

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ARTŪHI WEPT:

NEW APPROACHES TO READING EMOTIONS IN *DĀNĪŞMENDNĀME (THE BOOK OF
KING DĀNĪŞMEND)*

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2022

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Notes on Transliteration and Translations

Transliterations adhere to *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (IJMES)* guide for Ottoman Turkish (used for Old Anatolian Turkish) and Persian. The one exception to this rule is my use of *η* instead of *ñ* for *ك*. When quoting other sources in translation, I make slight adjustments to the transliteration style of that author or editor to maintain the consistency of this transliteration style.

In lieu of transliteration, I use Anglicized spelling for words familiar to an English-speaking audience (i.e., *sultan*) as well as modern Turkish spellings for frequently-mentioned cities in *Dānişmendnāme* that exist today, such as *Malatya*, *Sivas*, *Amasya*, and *Tokat*.

Translations from *Dānişmendnāme* are my own unless otherwise stated. I take full responsibility for any errors contained herein.

List of Abbreviations

<i>EP</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition</i>
<i>EP</i> ³	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam, Third Edition</i>
<i>TDVİA</i>	<i>Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Tarama Sözlüğü</i>

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I thank my adviser and committee members for their support, encouragement, and guidance over my years at the University of Chicago. Hakan Karateke has been a pillar of support for both my academic and writing careers from the beginning. I could not have asked for a better adviser. Helga Anetshofer-Karateke taught me to read Ottoman, but I am forever indebted to her for introducing me to Old Anatolian Turkish through the wonders (and giant crabs!) of *Şaltuḡnāme*. Thank you both for sharing in my curiosity and delight over all things Old Anatolian Turkish, for fostering my love of *Dānişmendnāme*, and for shaping me into the scholar I am today. I thank John E. Woods for giving me my enthusiasm for the Mongols and for heartily endorsing my enduring obsession with *Ḳāḏī Burhāneddīn*. Franklin Lewis deepened my knowledge of and appreciation for Persian literature, but I especially thank him for the *Khosrow o Shīrīn* reading class that fulfilled my years-long dream to read that text. It was the highlight of my coursework.

I thank Dimitris Kastritsis, whose seminar on the Classical Ottoman Empire 1300-1600 in my final semester at the University of St Andrews and enthusiasm about the Interregnum period proved to be a gateway drug to late medieval Anatolia. Speaking of gateway drugs: in 2012, Khaled Fahmy opened the wonders of the Ottoman world to me in a seminar on Ottoman Egypt at the American University of Cairo and was the first to tell me that I would excel in graduate school. I thank Marilyn Booth for sage advice on the pros and cons of pursuing a PhD in the U.S. versus the U.K. and Nancy Khalek for meeting with me to discuss the vast lacunae and methodological hurdles of the history of emotions in Islamic studies.

I pursued the education that I have from a desire to study more languages and to be challenged while doing so. I have not been disappointed—though I occasionally wondered if I had bitten off more than I could chew during Fabio Caiani’s Arabic classes at the University of St Andrews. At the University of Edinburgh, Farah Aboubakr took what Arabic I had and taught me to fly. I am forever indebted to her. I thank Saeed Ghahremani for peerless Persian instruction and dry humor *par excellence*. I thank my instructors and the passionate, hardworking teaching assistants at the Turkish Language and Culture Program at Boğaziçi University, where I had the privilege to study in 2010 and 2016. I am indebted to the American Research Institute in Turkey for providing me the funding to return to TLCP in 2016. I thank Selim Kuru for encouraging my love of Old Anatolian Turkish at the Ottoman Studies Foundation’s Intensive Ottoman and Turkish Summer School in Cunda.

I am deeply grateful for the friends I have made at the University of Chicago, especially Kara A. Peruccio, Sam Pellegrino, Annie Green, Betül Kaya, Mohsin Rao, and Kyle Wynter-Stoner, and for Sarah Boyle and Sarah Levenstam, the old friends with whom UChicago reunited me. Thank you for your commiseration, camaraderie, and levity in classrooms and outside them (to wit: in Grounds of Being) as we navigate graduate school and the mysteries that lie beyond. I could write a whole chapter about how weekly workshopping sessions with Courtney Lesoon and Hannah Hyden are the reason this dissertation got written at all, but I’ll spare them reading more of my writing (for now). For eighteen months, their insightful critique and laughter has provided the accountability I desperately needed and eased the loneliness of writing a dissertation in various states of lockdown and far from campus.

I thank my students for sharing in my enthusiasm about the pre- and early modern Islamic world and for laughing at my bad Mongol jokes. I especially thank my Ancient Empires class, the first course I taught solo—their delight as we read *The Architect's Apprentice*, *Altai*, *My Name is Red*, and *Felatun Bey and Rakım Efendi* in Autumn 2020 was a lifeline in a tumultuous season.

I thank my literary agent, Kari Sutherland, for four years of tireless cheerleading as I juggled studying, teaching, and creative writing. I am deeply grateful to my editor, Jennifer Monroe, and the publicity and marketing teams at Berkley for keeping my academic commitments and anxieties in mind as we prepared to launch my debut novel (which happened the day after I defended this dissertation).

I thank my Clarion West Writing Workshop classmates for working alongside me in daily sprint sessions and cheering me through the most tedious days, namely N. Theodoridou, Ewen Ma, and E.C. Barrett. I especially thank B. Pladek, whose willingness to share wisdom, compassion, and advice on academia was instrumental in surviving the latter half of grad school.

I will never be able to repay the friends and family who have kept me more-or-less sane over the last seven years. Debbie Blair, Liam Kirwin, and Erin Slomski-Pritz were always a text, call, or room away through attempted coups, my apartment flooding on the eve of oral exams, and a global pandemic. My in-laws Mary, Michael, and Alison Sturrock fueled the writing of every chapter of this dissertation in their beautiful home in Victoria with delicious dinners, long walks, warm fires, and far too many bags of Miss Vickie's Salt & Vinegar chips. Stewart took my interests seriously from my first semester of *alifbaa*'s and has always been a source of encouragement and top-notch Turkish puns. I'm not entirely sure that my beloved slew of aunts,

uncles, and cousins understand what it is I do (or why it has taking so long), but they certainly have never faltered in providing cheerleading and support!

My sisters are the backbone of everything I do. I thank them all for supporting me, for putting up with my getting lost in Cairo, Beirut, the West Bank, and Jordan, and for having to text me *where are you? there's been a coup* on a balmy July evening in 2016. I am very boring now and promise to continue to be. I especially thank my brother Javier for his relentless enthusiasm for my niche Islamic history anecdotes. I love you all.

For my tenth birthday in November 2000, my mother and Pat Sikorovsky pulled strings with the University president and arranged for the then-curator of the Oriental Institute to take me on a behind-the-scenes tour of the museum. My mother then bought me a University of Chicago t-shirt from the university gift shop (which I still have). This is all her fault. Thank you, Mom. For everything: summer programs, answering panicked WhatsApps from half a world away in the middle of the night, a roof over my head, a reason to finish. I dedicate all my grey hairs to you, which is especially unfair because after seven years of graduate school, we have about the same number.

This journey would not have been possible without my husband Robert's patience, humor, and steadiness. He could probably write a thing or two about the history of emotions now, with a focus on the pep talks that alleviate dissertation-writing frustration, anxiety, despair, and tears shed (as many as Artūhī!). If I loved you less, I might be able to talk about it more.

Abstract

A fourteenth-century redaction of an earlier, now-lost text, *Dānişmendnāme* is a religious-heroic prosimetrum narrative well known for its themes of *ğazā* and confrontation with the Christian Other, but vast lacunae exist in the study of this text. Its myriad poems have never before been considered and its prose has long been denied scholarly treatment that goes beyond its obvious preoccupation with war against the infidel.

This dissertation argues that *Dānişmendnāme*'s rich depictions of emotions distinguish this text from other examples of its genre, making it a unique representative of Old Anatolian Turkish religious-heroic prose narratives and a natural subject for the history of emotions.

Dānişmendnāme combines both formulaic and novel language to elicit emotions. The use of formulaic language does not preclude it from being worthy of study; rather, the narrative's preservation and repetition of emotion words illuminates what kinds of modes of emotional expression were valued by the redactor, 'Ārif 'Alī, and his emotional community in fourteenth-century eastern Anatolia.

'Ārif 'Alī makes explicit in his poems that he intended for *Dānişmendnāme* to affect the emotions of his audience in appropriate ways at specific times. He successfully achieves this through different literary devices, such as that of mirror characters, analysis of which allows us to appreciate the relative psychological and emotional sophistication of this text. An examination of 'Ārif 'Alī's historical and political context allows us to speculate how *Dānişmendnāme*'s depiction of kingship might in fact reflect the redactor's contemporary political context. It also

reveals the importance of the *emotional* relationship between king and warrior, which is a central motif of the narrative.

This project's methodological approach to the study of emotions in *Dānişmendnāme* unearths the contours of the emotional community of 'Ārif 'Alī and his audience, bringing a long-overlooked historical subject to the fore.

Works of popular literature, especially *ğazā*-oriented narratives like *Dānişmendnāme*, have been relegated to specific, limited roles in the study of late medieval Anatolia. By historicizing and redefining *Dānişmendnāme* within the literary and cultural history of the *beylik* period, this project sheds new light on a familiar text and proves that Old Anatolian Turkish popular literature can contribute to the nascent field of the history of emotions in medieval Islamic studies.

Melik sözine biz āgāz edelüm

dağı ne iş olur anı görelüm...

PROLOGUE

Beginnings, Middles, and Endings

Introduction

What follows below is a *dramatis personae* and a brief overview of *Dānişmendnâme* for the reader's reference.¹ For ease of reading, I have organized the material of the seventeen *meclises* in three sections (titled Beginnings, Middles, and Endings), as the numerous conquests and battles that form the bulk of the narrative are composed of repeating patterns, which I have summarized into overarching themes.

Dramatis personae

Melik Ahmed Dānişmend The grandson of the ruler of Malatya, the titular Melik Dānişmend ("the wise") is a pious king who with the blessing of the caliph leads an army of Muslims to conquer Rūm (Anatolia) in the name of Islam. He is a companion of Sultan Ṭūrasān, the grandson of Seyyid Battāl. In the text, he is most often referred to simply by his title "Melik" (king); this is reflected in translations.

Artūhı A convert warrior and the beloved of Efromiya. The son of a nomadic chieftain, Artūhı meets Melik Dānişmend in the second *meclis* and converts to Islam after the king defeats him in hand-to-hand combat. He becomes a close companion of the king and, midway through the narrative, the husband of Efromiya.

¹ Necati Demir provides a detailed *meclis-by-meclis* summary of *Dānişmendnâme* in his edited edition in Turkish. Demir, Necati. *Dānişmend-nâme*. Vol. 54. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures. Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2002: 10-32.

<i>Efromiya</i>	A convert warrior and beloved of Artūḫı. The daughter of Şaṭṭāt, the ruler of Amasya, Efromiya converts to Islam in a dream, escapes an unwanted marriage to Nestor through her unmatched skill in combat, and becomes a companion of Melik Dānişmend. After her king and husband die, Artūḫı’s servants poison her, saying that she is too dangerous a warrior and that they cannot risk her reverting to Christianity.
<i>Şāh-ı Şaṭṭāt</i>	The Rūmī beg (lord) of Amasya, Şaṭṭāt is the father of Efromiya. One of the principal infidel nemeses of Melik Dānişmend and his Muslim army, his repeated refusals to convert lead to his death at his daughter’s hand.
<i>Nestor</i>	Another Rūmī lord, Nestor is an ally of Şaṭṭāt and one-time betrothed of Efromiya. Another infidel nemesis, he leads many armies against Melik Dānişmend. Midway through the narrative, he kidnaps Efromiya after her wedding to Artūḫı.
<i>Various popular figures/ folk saints</i>	Characters from <i>Baṭṭāl-nāme</i> , such as Seyyid Baṭṭāl Ğāzī and his comrade in arms, ‘Abdü’l-vehhāb, appear in dreams to the principal characters of <i>Dānişmendnāme</i> to provide guidance, instruction, knowledge of the future, and messages from the Prophet. The popular figure Hızır also appears (in one notable scene, he heals Artūḫı’s arm, which was cut off in battle).
<i>Various ğāzīs</i>	Ğāzīs such as Süleymān bin Nu‘mān, Eyyüb bin Yūnus, ‘Oşmān bin Apiyya, Aḫmed Serkīs, Kara Tegin, and ‘Abdürraḫmān appear as messengers, captives, aids, and companions to Melik Dānişmend, Artūḫı, and Efromiya.
<i>Various converts</i>	Several <i>meclis</i> introduce once-infidel characters who convert to Islam (in dreams or in person) and take Muslim names, such as the ğāzīs Aḫmed Serkīs and ‘Abdürraḫmān and the woman Meryem. Exceptions to this pattern of name-changing upon conversion include Artūḫı, Efromiya, and Ḥarḳıl Zāhid, a Christian ascetic who provides shelter for Melik Dānişmend and his companions.

Beginnings

The first and second *meclis* establish Melik Dānişmend’s overarching quest to conquer Rūm and introduce the principal characters involved in that quest.² Melik Dānişmend leaves

² See Chapter Three for the definition of *principal character*.

Malatya with the blessing of the caliph, captures Sivas, restores the mosque of Seyyid Baṭṭāl, and makes the city his stronghold. He meets Artūḥī and learns of the young warrior's backstory, namely, the star-crossed relationship between him and Efromiya. Melik Dānişmend and Artūḥī ride to save Efromiya from her father and her would-be husband; when they attack her wedding caravan, Efromiya fights her way out of the melée and joins them. In this encounter, two infidel nemeses of the Muslims—Şattāt and Nestor—are introduced. Once on the road with the warriors after the battle, Efromiya reveals that she secretly converted to Islam after seeing and speaking with the Prophet in a dream. In that dream, the Prophet also told her that she would be married to Artūḥī and that Rūm would be conquered by the Muslims.

Middles

The middle of *Dānişmendnāme* is comprised of the third through sixteenth *meclis*. They are categorized as such not because they fall between an opening and an ending, but because of their overlapping, intertwined nature, and their repetition. The plots of different episodes—the conquest of a fortress, an encounter with an enemy army, the kidnapping of an enemy, or the kidnapping of a companion of Melik Dānişmend—do not always tidily conclude with the end of one section. Midway through a *meclis*, an episode will conclude, and a new one will begin. Thus, with some exceptions, these chapters can be considered one broad unit with shared narrative characteristics.

These sections are those that give *Dānişmendnāme* its well-established reputation as a text preoccupied with *gāzā*, confrontation with the Other. Battles erupt frequently across the narrative's pages; Melik Dānişmend, Artūḥī, Efromiya, and the other *gāzīs* duel infidel

champions and run down enemies by the dozen. Arrows fly; maces are brandished; swords sing through the air. Muslims are martyred or wounded; while they may be momentarily defeated in battle or retreat, the warriors of Melik Dānişmend never lose the proverbial war.

Two prevailing narrative patterns dominate these episodes. In the first, Melik Dānişmend sets his sights on a target and he and his men lay siege to it. The details differ from *meclis* to *meclis*: the target may be a city, a monastery, or a fortress; the weapons that escalate the battle may include the remarkable (a pseudo-magical dragon, powered by the witchcraft of infidel priests and destroyed by prayers) or more commonplace (the arrival of more warriors on either side; the retrieval of a mangonel). Violence is dramatic and commonplace. Heads roll (or, rather, fly through the air), tidily removed from their infidel shoulders by the strike of a Muslim sword; infidel champions are cleaved from crowns of their heads to their saddle pommels. Muslim heroes are unhorsed and continue to fight on foot. In one episode, Muslim captives inside the infidel city under siege are hanged in sight of Melik Dānişmend; in another, their hands are cut off and thrown over the city walls to rain on the Muslim army below. Despite these setbacks, Melik Dānişmend and his army invariably conquer the target.

In the second narrative pattern, an infidel army of uncountable numbers gathers and attacks the Muslims. The infidels themselves may be familiar from previous episodes (as with the nemeses Şaṭṭāṭ and Nestor) or they may be newly introduced to the narrative, only to fade away as the narrative patterns repeat. They may be Rūmīs, or Georgians, or Armenians, or Franks. Among their number is almost always a champion (*pehlevān*), a warrior of unparalleled might who will face off with Melik Dānişmend or another of his warriors in hand-to-hand combat. These duels that occur in the midst of battles often feature Muslim warriors (though

never Efromiya) verbally taunting the enemy before engaging in combat. In the case of Artūhı and Efromiya, some of these duels tie into the intense rivalry they share with Şattāt and Nestor—for example, when Efromiya and her father duel in the midst of battle in the third *meclis*, they share dialogue about why she converted. The duel ends with Efromiya tricking her father (feigning kissing his hand, then striking a blow) and defeating him; the battle continues.

Within these two prevailing patterns we encounter repeated subplots. Details such as names and places shift, but their scaffolding remains the same across the sections. The first is conversions of infidels who then decide to help the Muslim cause. From Artūhı, the first conversion of a named character in the text, to the sons of infidel lords (such as Pānīç), to women living within fortresses who convert in dreams and fail to convert their families to save their lives (Meryem), these conversions generally resolve in the survival of the converts while those who refuse to convert are killed. The converts take Muslim names and occasionally wed one another. Most fade from the narrative. Others, such as the *gāzī* ‘Abdürrahmān, remain as warriors in Melik Dānişmend’s army. The second subplot involves the capture of *gāzīs* by the infidel enemy and their rescue. While Melik Dānişmend is never captured, when his companions—Artūhı, Efromiya, and other *gāzīs*—are kidnapped by the enemy and held captive, he sends other *gāzīs* (Artūhı; Efromiya) or goes himself to rescue them.

Some episodes within them break the patterns listed above, at least momentarily. One example is the ninth *meclis*, which begins with the joyous wedding of Artūhı and Efromiya. But later, Şattāt and scorned Nestor attack the Muslims and seize Efromiya; a capture-rescue subplot begins. Another example is the capture of Şattāt by the Muslims. Unlike other episodes in which infidel leaders (including Şattāt), are captured, Şattāt does not escape, and remains in Muslim

custody as Efromiya repeatedly entreats him to convert to Islam. His steadfast refusal ultimately leads to his death: Melik Dānişmend orders the infidel lord bound to a tree and shot. The first arrow flies from Efromiya's bowstring.

Endings

The seventeenth and final *meclis* differs from the Middles not only by virtue of serving as an ending, but because the plots of its episodes deviate sharply from previously established patterns. The Muslims are defeated time and time again. Melik Dānişmend is wounded in an ambush; when the Prophet comes to him in a dream and tells him his time has come, he bids farewell to his warriors and dies. His wife, Gülnüş Bānū, weeps so much she falls ill and dies; Artūhı and Efromiya grieve for Melik along with the king and Gülnüş Bānū's son, Ğāzı Beg. As Artūhı and Efromiya ride across the deceased king's domains to Malatya, city after city falls to the infidels. The people of Malatya weep for Melik Dānişmend; then, they, Artūhı, and Efromiya go to see the caliph in Baghdad. Artūhı and Efromiya tell the caliph of the king's death and stories of his conquests. In an act that echoes the beginning of *Dānişmendnāme*, the people of Malatya ask the caliph for a champion to protect them from the infidels in Rūm. Here is where the narrative differs most from the Middles and Beginning: instead of tying itself self-consciously to the legends of *Battālnāme*, it links itself to the Seljūks of Rūm: the caliph and the Greek Seljūk ruler Toğrıl decree that the Seljūk Süleymān Şāh will take up Melik Dānişmend's mantle. Süleymān Şāh's sister marries Melik Dānişmend's son Ğāzı Beg. Ğāzı Beg then enters the service of the Seljūks of Rūm. Soon thereafter, Artūhı falls ill and dies; his servants, afraid of what a warrior as powerful as Efromiya might do if she reverted to Christianity, poison

Efromiya. Ġāzī Beg mourns Artūhī's death and takes in Artūhī and Efromiya's son, Hılfat. The remainder of the text narrates how Ġāzī Beg and Hılfat reconquer Rūm alongside Ġāzī Beg's own son, Yağıbaşan, and ends with a brief summary of the Seljūks who have been enthroned since.

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

“Her father was enraged, and put her in iron cuffs. Whether she wills it or not, they will give her to Nestor,” he [the Rūmī] said. [...] “They will certainly take her away to Çorum tonight.” When Artūhı heard this, he lost his senses. [...] When he returned to his senses, he recited the poem he had sung before and wept. When Artūhı had finished his poem, Melik Dānişmend said: “Oh Artūhı, for God the Almighty who created the world from nothing, I will not rest until I have taken that girl for you.” Artūhı fell at Melik’s feet and Melik lifted Artūhı’s head from the ground. Then the two mounted their horses and rode on, Melik Dānişmend in front and Artūhı behind.¹

This scene, which occurs in the second *meclis* (section) of the Old Anatolian Turkish² religious-heroic epic *Dānişmendnāme*, depicts Artūhı, a Christian convert to Islam and boon companion of the titular warrior-king Melik Dānişmend, visibly despairing at the news that his beloved Efromiya, the daughter of the Rūmī ruler of Amasya, will be married off the following day. Denied Efromiya for seven long years, Artūhı converted to Islam and joined forces with Melik Dānişmend earlier in the narrative; he and the king set out for Amasya in order for him to be finally reunited with his beloved. But it appears the warriors have arrived in Amasya too late:

¹ “[...] atası kaķıdı, eline ayađına demür urdı, gerek gerekmez ol nāzenīn kıızı cebrile Nestora verürler,” dedi. [...] bu gece Çorumdan yaņa alub giderler,” dedi. Artūhı çün bunu işitdi düsdi, ‘aklı gitdi. [...] Çün Artūhınuñ ‘aklı başına geldi gerü evvelkileyin şı ‘r okuyub biraz ađladı. Çünkim Artūhı şı ‘rini tamām etdi, Melik Dānişmend eytdi: “Yā Artūhı, ol Tanrı Hakkıçün kim bu ‘ālemi yokdan var etdi, tā ol kıızı senüñ için almayınca diñlenmeyem,” dedi. Artūhı Meliküñ ayađına düşdi, Melik Artūhınuñ başını yerden kaldurdı dađı ikisi bile atlarına suvār olub Melik Dānişmend öñince Artūhı ardınca yola girdiler. Mélikoff, Irène. 1960. *La geste de Melik Dānişmend; étude critique du Dānişmendnāme*. Vol. 10–11. 2 vols. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l’Institut français d’archéologie d’Istanbul. Paris: Dépositaire: A. Maisonneuve: II:26-7.

² Old Anatolian Turkish as used in this study describes the Western (Oğuz) Turkic literary idiom of Anatolia from the fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries. (While there is documentation of Old Anatolian Turkish in verses by Mevlānā Celāleddīn Rūmī and Şulţān Veled at the end of the thirteenth century, it is more accurate to locate the beginnings of this literary idiom to the fourteenth century.) This bears articulating because, as below discussions of contemporary scholarship below make clear, scholars in the past and the present conflate(d) works written before the establishment of the Ottoman project—or even works written after the establishment of the Ottoman beylik but outside of its territory and with no connection to its court(s)—with the Ottoman language and literature. Turan, Fikret. “Old Anatolian Turkish: Syntactic Structure.” Ph.D., Harvard University, 1996: 1n1.

Efromiya, though she loves Artūhī in return, will be married to the fearsome Rūmī warrior Nestor against her will. There is nothing Artūhī can do but despair.

So, despair he does. At a loss for words, he recites a lovelorn poem that appears in full earlier in the *meclis*. Upon hearing this recitation, Melik Dānişmend promises to not rest until he delivers Efromiya for his companion. This inspires a second profound emotional response in Artūhī; he falls to his king's feet, head bowed in gratitude. The emotional stakes of the narrative thus heightened, the men mount their horses, ride for Amasya, and soon dive into another of *Dānişmendnāme*'s many formulaic, high-octane battles.

Artūhī is given to swooning and weeping; the outburst described above is neither his first nor his last in the narrative. The depictions of his emotional expressions and those of other characters in the narrative were no accident. In the poems that open and close the narrative's different sections, which until now have never been studied, 'Ārif 'Alī—the author of this fourteenth-century redaction—expresses his intent to affect the emotions of his audience. In the opening poem of the thirteenth *meclis*, for example, he writes:

This is the story of the ġāzīs
it will fill the hearts of listeners with joy

Let the young and old listen to this story,
the scent of love pleasantly gives life to the heart.

This story will bring pleasure and joy to listeners

and to the youth, it will give bravery.³

Here, ‘Ārif ‘Alī speaks directly about his audience and the affective power he expects this “story of the ġāzīs” will have on them. He expects his redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* will “fill hearts of listeners with joy” (*diñleyenüñ göñlini açar tamām*) and well as “pleasure and joy” to mankind (*zevk ü şevk bağışlar ādeme bu söz*). To wit, ‘Ārif ‘Alī intended for Artūhı’s weeping to make his audience *feel* something.

Until now, scholars have focused solely on *Dānişmendnāme*’s obvious preoccupations with conquest and confrontation with the Other. I argue that the text’s rich depiction of emotions makes it a unique representative of its genre and a natural subject for the study of emotions. ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s awareness of the affective power of his redaction further affirms that *Dānişmendnāme* must be studied through the lens of the history of emotions.

Bringing this new approach to *Dānişmendnāme* raises a number of questions. Does *Dānişmendnāme* have more and more complex depictions of emotions than other representatives of its genre? What literary devices did ‘Ārif ‘Alī employ to accomplish his aim of transforming his audience’s emotions? What do the emotions of certain characters tell us about the emotional community of ‘Ārif ‘Alī and the political reality in which he lived? This project grapples with these questions and others as it brings new approaches to reading emotions in *Dānişmendnāme*

³ *ġāziler tevārihidur bu kelām
diñleyenüñ göñlini açar tamām*

*diñlesünler bu sözi pır u cüvān
kalba hoş vērür muhabbet bñyi cān*

*zevk ü şevk bağışlar ādeme bu söz
yigide vērür şacā’at işbu söz*
Mélíkoff, *La geste*, I:395, II:213.

and pursues its aim of revealing the contours of ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his audience’s emotional community in fourteenth-century Anatolia.

Dānişmendnāme is the product of an oral tradition that was possibly written down in the thirteenth century for the Seljūk sultan ‘İzzeddīn Keykā’ūs II (d. 1279) and which survives in manuscripts copied from a redaction dating to the second half of the fourteenth century. It is but one representative of a religious-heroic prose genre of late medieval Anatolia⁴ that drew on earlier prose epics about mythical Arab warriors on the Arabo-Byzantine frontier.⁵ Texts such as *Dānişmendnāme*, *Baṭṭālīnāme*, and *Şaltuknāme* follow the exploits of the titular warrior-kings/-saints and their respective entourages in their quests to bring Rūm (Anatolia) into the abode of Islam and gain converts.⁶ *Dānişmendnāme* is best known for its prominent Christian convert characters and its battles, and has been cited in discussions of *ġāzī* milieu in pre- and early-

⁴ This paper will use the term “late medieval Anatolia” or, in a nod to the work of Marshall Hodgson, “the late middle period” to refer to the period and geography under study (roughly 12-15th centuries AD) rather than “pre-Ottoman.” The latter is frequently found in twentieth century historiography and continues to be used to refer to the history and literature of medieval Anatolian polities unrelated to the Ottomans. In addition to being imprecise, its use relegates the study of this period’s history and literature to the margins of Ottoman and Turkish studies. For further discussion, see the work of scholars on the *beylik* (emirate) period of fourteenth-century Anatolia, such as Sara Nur Yıldız, and the Ottoman interregnum, such as Dimitris Kastritsis. Yıldız, along with A.C.S. Peacock, worked on the Islamisation of Anatolia project at the University of St Andrews, funded by the European Research Council 2012-2016 (<https://www.islam-anatolia.ac.uk/>). Together they edited the titles *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia* (2016), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (2015) (both funded by the Islamisation of Anatolia project), and *The Seljūks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (2012). Kastritsis is the author of *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-13*, which remains the sole monograph-length work devoted to the Ottoman interregnum period.

⁵ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:55. Anetshofer, Helga. “Dānişmendname.” In *Encyclopedia of Islam, Third Edition*, online edition. n.d. Accessed November 14, 2018.

⁶ Kafadar, Cemal. 1995. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley: University of California Press: 62, 65.

Ottoman Anatolia.⁷ For example, Cemal Kafadar's *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* fruitfully examined it as a part of the frontier milieu that marked the fluid border between Byzantine and Muslim spheres in Anatolia in the late middle period of Islamic history.

Yet until quite recently, the epic had only *ever* been studied through the lens of discussing later Ottoman expansion.⁸ Though Irène Mélikoff made *Dānişmendnāme* widely accessible to scholars through an excellent French translation and transliterated edition in 1960, it was not until Buket Kitapçı Bayrı's *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes: Moving Frontiers, Shifting Identities in the Land of Rome* (2019) that a monograph-length work dedicated to Old Anatolian Turkish prose epics was published, and only a chapter of this book is devoted in part to *Dānişmendnāme*.⁹ Vast lacunae characterize scholarly literature on the text. To name but a few: scholars have yet to address the difficulties of *Dānişmendnāme*'s "transmission over time, place, milieux, and media," nor have they undertaken the task of analyzing and comparing different aspects of the narrative in terms of "motifs, strategies, concepts, cosmology, geographic consciousness, degrees of 'realism,' casts of mythical beings [...] or topographies of legendary sites."¹⁰ Neither have scholars turned to the techniques to examine the thorny "interface between

⁷ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*. Kayaalp, Pinar. "Frontier Warriors as Cultural Mediators: Shifting Identities of Byzantine and Turkish March Fighters as Elicited from Anatolian Epic Literature." *Mediaevistik* 25 (2012): 119–30.

⁸ See below: Aydoğan, Zeynep. "Creating an Ideal Self: Representations of Infidels in the Late Medieval Anatolian Frontier Narratives." *The Journal of Ottoman Studies / Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 40 (2012): 101-119.

⁹ Kitapçı Bayrı, Buket. *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes: Moving Frontiers, Shifting Identities in the Land of Rome (13th-15th Centuries)*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

¹⁰ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 64.

orality and literary”¹¹ in texts such as *Dānişmendnāme*, which were originally transmitted orally before being fossilized in written form.

In her path-breaking article “Toward an Abbasid History of Emotions: The Case of Slavery,” Julia Bray notes that while the field of Islamic history has witnessed a flourishing of women’s history and gender studies, it remains dominated by political history, and “the idea that there can be histories of everything or anything has not yet taken root.”¹² Notably, Islamic history lacks any study on the history of emotions, an approach which “seeks to explain both why people act and what their actions mean to them.”¹³ Yet Bray believes that tackling such work in Islamic literature is essential.¹⁴ In doing so, she draws on eminent historian of emotions Barbara Rosenwein’s concept of “emotional communities,” which argues that emotions are not a historical given, and are specific not only to cultures, but to different groups within a given society.¹⁵ Rosenwein urges other scholars to consider *how* and *why* emotions are different in different societies, “insofar as [...] values, and also the objects/ideas to which those values are attached, differ, emotions (for example, what people get angry about and how they express their feelings) will differ as well.”¹⁶ By asking her sources how people in Abbasid society thought about what it meant to be a human being, slave or free, and “how they dealt with legal, physical,

¹¹ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 64.

¹² Bray, Julia. “Toward an Abbasid History of Emotions: The Case of Slavery.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49, no. 1 (February 2017): 143.

¹³ Bray, Julia. “Toward an Abbasid History of Emotions,” 143.

¹⁴ Jan Plamper, “Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns,” *History and Theory* 49 (2010): 249. Bray, “Toward an Abbasid History of Emotions,” 143.

¹⁵ See Rosenwein, Barbara H. “Worrying about Emotions in History,” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002), 821-845.

¹⁶ Plamper, “The History of Emotions: An Interview,” 251.

and psychological limits and imbalances of personal power,” Bray lays the foundations for future studies of emotion by pointing out that “identifying and exploring emotional communities” is something for which a large body of early and medieval Arabic sources exist.¹⁷

Likewise, I believe that Old Anatolian Turkish sources lend themselves to the history of emotions. Like Nicolas Trépanier’s *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia: A New Social History*, this project adopts a new approach to familiar sources.¹⁸ In this dissertation, I argue that *Dānişmendnāme*’s depiction of emotions is unique among other texts of its genre, thus making it a rich source for the study of emotions in Islamic literature in general and Old Anatolian Turkish literature in particular. Like other popular literature, it relies on narrative and linguistic formulae; these formulae, however, show a greater degree of flexibility than other texts of its genre, especially when depicting the emotions of principal characters such as Melik Dānişmend and Artūḫı. Thus, a system of feeling is revealed: the expressions of emotion as depicted in *Dānişmendnāme* were what contemporary interpreters of the text expected and accepted of types of different characters.

In order to lay the groundwork for an in-depth discussion of *Dānişmendnāme*, it is necessary at the outset to discuss the origins of the text, untangle the complicated history of its authorship, and provide historical context for the principal iterations of text. This introduction will continue with a description of the text’s genre and literary context as well as a discussion of how the text was received historically by Ottoman historians. This will be followed by a survey

¹⁷ Bray, “Toward an Abbasid History of Emotions,” 143, 146.

¹⁸ Trépanier, Nicolas. *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia: A New Social History*. University of Texas Press, 2014.

of the literature summarizing the state of the field of Old Anatolian prose epics such as *Dānişmendnāme*. This section notes how Kitapçı Bayrı and scholars such as Helga Anetshofer have begun to demonstrate that *Dānişmendnāme* is fertile ground for the kinds of literary analysis that French, Middle English, and other European medievalist employ. While a thorough survey of literature on the study of emotions goes far beyond the scope of this introduction, I introduce Rosenwein's work and examine how scholars of Islamic literature such as Bray and Walter Andrews have begun to explore the history of emotions and the concept of emotional communities. I also briefly introduce Rosenwein's concept of *emotion words* and how this project will build upon and further her methodology before providing an outline of the dissertation's chapters.

The Origins and Historical Context of *Dānişmendnāme*

Here, I untangle the complicated questions of origin and authorship of the text and introduce the surviving manuscripts of *Dānişmendnāme*. Nicolas Trépanier writes that an oral text is an “evolving organism whose life, lasting longer than the consciousness of any single individual transmitter, sometimes spanned several centuries before it was fossilized.”¹⁹

Dānişmendnāme is certainly one such evolving organism. We can trace its evolution over three stages.

