

HAZIM ŠABANOVIĆ

HASAN KĀFĪ PRUŠČAK\*

(Ḥasan Kāfī b. Ṭūrḥān b. Dāwūd b. Ya'qūb az-Zībī al-Āqḥīšārī al-Bosnawī)

The most important figure in scientific, literary and intellectual life of Bosnian Muslims in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was Hasan Kāfī Pruščak. He gained this prominent position in the cultural history of Bosnia of his time through his prolific and versatile scientific, literary, cultural and educational works, as well as through his endowments, some of which exist even today. Kāfī's work on the organization of state and society *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī niẓām al-'ālam* drew attention of the reputed French Orientalist, Garcin de Tassy, who translated it into French<sup>1</sup> in 1824, making it available for western scientists to study. Ever since that time, Kāfī has been a point of interest for Eastern, our and Western scientists, but always with limited ambitions.

I

Sources on Hasan Kāfī's life are numerous but insufficient for analyzing important facets of his life and work. The basic data about his life and work were given by Kāfī himself, in his work *Niẓām al-'ulamā' ilā ḥātam al-anbiyā'* (A succession of scholars to the last messenger). In the work, Kāfī also gave an outline of his biography that represents the most important source for studies of his life and work until the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. until the year of 1008/1600. However, that source was not much known or used until recent times. That is why all scholars researching life and work of Hasan Kāfī had to start with inadequate data that were provided, independently of the aforementioned biography, by his younger contemporary Atai ('Aṭā'ī d. 1643)<sup>2</sup> and even younger one, Hajji Kalfa (Haġi Ḥalīfa or Kātib Čelebī, d. 1657).<sup>3</sup> Evliya Čalabī, who in 1660 visited Kāfī's native town of Prusac, provided

\* See: "Hasan Kāfī Pruščak – Ḥasan Kāfī b. Ṭūrḥān b. Dāwūd b. Ya'qūb az-Zībī al-Āqḥīšārī al-Bosnawī". In: *POF XIV-XV/ 1964-65*, Sarajevo, 1969, pp. 5-31.

<sup>1</sup> See: Garcin de Tassy, *Principes de sagesse, touchant l'art de gouverner par Rizwan-ben abd'oul Ac-hisari*. *Journal Asiatique* IV, 1824, 213-226, 283-290.

<sup>2</sup> Atā'ī ('Aṭā'ī, New'izāde 'Aṭāullāh), *Ḥadāiq al-ḥaqāiq fī takmilet aš-šaqa'iq = Zeyl on Šaqa'iq an-nu'māniyye*. Istanbul, 1268, p. 584.

<sup>3</sup> Mustafa bin 'Abdullah-Haġġi Halifa, *Kašf az-zunūn* (HH) on several places, *Fezleke-i Tārīh*. Istanbul, 1286/87, I, pp. 380-381.

some important data about the native land, life and work of Hasan Kāfī, especially about his endowments and popularity.<sup>4</sup> When writing about Kāfī in his *History of Bosnia*,<sup>5</sup> Salih Hadžihusejnović Muvekkīt (d. 1882) not only used sources by Atai and Hajji Kalfa but he also used Kāfī's autobiography, and Ibrahim-beg Bašagić gave his outline of Kāfī's life and work in *Bosanska salnama*<sup>6</sup> mostly using Atai's sources. The same sources were used by Mehmed Sureyyā (d. 1909) in his *Ottoman Biographies*,<sup>7</sup> while Šemsuddin Sāmī-bey (1850-1904) did not mention Kāfī at all in his biographic/geographic lexicon. The first volume of *Ottoman writers* by Mehmed Tāhir was published in 1333/1915, containing a short Kāfī's biography and some new bibliographic information about Hasan Kāfī's works.<sup>8</sup> Bagdadli Ismail-pasha (d. 1920) also entered Kāfī into his bibliographic lexicon of Islamic writers,<sup>9</sup> but with several serious mistakes. Carl Brockelmann also mentioned Kāfī in the first edition of his *History of Arabic Literature*,<sup>10</sup> and by Basmadjian in his *Essari sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane* (Constantinople 1910, 122). However, the first bigger European overview of life and work of Hasan Kāfī was written in 1909 by meritorious Hungarian orientalist Imre Karácson, along with his Hungarian translation of the mentioned Kāfī's work about organization of state and society.<sup>11</sup> On the strength of that study and translation, Lajos Thallóczy edited and in 1911 published the German translation of the same work.<sup>12</sup> The following year, Safvet-beg Bašagić published his dissertation *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti* (*Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in Islamic literature* Sarajevo, 1912), in which he used works by Atai, Hajji Kalfa, Evliya Čalabī, Muvekkīt, I. Bašagić, Brockelmann, and some of Kāfī's works to conduct much a better and more up-to-date survey about Kāfī's life than anyone before. The survey would have been even more detailed if the study by I. Karácson had been used. However, Bašagić did not know about the Karácson's study, as well as the Hungarian and German

<sup>4</sup> Evlija Čelebi, *Seyāhatnāma* V, p. 446; Evlija Čelebi, *Putopis, Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*. Translation, introduction and commentary by Hazim Šabanović, Sarajevo, 1967, pp. 131-134.

<sup>5</sup> See: Muvekkīt (Šālih Sidqī Hadžihusejnović – Muwaqqīt), *Tārīh-i Bosna*. The autograph is in the Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo, no. 1164, p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> See: *Bosna Salnāmesi*, III, 1302 (1884), part II, pp. 1-6.

<sup>7</sup> Mehmed Süreyyā, *Sigill-i 'osmānī* (SO). II, p. 130.

<sup>8</sup> Brusali Mehmed Tāhir, *Osmanlı müellifleri* (OM), vol. I, İstanbul, 1333 (1915), p. 277.

<sup>9</sup> Bagdatlı Isma'il Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn Asmā al-müallifīn wa āšār al-muşannifīn*, İstanbul, 1951, I, pp. 291-292.

<sup>10</sup> Carl Bockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (GAL), vol. I, Weimar, 1898, vol. II, Berlin, 1902.

<sup>11</sup> Imre Karácson, *Ay Egri török emlékerat a kormanyzás módjáról. Eger vára elfoglalása alkalmával az 1956, évban irta Molla Haszan elkajafi*, Budapest, 1909.

<sup>12</sup> L. v. Thallóczy, *Eine Denkschrift des bosnischen Mohammedaners Molla Hassan alkjafi, über die Art und Weise des Regierens*, Archiv für slawische Philologie XXXII, 1911, pp. 139-58.

translations of Kāfi's said work, when he published his Serbo-Croatian translation in 1919.<sup>13</sup> In the foreword to the translation, Bašagić wrote about Kāfi and presented some data from Kāfi's autobiography, which updated and corrected some of the statements given in his dissertation. Bašagić also wrote that he had some other data about the life and work of Hasan Kāfi and that he intended to publish them with his edition and translation of Kāfi's work *Nizām al-'ulamā*.<sup>14</sup> However, he never succeeded in his intentions nor he used the data later when writing about Kāfi in his memoriam *Znameniti i zaslužni Hrvati (925 – 1925, Zagreb, 1925)* and his work *Znameniti Hrvati, Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u turskoj carevini (Zagreb, 1931)*.

Franz Babinger also wrote about the life and work of Hasan Kāfi in his famous work *Ottoman Historians and Their Works*,<sup>15</sup> paying special attention to Kāfi's work *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī nizām al-'ālam*. Apart from Bašagić and sources that he had listed, Babinger also used Western literature mentioned here, as well as the works of M. Tahir, but he did not know of another Kāfi's historical work, *Nizām al-'ulamā*, although it had been already mentioned by Bašagić in 1917.<sup>16</sup> Autobiographic data given by Hasan Kāfi in *Nizam al-ulama* were first used by Muhammed Tajjib Okić in his article *Hasan Kāfi Pruščak – naš najveći mislilac XVI vijeka (Hasan Kāfi Pruščak – Our Greatest Thinker of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century)*,<sup>17</sup> in which he mentions for the first time some up to then unknown Kāfi's works, but the article remained unused in scientific research. M. Handžić later gave a complete overview of Hasan Kāfi's life and work in his biographies of Bosnian scholars and poets, that he wrote in Arabic.<sup>18</sup> Handžić's overview of Hasan Kāfi's life and work is the most detailed and complete one. Handžić used works by Bašagić, M. Tahir and Turkish sources mentioned here, and above all Kāfi's biography, which he published entirely in his overview.<sup>19</sup> Handžić also gave the most complete, but somewhat insufficiently critical, bibliography of Kāfi's works, which thus became much better known among scholars. On the strength of Handžić's work, Brockelmann entered some additional Kāfi's works in the second edition and supplement of his big *History of Arabic Literature*.<sup>20</sup> In some of his later

<sup>13</sup> See: *Uredba svijeta (Nizam ul alem)*. Historical/political treatise. Written by Hasan Kāfi Pruščak. Translated by Safvet-beg Bašagić, Sarajevo, 1919, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja (GZM) XXX, 1919, pp. 1-17.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>15</sup> Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichts-schreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke (GOW)*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 144-145.

<sup>16</sup> See: Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Popis orijentalnih rukopisa moje biblioteke*, Sarajevo, 1917 (GZM, XXV VIII, 1916), no. 61, 4, p. 224 (18).

<sup>17</sup> Gajret (Sarajevo) no. 21 dated November 11, 1927, pp. 327-329.

<sup>18</sup> See: Muhamed al-Hanġi al-Bosnawi, *Al-Ġawhar al-asnā fī tarāġim 'ulamā wa šu'arā' Bosna*. Kairo, 1930, pp. 50-59.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-59.

<sup>20</sup> See: Brockelmann, *GAL* G. I, p. 174; Supplement (S) I, p. 294, 346, 519; G II, p. 443; S II, p. 658, 659.

works Handžić also mentioned Hasan Kāfī's works but without saying anything new on the subject.<sup>21</sup> While working on Arabic manuscripts in the University library in Bratislava, originating from the collection of Safvet-beg Bašagić,<sup>22</sup> a Czech Arabist Karel Petráček found among the manuscripts Kāfī's work *Nizām al-'ulamā*. Petráček did not know about the work by Tajīb Okić nor about Handžić's translation<sup>23</sup> and he wrote an article pointing out biographical and bibliographical data given by that work,<sup>24</sup> but strangely enough he made several serious mistakes.

This work is an attempt at giving as complete bibliography of Hasan Kāfī's works as possible, using all sources and literature available.

## II

Hasan Kāfī was born in Prusac (Akhisar) in the month of Ramadan 951/end of November or beginning of December 1544.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See: Mehmed Handžić, *Književni rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana (Literary work of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims)*, Sarajevo, 1934 (= *Glasnik Islamske vjerske zajednice*) I, 1933, no. 1-3, pp. 6-12; II, 1934, no. 1-6 titled: *Rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana na književnom polju (Work of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims in literary field)*. In this work, the author mentioned one up-to-then unknown Kāfī's work. Still, this overview very much falls behind the author's overview of the life and work of Hasan Kāfī written in Arabic. In the work, Handžić used Kāfī's autobiography, sources and literature provided by Bašagić and the work of M. Tahir mentioned here (see: note 8) but he failed to use works by M. T. Okić, Babinger and other western sources. Handžić also gave an overview of Hasan Kāfī's life and work in *Prusac i njegove znamenitosti (Prusac and its landmarks)*, edited by Džemal Hamidović (Sarajevo[1940]). Also see: M. Handžić, *Nizam al-'ulema ila Hatemil-enbija (A succession of scholars to the last God's messenger)*, Sarajevo, 1935 (= *Novi behar* VIII, 1935-36, no. 17-24) and *Rajske bašče o temeljima vjerovanja (Edenic gardens about foundations of faith) (Revdatul-džennat fi usulil i'tikadat)*, Sarajevo, 1940 (= *Kalendar Gajret za godinu 1940*, pp. 34-63). The second edition of the bookstore B. Kalajdžić, Sarajevo, 1943.

