.

The story tellers tell the story how Ja'far got up in the middle of the night and saddled his father's black horse, wore his sword around his belt, fastened his lance to the saddle and dressed himself in Greek clothes. It was Friday evening, and his mother asked him in tears, "Where on earth are you going at this hour?" Nonetheless, he mounted his horse and rode off. He pressed on until the following morning when he reached a fountain and dismounted to perform his ablutions and prayer. He mounted again and rode on.

Meanwhile, on this side, the *muezzin* made his call to prayer, and the people gathered in the mosque. The great *begs* came along but Ja'far did not show up, so they sent someone to look for him at home. His mother said, "He rode his horse in the middle of the night and left." Amir said, "Quickly, perform the prayer and then go after him. God forbid, he might head for Rûm and he does not know about that infidel, so he might meet with disaster all of a sudden. [P9^a] Remember, he is a dear descendant of Ali." They sent two hundred mounted men after him, and they combed the mountains inside out but could not find him, so they came back, sad and in despair. His mother, desperate, was lamenting in tears.

Meanwhile, Ja'far pressed on that night until, by dawn, he reached a monastery. He saw that it was like a castle, made of white marble with an iron door and with a monk watching on the roof. As soon as Ja'far drew near the monk got out and came up to Ja'far offering his greetings, "Welcome, o Ja'far! Last night I saw your father in my dream and he told me: 'Tomorrow my son Ja'far is coming to avenge my blood, put him up and give him some advice'." So he invited him in, and Ja'far was amazed at his words and dismounted to exchange greetings. The monk's name was Shammas. Ja'far came inside and he brought out bread, grapes and must-syrup that they ate. When night fell, Shammas took Ja'far by the hand and lead him through a door. Sayyid saw that there was a *masjid* with a *mihrab* properly arranged, with a Koran resting on its stand. He came forward and opened the Koran and saw that it had been written by his own father. He touched the Book with his face and eyes. Shammas on his part took off his monastic robes and put on some *sufi* clothes. He recited the call to prayer and Ja'far lead the prayer that they performed together. Once they were through with the prayer, Ja'far opened the Book and recited several chapters which he also explicated. [A 8] Shammas was amazed and told him many stories about Rûm and tales about Mihriyayil. He gave him plenty of advice and they chatted until the morning. When morning came they performed the dawn prayer and Ja'far mounted and took his leave of Shammas. He placed his trust in God and off he went.

He went hunting along the way and asking for God's help saying, "Creator, what if you were to help this helpless, miserable destitute servant of yours with your generosity and bounty, giving him strength and prowess so that I may capture the land of Rûm and destroy its churches and build mosques and madrasas in their place." All of a sudden, as he was in deep thought, a cavalryman appeared right across from him, his whole horse and arms drowned in red gold. As soon as he saw Ja'far he advanced and shouted, "Who are you, where are you coming from and where are you going in this neck of the woods?" Ja'far answered, "I come from Chîn, my father's name was Qanatos Zarkara, and I am very fond of martial arts." When the infidel took a closer look he saw that he was a handsome

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young man, his face resembling a full moon, an eloquent young man whose eyelashes covered his cheeks and with black moles on his face, with a small round mouth whose teeth are like pearls. So as soon as this infidel saw him, he lost his mind and said, [A 9] "Young man, your fortune smiled at you: I am Mihriyayil's brother, my name is Shamasp. In Rûm and Syria there is no-one as skilled as me in martial arts. Now that you've come to me, I suggest you stay on and I will make you so skilled in martial arts that they'll speak of you all over. My own name has traveled far and wide, the caliph in Baghdad does not sleep out of his fear of me." Ja'far said, "It's not as if I don't know a thing or two myself, not to mention throwing the lance. You could try and see for yourself, how about that?" Shamasp said, "Fine, agreed," and hurled the mace he was holding in his hand. Ja'far waited for the mace to come down and when it did, he held it tight. Shamasp got furious and his eyes became bloodshot. He turned around and tried to pull the mace but Ja'far made a great effort and also pulled and snatched the mace from Shamasp's hands. The skin of the cursed man's palm stayed on the mace's holding edge. The cursed infidel rubbed his hands and tried to cross over to the other side but Ja'far dealt him such a blow with the mace between his shoulder blades that his feet slipped out of the stirrups and he collapsed on his back. Ja'far sprang down from his horse and sat on his chest clutching his beard. He put a knife to his throat and when Shamasp opened his eyes Ja'far invited him to religion. He saw that it did not look promising so he severed Shamasp's head from his body. He buried the body at once, mounted [A 10] and rode off.

That day he pressed on, hunting along everywhere he stopped. In the evening he rode on until dawn when he reached a shrubbery from where he looked down and saw a fortress and a magnificent city in front of it. In front of the city forty thousand warriors were camped, tents and barracks had been set up, and a red cabin-wagon had been pulled in the middle. He wondered, "Whose army may this be?" and saw a man coming. He asked him, "What's this city, and what sort of an army is this?" and the man answered, "This is Mamuriya and that is the army of Mihriyayil who martyred Husayn Ghazi. His aim now is to send troops to Malatya to destroy and ruin the city and kill its inhabitants, to level all of Syria in ruins and to burn their Kaaba in flames." So he spoke and left.

When Ja'far rolled down the hill he found himself in an exquisite place in the fields, a huge orchard. He walked around it and came to its gate and entered. It was like paradise. He strolled gazing at all the different kinds of fruit and sweet-scented flower beds up to the middle of the garden where he saw a fountain. There was a great old tree and a throne placed at its foot with a water fountain in front and a large pool full of fish moving joyfully about. Ja'far Ghazi put his horse aside, got on the throne and sat down. [A 11] While gazing around sleep overcame him, and he said to himself, "Let me lie down here for a

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while. Afterwards I will place my trust in God and shall hurl myself upon the enemy if God the exalted gives me a chance," and fell asleep.

Empty place for miniature.

Now lo and behold this place was Mihriyayil's place to relax where he would frequently come and have entertainment gatherings. So this time as well he came with his begs and found a lovely young man handsome as the moon lying on the throne. The begs came in and [A 12] surrounded the throne. They looked at Ja'far as he was sleeping right there. Mihriyayil said, "BEGS, who could this boy be?" The begs said, "He looks like a stranger," and Mihriyayil said, "He wouldn't have dared do such a thing if he were not a stranger, would he?"

Meanwhile Ja'far woke up from all the noise and commotion and saw that the begs had circled the throne. All the leaders were standing around and Mihriyayil was amongst them. Ja'far jumped down, brought his hands together and bowed in respect. Mihriyayil burst out laughing and got up on his throne. The begs assembled around him. Upon his order they roasted some game from those they had hunted. Then Mihriyayil summoned Ja'far and said, "Now then, who are you and where do you come from?" Ja'far said, "My father Sarjayil lives in the province of Chîn. Myself, I am just eager to learn horseback-riding and the martial arts and they told me that there are plenty of skilled instructors in Rûm." Mihriyayil laughed and said, "Your fortune has smiled at you and brought you here in my hands. They call me Mihriyayil and I am the commander-in-chief of the Caesar of Rûm. Mind you, I am a world famous warrior without a match. Syria and its environs have no peace out of their fear of me. I have seven hundred servants, all of them masters of martial art. [A 13] Any one of them could take on an army of a thousand men, only I will make you better than any of them." Ja'far bowed and then they brought in roasted meats and wine. Mihriyayil called Ja'far to his side, handed him some wine but Ja'far said, "When I took leave of my father I promised not to drink until my beard grows, and now I am bound by that promise. But by all means, let me pour for you." Then he walked up and washed his hands before accepting the jug from which he served wine to all these dogs. After they had a few cups to drink they all became drunk. That cursed Mihriyayil looked at Ja'far's face and saw how beautiful looking he was. The desire came to him to kiss him on the cheek so he got up and came down from the throne and took Ja'far by the hand and brought him to a lonely corner of the garden, a secluded spot where no-one could be aware of what they were doing. There Mihriyayil tried to kiss Ja'far a few times. Ja'far realized that the situation was becoming serious, and he thought to himself, "Hey, the time has come

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to show him a few tricks." The cursed wretch stretched his hand to caress his neck and Ja'far looked at all four sides and made sure no-one was around. Then he said to himself, "Now is a good time to take back my father's blood" and, clenching his fist he cried out, "For God's sake" and in a violent outburst punched him in the chest and hurled him up in the air. He fell head down and Ja'far jumped on his chest and grabbed his beard with his hand as if it were a donkey's tail. [A 14] He put the knife to his throat and when Mihriyayil regained his consciousness he said, "Hey, what are you doing?" Ja'far said, "You cursed wretch, do you know who I am? I am the son of Husayn Ghazi, my name is Ja'far and I have come seeking my father's blood. Now, if you become a Muslim all is well, you're saved, but if you refuse then I am cutting your head off." That infidel started speaking nonsense and Ja'far saw that there was no coming to faith, so he severed his head from his body and the cursed infidel's soul went straight to hell.