Origins of the Tradition

¹⁹ Trépanier, , *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia*, 15.

Dānişmendnāme was born out of a compilation of oral traditions related to both the Arab (*Sīrat Dhāt al-Himma*) and Byzantine (*Digenes Akritis*) traditions at some point in the late twelfth century.²⁰ As no evidence survives from this period, there remains little to say on this first stage of the narrative's development.

These oral traditions were committed to written form in the mid-thirteenth century. No manuscripts survive from this stage of the narrative's development; scholars generally rely on what the author of the fourteenth-century redaction had to say of his source and on the account of sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectual and historian Gelibolu Muşafā 'Ālī. According to these sources, a certain Mevlānā Ibn 'Ālā wrote a prose work based on the oral legends of Melik Dānişmend.²¹ It is not clear if this possible work was written in Persian or Turkish; given the literary context of the twelfth century, the former is more likely. The Paris manuscript of *Dānişmendnāme* mentions the patronage of 'İzzeddīn Keykā'ūs twice, as do the Istanbul and St. Petersburg manuscripts; one such example indicates it was also meant to be performed before that ruler (*rāviler şöyle rivāyet ederler kim Melik Dānişmend kıssasın Şāh-i 'İzzeddīn katında şöyle haberler vèrdiler*).²² Muşafā 'Ālī gives 642/1245-6 as the date of the text's composition, but this is the accession date of 'İzzeddīn Keykā'ūs. Mélikoff and Necati Demir problematize this date. Mélikoff argues it is possible that Muşafā 'Ālī, having seen the name 'İzzeddīn Keykā'ūs mentioned in the manuscript of 'Ārif 'Alī, relied on conjecture and reproduced the

²⁰ Anetshofer, Helga. "Danışmendname." In *Encyclopedia of Islam, Third Edition*, online edition. n.d. Accessed November 14, 2018.

²¹ Mélikoff lists mentions of Ibn 'Ālā in the Istanbul and Leningrad (St. Petersburg) manuscripts Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:55n3.

²² Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:55n3. *Kıssa-i Melik Dānişmend* (Turc 317). 1360. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. 124A, f. 149A. Note that the BnF catalogue lists the date of the text's original composition, not the date given by the manuscript copyist, which is 1577.

accession date of that sultan (there being no other date of composition given for the older lost manuscript).²³ Mélikoff notes further problems with Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s claims regarding the dating and dedication of the fourteenth-century redaction, which will be discussed below.

Recently, A.C.S. Peacock problematized what was once considered common knowledge about this stage of the narrative’s development. In a chapter on the emergence of Turkish as a literary language in Mongol Anatolia in *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (2019), Peacock seeks to provide nuance to scholarly claims regarding the oldest texts written in Turkish in Anatolia. He rightly corrects those who date ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s fourteenth-century redaction to 1245-6 (see above). He points out that while Ibn ‘Ālā may indeed have composed or compiled an epic on Melik Dānişmend for ‘İzzeddīn Keykā’ūs, it is possible this means “simply that individual stories were circulated and written down at the Seljuq court, not the whole composition.”²⁴ Finally, he notes that Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī “explicitly” states that the earliest version of this text was “written in Persian, which was then adapted into Turkish by Ala Beg Munshi (possibly identical with the Ibn ‘Ālā of the *Dānişmendnāme*’s text).”²⁵ His argument is intended to refute those who claim this missing thirteenth-century text is one of the oldest examples of Old Anatolian Turkish writing, but it provides us with a more nuanced appreciation of how little we can know about Ibn ‘Ālā’s version, if indeed it existed at all.²⁶

²³ Moreover, Mélikoff notes that Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī gives conflicting information about ‘Ārif ‘Alī and Ibn ‘Ālā in *Mirḳātü’l-Cihād* and his later *Künhü’l-aḥbār*. See below. Mélikoff, *La geste*, I: 56, 57. Anetshofer, Helga. “Dānişmendname.” In *Encyclopedia of Islam, Third Edition*, online edition. n.d. Accessed November 14, 2018.

²⁴ Peacock, A. C. S. *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019: 154. See below for discussion of Peacock’s use of the term Mongol Anatolia.

²⁵ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 154.

²⁶ Anetshofer, Helga. *EI*³. “Epic Literature in Old Anatolian Turkish and Ottoman Turkish.”

That being said, we learn slightly more about this second stage in *Dānišmendnāme*'s development in the final poem of the fourteenth-century redaction. 'Ārif 'Alī writes that he found an old manuscript written in an idiom that was to him so archaic “one would say it was not Turkish.”²⁷ He notes that the text was written in summary, without divisions or poetry that he found aesthetically pleasing. In dividing the chapter into eighteen sections, embellishing the story with poems, and “changing it to roses,” 'Ārif 'Alī wrote to restore it “as it will be remembered.”²⁸

It is indeed 'Ārif 'Alī's redaction of *Dānišmendnāme* that is remembered today. When he acquired a copy of the text in 1588 in Niksar,²⁹ Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (d. 1600) identified the author of the text as the garrison commander (*dizdār*) of the castle of Tokat³⁰ and dated the manuscript to 762/1360-1.³¹ He later wrote his own redaction of the work, called *Mirḳatü 'l-cihād*, in 1589.³² Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's use of *Dānišmendnāme* as a historical source caused a domino effect of misinformation about the historical Dānišmend dynasty. This text—as will be discussed in greater depth below—is not faithful to this historical record of the Dānišmendids. It moved the

²⁷ *eskimiş evrâkı ey cānum cānı/şöylekim okunmağa kābil degül/gören anı dēr ki bu Türkī degül.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:289.

²⁸ *diñleyenler tā şafā bola anı/yādiğār ètdüm düzetdüm hem anı.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:290.

²⁹ Anetshofer, “Danišmendname.” In *Encyclopedia of Islam, Third Edition*, online edition. n.d. Accessed November 14, 2018.

³⁰ Anetshofer, Helga. “The Hero Dons a Talismanic Shirt for Battle: Magic Objects Aiding the Warrior in a Turkish Epic Romance.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 77, no. 2 (2018): 180. Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 154. “Diz-dār.” Steingass, Francis Joseph. *A Comprehensive Persian-English dictionary, including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1892: 518.

³¹ Anetshofer, “The Hero Dons a Talismanic Shirt for Battle,” 180.

³² Anetshofer, Helga. “Danišmendname.” EI3.

lifespan of the scion of the dynasty forward by about a hundred years and imagined a final defeat of Melik Dānişmend and a marriage uniting the eponymous hero's son with the Seljūq family.³³ Given that there is no mention of the Ottomans in the prose—and the Ottomans occupied Tokat in 1392—Mélikoff believes it is possible to accept the date provided by Muşţafā 'Ālī.³⁴ The prose also makes no mention of a patron.³⁵

Four of the extant copies of this fourteenth-century redaction were edited and translated into French by Mélikoff in 1960.³⁶ Mélikoff's edition forms the foundation of this project. In addition to a highly reliable translation and lengthy critical introduction, this edition primarily relies on the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's Turc 317, the oldest of the surviving manuscripts. The scribe who copied this Paris manuscript names himself as Hācī Ahmed and gives the date of the copy in a chronogram as 1577, twelve years after Muşţafā 'Ālī claims to have discovered the original text in Niksar.³⁷ Mélikoff is careful to point out places where she identifies the copyist's editorial hand (the mentions of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I and his son Emir Süleyman in the epilogue poem, for example³⁸), but these places are few and far between. I also use Necati Demir's 2002 edited edition for reference, especially the glossary.

Historical Context

³³ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:55.

³⁴ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:59.

³⁵ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:61.

³⁶ Paris, Istanbul, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), Ankara. Mélikoff, Irène. "Dānişmendids," *EP*.

³⁷ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:58.

³⁸ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:61.

Ottoman historians who were interested in the eponymous founder of the Dānişmendid dynasty turned to legendary sources such as *Dānişmendnāme* as a historical source. Yet the chronology and events of the text deviate significantly from what evidence the historical record (primarily Greek, Syriac, and Arabic chronicles) offers about the Dānişmendids themselves, so much so that Kitapçı Bayrı calls it “a confusing mishmash of disjointed events and historical figures with some actual historical facts interjected.”³⁹ Sixteenth-century historians Muştafā ‘Ālī and Cenābī treated *Dānişmendnāme* as a historical document; later Ottoman historians repeated the error, including Abū’l-‘Abbās al-Ḳaramānī, Kātib Çelebi, Müneccimbaşı, and Hezārferen.⁴⁰ Therefore, Mélikoff writes, Western Orientalists who later made use of the aforementioned histories repeated these accounts of the Dānişmendids, despite the fact that the Emīr Danişmend appears in chronicle accounts of the First Crusade, contradicting the chronology of *Dānişmendnāme*.⁴¹ The legend and history of Dānişmend and his progeny have melded together, giving rise to what Mélikoff calls “an imbroglio of historical facts” that is difficult—if not impossible—to unravel (though not uncommon for the text’s genre). Pancaroğlu’s use of numismatics and Mélikoff and Kesik’s use of myriad chronicles shed light on this obscure period, but much remains unknown. Like Mélikoff, I believe an awareness of this historical context can enrich our understanding of *Dānişmendnāme*, as it locates the composition of this redaction in a political period and geography that has recently garnered attention from scholars

³⁹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:55. Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 89.

⁴⁰ Mélikoff, *La geste*, 74-75. Kesik, *Danişmendliler*, 14.

⁴¹ Mélikoff, Irène. “Dānişmendids.” *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*. n.d. Accessed May 5, 2019. She cites the chronicles of Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian, Anna Komnena, William of Tyre, and Ibn al-Athīr, among others.

such as Kitapçı Bayrı, A.C.S. Peacock, Sara Nur Yıldız, and Jürgen Paul.⁴² Moreover, connecting ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* to their historical context will deepen our later examination of the emotional community of which ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his audience were a part. To further that aim, I present a sketch of the following three periods: first, the narrative is believed to have first appeared as an oral tradition during the period of the Dānişmendids (last quarter of eleventh century until 1178). Second, it was hypothetically committed to paper at some point during the reign of the Seljūk sultan ‘İzzeddīn Keykā’ūs II (d. 1279), or at the very latest, before the end of the reign of his brother and successor, Rükneddīn ̒ılıç ‘Alī Arslan IV, in 1265.⁴³ Third, it was redacted and embellished by ‘Ārif ‘Alī of Tokat in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Each of these periods presents its own questions and provides scholars with methodological hurdles and lacunae in the relevant secondary literature. In the last fifteen years, research has uncovered much about the political, social, and intellectual milieux of the latter two periods. Sara Nur Yıldız’s 2006 PhD dissertation on the politics of Seljūk Anatolia under Mongol rule shed light on the tumultuous reigns of ‘İzzeddīn Keykā’ūs II and Rükneddīn ̒ılıç ‘Alī Arslan IV; edited volumes and monographs that employ new, diverse methodologies have changed how scholars understand the political chaos and rich intellectual life of fourteenth-

⁴² The latter’s work on the Persian chronicle ‘Azīz ibn ‘Ārdashīr Astarābādī’s *Bazm o Razm* (*Fighting and Carousing*; while Paul suggests the alliterative alternative *Battle and Bottle* to preserve “the phonetic wordplay of the title,” *Battle and Banquet* or *Feasting and Fighting* are more faithful to the definition of the term *bazm*) uses material from chronicle to sketch a portrait of central Anatolia at the time of ̒āḍī Burhāneddīn’s seizure of power in 1381, not long after the composition of *Dānişmendnāme* in 1360/61. This could add to what little knowledge we have about ‘Ārif ‘Alī. See Chapter Four’s discussion of power and political legitimacy in Eretna. Paul, Jürgen. “A Landscape of Fortresses.” In *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, edited by David Durand-Guédy, volume 31:317–45. Brill’s Inner Asian Library; Leiden: Brill, 2013: 319.

⁴³ Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 27. Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:59-60.

century Anatolia.⁴⁴ A brief discussion of the history of the three periods of *Dānişmendnāme*'s development, with a focus on the final period, lays the necessary groundwork for in-depth analysis of the text and later discussions of 'Ārif 'Alī and his audience's emotional community.

The Dānişmendids

While the history of the Dānişmendids is useful for understanding *Dānişmendnāme*, the narrative itself wanders so far from the historical record that knowledge of the events of the historical emir's life and of his successors becomes secondary. Scholars such as Mélikoff, Kafadar, and Kitapçı Bayrı would agree that the text has far more to say about the cultures of the people who committed it to paper than about the Dānişmendids themselves.⁴⁵ Briefly discussing the short-lived dynasty allows us to fully appreciate the manner in which *Dānişmendnāme* deviates from the historical record.

The Dānişmendids were a Turkish dynasty extant in east- and north-central Anatolia 1071-1178 AD. Among the earliest Turkish principalities established in Anatolia, their territories were centered around Tokat, Amasya, Çorum, and later Kayseri, Sivas, and Malatya.⁴⁶ The origins of the dynasty's founder, the emir Gümüştekin Dānişmend, are obscure: he appeared in northern Cappadocia sometime after the death of Süleymān b. ̇utulmuş in 1085 CE and became

⁴⁴ See also, Peacock and Yıldız, eds., *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*; Trépanier, *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia: A New Social History*; Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*.

⁴⁵ Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 27n18.

⁴⁶ Pancaroğlu, Oya. "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia." *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 156.

involved in the events of the First Crusade.⁴⁷ The Dānişmendids were able to maintain power in the “constantly shifting social and military circumstances” and “demographically turbulent” post-Manzikert Anatolia, forging ephemeral alliances and fighting relentless battles with Byzantines, Armenians, the Seljūks of Rum, and the Franks of the First Crusade.⁴⁸ They became increasingly decentralized through the century of their rule until, in the late twelfth century (1178), Malatya was conquered by the forces of the Seljūks of Rūm, the Dānişmendids’ foremost rivals.⁴⁹ This effectively ended the Dānişmendids’ rule.

The Rūm Seljūks

According to Muştafā ‘Ālī, it was in this period that the first iteration of *Dānişmendnāme* was composed. It was possible that this compiler was Ibn ‘Alā’ (see above). That text, if it ever existed, is now lost. The period immediately preceding ‘İzzeddīn Keykā’ūs II’s accession in 1246 saw immense upheaval in the Seljūk political system after their defeat by the Mongols at the battle of Kösedağ in 1243. The delicate power-sharing relationship between the sultans and their amirs—essential for political stability in the Seljūk system—cracked under the immense

⁴⁷ Mélikoff, Irène. “Danishmendids.” *EP*.

⁴⁸ Pancaroğlu, “The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer,” 156.

⁴⁹ Pancaroğlu, “The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer,” 156.

stress of the imposition of Mongol authority.⁵⁰ Additionally, the Seljūk court itself and its succession struggle caught in the crosshairs of a greater competition between Güyük and Batu: Batu supported the accession of the recently deceased Kaykhusraw II's eldest son, 'Izzeddīn Keykā'ūs II, and—given the fact the new sultan was eleven years old—appointed as *ḥākim*, or governor, the vizier Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, who emerged as the de-facto ruler of the Seljūk polity.⁵¹ Rather than banish the two younger princes, al-Iṣfahānī placed them as sultans on either side of 'Izzeddīn Keykā'ūs II. This and other decisions by al-Iṣfahānī exacerbated political instability.⁵²

I hypothesize that the tumultuous political atmosphere of the aftermath of the battle of Köseadağ (1243), the simultaneous reign of three underage kings from 1246-56, and the flight of 'Izzeddīn Keykā'ūs II to Byzantium⁵³ might have influenced the depiction of Melik Dānişmend

⁵⁰ Few studies of the Seljūks fully appreciate the importance and political legacy of Mongol rule. Sara Nur Yıldız's 2006 PhD dissertation makes an immense contribution to the field of Seljūk studies by incorporating Mongol sources in her discussion of thirteenth-century Anatolia. She corrects many of the errors and assumptions made by earlier historians of the Seljūks, who were either driven by ideological concerns (İbrahim Kafesoğlu, Osman Turan) or were limited in their use of sources (Claude Cahen). Much can be said of how twentieth-century historiography on the Anatolian Seljūks was founded on and driven by a nationalistic brand of Turkish scholarship that 1) teleologically cast the Seljūks as ethnically pure Turkish precursors to the modern state of Turkey, 2) presented an ethno-nationalist paradigm that placed Turks in conflict with Iranians, and 3) portrayed Iranians as willing collaborators of the Mongols and Turks as fighting for freedom; however, given the constraints of this project, this is not the forum to replicate a discussion that has been addressed in depth elsewhere. Let it suffice to say that recent literature demonstrates how historians, archaeologists, art historians, and literary historians have turned to myriad methodologies to create a more nuanced understanding of the Seljūks. Yıldız, Sara Nur. "Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282." University of Chicago, 2006. See also Peacock's introduction to *Mongol Anatolia*.

⁵¹ Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia," 164.

⁵² Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia," 165.

⁵³ Lewis, Franklin. *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teaching and Poetry of Jalāl al-Din Rumi*. Rev. pbk. ed. Oxford, England: Oneworld, 2008: 278,

that I examine in Chapter Four. But without an extant manuscript, it is difficult to say much beyond conjecture on the matter.

The beylik period

The beylik, or emirate, period of late medieval Anatolian history is roughly defined as a period in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries when the Anatolian political scene was dominated by short-lived polities which fluctuated in size and number as they competed with, conquered, and subsumed their geographic rivals, only to disintegrate and be subsumed themselves a generation or two later. The most famous of these was founded by a certain ‘Osmān in the northwest of Anatolia, but the rise of his dynasty and the expansion of its territory is not a concern of this project. Rather, we shall look farther east.

The political history of eastern Anatolia—and indeed, western Asia—in the period between the collapse of the Ilkhānate (ca. 1258-1335) and the rise of the Ottoman and Safavid states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remains an understudied and little understood portion of history.⁵⁴ Before eastern Anatolia would become a peripheral region in the fifteenth century, borderlands sandwiched between Ottoman and Safavid territories, it and Azerbaijan formed an essential part of an Ilkhānate regional system.⁵⁵ After the Ilkhānate began to

⁵⁴ Yıldız, Sara Nur. “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities in Eastern Anatolia During the Late Middle Ages.” In *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th - 15th Century Eastern Anatolia. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held in Istanbul, 4th - 6th May 2007*, 27–48. *Varia Anatolica* 25. Istanbul: Institut Français d’Études Anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil, 2012: 27.

⁵⁵ Yıldız, “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities,” 27.

disintegrate after 1335, the political history of this region was dominated by the struggle of a series of pastorally-based Mongol successor states to maintain control over the region.⁵⁶

A.C.S. Peacock rightfully points out that “the dominant role of the Ilkhanate in Anatolia” in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries “is swept under the carpet by much scholarship, especially, though not exclusively, in Turkey.”⁵⁷ Rather than referring to this period of late medieval Anatolian history as Ilkhānid or Mongol, the majority of scholars use the term *beylik*. Peacock prefers not to; he champions the term *Mongol Anatolia*.⁵⁸ While I continue to use the term *beylik*, Mongol Anatolia is a useful frame of reference, as it better contextualizes eastern Anatolia within the Ilkhānid regional and political system.

According to Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, ‘Ārif ‘Alī was the garrison commander of Tokat, which, at the time of *Dānişmendnāme*’s composition, was a part of the beylik of Eretna in eastern Anatolia. Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s account is the only source that attests to ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s occupation and city of residence. Because of this, it is important to critically examine the explicit connection that Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī draws between ‘Ārif ‘Alī and Tokat. However, the text of *Dānişmendnāme* itself may provide clues that ‘Ārif ‘Alī was familiar with the region that in the fourteenth century comprised the Eretnid beylik. Mélikoff hypothesizes that ‘Ārif ‘Alī “transposed” the action of the legend of Melik Dānişmend to places that were “familiar” to him, namely, the region of the Yeşil Irmak and its tributaries.⁵⁹ Indeed, the territory conquered by the fictional king in the redaction is remarkably similar to the extent of Eretnid territory under ‘Alāeddīn Eretna (see

⁵⁶ Yıldız, “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities,” 27.

⁵⁷ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 13.

⁵⁸ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 13.

⁵⁹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:64.

below). I believe it is possible to make the conjecture that if ‘Ārif ‘Alī was not, as Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī claims, garrison commander or even a resident of Tokat, ‘Ārif ‘Alī choosing this region, its cities, and its topography as the stage on which to set his retelling of the legend of Melik Dānişmend might point to the fact that he was a resident of the region.

With this caveat in mind, in Chapter Four, I take Eretna as an example that demonstrates the political trends endemic in post-Chinggisid central and eastern Anatolia in the mid-fourteenth century, namely, the political instability and renegotiation of political legitimacy that may have influenced *Dānişmendnāme*’s depiction of its titular king. Here, I summarize the political history of Eretna relevant to those arguments.

Eretna was founded by an Ilkhānid governor of Uighur origins of the same name (alt: Eratna) who declared effective independence.⁶⁰ Eretna was the first of a series of Mongol governors in Anatolia to succeed in establishing an independent principality; his state, which lasted from 1327-1381, was “a direct heir to Ilkhanid political, administrative and economic structures.”⁶¹ He refused to recognize the authority of Chobanid Ḥasan-i Kūcheck in 1336, thus angering the ruling Chobanids.⁶² Though defeated in 1340, Eretna retook his territories from the Chobanids in 1343. He secured an alliance with the Mamlūks, later declared himself an independent ruler in central Anatolia, and adopted the title Sultan ‘Alāeddīn Eretna.⁶³ From 1341-2, Eretna proclaimed himself “the just sultan” and “the great sultan” in building

⁶⁰ A.C.S. Peacock, “Ahmad of Niğde’s *al-Walad al-Shafīq* and the Seljuk Past,” *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004): 95–107: 97-8.

⁶¹ Yıldız, “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities,” 34.

⁶² Yıldız, “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities,” 34.

⁶³ Yıldız, “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities,” 34. Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 61-2.

inscriptions and on Uighur coinage.⁶⁴ Peacock writes that “this innovation can be seen as replicating the more general breakdown in the concept of Chinggisid legitimacy in the 1340s; rulers who had till then had sheltered behind the pretence they were ruling on behalf of a Chinggisid now sought other forms of legitimacy.”⁶⁵ The rule of his beylik, based around Sivas and Kayseri, soon spread to include the provinces of Erzurum, Çarki-Karahisar, Niksar, Tokat, Amasya, Samsun, Ankara, Aksaray, Develi-Karahisar, and Niğde—a territory similar to the area ruled by the fictional Melik Dānişmend.⁶⁶

Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī dates ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* to 1360-1, situating it within a politically tumultuous period of this dynasty’s relatively short-lived reign. Sultan ‘Alāeddīn Eretna’s three sons struggled for the throne in 1352, resulting in instability and a loss of control over the polity’s outlying territories. Unfortunately, Peacock writes that “the period between the end of Aqsara’i’s *Musamarat al-Akhbar* in 723/1323 and the collapse of the Eretnid state in 783/1381 is especially poorly documented;” moreover, the focus of the chronicles that do exist “is almost exclusively on political history, meaning that the insights they offer into broader processes of social change are limited.”⁶⁷ This topic is expanded upon in Chapter Four.

In 1381, the coup d’état of judge and vizier Ḳādī Burhāneddīn Aḥmed brought Eretna’s dynasty to an end. The last of Eretna’s line, who was a child of seven, died, and Ḳādī

⁶⁴ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 62, 184.

⁶⁵ See Chapter Four. Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 62, 62n136, 62n137. Wing, Patrick. *The Jalayirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Middle East*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016. Göde, Kemal. *Eratnalılar; 1327-1381*. Vol. sa. 153. Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları. VII. dizi ; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000: 295-96: 64.

⁶⁶ Göde, *Eratnalılar*, 295-96. Yıldız, “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities,” 34.

⁶⁷ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 16. *Musāmarat al-Akhbār* was a chronicle of Mongol rule in Anatolia, written for the Ilkhānid governor Timurtash in 1323.

Burhāneddīn seized power and the title of sultan.⁶⁸ Tokat became the site of a battle where Kāḍī Burhāneddīn clashed with the ruler of Amasya, Hācī Şādgeldi, a rival who had also supplanted an Eretnid ruler.⁶⁹

Genre

Religious-Heroic Narrative

Dānişmendnāme has been variously referred to as heroic epic, heroic narrative, mytho-history, ġāzī epic, heroic and/or historical epic, a romance, and religious-heroic narrative.⁷⁰ I shall use the latter descriptor, for it reflects the fact that while *Dānişmendnāme* is frequently classified alongside what Yorgos Dedes calls the “wonder tales” *Baḡḡālnāme* and *Şaltuḡnāme*, and certainly shares many characteristics with and was in explicit conversation with the former (see Chapter Two), there is a notable lack of the supernatural contained therein.⁷¹ While popular folk saints appear in dreams and visions times of dire need in dreams and, occasionally, in corporeal form to heal wounded warriors,⁷² unlike *Baḡḡālnāme* and *Şaltuḡnāme*, *Dānişmendnāme* does not feature resurrections (*Baḡḡālnāme*), jinn (*Şaltuḡnāme*), witches (*Baḡḡālnāme*), speaking

⁶⁸ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:61-2.

⁶⁹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:62.

⁷⁰ Anetshofer, “Danişmendname,” *EI*³. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 62. Hagen, Gottfried. “Heroes and Saints in Anatolian Turkish Literature.” *Oriente Moderno* 89, no. 2 (2009): 349–61: 335. Reichl, Karl. “Medieval Turkish Epic and Popular Narrative.” In *Medieval Oral Literature*, edited by Karl Reichl, 681–700. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012: 686.

⁷¹ “Unlike the other two works, the *Danişmendname* does not contain supernatural elements, such as dragons, witches, or the working of miracles.” Anetshofer, “Danişmendname,” *EI*³.

⁷² When Artūḡı is captured by the enemy and is suffering the loss of an arm and hand, the wall of his cell cracks and a man with a long white beard dressed in green appears through the wall. The stranger miraculously heals Artūḡı (*Artuḡınınuḡ eli dūrüst oldı*). When Artūḡı asks who he is, the stranger says “I am Hızır, whom God commanded to come to you and cure your wounds.” Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:54.

animals (*Baṭṭālnāme*), or wondrous megafauna (giant crabs in *Şaltuḡnāme*). The only instance of a dragon is in fact the magical creation of enemy priests.⁷³ Melik Dānişmend does not so much slay the dragon as dispel it with prayers at the urging of a vision of the deceased companion of Seyyid Baṭṭāl, ‘Abdü’l-vehhāb Ġāzī.

Romance or Not?

As is clear from the anecdote that opened this introduction, *Dānişmendnāme* features a romantic subplot between two convert companions of Melik Dānişmend, Artūhı and Efromiya. Unlike *Baṭṭālnāme*, where Seyyid Baṭṭāl’s romances and acquisition of wives are fleeting and largely inconsequential to the episodic plot, the relationship between Artūhı and Efromiya not only drives Artūhı to convert, but kidnappings of one character or the other inspire many of the

⁷³ Pancaroğlu writes that “Malik [sic] Danishmend, armed with a pointed lance and mounted on a horse, subdues and kills the dragon.” (Pancaroğlu, “The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer,” 157.) I take issue with Pancaroğlu’s argument on two counts. First, the article interprets the appearance of a dragon in *Dānişmendnāme* as proof that dragons were important to the Dānişmendids. This blatantly disregards the fact the ‘Arif ‘Alī’s redaction is attributed in part to the fourteenth century, in part to the thirteenth century, and that—as I have demonstrated above—it does not have any meaningful historical connection to the Dānişmendid dynasty. Second, the article cherrypicks the text egregiously: it takes the appearance of a dragon at face value, strongly implying in its language that Melik Dānişmend faces a mythological creature, charging it down on horseback as would Saint George. In fact, after praying to Hızır, Melik Dānişmend sees a vision of the warrior ‘Abdü’l-vehhāb Ġāzī, who says not to be afraid of the dragon for it is “magic made by the priests” (*ya Melik Dānişmend-i Ġāzī, ol ezdehādan ḡorḡmağıl kim sihirdür, ol rühbānlar ederler*). ‘Abdü’l-vehhāb Ġāzī instructs Melik Dānişmend to recite a prayer to Hızır, as this will destroy the magic ([...] *ol du ‘ā’i deyr ḡarşu okuyub üfüresin, ol cāzūlık bāṭıl ola*). The next morning, Melik Dānişmend dons a talismanic shirt, mounts his horse, and then recites the prayer of Hızır before the dragon, thus destroying it ([...] *hemāndem Melik Dānişmend Hızır Peyğamber du ‘āsın eline alub okudı, ezdehādan yaḡa üfürdi, hemāndem ol ezdehā mahy oldı*). Later, he goes inside the monastery he and his men were attacking and finds priests with a contraption that looks like a red-hot metal cross (that was perhaps animating the dragon) that astonishes him (*Hemānkim demürden şalīb kıpkızıl oldı, ol üç rühbān ol dem gendülerin ol şalīb üstine pertāb kıldılar, üçü daḡı yanub küil oldılar: Çünkim Melik Dānişmend-i Ġāzī bu yaḡadan ol sihirdan olan ezdehāyı ibṭāl édüb derḡāl deyr ḡapusına érdi, ḡapuyı ḡopardı, iḡerü girdiler, ol üç rühbān nişān bulmadılar. Andan ol ḡavuz ḡatına geldiler, ol ulu şalībki od iḡinde kızarmışdı, ol ḡālı görüb ‘acebe kıldılar*). Contrary to Pancaroğlu’s article, the text of *Dānişmendnāme* clearly indicates that the dragon was not real and that the priests were magicians who created it from magic (as emphasized by “*ol sihirdan olan ezdehā*” and by the title of the *meclis* itself, “*Melik Dānişmend nice fetḡ eder ki anda üç rühbān varidi sāḡırlar idi*”); the true enemy in this confrontation were the priests and their magic. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:73; 75; 77.

chase plots that extend over several *meclises*, leaving the audience on dramatic cliffhangers.

Does this make *Dānişmendnāme* a romance as well? While this romantic relationship is certainly important to the narrative in ways that differ from *Baṭṭālnāme*, I would argue no. While I agree with Karl Reichl's assertion that, as with medieval European literature, "'epic' and 'romance' are two terms which cannot be sharply differentiated in the case of Turkish oral literature," I also agree with the consensus that an epic is "primarily heroic in outlook," whereas a romance is "focused on love adventures."⁷⁴ *Dānişmendnāme*'s narrative structure is "additive," that is, the succession of its episodes echoes "the ever-continuing quests and adventures of the medieval Arthurian knight, even if the objects of the quests are quite different."⁷⁵

Prose Epic?

While most scholars describe *Dānişmendnāme* as a "prose epic," I would like issue a brief corrective. This text—unlike *Baṭṭālnāme* and *Şaṭṭuḡnāme*—is an example of *prosimetrum*, that is, a mixture of verse and prose that constituted a large part of popular narrative.⁷⁶ Persian literary historian Julia Rubanovich, writing on the prosimetric Persian *dāstān*, or popular romance, writes that in medieval Persian literature, *prosimetrum* was utilized across genres (historiographic works, story collections, Sufi writings, etc.), and that "these verse inserts exercised a gamut of functions in relation to the message conveyed by the prose text—

⁷⁴ Reichl, "Medieval Turkish Epic," 683

⁷⁵ Reichl, "Medieval Turkish Epic," 683.

⁷⁶ Reichl, "Medieval Turkish Epic," 683.

illustrating, exemplifying, legitimizing.”⁷⁷ Rubanovich writes that while the verse insertions characteristic of prosimetrum became common in artistic prose (*nathr-i fannī*) in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Persian *dāstāns* from this period are “almost completely lacking” verse insertions.⁷⁸ Her article argues that prosimetrum became the form of choice for the Persian *dāstān* in the fifteenth century. *Dānişmendnāme* owes much to the Persian tradition linguistically and thematically. This is also true to of its verse insertions. Mélikoff writes that ‘Ārif ‘Al’īs verses were likely inspired by the *Shāhnāme* and Shī‘ite and Bektaşī mysticism, and that thematic and narrative parallels can be drawn to the Persian *dāstāns*, such as *Darābnāme* and *Samak-e ‘Ayyār*.⁷⁹ *Dānişmendnāme*’s prosimetric form, however, calls to mind another comparison: Reichl writes that “although the prosimetric *dāstān* is undeniably a younger form than the epic in verse, it is nevertheless a long-established form in Turkic literature as *The Book of Dede Korkut* shows. The verse in this cycle of tales is of such irregularity that it is highly improbable that the tales are a ‘decadent’ form of original verse epics. One rather has the impression that the verse passages ‘rise out’ of the prose.”⁸⁰

Not all poems in *Dānişmendnāme* are created equal, so to speak. While other scholars have glossed over the presence of verse in this text altogether, I demonstrate for the first time that

⁷⁷ Rubanovich, Julia. “Aspects of medieval intertextuality: verse insertions in Persian prose Dastans.” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 32 (2006) 247-268.

⁷⁸ *Dāstāns* are “voluminous narratives, often either anonymous or of spurious authorship, which relate the exploits of their eponymous heroes, feeling mingling epic-heroic, religious, romantic and ‘picaresque’ elements,” the composition and transmission of which “are closely linked to the institution of professional or semi-professional storytellers” and rough equivalents in genre and register to *Dānişmendnāme*. Rubanovich, “Aspects of medieval intertextuality,” 247-8.

⁷⁹ Anetshofer, “Dānişmendname,” *EP*³. Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:66-70, 165.

⁸⁰ Reichl, Karl. “The Mixture of Verse and Prose in Turkic Oral Epic Poetry.” In *Prosimetrum: Crosscultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*, edited by Joseph Harris and Karl. Reichl, 321–43. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1997: 342.

there are three different categories of poems in *Dānişmendnāme*. The first group of poems are what I term *Introductory/Concluding* verses; the second, *Stock* verses that are fixed formulaic in nature; and third, *Narrative* verses, which display flexible formulae.⁸¹

Introductory/Concluding verses are those which open and close *meclis*s. Many of the Introductory verses invite the listener to remember the events of the previous *meclis* and may provide a taste of what is in store in the *meclis* at hand (for example, that which introduces the ninth *meclis*, in which Artūhı and Efromiya are married). They may also be composed of fixed formulae encomium of the Prophet. Concluding verses frequently beseech the listener to return the following day for the next *meclis*, promising more adventures or dropping slyly winking references to the fact that the previous *meclis* left the audience in the middle of an episode (and therefore, on a cliffhanger). Such verses are also examples of fixed formulae themselves: orally-transmitted popular narratives, when committed to paper, often conclude sessions with invitations to their audiences to return for the next session, promising an enjoyable listening experience. Examples of both Introductory and Concluding verses and their function in the narrative are discussed at length in Chapter Three.