<sup>22</sup> Due to incurable illness, aftermath of war and difficult financial situation, Safvet-beg Bašagić was forced to sell his rich library of Islamic manuscripts. Nobody was interested in Yugoslavia at the time to try and keep this invaluable treasure in the country and it was sold to the University Library in Bratislava for 100,000 Czech kronen.

<sup>23</sup> See: note 21.

<sup>24</sup> Karel Petráček, *Die Chronologie des Werke von Hasan al Kāfī al-Aqḥisārī*. *Archiv Orientalni* t. 27, 1959, no. 4, pp. 407-12.

<sup>25</sup> Referring to his father's words, Hasan Kāfī said that he had been born in 951/1544, whereas his mother said that he had born in the month of Ramadan, one Friday, after the afternoon prayer, in the mentioned year. In that month Fridays were 6th, 13th, 20th and 27th days of Ramadan 951 (21st, 28th November and 5th, 12th December 1544). Kāfī was then born on one of those days.

His full name is: Ḥasan Kāfi b. Ṭūrḥān b. Dāwūd b. Ya‘qūb az-Zībī al-Āqḥīṣārī al-Bosnawī. He started using his literary name (*maḥlaṣ*) Kāfi in 988/1580.<sup>26</sup>

Hasan Kāfi says the following about his ancestors:

“My father and some of his peers, trustworthy persons, told me that his grandfather Yakub had lived 227 (!) years, and that he had been born somewhere near Skadar and had later come to live in the village of Zib near Akhisar (Prusac). He was a Christian at the time, but later, when Sultan Muhammad II came to conquer Akhisar he converted to Islam and lived until sultan Suleiman I started his reign. My grandfather Davud lived 70 years. He was in many battles and he got killed during the siege of the town of Vrana in Croatia.”<sup>27</sup>

Hasan Kāfi says for his father Turhan, son of Davud, that he lived a happy and pious life until the age of 96 when he died in Prusac, in the month of Muharram 994/from December 23, 1585 to January 21, 1586. This shows that Kāfi’s father was born in 898/1494. We know that Kāfi’s mother died before 1008/1600 because in his biography he wrote that she was among the deceased.

It is very difficult now to assess the authenticity of Kāfi’s narrations and their concordance with historical facts. However, it is clear that they cannot be rejected or accepted without any criticism.

The statement that Kāfi’s grand grandfather Yaqub came to live in the village of Zib near Akhisar (Prusac) is quite acceptable, having in mind that the village of Zib really existed. It was mentioned in sources from the years of 1516,<sup>28</sup> 1540,<sup>29</sup> and 1574,<sup>30</sup> always under the same odd name of Zib.

Today there is no village in the area with the name of Zib (which *wolf* in Arabic means), but near Prusac there are villages Vukovo (near Donji Vakuf) and Gornje Vukovsko and Donje Vukovsko (near Kupres). This being the case, Muvekkīt, Bašagić, Okić and Handžić, neither of whom knew that there had been a village of Zib near Prusac, thought that the toponym was Kāfi’s translation from the Arabic name of the village of his ancestors and that it

<sup>26</sup> M. Tahir thinks that Hasan Kāfi got his literary name (*maḥlaṣ*) *al-Kāfi* because of his good knowledge of chiromancy (‘ilm al-kāf) or because he had allegedly written a commentary on *al-Kāfiyya* by Ibn Haḡīb.

<sup>27</sup> Medieval town of Vrana, 10 km south of Biograd on the sea, was conquered in 1538. It is likely that Kāfi’s grandfather Dawud was killed at that time.

<sup>28</sup> See: Bašvekālet Arşivi (BVA), Tapu Defteri no. 56, *Defter-i Mücmel-i Liva-i Bosna*, the collective census in the sanjak of Bosnia completed in the first third of the month of Muharram 922 (February 5-14, 1516), pp. 18, 108 and 110.

<sup>29</sup> See: BVA, Tapu Defteri no. 211, *Defter-i Müfassal-i Liva-i Bosna*, the individual census in the sanjak of Bosnia which started in the first third of the month of Rabi I 947 (July 6-15, 1540) and was finished in the second third of the month of Dhu’l Hijjah 948 (March 28 to April 6, 1542).

<sup>30</sup> See: DVA, Tapu Defteri no. 533, the individual census of the sanjak of Klis finished in the first third of the month of Muharram 982 (April 2, 1574).

was identical with today's village of Vukovo or the village of Vukovsko. Zib is a completely different village that does not exist today, or has a different name. This can be concluded from the fact that the village was in the census of 1574, together with the village of Goruša and it had to be near Goruša (which exists today near Gornji Odžak in the municipality of Bugojno, rather far from the villages of Vukovo and Vukovsko).

There were only three Muslim and six Christian houses, with three adult unmarried Christians<sup>28</sup>, in the village in 1516, when it was mentioned for the first time. Nevertheless, I do not think it is possible that Kāfi's grand grandfather Yaqub "converted to Islam when Sultan Muhammad II came to conquer Akhisar (Prusac)" because the town and the surrounding area came under the authority of the Ottoman Empire only in 1590s.

The medieval town of Prusac, or Biograd (*Akhisar* in Turkish), whose ruins still exist in the village of the same name on a steep slope, some 5 km south from Donji Vakuf, surrendered to Turks in 1463, as all other Bosnian towns, but Turks lost it in 1466 or even earlier. Further destiny of the town is unknown until 1490s, because until that time the Turkish-Hungarian border in the district of Uskoplje was rather volatile. It is known that Turks reigned the town of Susid on the banks of the River Vrbas in 1469 because it was mentioned in the census of Turkish dominions in Bosnia<sup>31</sup>, but it remains unknown whether they had the complete control of the town from that time. However, it is quite certain that Prusac, another fortified town in the district of Uskoplje, was not under Turkish authority at the time because it was not mentioned not only on that census but also in those from 1485 and 1489. This is not to say that Prusac was not under Turkish authority in 1485 and 1489 because on July 29, 1478 the then Bosnian sanjak Skender-bey wrote a letter to Dubrovnik from "the town of Prusac". The date of the letter is incomplete but it must have been written before 1480 because Skender-bey became a pasha that year.<sup>32</sup> This is the earliest known trace of this town in historical records. The town is mentioned for the second time as being under Turkish authority in 894 (1489/90) under the Turkish name of Akhisar, which is a literal translation of the old domestic name of Biograd, as the town was called in the contracts between Turks and Hungarians in 1503 and 1519 and in some later sources. Prusac had a Turkish garrison in 1489/90, who received their salaries from the tenure (*muqata'a*) of rice fields in Plovdiv and its surrounding area. The same was in 898 (1492/93).<sup>33</sup> One quarter in the town of Prusac was called the *Quarter of Yahya-paša's mosque*. This would obviously be Yahya-pasha who was Bosnian sanjak-bey from 1482 to 1484 and from 1494

<sup>31</sup> İstanbul, Belediyye Kütüphanesi, A. Cevdet, Yazmaları, no. 076.

<sup>32</sup> See: Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma (Old Serbian charters and letters)*, II, pp. 281-282; Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski sandžak-beg Skender (Bosnian sanjak-bey Skender)*, Glasnik Istorijškog društva Srbije, 1955, no. 1-2, pp. 1-15, *ibid.*, *Bosanski pašaluk (Bosnian pashadom)*, Sarajevo, 1959, p. 43, p. 45.

<sup>33</sup> See: Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paša Livasi*, İstanbul, 1952, p. 132.

to 1496, and that is when the mosque, which gave the name to the quarter, was built in Prusac. There was also the *Quarter of the mosque of Sultan Bayazid II* (1481-1512). The Emperor's mosque (called "Carevica", within the fort) was built in 892/1487 and it is probably older than the Yahya-pasha's mosque. Therefore, it is quite certain that Prusac definitely came under the Turkish authority by early 1490s, and not in 1501 as it was thought before. The fact that Prusac was not mentioned in the censuses from 1485 and 1489 is easily explained by the fact that Turkish censuses did not always register the actual numbers.

Only at that time and not earlier could have Kāfi's grand grandfather Yaqub converted to Islam, if he had before come to live here at all. In 1516 the village of Zib had only three Muslim and six Christian houses. A quarter of a century later there were six Muslim and nine Christian houses in the village<sup>29</sup>. Kāfi's grand grandfather was not among the inhabitants, because he had died at the beginning of Sultan Suleiman's reign (1520-1566), nor was Kāfi's grandfather Davud, who was killed during the siege of the town of Vrana, no later than 1538, when Turks conquered the town. Also, Kāfi's father Turhan was not among the inhabitants because he had already moved to Prusac, where his son Hasan was born four years later. One Turhan, son of Davud, lived in 1574 in the Quarter of the mosque of Sultan Bayazid in Prusac.<sup>34</sup> I think that this person was Kāfi's father and that Hasan Kāfi was born in the said quarter.

At the time, Prusac was a fortified town with a garrison commanded by a town commander. The town had its suburb and its downtown that later grew to the "*kasbah of the town of Prusac*", which, in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, had three quarters with three mosques and a small business district with different crafts and trades, especially leather processing. There were 336 Muslim houses in the quarters in 1574, i.e. some 1500-2000 inhabitants who were exempt from all state taxes and obligations towards the state (*tekālīf*, *karakulluk*, *čeraḥorluk*, *avāriz* and other taxes).<sup>35</sup>

Kāfi does not give us any information about the social strata and occupation groups of his ancestors. But since he says that his grandfather Davud was in many battles and was killed during the siege of the town of Vrana, it is quite clear that he was not a peasant but that he belonged to a military or semi-military order or that he was in an entourage of some military commander in chief. The occupation of Kāfi's father Turhan, son of Davud, is not known.

As Kāfi says himself, he started going to school when he was twelve, sometime around the year 1556, but it remains unclear whether he referred to *mekteb* (elementary school) or *madrassa* (secondary school). I think that it is more probable that he had finished *maktab* by then and made a choice about his further schooling. It can be concluded from his following words:

<sup>34</sup> Tapu Defter no. 535, fol. 103.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 103.

“After I completed basic education in our country I went to Istanbul at the beginning of the reign of Sultan Selim-han, son of sultan Suleiman-han”, which coincides with the fall of 1566.

It follows that Hasan Kāfi went to school in his homeland for at least ten years and that he was about 23 years old when he left for Istanbul. It is not possible that he spent all the time in some mekteb. Most probably, he attended some *madrassa* in Bosnia from the age of 12 to 15. Kāfi does not say anything about the whereabouts of his school or of his teachers and it was not possible to find out these information some other way. At the time, there was no *madrassa* in his hometown, or any other town in Bosnia, except in Sarajevo, which had three *madrassas*: the old Firuz-bey’s (founded no later than 1512), Husref-bey’s (founded in 1537) and Kemal-bey’s (founded around 1540). Most probably, Hasan Kāfi started attending one of these *madrassas* when he was 12 or 15.