Afterwards Ja'far came back and summoned two high ranking vice-regents (*malik*), "Come, Mihriyayil is calling for you." In this way he isolated them and cut their heads off. He isolated two more and killed them as well. All in all he killed fourteen famous begs. One last servant of Mihriyayil remained, named Aflahun. He isolated him as well and showed him the skulls of the others, saying, "Do you see what's going on? I am the son of Husayn Ghazi, so become Muslim at once, otherwise I will send you down their way." Aflahun straightway touched the earth with his face and became Muslim. Then they put those fourteen skulls in a sack and took their clothes, horses and armor. A good part of the night had gone by, but they got out and came to the place where Ja'far had killed Shamasp. They cut his head off as well, took his clothes and left. They reached Malatya in three days.

Meanwhile the army got word of what had happened to Mihriyayil and broke into great wailing and lamentation. [A 15] They found the fourteen begs without their heads and did not have a clue who had performed this act. They immediately wrote to the Caesar of Rûm about all that had happened. At the time the Caesar of Rûm was called Araqil. When he received the letter and they read it to him, he heard what had happened and at first he threw his crown on the ground and then he himself collapsed to the ground like a strangled chick and lamented. They were in mourning for forty days.

Meanwhile, Ja'far reached Malatya. Husayn Ghazi had four orchards and there was a pavilion in each one. Ja'far came to one of the orchards and left the skulls along with the horses and Aflahun there. He went back into the city alone. It was already dawn by the time he got home. His mother was crying and mourning when he came in and offered his greetings. She saw him and sighed, "My son, where have you been? You just abandoned me and rode off. Where have you been?" She kissed his face and eyes and Ja'far told her

his story. His mother offered a prayer of thanks. The news reached Tawabil who also came along and greeted Ja'far saying, "My dear, where have you been"? Ja'far said, "I went and killed the killer of my father and I've brought back several skulls as a token." Tawabil rejoiced and was happy. Then the news reached the companions and they came to present their greetings and brought Ja'far to Amir Umar. [A 16] He came up to meet him and they exchanged greetings. All the notables gathered and were delighted to see Ja'far's face. Amir Umar raised his head and said, "Oh Ja'far, we've heard that you've gone to Rûm, so did you avenge your father's blood? How did it all happen?" Ja'far knelt and said, "For your good fortune I got there and killed Mihriyayil and his brother Shamasp along with fourteen more begs. I have brought their heads as a token for my sultan. One of them I turned into a Muslim." As soon as Abdu'l-Salam heard the tidings he broke into loud laughter. Once he started laughing everyone started laughing along, saying, "If you met Mihriyayil, not even a hundred like you would be able to move him from his place. What sort of nonsense are you talking about? What sort of idle talk is this?" Ja'far said, "Lying is not for men. Fourteen skulls and their horses and clothes are all waiting in our orchard." He instructed Tawabil, "Go and fetch the new Muslim and those skulls at once." Off he went and came back with Aflahun and the skulls. He dropped right there in the middle. They recognized the skull of Mihriyayil and Shamasp and they all praised Ja'far amidst great rejoicing and happiness. Except for Abdu'l-Salam, whose blood froze in his veins and who lost his breath. Quickly they removed the skulls and hung them from the tower. Then they wrote a letter to the caliph and informed him about every single detail. [A 17]

When the letter reached the caliph he rejoiced and was happy and he quickly replied with praises for Ja'far. He sent robes of honor to Ja'far and Amir Umar and many other *begs* saying, "Watch out and be careful lest the Caesar of Rûm march against you. Do not be in the least afraid, just place your trust in God." So here they all were in the midst of joy and festivities.

The story of Rabi' the Son of the Caesar.

The story tellers say that, meanwhile, on this side, Shamun, the son of the Caesar of Rûm was in Istanbul when his uncle died. With many of his begs they mourned in screams. Then they sent out their spies who came back with the news that apparently it was a son of Husayn Ghazi who had done all this. Without delay they wrote a letter to the Caesar of Rûm informing him that Husayn Ghazi had a son and it was he who killed Mihriyayil. He is still barely fourteen years old. If you do not give orders and get prepared in a few days he's going to be worse than his father. It is better to deal with this right

now." When the letter reached the Caesar of Rûm he learned what the story was and they held deliberations regarding what they should do.

The Caesar of Rûm had four sons, the older one was Shamun, then Shammas, then Qonstantin and then the youngest and fourth, Rabi'. So Rabi' stood up and said, "Padishah, I have heard that it was a boy that killed my uncle. He's a boy, and I am a boy, [A 18] so please allow me to go and avenge my father's blood." His father said, "That would be fine" and he gave the order at once for forty thousand men to prepare their horse and get armed. Then he said, "Be careful and do not kill that boy. Bring him alive to me so that I may flay him and parade him all over Rûm." There were two accursed wretches standing there, one was called Kipriyanos and the other Abriyanos. They were both brave warriors. The pādishah also assigned them along, so forty thousand men with forty thousand pairs of kettle-drums marched off.

When Rabi' came close to the realm of Islam he wrote a letter to Amir Umar saying, "You should be advised that you are to get hold of the son of Husayn Ghazi and deliver him to me. Furthermore, you should also pay me a *kharaj* of seven years, and swear obedience, along with your caliph, to the Caesar of Rûm. Should you refuse, be advised that I have come with the purpose of destroying your Kaaba and will spare neither you nor the caliph." He sent the messenger at once.

One day the Muslims were potting around in the presence of Amir Umar. A messenger entered with a letter in his hands. He placed the letter in front of Amir Umar. They read it and were dumbfounded. Abdu'l-Salam raised his head and said, "Killing a slumbering man is easy, isn't it? Well, since it was this boy who raised such sedition, let him be the one to reply now. It will not do to step on the tail of a sleeping snake. [A 19] So here, let him seek out the adversary and answer himself." Ja'far took the letter and tore it up to pieces and quickly wrote down an answer to send back, "I am the sole person responsible for these acts, I did not consult with anyone, so here I've come on my own again. Let this man do whatever he thinks he should." Abdu'l-Salam said, "Aren't you a pompous young brat. Can't you just say, 'Here, I made a mistake and committed this act, you who are old and esteemed, could you help me?' Can you not even plead for that?" Ja'far said, "This is an insult here, these are not kind words. I put my trust with God and I have nothing to worry about," and he got out and left.

Meanwhile, the messenger came to Rabi' and gave the news. Rabi' b. Qaysar became furious. Upon his order the army mounted and was on its way.

On this side Ja'far came home, called Ashqar and saddled his armor. He took out a leather sack and opened it in the middle of the room and he put on all the thirty six spoils of arms that the warrior Hamza used to wear, without forgetting any single one. He put the

sword of Zahhak around his neck and waist and grabbed the lance of Kaykawus. His poor mother was crying, "My dear boy, where are you off to again?" Ja'far said, "My dear beloved mother, may you good fortune be with me." He got out and came up to the city's gates. The guard's name was Ibrahim b. Masud. [A 20] He was standing by the gate. Ja'far said, "Hey Ibrahim, quickly open that gate." Ibrahim said, "Where are you off to?" He said, "I am going out against the infidels. Either I will loose my head or I shall get the heads of others." Ibrahim said, "Look, there's a huge army out there. Wait till the morning and you can go out with the rest of the Muslims." It was no use though, Ja'far forced the gate open and rode off.