Stock verses are not tied to the narrative of the prose that surrounds them; they may include praise of the Prophet at appropriate times as dictated by the narrative, for example, but they do not add to the audience's understanding of plot events or character emotion in a given scene or episode.

⁸¹ I capitalize these terms for clarity, as *introductory*, *concluding*, *stock*, and *narrative* (in the lowercase) are terms frequently used elsewhere in this project with different meaning. For definition of *flexible formula*, see Chapter Two.

As their name suggests, Narrative verses extend the narration of an episode from prose through verses and into prose again. Whether they narrate Melik Dānišmend, Artūhī, and Efromiya riding into battle or depict Melik preparing to confront a dragon made of infidel priests' magic by donning a talismanic shirt, these Narrative verses' defining characteristic is that they are not separate from the narrative. They *continue* and are *a part of* the narrative. In this, they are notably different from Stock poems. Because they carry plot actions, they are inseparable parts of scenes and episode; when they deepen the character emotions represented in a scene, they support the emotional plot running through that scene and open windows into those characters' interior lives. Any study of *Dānišmendnāme*—especially one focusing on the history of emotions—would be remiss to not include Narrative poems.

Popular Literature

It has been well established that *Dānišmendnāme* is an example of popular literature. This project borrows its definition of the term *popular literature* from William L. Hanaway, who describes it in contrast with polite literature by focusing on linguistic style as well as content.

Popular literature is characterized by:

[...] a simple style, largely unadorned by the rhetorical devices and stylistic conventions of polite literature. Its language is more natural and close to that of everyday speech, fewer Arabic words are used than in polite literature of the same period, and the syntax is less complicated. It deals with romantic stories derived from older epics and the stories are not told as fables or allegories. Its emphasis is on action not ideas. It is full of popular religious and secular lore anachronisms superstitions and folklore.⁸²

⁸² Hanaway, William Lippincott. "Persian Popular Romances Before the Safavid Period." Ph.D., Columbia University, 1970: 16-17.

This being said, Hanaway also acknowledges that the distinction between polite and popular literature “lacks an absolutely sharp dividing line”; for “neither exists in isolation from the other.”⁸³ Thus, while we can draw conclusions from the fact that *Dāniṣmendnāme* bears the characteristics of popular literature and was perhaps, in either its thirteenth-century iteration or fourteenth-century redaction, intended for a popular audience, this does not preclude *Dāniṣmendnāme* from ever having reached elite audiences, whether in its written form or in performance (though Reichl and Mélikoff note that judging from variations in the manuscripts, the former is perhaps more likely⁸⁴). Rubanovich writes that

literary-historical testimonies, as well as inner evidence of the texts themselves, make it clear that medieval *dāstāns* were meant for consumption by addressees with diverse literary-linguistic competence as well as of variegated social standing; the latter fact is well reflected in the varied quality of *dāstān* manuscripts ranging from unassuming cheap copies, at times with slipshod writing and spelling mistakes, to sumptuously illustrated manuscripts produced in royal ateliers.⁸⁵

Pasha M. Khan echoes Rubanovich in his dissertation “The Broken Spell: The Romance Genre in Late Mughal India,” stressing that scholarly dichotomy between popular literature produced for non- or semi-elite audiences and poetry written for elite audiences in courts is often a false one.⁸⁶ This stance is echoed by Peacock in *Mongol Anatolia*, where he writes that texts described

⁸³ Hanaway, “Persian Popular Romances,” 18.

⁸⁴ Reichl writes, that *Dāniṣmendnāme* “as it is transmitted in manuscript form has clearly had a written textual history. The variations in the manuscripts, to judge from the examples given, show a certain latitude in phrasing, but, considering that the extracts are in prose, the different manuscript texts resemble one another sufficiently to suggest a basically written transmission.” Reichl, “Medieval Turkish Epic,” 686. Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:175-76.

⁸⁵ Rubanovich, “Aspects of medieval intertextuality,” 251n14.

⁸⁶ Khan, Pasha Mohamad. “The Broken Spell: The Romance Genre in Late Mughal India.” Ph.D., Columbia University, 2013: 17.

as “popular” should not be inferred to have been necessarily aimed at certain social classes, for “the distinction between an elite and non-elite culture could be highly fluid in the pre-modern Islamic world.”⁸⁷

The Study of Old Anatolian Turkish Texts

In the past, too often Old Anatolian Turkish texts were not seen as contributions to Islamic civilization, but rather as “witnesses to a purer stage in the development of Turkic language in Anatolia,” philological resources mined for their archaic linguistic characteristics of Turkish preserved in them rather than examined for their literary merits, which were deemed “outdated” or otherwise not worthy of study.⁸⁸ While scholars during the early years of the Turkish Republic, such as Mehmet Fuad Köprülü (1890-1966), Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (1900-82), and Pertev Naili Boratav (1907-98), fruitfully drew on the disciplines of folklore and literary history to analyze Old Anatolian Turkish texts, Reichl adds that in the decades that followed, the study of medieval Turkish texts would become an ideological matter: “as the earliest examples of medieval Anatolian texts written in Turkish, these texts became attractive sources for nationalist literary and historical circles, a trend best revealed in the Turkist revival of the 1940s.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 188

⁸⁸ Kuru, Selim. 2016. “Portrait of a Shaykh as Author in the Fourteenth-Century Anatolia: Gülşehri and his *Falaknama*.” In *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, edited by Sara Nur Yildiz. edited by A.C.S. Peacock, Band 34:173–96. *Istanbuler Texte Und Studien*,. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission: 178.

⁸⁹ Öztürkmen, Arzu. “Orality and Performance in Late Medieval Turkish Texts: Epic Tales, Hagiographies, and Chronicles.” *Text and Performance Quarterly* Vol. 29, No. 4, October 2009, pp. 327-345: 328.

This continues to have an impact on the field of Old Anatolian Turkish literary studies. A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız note that editions of these texts tend to be masters or doctoral theses produced in Turkish universities that remain unpublished and inaccessible (and of arguably uneven quality).⁹⁰ As a result, a full picture of the literary and intellectual history of the period has yet to come into focus; in the words of Yıldız, the study of the literature of late medieval Anatolia remains “something of a black hole in terms of research.”⁹¹ This is despite the fact that fourteenth-century Anatolia was characterized by a proliferation of literary and historical texts which Kuru believes “implies the presence of conditions for intellectual conversation, networks of patronage, [and] textual production and transmission.”⁹² The advancements achieved by volumes such as *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia* have begun to ameliorate this gap in the literature, but it is clear that much remains to be done.

One reason for this marginalization is the literary/historical divide that existed in scholarship in the twentieth century and that continues to exist. Until *Between Two Worlds* was published in 1995, Cemal Kafadar writes that “sharp boundaries” divided historical and literary-historical scholarship in Ottoman and Turkish studies.⁹³ As evidenced by the “mistrust” of

⁹⁰ Peacock and Yıldız, “Introduction” in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life*, 19, 22. One can speculate that the attention of this particular type of scholarship has contributed to the “unfashionable” status of Old Anatolian Turkish poetry and prose in the field of Ottoman literary studies.

⁹¹ Goshgarian, Rachel E. 2013. “Opening and Closing: Coexistence and Competition in Associations Based on *Futuwwa* in Late Medieval Anatolian Cities.” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (1): 36–52: 25. Yıldız, “Introduction,” *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, 19, 22.

⁹² Kuru, “Portrait of a Shaykh,” 174-5.

⁹³ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 64.

medieval historians of literary texts in the European medieval studies contexts, these boundaries persist into the present. *Dānişmendnāme*, as an epic depicting the fictionalized exploits of a historical figure, spans this divide, and thus divides scholars. While historian Muharrem Kesik argues in *Danişmendliler (1058-1178): Orta Anadolu'nun Fatihleri* (2017) that the text can be mined for historical fact, no historians have since taken him up on the suggestion.⁹⁴ Perhaps this is because *Dānişmendnāme* exhibits the work of a heavy editorial hand when it comes to the facts of the life of the titular king: in addition to changing the century in which the Dānişmendids were in power and rewriting their eventual absorption into the Seljūq dynasty, the epic displays—albeit on a far smaller scale—the occasional fantastic flourish that made Dedes call *Baḡālnāme* a “wonder tale.”⁹⁵ Whatever the reason, Kesik also chooses not to follow his own advice: the overwhelming majority of the source material used in his study are Arabic, Persian, Byzantine, and Armenian chronicles, and, as a result, does not add much to scholars’ understanding of the Dānişmendid polity beyond more detailed political history.

While Peacock rightfully bemoans the fact that while individual beyliks have often received political history monograph treatment in Turkish (though rarely in Western languages), “these are seldom integrated into a broader study of Anatolia, meaning each beylik is seen in isolation from the others,”⁹⁶ great strides have been made in recent years in the study of the

⁹⁴ Kesik situates his argument in opposition to early twentieth-century historian Mükrimin Halil Yinaç, who decried *Dānişmendnāme* as “hurafeler kitabı,” or a book of superstitions, the contents of which were completely fabricated. Kesik, Muharrem. *Dānişmendliler (1085-1178): Orta Anadolu'nun fātihleri*. 1. basım. İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2017: 15.

⁹⁵ Dedes, Yorgos. *Battalname: Introduction, English Translation, Turkish Transcription, Commentary and Fascimile*. Vol. 33–34. 2 vols. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 33. Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996: 1.

⁹⁶ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 14-15.

Turkish, Persian, and Arabic literature of late medieval Anatolia.⁹⁷ That being said, as for the genre of prose narrative in general and *Dānişmendnāme* in particular, much remains to be explored. Necati Demir published the aforementioned edited edition with commentary in 2002. Between then and the publication of Kitapçı Bayrı's *Warriors, Martyrs, and Saints* in 2019, a handful of articles published over the last ten years have laid the groundwork for further research. Gottfried Hagen's "Heroes and Saints in Anatolian Turkish Literature" argued that *Dānişmendnāme*, like *Baḡḡālnāme*, *Ebūmüslimnāme*, *Şaḡḡuknāme*, is actually part of a broader group of "heroic" texts that includes *The Book of Dede Korkut*, and should be examined by scholars of oral epics as such.⁹⁸ Zeynep Aydoğan's "Creating an Ideal Self: Representations of Infidels in the Late Medieval Anatolian Frontier Narratives" examined *Dānişmendnāme* and *Baḡḡālnāme* as texts which provide an understanding of how people on the Muslim-Christian frontier of medieval Anatolia conceptualized their political and cultural surroundings in "a period marked by a high degree of physical mobility and ethnic fluidity," a period in which the boundary between self and other was re-negotiated through conversion and conquest.⁹⁹ Pinar Kayaalp undertook a similar argument in comparing Melik Dānişmend to the eponymous Greek hero of *Basileius Digenes Akritas* in "Frontier Warriors as Cultural Mediators: Shifting Identities

⁹⁷ See essays by Sara Nur Yıldız, Zeynep Oktay, Şevket Küçük Hüseyin, Dimitris Kastritsis, and others in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*.

⁹⁸ Hagen, Gottfried. "Heroes and Saints in Anatolian Turkish Literature." *Oriente Moderno* 89, no. 2 (2009): 355.

⁹⁹ Aydoğan, Zeynep. "Creating an Ideal Self: Representations of Infidels in the Late Medieval Anatolian Frontier Narratives." *The Journal of Ottoman Studies / Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 40 (2012): 104.

of Byzantine and Turkish March Fighters as Elicited from Anatolian Epic Literature,” but the article’s many inaccuracies reduce its contribution to the field.¹⁰⁰

These articles are unified by their interest in *Dānişmendnāme* alongside *Baṭṭālnāme*, *The Book of Dede Korkut*, and *Digenes Akritas* as a source for understanding either a “heroic age” or identity in a politically and culturally fluid historical landscape. I posit that *Dānişmendnāme* has much more to offer scholars beyond its obvious preoccupations with *ḡazā* and conquest.

In a paper presented at the 2015 MESA Annual Meeting, Anetshofer challenged Mélikoff’s representation of Efromiya, the warrior paramour of Artūḡı, as an emancipated Amazon-like figure.¹⁰¹ Rather, Anetshofer’s close readings of the text reveal that Efromiya, while powerful on the battlefield, is ultimately submissive to her husband and her king.¹⁰² According to Anetshofer, Efromiya is depicted in the narrative as an exotic Other, not unlike the Saracen warriors of roughly contemporary European romances: her status as a convert (highlighted by her Christian name, which unlike those of other converts in the text, never changes) is a tool used to emphasize the superiority of Islam over Christianity. Her article “The Hero Dons a Talismanic Shirt for Battle: Magical Objects Aiding the Warrior in a Turkish Epic Romance” compares mentions of talismanic battle shirts in *Dānişmendnāme* (the earliest extant literary reference to a talismanic shirt) to a corresponding passage in Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s aforementioned sixteenth-century redaction of the narrative, *Mirḡātü ’l-Cihād*, and then analyzes

¹⁰⁰ Kayaalp, “Frontier Warriors as Cultural Mediators,” notably translations on page 125.

¹⁰¹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:129.

¹⁰² Anetshofer, Helga. “How Equal Are Female Converts? The Case of the Medieval Warrior Heroine Efromiya.” MESA Annual Meeting. Denver, CO, 2015. 1-2.

these in light of talismanic shirts in the inventory of the Topkapı Palace library from 1502-3.¹⁰³ Her work asks new questions of *Dānişmendnāme*, pushing its inquiry beyond the concerns of earlier studies, which were primarily focused on frontier politics, identity, and culture. Most important for the present study, her analysis of Efromiya’s representation in the narrative demonstrated that *Dānişmendnāme* was ripe for the kinds of literary analysis that French, Middle English, and other Western European medievalist employ.

As mentioned above, Kitapçı Bayrı’s *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes: Moving Frontiers, Shifting Identities in the Land of Rome* represents a significant contribution to the field. In analyzing *Dānişmendnāme*, *Baṭṭālnāme*, and *Şalṭuknāme* in addition to contemporary Byzantine texts, Kitapçı Bayrı aims to understand perceptions of the land of Rūm, its changing political and cultural frontiers, and the shifts in identity of the people inhabiting that space.¹⁰⁴ She takes great care to accurately situate each of the Old Anatolian Turkish texts within their respective historical and political context, which is in itself an excellent contribution.

Kuru writes that very few Anatolian Turkish texts “have been examined within their social and historical contexts;” rather, they are treated as evidence of “a purer stage in the development of Turkic language in Anatolia and subjected to research in order to identify biographical information about their authors or study the linguistic characteristics of Turkish preserved in them.”¹⁰⁵ This holds true for *Dānişmendnāme*. Few studies examine *Dānişmendnāme* and other representatives of its genre, in the words of Nazlı İpek Cora, as an

¹⁰³ Anetshofer, “The Hero Dons a Talismanic Shirt,” 175–93.

¹⁰⁴ Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ Kuru, “Portrait of a Shaykh,” 178.

exercise in cultural history—rather than mining the text “for factual information or to cross-check [...] data”—are still few and far between.¹⁰⁶ Fewer still are those that privilege its prose and especially poetry: with the exception of Mélikoff’s introduction of her edited edition, which dissects lexical characteristics of the text but not the literary style of the prose itself, no in-depth study has been made of the prosimetrum of *Dānişmendnāme*. Moreover, though Mélikoff’s translation made *Dānişmendnāme* widely accessible to scholars, her lengthy introduction to *La Geste de Melik Danişmend* remains the sole in-depth study on the text.

This project amends this gap in the literature. By privileging in-depth literary analysis of *Dānişmendnāme*’s prose and poetry, it is among the first works to center *Dānişmendnāme* and other representatives of its genre as subjects of literary historical study. By embracing and expanding upon Rosenwein’s framework of emotional communities and her methodology, this project breaks new ground in Ottoman and Turkish studies: it will ask new questions of *Dānişmendnāme* and apply literary analyses that have hitherto been denied it and other Old Anatolian Turkish texts.

Literature Review

The editors of *Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature: Body, Mind, Voice* position their volume as “a beginning, an opening move in the literary study of emotion in the medieval period, and the editors hope it will stimulate debate, suggest new applications, and awaken new

¹⁰⁶ Cora, Nazlı İpek. “‘The Story Has It’: Prose, Gender, and Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World.” Ph.D., University of Chicago, 2018: 37.

interest in emotions.”¹⁰⁷ Similarly, it is hoped that the conclusions reached by this project will inspire other scholars of Ottoman and Turkish studies to ask new questions of and reexamine the wealth of surviving Old Anatolian Turkish literature in a new light.

The idea of “emotional communities” put forth in Rosenwein’s classic article “Worrying about Emotions in History”¹⁰⁸ and her book *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* has had an immense impact. Thanks to her work, the study of emotions is a burgeoning field.¹⁰⁹ To delve into all the recent work in the field of European medieval studies—Middle English, French, Dutch, and Icelandic, among others—touched by her influence goes beyond the scope of this introduction, and indeed, beyond the scope of this project. Chapter One presents a thorough definition of the term emotional community as it is used in this project. Here, I instead focus on how the idea of emotional communities has begun to break into the study of Islamic history and literature.

The work of Julia Bray, namely her article “Toward an Abbasid History of Emotions: The Case of Slavery,” has already been discussed above. Additionally, Her “Ya‘qūb b. al-Rabī‘ Read by al-Mutanabbī and al-Mubarrad: A Contribution to an Abbasid History of Emotions” furthers her project.¹¹⁰ It takes cues from Walter Andrews’s work (see below) as she proposes the goals she envisions for an Abbasid history of emotions: understanding and talking about the emotional

¹⁰⁷ Brandsma, Frank, Carolyne Larrington, and Corinne J. Saunders, eds. *Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature: Body, Mind, Voice*. Vol. LXXXIII. Arthurian Studies, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015: 10.

¹⁰⁸ Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” 821-845. Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006. See in particular pp. 20-29. Plamper, “The History of Emotions: An Interview,” 250-51.

¹⁰⁹ Plamper, “The History of Emotions: An Interview,” 237.

¹¹⁰ Bray, Julia. “Ya‘qūb b. Al-Rabī‘ Read by Al-Mutanabbī and Al-Mubarrad: A Contribution to an Abbasid History of Emotions.” *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 4 (2017): 1–34.

life of Abbasid society, and identifying emotional communities within that society. Bray believes Islamic literature is ripe for the kinds of questions the study of the history of emotions provides. “Where to begin?” she asks. Scholars of Islamic literature interested in the history of emotions face a dearth of scholarly literature that specifically pertains to their field, and an abundance of literary sources on which to work (a somewhat unusual turn of events for those working on the early and middle periods of Islamicate history). Where ought one begin?

In his essay “Ottoman Love: Preface to a Theory of Emotional Ecology,” in *A History of Emotions, 1200-1800*, Walter Andrews draws the themes of his *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* to “demonstrate how an emotional vocabulary made up not only of words, but also images, music, and symbols as well as decoration, landscaping, ceremonies, and rituals is compiled over time” forms a foundation for understanding and expressing “the emotional content of a wide range of social relationships, from sexuality to religion, patronage to friendship and family life” in an early modern Ottoman context.¹¹¹ He focuses on love as a central organizing and meaning producing concept in Ottoman society.¹¹²

Andrews believes that there are two possible methodological approaches to the history of emotions. The first looks at theories of emotions, and the second considers “traces of the emotional lives of past people by examining and interpreting the many varied artifacts of their

¹¹¹ Andrews, Walter G. “Ottoman Love: Preface to a Theory of Emotional Ecology.” In *A History of Emotions, 1200-1800*, edited by Jonas Liliequist, no. 2:21–48. Studies for the International Society for Cultural History; London: Pickering & Chatto Ltd, 2012. See also Andrews, Walter G., and Mehmet Kalpaklı. *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*. Durham [N.C.].

¹¹² Liliequist, Jonas. *A History of Emotions, 1200-1800*. Vol. no. 2. Studies for the International Society for Cultural History. London: Pickering & Chatto Ltd, 2012: 1-2.

cultures and actions.”¹¹³ He suggests that evidence gained from a literary and cultural approach to sources can be organized to produce what he calls “productive models for understanding and talking about the emotional life” of Ottoman society.¹¹⁴ His work demonstrates that the idea of love in early modern Ottoman culture and society can describe (and possibly constitute) a central feature of what he calls an Ottoman *emotional ecology*, and that its emotional language—the language of a broad emotional community—developed as an emotional script in the long sixteenth century. His work is a clear nod to the concept of *emotional communities* put forth by Rosenwein.¹¹⁵

Andrews’s analytical framework and his concept of an Ottoman emotional ecology breaks new ground in Ottoman literary studies. The impact of his and Bray’s work represent what Liliequist calls a *decentering* (to borrow a term from Natalie Zemon Davis) of the history of emotions, which hitherto have been dominated by Western/European perspectives.¹¹⁶ Liliequist believes the history of emotions must broaden its geographic scope, an aim that the present intends to further.

Bray believes that following the affective turn in European medieval studies will only enrich the study of Islamicate history and literature. While we must be careful in applying approaches conceived of by European medievalists and informed by a Western perspective to texts produced in Islamicate historical and cultural milieux, Bray and Andrews have

¹¹³ Andrews, “Ottoman Love,” 21.

¹¹⁴ Andrews, “Ottoman Love,” 21.

¹¹⁵ Andrews, “Ottoman Love,” 24.

¹¹⁶ Liliequist, “Introduction,” 2.

demonstrated that European medievalist methodologies can be successfully translated to the Abbasid and early modern Ottoman contexts. Scholars such as Marion Holmes Katz, Karen Moukheiber, Karen Bauer, and Helen Blatherwick further the study of emotions in Islamic studies with articles in a special issue of *Cultural History* titled *Arabic Emotions: From the Qur'an to the Popular Epic*. Rosenwein introduces these articles as “tantalizing glimpses” at the forms and uses of emotions in Arabic sources from the Islamic middle period.¹¹⁷ This issue is indeed a tantalizing glimpse at how rich Islamic sources are for the study of emotions—the articles open new doors through which young scholars can pass through, armed with new questions and methodologies.

The application of methodologies from one area of cultural studies to another will never be a perfect one-to-one translation; thus, for example, it is possible to look at Anne Baden-Daintree’s examination of grief in “Kingship and the Intimacy of Grief in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*,” where men “often express grief and sorrow at bereavement with extravagant tears and gestures, there is a marked distinction between behaviors appropriate to the domestic setting and those which might be expressed publicly,” we can apply her methods to analyzing Melik Dānišmend’s grief insofar as we do not forget the influence of Islamic (especially Persian) literary tradition, genre, narrative and linguistic formulae, and the impact these have on texts such as *Dānišmendnāme*.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Rosenwein, Barbara H. “Prologue.” *Cultural History* 8, no. 2 (October 1, 2019): 131–36: 131.

¹¹⁸ Baden-Daintree, Anne. “Kingship and the Intimacy of Grief in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*.” In *Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature: Body, Mind, Voice*, edited by Frank Brandsma, Carolyne Larrington, and Corinne J. Saunders, LXXXIII:87–104. *Arthurian Studies*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015: 87.

Valerie Traub begins her article in *Islamicate Sexualities* by asking whether scholars should consider the past a foreign country. The purpose of posing such a question is to emphasize the need for scholars to “be shaken out of a false sense of familiarity with the past.”¹¹⁹ Her argument urges scholars to interrogate their implicit biases while reading primary sources.¹²⁰ Just as it is applicable to the study of sexualities in the past, the healthy dose of “culture shock” Traub prescribes is useful for the study of medieval emotions. European medievalists emphasize how even the word “emotion” must be problematized by scholars, as the term did not have its modern meaning in the medieval period.¹²¹ Certainly, Andrew Lynch points out, many modern names for “emotions” are found in medieval texts (for example, love, hatred, fear, pity, anger, envy, and joy) and appear to have been considered operative in daily life, but it is important to remember that “they may well have meant something different in the very different material and conceptual realms medieval people inhabited.”¹²² Lynch’s cautionary words are echoed by Nazlı İpek Cora, who recognizes that avoiding “reflecting one’s own set of values or expectations onto a distant Ottoman past” is quite difficult for scholars reading early modern Ottoman prose fiction stories.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Traub, Valerie. “The Past Is a Foreign Country? The Times and Spaces of Islamicate Sexuality Studies.” In *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire*, edited by Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi, 1–40. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 2008: 1.

¹²⁰ Traub, “The Past is a Foreign Country?”, 1.

¹²¹ Lynch, Andrew. “‘What Cheer?’ Emotion and Action in the Arthurian World.” In *Emotions in Medieval Arthurian Literature: Body, Mind, Voice*, edited by Frank Brandsma, Carolyne Larrington, and Corinne J. Saunders, LXXXIII:47–63. Arthurian Studies. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015: 48.

¹²² Lynch, “Emotion and Action in the Arthurian World,” 48.

¹²³ Cora, “‘The Story Has It,’” 41.

If we agree—as the above scholars do, be it implicitly or explicitly—that the past is a foreign country, then by extension, we must be aware of the fact that the words and concepts used by people in the past to describe emotion may be foreign to us. In order to grapple with this hurdle, I adapt the *emotion words* methodology put forth by Barbara Rosenwein in her article “Emotion words.”¹²⁴ (A thorough examination of this methodology can be found in Chapter One, but the following serves as a brief introduction.) In that article, Rosenwein puts forth a loose definition of emotions as well as the term *emotion word*. To conceptualize and define the former, she writes that it is best for the historian to define emotions as a mental construction, “recognizing that the chief way we in Western cultures think about and express them—and have done so in the past—is through words.”¹²⁵ Words used to express or depict emotion are *emotion words*. Emotion words are themselves worthy of historical study, for they provide a rich framework via which scholars may build a picture of an emotional community of the past.

Rosenwein continues:

Historians have two choices, it seems to me: to work like Ekman—borrowing modern emotion words and assuming their validity for all time; or to discover the emotions of the past through the words that people then used and considered emotions. It should be obvious that the first alternative is fatally presentist. But how may we actually accomplish the second? [...] But I would argue that it must make use of the terms at hand, even while (as we see in the case of the word “emotion”) itself it transforms the ways in which people think about their emotions--and thus how we feel and express them. And, even though I grant that it may often be true that “toute énonciation est lourde d'une dimension affective, ‘portée’ par le style,” as Crapanzano goes on to say, I think it impossible to determine what that affective dimension is unless there are words—from the historical time period we are studying—to describe it.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Rosenwein, Barbara H. “Emotion words.” In *Le sujet des émotions au moyen âge*, edited by Piroška Nagy and Damien Boquet, 93–106. Bibliothèque historique et littéraire. Paris: Beauchesne, 2008.

¹²⁵ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 93.

¹²⁶ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 96-7. Crapanzano, Vincent. “Réflexions sur une anthropologie des émotions.” *Terrain. Anthropologie & sciences humaines*, no. 22 (March 1, 1994): 109–17.

She proposes a methodology in which one creates a list of emotion words from the historical time period one studies in order to understand what affective dimension they had. As the basis for her methodology she takes a list of emotions that Cicero, an emotions theorist, compiled in the first century C.E.¹²⁷ Rosenwein argues that Cicero, through his discussion of specific emotions, “a systematic, though open-ended, overview of the emotions” that were first, a significant segment of “the repertory of emotion words that Cicero knew,” and second, “an attempt on his part to shape his contemporary emotional vocabulary.”¹²⁸ While Rosenwein states this list of emotion words is naturally the most relevant to historians of the late Roman Republic, she also argues that the emotion words on Cicero’s list “remained in use—albeit often with changed meanings—in the Early Middle Ages.”¹²⁹ It is through modifying this list that she generates a list of emotion words for the study of the Early Middle Ages. Rosenwein speculates that scholars of the late Roman Republic could use an associative method¹³⁰ by which they could study Cicero’s list of emotion words to examine “the emotional community of Cicero and his associates, seeing which emotion words were used by them most frequently and in what contexts, and similarly noting which emotion words were marginalized by them.”¹³¹

Scholars of the history of emotions in Islamic literature have no such list to build off of, much less a list relevant to Old Anatolian Turkish, a vernacular that in the fourteenth century was

¹²⁷ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 97.

¹²⁸ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 98.

¹²⁹ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 99.

¹³⁰ Rosenwein, Barbara H. “Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions.” *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2010): 828-42: 833.

¹³¹ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 99.

still “considered inadequate in some learned circles for conveying complex concepts and subtle arguments” vis à vis Arabic or Persian.¹³² It one of this project’s aims to derive a list of contemporary emotional vocabulary from *Dānişmendnāme* for the study of ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his milieu in mid-fourteenth-century central Anatolia. This can be found in the Appendix.

Chapters

Chapter One introduces definitions of *emotional community*, *emotion word*, *words of implied emotion*, and *emotional plot*. In doing so, it articulates my project’s methodological approach to reading emotions in *Dānişmendnāme*.

Chapter Two introduces narrative and linguistic formulae in *Dānişmendnāme*. It draws on examples from *Dānişmendnāme* and *Baṭṭālñāme* to demonstrate how *fixed* formulae in the genre of Old Anatolian Turkish religious-heroic epics function and differ in comparison to examples of *flexible* formulae from *Dānişmendnāme*. I argue that *Dānişmendnāme* is a uniquely rich source for the history of emotions in fourteenth-century Anatolia because of the flexibility of its narrative and linguistic formulae, notably in scenes where characters are depicted as experiencing profound emotion.

Chapter Three looks at never-before studied poems in the fourteenth-century Old Anatolian Turkish redaction of the popular epic *Dānişmendnāme* to reveal how its author employed novel and sophisticated literary devices to sway his audience’s emotions in certain ways at specific times. I argue that the principal way ‘Ārif ‘Alī accomplished this was through mirror characters, literary devices which serve as “go-betweens” between text and audience by demonstrating and

¹³² Yıldız and Peacock, “Introduction,” 31.

appealing to the emotions the audience should be feeling and when. The use of mirror characters in Old Anatolian Turkish popular literature was not static; rather, their uses differs across manuscripts. This illuminates the relative emotional sophistication of a text hitherto overlooked for literary analysis. Drawing on the theories of Rosenwein and Frank Brandsma, I argue that mirror characters reflect the contemporary emotional vocabulary of a text's author, thus illuminating their emotional community.

Chapter Four analyzes the representations of the grief and virtuous anger of Melik Dānişmend in light of his position as king, how that role was depicted in the text, and the historical context of the redaction. It discusses how representations of Melik Dānişmend's most heightened emotions—namely grief and virtuous anger—can be read as answering a striking question, one that for *ğāzīs* in late medieval Anatolia was a question of great consequence: how should a king mourn the men who fight for him? While other aspects of the depiction of Melik Dānişmend as the ideal king in *Dānişmendnāme* are notably incongruous with the period in which the text was redacted, close reading of the king's emotions demonstrates that to 'Ārif 'Alī and his audience, an ideal king was one whose relationship with his warriors was an emotional as well as political one.

CHAPTER ONE

Terms and Methods for Reading Emotions in *Dāniṣmendnāme*

Introduction

This chapter presents definitions of the terms *emotional community*, *emotion words*, *words of implied emotion*, and *emotional plots*. In doing so, it articulates my methodological approach to the study of emotions in *Dāniṣmendnāme*.

The history of emotions, while a burgeoning field within medieval studies, has until recently been almost exclusively dominated by scholars who focus on Western European texts. Like Karen Bauer, Walter Andrews, Julia Bray, and other Islamicists who have studied emotions (in the Qur'ān, Ottoman love poetry, and Abbasid *belles-lettres*, respectively), I understand that scholars of Islamic civilization and literature interested in the history of emotion must adapt existing methods and articulate new, different methodologies in order to take into account the different historical, cultural, literary contexts of their subjects of study. While one-to-one translations of analytical approaches born in Western European medieval or modern literary contexts are not perfectly possible for the Islamic context, adaptations are.

I have sculpted my approach to reading emotions in *Dāniṣmendnāme* by adapting the analytical methods of eminent historians of emotions such as Barbara Rosenwein. Even when I draw inspiration from the approaches of other Islamicists, such as Karen Bauer, I have tailored their methods according to the demands of *Dāniṣmendnāme*'s specific historical and literary context. In doing so, I orient the reader in methodologies that will be applied in Chapters Two, Three, and Four. Throughout my project, these methodologies will demonstrate that it is possible

to create and/or adapt approaches to the study of emotions specifically tailored for the sources and historical context of fourteenth-century Anatolia.

By asking such questions of long-overlooked sources, I hope to open the door to further studies examining the history of emotions in late medieval Anatolia, an endeavor that is especially valuable given the relative parity of sources for this geography and period. Like Nicolas Trépanier, whose innovative approach to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts in *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia* inspired the present project, such studies could ask new questions of surviving late medieval Anatolian sources and open new, unexplored windows into this rich period of Islamic history.

Emotional Communities and their Contemporary Emotional Vocabulary

In Rosenwein's words, an *emotional community* is the same as social community (that of the family, a neighborhood, a guild, a parish, etc.), but the scholar examining them seeks:

to uncover systems of feeling: what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.¹

For example, a group of people on a crowded street does not an emotional community make, but rather, an emotional community is "a group in which people have a common stake, interests, values, and goals."² Thus it often is with a social community, Rosenwein admits. But she adds that an emotional community may also be "a textual community," that is, one "created and

¹ Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," 842.

² Rosenwein, *Emotional communities*, 24.

reinforced by ideologies, teachings, and common presuppositions.”³ Rosenwein writes that emotional communities rely on what Foucault called a common “discourse,” that is, “shared vocabularies and ways of thinking that have a controlling function, a disciplining function.”⁴ In order to discover and analyze these communities, Rosenwein reads texts while “noting all the words, gestures, and cries that signify feelings—or the absence of feelings.”⁵ I bring this approach to bear on *Dāniṣmendnāme*, keeping in mind the influences of Persian literary canon on the narrative’s linguistic choices, fixed formulae, and modes of emotional expression. The shared vocabulary aspect of an emotional community is at the core of my analysis in this project.