After his coming to Istanbul, Kāfi attended a *madrassa* in this city, but he again does not say anything specific about his education. He just speaks in general terms and says that he gained knowledge from many scholars and dignitaries. Finally, he joined “distinguished sheikh and pious scholar and teacher Hajji-efendi Kara Yılan, who was a *mu‘īd* (assistant), and then *fetvā-emīn* with famous Ibn Kemal-pasha.” Later he got a pension, with the obligation to teach at Ali-pasha’s *madrassa* in Çatalca near Istanbul. Kara Yılan was the first *mudarris* (professor) in that *madrassa* and he excelled in his knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). It is probable that Hasan Kāfi went to Çatalca with Kara Yılan of whom he says: “I learned from him everything I know and I achieved all that I learned.” Kara Yılan died in 983/1575 when he was more than hundred years old. Another Kāfi’s teacher was Mullah Ahmed Ensari,<sup>36</sup> also known as Adžem (‘Ağam). He taught Kāfi *tefsīr* and *uṣūl*.

Kāfi further says that in 983 (April 12, 1575) he came back to his hometown where he organized a course and started teaching (*taleba*) and writing his works. It follows that he spent nine years studying in Istanbul and that he came back to the homeland when he was more than 30 years old. His first work was a short philological treatise on the meaning and usage of the word *čalabī* (*Risāla fī taḥqīq lafz čalabī*). Kāfi later says that in 988 (February 2, 1580) he wrote a shorter scientific work from the field of logic, with the title

<sup>36</sup> Mula Ahmed el-Ensari (Munla Ahmad al-Ansari) was first a professor (*mudarris*) in several *Madrassas* out of Istanbul and in the month of Safar in 980 (June 13, 1572) he was appointed a professor at the *madrassa* of Hasan Begzade in Istanbul. Next year he was transferred to the *madrassa* of Esmahan sultane (981), and in 983 he came to sahn and remained there for a year. So, if Kāfi attended of Ahmed Ensari when he was a professor, he must have been in one of the mentioned *madrassas* in the period from 1572 to 1575. But it could have also been later, during Kāfi’s shorter stays in Istanbul, where Ahmed Ensari lived from 922/1584 to his death in 1009/1600. (For more information see Atai 441 and M. Handžić. *Nizam al-ulema*, p. 46).



*al-Kāfi*. He goes on to say that in 991 (January 25, 1583) he was appointed *qadi* in Prusac. That is about everything that Kāfi said about his life from his return from Istanbul to the appointment.

The gap in Kāfi's autobiography is filled to a certain point by well-informed Atai, who says that Kāfi (after he completed his studies in Istanbul) started working for a Bosnian *mullah* (Sarajevo *qadi*) as his *naīb* (deputy, aide). Atai adds that in 986/1578 Kāfi helped the *mullah* in the research of teaching (*tefīṣ*) and in persecutions of Bosnian Hamzewis in Posavina. According to Atai, Kāfi was rewarded for his work through receiving his appointment as *mulāzim* of the Bosnian *mullah*, thus choosing the occupation of a judge.<sup>37</sup>

Accuracy of these claims is confirmed by the fact that a Bosnian *mullah*, just like any other *mullah*, had the right to choose one or two *mulāzims* (interns) and by the fact that *mulāzemet* (internship) was the precondition for any graduated teacher or intern to earn the title of a professor or judge. Since Kāfi started giving lectures to students in Prusac upon his return from Istanbul, one may infer that he chose to be a professor while still in Istanbul and that he underwent his internship before returning to the homeland. Still, there was no madrasa in Prusac at the time and it is much more likely that Kāfi did not have any state tenure and that he founded a private school upon his return from Istanbul. This is indicated by the fact that he started working in the office of the Bosnian *mullah* in 986/1578-9, which is stated by Atai and confirmed by Kāfi himself in his biography. Kāfi says that he was taught by the Sarajevo *qadi* and *mufti* mevlānā Balī b. Yusuf, whom Kāfi sees as an excellent teacher and expert at solving difficult questions from Qur'an and *hadith* and who was known as "The teacher of the grand vizier". Unfortunately, Kāfi does not say whether he attended the lectures of Bali-efendi in Sarajevo or Istanbul nor does he say that he was his *naīb* and *mulāzim* or gives his biography, as he gives the biography of Hajji efendi Kara Yılan. However, Bali efendi had the rank of a *hāriḡ madrasa* professor in 983 (April 12, 1575), when Kāfi returned from his studies in Istanbul, and he needed two more promotions to be academically equal to Kara Yılan or Ahmed Ensari, who taught Kāfi during his formal education in Istanbul. In addition, Kāfi must have attended Bali efendi's lectures on *tafsir* or *hadith* not in Istanbul but in Sarajevo when he worked for that Bosnian *mullah*. Those are the reasons that Kāfi mentions Bali efendi as his teacher after Kara Yılan and Ahmed Ensari. Now that we have confirmed the truthfulness of Atai's statement that Kāfi was Bali efendi's *naīb* and *mulāzim* it is very likely that another Atai's statement, that Kāfi abetted Bali efendi in inspections and persecutions of Bosnian Hamzewis, is also true. Unfortunately, Kāfi does not say a single word about his possible role. Although Kāfi ardently advocated Islamic orthodoxy and opposed dervishes, it is possible that, being a good and pious man as he was, he felt bad about strict measures directed against Bosnian Hamzewis and that he did not want to present that attitude in his biography.

<sup>37</sup> Atai, I, p. 283.

It follows that upon his return from Istanbul Hasan Kāfi lived in Prusac and taught students since 983/1575-76 to the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah 986 (from January 29, 1579), when Bali efendi was appointed the Bosnian *mullah*.<sup>37</sup> In addition, Bali efendi was given the authority to review Hamzewis' teachings in Posavina and punish them. Kāfi's reward for helping the *mullah* in punishing the Hamzewis was *mulâzemet* (internship). Kāfi could have been in the *mullah* service only for a year because in the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah 987 (from January 19, 1580) Bali efendi was removed from his position; (the position of the Bosnian *mullah* was then assumed by some Ibrahim efendi Burmaz). As a former *mullah*, Bali efendi had some salary as he was assigned a post in a judicial district. It is not known what happened with our Kāfi. Maybe he returned to Akhisar again to teach his students and wait for another post or he stayed with his *mullah* who most probably still lived in his hometown and waited for a new post or retirement. Indeed, Bali efendi was appointed the Bosnian *mullah* in the month of Shawwal 989 (from October 29, 1581) and kept the post until his death. He died in Sarajevo in the month of Safar 993 (from January 3, 1585), as written by M. Süreyya.<sup>38</sup>

After the death of his teacher and protector Bali efendi, if not earlier, Kāfi probably returned to Prusac, held lectures and waited for an appointment, which came in 991 (from January 25, 1583), when he was appointed the *qadi* in Prusac.

This date is important not only because it says how long Kāfi had to wait for a state tenure after the completion of his studies but also because it tells about the existence of the judicial district of Prusac at the time. Prusac and the area of upper courses of the rivers Vrbas and Pliva had belonged to the judicial district Neretva in the sanjak of Klis. At the time of Kāfi's appointment, or several years earlier, the area was organized into a separate judicial district with the seat in Prusac, former Biograd, which was named Akhisar (Aq̄iṣār) in Turkish, and that was also the name of the new judicial district. Apart from the central district of Skoplje this judicial district also encompassed: Glamoč, Kupres, Janj, Gerzovo, Soko on the river Pliva and Jezero (Gölhisar). This was the case only until the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Gölhisar (Jezero) became the seat of the homonymous judicial district. At that time the judicial district of Akhisar lost districts of Soko, Jezero, Janj and Gerzovo.<sup>39</sup> The available data say that Hasan Kāfi was the first *qadi* of the Prusac judicial district.

In the year of his appointment as a Prusac *qadi*, Kāfi wrote a commentary on his work about logic *al-Kāfi* until the of the chapter on concepts (*at-taṣawwurāt*), as he informs us in his autobiography.

We lack further data about the life and work of Hasan Kāfi up until 994 (from December 23, 1585) when he wrote a short treatise on judicial legal proceedings, in which he says that he was the Prusac *qadi* at disposal.<sup>40</sup> Having

<sup>38</sup> Siğill-i osmānī II, p. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, p. 215.

<sup>40</sup> See: Gazi Husrev-bey's Library (GHB), no. 946, fol. 49-51.

in mind the then rule, which limited duration of a *qadi*'s service (*manšib*) to twenty months in one town, the mentioned datum says that Hasan Kāfī was left without a state tenure twenty months after his appointment. Kāfī got tenure only in 994/1586 when he wrote the mentioned treatise, surely with the aim of habilitating himself for a new appointment, as was regulated by another rule. It is not known whether Kāfī was given charge of a county or he had to wait his turn further (*nevbet*). In his autobiography Kāfī says that in 996 (from December 2, 1587) he wrote *Hadīqat aṣ-ṣalāt*, a work about *namaz*, and after that he went to Istanbul, where he was appointed a *qadi* in the Vilayet of Srijem. However, the mentioned work was not written in 996, as Kāfī says in biography; it was finished on the last day of the month of Safar 998/January 7, 1590, as Kāfī says in the conclusion of that work (see: The Institute for Oriental Studies no. 1968, fol. 92). Hajji Kalfa states the same year (HH VI, pp. 83-84, no. 12769). Maybe Kāfī wrote an outline in 996, and after two years he finished the work. In any case, we cannot be sure about Kāfī's whereabouts at the time, nor can we say when he traveled to Istanbul, when he was appointed *qadi* in the vilayet of Srijem and where he served. It is quite probable that he was appointed *qadi* in the central county in the sanjak of Srijem, whose seat was in Ilok or Srijemska Mitrovica, only in 998/1590. Apart from his duties of a judge, Kāfī also gave lectures and wrote his works. As a *qadi* in the vilayet of Srijem he started writing the methodological/legal work *Samt al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl* (A Method of Introduction to Jurisprudence). This work is an adaptation of the famous work *Manār al-anwār*, written by Nesefi (Ḥāfiẓuddīn 'Omar Nasafī, d. in 701/1301). It is known that in 1000 (from October 19, 1591) Kāfī went to hajj in Mecca and that he finished the mentioned work on that trip. Having in mind the mentioned rule which regulated the duration of a *qadi*'s mandate in one town, it can be inferred that Kāfī was appointed *qadi* in the vilayet of Srijem only in 998/1590 and that he left for hajj upon completion of his service. During the trip, he met many scholars from different Islamic centers (Jerusalem, Damascus, Mecca, Medina etc.), discussing with them about various scientific questions and introducing his work. Kāfī points out the name of Mīr Gazanfer (Mīr Gaḍanfar), the teacher of Indian sultan Dželaluddin Ekber (Ġallāludīn Akbar). When he retired, Ekber settled in Medina, where he was giving lectures that our Kāfī also listened and that is why Kāfī lists him as one of his teachers. Kāfī mentions Ekber, with special respect, as his teacher to whom he showed his works and goes on to say that Mīr Gazanfar and other scholars praised his work and "honored him with great benefaction". When Kāfī returned from Hajj and came to Istanbul he introduced his works to distinguished Ottoman ("rumi") scholars, "who surpassed others in all sciences and disciplines". Those scholars also gave positive comments about Kāfī's works and suggested that he annotate them, which Kāfī later did. We would like to mention that Kātib Čalabī (Hajji Kalfa) also gave positive comments about Kāfī's works half a century later. When writing about Nesefi's work *nār al-anwār*, Katib Čalabī says:

“Although *Menār* is the most famous and the most popular work on jurisprudence (*uṣūl*), which in little words makes a sea of pearls and a treasury of jewels, there are some unclear and redundant parts in it. Kāfī Pruscak adapted *Menār* in his work *Samt al-wuṣūl ilā ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, giving a very systematic approach and adding parts, which made the whole work clearer”. (See: HH VI, p. 121, no. 12907; M. Handžić, *Književni rad* 21).