That night he rode till dawn. He arrived at a fountain and dismounted. He performed his ablutions and the dawn prayer, then mounted and rode off reciting lines from the Koran.

In the morning the Muslims gathered in the prayer place but Ja'far did not come. The gate guard said, "In the middle of the night he came banging on the gate and calling for me. He brought me out and whether I wanted or not he had me open the gate. He just said 'I am going out against the infidels' and off he went." Amir Umar said, "Dear me, he's just a boy, heaven forbid that something bad should happen to him. Rush to his aid." Abdu'l-Salam said, "He just got afraid and fled. Don't for a moment think that he's going to stand against the enemy. He simply raised sedition in our midst and now he has gotten out and fled." Tawabil said, "God forbid, no-one from his family ever turned his back to the enemy, and he will not be the first to do that. Whereas you have just sat down here and the only thing you can still do is insult brave young men. [A 21] Goodness Gracious. What skills have you got to show for? Ever since Husayn Ghazi died all you've been doing is live on the alms of Ja'far's father's sword." Abdu'l-Salam also spoke a number of unspeakable things. Tawabil said, "You've even abandoned the *ghazas*. You just stay at home and start rotting, but now that Ja'far is gone, I am off too." He walked out and came and found his horse, his clothes and his armor, mounted, and rode off.

There was a ghazi called Juda who had four sons, Sulayman, Awhad, Muhammad and Musa. They were Ja'far's companions. They also got up and said, "We're also going along." They put on their armor and rode off.

Meanwhile Ja'far reached the monastery of Shammās who came out to meet him. He took him inside and praised him greatly for having killed Mihriyayil. He brought him food, and they performed their ablutions and the dawn prayer. Said Shammās, "My dear, where to this time?" Ja'far said, "The Caesar of Rûm's son with an army of forty thousand is coming to seek his father's blood. The companions heard it and were panicked, so I put my trust in God and I am marching against them. If I am martyred, mine will be a good

fortune." Shammas said, "It's a great army, how can you go on your own?" Ja'far, "As many as they may be, I am not going back. Whatever should be, should be." [A 22]

While they were discussing this the band across started beating the kettle-drums and blowing the trumpets and there was great tumult. Ja'far quickly pulled Ashqar out, mounted and said, "Old man, may your blessings and fortune be with me, take a look from the roof of the monastery and watch what, God willing, I will do to them." He marched across, climbed a hill and stood there until the dust settled. Forty thousand men lined up in rows and came out and saw a mounted king (*shah*) standing across. They quickly informed Rabi' and he sent an infidel to see who it was. He rushed up and said, "Who are you and what are you doing here?" Ja'far said, "I am the person you are looking for, the one who killed Mihriyayil together with fourteen of his begs." The infidel said, "You are the son of Husayn Ghazi?" Ja'far said, "Indeed, I am the one" and he said, "With what kind of guts could you achieve such things without being afraid of the Caesar of Rûm?" Ja'far said, "Hey you faithless dog, where have been lying asleep? My intention is to cut the head of the Caesar of Rûm off and to make the whole Rûm part of the realm of Islam, to pull down its churches and build mosques instead" As soon as he said this cursed wretch became furious saying, "Hey, my name is Tanos the Greek, and now I will cut you in two." He hurled his sword and charged in attack. Ja'far pulled out the sword of Zahhak, shouted, "*God is Great*" and hit him under the arm so powerfully that his head, both his hands and part of his breast went flying in the air. [A 23] From the roof of the monastery Shammas sung his praises; "The eye of God be upon you, warrior-son" he said.

Great lament rose from the infidels camp. The Caesar of Rûm sent another infidel whom they called Jumhur, a man in his own service, a famous person indeed. He sent him out but Ja'far offered no mercy and thrashed him. The Caesar of Rûm became furious and told Kipriyanos, "Come on, rush and thrash this fellow, my army's honor is being washed away like water." That cursed wretch drove his horse into the battle field. He carried a mace on his shoulder as big as a mountain, weighing five hundred *batmans*. He charged in awe and dread and hurled his mace. Ja'far held the shield of Gûstasp tight against it. It came and landed on him but did not touch not even a hair of his. God the exalted had protected him. This cursed wretch got furious at not having killed him. He hurled it a second time but this time Ja'far held both his palms against it when it was coming down. The whole battlefield shook from his loud scream as he held it from its two hooks and pulled it away from the infidels so that the skin of this palms stayed on the handle. He stood there rubbing his palms while Ja'far exclaimed, "Well done!" Then he blew his own mace saying, "In the name of God and the blessing of the light of Muhammad Mustafa." His blow

carried with it both Kipriyanos and the shield. The shield was crushed as the mace landed on his head and his brains scattered about.

Once again there was great lament and mourning in the side of Rûm. This time his brother Abriyanos charged and hurled his sword. While the two of them were fighting dust rose from the way to Malatya and Tawabil appeared and saw that the army had lined up for battle and colorful banners were raised. Ja'far had thrashed Kipriyanos and was now fighting with Abriyanos. [A 24] The cursed wretch had hurled his sword but Ja'far obstructed it. He hurled a mace and Ja'far still repelled it. Now it was Ja'far's turn. He spurred Ashqar and reached and grabbed Abriyanos by the belt. With a powerful effort he snatched this infidel big as a mountain with all his armor and garments away from his horse.

Just at that moment the four sons of Juda appeared and they saw that this army wide like the sea was standing there and Ja'far, in the middle of the battlefield had thrashed some infidels and had snatched one from his horse. They were amazed.

Ja'far made another powerful effort and threw Abriyanos up in the air and hit him with his sword as he was coming down, cutting him into two pieces. Juda and Sulayman and Awhad and Musa and Tawabil, these five warriors pronounced a prayer. Ja'far shouted and invited anyone to come to the battlefield, but no-one had the courage. He saw that no-one would come. He dismounted and tightened the stirrup in three places, and then jumped back on the saddle again. He let out a war-cry like Hamza's, entrusted himself to God, the Creator of himself, the sky and the heavens above, and, spurring Ashqar, charged against the army of the infidels. When these five leaders saw him and the banner they also charged forward.

Meanwhile, when Abdu'l-Wahhab noticed that the sons of Juda and Tawabil had marched off he said, "Oh Amir Umar, is this what being a devout Muslim and good leadership are all about? The infidels have attacked us and a few of our brothers are supposed to march out against them while we sit at home thinking ill of them?" [A lacuna, P 17^a] Amir said, "You've spoken well blessed old man," and he gave the order and they blew the trumpets and five thousand Sunni Muslims prepared themselves for battle. First they dispatched Ali b. Hashim with a thousand men, then another thousand with Abdu'l-Salam and yet another thousand with Abdu'l-Wahhab. Two thousand ghazis marched off with Umar, the Commander of the Faithful.

Ali b. Hashim arrived first with his thousand troops. They charged and spilled so much infidel blood that it flowed like a flood. All the while, Shamma was reciting prayers from the monastery's roof. Abdu'l-Salam arrived after him and also charged forth. Rabi' realized that the situation was extremely grave, as no-one could resist Ja'far. He sighed

heavily and shouted once, "What is it with you, men. You have completely disgraced Lat and Manat." While he was saying that Amir Umar arrived [P 17^b] with his two thousand men who charged forth crying, "God is Great." Ja'far saw that the Muslims arrived and he was emboldened. He gave such a powerful war-cry that the armies of the infidels and Muslims crushed against each other. Many lost their minds and fell off their horses for they had never heard such a war-cry. Ja'far would hit some with the sword and cut them in two and others with the mace and smash them into smithereens. He would charge against the right wing of the infidels and come out on their left and he would annihilate any troops that fell in his way.