The Introduction described recent advances in the study of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century literary and intellectual life in Anatolia. Few of these studies explicitly eastern Anatolia. My project is the first to explicitly tie ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s redaction of *Dāniṣmendnāme* to the complicated political milieu of eastern Anatolia in the fourteenth century. In doing so, I aim uncover the contours of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s emotional community as best can be done with the sources at our disposal. By elucidating the contemporary emotional vocabulary of ‘Ārif ‘Alī, we sharpen our understanding of the emotional community of author and audience. One method for scholars to create a taxonomy of the contemporary emotional vocabulary of an emotional community is through the study of emotion words.

Emotion Words

³ Rosenwein, *Emotional communities*, 25, 25n92. She cites Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J., 1983).

⁴ Rosenwein, *Emotional communities*, 26.

⁵ Rosenwein, *Emotional communities*, 26.

The Introduction presented an overview of how Rosenwein defines *emotion words*, that is, words used to express or depict emotion. She posits that emotion words are themselves a worthwhile subject of historical study. The framework that they provide allows scholars to sketch a portrait of emotional communities in the past.

For the purposes of this project, I specify that I analyze the emotions in *Dānišmendnāme* as representations of emotions, that is, discursive events that appear, per Ann Marie Rasmussen, as “(1) observations, descriptions, and expressions of emotions by characters and narrators; (2) vocalizations, actions, and gestures that communicate emotions; and (3) physical changes such as blushing, fainting, and trembling.”⁶ I conceive of these representations of emotion as practices, which allows us to understand them as “emerging from [...] conditional social context” that has “cultural and historical specificity.”⁷ The study of emotions in Islamic literature—much less Ottoman and Old Anatolian Turkish studies—is still in its infancy. It is because of this that, throughout this project, I have used the term *representation* of character emotions or *representation* of emotions. Fictive literature like *Dānišmendnāme* does not theorize emotion, rather, it depicts it.⁸ I emphasize representation here because, as Helen Blatherwick rightly points out, it is still necessary to understand and articulate how emotions are “conceptualized, configured, and represented” in medieval Islamic literature “as a basis for more theoretical,

⁶ Rasmussen, Ann Marie. “Emotions, Gender, and Lordship in Medieval Literature: Clovis’s Grief, Tristan’s Anger, and Kriemhild’s Restless Corpse.” In *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter (Emotions and sensibilities in the Middle Ages)*, edited by Steven Carl Jaeger and Ingrid. Kasten, 174–89. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003: 175.

⁷ Scheer, Monique. “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have A History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion.” *History and Theory*, May 2012, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 193-220.

⁸ Rikhardsdottir, Sif. “Medieval Emotionality: The Feeling Subject in Medieval Literature.” *Comparative Literature* 69, no. 1 (March 1, 2017): 74–90: 77.

analytical work.”⁹ Foundational descriptive work lays vital groundwork for later analysis, both in this project and future studies. This is especially true because while representations of emotions perform “cultural work,” ultimately, they “can be said to function more as a rhetorical tool than as a meaningful representation of how the emotional community in which the story was told thought men and women actually behaved.”¹⁰

How should historians analyze emotion words in historical texts? As mentioned in the Introduction, Rosenwein writes that scholars should strive to “discover the emotions of the past through the words that people then used and considered emotions.”¹¹ Her proposed methodology for discovering the emotions of the past involves searching documents for repertoires of emotion words—that is, the contemporary emotional vocabulary of a particular emotional community. In her article “Emotion Words,” she presents the example of emotion words found in texts by Cicero.¹² While Rosenwein states the list of emotion words she then creates from Cicero’s texts is naturally the most relevant to historians of the late Roman Republic, she also argues that the emotion words on Cicero’s list “remained in use—albeit often with changed meanings—in the Early Middle Ages.”¹³ It is through modifying this list that she generates a list of emotion words for the study of the Early Middle Ages.

⁹ Blatherwick, Helen. “‘And the Light in His Eyes Grew Dark’: The Representation of Anger in an Egyptian Popular Epic.” *Cultural History* 8, no. 2 (October 1, 2019): 227.

¹⁰ Blatherwick, “The Representation of Anger,” 242-3. Rasmussen, “Emotions, Gender, and Lordship,” 176.

¹¹ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 96-7.

¹² Rosenwein, “Emotion Words,” 98.

¹³ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 99.

Methodologically, this list is critical for Rosenwein. She writes that the contours of emotional communities can be revealed through analysis of this list of emotion words that compose a contemporary emotional vocabulary of an emotional community. Which emotion words were used frequently? In what contexts? Which emotion words were not used often by members of that emotional community?¹⁴ This analytical framework is why emotion words as a subject of study are critical for uncovering emotional communities: these emotive indicia “indicate the field of potential emotions, and social valuations attached to those emotions,” for the words and their definitions are historically and culturally contingent.¹⁵

This project adopts much of the above. Within the context of analyzing *Dāniṣmendnāme*, I define an *emotion word* as a single word or phrase that explicitly indicates an emotion felt (by a character). A compiled a list of emotion words drawn from the text of *Dāniṣmendnāme* can be found in the Appendix.¹⁶ These words are drawn exclusively from *Dāniṣmendnāme*, as my goal is to shed light on the emotional community of an author and his audience in a time and place for which we have few sources.

Rosenwein’s fundamental approach to emotion words can be summarized as follows: if an emotion word appears frequently, one can assume it has particular importance to the writer; likewise, if an emotion word that is otherwise prevalent is absent from a text, “the silence itself is

¹⁴ Rosenwein, “Emotion words,” 99.

¹⁵ Arnold, John H. “Inside and Outside the Medieval Laity: Some Reflections on the History of Emotions.” In *European Religious Cultures: Essays Offered to Christopher Brooke on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Christopher Brooke and Miri Rubin, 105–28. London: Institute of Historical Research, 2008: 106. Arnold cites Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 191–203. Rikhardsdottir, “Medieval Emotionalities,” 77.

¹⁶ Because the Paris manuscripts, the oldest known manuscript of *Dāniṣmendnāme*, forms the backbone of Mélikoff edition, I primarily rely on that text. Any references to Demir’s edited edition, which draws on other manuscripts in addition to the Paris manuscript, will be explicitly noted.

significant.”¹⁷ In *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700*, Rosenwein terms these groups of significant emotive indicia “emotional sequences.”¹⁸ With regards to emotional sequences, my approach differs from Rosenwein due to the nature of my source. Namely, to limit the scope of my project and keep its focus on uncovering one specific emotional community (and one that suffers from a paucity of sources, to boot), I have chosen not to compile this project’s list of emotion words from any text other than *Dānişmendnāme*. Therefore, my approach toward considering a word’s potential absence differs from Rosenwein’s: I generally do not draw hypotheses on a particular emotion word’s absence from the narrative because all my emotion words are drawn *from* the narrative. Additional context for the *presence* of emotion words in ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* is occasionally provided by reference to *Baṭṭālnāme*.¹⁹

The easiest way for one to conceptualize emotion words is to examine them in action. Let us now turn to a scene from *Dānişmendnāme* that is replete with emotion words and which demonstrates my approach to the text. This excerpt is drawn from the first meeting of the titular Melik Dānişmend and the Christian convert who becomes his fellow warrior and companion, Artūḥī. In this scene, the traveling king comes across a deserted campsite on a bucolic plain. He rests there. Soon, the owner of the campsite returns—a fearsome young infidel warrior who challenges Melik. They fight, but one cannot best the other. Finally, the two men rest, and the Christian

¹⁷ Rosenwein, *Emotional communities*, 195.

¹⁸ Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016: 8.

¹⁹ While *Dānişmendnāme* is in conversation with *Baṭṭālnāme* in particular, this project seeks to uncover the emotional community of a specific time and place to which *Baṭṭālnāme* is not explicitly connected.

[...] sat on the ground and ate and drank with relish, lay down, slept, and after a while woke and took his lute in his hand. He played it and sang, and lamented (*çağırdı zārī kılub*) as he sang this poem:

Help! For without a heart or beloved am I (*bī dil ü bī yār kaldum*)
Help! For tired and ill am I.

Help! For base among men was I,
Help! In the hands of love I am weak and helpless (*'ışk elinde zār kaldum*).

Help! For while I was on the way to that fairy-girl,
Confused and troubled am I (*sergeşte vü efkār kaldum*).

Help! For the night passed, and people played,
And still, like the stars, despair do I (*kevākıb gibi ben bī zār kaldum*).

Help! For all have reached the sight of their beloved
and I still yearn without seeing (*ben üş müştāk ü bī dīzār kaldum*).

Help! For all have reached their beloveds,
and only I am pitiful and without his beloved (*ben bīçāre ü bī yār kaldum*).

If I die before I reached you,
With the sorrow of waiting for the end of days, weep shall I! (*kıyāmet hasretiyle zār kaldum*)

He sang this poem while playing his lute and wept pitifully (*zārī kılıb ağlardı*) as he did so.²⁰

The passage contains words or phrases that constitute *emotion words* as defined by this project, such as *to cry*, *to despair*, and *to weep*. A full list of the emotion words that can be found in this excerpt include: *ağlamak* (to weep), *bīçāre* (helpless), *bī dil kalmak* (to be without a heart, i.e., to be lovesick, melancholy, sad, dejected), *bī dīzār kalmak* (to be without one's beloved), *bī yār kalmak* (to be without one's beloved), *bī zār olmak* (to despair), *çağırma* (to cry out), *zār kalmak* (to wail), and *zārī kılmak* (to weep or mourn).

By analyzing the prevalence or repetition of certain emotion words, scholars can come to basic conclusions such as the following. In *Dānişmendnāme*, sadness, longing, and/or grieving are expressed in part through demonstrative wailing and weeping, as in the case of the emotion words *ağlamak* (to weep), *çağırma* (to cry out), and *zārī kılmak* (to weep). (Though this analysis is not exempt from discussions of *fixed* and *flexible* formulae that exist in Islamic

²⁰ *birazdan ıtırıgeldi, tanbūrasın eline aldı, çaldı, çağırdı zārī kılıb bu şi'ri söyledi:*

*Meded ki bī dil ü bī yār kaldum
meded ki hasta ü bīmār kaldum*

*meded ki halk içinde hor oldum
meded ki işık elinde zār kaldum*

*meded ki ol perizāduş yoldında
işen sergeşte vü efkār kaldum*

*meded ki gece geçdi halk uyandı
kevākıb gibi ben bī zār kaldum*

*meded ki cümle dīzāre erişdi
ben üş müştāk ü bī dīzār kaldum*

*meded ki kamular yārına erdi
bu ben bīçāre ü bī yār kaldum*

*eger erişmedin saña ölürsem
kıyāmet hasretiyle zār kaldum*

Ol (yigit) tanbūrasın çalub bi şi'ri eydüb zārī kılıb ağlardı. Mélikoff, La geste, II:21.

literature, for weeping especially is a fixed formula.) We can compare this scene to others in the text that use different emotion words to express sadness, longing, and/or grieving.

As discussed above, in “Emotion Words,” Rosenwein compiles a list of emotion words found in texts by Cicero and uses this list for her study of the early Middle Ages.²¹ Islamicists have no such list, much less scholars who study Old Anatolian Turkish, a vernacular that in the fourteenth century was still “considered inadequate in some learned circles for conveying complex concepts and subtle arguments” vis à vis the prestige languages of Arabic and Persian.²² That said, the fourteenth century saw the courts of beyliks such as that of the Aydınoğlular in western Anatolia were beginning to patronize the translations of Arabic and Persian works into Turkish, signaling both a desire to participate to a tradition of literature with a long, established prestige and a notable demand for Turkish vernacular literature that was both “entertaining and edifying” for the audience of their predominantly Turcophone courts.²³ As a piece of popular literature, *Dānişmendnāme* is uniquely well-suited to understanding the emotional community that produced it and other representatives of its genre. In her work on female characters and issues of gender in popular *sīra* literature, Remke Kruk writes that the very popularity of popular literature reveals much about “the predilections and preoccupations of the audience/readership.”²⁴ By extension, the emotion words that appear in popular literature are vital parts of the contemporary emotional vocabulary of an emotional community.

²¹ Rosenwein, “Emotion Words,” 98.

²² Yıldız and Peacock, “Introduction,” 31.

²³ Yıldız, Sara Nur. “Aydınoğlu Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Western Anatolia.” In *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, edited by A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, Band 34:197–242. Istanbul: Texte Und Studien, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2016: 199.

²⁴ Kruk, “Click of Needles,” 5.

In the Appendix of this project, I collect a taxonomy of emotion words found in *Dānişmendnāme* and their historical definitions. My undertaking is the first such attempt in the field of Islamic studies; it lays the groundwork for future studies in two notable ways. First, it represents the only such list of emotion words in Old Anatolian Turkish. Scholars of other Old Anatolian Turkish texts can use this Appendix as the basis of their own studies or in a comparative manner, contrasting the emotion words of *Dānişmendnāme* with other examples of its genre or other genres entirely. Second, this list of Old Anatolian Turkish emotion words demonstrates Islamicists' ability to apply this and similar methodologies to their sources and the utility of such an approach. These methodologies have the potential to shed new light on and ask new questions of sources traditionally used for the study of late middle period Islamic history, such as historical chronicles and annals, and also sources often overlooked for the study of this period of history, such as popular literature. Scholars can further the study of the history of emotions in Islamic history and literature by building lists of emotion words derived from their sources. As with this project, their definitions and modes of analysis must rise organically from the study of their particular texts; their methodologies must be tailored to not only the Islamic literary tradition, but also to historical context and emotional scripting.

I strongly believe Rosenwein's approach to emotion words and emotion sequencing could be brought to bear on other texts—be they Old Anatolian Turkish, Persian, or Arabic—to paint a more complex picture of emotional communities of Anatolia in the late medieval period and other periods of Islamic history that have long been overlooked due to a paucity of sources traditionally used for the study of Islamic history. Genres such as hagiographies, *futuwwa* documents, mirrors for princes, courtly and/or popular romances, folktales, jokes, proverbs,

catechisms, and historical chronicles could reveal material that *Dānišmendnāme* does not offer. After all, different genres “tend to have different uses for emotions”: courtly romances give importance to the inner lives of the protagonists and their quests for self-knowledge;²⁵ advice literature, hagiographies, and *futuwwa* documents can be instructive about emotional ideals and norms, i.e., “how people were supposed to behave”; the manner in which historical chroniclers such as ‘Azīz ibn Ārdashīr Āstarābādī depicted the exploits of his patron and late fourteenth-century ruler of Sivas, Ḳāḏī Burhāneddīn, in his *Bazm o Razm*, could be fruitfully examined “for the choice of subject and the way in which it is portrayed has everything to do with a historian’s emotional community and the ways in which he or she imagines her audience.”²⁶

Words of Implied Emotion

Julia Bray writes that “the problems arising from the kinds of evidence available for different fields and periods have given rise to different theoretical stances.”²⁷ Rosenwein crafted her methodology of emotion words in response to the primary sources at her disposal; as I read *Dānišmendnāme*, I realized that to focus solely on emotion words would leave stones unturned. The emotions represented in the text required a broader lens of analysis than that provided by Rosenwein’s methodology of emotion words and emotional sequences. Here, I further

²⁵ Meisami, Julie Scott. “Kings and Lovers: Ethical Dimensions of Medieval Persian Romance,” *Edebiyat* 1 (1987), 1-27: 1.

²⁶ Āstarābādī, ‘Azīz ibn Ardeshīr. *Bazm va razm*. Edited by Tawfiq Subhānī and Hūshang Sā’idlū. Vol. 19. Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 2016. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 28.

²⁷ Bray, “A Contribution to an Abbasid History of Emotions,” 2.

Rosenwein's concept of emotion words to include a second category of analysis: *words of implied emotion*.²⁸

Sif Rikhardsdottir rightfully points out that the occurrence of emotion words varies among different genres of medieval texts, and their presence or absence may not necessarily indicate presence or lack of emotional intensity. The Icelandic sagas that are her subject of study, for example, are “no less emotionally laden than romances;” though emotion words are fewer in number in these texts, that “does not negate the presence of underlying emotion.”²⁹ Instead of relying solely on emotion words, therefore, she searches for what she calls “emotional signifiers,” or “signposts”: implicit or explicit narrative signals (such as scene construction and narrative arrangement) “with which the reader (or audience) engages and to which he or she responds.”³⁰

I define words of implied emotion as words which may become imbued with emotional meaning for contemporary interpreters of the text due to signposts such as narrative context and scene construction. Unlike emotion words, which always indicate emotion in the narrative representation of character emotion, words of implied emotion often have multiple use scenarios. For example, because it is an emotion word, *ağlamak* (to cry) will always indicate weeping, and by extension, character emotion. A word of implied emotion like *meded* may be a part of a representation of character emotion only some of the time. But, depending on the context, an

²⁸ In her landmark study “Emotions in the Qur’an,” Karen Bauer articulates her theory that emotion is woven into the basic eschatological message of the Qur’ān; she demonstrates this through an examination of what she calls “directly emotional words,” such as *fear*, *love*, and *compassion*, as well as “non-emotional words,” such as *loss*. Her use of the phrase “non-emotional words” in part inspired this definition. Bauer, Karen. “Emotion in the Qur’an: An Overview.” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 19, no. 2 (June 2017): 10.

²⁹ Rikhardsdottir, “Medieval Emotionalities,” 77.

³⁰ Rikhardsdottir, “Medieval Emotionalities,” 77.

interpreter of the text might encounter scenes in which *meded* is used and respond with feeling to the emotion implicit in the words of implied emotion. I created this second category of analysis for my project because relying solely on Rosenwein's proposed methodology of emotion words would gloss over such moments and erase them from our study. Let us return to the above poem sung by Artūhī and take *meded* as an illustrative example of the concept of words of implied emotion. After he eats, Artūhī takes his lute and begins to weep and sing/recite: "Help! For without a heart or beloved am I/Help! For tired and ill am I/Help! For base among men am I,/ Help! In the hands of love I am weak and helpless."

Meded, he repeats. *Help*. The context of the word *meded* is couched among explicit emotion words. The lines directly preceding and directly following the verses are "He played it and sang, and lamented (*çağırđı zārī kılub*) as he sang this poem" and "He sang this poem while playing his lute and wept pitifully (*zārī kılub ağlardı*) as he did so."³¹ Because of this context, it is possible to link the term *meded* (help) with a feeling of despair.

Words of implied emotion like *meded* do not explicitly have to do with emotion and do not operate throughout the text in a single fashion to represent character emotion. Rather, they are associated with moments of emotion because the characters in this text specifically speak it in moments of heightened, specific emotion or the narrator attaches it to moments of emotion.

Meded is not an emotion word because elsewhere in the text, it is used in ways that are not connected to emotion. Characters inquire after the the arrival of help to the enemy camp;³² they

³¹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:20-22.

³² *andan Melik Artūhıya eytdi: "Ağşama yakın Kāfir çerisine mededci erişen kimdür?" dedi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:41.

use it to give instruction to their troops before battle.³³ But *meded* is also used in moments when characters are experiencing profound emotions such as despair. Artūhı cries *help* not because he needs literal assistance, rather, he does so because he has no other recourse but to cry out in despair. In a slightly different example, one where the use of *meded* invokes divine assistance rather than general distress, Melik beseeches the Almighty when he discovers Artūhı has vanished in the night to rescue the kidnapped Efromiya from the infidels.³⁴ Melik Dānişmend often uses *meded* as he beseeches God in verse because he is so overwhelmed by the loss of his troops and anticipated battles with the infidels at dawn that emotion bursts forth in the form of a single word: *help*.³⁵

The genre of *Dānişmendnāme* influenced my methodological decision to take non-emotional words into account. William Hanaway points out that we as modern scholars encounter medieval or late medieval Islamic popular literature through the wrong medium: we read them rather than watching and listening to them being performed. We can speculate that, when performed, the storyteller of a tale like *Dānişmendnāme* would imbue certain non-emotional words with emotion through his performance. That being said, the fact remains that this particular redaction of *Dānişmendnāme*, ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s redaction, was likely not intended solely for oral performance. If there was a need for storytellers’ *aide de memories* or the like for the traditions of Melik Dānişmend, those needs were likely filled by copies that were perhaps closer

³³ *Bu yañadan Efromiya eytdi: “Ya Osman, siz bunda ÷uruñ, ben yalnız varayım,” dedi dañı, “eger kurtarıbilürsem gerü gelem, eger beni bilürlerse na’ra ururam baña meded kılasız,” dedi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:108-9

³⁴ *Andan Melik nazar kıldı, Artūhıyı görmedi. “Artūhı kanı?” deyüb şordi, Yahyā ilerü geldi Artūhı añvālın Melike bildürdi, Melik Dānişmend eytdi: “Allah Te’ālā gendü lufından kereminden ‘ināyet ve meded kıla!” dedi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:163

³⁵ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:20.

to the original orally-transmitted version of the epic. This redaction was meant to serve a different purpose. Let us recall what ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s stated mission in the poem that ends the manuscript: he wished to improve the narrative to suit his aesthetic tastes, for the manuscript that he discovered was written in a literary idiom so archaic to him that “one would say it is not Turkish.”³⁶ The presence of words of implied emotion might indicate that ‘Ārif ‘Alī knew his audience would understand the emotion implicit in scenes that lack explicit emotion words.

Emotional Plots

In my project, an *emotional plot* is defined as (1) the transformation of *character* feelings from one emotional state to another as represented in the narrative (by emotion words, words of implied emotion, or more abstractly), and (2) as the transformation of *audience* feelings from one emotional state to another. As this definition suggests, I use the term emotional plot in two ways methodologically.

The first way I use this term borrows from the work of Karen Bauer. In her article “Emotions in the Qur’an,” Bauer presents the theory that different blocks of text in the Qur’an “follow a particular emotional journey.”³⁷ What she terms an *emotional plot* “follows the emotional trajectory of a given *sura*, pericope, or unit of text.”³⁸ An emotional plot consists of not simply a listener of the Qur’an feeling an emotion, but rather, “the process by which the listener’s feelings *are transformed* from one state to another.”³⁹ To be more specific, that is the

³⁶ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:200.

³⁷ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 17.

³⁸ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 2.

³⁹ Emphasis mine. Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 2.

“specific series of emotions that lead the listener from one emotional state into another emotional state, achieving an emotional transformation.”⁴⁰

In this respect, our definitions of the term *emotional plot* are similar. I draw on Bauer’s conceptualize the emotional plot as the transformation of the listeners feelings from “one emotional state into another emotional state” caused *by* a specific series of emotions in the text.⁴¹ Unlike Bauer, whose source material demands her reading be based on “abstraction,” for *Dānişmendnâme* I posit that the transformation of audience emotion from one emotional state to another can be sketched by analysis of (1) the author’s affective intent, (2) knowledge of the audience, and (3) scholarly conjecture. My methodological approach to these is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Three.

My approach to emotional plot differs from Bauer’s because of the nature of our source material. The case of *Dānişmendnâme* is different from that of the Qur’ān. Foremost, of course, is the question of genre. It is a work of popular literature, a prose narrative, and a work of Old Anatolian Turkish. Even with what little we know about the redactions author and provenance, it is possible to draw conjecture about its intended audience and their emotional community, as I do later in this project; this emotional community differs greatly from that examined by Bauer. Qur’ān is of a specific genre with specific goals and a clear intended audience that forms an emotional community;⁴² Bauer’s method is deeply informed by her source material. While the Qur’ān has narrative passages that are composed of plots in the traditional, literary sense, Bauer’s use of emotional plot encompasses passages that are not necessarily narrative. Critically,

⁴⁰ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 17.

⁴¹ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 17.

⁴² Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 5-6.

it focuses instead on the “arc of feelings” in *listeners* “brought on by different types of address in the Qur’an, such as promise and threat passages, exhortations, and stories.”⁴³ These passages, she adds, may not even use emotional language (which in the context of this project can be understood as emotion words).⁴⁴ The purpose of emotional plots in her study of the Qur’ān is to understand transformative moments for the auditor and “thereby to understand the rhythm of individual *suras* in a different way from those previously posited by scholars.”⁴⁵ There is also the question of the narrative aims of the texts themselves.⁴⁶ As a religious-heroic narrative, *Dānişmendnāme*’s primary goal is to entertain. Indeed, as mentioned in the Introduction and discussed at length in Chapter Three, it was ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s stated intent to move his audience emotionally. At the end of each *meclis*, he exhorts his audience to return for more; as if to ensure that they do, he breaks the sections on tantalizing cliffhangers. The manners in which he accomplishes his aim of swaying his audience’s emotions are the subjects of Chapters Two, Three, and Four. One of the tools I propose using to analyze his ability to sway—or *transform*, to further borrow Bauer’s terminology—the emotions of his audience at certain times is the emotional plot.

Second, I use the term emotional plot to focus on the transformation of the *character* feelings from one emotional state to another as represented in the narrative by emotion words and/or words of implied emotion. Emotional plot, when examined in this way, serves as the foundation for other forms of analysis. For example, it can be used to clarify character emotional

⁴³ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 17.

⁴⁴ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 17.

⁴⁵ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 17.

⁴⁶ The narrative aims of the Qur’ān is a vast topic that certainly surpasses the scope of this project.

transformation in passages that will then be analyzed with other literary devices or themes in mind (see discussion of *mirror characters* in Chapter Three). Additionally, explicitly articulating the emotional plot of characters' emotional transformation in an episode or scene can help scholars appreciate the affect or emotional resonance that these emotional transformations then impact on the narrative's audience.

The meta units of narrative in which I examine emotional plots are called episodes,⁴⁷ which in turn are composed of smaller units that I term scenes. *Dānişmendnāme* differs from other representatives of the religious-heroic epic genre, like *Baṭṭālnāme*, in which each *meclis* is composed of a single, long episode (in which may be nestled shorter episodes and/or stories-within-stories) that tidily concludes by the end of the *meclis*. Rather, an episode in *Dānişmendnāme* may begin in one *meclis* and end in the following; this break interrupts the two parts of the episode and often, as aforementioned, intentionally ends the *meclis* on a cliffhanger. In the poem that concludes the narrative and in which he describes how and in what state he found his source material, 'Ārif 'Alī writes that he chose where to break up the narrative of his source material in his redaction.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ In his article "Episodes in Analysis of Medieval Narrative," Jonathan D. Evans argues that the Western narrative convention of being characterized "at all levels by rising action climaxing at moment of critical change in the fortunes of a character, followed by a denouement," that is, the Aristotelian and modern popular standard of narrative that has been "fundamental to Western canons of narrative art in the classical period and since the Renaissance," is "noticeably absent from the global plot structure of nearly all medieval narratives." Rather, he argues for the *episode* to be considered the central structural unit of medieval narrative rather than "plot" and that the principle of development in medieval narrative is not one of dynamism but rather one of *repetition* of episodes in the global structure of a narrative." Evans, Jonathan D. "Episodes in Analysis of Medieval Narrative." *Style* 20, no. 2 (1986): 103, 126-7.

⁴⁸ Specifically, 'Ārif 'Alī notes that the text lacked places to stop in the reading (*eyle yazmışlar anı bir sözi çok/evvel āhır tıracaḳ bir yeri yok*). This prompted him to divide the narrative into sections to make its reading easier (*yazdum anı on yedi faşl eyledüm/anı okuyana āsān eyledüm*). See Chapter Two and especially Chapter Three for discussion of 'Ārif 'Alī's awareness of the affective potential of such editorial decisions. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:290.

Many episodes and scenes in *Dānişmendnāme* are rich with emotion words; in these, it is easy to follow the beacons of the character's transforming emotions. Artūhī's shock at discovering his beloved is to be wed to another transforms to despair; Melik Dānişmend's grief at the loss of his fallen soldiers transforms to righteous rage as he enters the next battle. In such circumstances, Melik's emotional plot is clearly marked with emotion words. Take for example the following excerpt:

Eyyub explained this story to Melik Dānişmend; Melik became deeply aggrieved (*'azīm melūl oldı*). Because he was so enraged (*kaķıduđından*), the hairs on his arms stood on end. He immediately gave a war cry and he himself [fell] upon Nestor's entourage. In his hand he had a mace, and attacked, shattering them [to pieces].⁴⁹

In this scene, the emotional plot that traces the transformation of Melik Dānişmend's feelings is clearly marked by emotion words. First he is deeply aggrieved; then, because of his rage, he gives a war cry and attacks his enemy with vigor.

But not all transformations of characters' feelings are so transparently marked. Like Bauer, I recognize the importance of the abstraction of emotional plots. Unlike Rosenwein's study of emotional sequences—which is the study of specific emotion words and how they appear together—emotional plots do not require the same vocabulary each time.⁵⁰ It is still possible to trace the transformation of the character's feelings through an episode and/or scene by recognizing and taking into account non-emotional narrative signposts.

Take, for example, a scene in which Efromiya witnesses the death of many of her comrades in battle: “[...] they [the infidels] made one hundred Muslims martyrs. Efromiya saw

⁴⁹ *Eyyüb dađı mācerāyı Melik Dānişmende şerh eyledi, Melik 'azīm melūl oldı kaķıduđından her kılı bir dikene döndi, hemān bir na'ra urub gendüsini Nestor tūlpına urdı, elinde gürzi varidi, uğraduđın ĥurd u ĥām kıldı.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:146.

⁵⁰ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur'an,” 17.

that there were few soldiers left, and immediately recited a prayer summoning the popular figure Hızır.”⁵¹ The *gāzīs* say *āmīn* and carry on with the battle. A causal shift occurs in the middle of the second sentence: *when* Efromiya saw how many soldiers were left, she *then* turned to pray to Hızır. Efromiya witnessed who were her comrades in arms, men under her command whom she had led missions to rescue from the enemy in the past, falling in battle. Then she began to pray.

There is a striking difference in the use of emotion words between this scene with Efromiya and similar scenes featuring Melik Dānişmend. In the eighth *meclis*, Melik Dānişmend takes stock of his martyred soldiers: “Melik saw that four hundred Muslims were martyred. He was deeply miserable (*‘azīm perīşān olmuş*).”⁵² Melik’s emotional transformation—and thus the emotional part of this part of the scene—is clearly marked by emotion words.

Comparatively, no emotion words mark Efromiya’s shift from seeing how many soldiers she has left to asking the saint Hızır for aid; Efromiya’s emotional transformation in this scene is disnarrated. The use of emotional plot as a mode of analysis helps articulate what the non-emotional words of this scene make implicit. Why, we might ask, would this character begin to pray if she were not experiencing despair and asking for help from divine forces and/or experiencing grief at the loss of soldiers? It is thus possible to sketch the contours of an emotional plot in this scene based on its narrative immediate context and scenes containing other characters, such as Melik Dānişmend, that follow similar emotional plots.

Studying emotional plots allows us to compare these scenes; these comparisons lead to fruitful questions. Why do scenes of Melik’s most profound emotions differ from those of others

⁵¹ [...]yüz Müsülmānı şehīd étdiler. Efromiya gördikim çeri az kaldı, hemān Hızır Peyğamber du ‘āsın okudu. Gāziler āmīn dediler dağı Kāfirlerdin yaña üfürdiler, cenge turdular, ol kadar uruşdılar kim gāziler ol gün öyle zamānına dek cenk étdiler. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:112.

⁵² Melik gördikim dört yüz Müsülmān şehīd olmuş, ‘azīm perīşān oldı. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:122.

in the text? Why do they utilize more or unique emotion words? Does it have to do with the fact that his role as king necessitates different narrative treatment? Questions like these compose the bulk of Chapter Four.

Conclusion

In defining terms that I have adopted, adapted, or coined, this chapter articulates my methodological approach to the study of emotions in *Dāniṣmendnāme*. Bringing these new analytical methods to this redaction of *Dāniṣmendnāme* assists my project's aim of deepening scholars' understanding of the emotional community of its author and audience.

CHAPTER TWO

The Flexible and the Fixed

Introduction

In the second chapter (*meclis*) of *Dānişmendnāme*, Melik Dānişmend meets Artūhı, a young Christian warrior who converts to Islam and becomes the king's boon companion. The encounter between the two men begins when Melik Dānişmend, while riding alone, comes across a campsite and some belongings in the shade beneath a tree. There being no sign of the belongings' owner, he dismounts and falls asleep in the shade, then is startled awake by the neighing of his horse.¹ The owner of the campsite has returned:

When Melik Dānişmend woke and rose, he saw in the center of the plain a man suddenly appeared riding on a horse—he was a strange, awe-inspiring man, as if he were a male demon. He looked and saw Melik Dānişmend and cried: “What kind of man are you, to have come here on your own accord to put your own foot on your grave? What courage have you to sit in this place, when even demons do not pass by here for fear of me!”

When Melik Dānişmend heard these words, he rose, donned his weapons, mounted his horse, and rode up to the man and attacked him (*sāz silāhın geydi, atına suvār olub aña qarşu vardı, hamle kıldı*). “Let's see what courage you have!” Melik Dānişmend said. Melik Dānişmend saw that on that man's chest hung a cross, and he knew he was an infidel. The man took his spear and attacked Melik. Melik blocked him (*men 'eyledi*); a second time he attacked (*hamle kıldı*) and did not take him, a third time he attacked and was not victorious. Melik's turn came, and he took his sword in his hand and brought it down on the infidel. That man blocked [his attack]; again he [did it] and [the man]

¹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:19.

responded (*men 'eyledi, bir dağı urdı, redd eyledi*). They fought with every instrument of war. They could not defeat one another, and when night fell, they separated.²

This depiction of Melik Dānişmend and Artūhı's hand-to-hand combat is emblematic of duels and battles throughout *Dānişmendnāme*. Scholars have noted the presence of “clichéd” or “stereotyped” language in battle encounters; verbs and phrases such as *hamle kıldı* (he attacked) and *men 'eyledi, bir dağı urdı, redd eyledi* (he blocked [the blow or attack], struck again, and countered [counter attacked]) are repeated verbatim throughout the text. The narrative structure of the encounter is equally formulaic: first, Melik and his enemy trade taunting language. Then, Melik dons his weapons, mounts his horse, and faces his enemy (*sāz silāhın geydi, atına suvār olub aña karşı vardı*) as he will time and time again against Byzantine, Armenian, Georgian, and Frankish foe alike. A stylized, choreographed exchange of blows ensues.