Next year, in 1001 (from October 8, 1592), when Bostānzāde Mehmed was appointed military commander of Rumelia<sup>41</sup> for the third time, Kāfī sent him a short treatise titled *Sayf al-quḍāt fī at-ta‘zīr* (A Qadi Sword on Punishing), in which he studied some complex parts about punishments (*at-ta‘zīr*) in the mentioned work *Šarḥ al-Wiqāya* written by Ṣadr aš-Šarī‘a.<sup>42</sup> The work was Kāfī’s habilitation for acquiring the title of *qadi* of the same or higher rank. According to Kāfī, he was indeed appointed *qadi* in some place near his Akhisar (Prusac) in that same year (1001/1593). Kāfī does not say anything about the place or about his service but goes on by saying:

“When an uprising in Erdelj started, and the king rebelled, and when came the war and killings, and wanton behavior of governors and officials, I left *qadi* service and returned to my native town where I started teaching students major and minor subjects, religious and mundane sciences...”

These statements provide historical facts, indispensable for establishing how long Kāfī stayed on his new post and when he returned to Akhisar. More importantly, they help us discern that Kāfī was anxious about Turkish predicaments at the beginning of the 13-year Turkish-Austrian war (1593-1606), caused by the crushing defeat of Bosniaks near Sisak on June 22, 1593, headed by Bosnian begler-bey Hasan-paša Predojević.

At the beginning of that war, Turks captured the town of Sisak in Croatia, and Vespri and Polata in Hungary. But in the spring next year they lost control of all towns in southwest Hungary, and between Kanjiža and Siget. Moreover, their towns of Ostrogon and Hatvani were under the siege (in the beginning of April 1594). At the same time, movements for liberation of Christians became active in the Balkans and there was an uprising of Serbs in Banat (May 1594), caused mostly by “wanton behavior of governors and officials”, as Kāfī puts it. Turks did manage to quell the uprising of Serbs in Banat, to lift the sieges of Ostrogon and Hatvan and to capture Djur (September 29, 1594) and some minor forts. Still, they lost Sisak in the same year (October 10), along with Petrinja and Gore, and they fought against an incursion into Turkish Slavonia and an attack on Bihać. Turks were very nervous about uprisings in Erdelj, Vlaška and Moldavia (November 15, 1594) after which they lost all authority and influence in those vassal areas. In addition, they went through several defeats in Vlaška and Moldavia, the central battlefield of battles in 1595, when they lost Ostrogon (September 2, 1595) and Višegrad in Hungary. It is interesting to mention that Hasan Kāfī saw and

<sup>41</sup> See: *İlmīyye salnamesi*, İstanbul, 1334, p. 110.

<sup>42</sup> See: GHB.

indicated the most important and most dangerous events for Turkey at the beginning of the war. Taking into account the chronology of events that Kāfi mentions, one can infer that Kāfi "left the post of a qadi and returned to his native town" some time in the late fall of 1594. In that year, Kāfi's service really ended and he wanted to say that he did not want to be a qadi in such a desolate situation when lawlessness and wanton ruled instead of law and order.

Together with giving lectures back in Akhisar, Kāfi was occupied with scholarly and scientific work. In Dhu'l-Hijjah of 1004 (from July 27, 1596) he finished the commentary on his work *Samt al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl*, and then he wrote his most famous work *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī nizām al-'ālam* (Foundations of Wisdom on Regulation of the World). With this moral/political treatise, Kāfi wanted to point out negative sides of the state and society, hoping that the work would be "a foundation for statesmen and the basis of their views".

The aforementioned Turkish losses in Hungary forced sultan Mehmed III to head the campaign in Hungary by the end of 1004/the summer of 1596. The main target of the campaign was the town of Yegar.<sup>43</sup> Hasan Kāfi left Prusac for the sultan's camp at the same time. The main forces of Turkish army with the sultan and grand vizier Bosniak Ibrahim-paša (born in Novi Šeher near Žepce in Bosnia) approached Yegar on September 21, 1596. Hasan Kāfi wrote that he had left Prusac on Saturday, 4/10/1005 (August 28, 1596),<sup>44</sup> and had come to the sultan's camp near Yegar, after the beginning of the siege, on Saturday, 3/2/1005 (September 26, 1596).<sup>45</sup> (Kāfi traveled from Prusac to Yegar for almost a month). Yegar surrendered to Turks on Friday, October 13, 1596,<sup>46</sup> and Austro-Hungarian army was defeated in the battle "Tabor" on Saturday, 4/3/1005 (Saturday, October 26, 1596).<sup>47</sup>

After the capture of Yegar (October 13, 1596), Kāfi gave his work to state dignitaries to give it to the sultan. Since Kāfi wrote in Arabic, the dignitaries recommended to translate it into Turkish so that it can be then given to the sultan, and officials of the diwan for use.

<sup>43</sup> Tur. *Egri*, Ger. *Erlau*, and not *Gran* as written by Petraček (see: *Die Chronologie* p. 408 and others). Turks captured *Gran* (Tur. *Yanik*, Serbo-Croatian *Djur*) on September 29, 1594. The sultan was not in this campaign but grand vizier Sinan-pasha.

<sup>44</sup> That day was Wednesday, not Saturday.

<sup>45</sup> That day was Thursday, not Saturday.

<sup>46</sup> According to Kāfi it happened on Saturday, 19/2/1005 = October 12, 1596. That day was really Saturday.

<sup>47</sup> When giving account of these events, Kāfi says that all important events in the campaign happened on Saturdays. On that day: he left Prusac, came to the sultan's camp, Yegar was captured, the enemy was defeated in the battle "Tabor," Kāfi spent the second night in the camp on his way back, return to Prusac. This was to show that an alleged Muhammad's saying is true: "God gives His blessing on Thursday and on Saturday". This hadith is not reliable, and we have seen that Kāfi's accounts are not always true.

“Then they forced this poor beggar to take the position of the *qadi* in Akhisar. I obeyed their order and also decided to translate my work, as they also ordered. Since I translated it in the clearest possible style in the month of Rajab 1005 (from February 18 to March 19, 1597), I left my county for Istanbul...” where the work was given to grand vizier, Bosniak Ibrahim-paša. Kāfi met Ibrahim-paša, who gave the work to the sultan and sent it to the court together with some other Kāfi’s works.

“Since the honorable sultan cast a glance at those papers, I hope that my work will be like a flower in the garden and like a sight in the eye. I expect them to be a foundation for statesmen and the basis of their views, just because the sultan paid attention to them”.

“The sultan gave me the position of the Akhisari *qadi* as my lifetime retirement, through his letter (hatt-i serif), under the condition that I teach students in the area. He also gave me a considerable amount of his wealth”.

After this appointment, in the spring or summer of 1005/1597, Kāfi lived and worked for some twenty years more. He participated in certain military campaigns and built his endowments in Prusac, but data about this last and very important period of his life are very scarce. The chronology of life and work of Hasan Kāfi in this period can be partly reconstructed and completed on the strength of introductory and final parts of his works from the period and on the strength of inferences stemming from fitting the data into the overall events of the time. Based on one of his writings from this period we know that in the last third of the month of Rajab 1006 (beginning of March 1598) he wrote an outline of his work *Rawḍāt al-ġannāt fi usūl al-i’tiqādāt*, when he was a *qadi* and *mudarris* in Prusac. We know that before 1008/1599-1600, he also made an outline of his work *Tamhīṣ at-talḥīs*, because in his autobiography he says that in that year he wrote his work *Niẓām al-‘ulamā’ ila ḥatam al-anbiyā’*, and then worked further on his outlines.

This exhausts the data on life and work of Hasan Kāfi that he gives in his biography; we know what he wrote from 1005/1597, when he was appointed the Prusac *qadi*, to 1008 = 1599/1600, when he finished his autobiography, but we do not know about his whereabouts. Since he was appointed the Prusac *qadi* in 1005/1597, provided that he gave lectures, it would be quite normal for him to return to Prusac afterwards and assume the duty. That can be partially inferred from the aforementioned writing from 1006/1598 in which Kāfi says that he wrote an outline of one of his work, while being “the *qadi* and *mudarris* in Prusac”. However, since he was given the position of the *qadi* as a lifetime retirement (*taqā’ud wa ta’bīd*), Kāfi had the legal possibility to stay in Istanbul for an indefinite period of time and delegate his functions to deputies of his choice. Having in mind his scholarly/literary activities, ambitions and plans, Kāfi must have stayed in Istanbul for some time, after he settled his status, to collect material for his works, because there was no abundance of material in Prusac and in Bosnia in general. It is obvious that Kāfi was on friendly terms with grand vizier, his countryman Bosniak Ibrahim-paša, who had surely helped Kāfi with the appointment and to whom

Kāfī dedicated his work *Niẓām al-‘ulamā’ ila ḥātām al-anbiyā’*. Therefore, Kāfī must have stayed in Istanbul until May 1599, during Ibrahim-paša’s tenure, giving him the work as a gift. In addition, Kāfī’s treatise could not have been written without industrious work in Istanbul libraries. In the month of May the same year, Ibrahim-paša led Turkish army against Hungary and it is possible that Kāfī went with him to jihad. In addition, it is possible that Kāfī “presented grand vizier Ibrahim-paša” with the work some time later, when Ibrahim-paša was in Belgrade or in Hungary. In that case, it would mean that Kāfī had returned to Prusac and later went to Ibrahim-paša’s camp and gave him the work. However, these are all speculations made in the absence of reliable sources.

There are no further data about Kāfī’s life and work until 1014/1065, i.e. a new Turkish campaign against Hungary led by grand vizier Mehmed-paša Sokolović. Kāfī participated in the campaign, not as a simple mujaheddin, but as a prominent figure in the grand vizier’s headquarters that appeared near Ostrogon by the end of August 1605. Kāfī was “very busy, advising and giving opinions on questions of conquests and victories, and solving military problems with victorious grand vizier Ghazi Mehmed-paša”,<sup>48</sup> but he found the time for scholarly/literary work. In the first third of Jumada I 1014 (September 15-23, 1605), Kāfī annotated, revised and made a clean copy of his work *Rawḍāt al-ġannāt*,<sup>49</sup> which he outlined in 1006/1598, and appended in 1008 (1599-1600).