Meanwhile, Ja'far gave another thunderous war-cry and steered his horse against Rabi' b. Qaysar. He shouted, "What on earth, stop him" and the archers fired their arrows. They fired the small sharp pointed and cross-bow arrows, but it was all to no avail. Ja'far looked like a red tiger from all the blood. He returned against Rabi' and hit with his sword, cutting the banner and its bearer into two, as if he was reaping with a sickle. Then he snatched Rabi' b. Qaysar from his horse, throwing him to the ground. He wanted to dismount in order to tie him up when Aflahun and Tawabil appeared from behind and he ordered them to do it instead. The Muslims broke the ranks of the infidels' army. Then they chased after the infidels, they killed them, caught them captive, tied them up and brought them back. Ja'far came to the tent of the Caesar of Rûm and Amir Umar and Juda with his sons and Abdu'l-Wahhab and Tawabil and Abdu'l-Salam and all the boon-companions and the peers, they all gathered in one place and held council. [P 18^a] Ja'far ordered, "~~So where is the son of the Caesar of Rûm?~~ Bring him over," and Aflahun fetched him. He was a handsome young boy, a real darling. Ja'far said, "Come on, Rabi', become a Muslim and rescue your head from the sword and your soul from the fire of hell. If you refuse you'll lose your head and die in disbelief and darkness." Just at that time the exalted God led him to the right path and he raised his finger, professed the faith and became Muslim. Five thousand men had fallen prisoner, they saw this grace of God and they all professed the faith and became Muslim. They all lowered their faces on the ground in front of Ja'far and the Muslims provided them all with a mantle. [A 25] Ja'far gave Rabi' his tent back and he on his part distributed a lot of goods to the ghazis. As for the ghazis, out of five thousand ghazis only two hundred had been martyred and the rest came over and offered prayers in front of Ja'far, who greeted them all. Shammas also came from the monastery, and they informed Ja'far who promptly came out to meet him along with Amir Umar. Ja'far explained the story of how Shammas was a Muslim to the begs, and they all greeted him. Then they sat down and had something to eat. Offering thanks they prepared sherbets and passed their time in pleasant conversation.

Then Juda, Ali b. Hashim, Sulayman and Awhad stood up from their places, offered prayers in front of Ja'far and said, "From now on we are all Ja'far's servants, you are our leader." Ja'far on his part thanked them for their kindness and they became truthful and sincere servants to Ja'far.

Then Abdu'l-Wahhab stood up from his place and said, "My friends, with your permission, I also have something to say." Amir Umar and the notables said, "Let us hear it," and Abdu'l-Wahhab said, "Friends, it was the pride of the two worlds Muhammad Mustafa -may God bless Him and protect Him- that sent me to this place and station. Gabriel came once and gave us a description of this young brave man and said that he would conquer the entire land of Rûm and pull down its churches and build mosques. Such signs [A 26] that Gabriel told the Apostle of God -may God bless Him and protect Him- the Apostle passed on to my worthless self and to His companions. Now I have observed in this brave young man here all the signs that I have heard and all the movements that were described to me. Here then is the apostle's letter." With these words he produced the letter, kissed it and then rubbed it on his head. Then he stepped forward and left it in front of Amir Umar.

When the ghazis saw the letter of the Apostle of God they stood up on their feet and exclaimed, "*God is Great.*" The letter was wrapped in silk and everyone was overwhelmed with the scent of musk and amber. They opened it and saw that it had been written by the Commander of the Faithful Uthman -may God be pleased with him. He had written the praises to the name of God, and continued, "I, the Apostle of the exalted God" followed by the chosen companions -may the grace of God be upon them. Then the letter read, "Let it be known to my prosperous community that the Creator of the world -may His glory be exalted- has commanded that two hundred years after You there shall come to the world in the city of Malatya a boy from your line and his name shall be Ja'far. He shall have a mole on his right cheek, and he shall be red-cheeked and tall. He'll conquer the whole of Rûm and deliver it from infidelity and darkness. He shall build mosques in the place of churches. Whoever survives till that time from my community let him obey this Ja'far. Let no-one disobey any of his decrees. Whatever Ja'far said it is as if I have said it. [A 27] Whatever he decrees it is as if I have decreed it. I, the first and final Apostle, am very pleased with Ja'far. In accordance with the command of the exalted God I have sent Abdu'l-Wahhab over there where he may reach this brave young man. He is to give him my greetings and pass on my own saliva to him." At that moment Abdu'l-Wahhab took a step forward, opened his own mouth and said, "Look deep down!" They looked and saw that he had something small and round like a nut in his mouth. He said anxiously, "Did you see it?" and they said, "We've always been seeing that. What is it?" Abdu'l-Wahhab

said, "This is the saliva from the blessed mouth of the Apostle of God that I've been saving. He gave it to me to hold in trust and told me, "Let this be an important sign that you should entrust to this young man when you find him." He walked up to Ja'far and said, "Open your mouth." Ja'far opened his mouth and the blessed saliva came out of Abdu'l-Wahhab's mouth and entered Ja'far's. As soon as Ja'far swallowed it he acquired perfect knowledge of seventy two different languages and of the twelve sciences. The Sunnis saw that and were happy and they all prayed for Ja'far. Everyone's affection for him became a thousand times stronger. Ja'far also took the letter, rubbed it on his head and wore it around his arm. Even Abdu'l-Salam unwillingly had to applaud Ja'far.

Thereafter they departed in the direction of Malatya [A 28] and when they reached the city the crowds came out to meet them amidst great celebration and rejoicing. Ja'far sent Juda to the caliph with seven hundred loads of silver and two hundred horses from the spoils as gifts. When the conquest-account reached the caliph he read it and was delighted. He sent messengers all around the province of Syria to spread the tidings. Upon the caliph's orders they gave mantles to Rabi' and Juda. They stayed there for seven days and on the eighth day the caliph ordered a diploma to be written up with which they assigned to Ja'far his father's leadership of the army. The caliph gave Ja'far the turban of the Commander of the Faithful Husayn, the sword of Muhammad Hanifa, the mace of Landuh and the standard banner of the Commander of the Faithful Hattab. Moreover, he sent mantles and advise to Amir Umar and all the other famous ghazis.

When the caliph's letter arrived the notables gathered all in one place and read the diploma and were delighted, except for Abdu'l-Salam who fell into deep grief.

Meanwhile, on the other side, the defeated army reached the caesar. They reported the news and told him the story of his son. He smashed his crown to the ground and started screaming. For seven days he did not sit on the throne and did not see anyone's face. He did not eat even a mouthful. The begs and viziers gathered and entered his presence saying, "Lord, this is not a matter to be solved with tears. One needs help. Let us raise an army and march against the Muslims and put them all to the sword." [A 29] They lead the caesar to the throne and he sat on it. Then they sent out letters.

Now the caesar had a nephew called Ahmar Tarran who was an extremely robust warrior. He brought him along and assigned a hundred thousand men to him, and gave him his own banner with the cross. He also took out the cross of victory from his own family ancestors and gave it to him. He sent him off saying, "Do not rest or sleep until you destroy that province."

On this side, the news reached Amir Umar, they informed him that Ahmar had arrived. Upon his order some of the inhabitants of the country provinces came into the city

and some dispersed around the mountains. On the other side, the caesar summoned his elder son who was called Shamun and assigned fifty thousand men to him and sent him off following Ahmar. Thereafter he summoned Shammās and gave him fifty thousand men as well. He also assigned Mihran b. Ilyun, Faridun and the infidel Sarjayil, who were all high-ranking viziers. They came over and met with Ahmar and then they marched together.

Yahya b. Mansur was the spy for the army of Islam and he came with the news that the two sons of the caesar, Shammās and Shamun, and Ahmar with two hundred thousand men had camped at such and such a place. When the notables of Malatya heard this news they made a public announcement for every one to prepare for a *ghaza*. They came out in front of the city and pitched their tents [A 30] and raised their banners. All together, there gathered twelve thousand ghazis and Muslims in armor, as well as three thousand infantry men. They came to a place called Qaraqib Brook and stayed there.

Ja'far, however, mounted his horse and advanced climbing to the top of a hill. He looked down and saw a huge army; God only knows how big it was. He pulled on the reins and stood there for a while looking out. He exclaimed, "Oh God, for you all the difficult things are easy. What if you were to do this weak miserable servant of yours a favor and just turn all these cursed wretches into weak cowards?" Just as he was saying this he saw Juda coming with his four sons and said, "Ja'far, what are you doing here? This army is not like the other one that came before. This one is like a sea compared to the previous one. We shall have to fight in full armor and with a proper strategy."