In *Dānişmendnāme*, scenes such as this—in which characters duel or engage one another in the midst of battle—follow similar, and somewhat predictable, patterns and are often dismissed as formulaic. Using Walter J. Ong's definition of *formulaic* or *formulary* as “referring quite generically to more or less exactly repeated set phrases or set expressions [...] in verse or prose,”³ this chapter argues that the formulaic narrative and linguistic elements of *Dānişmendnāme* are

² Çün Melik Dānişmend uyandı dağı tırigeldi gördikim ol yazı ortasından bir er çıkageldi, bir ata binmiş, 'acā'ib heybetlü er idi, şanasın kim bir nerre dīvdi, bağıdı, Melik Dānişmend gördi dağı çağırđı kim: “Ne kişisin kim gendü ayağınile gendü gürüne geldün, seniñ ne zehrün vardur ki bu maqāmda oturursın, benüm heybetümden bu yerlerden dīvler geçmez,” dedi. Çün Melik Dānişmend anı işitdi tırđı, sāz silāhın geydi, atına suvār olub aña karşı vardı, hamle kıldı, eyitdi kim: “Erlik içinde neñ var götür görelüm,” dedi. Dağı Melik Dānişmend gördi kim ol erün boynunda bir hāç aşılı, bildi kim kāfirdur, derhāl el süñü urdı, Melike hamle kıldı. Melik men 'eyledi, ikinci gez hamle kıldı, alımadı, üçünci gez hamle kıldı zafer bulımadı. Bu gez nevbet Melike degdi, el kılıça urub kāfire indürdi, ol er men 'eyledi, bir dağı urdı, redd eyledi. Her ālet-i harbile çok dürüşdiler, birbirine zafer bulunmadılar, çünkim gece oldu birbirinden ayrıldılar. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:19-20.

³ Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. New Accents. London: Routledge, 1991: 25.

worthy subjects of study. This chapter presents a new approach to the reading of *Dānişmendnāme* that centers, rather than disregarding or dismissing, its formulaic elements. Every scene, emotional plot, and emotion word that is formulaic in medieval Islamic popular literature—and indeed, medieval Islamic literature of any register—is still imbued with historicity. Studying their preservation and repetition can speak volumes about the emotional community of the author and his audience, as can exploring *how* the formulaic elements operate within the text.

But *Dānişmendnāme* in particular makes a unique offering: in its pages, scholars encounter scenes that challenge our understanding of narrative formulae that we expect from its religious-heroic genre and its popular register. Not only that, we encounter what might be considered a stylistic evolution from the strict demands of orally-transmitted tradition. Curiouser still, this *flexibility* of formulae is most often seen in moments where principal characters are experiencing emotions. Rather than relying on the *fixed* formulae illustrated in the scene above and throughout other representatives of its genre, such as *Baṭṭālnāme*, at times the narrative of *Dānişmendnāme* lingers in moments of emotion and draws on a more diverse lexical palette to give a glimpse of interior crises.⁴ The text uses flexible formulae to depict moments such as Artūḫī weeping as he longs for Efromiya. Flexible formulae can also be seen in depictions of Melik Dānişmend, who in stark contrast to his literary and literal forebear Seyyid Baṭṭāl, doubts his army's strength on the eve of battle and despairs.

By comparing *Dānişmendnāme* to other contemporary texts of its genre, such as *Baṭṭālnāme*, we see that it contains scenes that push the boundaries of narrative formulae set

⁴ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 44.

forth by its genre and the demands of orally-transmitted tradition in ways that make it a uniquely rich subject for and well-suited to the study of emotion. Indeed, for a field as nascent as that of the study of emotions in Old Anatolian Turkish literature, it is a natural place to begin. I also argue that because these moments of formulaic flexibility were either selected by ‘Ārif ‘Alī to remain in the text as he redacted and preserved the narrative or were added by him in both prose and poems, these depictions of emotions can be attributed to his pen and thus allow for the study of emotions in fourteenth-century central Anatolia.

Definitions

In his seminal text *Orality and Literacy*, Ong voices his support for Joel Sherzer’s suggestion that scholars interested in orality-literacy contrasts should conceptualize their subject of study as “a continuum between the ‘fixed’ and the ‘flexible’ use of formulaic elements. Sometimes formulaic elements are managed in an effort to establish verbatim sameness, sometimes they work to implement a certain adaptability or variation.”⁵ Here, I conceptualize the use of formulaic elements in *Dānişmendnāme* as existing along a spectrum or continuum. Narrative and lexical formulae in this redaction vary in their malleability from what is *fixed*—that is, to borrow Ong’s definition a second time, more or less exactly repeated set phrases or set expressions, crystalized by the necessary processes of oral transmission—to what is *flexible*. Some formulae are composed of verbatim or nearly verbatim repetition of narration or lexical choice; we can imagine them appearing on one side of the continuum, closest to the term *fixed*. Other formulae move away from the *fixed* toward the far side of the continuum: that is, the

⁵ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 29, 64.

flexible. The term *flexible* suffers from a more slippery definition than the term *fixed*, for the *flexible* only comes into focus when contrasted with what is fixed. Specificity of genre, language, transmission, register, and literary context all play a role in its existence and appearance. Throughout this chapter, examples of *fixed* and *flexible* narrative formulae will be given alongside one another in order to shed light on their differences.

By *narrative formula(e)*, I mean a repetition or echoing in the elements of narrative, be they the structure of scenes, imagery, or motif. An illustration of a narrative formula may be seen in *Baṭṭāl-nāme*. At the opening of several chapters, we see the eponymous hero Seyyid Baṭṭāl sitting with his *gāzīs* when a stranger enters their gathering.⁶ The stranger invariably falls to Seyyid Baṭṭāl's feet and weeps, then tells a story of how he is troubled and requires help. Stirred by the story, Seyyid Baṭṭāl—and sometimes his companions—also weeps, then immediately begins to enact a solution to the supplicant's problem. The stage is set, the problem for Seyyid Baṭṭāl to fix is unveiled to the audience, and the adventure begins.

By *lexical formula(e)*, I mean the repetition of words or set phrases in narration or description. These can be verbatim, fixed formulae, such as the repetition of (*sāz silāḥın geydi, atına suvār olub aña karşı vardı, hamle kıldı*) in battles, or flexible formulae that include less frequently used words or set phrases. Lexical formulae allow us to analyze the makeup of narrative formulae—such as imagery or motif—on a more granular level.

Orality, Genre, and the Formulary

⁶ “The Story of Sa‘īd and Gazban, Son of Shamun,” “The Story of Kaytūr Abād,” and “The Story of Taryun and his Daughter Gul-Andam.” Dedes, *Battalname*, 147, 153, 180.

As described in the Introduction, *Dānişmendnāme* draws from an oral tradition. It was perhaps written in some form in the mid-thirteenth century⁷ before being redacted in the mid-fourteenth-century by ‘Ārif ‘Alī.⁸ Texts such as *Baṭṭālīnāme*, *Varḳa ve Gülşāh*, and *Şaltuḳnāme*, among others, made similar transitions from orally-transmitted traditions to paper in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Some were commissioned by princes,⁹ while the patrons and impetuses behind the transcription of others is more ambiguous.

When we examine this group of texts, it is easy to pinpoint a common feature: the fact that they originated and were circulated in oral cultures is evident in their structure and prose. Simply put, these texts echo Persian literary scholar Julia Rubanovich’s description of the genre of the Persian *dāstān*:

Their composition and transmission are closely linked to the institution of professional or semi-professional storytellers known in various historical periods as *muḥaddithūn*, *qissa-khwānān*, or *naqqālān*. Commonly categorized within the domain of Volksliteratur, *dāstāns* are permeated with the pragmatics of oral/aural transmission and reception, displaying stylistic simplicity and accessibility to addresses with diverse literary-linguistic competence.¹⁰

As examples of popular literature, these texts are characterized by their simple prose (or verse) style that features less complicated syntax than court literature or, to borrow the term of Persian literary scholar William L. Hanaway, “polite literature,” and more closely reflect everyday

⁷ Mélikoff lists mentions of the possible author of this text, Ibn ‘Ālā, in the Istanbul and Leningrad (St. Petersburg) manuscripts. Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:55n3.

⁸ Anetshofer, “The Hero Dons a Talismanic Shirt for Battle,” 180.

⁹ Karamustafa, Ahmet T. “Sarı Saltık Becomes a Friend of God.” In *Tales of God’s Friends: Islamic Hagiography in Translation*. Ed. John Renard, 136-44. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009: 136.

¹⁰ Rubanovich, “Aspects of medieval intertextuality,” 248.

speech in a way that is “largely unadorned by the rhetorical devices and stylistic conventions of polite literature.”¹¹

As discussed in the Introduction, *Dānişmendnāme* can doubtlessly be classified as popular literature, a conclusion drawn from the nature of surviving manuscripts and its linguistic register, especially of its prose. Mélikoff commented that the “simple and archaic” prose of the redaction is of “limited inspiration” compared to ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s poetry, noting a “difference in erudition” between the two;¹² moreover, she writes, the prose “abounds in redundancies.”¹³ In his 2005 article “Stereotyped expressions in early Turkish epic poetry,” Ottoman literary historian Tadeusz Majda comments that “stereotyped expressions or clichés are the most characteristic features of early Ottoman Turkish epics.”¹⁴ Setting aside the egregious error of calling *Dānişmendnāme* and other fourteenth-century central Anatolian texts such as *Varḳa ve Gülşāh* “Ottoman,”¹⁵ the conclusions reached by Majda’s article—that indeed, there are many stock phrases relating to battle to be found in the prose epics of late medieval Anatolia—are still shallow. Mélikoff

¹¹ Hanaway, “Persian Popular Romances,” 18.

¹² Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:64, 161.

¹³ “A cette image, on peut ajouter celles, non moins fréquentes, de la poussière soulevée par les chevaux, qui forme une colonne s’élevant jusqu’au ciel, ou des cris de guerre des héros qui font trembler ciel et terre et crever la poche de fiel des ennemis, ou du héros qui soulève son adversaire par la ceinture et le fait tournoyer au-dessus de sa tête avant de le jeter à terre.” Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:165, 183.

¹⁴ Majda, Tadeusz. “Stereotyped Expressions in Early Turkish Epic Poetry. Descriptions of Battle Commencement, Preparing Armies for Attack, Withdrawal, and Duels.” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 58, no. i (2005): 111, 112.

¹⁵ Two manuscript copies of *Varḳa ve Gülşāh*, including the oldest (which gives its date of composition as 743/1342-3), are from Sivas. Smith, *Varḳa ve Gülşāh*, 16. It was not until after the death of the ruler Ḳadı Burhāneddīn Aḥmed 1381-98 that Sivas and other territory once belonging to the beylik of Eretna was incorporated into Ottoman territory. (Claude Cahen, “Eretna,” *EP*; Kemal Göde, “Eretnaogulları,” *TDVİA*, 11:295-296.)

commented on these same formulaic battle imagery in her lengthy introduction to the text nearly half a century before Majda.

Those who study medieval Islamic poetry and popular literature of any tradition are accustomed to the presence of abundant tropes. Beloveds and heroic youths are moon-faced; warriors diving into the fray of battle are heralded with drums and acclaim. Duels mid-battle are uniformly stylized and highly formulaic affairs. The study of pre-modern Islamic literature is, in a way, the study of the formulaic: the modern scholar grapples with traditions, tropes, and imagery in both prose and poetry, in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and other Islamicate languages. Unlike Majda, I go beyond simply identifying the use of fixed formulaic language and argue that it is more useful to explore *how* fixed and flexible formulae function in *Dānişmendnāme*. Detailed comparisons with a representative contemporary text of its genre—specifically *Baṭṭālnāme*—illustrate the differences between the two types of formulae. These comparisons further serve to contextualize the place of *Dānişmendnāme* in its genre as well as contextualize scenes and imagery that will be discussed later in the project. While following discussion is by no means an exhaustive comparison of the two texts, I intend for it to facilitate and deepen our understanding of fixed and flexible formulae in *Dānişmendnāme*.

I avoid the terms “cliche” and “stereotyped,” as these indicate value judgment on the part of the scholar.¹⁶ *Dānişmendnāme* remains a rich source for the study of emotions whether or not twentieth or twenty-first century scholars find aesthetic value in its prose. The arguments that follow are informed by the belief that just because a phrase, image, or emotion word is a fixed formula does not preclude it from being imbued with affect in the eyes of the emotional

¹⁶ Majda, “Stereotyped expressions,” 113.

community of the audience of *Dānišmendnāme*. On the contrary, one can argue that conservative oral culture preserved certain fixed formulae *because* they had powerful affect to the emotional community of the author and audience.

Moreover, the affective power of fixed formulae might not be immediately apparent to us as modern *readers* of the text specifically. As William L. Hanaway writes, we as scholars must remember that we are approaching these texts through the “wrong medium,” likening the occasional lack of color in the text of Persian popular romances to how the works of “present day narrators in Tehran are flattened out and lose most of their color and excitement” when presented in text.¹⁷ As Mélikoff rightfully points out, *Dānišmendnāme*’s syntax and choice of imagery makes it clear it was meant to be read aloud. She highlights, for example, the use of onomatopoeia:

in *kılıç çakıldısı*, we hear the sound of clashing swords; in *yay tingildısı* one feels the vibration and the resonance of the bowstring; in *ok fişıldısı*, we hear the hissing and swarming of arrows; in *kılıç yalabıması*, we see the reverberation of light in the crossing of the blades.¹⁸

This is the kind of color that Hanaway writes is lost when the text is not read or recited aloud.

Just as Persian popular romances were meant to be told by storytellers to audiences,

“accompanied by varying tones of voice and speeds of delivery in addition to gestures of the head, arms and body of the storyteller,” we approach *Dānišmendnāme* and contemporary texts through the wrong medium. While they may “make tedious reading,” we must keep this methodological consideration in mind throughout the discussion of fixed formulae.

¹⁷ Hanaway, “Persian Popular Romances,” 15.

¹⁸ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:65.

Baḡḡālnāme

Baḡḡālnāme is an example of a text that originated in an oral culture and preserved fixed formulae in its narrative structure and lexical formulae. Because of this, it serves as a valuable foil to *Dānişmendnāme*. By using *Baḡḡālnāme* to lay out established formulae characteristic of the genre of Old Anatolian Turkish religious-heroic narratives, we may then draw distinctions between the fixed and flexible formulae of *Dānişmendnāme*.

According to Ong, oral cultures establish “a highly traditionalist or conservative set of mind,” for “without a writing system, breaking up thought [...] is a high-risk procedure.”¹⁹ Writing cultures, on the other hand, allow for innovation and breaking up of the formulaic. The importance of formulaic expressions in orally-transmitted traditions goes beyond acting as mnemonic devices; a tradition’s ability to be remembered preserves knowledge in oral cultures. He stresses that:

Traditional expressions in oral cultures must not be dismantled: it has been hard work getting them together over the generations, and there is nowhere outside the mind to store them. So soldiers are brave and princesses beautiful and oaks sturdy forever. This is not to say that there may not be other epithets for soldiers or princesses or oaks, even contrary epithets, but these are standard, too: the braggart soldier, the unhappy princess, can also be part of the equipment. What obtains for epithets obtains for other formulas. Once a formulaic expression has crystallized, it had best be kept intact.²⁰

In the case of *Baḡḡālnāme*, Dedes argues that the “conservatism” of the text’s formulae had to do with the fact that the majority of storytellers (*kışşahwāns*) who transmitted the oral tradition

¹⁹ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 41.

²⁰ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 39.

“were of the ‘reproductive’ rather than a ‘creative’ type of traditional performers of low folk literature.”²¹

Yorgos Dedes writes in the introduction of his edition to the text that the roots of *Baṭṭālnāme* may stretch as far back as far as the arrival of the Dānişmendid Turks in Malatya after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. Due to the fact the text contains no indications that the conquest of Anatolia has been completed or that Constantinople has been conquered, Turkish folklore scholar Pertev Boratav suggests that the compiling or composition of *Baṭṭālnāme* should be dated to the Seljūk period.²² This dating of the text is challenged by Peacock, who rightfully points out that while the tradition of Seyyid Baṭṭāl certainly circulated on the frontier with Byzantium in the thirteenth century, “that is not to say the epic was written down in Turkish then.”²³ The edition presented by Dedes is based on the oldest known preserved manuscript of *Baṭṭālnāme*, dated 840 AH (1436-7 CE),²⁴ which Peacock believes is “evidently” a copy of an earlier version, though it is impossible to say how much earlier.²⁵

Baṭṭālnāme tells the story of a young hero called Ja‘far (later dubbed the eponymous Baṭṭāl, and often referred to as merely Seyyid) avenging his father’s death at the hands of Byzantine nobles, waging *gāzā*—which in this context Kitapçı Bayrı calls “freelance raiding”—on the Byzantine enemy.²⁶ Boratav writes that *Baṭṭālnāme* is considerably different in narrative

²¹ Dedes, *Battalname*, 76-7.

²² Dedes, *Battalname*, 10.

²³ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 153.

²⁴ Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (catalogue no. 1455). Based on extant scribal errors, Dedes concludes it is a copy of not only a much earlier manuscript, but the copyist may have drawn on several other early manuscripts. Dedes, *Battalname*, 85.

²⁵ Peacock, “The Emergence of Literary Turkish,” 153.

²⁶ Baryı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 179.

structure and technique from *The Book of Dede Korkut* and other oral epics “the nomadic Turks brought with them from Transoxiana,” arguing that it was modeled on Arabic popular literature.²⁷ Thematically, *Baṭṭālnāme* draws heavily on Arabic popular *sīra* literature such as *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himma*, as it is set within the historical context of the Arab confrontation with Byzantium in Anatolia in the early Abbasid period.²⁸

Baṭṭālnāme inaugurated the cycles of religious-heroic prose narratives of which *Dānişmendnāme* is a clear part, making it not only a close relative of our subject of study, but a natural and essential point of comparison. Indeed, the fourteenth-century redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* is in unambiguous conversation with *Baṭṭālnāme*. The first sentence of the first *meclis* begins “when the story of Baṭṭāl Ġāzī ended, and when ‘Abdü’l-vehhāb and the other ġāzīs passed from this world into the next, the people of Malatya learned of it and mourned.”²⁹ Moreover, Seyyid Baṭṭāl himself and, occasionally, his companions, appear in dreams to various characters in *Dānişmendnāme* to offer advice and encouragement in times of need.

The Fixed and the Flexible

This section selects scenes from *Dānişmendnāme* to demonstrate fixed formulae, using comparisons to *Baṭṭālnāme* to further illustrate on how the demands of genre and oral transmission likely shaped the use of *fixed* narrative formulae in depictions of battles, conversions, and the Other. Because the *flexible* only comes into focus when contrasted with

²⁷ Dedes, *Battalname*, 10.

²⁸ Dedes, *Battalname*, 1.

²⁹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:190, II:5.

what is *fixed*, each subsection then draws on an example of *flexible* formulae from depictions of the three principal characters of the narrative: Melik Dānişmend, Efromiya, and Artūhı.

Fixed Battles and the Flexibility of Melik Dānişmend

The narrative and lexical formulae of battles in *Dānişmendnāme* are examples of fixed formulae. I theorize that the fixed formula of taunting in duels is an example of what historian of emotions Ann Marie Rasmussen terms “heroic anger.”³⁰

The subject of Majda’s aforementioned article, battles are perhaps the most prominent narrative feature of *Dānişmendnāme*. The verb *hamle kıl-* (to attack), to name but one verb that indicates coming to blows with an enemy, appears 222 times in the narrative, illustrating just how frequently the heroes enter battle.³¹ This is unsurprising given both the text and the genre’s preoccupation with conquest; the verbatim or nearly verbatim repetition of many verbs, phrases, and imagery related to battle is also unsurprising given given the orally-transmitted origins of the narrative. The importance of fixed formulaic expressions in orally-transmitted traditions goes beyond acting as mnemonic devices for recitation: a tradition’s ability to be remembered preserves knowledge in oral cultures.³²

³⁰ Rasmussen, “Emotions, Gender, and Lordship,” 184.

³¹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:23, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 51, 52, 54, 58, 59, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70, 73, 74, 48, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96,97, 98, 106, 107,108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 120, 125, 126, 132, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 162, 163, 164, 167, 171, 173, 174, 179, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 225, 226, 227, 228, 247, 248, 257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 269, 271, 271, 273, 274, 275. This is not inclusive of the verb *hamle et-*, which is nearly identical in meaning to *hamle kıl-*, nor of (number or *çok* [many]) *hamle arada haṭā geç-*, which indicates the number of times someone was attacked but the opponent missed their target.

³² Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 39.

In addition to the influence of oral transmission, Mélikoff attributes the repetition of similar battle imagery in *Dānišmendnāme* to the fact that it references on “the source of all Turkish-Iranian epic literature”: the *Shāhnāme*. She likens the imagery of the heroes throwing themselves at the enemy “like hungry wolves on a flock of sheep” to an example of Bahrām Chūbīn doing the same in the *Shāhnāme*.³³ In addition to this image, she cites the frequent repetition of dust raised by the hooves of approaching horses, the war cries of the heroes shaking the heavens and the earth, and the image of the hero lifting his opponent in combat by the belt, spinning him overhead, and throwing him to the ground.³⁴ This observation is compounded by the fact that ‘Ārif ‘Alī explicitly likens Melik Dānišmend, Artūhī, and Efromiya to Rostam, a principle hero of the *Shāhnāme*, in battle. Majda’s analysis of *Dānišmendnāme* is less sophisticated, as his argument does not investigate the reasons for the presence of fixed linguistic formulae in the texts under analysis. His taxonomy of “cliches” includes the heralding of the beginning of a battle with “kettledrums, trumpets, and pipes,” the appearance of banners when the aforementioned cloud of dust is split in two by wind, and a repetition of the drums when armies withdraw from battle.³⁵

One of Ong’s examples for “crystallized” fixed formulae include the *braggart soldier*, a fixed formula which is certainly evident in the one-on-one duels that appear throughout the battles of *Dānišmendnāme*. Almost invariably when entering a duel, Melik Dānišmend

³³ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:165.

³⁴ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:165.

³⁵ Majda, “Stereotyped language,” 112, 113.

announces himself (“*Benem Melik Dānişmend!*”);³⁶ this is followed by a rhyming formula that, more often than not, involves insulting the enemy, calling him epithets such as *kāfir* (infidel), *mel’ūn* (cursed one), *seg-i bī-dīn* (infidel [literally: without religion] dog), or *nā-bekār* (good-for-nothing).³⁷ Either Melik Dānişmend or his foe challenge the other to come get a taste of what they have to offer. Anger rises; Melik Dānişmend gives a war cry. The duel then commences:

Suddenly, in the midst of battle, Melik Dānişmend arrived at the cursed lord of the Georgians, Behmen. That cursed one mocked Melik Dānişmend. Melik said: “Oh cursed one, don’t mock [me], come forth and let’s battle!” The cursed one stood in his stirrups, arrived at Melik Dānişmend, and brought his sword down on him. He attacked him three times (*kılıç indürdi, bārī üç hamle kıldı*); Melik blocked him thrice (*üçünü dağı men’eyledi*). When it was Melik’s turn [to attack], he cried “Ya Allah!”, reached the cursed one, and struck him with such a blow of the sword that he was split in two all the way to the pommel of the saddle (*bir zarb-i tīg şöyle urdıkim eyer kaşına degin iki pāre kıldı*).³⁸

The fixedness of narrative and lexical formulae of duels in *Dānişmendnāme* are apparent when we examine them alongside comparable scenes in *Baṭṭālnāme*. Let us turn to a scene in the latter in which Seyyid Baṭṭāl intervenes in a battle to defend one of his followers:

Then Mihrān got up in a rush and mounted his horse. He took his mace and marched against him and roared like a dragon. As soon as Muḥammed saw him, he abandoned all hope for his life, saying, “I am tired and weak. What could I do against this cursed

³⁶ Consider, for example: (1) “*Benem Melik Dānişmend-i Gāzī, gösterem size hīlepāzı!*”; (2) “*Benem Melik Dānişmend-i Gāzī, birdür katumda kāfirün çoğı azı, bu gün elümden kanda iltesiz boğazı?*” *dēdi dağı kāfirleri zīr ü zeber kıldı*. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:98, 112.

³⁷ (1) *Mel’ūn*: “*Ey mel’ūn nire kaçarsın,*” *dēyüb bir zarb-i tīg Miḥā’ıl farkına şöyle urdıkim la’ini eyer kaşına degin iki pāre kıldı*. (2) *Nā-bekār*: *diledikim yine hamle kıla, Artūḥı eyitdi*: “*Hay Nābekār! Neylersin? Nevbet beümdür,*” *dēyüb erdi Kāfire bir kılıç urdı*. (3) *Bī-dīn*: *Andan Melik Dānişmend [...]* *Nestora eyitdi kim*: “*Ey seg-i bī-dīn, cāni elümden kanda iltesin?*” *dēdi. Nestor eyitdi*: “*Ey pehlevān benden ne dilersin? Ya Artūḥıdan saña ne fā’ide? Gel sen ortadan çık saña yüz deve, yüz kul, yüz yük hazīne, bu cümlesin saña vėreyim ta ben dādumi Artūḥıdan alayum,*” *dēdi. Melik Dānişmend eyitdi*: “*Bu dēdüklerün hep benümdür inşallah!*” *dēyüb Nestora hamle kıldı*. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II: 88; 113; 160.

³⁸ *Nā gāh Melik Dānişmend cenk arasında Gürciler begi Behmen la’ine uğradı, ol la’in Melik Dānişmende herze ve hazayān söyledi, Melik eyitdi*: “*Ey la’in, herze yeme eger eriseñ, gel berü cenk edelüm!*” *dēyince la’in atına mahmüz urdı érüb Melik Dānişmende kılıç indürdi, bārī üç hamle kıldı, Melik Dānişmend üçünü dağı men’eyledi. Nevbet Melike degdi, “Yā Allah!” dēyüb erdi la’ine bir zarb-i tīg şöyle urdıkim eyer kaşına degin iki pāre kıldı*. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:160.

wretch?” He supplicated and asked for the intercession of the Apostle of God.³⁹ It was just at that moment that Seyyid appeared and saw Muḥammed was facing Mihrān in battle. When Mihrān reached over and attacked with fury. [sic] He hit Muḥammed with his lance, lifted him from his horse, and threw him to the ground. He was about to turn and finish his job when Seyyid gave such a war-cry that the heavens and earth shook together. Mihrān was startled. When he [Mihran] collected himself, Seyyid reached him and said, “You cursed wretch, keep your hands away from him, I am your opponent.” The cursed wretch said, “Here you are, have some of the same gifts” and hurled the lance he was holding. Seyyid avoided it and when he [Seyyid] approached to pass him [Mihrān], he [Seyyid] took his right foot out of the stirrup, gave Aşkar a spurring, and then hit Mihrān in the chest so hard that both his feet went off the stirrups and he collapsed from the horse’s back head down on the ground. When he [Mihrān] was debilitated [could not move], he [Seyyid] jumped down [from his horse] and sat on his chest. Mihrān opened his eyes, saw Seyyid and said, “Who are you?” Seyyid said, “I am Seyyid Baṭṭāl Ġāzī, so accept the faith fast, otherwise I’ve cut your head off.” The cursed wretch started his nonsense so Seyyid severed his head from his body.⁴⁰

The similarities are easy to pinpoint: the enemy is called *la ʿīn* (cursed one); the enemy taunts Seyyid Baṭṭāl, inviting him to face him in a duel; to the hero gives a war cry; the imagery of standing in the stirrups and striking the opponent in both texts echo one another closely. At the end of the encounter, the enemy is invited to convert to Islam, but instead mocks the hero (here, *herze*; in *Dānişmendnāme*, *herze ve hażayān*) and loses his life in a visually visceral fashion: his head is separated from his body.

³⁹ I.e., the epithet used to refer to the Prophet throughout Dedes’s translation.

⁴⁰ *Mihrān tiz turıgeldi atına bindi. Gürzin eline aldı karşı yörıdi ejderha gibi aşırdı. Muḥammed anı gördi gendüden ümidin üzdi eyitdi: “Ben haste yorulmuş ne kılayım bu mel’üne?” dedi. Münacāt kıldı resül Allāhı şefti’ getürdi. Olıdı kim Seyyid çıkageldi. Gördi kim Muḥammed Mihrānula muķābil olmuş. Çünkim Mihrān ğazabıla yetişdi bir süñü urdı Muḥammedi götürdi atından yabana atdı. Diledi kim döne işin tamām kıla. Seyyid bir na’ra vurdı ki asāman-ü-zemīn ditredı. Mihrān serāsime oldı gendüzın dışırince Seyyid yetişdi eydür: “Yā la ʿīn eliñi cek andan ki herifñiñ uş benem,” dedi. La ʿīn eydür: “Al imdi ol yidüğü armāğāndan sen dağı,” dēyüb elindeki süñüyü havāle kıldı. Seyyid men’ eyledi. Geldi kim geçe sağ ayağın üzeñüden çıkardı, Aşkara mehmüz urdı, bir puşt sinesinde şöyle urdı kim iki ayağı üzeñüden çıktı at sağrısına depesi üstine mu’allağ yıkıldı. Örselenü turınca sıçradı sinesine çıktı. Mihrān gözün açdı Seyyidi gördi eydür: “Kimsin?” Seyyid eyitdi: “Benem Seyyid Baṭṭāl Ġāzī. Tiz imān ‘arza kııl yoħsa başıñı kesdüüm,” dedi. La ʿīn herzeğe başladı başın gövdesinden cüdā kıldı. Dedes, *Baṭṭālñāme*, I:144, II:400. Translations from *Baṭṭālñāme* are Dedes’, with a few necessary corrections.*

In this encounter and the many other battles in the narrative, Seyyid Baṭṭāl is depicted almost invariably as without fear. According to Ong, this is typical of the oral narrative's preoccupation with exterior crises.⁴¹ When depicted in the midst of battle, Melik Dānişmend is usually just as fearless. However, 'Ārif 'Alī also chose to depict Melik Dānişmend in moments of interior crisis, drawing on a more diverse lexical palette—be it drawn from the text he was redacting or his own additions—to linger in moments of profound emotion. A repeating narrative formula in *Dānişmendnāme* is the portrayal of Melik Dānişmend despairing and grieving in the aftermath of (and/or on the eve of) battle. The martyrdom of hundreds of his soldiers at the hands of the enemy causes him to weep. He turns his face to the heavens and implores God for help:

Then Melik looked at the army and saw that many Muslims had become martyrs. When he saw this state, he wept, his heart broke ; he wept profusely and turned his face to the sky, and recited a poem asking God the Almighty for help.⁴²

Not only does Melik feel deeply at the sight of his martyred men (*göñli şındı*), he weeps profusely (*ağladı; çok ağladı*) and turns to the heavens for help. This reaction, which occurs in the middle of the narrative (in the tenth *meclis* of seventeen) differs from previous losses in battle, where Melik Dānişmend's reactions more closely hewed to the fixed formula illustrated by Seyyid Baṭṭāl: whether he is victorious or not, the reflection and distress evident in the above selection does not appear. The image of the king weeping or despairing and certainly a narrative formula that, like other depictions of Melik Dānişmend, draws on the *Shāhnāme* and other traditions known to 'Ārif 'Alī, his audience, and the audience of earlier iterations of the oral

⁴¹ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 44.

⁴² *Andan Melik çeriye bir gez nazar [kıldı] gördi kim çok Müsülmān şehīd olmuş, Melik ol hāli görub ağladı göñli şındı, çok ağladı dağı yüzün göge tutub münācāt kılub Alla Te 'āladan yardım diledi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:164. See discussion of Melik Dānişmend's grief in Chapter Four.

tradition. However, the fact that this depiction differs lexically and narratively from others in *Dānişmendnāme* and *Battalname* make it an example of a flexible formula.

Fixed Conversions and the Flexibility of Efromiya

Conversions of warriors and women—and both, in the case of Efromiya—feature prominently in *Dānişmendnāme*. As Melik Dānişmend tells Artūhı in the second *meclis* (see below), his purpose in coming to Rūm is to make the land Muslim, and so he does. As with battle scenes, fixed narrative formulae for conversion narratives exist in *Dānişmendnāme* because these depictions draw on a rich literary heritage of conversion narratives in Arabic and Persian texts of different genres, be they religious-heroic prose epics like *Dānişmendnāme* and *Baṭṭālnāme*, hagiographies, *kışşāş-ı enbiyā*, popular romances, or other genres.

The question of conversions and identity in *Dānişmendnāme* is a topic that has been dealt with in depth by Kitapçı Bayrı in *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*. Conversion is perceived as a political act in texts like *Dānişmendnāme* and *Baṭṭālnāme*, she writes, after the “political conversion” in which the non-Muslim or Rūmī recognizes the military and spiritual leadership of Melik Dānişmend or Seyyid Baṭṭāl, the Other is no longer considered an infidel.⁴³

There are three fixed narrative formulae for conversions that appear in *Dānişmendnāme*. The first is conversions that occur on the battlefield or in the wake of defeat in combat, such as that of Artūhı depicted above. The second involves either a character, usually Melik Dānişmend or Artūhı, reciting of the Qur’ān or speaking about the Prophet with such eloquence and power that their listeners are swayed to consider conversion; these feature repetition of fixed language

⁴³ Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 190.

describing the eloquence of the Muslim speakers. The final formula is conversion in dreams, which feature one or many of the following repeated descriptions: (1) a lush garden, (2) angels or religious figures, such as Hasan and Hüseyin, (3) smells of ‘ud and ambergris, and/or (4) the appearance of the Prophet revealing future events and urging the convert to aid the Muslim heroes.

Artūhı’s conversion, described above, is emblematic of this first formula. Let us draw our attention, however, to a specific line that the above description elided for the sake of concision. After the two warriors part from fighting to rest for the night, neither having defeated the other, Artūhı invites Melik Dānişmend to share his food:

“The wine touched this food,” Melik Dānişmend said. “I won’t eat it.”

The young man turned and asked for Dānişmend’s name.

“My name is Melik Aḥmed,” Melik said. “I am known as Dānişmend.”

“Why did you come to Rūm?” the young man asked.

“To conquer this land,” Melik said.

“Why conquer it?” the young man said.

“It is necessary that I make these lands Muslim,” Melik said.

“So you’re one of the sorcerers?” the young man asked.

“God forbid I be a sorcerer,” Melik said. “I am a Muslim.”

“Here, come and eat something so you’re not hungry,” the young man said.

“Because tomorrow you must fight with me.”

“If I eat with you, I won’t be able to fight you, because we will have eaten together,” Melik said.

“So eat alone,” said the young man.

“That’s impossible, for would be beholden to your generosity; then if I fight you tomorrow, I will be ungrateful.”