During the same campaign, two days before the capture (October 2, 1605), Kāfī finished his work *Nūr al-yaqīn fī uṣūl ad-dīn fī šarḥ ‘akā’id at-Taḥāwī*, as he said in the conclusion to that work devoted to grand vizier Lala Mehmed-paša Sokolović.<sup>50</sup>

In the first third of the month of Rajab 1014/mid-November 1605, Kāfī finished an outline of the commentary on *Rawḍāt al-ġannāt* in Osijek, after his return from that campaign. He amended, revised and made a clean copy of the commentary in Prusac in the third part of the month of Shawwal 1015 (February 19-27, 1607).<sup>51</sup>

There are no further data on the life and work of Hasan Kāfī until his death. After the aforementioned campaign there came a period of the twenty years of peace, agreed on November 11, 1606 at the confluence of river Zitva. Sixty-year old Kāfī must have returned to his hometown and his official duties, writing and building of endowments: mosques, madrasa, caravanserai, mekteb and pipeline that brought fresh water to those cultural institutions which were the core of the new settlement Nevabad (Novo mjesto) in the place of today’s quarter Srt.

<sup>48</sup> Kāfī writes this in the conclusion of his commentary on this work. See: Ghazi Husrev-bey’s Library (GHB), no. 902, fol. 76, (Dobrača, no. 724), no. 1930, fol. 64 (Dobrača no. 726).

<sup>49</sup> See: GHB, no. 902, p. 76.

<sup>50</sup> See: GHB no. 902, p. 76; Petraček, *Die Chronologie*, p. 412.

<sup>51</sup> See: GHB, no. 1514, fol. 142.

Unfortunately, there are no precise data on when the endowments were established. Through the inscription on the caravanserai (*karavansaray*), partially noted by Evliya Čalabī, we know that it was built in 1021/1612. (Maybe the locality of Han in Prusac is a remembrance to the long gone institution).

All Kāfī's biographers say that he died on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Sha'ban (*leyle-i berāt*) in 1025/August 28, 1616. The same year is mentioned in many copies of his works<sup>52</sup>. However, some of the copies of Kāfī's works say that he died in 1024/1615,<sup>53</sup> and one of them even has a chronological verse stating that year, with a specific and precise date: the 16<sup>th</sup> day of Ramadan 1024 (October 9, 1515). This data is found in one of copies of Kāfī's *Nizām al-'ulamā' ilā ḥatam al-anbiyā'*, copied from the autograph in 1026/1617;<sup>54</sup> this copy probably originates from Feyziyya madrasa in Travnik and was probably made in Kāfī's hometown as a work of one of his teachers. The same copy contains a list of Kāfī's students in Akhisar. For now, we can only identify these data.

Kāfī was buried near his mosque in Prusac, in a separate tomb existing to this day.

### III

Just as we lack many data about the life and work of Hasan Kāfī, we also lack some data about his literary activities. Least is known about his literary output. Kāfī not only wrote prose works but also verses in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. This genre of Kāfī's literary work is not known enough, but it was very modest indeed. Only some twenty of his of his verses are known today, all of them related to particular occasions.

Scholarly work of Hasan Kāfī is comprehensive and multifaceted. On the basis of the data that he gives in his biography, Kāfī wrote eleven works in five different fields until 1008/1600. He later wrote seven more works. Atai says rather vaguely that Kāfī wrote independent works in many fields and cites some of them, including the commentary on Kudūrījev *Muḥtaṣar* from *hanafiyah* jurisprudence, which has never been found. Evliya Čalabī holds on to his style and says that Kāfī wrote about all occupations.

On the basis of scientific results and personal research, I will try to present a bibliography of Kāfī's works in a systematic and critical way, without any pretensions to its completeness.

#### I – Philology

1. *Risāla fī taḥqīq lafz "čalabī"*. (A treatise on the meaning of the word "čalabī") and not *Risāla fī taḥqīq lafz al-ğallī*, as Petraček<sup>55</sup> says, because of

<sup>52</sup> See: e.g. GHB, no. 946, fol. 51.

<sup>53</sup> See: GHB, no. 794; Bratislava, no. 5, fol. 5, (Petraček, no. 101).

<sup>54</sup> See: GHB, no. 794, Bratislava.

<sup>55</sup> See: Petraček, *Die Chronologie*, p. 408.



the mistake in the manuscript he was using. Kāfi wrote this short philological treatise because during his life the word *čalabī* started to have a meaning of a dignitary title for any rich person. Kāfi was right in saying that the word is derived from the old Turkmen word *čalab* God. That is why Kāfi thinks the word cannot be used as an attribute for people of prominent origins, families or wealth, but only for pious Muslims excelling in their erudition. This was Kāfi's first work, created between 983 and 988/1575-80,<sup>56</sup> according to his autobiography.

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, GHB, no. 946, fol. 51-52; Title: *Risāla fī taḥqīq lafẓ čalab wa čalabī*, no. 98, fol. 18 (M. Handžić's collection).

2. *Tamhīs at-talhīs fī 'ilm al-balāga*, a work on Arabic poetics, stylistics and rhetoric, ('ilm al-ma'ānī, al-bajān and al-badī), called 'ilm al-balāga (rhetoric) in one word. This is a revised and abridged version of the work *Talhīs*, written by al-Ḥatīb al-Qazwīnī (d. in 739/1338). We know that Kāfi wrote an outline for this work before 1008/1599, because in his autobiography he says that he made a final version on the 23rd day of Rajab 1010/January 17, 1602, as he wrote in the conclusion to the work (GHB no. 1689).

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, GHB no. 1689, fol. 1-17, Istanbul, Köprülü Ktb. (see: T. M. Okić, Gajret).

3. *Šarḥ Tamhīs at-talhīs*, a commentary on the previous work (no. 2)<sup>57</sup> that was written in 1010/1602 or later.

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, GHB no. 1689, Paris no. 4418; (a copy from 1050 (1640/41), see: M. le Baron de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits Arabes*, Paris 1883-1895; Brockelmann S I, 519).

## II – Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence)

4. *Ḥadīqat aṣ-ṣalāt fī šarḥ Muḥtaṣar aṣ-ṣalāt*, a commentary on *Muḥtaṣar aṣ-ṣalāt* (or *Talhīs aṣ-ṣalāt*) about namaz, written by Kemal-pasha (or Kemal-pashazade, d. 940/1533).

There has been a great confusion in the scholarly circles about this work. It was created first by Hajji Halifa (HH VI, p. 83, no. 12769), who thought

<sup>56</sup> A short note of 13 lines about the etymology of the word *čelebi* was also written by Ebu Su'ud (d. 984/1574-75; see: E. Rossi, *Electo dei manoscritti turchi della biblioteca Vaticana*, p. 225). Kemalpasazade wrote a short treatise with the same title. Kāfi used that treatise in his work. Some Yusri efendi also writes about degradation of the term *čelebi* in his work *Risale-i buruğ-i funun* 1144/1731 (see: Rossi, 91-92).

<sup>57</sup> Tajib Okić says the title of the work is *Ḥulāṣat al-mā'anī*, which is not true, because that is a gloss on the Kāfi's commentary on *Tamhīs at-talhīs*. That gloss was written Hasan Osman Huseyn Mezyd (Mezyed?) Abdulvehhab in Djakovo in Slavonia 10057/1647. Manuscripts: Zagreb, Orijentalna zbirka JAZU (Oriental collection of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences), no. 112, p. 5; see also: Brockelmann, GAL I, 296 (356, no. 5) Kavala II, p. 154.

that the confusion was created by Handžić (al-Ġawhar al-asnā, p. 55, no. 14 and p. 57, no. 20, *Književni rad*, p. 11) and Fehim Spaho (*Arapski, perzijski i turski rukopisi*, pp. 55-56). When writing about *Muqaddimat aš-šalāt* by Fenari (Šamsuddīn Muḥammad Ḥamza al-Fanārī, d. 834/1431) Hajji Halifa says that one commentary on the work was written by Hasan Kāfī al-Aqhisari. Still, Hajji Halifa adds that the basic work was not written by Fenari but by Ibn Kemal-pasha, referring to lectures by his professor Hajji efendi Kara Yılan (Halifa does not note the name correctly), who was a teacher and then a *mu'īd* (assistant) and finally the *fetvā-emin* of Ibn Kemal-pasha. Kāfī's remarks do not pertain to Fenari's *Muqaddimat aš-šalāt*, but to Ibn Kemal-pasha's *Muḥtaṣar aš-šalāt*, that Kāfī really commented on, as he says in his autobiography and as I stated through the comparison of the beginning of that manuscript, in the possession of the Institute for Oriental Studies, with its beginning quoted by Hajji Halifa when he speaks of that work as an alleged commentary on *Muqaddimat aš-šalāt*. Therefore, Handžić's and Spaho's statements should be revised. In addition, it is not true that Kāfī wrote this work in 996/1588, as he said in his biography, but on the last day of the month of Safar in 998/January 7, 1590, as he said in his conclusion at the end of that work. Hajji Halifa cites the same year on the mentioned spot.

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, Institute for Oriental Studies, no. 1968, fol. 50-92, Istanbul, Hamidiyya Ktb. (see: M. T. Okić).

5. *Risāla fī ḥāšiyat Kitāb ad-dawā li Ṣadr aš-Šarī'a*, a treatise – gloss on the book *On judicial legal proceedings* in the work of *Šarḥ al-Wiqāya* by Ṣadr aš-Šarī'a. The job was finished in 994/1585, when the author's service of a qadi in Prusac expired.

MANUSCRIPT: Sarajevo, GHB, no. 946, fol. 49-51 (copied from the autograph).

6. *Sayf al-quḍāt fī at-ta'zīr* (A qadi sword on punishing), a shorter treatise which discusses some parts from the chapter *at-Ta'zīr* in the mentioned work by Ṣadr aš-Šarī'a.

MANUSCRIPT: Sarajevo, GHB, no. 946, fol. 52-53; from the library of Feyziyye madrasa in Travnik; copied from the autograph 1026/1617; the Muhibić's private collection of Islamic manuscripts. (At the end of the manuscript there are five verses in Arabic in which Kāfī praises Rumelian military commander Bostanzade Mehmed).

7. *Risāla fī ba'ḍ masā'il al-fiqh*, a treatise on some legal matters. The work is cited only by Handžić (I, p. 55); the manuscript is unknown.

8. *Šarḥ Muḥtaṣar al-Qudūrī*, a commentary on Kuduri's *Muḥtaṣar* about the hanafī fiqh. Kāfī does not mention this work, which allegedly has four volumes, in his autobiography. Still, the work is cited by well-informed Ata'ī (II, p. 584) as one of the first Kāfī's works, as well as by Katib Čalabī in his *Fezleke* (vol. I, p. 380), but not in *Kašf az-zunūn*. I. Bašagić, S. Bašagić, Handžić and Okić, cite the work by the same source. The work, if it had been written at all, must have been written after 1008/1599.

There is a claim that the manuscript of this work is in some library in Brusa (see: Okić).

9. *Samt al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl* (An Introduction to methodology of Islamic jurisprudence). This is an abridged version of *Manār al-anwār*, written by Nessefi. Kāfī started writing this work after 996/1589, when he had returned from Istanbul and became a *qadi* in Srijem. The work was finished in the last third of Rabi I 1000/December 7-16, 1591, as it is mentioned in one manuscript, or during his pilgrimage to Mecca in the same year, as he says in his autobiography.