As they were standing there the scouts of the infidels' army noticed them and sent the report that a man was spotted. At once these two hundred thousand troops mounted in commotion. Ja'far said, "My friends you sit back and watch what I am going to do to them for a while." He dismounted and pulled his horse's girth and was ready to charge in attack when Tawabil came along in a rush and said, "My dear, be a little patient. Our army here has arrived. Let us have a council and decide what to do." Following him, Amir Umar appeared with ten thousand cavalry-men in full armor, three thousand infantry and the banner of Umar b. Hattab. [A 31] Amir Umar came up and stopped Sayyid. , "There isn't much time, let us look for a place to settle down" they said. They persuaded Ja'far and held council. Abdu'l-Wahhab said, "Come, let us camp at that mountain top and dig a moat all around and put in a couple of gates from where we'll get out and engage them in battle." They found this most appropriate and went ahead and did it.

Meanwhile, Shamun ordered and they wrote a letter that he gave to a warrior called Bulqas. He assigned him forty men and sent him off. Amir Umar and the rest of the begs were sitting around when they announced, "An envoy has arrived." They showed him the way and he came in and handed over the letter. They read it and it went like this, "Amir

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Umar and the rest of the begs, on behalf of the Fire of Light (*nār-i nūr*) and myself, Shamun, the son of the Caesar of Rûm, be advised that you should get hold of the son of Husayn and deliver him to me with his hands tied behind his neck. Moreover, that old man who keeps saying, "I've seen Muhammad -may God bless Him and protect Him-" is lying and you should also hand him over to me. Finally you should send me tribute for seven years. Let your caliph wrap his throat in a shroud and come and bring the tribute to send to the caesar. Should you refuse, I will persecute you from here to the gate of the Kaaba destroying everything on the way and shall set the Kaaba up in flames." As soon as Ja'far heard this he got up from his place and cut Bulqas' nose and two ears, [A 32] and he gave a warning to everyone of those remaining saying, "Go and tell Shamun that it has been ordained that I will conquer the whole of Rûm and turn it into an abode of Islam; I shall demolish its churches and build mosques in their place. I shall hang the Caesar of Rûm from his neck and shall ruin Istanbul."

When the envoy came back to Shamun and presented his report, Shamun's heart jumped to his head. That evening he had no sleep till the following morning. When the light of day came Shamun gave the order and they rolled the drums of war and the infidels' army mounted and lined up in rows for battle. The whole sky was covered in iron.

On the other side, the Muslims also mounted and made a sortie from the moat and twelve thousand Sunni Muslims lined up in rows and waited. The first to enter the battlefield was Juda. He asked for a man to fight with. An infidel stepped in, but Juda had no mercy upon him and thrashed him right away. One by one he thrashed twenty infidels, the Sunnis rejoiced and Shamun got furious. There was a warrior called Ilyas b. Sunbat, he was the first to enter the battlefield and he fought fiercely with Juda until noon. Ilyas got very upset and hurled his sword but missed Juda's shield; Juda pulled his head away so that it hit the horse's neck. The horse collapsed but they quickly brought another horse, while Sulayman charged and rescued his father. Sulayman came up to Ilyas and hit him with the sword. [A 33] Ilyas' shield was cut in two and the sword landed on his side, opening a small wound. The cursed wretch ran away from Sulayman and the Muslims rejoiced. Noon had arrived so they performed their prayer and then kept a close eye on the battlefield again. Faridun the Persian entered the battlefield and hurled a mace at Sulayman whose shield was smashed in his hands. Sulayman fell off his horse and Awhad with Musa charged and collected him. Ali b. Sa'id attacked next and when Faridun hurled his sword, he avoided it and broke it with his whip. The cursed wretch attempted to cross over but Ali hit him so hard that he cut him into two pieces. The Muslims applauded. Seven more infidels entered the battlefield and Ali thrashed them. The infidels wailed and lamented loudly.

Ahmar Tarran led his steed into battle with great fury, and hit Ali with his mace. Ali's shield became two pieces in his hand. He avoided being hit in the head, but the blow hit the horse and he collapsed along with it. Abdu'l-Salam drove his horse into battle and they had a few missed attempts with Ahmar. Ahmar got furious and hit with his mace. The mace smashed Abdu'l-Salam's shield and landed on his chest. He collapsed from his horse, but his servants made a charge and managed to grab and pull him out of the battle. That day Ahmar held the field and defeated forty Sunni Muslims, killing some and injuring some. [A 34] He still asked for a challenger, but no one came forward. Ahmar attacked on the right wing, brought down a lot of men and wrought great havoc before returning to the battlefield again. The infidels' army was pleased and happy. Shamun prayed for Ahmar and upon his order they threw coins over him. He threw a mantle over him, parading him around until they came to his tent and started feasting. Ahmar said, "My padishah, tomorrow I will get that Ja'far and that old man who said; "I've seen Muhammad", I will get them both with their hands tied up and bring them to my sultan." The caesar prayed a prayer.

On this side, the Sunnis, saddened, took their ablutions and performed the evening prayer. In the morning the infidels' army mounted and came to the battle ground and stood there in rows. The Muslims also mounted and came out from their trenches, lined up for battle and waited. Abdu'l-Wahhab entered the battlefield and shouted, "I am Abdu'l-Wahhab ghazi who saw Muhammad -may God bless Him and protect Him- and fought many *ghazas* with him, so whoever wants to die let him come forward." Ahmar heard him and entered the battlefield and fearlessly hurled his lance. Abdu'l-Wahhab deflected it and hurled his own lance, which Ahmar deflected. There were twelve unsuccessful attempts. [A 35] Ahmar got really furious and hit Abdu'l-Wahhab with the mace. It smashed his shield and landed at the back of his neck. He lost his breath and blood flowed from his mouth and nose as he collapsed from his horse. Amir Umar led his steed into the field and blocked Ahmar's front. Ahmar saw a padishah in lordly clothes but looking weak. He pulled himself together and said, "Who are you?" He replied, "I am Amir Umar, the leader of the Sunnis." Ahmar said, "You are just the one I was looking for," and they started fighting. Abdu'l-Salam saw that and came next to Ja'far saying, "You black-omen, so many Muslims have been destroyed because of your evilness. Damn the evil hour when your mother gave birth to you, and damn the moment you rode a horse. What a fool Amir Umar is. What are you standing there like that for, after having destroyed the whole world?" He spoke many such niceties, but Ja'far was patient and was not disturbed by them.

Meanwhile, Ahmar avoided all of Amir Umar's lance, sword and mace. Then it was his turn. He hit Amir with the mace and Amir did not manage to hold his shield against it, but just pulled his head away so that it landed on the horse's head instead. The horse collapsed dead. Ja'far could not stay put any longer, and he gave such a thunderous war-cry from where he was standing that Ahmar thought that the earth and the heavens had collapsed together. Everyone on the side of the Muslims and the infidels was astonished. Ahmar collected himself and saw that someone on horseback was coming from across:

[A 36] a most awe-inspiring warrior riding a horse whose legs did not even touch the ground but were gently flying over it. He arrived, and when he drew near he pulled the veil from his face and Ahmar saw that it was only a boy. He became furious and said, "Hey, was there no real man around and they had to send a boy?" Ja'far said, "Do not pay any attention to my lack of years. I am the one who killed Mihriyayil and Shamasp." Ahmar said, "Well, in that case, you are the one I have been looking for. Where have you been?" and hurled the lance at his hand. As it was coming at him, Ja'far smashed it with his whip and it broke into many pieces. Ahmar was enraged. He took the mace in his hand and hurled it. Ja'far held the back of his shoulder to Ahmar's mace and even though it came down and hit him there, the exalted God protected him and, thanks to a blessed miracle of Muhammad, not even a hair of his was touched. The cry, "*God is Great*" of the Muslims reached the high heavens.

Empty place for miniature.

[A 37] Abdu'l-Wahhab shouted, "God's eye is with you, oh warrior." Shammas and Shamun saw him and said, "Good grief, who's this person that turned his back to the mace of a brave warrior like Ahmar?" Fear settled over them and they lost their breath. Ahmar, furious, attempted a second attack with his mace. This time Ja'far snatched it as it was coming down and pulled away from Ahmar's hands. He threw it up in the air and caught it again as it was coming down, shouting at Ahmar, "Be ready Ahmar." He hit such a blow that the shield that Ahmar held against it was smashed into little pieces, and the mace landed on his shoulder. Ahmar lost his breath and blood flowed from his mouth and nose and he collapsed long and wide. The Muslims' cry of triumph reached the high heavens.