The young man was astonished by Dānişmend’s eloquence and fell in love with his religion (*Ol yigit Melik Dānişmendüñ faşāhatından ve belāğatından ‘acebe kaldı, Melik Dānişmendüñ dīnine ‘āşık oldı*).⁴⁴

It is due to the eloquence (*faşāhatından ve belāğatından*) of the king that Artūhı is drawn to

Islam. Indeed, it may be this moment—rather than his defeat in battle—that sets the stage for his

⁴⁴ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:20-1.

conversion. That said, Zeynep Aydoğan points out that while Artūhı’s sword point conversion may at first blush “hardly seem to be a sign of inclusion,” his later adoption by Melik Dānişmend as a comrade-in-arms and the narrative’s privileging of his participation in battles, romantic experiences, and internal emotional life are evidence of the fact that the convert companion figure in religious-heroic narratives was meant to signal societal inclusion of converted characters.⁴⁵

Conversions in *Baṭṭāl-nāme* are equally fixed in their narrative formulae. The conversion of one of the companions of Seyyid Baṭṭāl, Aḥmed Ṭurrān, begins in battle; this demonstrates that the conversion of Artūhı in *Dānişmend-nāme* is an example of a fixed narrative formula. Formerly called Aḥmar Ṭarrān, this convert is introduced as warrior fighting for the infidel enemies of Baṭṭāl. He engages in a duel with the eponymous hero. After a fixed formulaic exchange of blows Aḥmar is defeated—but not killed. In astonishment, he says he has never seen a young man like Seyyid Baṭṭāl in his life. He leaves the battlefield and returns home.⁴⁶ Seyyid Baṭṭāl follows him, hidden from sight, and observes Aḥmar confiding in a woman over a meal that he has never seen a young man like Seyyid Baṭṭāl: “Aḥmar started praising Ja‘far [Seyyid Baṭṭāl]’s bravery and handsomeness so much that Ja‘far said, ‘it would be strange if this brave man does not become Muslim.’”⁴⁷ Seyyid Baṭṭāl comes out of hiding and announces himself as the man Aḥmar was just raising his glass to toast; the two men decide to wrestle, and if Aḥmar is defeated, he agrees to convert to Islam. They take hold of one another’s belts, and though Aḥmar tries three times, he cannot move the hero Seyyid Baṭṭāl. Seyyid Baṭṭāl gives a great war cry,

⁴⁵ Aydoğan, “Creating an Ideal Self,” 115-6.

⁴⁶ Dedes, *Battalname*, 122-3.

⁴⁷ Dedes, *Battalname*, 124.

throws Aḥmar to the ground, sits on his chest, and asks if Aḥmar will keep his promise to convert. Aḥmar does and then accepts the “proper name” that Seyyid Battāl gives him: Aḥmed Ṭurrān.⁴⁸

Early in *Dānişmendnāme*, Artūḥı is captured and put in prison by a foe called Miḥā’ıl. Miḥā’ıl’s nephew, a youth called Pānıç, stands guard by his cell. In this demonstration of the second aforementioned fixed narrative formula, Artūḥı recites the Qur’an. When Pānıç hears this recitation, his heart softens (*Çünkü Pānıç kur’an āvāzını dinledi bir mıkdar gönli yumuşadı*); then, when Artūḥı describes the religion of Muḥammed so eloquently that Pānıç gives a deep sigh (*ve Muḥammed dīninüñ ululuğın Pānıça ol kadar vaşf eyledi kim Pānıç “ah” etdi*).⁴⁹ Miḥā’ıl daughter, Pānıç’s beloved, then converts after seeing the Prophet in a dream.⁵⁰ Though the words *faşāḥat* and *belāğat* are not verbatim repeated in this scene, the manner in which Artūḥı describes Islam inspires Pānıç to sigh deeply, an indication of having been moved emotionally (and a common trope in Islamic literature).

This latter conversion brings us to dream conversions, one of the most common formulae for conversions in *Dānişmendnāme*.⁵¹ The first and most detailed in terms is that of Efromiya, who relates her dream aloud after she fights her way away from the caravan that was taking her to her wedding and rides off with Melik Dānişmend and Artūḥı:

⁴⁸ Dedes, *Battalname*, 124-5.

⁴⁹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:87.

⁵⁰ *Ol kız eytdi: “Düşümde Muḥammedi gördüm, beni dījine da’vet eyledi, bendahı Muḥammed öñinde Müsülmān oldum,” dedi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:88.

⁵¹ The study of dreams in Islamic studies constitutes a burgeoning subfield, an overview of which goes beyond the scope of this project. For an introduction, see: Green, Nile. “A Brief World History of Muslim Dreams.” *Islamic Studies* 54, no. 3/4 (2015): 143–67; and Sirriyeh, Elizabeth. *Dreams & Visions in the World of Islam: A History of Muslim Dreaming and Foreknowing*. Library of Modern Religion; I.B. Tauris, 2015.

[...] suddenly I dreamt of myself in a garden, a garden the likes of which I have not seen in the world. In that garden I saw a pavilion, and around the pavilion flowed four rivers. One was of milk, another of honey, one of water, another of wine. Then I looked at the pavilion, and I saw it was a building of four hundred layers of gold [and] of silver; from all the windows the smells of 'ud and ambergris emerged. A light emanated from each layer. When I came to the door of the pavilion, two people stood. Then I looked inside the pavilion and I saw there was a throne made of hyacinth. Its legs were of emerald and the cushion of ruby; the walls were of gold. Upon that throne I saw a person sitting, his turban was made of light, and his hair fell in two locks on either side; the light from his face made the sun and the moon's light feel ashamed. [...]

“Hello, oh Efromiya,” the leader said to me.

I lowered my head and I praised [him] and asked, “Who are you?”

“I am the lord of lords, the mediator of the people of the end of days, the leader of the prophets, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (peace be upon him),” he replied. “These seated people are Ḥasan, Ḥüseyn, Ḥamza, and 'Abbās.” All of the Prophet's companions sat, then the Prophet (peace be upon him) said to me: “Come, become Muslim, so that you are worthy of this paradise. God the Almighty has assigned Artūḥı to you as a rightful husband. It is necessary that Rūm be conquered and made Muslim through you. Tomorrow, when they take you away as a bride, two warriors will come to your side. One of them will be Melik and the other will be Artūḥı. It is necessary that you help them. Those two people who are at the door are Melik Dānişmend and the other Artūḥı.”

Then he gave me a spoon of şerbet, and I took it and drank, and all of the pillars of Islam and the great Qur'ān became manifest in my body. Before him, I became Muslim, and I was happy, and said “there is no God but God and Muhammad is his prophet.”⁵²

⁵² Bu gece bir düş gördüm: nā gāh gendümi bir bāğ içinde gördüm ki dünyāda bir daḥı anuḡ gibi bāğ gördüğüm yokdur. Nā gāh ol bāğ içinde bir köşk gördüm ol köşkün yöresinde dört ırmağ aḡardı: biri süd, biri bal, biri şu, biri şarāb. Andan ol köşke nazar kıldum: dört yüz derece gördüm altundan gümüştan degme pencereden 'ūd 'anber koḡusu çıkardı daḥı her dereceden bir nūr zāhir olurdu. Çün ol köşkün kapısına geldüm andan iki kişi dururdu andan ol köşke nazar étdüm andan bir taḡt gördüm yāḡütan ayakları zümrüdden ferşi la'ldan dīvārları altundan. Ol taḡt üstinde bir kişi gördüm oturur 'imāmesi nūrdan iki bölük şacı iki yaḡa aşılı yüzünüñ nūrı ayuḡ günüñ nūrını hacıl éderdi. [...] “Merḡabā ey Efromiya!” dedi. Ben baş koḡum alkış eyledüm daḥı “Siz kimlersiz?” dedüm. Cevāb vērüb eyitdi kim: “Benem ol Seyyid-i Sādāt, şefi 'i ehl-i 'araşāt enbiyānuḡ serveri maḡlūkātuḡ yégreḡi Muḡammed Muṣṭafā—şalla Allahu 'aleyhi ve sellem. Bu oturanlar Ḥasan, Ḥüseyn, Ḥamza, 'Abbāsdur.” Ḳamusı Resülüñ yanında oturlardı. Andan Resül Ḥazreti—şalla Allahu 'aleyhi ve sellem—baḡa eyitdi: “Gel Müsülmān ol kim bu cennete lāyık olasın,” dedi. Daḥı: “Allah Te'āla Artūḥı saḡa ḡalāl kıldı gerekdür kim sizüñ sebebünüzden Rūm açıla Müsülmānlık ola. Çünkim érte seni gelin ileteler giderken iki server saḡa karşı çıkalar anuḡ biri Melik ve biri daḥı Artūḥı dur, gerekdür ki anlara yārī kılub mu 'āvenet édesin daḥı şol iki kişi kim kapuda turur biri Melik Dānişmend ve birisi Artūḥıdur. Daḥı baḡa kaşuḡ şerbet vérdi ben daḥı alub içdüm tamām İslām erkānı ve Ḳur'an-i 'azīm benüm vücūdumda zāhir oldı. Anuḡ öñinde Müsülmān oldum ḡoş eytdüm ki: lā ilāha illā Allah Muḡammed Resül-ullah. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:31-3.

This description is in clear conversation with the tradition of dream conversions in other genres of Islamic literature. A conversion that occurs in the eleventh *meclis* demonstrates the fixed narrative and lexical formulae characteristics of the above dream conversion. In this section, Artūhı and another *gāzı* head to Mançuriya to rescue Efromiya. They come across a house with three people inside, two men and a woman. They enter, attack, and kill the men. The woman greets them by name. Surprised, Artūhı and his companion ask how she knew their names. The woman introduces herself as Meryem and describes a dream she had the night before. In her dream, she and her husband and his kinsman (whom Artūhı has just killed) were all in the fortress of Mançuriya when it went up in flames. She saw some people who were in flames but not burning; she called out to them but they gave no answer. The flames came up to burn her; then a flood came and extinguished the flames surrounding her. She found herself in a garden and is greeted by a young man; she noted that the garden is filled with smells luxurious fragrances (*misk 'anber koşusu 'alemi tutmuşdi*). The young man told her she cannot see the Prophet because she was an infidel. In her dream, she decided to become Muslim (*derhāl ben eytdüm ki: "Müsülmān oluram!"*). She then spoke to the Prophet, who told her to expect Artūhı and his companion in the future and to help them get inside the fortress of Mançuriya. All those inside the fortress who are Muslim will be safe; those who are not will perish. Meryem aids Artūhı and his companion in entering the castle, just as the Prophet instructed, and they free Efromiya from her bonds.⁵³ This imagery of Meryem's dream mirrors Efromiya's conversion, albeit on a less grand scale.

⁵³ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:178-9

Cemal Kafadar writes that, contrary to the notion that the spirit of *gaza* was incompatible with the toleration of or cooperation with the Other,

the congruity of these two reveals an essential point concerning the gaza spirit: it is, among other things, an attempt to gain hearts and minds; it is always possible that the pure-hearted infidel will join your fold. He or she is not necessarily an enemy to the bitter end.⁵⁴

But Tijana Krstić argues against this idea in her analysis of *Şaltuḡnāme* in her book *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*.

She believes that these religious-heroic prose epics are not “examples of syncretism” or of “warrior dervishes having conciliatory attitudes towards the Christians.”⁵⁵ Rather, she writes that these narratives of violence and conversion “demonstrate an ideological investment in the firm upholding of religious boundaries”—a theory which is upheld by the character of Efromiya.⁵⁶

Mélikoff refers to Efromiya, the most prominent female convert in *Dānişmendnāme*, as a “traditional Amazon of the Turkish epics.”⁵⁷ Selim Kuru writes that depictions of women in orally transmitted story cycles such as *The Book of Dede Ḳorḡut*, *Battāl-nāme*, and *Dānişmendnāme* are generally and incorrectly “evaluated in modern scholarship as ‘democratic,’” because of the manner in which women such as Efromiya and other female characters participate more actively in the narrative either as warriors or in other active roles.

This is certainly true: Geoffrey Lewis wrote that the pre-Islamic Turkic heroines of the Oḡuz oral epic *The Book of Dede Ḳorḡut* did “not sit passively in their tents,” but were “liberated” women

⁵⁴ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 89.

⁵⁵ Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 11.

⁵⁶ Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 11, 11n29. Krstić, Tijana. *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011.

⁵⁷ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:129, 140.

compared to later Islamic times.⁵⁸ On the contrary, Kuru points out “a close reading of such texts reveals a complex, if not misogynistic picture.”⁵⁹

Efromiya is the daughter of the Rūmī ruler of Amasya, Şāh-i Şaṭṭāt, who along with along with her former suitor, Neşṭōr, becomes Efromiya’s arch enemy and the arch enemy of her beloved, Artūhı, and her king, Melik Dānişmend.⁶⁰ In an unpublished paper examining the question of Efromiya’s social equality vis à vis her male companions in *Dānişmendnāme*, Anetshofer argues that far from occupying an ideal “empowered” place in society, Efromiya and other warrior women in the religious-heroic epics of late medieval Anatolia are not representations of ideal women. Efromiya remains Othered; though she experiences a dream conversion, attempts to convert others, and fights in the name of Islam, she is “neither representative of a proper Muslim heroine, nor a Turkish heroine of nomadic heritage.”⁶¹ On the contrary, one can argue she is feared, Othered, and not trusted, for when she loses the male protection of her king and her husband when these characters die in the final *meclis*, she is killed. Artūhı’s servants express fear that she will revert to Christianity and wreak havoc on the Muslim army; to prevent this, they poison her.⁶²

Efromiya’s status as a convert warrior woman is evidently a fixed formula. Anetshofer points out that Efromiya’s status as a warrior woman is “inseparably” tied to her Other status as a

⁵⁸ Lewis, Geoffrey. “Heroines and Others in the Heroic Age of the Turks.” In *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, edited by Gavin Hambly, 1st ed., v. 6:147–60. The New Middle Ages ; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998.

⁵⁹ Kuru, Selim. “Representations: Poetry and Prose, Premodern: Turkish.” In *W&IC*, online edition. n.d. Accessed November 28, 2016.

⁶⁰ Mélikoff, *La Geste*, I:208.

⁶¹ Anetshofer, “How Equal Are Female Converts?” 1.

⁶² Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:245.

Muslim convert; while not every female convert to Islam in these epic narratives—*Dānişmendnâme*, *Baṭṭālnâme*, and *Şaltuḡnâme*—is a warrior woman, “every warrior woman is a convert or foreigner.”⁶³ However, the way the narrative privileges Efromiya’s emotions is certainly not a matter of fixed formulary. While other warrior women appear episodically in *The Book of Dede Korkut*, *Baṭṭālnâme*, and *Şaltuḡnâme*, Efromiya is a principal character in *Dānişmendnâme* and accompanies the Melik Dānişmend, her Artūḡı, and the king’s army on many military adventures as their “equal [...] in courage and might” on the battlefield.⁶⁴ Moreover, like Melik Dānişmend and Artūḡı and notably *unlike* other female converts in the text, the narrative peers into one of Efromiya’s interior crises.

In the thirteenth *meclis*, Şaṭṭāt is captured by Melik Dānişmend and his army. Şaṭṭāt escapes; in the fourteenth *meclis*, he is captured a second time. Efromiya tries to convince her father to convert to Islam during both his stints in captivity. Converting important infidel captives to Islam appears to be a role of Efromiya. As both woman and Other; whether by her identity as an Other, her gender, or both, she is an instrumental go-between when Melik Dānişmend wants the stubborn captive princess Gülnüş Bānū to convert and become his bride.⁶⁵ Efromiya is less successful with her father. At the beginning of the fourteenth *meclis*, Melik

⁶³ Anetshofer, “How Equal are Female Converts?” 1.

⁶⁴ Anetshofer, Helga. “Representations: Legends and Epics: Ottoman Empire” *Encyclopedia W&IC* Consulted online 24 January 2017. Anetshofer, “How Equal are Female Converts?” 5-6. Lachenauer, Isabel. “That Full Moon Took the Javelin into Her Hand: Warrior Women and Gender in Yūsuf-i Meddāḡ’s *Varqa ve Gülşāh*.” M.A., University of Chicago, 2017 (unpublished). A paper of the same title was presented at the 31st Annual Middle East History and Theory Conference, University of Chicago (May 2017) and at the Middle East History and Theory Workshop, University of Chicago (March 2017).

⁶⁵ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:191-92, 217.

Dānişmend grieves his fallen soldiers, praying until morning.⁶⁶ Then, he summons Artūhı and Efromiya to come before him. He asks Efromiya why her father hasn't converted yet. Efromiya says she went to Şaṭṭāt in the night and said for him to convert, or else he will be killed in the morning. Still he refused. As a result, Melik and his gāzīs accompany Efromiya to her father's tent. She enters and asks "Oh father, do you know me?" Şaṭṭāt mocks her.⁶⁷ She calls him to convert again and the argument between father and daughter moves into verse. In prose again, Efromiya pleads one last time for her father to convert, adding that Melik will cut his throat if he does not. In response, Şaṭṭāt curses the Prophet and continues to spew mockery at his daughter. Because of this, Efromiya feels deeply distressed (*gāyet bī hūzūr oldı*), rises and returns to Melik Dānişmend, to whom she says: "that accursed one will never accept the faith." She then returns to her own tent.⁶⁸ The following day Şaṭṭāt is brought forth and tied to a tree to be executed. His daughter fires the first arrow.

This is a moment where the lexical choice made by 'Ārif 'Alī constitutes a flexible formula. If we compare Efromiya's deep disappointment with *Baṭṭālnāme*, it is clear the lexical choices are different. In *Baṭṭālnāme*, use of the verb *ağlamak* (to weep) is the only verb used to express sadness or disappointment; if this moment adhered to fixed lexical formulae, *ağladı* or *çok ağladı* (she wept a lot) would suffice to communicate Efromiya's disappointment. But here,

⁶⁶ *Andan Melik buyurdı çeriyi yoqladılar, sekiz yüz Müsülmān şehīd olmış. Anlaruñ namāzın kılub defn eylediler. Ol gece Melik sabāha degin Tañrınuñ zikrine meşgūl oldı.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:235.

⁶⁷ *Şaṭṭāt başın kaldurub Efromiya 'i görđi dañı ağzından herzeler aqmağa başladı.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:236.

⁶⁸ *Efromiya eyitdi: "Pes ögüdüüm alub Müsülmān olmazsañ Melik seni boğazuñdan aşa, murdār ölesin!" La 'ın bunı işidüb Peyğamberi söğdi, herzeler yedikim demek olmaz. Efromiya gāyet bī hūzūr oldı dañı turdı Melik Dānişmend katına geldi dañı dedi kim: "Zinhār ol mel 'ūna amān vèrmekim hıç işlāha kâbil degüldür," dedi. Andan gerü dönüb gendü haymasına geldi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:236-7.

Efromiya is depicted as feeling *gāyet bī ḥuzūr*, that is, very ill at ease, tense, or malcontent. The only other places where *bī ḥuzūr* are used in *Dānişmendnāme* to describe Artūḥī in his time of greatest distress: when Efromiya is kidnapped in the ninth *meclis*, for example.⁶⁹

Many of Efromiya’s characteristics are examples of fixed narrative formulae: her place as an Other, her role as a conduit for the conversion of other Others, and her participation in battles. However, she is one of the very few characters in *Dānişmendnāme* (the others being Melik Dānişmend and Artūḥī) that the narrative privileges with scenes of interior crises, and thus, greater narrative and lexical flexibility of formula in moments of emotion.

The Fixed Other and the Flexibility of Artūḥī

Conquest and confrontation with the Other come hand in hand in the history of late medieval Anatolia, and this is reflected in *Dānişmendnāme*. Depictions of the “infidel” Christian Other in this text and also *Baṭṭālnāme* hew almost exclusively to fixed formulae. While Artūḥī is introduced in the narrative as an Other, and his place as the converted companion of the titular hero is a fixed formula that has facsimiles in in *Baṭṭālnāme* (Seyyid Baṭṭāl’s companion Aḥmed Ṭurrān) as well as other texts, such as ‘Āşīkpāşāzāde’s fifteenth-century *Tevārīḥ-i Āl-i ‘Osmān* (Osman’s companion Köse Mīḥāl).⁷⁰ Much like Melik Dānişmend, the character of Artūḥī himself serves as a locus of flexible narrative formulae in his myriad moments of interior crises.

One notable fixed narrative formula regarding the infidel Other is the depiction of feasts in prose and poetry featuring pork and other food items intended to be perceived as revolting by the

⁶⁹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:145-6.

⁷⁰ Başar, Fahameddin. *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*. “Mihaloğulları.”

audience. In one scene, Nestor and Şaṭṭāt are depicted in a poem as dining on pork, onion and garlic, crusty beetles, rat kebabs, moldy dry meet, and “that red wine of Firengistān.”⁷¹ As they dine, they praise God/Jesus (*ki bu resme o şöhetde yédiler/Mesīhe Hāḡ dēyü şükr eylediler*) and become so drunk it is as if they are dead.⁷² Drinking to the point of intoxication is an oft-repeated failing of the Other that is also seen in *Baṭṭālnāme*. To name but one example, in “The Story of Sunbat,” the titular infidel gets so drunk during a feast that he lies down and falls asleep while his servants burst into tears.⁷³ This intentionally revolting depiction is not limited to the Byzantine Other: in another scene in *Dānişmendnāme*, ‘Aṭūş, a Crusader enemy, as dining on fare similar to Nestor and Şaṭṭāt.⁷⁴ The most useful conceptualization of representations of the “infidel” writ large in the religious-heroic epic narratives of late medieval Anatolia is Zeynep Aydoğan’s “Creating an Ideal Self: Representations of Infidels in the Late Medieval Anatolian Frontier Narratives.” Aydoğan points out that in the late medieval Anatolia depicted in texts such as *Dānişmendnāme*, *Şaltuḡnāme*, and *Düstürnūme*, the boundaries between self and Other were recast “at an astonishing pace through conversion and conquest” and that the infidel Other in these narratives was almost always depicted as a caricature, as a “foolish, corrupt, and bestial people, devoid of any further specific character.”⁷⁵ By examining the stereotypes embedded in

⁷¹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:91.

⁷² Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:91-2. (Mélikoff II:92).

⁷³ (1) *Andan kāfirler Şaṭṭāt barıgāhına cem’ oldılar, meclis kırdılar, içüb serhoş oldılar, Nestor mest oldu daḡı eytdikim: “Ah bu cāzularuḡ elinden ki bunlar ile başa çıkamaduk!”* dedi. (2) *Andan ol köpekler içmege meşgöl oldılar.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, 116, 170. Dedes, *Battalname*, 146.

⁷⁴ (1) *Andan la ‘in ‘Aṭūşı konukladılar, toḡuz yaḡnısı lāhāna turşusu keşür kalyası şıḡır işkenbesi toḡuz kipesi balık yaḡnısı ilengec kavurması fiçi havyarı toḡmalan mantarı eşek hıyarı isbanak kavurması toḡuz başdurması bakla ve mercimek, sözi ne çok édelüm?* (2) *‘Aṭūş çünkim ḡardaşı öldüḡin bildi delürmiş köpek gibi delürdi, Islām çerisinüḡ arasına düşdi, ayu gibi baḡırdı, eşek gibi aḡrıdı, toḡuz gibi horladı daḡı sürdi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:165, 170.

⁷⁵ Aydoğan, “Representations of Infidels,” 104, 105.

these texts, she argues, it is possible to understand how the people circulating these stories “constructed their own self-image through the negation of the other.”⁷⁶

These food scenes in *Dānişmendnāme* support Aydoğan’s claim that Other is often depicted as bestial. In her dissection of these scenes, Kitapçı Bayrı points out that a recurrent theme of pork-eaters (Christians), “becoming what they eat,” for “the food entering the body transforms the essence and nature of the human being,” exists as early as eighth-century Umayyad literature; by the thirteenth century, the idea developed that animals had good or villainous characteristics.⁷⁷ The pig was not only a “filthy animal that one had to abstain from eating” but one that also embodied moral decadence and the opposite of the ideal moral Muslim, had taken hold.⁷⁸ This idea is made unambiguously manifest in the thirteenth *meclis* of *Dānişmendnāme*: Melik Dānişmend has a prophetic dream wherein a pig escapes from his camp and runs rampage; though his men attempt to stop it, they cannot, and the pig flees into the night. He wakes to hear that the captive Şattāt escaped from his bonds overnight, and knows that his dream has come true.⁷⁹

Artūhı’s Otherness is emphasized through his food: in the introductory scene scene above, Melik Dānişmend refuses to break bread with Artūhı because the food has touched wine.⁸⁰ The fact that Artūhı is an Other when he is introduced in the narrative is emphasized by his name.

⁷⁶ Aydoğan, “Representations of Infidels,” 105.

⁷⁷ Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 79n271. Gelder, G. J. H. van. *Of Dishes and Discourse: Classical Arabic Literary Representations of Food*. Curzon Studies in Arabic and Middle-Eastern Literatures. Curzon, 2000: 83.

⁷⁸ Kitapçı Bayrı, *Warriors, Martyrs, and Dervishes*, 80n272. Benkheira, Mohammed Hocine. “Tabou du porc et identité en Islam.” In *Histoire et Identités Alimentaires En Europe*, edited by Martin Bruegel and Bruno Laurioux, 37–52. Paris: Hachette, 2002: 48.

⁷⁹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:216-17.

⁸⁰ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:20-1.

Unlike Seyyid Battāl's companion Aḥmed Ṭurrān (originally Aḥmar Ṭarrān) and other converts in *Dānişmendnāme*, Artūḥı's name never changes throughout the narrative. The fact that Artūḥı's and especially Efromiya's names are not changed after conversion breaks a formula so fixed that when Muştafā 'Ālī redacted the narrative in the sixteenth century (*Mirḳātü'l-cihād*), he ensured that he changed the names of these two characters.

I have already commented upon the fixed formula of Artūḥı becoming the convert companion of the titular hero of *Dānişmendnāme*, but for Artūḥı, this is (with the large exception of battle scenes) where fixed formulae seem to end. Artūḥı is a locus of flexible formulae because of how he is often depicted experiencing intense emotion: impatience, distress, anxiety, longing. The subject of Artūḥı's emotions will be explored deeply in Chapter Three; for now, let us turn to the example of his first encounter with Melik Dānişmend to illustrate this point. This scene was summarized and excerpted in Chapter 1. Let us recall that the two men are locked in hand-to-hand combat, but one cannot defeat the other. They break apart and decide to rest before battling again the next day. As they rest, Artūḥı offers Melik Dānişmend food; Melik refuses, but speaks briefly about his religion, and his eloquence sways the younger man. Melik asks for Artūḥı's name, but Artūḥı says he will tell Melik the following day. After saying this, Artūḥı:

[...] sat on the ground and ate and drank with relish, lay down, slept, and after a while woke and took his lute in his hand. He played it and sang, and lamented (*çağırđı zārī kılub*) as he sang this poem [...]⁸¹ He sang this poem while playing his lute and wept pitifully (*zārī kılub ađlardı*) as he did so.⁸²

⁸¹ This poem is excerpted on page 59.

⁸² *birazdan ıurıgeldi, ıanbūrasın eline aldı, ıaldı, çağırđı zārī kılub bu Ői'ri söyledi [...] Ol (yigit) ıanbūrasın ıalub bi Ői'ri eydüb zārī kılub ađlardı.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:21.

The next morning, the men arm themselves and fight again. In this encounter, Melik prevails over Artūhı and pins him to the ground:

He [Melik Dānişmend] dismounted and jumped onto the man's chest, and took out his dagger in order to cut off the young man's head. The young man swooned. Melik Dānişmend saw that the youth was moon-faced (*ay yüzlü*), and he felt pity (*özi göyüندی*). Suddenly, the young man came to his sense, opened his eyes, and sighed.

“Become a Muslim, and I'll set you free!” Melik Dānişmend said.

“If I become Muslim, will I be able to get my beloved?” the young man asked.

“Who is your beloved?” Melik said.

The young man wept (*ağladı*) and said: “It's a long story!”⁸³

The description of Artūhı weeping is bookended by *fixed* formulaic elements: the battle described at the beginning of the chapter, the depiction of the young man's beauty, and a Muslim hero (Melik Dānişmend) urging his defeated Christian foe (Artūhı) to convert, which I have demonstrated is a fixed formula in *Baḡḡālnāme*. But the length of the description of Artūhı's weeping, the choice of vocabulary, and insertion of a poem set this scene apart from depictions of weeping or longing for beloveds in contemporary texts. As Chapter Three further demonstrates, Artūhı is a locus of both depictions of emotions and of flexible narrative formulae in *Dānişmendnāme*, proving the text's unique suitability for an analysis of emotions.

‘Ārif ‘Alī and Authorship

One feature that makes *Dānişmendnāme* unique among other representatives of its genre is the fact that it is a redaction. If we turn to other representatives of popular, once-orally-transmitted literature from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a clear pattern emerges. The

⁸³ [...] *atundan inüb gögsi üstine çıkdı, hañçerin çekdi kim başını kese, ol yigidüñ ‘aklı gitdi, Melik Dānişmend gördi kim bir ay yüzlü yigitdür, özi göyüندی. Nā gāh ‘aklı başına geldi, gözün açdı, “ah!” kıldı. Melik Dānişmend eydti: “Müsülmān ol, seni āzād ēdeyim,” dēdi. Ol yigit eyitdi: “Müsülmān olsam ‘aceb yārum ele gire mi?” dēdi. Melik eyitdi: “Yāruñ kim dūr?” Ol yigit ağladı, eyitdi: “Benüm kışşam çoğdur,” dēdi. Mélikoff, La geste, II:21-22.*

popular romance *Varqa ve Gülşāh*, the text version of which is attributed to a public storyteller (meddāh) called Yūsuf,⁸⁴ the anonymous *Baṭṭālnāme*, and *Şaltuḡnāme*, which was collected directly from oral tradition in the Balkans by Ebū'l-Ḥayr-i Rūmī at the behest of the Ottoman prince Cem Sultan, second son of Meḥmed II (r. 1444-46, 1451-81)⁸⁵ are all one degree removed from their oral source, and therefore, only one degree removed from oral culture. 'Ārif 'Alī's rewriting of Ibn 'Ālā's text of *Dānişmendnāme* takes the narration one step further from oral tradition. What implications does this have?

In a poem at the end of the narrative, 'Ārif 'Alī explicitly states his mission in rewriting the text of Ibn 'Ālā. He comments on the challenges of the archaic lexicography of the manuscript he found, calling it nearly illegible and expresses his desire to make the text more accessible to a contemporary audience. He writes that he corrected what he believed was a glaring lack of verse. He also specifically notes that the text lacked places to stop in the reading (*eyle yazmışlar anı bir sözi çok/evvel āḡır ṡuracak bir yeri yok*). This prompted him to divide the narrative into sections

⁸⁴ Smith, *Varqa ve Gülşāh*, 4. The nature of *Varqa ve Gülşāh*'s journey from oral tradition to manuscript is more complicated still. Like many written works in Islamicate literature which sprang from oral tradition, its origins are mercurial, spanning languages and centuries; the Old Anatolian Turkish oral tradition derived from an eleventh-century Persian work, which was itself inspired by an Arabic oral tradition, and which Dick Davis argues also demonstrated Hellenistic novelistic characters (Davis, Dick. 2002. *Panthea's Children: Hellenistic Novels and Medieval Persian Romances*. Vol. no. 3. Biennial Yarshater Lecture Series; New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press). The theme first appeared in Persian in the early eleventh century as a poem written for Maḥmūd of Ġazna by a little known poet called 'Ayyuqī. For a thorough discussion of 'Ayyuqī's text and its Arabic (and possibly Hellenic) origins, see Cross, Cameron Lindley. 2015. "The Poetics of Romantic Love in 'Vis & Rāmin.'" Ph.D., Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago: 119. For brief comparison of the plots of the Persian and the Old Anatolian Turkish texts, see Lachenauer, "That Full Moon Took the Javelin into Her Hand," 4-8.

⁸⁵ Dedes hypothesizes that Ebū'l-Ḥayr-i Rūmī, "who explicitly states having taken down or legends wherever he heard them," compiled his material from regular and specially-dictated performances. Dedes, *Battalname*, 82.

to make its reading (presumably aloud) easier (*yazdum anı on yedi faşl eyledüm/anı okuyana āsān eyledüm*).⁸⁶

While he comments on the improvements he made to the text that would “ease” its reading/recitation, never does ‘Ārif ‘Alī explicitly describe the process of his rewriting the text.

Therefore, we must be cautious in making assumptions about sole authorship of different parts of the prose (poetry is another matter; see below). Did he preserve the archaic vocabulary that rendered the text such that “one would say it is not Türkī,” or did he change it? If so, how extensively did he change it? How heavy was his editorial hand, and where did it fall?

In her commentary, Mélikoff points out what she calls a “striking contrast” between the prose and the poems. She assumes—rightly so—that ‘Ārif ‘Alī, who according to Muştafā ‘Ālī was the garrison commander of the citadel of Tokat (and thus having some degree of education and participation in the ruling milieu of the city), was well-versed in “all the popular adaptations of the *Shāhnāme*h or the romances of Nizāmī, as well as other forms of popular literature, the epic Turkish-Iranian tales or famous fairy tales” due to the imagery in his poetry (where he draws clear allusions to, for example, Ferdowsī and Nizāmī). Because of this, she draws a dichotomy of “erudition” in the verse and not in the prose; in the prose, she sees “the contribution of the two authors of” *Dānişmendnāme*.⁸⁷ That being said, she also draws explicit conclusions about where ‘Ārif ‘Alī added his flourishes to the prose: she argues that “the substance of the story belongs”

⁸⁶ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:290. It is clear from verses that exist in the St. Petersburg and Istanbul manuscripts but not in the Paris manuscript that by “reading” means reading aloud to an audience. The verses comment on the length of reading sessions and how sessions that are too long are painful to both audience and reader (*şöylekim kıssa uzun ola ey cān/‘āciz olur diñleyen hem okıyan*, Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:290). However, these later manuscripts also call *Dānişmendnāme* 400 and 450 years old, respectively, indicating copyists’ changes that may or may not impact other parts of the manuscript.

⁸⁷ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:161.

to Ibn ‘Ālā, for he brought together oral tradition, mixed it with historical memories of his time, and connected it to the tradition of Seyyid Baṭṭāl.⁸⁸ To this foundation, she argues that ‘Ārif ‘Alī added “picturesque scenes of daily life, the daily occupations of nomads sketched in the autobiographical account of Artūhī, nuptials, feasts” as well as transposing the action of the epic to “places which were familiar to him: the region of Yeşil Irmak and its tributaries.”⁸⁹ For her part, Kitapçı Bayrı also drew conjecture regarding ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s preservation of or deviation from his source material based on historical clues. She focuses on details such as the presence of Georgian or Crusader infidels to attribute certain parts of the redaction to Ibn ‘Ālā.