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, GHB, no. 3406; (manuscript from 19<sup>th</sup> century). Istanbul, Hamidiyya Ktb. (see: Tajib Okić).

10. *Šarh Samt al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl*, the commentary on the previous work. Kāfī finished the commentary in Prusac in the month of Dhu'l Hijjah 1004/from July 27, 1596, as he says in autobiography, i.e. on the last day of that month, as it is written at the end of the work's copy of the Institute for Oriental Studies no. 640, p. 88, copied from the autograph.

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, GHB no. 2585, fol. 182-252 (copied by Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-Āqḥīṣārī in 1087/1677; the transcriber was a professor in Istanbul; he died in Bosnia 1115/1703); no. 946, fol. 1-30; no. 3673, fol. 1-84; (transcribed from the autograph by Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥaḡi Muḥammad az Zekerī in 1083/1672; from Karadžoz-bey mosque in Mostar). Institute for Oriental Studies no. 640 (from the library of the National Museum); p. 26-88; (transcribed by Muḥammad al-Āqḥīṣārī from the autograph).

### III - Theology

11. *Rawḍāt al-ḡannāt fi uṣūl al-i'tiqādāt min 'ilm al-kalām* (Gardens of Eden on Foundations of Faith), a work on Islamic dogmatics. Kāfī succinctly presented orthodox teachings of other, especial Sufi, outlooks. The outline of the work was finished in the last third of Rajab 1006/beginning of March 1598, as he says himself at the end of his commentary to this work<sup>48</sup>. In his autobiography, Kāfī says that he wanted to revise, append and make a clean copy of the outline in 1008/1599, but he had to postpone his work because of different circumstances. The work was finally revised and copied only in the first third of Jumada I 1014 (September 15-23, 1605), during the campaign against Ostrogon. Kāfī participated in this campaign and was very busy with political/military matters at hand and conferences with Mehmed-paša Sokolović. The making of this work lasted for quite a long time. This removes all differences about the time of the making of this work with several writers. (See: Brockelmann, GAL II, p. 443, where the work is dated 1014 = 1605/6; M. Tahir (OM I, p. 277), where the work is dated 1006 = 1598; Bašagić says that the work was finished in 1006/1597 "during the defense of Osijek" (*Bošnjaci* 55).

When writing this work, the author used dogmatics written by Ṭaḡāwī, Nasafī, Sanūsī, Sujūtī and Abū Ḥanīfa (*Fiqh al-Akbar*).

The work is divided into eight chapters (*bāb*) and even today represents one of the best works of Islamic religious-instruction in Arabic literature (Handžić, *Književni rad* 9).

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, GHB, no. 3135, fol. 71-88 (Dobrača 120); no. 794; fol. 1-21, (transcription from the 8<sup>th</sup> century; Dobrača no. 722); no. 3318; (transcription from 1118/1706; *waqf* of Svrzo Mehmed, son of Muhamed-agma; Dobrača 723); no. 1004, fol. 20-28; (transcription by Fejzullah Dženetić, 1218/1803, *waqf* of Mustajbeg Dženetić; Dobrača no. 605); Institute for Oriental Studies no. 922, 1296 (Spaho no. 166 and 167), 643 (MT 1012), 2320; the Muhibićs' collection (excellent copy). Bratislava, TF 56, fol. 30-55; title *Rawḍāt al-'aḳā'id*; transcribed by 'Oṣmān ibn Muṣṭafā or Yusuf (?) Fojnićević 1166/1752; Petraček 99. Berlin We 1757 (Ahwalrdt no. 1841; transcription from 1147/1733). Leipzig, Ratsbibliothek no. 190; for other manuscripts see Brockelmann SII, p. 659.

EDITIONS: Istanbul 1305; published (with gloss) by Istanbul publisher Bosniak Hajji Muharrem efendi Smajiš (from Sarajevo, and not Bihać). The author of the work is misnamed as Muhamed Bergivi; I do not know who the author of the commentary is. (See T. Okić) 23, p. 8.

TRANSLATION: Turkish: Mahmud Esad (who mistakenly ascribes the work to M. Bergivi), Serbo-Croatian: Mehmed Handžić, *Edenic gardens on foundations of faith*. (*Rawḍāt al-ḡannāt fi uṣūl al-ṯiqādāt*) Arabic version written by Hasan Kāfi efendi Pruščak. Translated and annotated by H. Mehmed Handžić, Gajret calendar for 1940, pp. 34-63, and separately; Sarajevo, 1939, p. 32., 2nd edition Sarajevo, 1944 (Bookstore B. M. Kalajdžić).

12. *Azhar ar-rawḍāt fi ṣarḥ Rawḍāt al-ḡannāt* (*Garden flowers, a commentary on Edenic public gardens*), a commentary on the work *Rawḍāt al-ḡannāt*. The author wrote the outline of this work in the first third of the month of Rajab 1014/mid-November 1605, in Osijek when returning from the battle at Ostrogon. Kāfi revised, appended and copied the outline (*tabjīd* and *ikmāl*) in Prusac (Akhisar), in the third part of Shawwal 1015/February 18-27, 1606, as he says in the conclusion to this work. GHB no. 902 (Dobrača 724); GHB no. 1514 (Dobrača 725); GHB no. 1930 (Dobrača 726); Bratislava no. TF 88 (Petraček no. 100).

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo GHB no. 902 (from Feyziyya madrasa in Travnik, the manuscript is probably from the 17<sup>th</sup> century; Dobrača 724); no. 1514, fol. 1-70 (transcription in 1142/1729, see fol. 168; *waqf* of Memiš-aga Kasumagić; Dobrača 725); no. 1930, fol. 1-64, (Dobrača 726); no. 3630, fol. 1-62 (from the library of Karadžoz-bey mosque in Mostar, copied by Ibrahim ibn Ahmed Muradagazade 1055/1645, Dobrača 727); Institute for Oriental Studies, no. 153 (from the library of the National Museum no. 639 and 241 (unfinished transcription)); National Library no. 182, fol. 3-87. (Transcribed by Ali Yusuf 1124). Bratislava no. TF 88, (transcription from the 17<sup>th</sup> century; it used to belong to the *waqf* of poet Ṣafā'ī according to a writing from 1078/1667; from the library of Safvet-beg Bašagić, see Bašagić, Popis (*Inventory*) 83; Petraček no. 100); TG 5, fol. 1-89; transcription between 1606 and 1650. Bašagić bought this copy from a khoja in Prusac and thought it was the autograph or a copy made by a student of Hasan Kāfi (Bašagić, *Inventory* 84; Petraček *Katalog* (*Catalogue*) 101; the conclusion is much shorter here and Bašagić concluded that the author started writing the work during the siege of Osijek in 1006, and fin-

ished it in Prusac in 1015; On the fol. 5 there is a note that says that eš-Šejh el-Kāfī ez-Zībī el-Āqḥīšārī died in 024. Petraček, no. 101); Berlin no. 1842 (see: Ahlward II, 365; transcription from 1100/1688).

One commentary on Kāfī's *Rawḍāt* was written by Mahmud Esad, who devoted it to Muhammed Bergivi when he visited his grave thinking that Bergivi was the author of the work. (See: M. T. Okić, Gajret 1927, pp. 327-328).

Ibrahim-beg Bašagić (*Salnama* III, part II, 1-5), and later Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci* 55 and T.M. Okić cite that Hasan Kāfī wrote a work in dogmatic theology titled *al-Munīra*. M. Handžić cites it also (*Al-Ġawhar al-asnā* 55, *Književni rad* 107), but there is a dispute whether the author of that work is Hasan Kāfī or Kemalpasazade. No older source cites any Kāfī's work with that or similar title whereas Hajji Halfa clearly says that Ibn Kemal-pasha wrote a treatise titled *al-Munira*, about preaching and *tasawwuf* (HH II, Istanbul 1943, p. 1888), and gives its beginning. Therefore, I think that the author of the work is Ibn Kemal-pasha, and not our Kāfī.

13. *Nūr al-yaqīn fī usūl ad-dīn* (The Light of the True Cognition of the Foundation of Religion). This is a commentary on the dogmatic work *Risala fī usūl ad-dīn* or '*aqā'id*' by Taḥāwī.

In his conclusion, Kāfī says that he wrote this work during the siege of Ostrogon, two days before the fort was conquered, i.e. on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of Jumada I 1014/September 30, 1605.

This work is identical with his commentary of the religious-instruction work by Tahavi, which Kāfī mentions in his work *Rawḍāt al-ḡannāt*. It is not some other work.

The work was devoted to the then grand vizier Lala Mehmed-paša Sokolović, who was praised by the author in its introduction.

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, GHB, no. 1514, fol. 71-142 (transcription from 1142/1729 Dobrača 725); no. 2716, fol. 1-48; transcribed by Ibrahim Ali Uskopjevi 1153/1740; Dobrača no. 725); Institute for Oriental Studies no. 4378, 4579, National Library no. 182, fol. 89-152; title

*Nūr al-yaqīn fī 'ilm at-tawḥīd*. Bratislava, TG 5, fol. 89-153; the transcriber is the same as in no. 12. Petraček, *Cat.* 103; Leipzig, o. 190.

#### IV – Philosophy

14. *Muḥtaṣar al-Kāfī min al-manṭiq* (A Refresher Course in Logic). That is how Kāfī called this work in his autobiography. Although he was aware of the fact, Handžić cites this work with the title: *Muḥtaṣar al-Kāfī fī 'ilm al-manṭiq* (*al-Ġawhar al-esnā*, p. 55, no. 7). However, in his *Književni rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana* (Literary works of Bosnian and Herzegovinina Muslims) (p. 104) Handžić says that Kāfī wrote a piece on logic "titled *Muḥtaṣar al-Kāfī*" and quotes: "wa sammajtuhi bi'smī: Kāfī". (= "and I titled it by my name: Kāfī"). This sentence is in the introduction to this work possessed by the Institute of Oriental Studies (no. 591). Hence, Handžić took the sentence from that work or some of its other manuscripts.

I mention this because Evliyā Čelebī, when writing about Hasan Kāfī, says that he wrote a short commentary on Ibn Haġib's Arabic syntax titled *al-Kāfiya* (*Seyāhatnāma* V, 446; H. Šabanović, Evlija Čelebi, *Putopis*, Sarajevo 1967, p. 133 with note 49); Bašagić included this work in Kāfī's opus on the basis of this Evliya's remark. The same was done by M. Handžić in his work *Al-Ġawhar al-asnā* (p. 56, no. 15), although he knew about this Kāfī's work on logic. In his *Književni rad* (p. 69), Handžić doubted Evliyā Čelebī's statement, but without discarding it. Evliya was obviously mistaken; this was Kāfī's work *Muhtašar al-Kāfī* on logic, and not the commentary on Ibn Haġib's Arabic syntax *al-Kāfiyye*. M. Tajib Okić warned about this in 1927 in the mentioned article, which was unknown to Handžić.

Chronologically, this was Kāfī's second work written in 988/1580, as he says in his autobiography, and definitely in Prusac.

MANUSCRIPT: Sarajevo, Institute for Oriental Studies no. 591 (MT 878), pp. 1-28. Title: *Kitāb Kāfī ilā al-manṭiq*. Transcribed by Ibrahim b. Ibrahim Al-Aqḥiṣārī on the 15th day of Rajab 1143.