Ja'far pulled his horse's head and waited. They rushed in another horse and Ahmar mounted and collected himself. He moved up to Ja'far again and was amazed at Ja'far's manhood. He said, "Ja'far, evening has come, so why don't you go rest this evening. I myself have been heedless, so let us meet again tomorrow." Ja'far came and said, "That

should be fine," and the two of them turned back. Ja'far was met by the Muslims with great rejoicing and praise. The infidels retreated in confusion and returned to their tents. Shamun and Shammas took their places on the throne and [A 38] Ahmar came and sat on a golden chair. He went through, moment by moment, Ja'far's bravery and heroism, so that Shammas said, "Ahmar, you had fought too much, otherwise there's no comparison between the two of you." Ahmar on his part said, "Yes, I also have never seen such a young man in my life before."

On this side, the faithful performed their ablutions and prayer. Ja'far was the prayer leader in the evening. After praying, they brought food and they ate. Then Ja'far came to his own tent, put on Rûm clothes, rode his horse and started off for the infidels' army. On the way he fell upon Tawabil standing guard. Tawabil saw him and said, "Ja'far, where on earth are you going?" Ja'far said, "May your grace be with me, I am going in the direction of the army of Rûm." Tawabil said, "Don't go, they might find out and capture you." Ja'far said, "Good God, I am going. I must find out what God the exalted has me written up for," and off he went. He hid his horse somewhere and then came up to Shammas' tent. He saw that the lords (*mālikler*) were sitting around. Ahmar was sitting on a red golden chair and was talking about Ja'far's bravery, "During my lifetime I have not seen a young man as handsome and well-mannered." He kept on praising Ja'far and emptying his glass [A 40] and shaking his head. Ja'far stood there and watched him for a while. Then Ahmar got up and left, and Ja'far followed him. He left the army-camp with some servants leading the way. He excused them for the night and they turned back and walked away. Ja'far said, "Let me just see where he's going."

Ahmar crossed two stream valleys and two hilltops and came to a field. A magnificent orchard appeared in the middle of the field. He came to the orchard gate, dismounted, got in, tied his horse and fastened the gate. He went off saying, "God forbid that any Muslim should come here." Ja'far got in after him and saw that there was a pavilion inside the orchard and a staircase. He also saw that Ahmar was walking inside the orchard checking if there was anyone around, saying, "God forbid that there should be a Muslim hiding here." Ja'far said, "Anytime now Ahmar is going to look over here, so I may as well go up the stairs." He went upstairs and saw a young maiden, as beautiful as the full moon, sitting on a throne. A feast was going on: wine and tasty tidbits were being served, and candles were burning in decorated golden candleholders. Ahmar came in and the girl came up to him putting her hand on his shoulder. He took her and carried her back onto the throne. She asked, "Why did you come so late?" and he answered, "I was with Shamun and Shammas." They had a couple of glasses of wine and then the girl made a sign and they brought a sizzling roast of lamb. [A 41]

Empty place for miniature (eight lines).

They ate a couple of bites and Ahmar became excited. He raised his glass and said, "I am drinking this wine in toast of him who defeated me in battle today." She asked, "Who defeated you?" and Ahmar started praising Ja'far's bravery and handsomeness so much that Ja'far said, "It would be strange if this brave man does not become a Muslim." Ahmar became drunk and with every glass he drank, he would say, "I am drinking this for the sake of that boy." Ja'far rolled down the stairs and said, "Cheers to your health!" Ahmar panicked. He said, "Who are you?" [A lacuna, P 25^a] and Ja'far said, "I am the one you were just toasting! When I fought with you today, I thought you were an enemy, but I see now you are a dear friend, drinking in my name. Come now and become a Muslim and a dear friend to me, and rescue your soul from the fire of Hell." Ahmar said, "What on earth are you doing here?" Ja'far said, "Watch out, I am present everywhere they mention my name." Ahmar said, "Well, you are certainly welcome here. Now tell me, how about if the two of us were to wrestle and if you press me down I will become a Muslim, and if I press you down, you'll enter my religion." Ja'far said, "That's fine." Ahmar put on the special loose pants and came up to Ja'far saying, "Here, give me your belt and you hold mine." So they held each other's belts and Ahmar tried hard three times but he could not move Ja'far.

The maiden stood there watching these two dragons in the middle of the night. Ahmar was very upset that he couldn't even move Ja'far, [P 25^b] and was about to punch him, but Ja'far gave such a war-cry that the earth started to tremble and birds flew away from their night nests. Terror struck the earth and Ahmar with the maiden were scared beyond their minds. Ja'far put all his strength and threw Ahmar to the ground on his back. He sprang like a falcon on his chest, and when Ahmar opened his eyes he saw Ja'far was sitting on his chest. Ja'far said, "How about keeping your promise now?" and Ahmar said, "Keeping one's word is what manhood is all about." Ja'far stood up from his chest, and Ahmar got up and rubbed his head on the ground in front of Ja'far saying, "What should I say in order to become a Muslim?" Ja'far taught him the words of the profession of faith, and he declared his faith and became Muslim with the words, "I testify that there is no God but God and that Muhammad is His servant and apostle." Without delay Ahmar poured a glass and offered it to Ja'far saying, "Have a drink of this wine." Ja'far said, "In our religion it is forbidden to drink this." As soon as the maiden heard this, she set the table and served roasted lamb.

They had a little to eat and then Ahmar said, "Oh Ja'far, I would like give you a proper name if you don't mind." Ja'far said, "So be it." Ahmar said, "May your name be

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Battal." Then Battal said, "I will also give you a name" and now Ahmar said, "So be it." Battal said, "May your name be Ahmad Turran." They sat around happy and joyful and Sayyid Battal Ghazi was greatly grateful. [P 26^a] Ahmad said, "Brave warrior, here's what I propose: you go back to your place and I shall go back to my army. Tomorrow come to battlefield and so will I, and we'll have a duel where you'll bring me down and I will accept the faith in the middle, so that everyone hears it. And then, you stand back and watch what I am going to do to the infidels' army." Battal said, "That would be nice," and the two of them got up and went to their armies.

When morning came the two armies got ready and lined up for battle. Battal entered the battlefield and shouted, "Where is Ahmar, let him come forth so we can have a duel." Ahmar rode his horse and surveyed the battlefield. Battal took a look and saw that this was not the Ahmar he had seen the previous night since he behaved as if the agreement had been broken. So Battal said, "Ahmar, are you breaking your agreement? How could you do that?" Ahmar said, "Last night is now gone, and today is a new day. Last night I was drunk, so that does not count," and hurled the lance he was holding.

On this side, Sayyid whipped his whip from all the way across and broke it into pieces. Ahmar came over in order to pass but Battal punched him so hard that his feet slipped off the stirrup and he collapsed hanging on his head. A cry was heard from the army of Islam, they all shouted bravos. Battal got on his chest like a falcon and put a knife to his throat saying, "Ahmar, [P 26^b] do you stand by your word last night?" Ahmad asked for mercy and Sayyid Battal got up. Ahmad stood up as well and then put his head on Battal's foot, turned his face towards the infidels and said in a very loud voice, "I testify that there is no God but God and Muhammad is His servant and apostle." So he pronounced the word of testimony and said, "Brave warrior, watch for a moment what I am going to do to these rebels." He mounted his horse and shouted, "Hey you infidels, I am sick and tired of you and your religion. I have accepted the religion of Muhammad -may God bless Him and protect Him- and rescued my soul from the burning fire of Hell. Up until now my name was Ahmar, but now it became Ahmad Turran."

Shamun saw him and started shouting and screaming, "Ja'far was so cruel to Ahmar that he has bewitched him." Shamun had a vizier called Sahlas and he sent him over. He came over to Ahmad and said, "What happened to you and they have bewitched you like that. Come on, let me get you to a church and baptize you." Ahmad got furious and said, "You come here and become Muslim or I cut your head off." The vizier also got furious, but Ahmad advanced forward, grabbed the vizier tightly by the head and threw him down in the middle of the battlefield facing the infidels. Shamun saw that and started screaming. The infidels turned pale from fear. [P 27^a]

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There was another high-ranking infidel, called Matran. He entered the battlefield and said, "Ahmad, why did you abandon the religion of you father and grandfather?" Ahmad invited him as well to join the religion but he talked a lot of nonsense. Ahmad hit him once with the sword and cut him in two.