While I ascribe to the above theories, I also believe it is possible to use ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s ownership of verse to draw hypotheses. Let us take for example the scene of Artūhī below: he plays his lute, weeps, and sings/recites a poem of longing for his beloved, Efromiya. We believe it is true that ‘Ārif ‘Alī added the poem because he explicitly claimed responsibility for the addition of verse. But in order for this poem and others to be blended into the narrative, changes must have been wrought: “and after a while [Artūhī] rose and took his tanbūr in his hand. He played it and sang, and cried (*çağırđı zārī kılub*) as he sang this poem,” the prose before the poem reads. There are dozens such examples of poems blended into the narrative in this way. ‘Ārif ‘Alī chose the emotion words in the poems and also in the text surrounding the poems. I thus also argue that it is the presence of scenes such as Artūhī’s lament, which first, feature ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s poetic additions as an integral part of the narrative, and second, provide interpreters of the

⁸⁸ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:64.

⁸⁹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:64.

text insight into the inner emotional life of a character, are also the influence of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s rewriting.

Conclusion

Dānişmendnāme contains scenes challenge narrative formulae that scholars expect from its genre and the demands of orally-transmitted tradition. In this chapter, I demonstrate this through comparisons of fixed and flexible formulae within the text itself and through comparison to the fixed formulae evident in *Batıālnāme*. Moreover, I demonstrated that this flexibility of formulae is often seen in moments when the three principal characters—Melik Dānişmend, Artūhı, and Efromiya—are experiencing profound emotion. ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s *Dānişmendnāme* lingers in these moments of emotion, drawing on a more diverse lexical palette to give a glimpse of interior crises. Thus, *Dānişmendnāme* is unique among other religious-heroic narratives: its rich palette of depictions of emotions demand that it be studied through the lens of the history of emotions. While twentieth and twenty-first century scholarship have dismissed the language of Old Anatolian Turkish prose as “cliche” or “stereotyped”—if they do not neglect it altogether—I argue that the study of formulaic elements of Old Anatolian Turkish and specifically *Dānişmendnāme* are worthy of attention. A text’s language being formulaic does not preclude it from having much to reveal to scholars about fourteenth-century Anatolia and especially the emotional community of its audience.

CHAPTER THREE

Mirror Characters as Windows into the Emotional Community of ‘Ārif ‘Alī

Introduction

I have argued that *Dānişmendnāme* is uniquely well-suited for the study of emotions because of the flexibility of its literary formulae: it displays a diverse palette of representing the emotions of its characters when compared to contemporary texts of its genre. This chapter turns its focus to those emotions and how they bridge author, text, and audience. I examine never-before studied poems to demonstrate that ‘Ārif ‘Alī expresses the wish to affect the emotions of his audience and I argue that he successfully achieves this by employing the literary device of *mirror characters*. Past studies have long emphasized more surface-level characteristics of *Dānişmendnāme* such as its archaic language, its preoccupation with conquest, and its representations of the Other and self/identity in relation to the Other. Tracing the evolution and use of mirror characters allows us to appreciate the hitherto unrecognized emotional sophistication of *Dānişmendnāme*; because the emotion words gleaned from scenes with mirror characters comprise the contemporary emotional vocabulary of ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his audience, we are able to sketch the contours of his emotional community in fourteenth-century Tokat.

“Your Soul Will Receive Its Fair Share of Joy”

The previous chapter and Zeynep Aydoğın’s “Oral Performance and Text: Narrators, Authors, and Editors in the Anatolian Turkish Warrior Epics”¹ briefly discuss the reasons why ‘Ārif ‘Alī chose to redact *Dānişmendnāme*. The discussion of both these texts center ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s final poem in *Dānişmendnāme*, which contains his stated reasons for redacting the narrative, his desire to rewrite it in a manner that was aesthetically pleasing to him and that it be remembered, et cetera. Despite this, a glaring lacuna exists in the literature on *Dānişmendnāme*: aside from its final poem, the text’s myriad other poems, including the ones mentioned above, have never been studied. Yet it is clear that these poems have much to offer. Studying them allows scholars to think critically about the methods by which ‘Ārif ‘Alī intended to achieve his end of affecting the emotions of his audience.

‘Ārif ‘Alī’s verse compositions that open and close nearly each *meclis*² in *Dānişmendnāme* serve different storytelling functions. At the openings of *meclises*, they invite the audience to listen closely, to praise the Prophet, and often remind them of events that happened in the last *meclis* in an act reminiscent of a modern television show’s “previously on...” recaps. At the endings of *meclises*, these verses invite the audience to return for the next section, teasing future plot events and repeatedly promising the audience an enjoyable listening experience. Throughout these verses, ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s direct address attests to his intent to sway his audience’s emotions in certain ways at specific times.

¹Aydoğın, Zeynep. “Oral Performance and Text: Narrators, Authors, and Editors in the Anatolian Turkish Warrior Epics.” In *The Written and the Spoken in Central Asia (Mündlichkeit Und Schriftlichkeit in Zentralasien: Festschrift Für Ingeborg)*, edited by Redkollegiia, 405–22, 2021.

² For reasons that are not clear, several sections in the Paris manuscript of *Dānişmendnāme* lack opening poems (the tenth *meclis*) and closing poems (the fourth, eleventh, and twelfth *meclises*). Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:64, 151, 192, 211.

The verse composition that serves as a prologue of sorts to *Dānişmendnāme* serves as an example of this. This prologue composition opens with a *bismillah* and an invocation of the name of God—for without it “no work is perfect”—before declaring that he will begin his tale.

Then let us take up our story;
without the name of God no work is perfect.

Let us remember the story of Melik,
Let us tell it to you in verse and in prose.

Listening to the exploits of the *ġāzīs*,
may the garden of your soul be covered with flowers! [...]

Then we say: mercy upon the storyteller,
[and] the one who gathered [this tale] and composed this book.

And [to] all who read it, all who listen to it,
doubtlessly, may God have mercy on them!

Let it be said: mercy to he who gathered, who wrote these tales,
to he who composed this book, chapter by chapter. [...]

Let us make joyful the souls of the *ġāzīs*
and, for their souls, let us recite [prayers of] thanksgiving

Let us say: “God is great!” Oh young man,
having given thanks to God, let us approach our story.

You will hear Melik’s tale,
and your soul will receive its fair share of joy

This is how the narrators have told it,

listen now to what they said.³

In “Where Are the Emotions in Scandinavian Arthuriana? Or: How Cool Is King Arthur of the North?,” an article on medieval Scandinavian retellings of the legends of King Arthur, Frank Brandsma writes that the authors of the medieval texts he studies wrote prologues in which it

³ *bism-illah-irrahmān-irrahīm*

*Evvel Allāhı getürelüm dile
diyelüm: “Allāhü-ekber!” derdile*

*dağı andan başlayalum size biz
Allāh adınsuz her iş olmaz temiz*

*şoñra Melik kışşasın yād edelüm
nazm u neşr anı size şerh edelüm*

*işidüp ol göziler evşafını
hoş müzeyyen oldı bu cān gülşeni [...]*

*diyeler rahmet bunu söyleyene
cem‘ edübeni kitāb eyleyene*

*her ki bunu okuyuban diñle
lācerem Hağ aña rahmet eyleye*

*diye rahmet cem‘ edüb yazanlara
meclisin faşıl faşıl düzenlere [...]*

*imdi diñleñ hoş şalavāt vèrelüm
söze andan başlayalum girelüm*

*gözilerünj rühını şād edelüm
anlaruñ rühına tekbir edelüm*

*diyelüm: “Allāhü-ekber!” ey cüvān
hamd edüb Hağka diyelüm dāsitān*

*işidesin sen Melik kışşasını
şād ola cānuñ alub hışşasını*

*rāviler şöyle rivāyet eylemiş
diñle imdi ne demiş ne söylemiş
Mélíkoff, *La geste*, II:7-8.*

was common to announce “the expected emotional impact of a narrative.”⁴ These prologues appealed to the nobility of their audience; the principle in this, he writes, is that:

hearing about noble acts will make the audience behave in a noble way. [...] There is a connection based on similarity between the characters in the story and the audience, which relies on the susceptibility of the listeners. It engages their ability to share the experiences of the characters. Medieval authors want their listeners to be impressionable.⁵

While generically different from the prologues of the medieval Scandinavian sources that form the basis of Brandsma’s study, ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s verses offer material that allows us to see that he, too, wanted his listeners to be impressionable. Similar to the other Western European medieval works Brandsma includes in his study (the Lancelot Compilation, works by Peter of Blois, Gottfried, and others) that revealed that medieval stories were intended to have “a strong emotional impact on their audiences,” ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s poems demonstrate both that he intended his redaction to have a strong emotional impact on his audience as well as *how* he meant to impact his audience.

In the prologue verses above, the couplet that reads “Listening to the exploits of the *gāzīs*/ may the garden of your soul be covered with flowers!” (*işidüp ol gāziler evşāfını/hoş müzeyyen ola bu cān gülşeni*) indicates that ‘Ārif ‘Alī expects the tale he has arranged and composed⁶ to resonate emotionally with his audience. For the listener’s soul to be “covered with flowers” meant that the audience will find the experience of hearing the tales of *gāzīs* pleasurable, thus linking the experience of engaging with ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s work with a positive emotional state. ‘Ārif

⁴ Brandsma, Frank. “Where Are the Emotions in Scandinavian Arthuriana? Or: How Cool Is King Arthur of the North?” *Scandinavian Studies* 87, no. 1 (2015): 97.

⁵ Brandsma, Scandinavian Arthuriana, 98.

⁶ A fact that is stressed here as well as the poem that concludes the narrative (*diyeler rahmet buni söyleyene/cem ‘édübeni kitāb eyleyene[...]diye rahmet cem ‘édübeni yazanlara/meclisin faşıl faşıl düzenlere*). Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:8.

‘Alī also writes that the emotional effect of his work extends beyond his mortal audience: through the act of listening to *Dānişmendnāme*, the audience will “make joyful the souls of the *ġāzīs*” (*imdi dinleñ hoş şalavāt vèrelüm/söze andan başlayalum girelüm/ġāzilerün rûhını şād èdelüm*) as well as the listener’s (*işidesin sen Melik kışşasını/şād ola cānuñ alub hışşasını*).⁷ The fact that ‘Ārif ‘Alī states from the very beginning of his redaction that he is aware of the affective potential of both his verse and his redaction should not be ignored by scholars of emotions. This is especially true when one takes into account that ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s apparent awareness of his work’s affective potential is carried through the narrative in other poems. In *meclis*-opening and -closing verses, ‘Ārif ‘Alī directly addresses the audience in ways that continue to illuminate his awareness of the affective potential of his redaction.

As was discussed in Chapter 1, unlike the tidily concluded episodes of *Baṭṭālnāme*, *Dānişmendnāme*’s sections often end on cliffhangers. An example of this fixed formula involves Melik Dānişmend and his army discovering that a main character has gone missing after a battle; Melik and his companions fear or learn that this character has been kidnapped by the enemy. One such occurrence of this fixed formula appears at the end of the fifth *meclis*, after the conquest of Dokiya: “They sought Artūhı and could not find him. Melik Dānişmend asked them after Artūhı, and they said: ‘We have no news of him.’ Efromiya was sad.”⁸ The emotion word “was sad” (*melül oldı*) sets an explicit emotional tone for interpreters of the text; then, the prose of the *meclis* ends a few lines later. To conclude the *meclis*, ‘Ārif ‘Alī moves into verse:

Let us stop our story there, the story is long.

⁷ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:8.

⁸ *Andan Artūhıyı istediler bulmadılar. Melik Dānişmend Artūhıyı anlardan sordı, anlar eyitdiler: “Bizüm andan haberümüz yokdur,” dediler. Efromiya melül oldı.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:81.

The session should be rather short.

When one talks for too long, people grow weary [of listening];
the listeners' attention drifts off.

We must speak little on all occasions;
it is not appropriate to prolong speech.

Then let us not prolong our story any longer,
so that our listener does not fall asleep.

Let us say little, but let us say [it] well,
So that we are attentive to our audience.

Because the audience must not be sad;
they should be moved to tears, but not laughter

If you listen to a story with a heart at ease,
this story brings pleasure to all.

Give thanks to the Prophet, find serenity,
so that tomorrow he will return your love to you.

May good fortune always be with you,

and may you be delivered from malevolent men!⁹

Let us turn our attention to the sixth couplet, where ‘Ārif ‘Alī writes: “Because the audience must not be sad/they should be moved to tears, but not laughter” (*ki şöbet ehline hiç ğam gerekmez/gözi yaşlu gerek hurrem gerekmez*) Not only does this suggest an expectation that the interpreters of his text will have an emotional response to the story he is retelling, but also an expectation that that audience will react in the *appropriate* way to the text. These two lines demonstrate that ‘Ārif ‘Alī was not only aware of the affective potential of his work, but that he was (1) also aware of his own capability to control it, and (2) that he believed there was a *right* way to influence the emotions of his audience.

⁹ *Bu kışsa bunda kıalsun söz uzaqdur
zīre meclis gerek kışa[y]ırak.*

*sözi çoğaldıcağ adam uşandur
anı diñleyenüñ ‘aklı yaşanur*

*gerek söz muhtaşar her hāl içinde
yaraşmaz ol muṭavvel kāl içinde*

*uzatmayalum imdi biz de sözi
ki diñleyenüñ uyumaya gözi*

*sözi az söyleyüb öz söyleyelüm
ki meclis ehlini hem gözleyelüm*

*ki şöbet ehline hiç ğam gerekmez
gözi yaşlu gerek hurrem gerekmez*

*şafā-yi kıalbile diñlense bir söz
şafā vērür kıamuya şöyle düpdüz*

*şalavat vēr Resūla bul şafālar
kı yarın bulasın andan vefālar*

*hemīşe devletünüz ‘ālī olsun
seyyi’ a dil kimselerden hālī olsun*

*yarunki meclise hāzır olasız
hikāyet nice olısar bilesiz
Mélıkoff, *La geste*, I:267-8, II:81-2.*

Several other couplets indicate not only ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s awareness of his audience, but how he intended and expected his words to stir their emotions. ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s opening lines muse on how the storytelling session had already dragged on too long; this signals a coy awareness of how he intentionally ended on a cliffhanger (Artūhī’s kidnapping, Efromiya’s resulting emotional distress) and knowingly heightened the eagerness of the audience to continue reading and/or listening.

‘Ārif ‘Alī, as redactor of this text, had a clear vision of that intended audience: these listeners and/or readers shared his aesthetic taste, thus, he had to change the nearly unintelligible Türkī of the source material “into roses” and divide the material into aesthetically pleasing sections.¹⁰ The story will be “pleasing” to that audience if they listen “with a heart at ease” (*şafā-yi kalbile diñlense*). By stating that his audience will take pleasure in his story if they listen with *şafā-yi kalb*, ‘Ārif ‘Alī also plays on the meaning of *şafā* as “pure” to gesture to the nobility of his audience. There is an obvious parallel between this insinuated nobility of the audience and that of the characters in *Dānişmendnāme*, especially in that of Artūhī.

Moreover, ‘Ārif ‘Alī expected that audience to contain at least some young men, and he explicitly indicates that he anticipated the narrative would inspire specific emotional reactions in that part of the audience and others. In the opening poem of the thirteenth *meclis*, ‘Ārif ‘Alī writes:

This is the story of the *ġāzīs*
it will fill the hearts of listeners with joy

Let the young and old listen to this story,
the pleasant scent of love gives joy [*h̄oş*] to the heart.

¹⁰ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:290.

This story will bring pleasure and joy to listeners
and to the youth, it will give bravery.¹¹

Here, ‘Ārif ‘Alī once again speaks directly about his audience and the affective power he expects this “story of the *gāzīs*” will have on them. He expects his redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* to “fill hearts of listeners with joy” (*diñleyenüñ göñlini açar tamām*) and that it (and “the pleasant scent of love”) will give joy to the heart of listeners young and old (*diñlesünler bu sözi pīr u cüvān/ kalba hoş vērür muḥabbet būyı cān*) as well as “pleasure and joy” (*zevķ ü şevķ bağışlar ādeme bu söz*). These positive implications are, of course, desirous outcomes for a piece of popular literature to have, and complement ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s repeated reminders in *meclis*-ending verses for the audience to return for the next session of pleasurable entertainment. ‘Ārif ‘Alī states that he believes the tale of Melik Dānişmend—as redacted by him—will inspire courage in the youths in his audience (*yigide vērür şacā ‘at işbu söz*). This couplet is especially interesting when one takes into account the choice of the young man Artūḫı as a mirror character. I argue that ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s intent to make his audience feel particular emotions at “appropriate” times is manifested in his use of the literary tool of the mirror character.

Mirror, Mirror

¹¹ *gāziler tevāriḫidur bu kelām
diñleyenüñ göñlini açar tamām*

*diñlesünler bu sözi pīr u cüvān
kalba hoş vērür muḥabbet būyı cān*

*zevķ ü şevķ bağışlar ādeme bu söz
yigide vērür şacā ‘at işbu söz*
Mélíkoff, *La geste*, I:395, II:213.

“Evidently, the medieval authors succeeded in achieving [this] emotional connection between text, characters, and audience,” Brandsma writes, then asks: “How did they do that?”¹² He believes the answer lies in mirror characters.

Mirror characters serve as “go-betweens” between text and audience¹³ and are used by the author to demonstrate—and thus appeal to—certain emotions; that is, they explicitly perform what emotions the author wants the audience to feel and when.¹⁴ They provide scholars a window into the “reactions the authors hoped to achieve.”¹⁵ Brandsma acknowledges the wealth of neurological studies that have cropped up as the history of emotions continues to grow, but writes that the “indirect transfer” of emotions from text to audience via the “go-between” of the mirror character is “the most promising” phenomenon for the study of emotions in medieval and premodern texts.¹⁶ Unlike more psychological studies, the “intuitive evidence” of analyzing how mirror characters project emotions to the audience “and almost automatically make[s]... listeners follow this lead” is the kind of experiential evidence that Brandsma argues is more useful for the study of premodern and medieval texts: this “intuitive evidence” would have also been available to medieval authors, unlike more neurological approaches to the study of emotions.¹⁷ It is this

¹² Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 98.

¹³ Brandsma, Frank. “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 101.

¹⁴ According to Brandsma, emotional reactions “explicitly presented in the text” reveal “what the author intended his audience to feel.” Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 100.

¹⁵ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 101.

¹⁶ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 100.

¹⁷ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 99-100.

belief in the utility of the intuitive evidence of analyzing mirror characters and thus excavating how ‘Ārif ‘Alī intended to make his audience feel that serves as a foundation for this study.

Here, I argue that Old Anatolian Turkish religious-heroic popular epics such as *Baṭṭālnāme* and *Dānişmendnāme* made use of mirror characters, albeit in different ways. Comparisons between the two texts demonstrate that the use of mirror characters in Old Anatolian Turkish popular literature was not static; rather, their use evolved as oral traditions were committed to paper through redactions like ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s *Dānişmendnāme*.

Frank Brandsma’s work provides this project with a definition and framework for examining the use and interpretation of mirror characters. He defines mirror characters as “go-betweens” between author and audience, characters who are used by the author to explicitly demonstrate and thus appeal to certain emotions.¹⁸ They perform what emotions the author wants the audience to feel and when, thus activating the affective potential of the work. Brandsma draws on psychological studies in his explanation of how we as humans tend to *mirror* emotions:

When we witness the emotions of the winner, we tend to mirror these, to feel ourselves what she is feeling and even to show the outward signs (e.g., tears) of the emotion. The transference of emotions may be direct, as in this example, but also indirect: we see a spectator (for instance, the lover or mother of the champion) break into tears, and we are emotionally touched as well. Even hearing someone speak about an event or situation that was very emotional for the speaker calls forth emotions in the listener.¹⁹

This intuitive evidence is the foundation of his analysis of how medieval authors used this “emotional correspondence” to appeal to—and thus influence—the emotions of their listeners: medieval authors, he writes, knew of this “transference of emotions” from their own experience,

¹⁸ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 101.

¹⁹ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 100.

just as we do today.²⁰ Therefore, medieval authors used mirror characters to “emotionally draw the audience into his tale.”

As with any methodology emerging from a vastly different literary and historical context, it is worth questioning whether or not Brandsma’s theoretical approach can be applied to Old Anatolian Turkish popular literature. Based on my readings of *Dānişmendnāme* and *Baṭṭālnāme*, I argue that yes, it can. Evidence in these texts demonstrates that in the context of *Dānişmendnāme* and *Baṭṭālnāme*—similarly to Brandsma’s Scandinavian source material—mirror characters witness plot events and react *emotionally* to them, thus cueing or inviting audiences of the text to mirror their reactions.²¹ For example, as discussed above, ‘Ārif ‘Alī wrote in that the story of the ġāzīs would inspire courage in young warriors, i.e., the courage of the ġāzīs in his story would be “projected to the audience and almost automatically makes the listeners follow this lead.”²² Young warriors, upon hearing of the victories of Melik Dānişmend and Artūḫī, would be inspired to mirror their courage. If a mirror character witnessed the death of a fellow warrior (plot event) and wept (emotionally described reaction), this would cue the audience to *mirror* the emotion depicted in the source material and feel sympathetic sadness or grief.

Asking such questions and drawing conclusions about the audience of a medieval narrative comes with its methodological limitations. With no patron named in the text and no explicit

²⁰ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 100.

²¹ I slightly adapt Brandsma’s conception of mirror characters and how they function to best suit what I have encountered in my reading of *Dānişmendnāme* and *Baṭṭālnāme*. For further discussion of adapting methodologies originating from studies of Western European medieval sources, see Chapter One.

²² Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 100.

description of his intended audience beyond the “young and old”, ‘Ārif ‘Alī very much leaves us to rely on historical context and inference as we piece together our understanding of who that audience consisted of. Though we can draw conjecture that popular narratives like *Dānişmendnāme* reached wide audiences, urban and rural, much remains unknown.²³ Even a concrete understanding of the composition of an audience of a medieval text is known, scholars of the history of emotions in particular continue to face limitations. As Brandsma points out, “We will, however, never be able to hear Chrétien de Troyes read the first wax tablet draft of *Erec et Enide* to a group of courtiers and register their reactions.”²⁴ Likewise, scholars of emotions in Old Anatolian Turkish popular literature will never be able to hear a *kışşakhwān*, *naqqāl*, or *meddāh* perform the oral narratives, nor understand perfectly how texts like *Dānişmendnāme*—intended to be consumed either aurally or through reading²⁵—would be embellished in performance.²⁶ Just as it is unwise for scholars to rely on twentieth- and twenty-first-century aesthetic judgment of medieval texts (see discussion in Chapter One), scholars cannot rely on their own emotional reactions to medieval texts. Brandsma rightfully points out that it is not possible for scholars to rely on our own reactions to medieval texts, limited as we are by the “philological barrier of manuscript, language, text, edition, and translation between Chrétien and ourselves,” not to mention the “centuries of cultural heritage and our training in reading and

²³ “Heroic narratives seem to have reached the widest possible spectrum of audience, urban and rural, but the specifics of the settings for the early period are still unknown.” Anetshofer. *EP*. “Epic Literature in Old Anatolian Turkish and Ottoman Turkish.”

²⁴ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 101.

²⁵ ‘Ārif ‘Alī makes space for both ways of consuming the narrative in the prologue poem (“all who read, all who listen,” *her ki bunı okuyuban dinleye*). That being said, Mélikoff points out that *Dānişmendnāme*’s syntax and choice of imagery indicate it was meant to be read aloud. See also Chapter One of this dissertation. Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:65.

²⁶ Rubanovichh, “Aspects of medieval intertextuality,” 248.

reacting to stories of different kinds.”²⁷ We have “only the texts to work with,” and must stay as close as possible to them.

In the context of Old Anatolian Turkish religious-heroic texts, the main character sometimes serves as the mirror character in specific scenes, but not always. The mirror character is one whose narrative depiction requires interpreters of the text to recognize their emotions and “invites these audience members to share them.”²⁸ This is not always the main character. For example, in *Dānişmendnāme*, this character-to-audience connection is frequently evident in the convert warrior Artūhı—the companion of and secondary character to the titular Melik Dānişmend—whom the narrative depicts as longing for Efromiya, as impatient, as grieving, and as experiencing anxiety and fear. Artūhı’s emotionally-described reactions reveal “what the author intended for his audience to feel”: or, to paraphrase ‘Ārif ‘Alī himself, Artūhı—more than any other character—reveals when ‘Ārif ‘Alī wanted his audience to laugh or cry.²⁹

The use of Artūhı as a mirror character represents a sophisticated development in the use of this particular literary device in Old Anatolian Turkish religious-heroic texts. Comparisons between *Dānişmendnāme* and *Baṭṭālnāme* illuminate the differences that exist between how mirror characters operate in one versus the other.

In *Baṭṭālnāme*, the narrative utilizes mirror characters in the form of one person or groups of people whose role in the narrative is reminiscent of the classical Greek chorus. These mirror characters are rarely individualized and their emotions serve as a device to spur the plot

²⁷ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 101.

²⁸ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 101.

²⁹ Brandsma, “Scandinavian Arthuriana,” 100.

forward. These mirror character groups appear at the beginnings of the chapters “The Story of Sa‘īd and Gazban, Son of Shamun,” “The Story of aytūr Abād,” and “The Story of Taryun and his Daughter Gul-Andam.”³⁰ Each of these more or less self-contained stories opens with the eponymous hero, Seyyid Baāl, sitting with his āzī warriors when a stranger (or sometimes two) enters. The stranger(s) invariably falls to Baāl’s feet and weeps, then tells a story of how he is troubled and requires help. Stirred by the story, Seyyid Baāl—and often his companions as well—also weeps, then immediately enacts a solution to the supplicant’s problem. Thus begins the plot of the chapter. For example, at the beginning of “The Story of aytūr Abād,” two young men interrupt Seyyid Baāl and his āzī companions when they are sitting. They fall to the ground and press their faces to the earth before Seyyid Baāl and weep (*aladılar*).³¹ When Seyyid Baāl asks what troubles them, they tell a story about an avaricious uncle stealing their inheritance, and continue to weep as they speak (*dēdiler alaşdılar*). Upon hearing this, Seyyid Baāl feels compassion for the supplicants (*Seyyidūn ōzi gyindi*)³² and immediately writes a letter to fix the the supplicants’ problem. The actions he takes lead to the main plot of each *meclis*. The purpose of emotions in *Baāl-nāme* were to cue plot actions; mirror characters act more as plot devices than literary tools whose purpose was to activate the emotions of the audience.

³⁰ Dedes, *Battalname*, 147, 153, 180.

³¹ [...] āziler Seyyid atında oturmışlardı iki yigit ierü girdiler Seyyid ninde yūz yire urdılar aladılar. Seyyid Őordı ki: hā “luuz niun alarsız?” Ol yigitler eytdiler: “Biz arındaŐlaruz Őehr-i Sikenderiyede ehl-i kelāmu ‘llāhuz atamız ldi biz ma Őūm aldı. Atamızu oklı mālı aldı. Atamız ‘ammumuzı vāŐı dıkdı ol mālumuzı cem ‘eyledi Őimdi bize māl gerek oldı taleb ēderūz vērmez dūrlū dūrlū buhtānlar ēder. İmdi Őimdikihāde sizden yēg dayanacak kimsemūz yokdur bize meded eyle,” dēdiler alaşdılar. Seyyidūn ōzi kyindi. Dedes, *Battalname*, 410, with corrections.

³² I transliterate this same emotion word in *DāniŐmendnāme* as *ōzi gyinmek*.

Baṭṭāl-nāme regularly relies on groups of anonymous onlookers, like Seyyid Baṭṭāl's group of ḡāzīs, to explicitly appeal to certain emotions. For examples, in several episodes throughout the narrative, Seyyid Baṭṭāl is presumed dead either after a battle or after being taken captive by his enemies; his people weep. When he returns victorious, his people rejoice. Parallels can be drawn between these types of onlooker mirror characters in Old Anatolian Turkish popular literature and spectator figures in contemporary Persian manuscript paintings.³³ These mirror characters are invariably transient, and more often than not, nameless. They appear and vanish within a few lines after having served their purpose to either spur the plot forward or herald the miraculous return of Seyyid Baṭṭāl's from presumed death. In this, their emotionally-described reactions serve the purpose of inviting audience members to reflect their emotions.

In *Dānišmendnāme*, however, one can trace the ascendance of a different kind of mirror character. There are very few examples of groups of onlookers serving as mirror characters. Rather than ephemeral plot devices or anonymous members of a chorus, the characters whose emotional reactions are described the most often are principal characters with backstories and who are present throughout the bulk of the narrative. Unlike the tradition of *Baṭṭāl-nāme*, 'Ārif 'Alī tends to use these principal characters as mirrors to signal appropriate emotions to his audience. I argue that the use of mirror characters in *Dānišmendnāme* is more complex than in *Baṭṭāl-nāme* and may represent either a transformation or evolution in the use of this literary device.

³³ Spectator figures or witnesses were a common feature of late medieval and early modern Persian manuscript paintings. Scholars have noted the affective potential of these figures. Saviello, Alberto. "See and Be Amazed! Spectator Figures in Persian Manuscript Painting." *In The Public in the Picture. Involving the Beholder in Antique, Islamic, Byzantine and Western Medieval and Renaissance Art (Das Publikum im Bild: Beiträge aus der Kunst der Antike, des Islam, aus Byzanz und dem Westen)*, edited by Beate Fricke and Urte Krass, 231–48. Zürich: Diaphenes, 2015: 231, 235.

This leads one to speculate two things. First, perhaps this fixed formula of the group of onlookers serving to appeal to specific emotions can be read as a characteristic of orally-transmitted manuscripts. *Baṭṭālnāme* exists as a corpus of manuscripts that are one degree removed from that oral tradition; as a redaction, *Dānişmendnāme* is another degree further removed³⁴ and was notably redacted by an author who voiced a distinct editorial vision of aesthetic changes to his source material. Because of this, it represents a different literary and emotional register than *Baṭṭālnāme*. This dovetails into my second point: perhaps by the time ‘Ārif ‘Alī was redacting *Dānişmendnāme*, it is possible that the fixed formula of group of onlookers as mirror characters had fallen out of vogue for his audience, or at least he perceived it as having fallen out of vogue. Rewriting *Dānişmendnāme* to suit his and his audience’s contemporary literary sensibilities is one of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s his stated purposes in the final poem of the narrative; adopting or abandoning different literary techniques, whether consciously or unconsciously, is one way ‘Ārif ‘Alī fulfilled this editorial aim.³⁵

By discussing *Baṭṭālnāme*, we have illuminated how mirror characters in *Dānişmendnāme* do *not* behave. What then should scholars expect from mirror characters in this latter text?

1) If the mirror character is not the main character, then—unlike in *Baṭṭālnāme*—they are a principal character. A *principal character* is defined here as a character whom the narrative deems more important than other non-main characters. This is demonstrated in several ways.

³⁴ See discussion in Chapter Two.

³⁵ These speculations are based on data derived from two specific texts. Definitively arguing about the the popularity or longevity of this fixed formula and type of mirror character in Old Anatolian Turkish texts of this genre would require comparative work both within the genre and beyond, perhaps extending to hagiographies, chronicles, and even Persian texts of these genres and time period. These pursuits go beyond the scope of this study and certainly this chapter, which confines itself to the use of mirror characters in *Dānişmendnāme* in particular.

First is the provision of backstory, namely, that character's history before entering the narrative; i.e., the scene in which Artūhī narrates his parents' meeting, his own birth and youth, and the circumstances of his having met Efromiya, all of which occur before he makes Melik Dānişmend's acquaintance. Second is the frequent and extended appearances of these characters. Artūhī, for example, is introduced in the second *meclis*, and appears in every *meclis* after that until his death after a long life in the final section of *Dānişmendnāme*. Third is the narrative's interest in the internal life of this character, either through emotionally-described reactions (the very same that form their role as a mirror character), dreams, and/or their voiced opinions regarding plot events through dialog with the main character or other side characters. Similar to how the *Shāhnāme* dives deep into the internal, emotional lives of its characters, *Dānişmendnāme* privileges Artūhī's internal life through the way in which it allows him to speak at length, for example, when he narrates his falling in love with Efromiya and the trials and humiliations of his attempts to marry her³⁶ and when he is impatient to attack the infidel and differs in opinion from Melik Dānişmend about when to act.³⁷ According to this definition, Artūhī is certainly a principal character. While other characters, such as Efromiya, may not have the narrative's similarly deep interest in their internal lives, they fit the definition of a principal character through other means. Efromiya, like Artūhī, has a detailed backstory through her romance with Artūhī and appears frequently in the narrative from the second *meclis* until her

³⁶ [...] “cevāb vèrdi kim: ‘Benüm aña vèrecek kızum yok,’ dèdi. Çün haber baña èrdi, bendahı el harāmiliğa urdum.” Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:24.

³⁷ Artūhī eydür: “Ĥamle kılalum.” Melik eyitdi: “Olmaz, nā gāh elümüze girmeye. Şabr èdelüm, èrte kim bunlar atlanalar, kıızı maĥāfeye koyalar; biz yolda turalum anlar geçeler biz dahı kıızı maĥāfeden kapalum.” Artūhī eydür: “Siz bilürsüz.” Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:27.

murder in the final *meclis*; she also experience a dream-conversion that is narrated at length. One example of Efromiya's role as a mirror character is discussed at length below in Section IV.

2) The mirror character's emotionally-described reactions are glossed as morally correct and/or ideal in the esteem of the author and, by extension, the audience. Melik's grief when Muslim soldiers are martyred is deemed morally-correct behavior³⁸; Artūhī's weeping and longing for his beloved are a part of his image as an ideal masculine figure. This can be contrasted with the emotionally-described reactions of villains: when infidels react with anger, sadness, or enraged shouting at their defeat by the Muslims, they are not acting as mirror characters.³⁹

3) The emotionally-described reactions of mirror characters in *Dānişmendnāme* contain more and more varied emotion words than those of their predecessors in *Baḡālnāme*. Often, there is repetition, which further emphasizes the importance of the emotion word and thus, the anticipated audience's mirroring of the related emotion. For example, in the second *meclis*, when Artūhī plays his lute and recites a poem of longing for Efromiya, the prose immediately proceeding and following the couplets reads: "He played it [his lute] and sang, and lamented (*çağırđı zārī kılub*) as he sang this poem. [...] He sang this poem while playing his lute and wept pitifully (*zārī kılub ağlardı*) as he did so."⁴⁰ The repetition of the emotion word *zārī kılmağ* and the poetic interlude replete with emotion words (see Chapter Two) indicates that audiences were to reflect the emotions Artūhī models in this part of the narrative.