15. *Šarḥ Muhtašar al-Kāfī min manṭiq*, the commentary on the previous work on logic up to the end of the chapter on *at-tašawwurāt* (on notions). Kāfī wrote the commentary in 991/1583, when he was appointed a qadī in Prusac. The only source that mentions this work is Kāfī's autobiography, and Evliyā Čalabī, who obviously knew about this work. It is not known whether Kāfī finished the commentary later; no manuscript of this work is known.

#### V – History

16. *Niẓām al-'ulamā' ilā ḥātam al-anbiyā'* (A Succession of Scholars to the Last Messenger). In the Islamic world there is a very old tradition that a teacher, in diplomas that he gives to students, writes not only his and names of his teachers, but also the names of all previous teachers, all the way to the founders of a certain discipline. This specifically pertains to main Islamic sciences, *tafsir*, *hadīth*, *fiqh*, *aqāid*, *qiraet* etc. Following the tradition, Hasan Kāfī first gave the list, and short biographies of all teachers of Islamic jurisprudence from Muhammed, founder of Islam, Ebu Hanifa, founder of the Hanefiyah School of jurisprudence, to Kāfī's teacher Hajji efendi Kara Yılan. Kāfī then gave his biography until 1008/1599, in which he mentioned some of his other teachers. Although short and concise, this autobiography contains valuable biographical data; later he mentioned three of his best students and friends. There are thirty-six short biographies in thirty chapters. The 32<sup>nd</sup> or 33<sup>rd</sup> is the biography of famous Egyptian lawyer al-Fanari, who was the first to teach hanefiyah fiqh in Ruma, Turkey, and in our lands through his students. Kāfī emphasizes that the chronology was the same for him and most of his friends and contemporaries.

When writing this work Hasan Kāfī used the following works: *Wafayāt al-a'yān* by Ibn Ḥallikān, *Tārīḥ* by Ibn Ġazārī, *al-Ġawāhir al-muḍīyya fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīyya* by Abd al-Qadīr b. Muhammad al-Qurašīa, *aš-Šaqā'iq*

*an-Nu'māniyya* by Tašköprüzade, *Katā'ib al-lām al-ahyār* by Kafawī, *Ṭabaqāt* by Taqiyuddin at-Tamīm ad-Dārī and others.

Today there are two known editions of this work. One, very short, was finished before or during the battle at Yegar 1005/1506, and another one, definitive and much longer, which Kāfi finished in 1008/1599-1600 and presented to the then grand vizier, his countryman Ibrahim-paša Novošehererlija.

MANUSCRIPTS: Sarajevo, GHB no. 1930, fol. 65-88 (Dobrača no. 726); no. 98, fol. 13-33; (transcription by M. Handžić from the previous manuscript); no. 946, fol. 31-49 (transcription in 1026/1617 from the autograph; from the library of Feyziyya madrasa in Travnik); no. 3673, fol. 85-88; much abridged edition from the library of Karadžoz-bey mosque in Mostar; translated by the mentioned Mustafa b. H. Muhammed ez-Zerkeri from the autograph 1083/1672; Institute for Oriental Studies no.252, pp. 104-137 and no. 2561, newer transcription which says at the end that the author wrote the work on the first day of Muharram 1009. Bratislava, TF 136, fol. 43-54; transcribed by Šālih b. al-ḥāgg Alī 1191/1777; no. 441; Petraček, *Katalog* (*Catalogue*) no 74; *ibid.*, *Archiv Orientalni* 27, 1959, 407-412; Istanbul, The library of the madrasa of Kılıç Ali-pasha. One transcription from that copy was with professor M. T. Okić; Kāfi calls the cover page of that manuscript Vedžhuddin al-Aqhisari. (see: M. T. Okić).

EXCERPT: M. Handžić, *al-Ġawhar al-asnā fi tarāğim 'ulamā' wa šu'arā' Bosna*, Kairo 1935, pp. 50-54 (Hasan Kāfi's autobiography).

TRANSLATION: M. Handžić, *Nizām-ulama ilā Hātemil-enbiyā* (A Succession of scholars to the Last Messengers). Arabic written by Hasan Kāfi efendi Pruščak. Translated by Mehmed Handžić, Sarajevo 1935, Islamic stock printing house. Taken from Novi Behar.

## VI – Politics

17. *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fi nizām al-'ālam* (Foundations of Wisdom on Regulation of the World), a moral/political treatise about organization of state and society, Kāfi's most famous work. Kāfi wrote the basic text in Arabic in Prusac in the month of Dhu'l Hijjah 1004 (from July 27, 1596). In the fall of the same year he presented it to state dignitaries near Yegar and asked for it to be given to the sultan. They did not do so and they recommended Kāfi to translate the work into Turkish so that it could be then given to the sultan and "for other officials of the divan to use". Kāfi did so and in Rajab 1005 (February 18 to March 19, 1597) he finished the work. He added special introduction in Turkish and put, after each sentence written in Arabic, its paraphrase in Turkish, adding some examples to corroborate his statements in the basic text.

The work was divided into Introduction (*muqaddima*), four chapters (*aṣl* = foundation) and conclusion (*ḥātima*). In the introduction, the author writes about the need to regulate the state and the conditions that had to be met for the authority to last long. In the second chapter (foundation) Kāfi writes about the need for mutual consultation and conferring, about prayer to God to grant goodness, about respect and consideration for opinions of oth-

ers, and about the need for discussing matters. The third chapter is about the necessity of using variants achievements of military and warfare, about regulation of the army and its equipment and betterment of the morale of the troops. The fourth chapter is about causes of victory and God's help and about causes of defeat. In his conclusion, the author writes about how to negotiate peace and about peace contract.

In his work, Kāfī mostly used *Anwār al-tanzīl* by Qādi Baydawī and *Rawḍāt al-aḥyār* (which Kāfī misnamed *Rawḍāt al-'ulamā'*), written by Qāsim b. Ya'qūb; (this is an excerpt from *Kitāb rabī' al-abrār* by Zamahshari).

MANUSCRIPTS of this work are numerous, here and throughout the world.

- a) The basic text in Arabic: Sarajevo, GHB, n., 98, fol. 1-33 (transcription by M. Handžić); Bratislava TF 120 (transcribed in Sarajevo 1098/1678 by some Omer efendi from Kostajnica, the then qadi in Sanski Most; he complains about not having the time to transcribe the Turkish translation. Bašagić, *Popis (Inventory)* 255; L. Petraček, *Katalog (Catalogue)* no. 309, London, Brit. Museum Harl. 5490, fol. 343-373 (Rieu, CTM 237).
- b) Arabic text with translation into Turkish: Sarajevo, GHB, no. 2270, fol. 140-167; Institute for Oriental Studies no. 524, fol. 1-20 (MT 720); no. 1964 (from the library of the Balkan Institute no. 562), fol. 1-22; transcribed by Mahmud Brkić, son of Ibrahim-gha, son of Hasan-gha from Livno 1235/1819; no. 2932, transcribed by Behdžet Mustafa Mutevelić (Mutevellizade) b. Ahmed b. Muhamed on the 27th day od Dhu'l Hijja 1192 in the Novosel county; National Library no. 259, fol. 99-141; Bratislava TF 123 (transcribed, probably from the autograph, by Hamza b. Ibrāhīm al-Aqhisārī 1913/1604; Bašagić, *Popis (Inventory)* 256; Blašković *Katalog (Catalogue)* 437). Istanbul, TSMK, Revan 419 (F. E. Karatay, TYK no. 1531); Revan, no. 2034, fol. 89-170 (Karatay, 2989); E. H. 1340 (Karatay, 1532); E. H. 1515, fol. 300-350 (Karatay, 2864); Bagdad Köskü 349, fol. 1-46 (Karatay 1533); Yeniler Kataphığı, 3575 (Karatay 1919); Umumiyye, no. 5172 (titled: *Tārīḥ-i sefer-i Egrī*); cf. the mentioned study by I. Karácson; Babinger, *GOW* 145); Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale (BNP). Supplement turc, no. 202, 891 and 1133 (E. Blochet I, pp. 259-260; II, p. 89, 175); Leipzig no. 231 (Fleischer, *Catal.* 497 f.; Babinger, *GOW* 145); Berlin (Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der türkischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* 5; Dresden, no. 177, (Fleischer, *Catal.* 26; Babinger, *GOW* 145); Wien (Kraft, no. 475).
- c) The author's translation into Turkish (?) Wien, Kons. Ak. 475 (Kraft, *Kat.*, 181).
- d) Turkish translation done by Kerīmzāde 'Iffetī 1146/1733, Istanbul, TSMK, Hazine 624; title: *Risāle-i tertīb-i ğuyüş* (F. E. Karatay, TYK, 1920).

EDITIONS: Istanbul, s. a., Arabic original with the author's Turkish translation; lithography. Edited by Hajji Ali Efendi Fočo, a *dershodža* in Istanbul in the lithography of an Istanbul's bookstore owner Ali efendi Cepić born in Prijedor (see: M. T. Okić, s. p., 329); no title; there is Kāfī's biography on the first page, taken from Atā'i; 44 p. 8°; that is, I think, the same edition for which Bašagić thought to contain only the Turkish translation and assumed that it had been published "probably in Sarajevo during Topal Osman-pasha reign (1860-1868)" (S. Bašagić, *Nizam ul-alem* p. 17). Istanbul 1285 (1868) titled *Nizam ul-alem risalesi* (see: Basmadjian, *Essai*, p. 122). Mekke 1331 (1913), Hicaz Vilayeti Matbaası, Arabic original with Turkish translation; edited by the then Turkish governor in Hiğaz, Ahmed Rešid-paša. See: M. Tahir, *OMI*, 278; III, 65; cf. Babinger, *GOW* 145.



## TRANSLATIONS:

- a) new Turkish translation, abridged and without chapter on old premises of rule, edited by Mehmed Teufik-bey (d. 1311/1893-4) and published in Istanbul journal *Asr*, and later separately with the title: *Aqhisari, Nizam ul-alem*, Mulaḥḥaṣan terḡume eyleyen Tevfik [Istanbul] 1287 (1870). *Asır Gazatesi Matbaası*, 40 p. 8°. (Several copies are in the National Library in Ankara). (See M. Tahir, *OM I*, 278; II, 118; Babinger, *GOW* 145, Bašagić *Nizam ul-alem*, p. 17 (where the year of this edition is mistaken as 1278 (1861); the same is with Babinger, *GOW*, 145, probably on the basis of Bašagić).
- b) French, Garcin de Tassy, *Principes de sagesse, touchant l'art de gouverner par Rizwan-benabdoul Ac-hissari*, *Journal Asiatic* (Paris) IV, 1824, 213-226, 283-290.
- c) Hungarian, Imre v. Karácson, *Ay Egrī török emlékérat a kormañyzás módjáról. Eger vára elfoglalása alkalmával az 1956, évban irta Molla Haszán elkajafi*, Budapest, 1909
- d) German (from Hungarian) L. v. Thallóczy, *Eine Denkschrift des bosnischen Mohammedaners Molla Hassan alkjafi, über die Art und Weise des Regierens*, *Archiv für slawische Philologie* XXXII, 1911, pp. 139-158.
- e) Serbo-Croatian (from Arabic), *Nizam ul-alem (Uredba svijeta)*, *Historijsko-politička rasprava*. Written by Hasan Kāfī Prušćak, translated by dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić. Sarajevo 1919, p. 17 = *GZM* XXXI, 1919, pp. 165-181.