Then Ahmad thrashed another forty infidels and no one else entered the battlefield. He came forth and placed his head on Battal's foot and said, "Brave warrior, I would like to take on the whole army now." Battal gave his permission and Ahmad dismounted, fixed his gear, mounted again and fell upon that army, huge as the wide sea. Following him charged Abdu'l-Wahhab, and after him Battal Ghazi, and after him Abdu'l-Salam and Juda with his four sons. [A 42] Amir Umar kept three thousand infantry and sent all the rest to battle.

There was fierce battle for a whole day and a whole night. The blood was flowing like a flood as if Judgment Day had come. The Sunnis were about to be defeated and then Sayyid held his face to the heavens and said, "Lord, I have been the reason for this battle, do not humiliate me." Just at that moment a wind started blowing that lifted the dust of the earth straight into the eyes of the infidels, making them all blind. Sayyid led his horse and tearing down all the enemy banners he came to the bottom of the standard. The standard was destroyed and the infidels' army defeated. They fled in escape and the Muslims chased them after, massacring and capturing them. After three days they came back and the treasures of the world they brought back filled a whole field. Sayyid gave the pavilion and tents of Shammas to Ahmad Turran.

Seventy thousand infidels had been put to the sword and seven thousand were taken prisoners. God inspired their hearts with faith and they all became Sunni Muslims. Sayyid Battal offered ceremonial mantles, clothes and horses to all of them. Then he assigned these fresh Muslims to Rabi b. Qaysar. Then he ordered that they should put the fifth entitled to the caliph aside, and distribute the rest. Himself, he did not accept even a small piece.

Then they left that place and returned to Malatya. They wrote the declaration of conquest and sent Juda to the caliph with one fifth of the goods. When the letter reached the caliph, they read it and were delighted at Sayyid's conquest. [A 43] They sent the good tidings to the province of Syria. After seven days the caliph ordered and they gave Juda ceremonial mantles and very expensive clothes for Battal and Amir Umar, and mantles for the remaining Sunnis. So Juda came back and distributed the mantles to Battal and the begs. He congratulated and praised them all on behalf of the caliph, and all the begs were delighted, and remained in good spirits for a while, eating and drinking.

shall come every year to see your blessed face and also bring the tribute of Rûm. There is nobody at Rûm now; I am your orphan, trust me, your servant, with Rûm." Sayyid said, "Become Muslim so that I may grant your wish." He answered, "I love my religion, have me just pay tribute." So he appointed Qanatos Caesar of Rûm and said, "Watch out and do not do any nonsense. You know what kind of person I am." He pronounced a prayer and exclaimed, "God forbid, no way shall I turn my face away from you." So he spoke and Sayyid sent him off.

After a few days the caliph's daughter passed away and Sayyid remained alone. When the time for the pilgrimage came Sayyid came to the Kaaba and circambulated it. Then he came to Medina and stayed there. At the time of the pilgrimage he would go to the Kaaba and circambulate it and then come to Medina and live there. Seven years [A 447] he lived there as a pilgrim and Medina became as prosperous as it had been in the time of the Apostle of God. From the four corners of the world, padishahs and gifts and presents would arrive and Sayyid would distribute them all. Himself, he was busy, night and day, with worship and prayer and contemplation.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE The Story of the Death of Battal

One day Sayyid was sitting around when a young man named Osman arrived from Rûm. He read a prayer in front of Sayyid, presented his greetings and sat down. Sayyid asked, "Where are you coming from?" He said, "From Rûm." Sayyid asked for tidings and Osman started crying so Sayyid said, "What is the matter, why are you crying?" Osman said, "The Caesar Qanatos has become an enemy, he has sent message to Uj the Frank and letters in all four directions. He gathered all the infidel begs and raised an army of six hundred thousand men. Now Islam is in grave trouble, Qaysariya and Mamuriya are under siege, and he himself has reached Malatya. I know no further about the situation."

Sayyid was in great despair and that evening he saw the Apostle -may peace be upon Him- in his dream. He said, "Sayyid get up quickly and go to Rûm for the Muslims are in dire straits. Rush to help them without wasting time." Sayyid woke up, performed his ablutions and prayer, touched the ground with his face and said, "God, Munificent and Merciful, I was hoping to meet my fate here, but nevermind, whatever comes from you is always welcome." [A 448] Then there came a voice from the holy and sacred tomb of the prophet -the most meritorious of prayers and the most perfect of salutations upon Him- and it said, "Battal, wherever you are, you are never separated from us, we are with you, we are

pleased with you. You have made noble efforts and bountiful good deeds in the path of religion. Strive this time as well, and afterwards you may continue with your studies with us. We, all the purified souls, are all in line to assist you." As soon as he heard that he touched the ground with his face and performed a prostration of thanks. Then he swiftly saddled his horse, mounted and off he went. On the road Sayyid kept on saying, "My God I have become old and weak, but you are the protector of all those in trouble. I have entrusted myself in you, you are my refuge."

Meanwhile one day Sayyid's sons and Abdu'l-Wahhab were sitting around when they brought the tidings that, "The Caesar Qanatos himself and Uj the Frank with six hundred thousand infidels have come and settled at such and such a place." The Muslims in a scramble gathered forty thousand Sunni ghazis. Abdu'l-Wahhab said, "Write a letter to the caliph and announce the situation." They wrote a letter -by that time the caliph Mu'tasim had died and his son Bakhtyar the fortunate became caliph, so they wrote him a letter and dispatched an envoy. When the infidel army drew near, Ali and Nazir held counsel and divided the forty thousand men into four units. They charged in attack and killed a great multitude of infidels. Abdu'l-Wahhab [A 449] shouted, "I am Abdu'l-Wahhab, the one who has seen the face of the Apostle" and the infidels turned against each other. But suddenly he reached his heavenly fate: Uj the Frank the accursed managed to hit him on the head and made Abdu'l-Wahhab a martyr. Abdu'l-Wahhab fell on the neck of the horse but the horse went out of the battlefield and up a small hill. There he surrendered his soul reciting the words of faith.

In the morning the infidels broke the ranks of the army of Islam which dispersed into the mountain. They surrounded the mountain and camped. They found the corpse of Abdu'l-Wahhab and they buried it there. For seventeen days they were besieged in the mountain and there were only six thousand men left -the rest all became martyrs. The infidels demolished Malatya and did not leave one stone unturned.

<Meanwhile> that evening Sayyid arrived and saw that the believers had dispersed and those remaining had taken refuge in the mountain. They had light fires and were fighting by the skin of their teeth. They were in great distress. Sayyid found some water, performed his ablutions, performed two complete prayers, buckled his leather bag and put on his armor, mounted Ashqar and raised his face towards the heavens. He said, "Lord, it's the end of my life and you are the padishah who killed an infidel such as Namrud with a weak fly. What if you were to show your kind generosity to this helpless servant and let me have my chance against this people created out of your spite?" [A 450] Three times, one after the other, he shouted, "Uj the Frank, here I am, be prepared" and he pulled out the sword of Zahhak and entered into the midst of the enemy army. Woe to him who would

get into Sayyid's way, he'd cut him in two. Later on he took the lance of Janduwal Jazu; every time he would hold it against the infidels flames would come out of it and would burn thirty to forty people. Ali and Nazir heard Sayyid's war cry and were delighted. They too charged forth. Around noon time dust was raised and Bakhtyar appeared with three hundred Sunni Muslims. Sayyid saw him and hurled himself towards the foot of the banner. He broke through enemy ranks and tore through their wings and came in front of the caesar. Qanatos saw Sayyid, sighed and looked at Uj the Frank. Uj threw himself onto Sayyid and hurled his sword, but Sayyid repelled it. Uj tried to cross over, but Sayyid dealt him such a blow with his sword that even though Uj held his shield against it, it was cut into two pieces. The sword pierced the armor and cut him into two pieces from head to saddlebow. The caesar saw that and turned his horse's head the other way and went off at once. Sayyid seized the banner. Right then, Tamus arrived from the heavens with one hundred thousand winged fairies. They slaughtered the infidels so that not even a thousand men were spared from the six hundred thousand.

As soon as the infidels were annihilated Sayyid came over to the caliph and they both dismounted and [A 451] greeted each other. The winged fairy Tamus came along and greeted both Sayyid and the caliph. Thereafter Sayyid ordered and they gathered the goods of the caesar and Uj the Frank. With that wealth they built Malatya again. Sayyid mourned deeply for Abdu'l-Wahhab. They constructed a new congregation mosque, and when Friday came, Sayyid read the sermon himself and they all prayed. Afterwards he climbed onto the pulpit again and preached and gave them advice. There was great enthusiasm from the crowd and Sayyid said, "I have served five caliphs, I have tried to do whatever I could on the path of God, I lowered the heads of the enemies of religion and here I am now, I've become old and my life is coming to an end. Now I must go back, but even if my body goes away, my soul stays. All what I have done I have done it for the sake of God and from now on one must make provisions for life's end and move on to the other side. Now you have all had bread and salt to eat, old and young, so do not begrudge me as I have not grudged you." They all, young and old, cried together and were very compassionate. Then he entrusted his sons to the caliph and said, "I wish that my dear children will not be spared any good fortune." [A 452] Then he pleaded for the compassion of Tamus the Pari, "You've fetched me around a lot on your neck, you ferried me over the seven seas, you have shown me great friendship on such desert places, I wish that you do not grudge me my final right" he said and Tamus also cried a good deal.

Then he turned to his sons and said, "Light of my eyes, learn a lesson from me, your father, and hold my advice: as much as my powers allowed me I struggled in the path of religion, at times on land, at times at sea, whatever I did, I did in the path of truth, I

did not do for the sake of my carnal soul. You too, seek to please God, and whatever you do, do not do it for your carnal soul. Do not consider ghaza an easy task, do not be tricked when gold looks like silver." Then he made a prayer and came down, and for seven days they conversed and chatted. Then he kissed Tamus good bye and sent him off. The caliph also left for Baghdad, and he stayed at Malatya. He asked, "Where is the caesar now?" They said, "Someone just came and reported he is at the fortress of Masiha." Sayyid said, "Let me go and get him on our side, and then may I come and, for as long as I live, wait for the end of my days at Medina." He mounted his horse and left.

Three days later he reached Masiha. The caesar, defeated, had come with one thousand five hundred men. He was inside the fortress, and these thousand five hundred men were camped in front of it. [A 453] Sayyid came close and gave three war cries, one after the other, "Caesar, what happened to your word and decision never again to plan anything evil against the army of Islam? You've broken your pact, so I will do such things to you so that everything I did to your father and your grandfather will seem like sweet kindness." So he said and attacked that army. The caesar sighed and lamented, "How helpless I have become in the hands of this Battal." Sayyid routed those men, some of them he killed, some took refuge in the fortress, and some fled away. The caesar ordered and they barred the gate and rolled stones from above. The fortress was a very steep one, and one of the caesar's daughters was there.

Sayyid besieged the fortress for three days. One day he found a big stone full of holes. He untied the chain of the Prophet Ishaq from around his waist and passed it through that stone. He carried the stone and brought it close to the castle. Then he lifted it like an apple and hurled it into the castle. Whenever it hit a house it destroyed it, and when it hit a man it killed him. Then he pulled it back and threw it again, and this time it hit the tower and destroyed it. That day he made great use of it, he destroyed many houses and killed many people and ruined many towers. The caesar was in great despair. Around noon he turned back and performed his ablutions and his prayer. He had much exerted himself and not rested even a little so he said, "Let me sleep and rest a while. Then [A 454] I will get up and until the evening I will level the tower to the ground with this chain." He placed a stone under his head and fell asleep.

Now it so chanced that while the maiden was touring around the tower her eye fell upon Sayyid as he was lying asleep opposite the castle. She sighed and exclaimed, "Dear, my sultan, my beloved, has fallen asleep and Sarjayil with seven thousand men is on his way right now. They will find him sleeping on the road and kill him. What shall I do? If I scream they'll all hear me and I will be ashamed." She took a stone in her hand and wrote, "Brave warrior, you've slept enough, wake up for there is an army marching against you

-heaven forbid that they should harm you. First finish the castle business, then come and ask for my hand. I am the caesar's daughter and I am in love with you, I'm in love both with you and your religion." She hurled the stone but the power of fate had it so decreed that this stone would be the cause of Sayyid's death. The wind blew that stone straight onto Sayyid's breast. They had tied an anchor around Sayyid's throat and drowned him in the sea and he came out unscathed, the caesar had thrown him in the Cave of Hell and, in the midst of snakes and dragons he did not for a moment worry and rescued himself, Uqba the Judge had poisoned him and he did not die, and now his lot was fulfilled with a piece of rock: it came and landed on his breast and he moved just once -may God have mercy upon him;, "*they said 'We are with God and we return to Him.'*" [A 455] The maiden saw that Sayyid moved once and no more and said, "Goodness, he is sound asleep." She rushed to her father at once and said, "Daddy give me permission to go outside, Battal is asleep, let me cut his head and bring it to you." The caesar said, "My darling, Battal is a great trickster. Beware lest he afflict you with some evil." She said, "Watch what I will do to him under the protection of the Fire of Light." They opened the gate and out she went, straight to Sayyid. She saw that he had surrendered his soul, sighed and said, "If in this world I was deprived of him, let me not be without him in the other world. Without him I have no need for this world." With these words she drew the sword and placed its hilt on Sayyid's breast and fixed the cutting edge against her own breast, pronounced the confession of faith and fell on the sword. She lay there on top of Sayyid and offered her soul to God. Then there was a black cloud and a strong wind, it rained and thundered and the two corpses were covered. No one knew anything more about what happened to them.

Meanwhile, the caesar saved his life and escaped to Istanbul. The army that the maiden had seen were in fact the sons of Sayyid who were coming along with six thousand people looking for Sayyid. Ali and Nazir reached that place and saw that a wind was blowing and there were thunders -a darkness covered everything. They waited a little until the rain and thunderbolts calmed down and came up to the fortress and saw that it was defenseless [A 456] without a soul to be seen. They looked for Sayyid but found no trace of him. They spent the evening there and in their dreams that evening Ali and Nazir saw Sayyid having mounted Buraq. He approached with a crown on his head and a celestial garment on his shoulders and with martyrs following him. Sayyid came forward and said, "My sweet boys do not look for me in this world anymore as I have moved into the presence of God. My grace is with you however, and you should strive now in the path of religion in a steadfast way. Always set forward in ghaza and always seek to please God. Never obey your evil soul nor become conceited by your heroic achievements. Whatever you achieve, do it in the honor of God. Do not make this world your friend and do not

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look upon any creature with disdain. Send presents and donations to Mecca and Medina every year. Help the weak, protect the orphans and respect the elderly. Do not do anything ill-advised so that you will not have to regret it later on. For every deed ask for God's assistance; do not engage the company of evil people for their company darkens the heart. Do not ever be bereft of goodness and beauty. Never stand by and watch when someone is in prison. This world is an illusion, do not be charmed by it. If you keep these last wishes of mine [A 457] tomorrow you will pass through Judgment Day with a white face." This he said and disappeared like a lightning.

The following morning Ali came in tears to Nazir and saw that he also was crying. He told him his story at once, and Nazir said, "I also saw exactly what you saw." They cried together for a while and afterwards they crossed over to Malatya where they mourned Sayyid. Then they sent a messenger to the caliph informing him of Sayyid's death. The caliph was in great disarray and in the whole of Islam they lamented Sayyid, in every clime they recited the whole of the Koran and prayed for his soul.

So this is the completion of the story of Sayyid Battal Ghazi -may God have mercy upon him. God knows best in all truth and it is to his place that it returns. The recording of this noble, blessed and authentic tale was completed on the Wednesday of the first ten days of the month of Rabi' al-akhir of the year eight hundred and forty by the poor and destitute wretch, <ashamed> in front of his Grace the Lord, Hajji Sayyid b. Amir al-Gülshetri. May the bountiful God forgive the sins of all the Muslims and believers. Amen

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