A commentary in Arabic on the basic Arabic text of this work was given by H. M. Handžić during his studies in Kairo 1346/1927.

M. Tahir (*OM I*, 277) was mistaken when stating that Hasan Kāfī wrote a work titled *Egrī melḥamesi tariḥčesi* (A short history of the battle at Yegar). It was also taken as a fact by Handžić (*Književni rad* 106), without critique. In his work *al-Ġawhar al-asnā* Handžić, under no. 19, cites the work *Tārīḥ-i gazawāt Egrī* as Kāfī's, which is, too, a mistake.

From all the things said, it follows that Hasan Kāfī wrote seventeen works and commentaries on his or works of others. The majority of those works exists up to this day in one or several manuscripts. Some of them have been published and translated, and some of them are known only because they were mentioned by Kāfī in his autobiography or some other works or by some other reliable sources like Atā'ī, Hajji Kalfa, i.e. Kātib Čalabī and others.

## HASAN KĀFĪ PRUŠČAK

(Ḥasan Kāfī b. Ṭūrḥān b. Dāwūd b. Ya'qūb az-Zībī al-Āqḥīṣārī al-Bosnawī)

## SAŽETAK

Ḥasan Kāfī b. Ṭūrḥān b. Dāwūd b. Ya'qūb az-Zībī al-Āqḥīṣārī al-Bosnawī bio je posljednjih godina 16. i početkom 17. st. najistaknutija ličnost u naučnom i literarnom životu bosanskih muslimana. Tako visok ugled stekao je plodonosnom i raznovrsnom naučno-literarnom aktivnošću. Tome su doprinjeli njegova škola i darovnica (vakuf) u Akhisaru (Prusac, srednja Bosna). Kāfijevo djelo *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fi nizām al-'ālam*, koje tretira državu i društveno uređenje, privuklo je pažnju francuskog orijentaliste Garcina de Tassy, (Garcin de Tassy, *Principes de sagesse, touchant l'art de gouverner, par Rizwan-ben abd'oul Ac-hisari*, Journal Asiatique IV, 1824, p. 213-226; 283-290) koji ga je učinio pristupačnim zapadnim istraživačima. Od tada pa do današnjih dana Kāfī je, istina u ograničenoj mjeri, bio u centru interesa, kako istočnih, tako i zapadnih istraživača.

U ovom radu autor se trudio da skupi izvore i literaturu o Ḥasanu Kāfiji i time obogati njegovu biobibliografiju.

Ḥasan Kāfī je rođen u Pruscu krajem novembra, početkom decembra 1544. (ramazan 951. h.). Ime Kāfī (maḥlaṣ) koristi od 988/1580. Nakon nižeg i srednjeg obrazovanja, odlazi na studij u Istanbul 1566. gdje ostaje do 983/1575. Zatim odlazi u domovinu gdje radi kao učitelj i bavi se literarnim radom. Njegovo prvo djelo bila je kratka filološka rasprava o smislu i upotrebi riječi čelebi (*Risāla fi taḥqīq lafz Čalabī*), zatim kratak rad o logici. Sarajevski kadija Bali ef. angažovao ga je da mu pomogne istraživati učenje bosanskih Hamzevija, da bi mogao protiv njih da se bori. Nakon smrti Bali ef. (1582/999) vratio se u Prusac, držao predavanja, a 1583/991 bio je postavljen za kadiju. U isto vrijeme napisao je komentar na već navedeno djelo o logici. Da bi ponovo bio izabran za kadiju napisao je 1585/994 djelo o sudskom parničnom postupku, koje je trebalo da mu posluži kao habilitacija. Poznato je da je 996/1588. napisao djelo *Ḥadiqat aṣ-ṣalāt*, a zatim da je jedno vrijeme proveo u Istanbulu. Slijedi njegovo naimenovanje za kadiju u Sirmiji, gdje je, pored sudske službe držao i predavanja i gdje je napisao djelo Uvod u islamsko pravo – *Samt al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl*. Godine 1591/2/1000. odlazi na hadž u Meku.

Njegov rad *Sayf al-quḍāt fi at-ta'zīr* poslužio mu je kao habilitacija za naimenovanje za kadiju u jednom malom mjestu u blizini Prusca, gdje je ostao do 1594. Ponovo predaje u Pruscu, gdje se nastavlja baviti naučno-literarnom djelatnošću. Krajem 1596/1004 završio je komentar na djelo *Samt al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl*, a uskoro zatim i djelo *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fi nizām al-'ālam* (Osnove mudrosti o uređenju sijeta). To je moralno-političko djelo u kojem se govori o negativnim pojavama u državi i društvu, napisano sa namjerom da bude uputa vladarima i državnim službenicima. Kao nagradu za to djelo sultan Mehmed III učinio je da Kāfī ostane doživotno kadija u Pruscu i da bude učitelj mladim generacijama.

Sljedeće godine napisao je koncept za djelo *Rawḍāt al ḡannāt fī usūl al-i'tiqādāt*, a zatim 1600/1008 još jedan koncept *Tamḥiṣ al-talḥiṣ*. U to vrijeme završio je biografsko djelo *Nizāmu-l- 'ulamā' ila ḥātam al-anbiyā*, a zatim je redigovao svoje ranije radove. Pratio je velikog vezira Mehmed-pašu Sokolovića u pohodu na Estergon, a zatim je redigovao svoje djelo *Rawḍāt al ḡannāt*, a također i djelo *Nūr al yaqīn fī usūl ad-dīn*. Na povratku, u Osjeku, sredinom novembra 1605. god. radio je još na djelu *Rawḍāt al ḡannāt*, koje je nakon povratka u Prusac redigovao i konačno dovršio (treća dekada ševalla, 19-27 februar 1607). Kāfī provodi miran život u domovini i posvećuje se literaturi i literarnom radu. Iz tog vremena potiče i njegova darovnica (vakuf): džamija, medresa, han, mekteb i vodovod. Pored njih je nastalo novo naselje Nevābād – danas mahala Srt.

Kāfī je napisao 17 djela, od kojih su neka samostalna, a neka su komentari na neka njegova i druga djela. Većina njih sačuvana je u jednom, ili više prepisa. Neka su štampana i prevedena. Neka su nam poznata preko njegovih podataka, ili su ih spomenuli 'Aṭā'ī, Haḡi Ḥalīfa, Kātib Čelebī i drugi autori.

Kāfī je umro 28.08.1616. (15. ša'ban 1025.) i sahranjen je u Pruscu u blizini svoje džamije, u posebnome turbetu koje i danas postoji.

#### HASAN KĀFĪ PRUŠĆAK

(Ḥasan Kāfī b. Ṭurḡān b. Dāwūd b. Ya'qūb az-Zībī al-Āqḥiṣārī al-Bosnawī)

#### SUMMARY

In the last few years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and in early 17<sup>th</sup> century, Ḥasan Kāfī b. Ṭurḡān b. Dāwūd b. Ya'qūb az-Zībī al-Āqḥiṣārī al-Bosnawī was the most prominent person in the scientific and literary life of Bosnian Muslims. He acquired this reputation through fruitful and versatile literary and scientific activity. This was contributed by his school and his endowment (*waqf*) in Akhisar (Prusac, Central Bosnia). Kāfī's work *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī nizām al- 'ālam*, which deals with the issues of state and social order, attracted the French Orientalist Garcin de Tassy (Garcin de Tassy, *Principes de sagesse touchant l'art de gouverner, par Rizwan-ben abd 'oul Ac-hisari*, Journal Asiatique IV, 1824, pp. 213-226, 283-290) who made him accessible to western researchers. Since then, until today, though to a limited extent, Kāfī has been in the focus of interest of both eastern and western researchers.

In this paper, the author tried to collect sources and literature on Ḥasan Kāfī and thus enrich his biography.

Ḥasan Kāfī was born in Prusac in late November or early December 1544 (Ramandan 951 h.). He started using the name Kāfī (*mahlas*) in 988/1580. Following primary and secondary education, he departed for Istanbul in 1566 for further education, and he stayed there until 983/1575. He then returned home and worked as a teacher, in addition to writing. His first writing was a

short philological discussion on the sense and use of the word *čelebi* (*Risāla fī taḥqīq lafz Čalabī*), then a short paper on logic. The *qadi* of Sarajevo, Bali effendi, employed him to assist in researching the teaching of Bosnian Hamzawis, in order to combat them. After the death of Bali effendi, (1582/999) he returned to Prusac and lectured there, and in 1583/991 he was appointed *qadi*. At the same time, he wrote a comment on his earlier writing on logic. In order to be reappointed as *qadi*, in 1585/994 he wrote a paper on civil proceedings, which was to serve as his habilitation. It is also known that in 996/1588 he wrote his *Ḥadiqat aṣ-ṣalāt*, and he spent some time in Istanbul again. He was later appointed *qadi* in Sirmium, where he served and also lectured, and where he wrote his *Introduction to Islamic Law – Samt al-wuṣūl ilā ‘ilm al-uṣūl*. He went to Mecca to perform his hajj in 1591-2/1000.

His *Sayf al-quḍāt fī at-ta‘zīr* served as his habilitation for the appointment as *qadi* in a small town near Prusac, and he stayed there until 1594. He returned to Prusac to lecture and continue his research and writing. In late 1596/1004, he completed a comment on *Samt al-wuṣūl ilā ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, and soon after that he completed his *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī nizām al-‘ālam* (Basic Wisdom on World Order). This is a moral-political piece which deals with negative phenomena in state and society, written with the intention to act as a guide for rulers and state officials. As a reward for this particular writing, Sultan Mehmed II made certain that Kāfī could stay in Prusac for the rest of his life and that he could teach younger generation.

In the following year he wrote an outline for his *Rawḍāt al-ğannāt fī uṣūl al-i‘tiqādāt*, and then in 1600/1008 another outline for *Tamḥiṣ al-talḥiṣ*. At the time he had completed his biographical writing titled *Nizāmu-l-‘ulamā’ ila ḥātam al-anbiyā*, and then copy-edited his older works. He followed the Grand Vizier, Mehmed-pasha Sokolović, on his campaign on Estergon, and then copy-edited his djelo *Rawḍāt al-ğannāt* and *Nūr al-yaqīn fī uṣūl ad-dīn*. Following his return, he worked in Osjek in mid-November 1605, he continued working on *Rawḍāt al-ğannāt*, which he finally completed in Prusac (third section of Shawwal, 19-27 February 1607). Kāfī was spending quiet days in his homeland and he dedicated himself fully to his literary works. That is the time of creation of his endowment (*waqf*): a mosque, a *madrasa*, a *karavan-saray*, a *mekteb* and a water supply system. Next to them a new quarter – Nevābād, later developed – its modern name is Srt.

Kāfī wrote seventeen pieces, of which some are autonomous and some are comments of his earlier works. Most of them are preserved in one of several copies. Some have been printed and translated. Some we know about via his ancestors, or they were mentioned, ‘Aṭā’ī, Haḡi Ḥalīfa, Kātib Čalabī, and others.

Kāfī died on August 28, 1616 (15<sup>th</sup> day of Šaban) and was buried in Prusac, close to his mosque, in a separate grave that is still there.