³⁸ See discussion in Chapter Four.

³⁹ See discussion of villainous anger in Chapter Four.

⁴⁰ [...] *ğerü yerine vardı, hoş yedi ve içdi, yatdı, uydu, birazdan turıgeldi, tanbūrasın eline aldı, çaldı, çağırđı zārī kılub bu şi'ri söyledi [...] Ol (yigit) tanbārasın çalub bu şi'ri eydüb zārī kılub ağlardı.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:21.

4) Unlike the ephemeral chorus members of *Baḥṭālnāme*, the characters who serve as mirror characters in *Dānişmendnāme* do so repeatedly throughout the narrative. This further acclimates the audience to their role, as the audience comes to expect emotionally-described reactions from Artūḥı. Therefore, they are more readily impressionable to ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s desired affect.

Artūḥı Wept

The fact that Artūḥı serves as a mirror character so frequently throughout *Dānişmendnāme* presents scholars with a unique opportunity for analysis. ‘Ārif ‘Alī states that there are young warriors/young men (*yigit*) among his audience in whom he intends to inspire courage with the story of the *ḡāzīs* (*yigide vèür şacā‘at işbu söz*). What better way to do so than through the character of a *ḡāzī*? I argue that analyzing scenes that feature mirror characters are already rich sites for uncovering the contemporary emotional vocabulary of ‘Ārif ‘Alī through the examination of emotion words. Scenes featuring Artūḥı as the mirror character are even richer with emotion words. Moreover, these scenes have an added benefit for the purposes of our study: because we know ‘Ārif ‘Alī envisioned young men/warriors in his audience, we can see how Artūḥı embodies the ideals of the audience, thus giving a special weight to his scenes’ emotion words. Analyzing scenes where Artūḥı serves as the mirror character elucidate the contemporary emotional vocabulary of ‘Ārif ‘Alī and sharpen our understanding of the emotional community of author and audience. Analysis of the function of mirror characters like Artūḥı in *Dānişmendnāme* allows scholars to appreciate the hitherto unrecognized emotional sophistication of the narrative relative to other texts of its genre.

Compiling emotion words as a means of bringing an author's emotional community into sharper focus is a methodology espoused by Barbara Rosenwein and one that I adopt to bring 'Ārif 'Alī emotional community into sharper focus. In the chapter "Ottoman Love: Preface to a Theory of Emotional Ecology,"⁴¹ Walter Andrews builds on Rosenwein's conception of emotional communities and emotion words to demonstrate how the idea of love in the specific context of early modern Ottoman culture and society could be seen as describing and constituting a central feature of an emotional community.⁴² His methodology was similar to that employed by the present study: Andrews digitally analyzed "more than a thousand Ottoman poems and the examination of many stories, histories, images, artifacts, monuments and landscapes," from which he gleaned and organized word-types and images to form a taxonomy of "the Ottoman cultural vocabulary related to love."⁴³ Andrews used this list of images to create a taxonomy of contemporary emotional vocabulary for the study of emotions, namely love. This result is similar to the goal of this chapter: to analyze scenes featuring mirror characters in *Dānişmendnāme* that, through their focus on emotionally describing the reactions of those characters, reveal the contemporary emotional vocabulary of 'Ārif 'Alī.

⁴¹ Though he did not coin the term, Andrews uses the term "emotional ecology" nearly synonymously with emotional community. For the purposes of this project, I chose to use the latter for consistency and clarity. Andrews, "Ottoman Love," 27.

⁴² Andrews, "Ottoman Love," 21.

⁴³ "At the pole of union is gathered vocabulary associated with pleasure or contentment: emotional vocabulary such as fulfillment, hope, joy, merriment, smiling, amazement, madness, laughter, spaciousness, intoxication, togetherness and pleasure-associated images such as day, sunshine, light dawn, the water of life, Paradise, That World, spring flowers, warmth, rebirth, rain, summer, flowing water and the gathering of friends. At the pole of separation the vocabulary is that of pain: emotional vocabulary such as yearning, despair, grief, helplessness, weeping, sadness, madness, abandonment, sacrifice, hopelessness, betrayal, loneliness, alienation and images such as night, darkness, fire, smoke, burning, clouds, rain (of tears), thirst, starvation, death, Hell, disaster, this world, autumn, winter, snow and ice." Andrews, "Ottoman Love," 27.

Rosenwein's methodology of emotion words reveals much about the contemporary emotional vocabulary of her subjects of study. In her framework, the frequency or absence of certain words or phrases heighten their importance. While this attention to tracking patterns of frequency and absence is certainly important for establishing the contemporary emotional vocabulary of a subject, I argue that emotion words are imbued with greater importance not simply based on the frequency of their appearance, but based on their contextual *placement* in a narrative like *Dāniṣmendnāme*. Which character do the emotion words describe? In what context do the emotion words appear? Are the emotionally-described reactions of the characters glossed negatively or positively (i.e., if the emotion word is related to anger, is that anger is it the rage of the infidel or the taunting of the Muslim warrior before battle)? It is in scenes with mirror characters that it becomes explicit what 'Ārif 'Alī was telling his audience to *feel* that we uncover windows into the reactions he hoped to achieve.⁴⁴ Because of this, I adapt Rosenwein's methodology to center the emotion words that describe the reactions of mirror characters. A second methodology I adapt is one put forth by Karen Bauer in her seminal study of emotions in the Qur'ān. In her analysis, she uses a concept that she terms *emotional plot* to follow the emotional trajectory of "a given *sura*, pericope, or unit of text" and thus trace the transformation of the listener's feelings from one state to another.⁴⁵

In Chapter One, I argued that Artūḥī is a locus of flexibility of lexical formulae in *Dāniṣmendnāme*, further distinguishing this text from *Baṭṭālnāme*. His emotionally-described

⁴⁴ Brandsma, "Scandinavian Arthuriana," 101.

⁴⁵ For a deeper definition of this concept, see Chapter One.

reactions to plot events are lexically diverse and more varied than those that appear in *Baḡḡālnāme*. Artūḡı, above all other characters—even the titular Melik Dānişmend—is portrayed as experiencing the most and most varied emotions in reaction to the events of the plot. As mentioned in the above definition of mirror characters, *Dānişmendnāme* depicts Artūḡı as longing for Efromiya, as impatient, as humiliated and angry, as grieving, and as experiencing anxiety and fear. Comparing how the narrative describes Artūḡı’s emotional reactions to the plot versus how it describes that of other ḡāzīs throws the differences between the two into sharp relief. Other ḡāzīs such as Süleymān, Eyyüb, ‘Oşmān and ara Tegin, are what a modern reader might call flat characters: rather than the comparably three-dimensional experience of recognizing Artūḡı’s emotions, other ḡāzīs play smaller, less-detailed roles in the narrative. They accompany the principle characters (Melik Dānişmend, Artūḡı, Efromiya) into battle, provide aid on reconnaissance missions, are themselves the victims of capture, and occasionally are given dialogue, but they generally have more limited roles than principal characters like Artūḡı.

Moreover, Artūḡı represents a masculine ideal: he is beautiful (*ay yūzlü*, moon-faced),⁴⁶ courageous, a powerful warrior, and, in his role as a passionate star-crossed lover, is unwaveringly loyal, and is sexually and morally upright.⁴⁷ He represents an infidel who chooses Islam as not only the morally correct path, but the path to also the better life: by choosing to

⁴⁶ *Melik Dānişmend gördi kim bir ay yūzlü yigitdür*. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:20.

⁴⁷ In *Between Two Worlds*, Cemal Kafadar writes that Efromiya and Artūḡı are married “scandalously late” in the narrative. Anetshofer criticizes this, for it implies “that the narrative leaves room for unlawful pre-marital sexual relations.” Yet it is clear that “the narrative emphasizes again and again that Efromiya and Artūḡı spend the nights between the battles before their wedding in separate tents.” (Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 68. Anetshofer, “How Equal Are Female Converts?” 7.) For example, on one occasion Melik Dānişmend “prepared a tent for Artūḡı and another separate [one] for Efromiya, for their wedding had not yet been celebrated.” On a different occasion, it is stressed that after praying and dining with Melik Dānişmend, the unwed lovers retire to rest, but “each returned to his [and her] own tent.” Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:248; 316-17.

convert and join Melik Dānişmend, he wins the hand of his beloved Efromiya, a goal that has evaded him for the last seven years. He is also—perhaps obviously—devout: in the sixth *meclis*, Artūhı describes the greatness of the Prophet’s religion so beautifully that an infidel called Pānıç sighs in rapture.⁴⁸ In the fourth *meclis*, Artūhı loses a hand in battle and is captured by the infidels. Imprisoned, he prays for aid. Suddenly, the wall of his enclosure cracks, and a white-bearded old man dressed in green emerges. After praying, picking up Artūhı’s severed hand from the battlefield, and miraculously healing it (*Artuhınuñ eli dürüst oldı*), the old man announces himself as Hızır, a popular figure whom God commanded to come and cure Artūhı’s wounds.⁴⁹

A final characteristic that deepens Artūhı’s affective potential as a mirror character is the fact that he is associated with Tokat, the same city of which ‘Ārif ‘Alı was *dizdār* at the time of his redacting *Dānişmendnāme*.⁵⁰ Perhaps this allowed ‘Ārif ‘Alı’s audience to see themselves in him, be they “young or old” and perhaps not the young men or warriors in whom ‘Ārif ‘Alı believes the tales of gāzıs like Artūhı will inspire courage.

It is clear throughout *Dānişmendnāme* that the narrative frames Artūhı’s qualities and actions as uniformly admirable. Even when Artūhı abandons the army and his fellow gāzıs in order to rescue his kidnapped wife Efromiya (see excerpt below), the narrative does not condemn

⁴⁸ *Çünkü Pānıç Kur’an āvāzını dinledi bir miqdār gönli yumuşadı. [...] ve Muhammed dīninüñ ululuğın Pānıça ol kadar vaşf eyledi kim Pānıç “ah” etdi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:87.

⁴⁹ *[...] ve dağı Mihrān lā’in Artūhı kaşdın etmişdi [...] Çünkü Artūhı bu münācātı etdi dağı eytdikim: “Ey ‘ālemleri yaradan kādır Allah cemī’i müşkil işler Saña āsāndur; ben bıçārenüñ hālı dağı Hazretüñe ma’lūmdur, İlahī meded Senden ināyet Senden!” derken nā gāh gördi kim dīvār yarıldı dağı bir ak şakallu pır içerü girdi, yeşil tonlar geymiş gelüb eytdi [...] Pır yine gāyib oldı, derhāl gerü geldi varub çeri arasından Artūhınuñ düşen elini derhāl getirüb yerine kodı dağı du’ā okudı, Haq Te’ālānuñ çok şükürler kıldı ve ol pıre teferru’ edüb dedı kim: “Sizler kimsiz ki bu bıçāreye gelüb meded erdüñüz?” dedı. Ol pır eytdi kim: “Yā Artūhı, ben Hızıram ki Haquñ emri birle geldüm ki elüñi ve cirāhatuñı şıgaldum.”* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:54-55.

⁵⁰ *bir pehlevān server vardur Tokat katında aña adile Artūhı dەرler...* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:26-7.

his decision. After a day and a night of distress, weeping, neither eating nor drinking, and pacing the camp, Artūḫī tells his comrade-in-arms, the gāzī Süleymān, that he is leaving the army to find Efromiya. When Artūḫī is discovered absent the next morning and Melik Dānişmend wonders aloud where he has gone, Süleymān tells the king where Artūḫī went and why. Rather than expressing anger or disappointment at Artūḫī’s decision to abandon his comrades, Melik Dānişmend says he will pray for Artūḫī’s success and the scene resumes.⁵¹ The pious king’s implicit approval of Artūḫī’s actions marks them as admirable; therefore, we can extrapolate that the narrative also marks the emotions that drove Artūḫī to act as admirable.

In the first chapter, I discussed how Melik Dānişmend and Artūḫī first encounter one another in the second *meclis*. Artūḫī converts to Islam and Melik promises to help Artūḫī achieve his goal of the last seven years: of winning his beloved, Efromiya, the daughter of an infidel *tekfur* (Şaṭṭāt) who has denied both Artūḫī and Efromiya’s requests that he allow them to wed. Together, the warriors ride to Ḥarşana (Amasya), the seat of Şaṭṭāt’s rule, with the intention of taking Efromiya. Outside of the city walls, Melik and Artūḫī come across a Rūmī man leading two donkeys away from the city.

After a short time they saw a Rūmī coming from the city, driving two donkeys. In Greek, the Rūmī said: “Poor Artūḫī! He suffered ill-fortune; his suffering did not help him in the end, since others have taken Efromiya [from him]!”

[When] Artūḫī heard this, he sighed (*daḫı* “ah” *eyledi*).

⁵¹ Excerpt below. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:163.

“Oh Artūhı, what did that man say?” Melik asked.⁵²

Artūhı said, “Oh my lord, tonight is Efromiya’s wedding!”

Melik said: “ [There is] no need to worry (*ğam degil*).”

He immediately stood and took that Rūmī to the stream. In Greek (*Rūm dilince*), Artūhı asked that person: “Where did the people of Hārşana go?”

“They went to a wedding,” the man said.

“What day?” Artūhı asked.

“Şāh-i Şaṭṭāt—who is the uncle of the Kayşar—he has a daughter, her name is Efromiya, and she is so beautiful that she is without peer in our time. The Kayşar had a world-conquering hero [among his subjects], who it is said has no equal in both manliness and wealth he no peer. He sent that man with treasures, asking on behalf of the Kayşar for the daughter of Şāh-i Şaṭṭāt herself. The viziers and beys saw the wisdom in this, and would give the girl to that world-conquering hero, but Efromiya would not have him. They say in the region of Tokat there is a hero whom they called by the name Artūhı; Efromiya had fallen in love with him and wanted no other man but him. Her father was enraged and put iron shackles on her arms and legs. Willingly or by force, this lovely girl will be given to Nestor,” he said. “At this time, tents have been pitched on the green lawns of the Amasya plain in Yanķoniya, that is to say Çorum. They’ve been celebrating there for seven days, but tonight they’ll take her to Çorum.”

When Artūhı heard this, he lost his senses (*‘aklı gitdi*).

Melik Dānişmend said: “They haven’t taken her yet. Don’t worry (*kayurma*).”

“But tonight they’ll seize her and take her,” said the Rūmī.

When Artūhı regained his senses (*çün Artūhınuñ ‘aklı başına geldi*), he recited the poem he had recited before and wept some (*ğerü evvelkileyin şı‘r okuyub biraz ağladı*). When Artūhı had finished his poem, Melik Dānişmend said: “Oh Artūhı, for God the Almighty who created the world from nothing, I will not rest until I have taken that girl for you.”

⁵² *Baṭṭāl-nāme* does not concern itself with identifying differences in language between characters; Seyyid Baṭṭāl speaks to whomever without need of interpretation, be they local infidel or antagonists on his quasi-magical journeys to North Africa or India. In *Şaltuķnāme*, Şerīf’s flawless ability to speak the language of his enemies is a tool he uses to convert the infidel Other. *Dānişmendnāme* is a more complicated case. Occasionally, as in this example, Melik asks for Artūhı’s aid in translating the “Rumī” language of the infidels for him. In other cases, such as when Melik disguises himself as a priest and breaks into a monastery, the king is able to speak with the infidel without problems. The narrative does not privilege these moments, but they are curious and worthy of further study.

Artūhı fell at Melik's feet (*Artūhı Melikün ayağına düşdi*) and Melik lifted Artūhı's head from the ground (*Melik Artūhınun başını yerden kaldurdi*). Then the two mounted their horses and rode, Melik Dānişmend in front and Artūhı behind.⁵³

It is clear to see that Artūhı's response to the news that Efromiya will be wed against her will to Nestor fits a fixed formula in Islamic (especially Persian) literature: distressed, he swoons and weeps. As the last chapter argued, the fact that representations of emotions may appear as fixed formulae does not preclude them from serving as valuable data for the study of a period for which sources are few and far between. The emotion words that are used to represent this character's experience provide insight into the contemporary emotional vocabulary of 'Ārif 'Alī. What is notable here is that by sighing or crying out (*daḥı "ah" eyledi*), swooning (*'aklı gitdi*), and weeping and reciting his poem full of longing (*gêrū evvelkileyin şî'r okuyub biraz ağladı*), the narrative treats Artūhı as a mirror character in how it depicts his emotional response to the grave news of his beloved's impending nuptials. The moment where the Rūmī bemoans the ill-

⁵³ *Melik Dānişmend ile Artūhı bir dereye varub biraz eglendiler, bir zamāndan gördiler kim şehirden bir Rūmī gelür iki merkeb sürmiş daḥı gider, Rūm dilince yerler eydür kim: "Bī çāre Artūhı, belā ü zahmet ol çekdi, zahmeti gendüye kaldı, Efromiya ḥod ayruklar aldı," dēyüb gider. Artūhı bunu dinledi daḥı ah söyledi. Melik Dānişmend eydür: "Yā Artūhı, şol er ne söyler?" Artūhı eydür: "Ey Ḥüdāvend, bu gece Efromıyanun düğünü imiş," dēdi. Melik eytdi: "Ġam degil." Derḥāl tırdı, ol Rūmīyi ol dereye getürdi, Artūhı Rūm dilince ol kişiyē şordı kim: "Ḥarşana kanda kavmı gitdi?" Ol er eytdi: "Düğüne gitdi." Artūhı eytdi: "Ne düğün dūr?" Ol kişi eytdi: "Şāh-ı Şaḥḥāḥ kim Kayşaruḥ 'ammusıdur anun bir kıızı vardur, adı Efromiyadur, gāyet güzeldür, şöyle kim bu zamānda aḥa mānende kimse yokdur, daḥı Kayşaruḥ bir cihān pehlevānı var imiş, hem erlikde hem mālde nazīri yoğimiş, ḥadsuz māl vērüb adam göndürdi, Kayşar dilinden Şāh-ı Şaḥḥāḥ kıızın gendüye istedi, vezīrler begler maşlahat gördiler ol cihān pehlevānına anı vēreler, velī Efromiya anı dilemez, bir pehlevān server vardur Toḡat katında aḥa adile Artūhı dērler, katı pehlevāndur, Efromiya aḥa 'āşık olmuşdur, andan ḡayrī kişiyē dilemez, atası kaḡıdı, eline ayağına demür urdı, gerek gerekmez ol nāzenīn kıızı cebrile Nestora verürler," dēdi. "Şimdi Amasya yazısından Yanḡoniyadan yaḥa ya 'nī Çorumdan yaḥa ol yeşil çemenler üstinde ḥaymalar bārgāḥlar kurmuşlar, tamām yēdi gündü ki 'eyş ü 'işret kılurlar, amma bu gece Çorumdan yaḥa alub giderler," dēdi. Artūhı çün bunu işitdi düşdi, 'aklı gitdi. Melik Dānişmend eydür: "Henüz daḥı alub gitmediler, kayurma," dēdi. Rūmī eydür: "Bu gece gerekdūr alalar gideler." Çün Artūhınun 'aklı başına geldi gêrū evvelkileyin şî'r okuyub biraz ağladı. Çünkim Artūhı şî'rini tamām ētdi, Melik Dānişmend eytdi: "Yā Artūhı, ol Tanḡrı Ḥaḡḡıçün kim bu 'ālemi yokdan var ētdi, tā ol kıızı senün için almayınca dinlenmeyem," dēdi. Artūhı Melikün ayağına düşdi, Melik Artūhınun başını yerden kaldurdi daḥı ikisi bile atlarına suvār olub Melik Dānişmend öjince Artūhı ardınca yola girdiler. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:26-7.*

fortune of Artūḥī drums up tension and begins the emotional plot and sets the stage for Artūḥī’s reaction, and by extension, the transformation of the audience’s feelings from one state to another. When Artūḥī hears the news from the Rūmī, he sighs. Sighing (“*ah*”) when lovelorn or distressed or in moments of rapture is a fixed formula in the Islamic tradition; interestingly, however, it does not happen frequently in *Dānişmendnāme*. We can count the instances quite easily: men in *Dānişmendnāme* sigh in moments of religious rapture (when the infidel Pāniç hears Artūḥī’s proselytizing), in grief (when Melik Dānişmend hears of a ġāzī’s martyrdom in battle against the infidels; similarly, when the villain Neştor hears that five hundred of his men have been vanquished by Melik Dānişmend in battle),⁵⁴ and, in the singular case of Artūḥī, in distress at the thought of a beloved. When Artūḥī fights Melik in hand-to-hand combat in the second *meclis* and is finally defeated, he swoons; when he comes to his senses and opens his eyes, he cries “*ah*.” Taken within this literary and textual context, the sigh “*ah*” is a word of implied emotion. It is laden with either distress or rapture that is too overwhelming to express in words, at least for a moment. Karen Bauer terms falling on one’s face or swooning is an emotional reaction; likewise, Artūḥī’s sighing here heightens the tension of the emotional plot.⁵⁵

To return to our example: upon witnessing Artūḥī’s voiced distress, Melik Dānişmend asks Artūḥī to translate what the Rūmī said. Artūḥī begins his explanation with “Oh my lord,” which is not usually how he addresses Melik Dānişmend—if this is not further indication of the distress he feels, then Melik’s response certainly is. “Grieve not!” implies very clearly that Artūḥī’s sigh

⁵⁴ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:162, 165.

⁵⁵ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 19.

of distress is meant to be read as grievous enough to warrant the use of the emotion word *gam* (grief).

Then, Artūhī asks the Rūmī for a further explanation of the situation; his demanding what day the people of Amasya (Ḥarsana) went to the wedding may further indicate his anxiety to know whether or not Efromiya is lost to him forever. The Rūmī gives a thorough exposition of what has occurred in Artūhī's absence: it appears to be common knowledge (as is the way of popular literature) that Efromiya is being given away despite having fallen in love with a hero from the region of Tokat, meaning, of course, Artūhī.

Artūhī swoons (*'aklı gitdi*). Like sighing, swooning—that is, the act of being overcome by emotion and fainting as a result—is a fixed formula in Islamic literature and can be classified as an emotional reaction.⁵⁶ Swooning occurs in both *Baṭṭāl-nāme* and *Dānişmend-nāme* as an expression of overwhelming emotion: in *Baṭṭāl-nāme*, the evil *kaşar* of Rūm in Istanbul often is overcome by rage and swoons and/or throws his crown to the ground.⁵⁷ In *Dānişmend-nāme*, the villain, Nestor, also swoons when overcome by anger or despair at having heard that his men were defeated or killed by the Muslim warriors.⁵⁸

Though Melik tries to comfort Artūhī by implying that they still have time to rescue Efromiya from the forced marriage, the Rūmī's insistence that time is short sparks greater distress in Artūhī. When he regains his senses, he recites the poem he recited when he first met Melik Dānişmend and weeps a little. This implied repetition of that poem deepens the resonance

⁵⁶ Bauer, "Emotion in the Qur'an," 19.

⁵⁷ Dedes, *Battalname*, 140, 178.

⁵⁸ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:165.

of the emotion words contained therein: we can conclude that *meded* (help), *bīcāre kalmak* (to be helpless), *bī yār kalmak* (to be without a companion/beloved), *zār kalmak* (to cry out), *zārī kilmak* (to wail), and *ağlamak* (to weep) were certainly a part of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s contemporary emotional vocabulary because of this repetition.

‘Ārif ‘Alī must have been aware of the affective power of that poem and of Artūhī weeping over the impending marriage of Efromiya to a villain: here, we can glean that he intends his audience to mirror Artūhī’s distress and feel sympathy for him, because this display of emotion is also moving to Melik Dānişmend. In a line of dialogue that echoes the fixed formulae of *Baṭṭālnāme*, in which supplicants fall to the feet of Seyyid Battle and weep over their troubles, Melik Dānişmend appears to be moved by Artūhī’s outburst of emotion. Though we understand that the purpose of Melik and Artūhī riding to Amasya in the first place was to rescue Efromiya and free her from her father, Melik emphatically declares that he will not rest until he has taken Efromiya for Artūhī. Because Melik Dānişmend is Artūhī’s king and authority figure, his being moved by Artūhī’s emotional reaction to the Rūm’īs news implicitly glosses it as morally correct. Melik’s declaration appears to comfort Artūhī. Artūhī falls to Melik’s feet, an emotional reaction similar to swooning in how it implies that the character has been overwhelmed by emotion.⁵⁹

Through this episode, the mirror character (Artūhī) performs what emotions the author wants the audience to feel and when, thus sketching the outline of the emotional plot. Despite the temporal, historical, and contextual distances between modern scholars and ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s audience, the use of certain emotion words makes clear that the narrative intends for the audience’s feelings to mirror Artūhī’s; they could be transformed from a state of surprise at the discovery of

⁵⁹ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 19.

Efromiya's impending wedding to empathy for Artūḥī's clear misery, thus heightening the tension of the end of the episode: when Melik and Artūḥī leave the Rūmī behind and ride on toward the plain where the wedding party is gathered, the emotional and narrative expectation is that the heroes will come to blows with the enemy in pursuit of Efromiya.

Artūḥī's behavior in this scene is in line with that of any idealized romantic male hero in pre-modern Islamic literature. The fact that Artūḥī is a part of a romantic subplot may increase the narrative's interest in his inner life. Courtly romances are characterized by the importance to which they give to the inner lives of the protagonists.⁶⁰ The fact that there exists a strong romantic subplot in *Dānišmendnāme* is without doubt; Artūḥī's backstory narrates his meeting with and pursuit of Efromiya, leaning in to fixed narrative and linguistic formulae to establish the emotional stakes for the attempted rescue of Efromiya that occurs later in the second *meclis*.

With a thousand souls and hearts I fell in love with her. [...] I saw that I had never seen a face with such beauty as hers. When she saw me, she came forward. In her hand she had an orange, and she tossed it to me. I caught the orange, and put it in the quiver of my bow.⁶¹ [...] Then the girl returned and went with her servants to Ḥarsāna. I followed behind up until I reached the city. The girl entered the castle with her servants. That night until morning I roamed around the fortress and I wept. When morning broke, I still did was not able to see the girl; for three months I roamed around the castle, but still I was

⁶⁰ Meisami, "Kings and Lovers," 1.

⁶¹ Mélikoff cites Steingass in pointing out that the tossing of an orange was "a custom of the Persian matrimonial rite." Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:169. Steingass defines ترنج زدن (*turanj zadan*) as "to throw an orange, generally made of gold, to each other (bride and bridegroom on entering the latter's house, a Persian marriage custom)." Steingass, Francis Joseph. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature*. Digital Dictionaries of South Asia. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1892: 297.

not able to see the girl [...] Thus it has been seven years since I have burned with love for that girl, though in these seven years I have not seen this girl but once.⁶²

Artūhı weeps and walks around the castle, despondent for three months because he cannot see Efromiya. He also tells Melik Dānişmend that he was humiliated by Şattāt's refusal to give Efromiya to him: "I have no daughter to give you," the *tekfūr* lied, not once, but twice.⁶³ Artūhı's reaction to being forcibly separated from the woman he loves signals to the audience how they should feel not only in that moment, but in later scenes featuring the two star-crossed warrior lovers as well. The previous knowledge that Artūhı has waited for seven years to be reunited with his beloved further heightens the stakes of hearing from this Rūmī that Efromiya is to be wed imminently. Indeed, it is no wonder Artūhı swoons.

Whether the romantic subplot deepens Artūhı's resonance as a mirror character or his role as a mirror character makes the romantic subplot possible is an interesting question. The fact that Artūhı's reactions to situations involving Efromiya, her wellbeing, and their ability to be together romantically are so thickly described with emotion words that it is clear to see the text's intention to have its audience the audience recognize and share Artūhı's emotions.⁶⁴

This claim is strengthened by my second example.

⁶² *Hezār cān ü dilile ol kıza 'āşık oldum. [...] Ol kızda bir cemāl ve bir şüret gördüm ki bir dağı anuñ gibi gördüğüm yokdur. Çün ol kız dağı beni gördi, ilerü geldi, elinde bir türunc varidi, ol türunc ile beni atdi, ben ol türunc dutdum dağı yayum kırbanına bıraktım. Andan ol kız gerü dönüb hadimleri ile Harşanaya gitdi. Ben dağı ardına düşdüm, şehre dek bile gitdüm vardım, ol kız kullarile çıkub kal'eye gitdi. Ben ol gece şabāh olunca kal'e yöresinden yürüdüm karşı ağlarıdım. Çün şabāh oldı kıızı artuk görmedüm, üç ay tamām ol kal'e yöresinde yürüdüm, kızdan bir nişān görmedüm. [...] Uş yedi yıldur ki ol kızuñ 'ışkında yanaram, bu yedi yıl içinde ol kıızı bir kerre görmemişem. Mélikoff, La geste, II:22-24.*

⁶³ (1) *Şāh cevāb vèrdi kim: "Benüm kimseye vèreceğ kızum yokdur," dèdi. (2) āhır bir kişî dağı göndürdüm, cevāb vèrdi kim: "Benüm saña vèreceğ kızum yok," dèdi. Mélikoff, La geste, II:23, 24.*

⁶⁴ Brandsma, "Scandinavian Arthuriana," 101

Artūhı saw that the army was defeated. “Efromiya has been taken!” he cried, beside himself (*hayrān u zār kaldı*). Süleymān bin Nu‘mān and Eyyüb bin Yunūs had escaped, and Artūhı was the only soul left. He struggled much. He tried in vain to reach Nestor or Hıšarbād, but he had ten sword wounds more than [another] and had to flee. When at last he escaped, he reached Süleymān on the road. Süleymān said: “Oh hero, let’s try to rejoin Melik now. Then from Melik’s good fortune we will rescue Efromiya.” Artūhı, due to his anxiety, did not answer Süleymān. But going on the road, he wept. (*Artūhı bîhuzûrlıgından Süleymāna cevāb vërmedi, amma yolda giderken ađlardı.*) [...] Artūhı wailed and wept for Efromiya, Melik Dānişmend felt deeply for him. (*Artūhı Efromiya için zārî kılub ađlardı, Melik Dānişmendüñ özi göyinürdi.*) All that day and night, because he was grieving Efromiya, he [Artūhı] did not eat food nor did he rest at all (*Efromiyānüñ guşşasından ta‘ām yëmedi ve hîç dinlenmedi*). He paced around [the camp] until morning, weeping (*şabaĥa degin yörenürdi daĥı zārî kılurdu*). [...] Then every person returned to their own tent and rested. Then Artūhı said: “Ey Yaĥya, tonight I want to go to Manĥuriya. If Melik asks for me tomorrow, say that I went to seek Efromiya. Do not forget to pray for me.” Saying this, he rose and armed himself, and left his army.⁶⁵

After witnessing the defeat of the Muslim army, Artūhı realizes that his wife has been kidnapped by the enemy. Here again we begin by highlighting the emotion words embedded in this excerpt:

Artūhı cries out and grieves (*hayrān u zār kaldı*). The way the narrative emotionally describes his reaction to Efromiya’s kidnapping marks a turning point in the emotional plot of this episode.

It is evident that in this *meclis*, Artūhı has reached a point akin to what in modern screenwriting parlance is called an “all is lost” moment, in which the protagonist faces a moment of apparent

⁶⁵ *Artūhı gördi kim çeri şındı, “Efromiya girift oldı!” dëyi hayrān u zār kaldı. Süleymān bin Nu‘mān ve Eyyüb bin Yunūs daĥı kaçmışlardı, Artūhı yalnız bir cān kaldı, çok cehd ëtdi kim Nestora yāĥūd Hıšarbāda ërişe, çäre olmadı, gendüde daĥı ondan ziyāde kılıç zahmı varıdı, āĥır oldaĥı kaçdı, yolda Süleymāna ërişdi. Süleymān eytdi: “Ey pehlevān, şimdi seniñ cehdüñ ol olsun kim Melik ĥizmetine ërişevüz, andan Melik devletinde Efromiya’i kurtaravuz,” dëdi. Artūhı bîhuzûrlıgından Süleymāna cevāb vërmedi, amma yolda giderken ađlardı. [...] Artūhı Efromiya için zārî kılub ađlardı, Melik Dānişmendüñ özi göyinürdi. [...] Ol gün ol gece Efromiyānüñ guşşasından ta‘ām yëmedi ve hîç dinlenmedi. Artūhı şabaĥa degin yörenürdi daĥı zārî kılurdu. [...] Andan her kişi gendü barıgāhına varub ĥarar kıldılar. Andan Artūhı eytdi: “Ey Yaĥya, ben dilerem ki bu gece Manĥuriyadan yaĥa gidem, eger yarın beni Melik şorarsa Efromiya’i isteyü gitdi diyessin, beni ĥayıy du‘ādan unutmayalar,” dëdi daĥı derĥāl turıgeldi sāzın selebin gendüye rāst kıldı, çerinden revānı oldı. [...] Andan her kişi gendü barıgāhına varub ĥarar kıldılar. Andan Artūhı eytdi: “Ey Yaĥya, ben dilerem ki bu gece Manĥuriyadan yaĥa gidem, eger yarın beni Melik şorarsa Efromiya’i isteyü gitdi diyessin, beni ĥayıy du‘ādan unutmayalar,” dëdi daĥı derĥāl turıgeldi sāzın selebin gendüye rāst kıldı, çerinden revāne oldı. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:145-6, 148, 163.*

defeat: his wife has been kidnapped by an enemy he knows intends her harm, if not death. He struggles a great deal (*çok cehd etti*), and though he attempts to follow his enemy and continue to fight, he fails because he is sorely wounded (*çāre olmadı, gendü de dahı ondan ziyāde kılıç zahımu varidi*). When at last he is able to rejoin one of his companions, and that ġāzī attempts to comfort him, it is to no avail. The narrative highlights Artūhı’s inner emotional life by describing how he does not answer due to his distress/anxiety (*bīhuzūrlıġından Süleymāna cevāb vērmedi*) and then how he weeps as they travel (*amma yolda giderken ağlardı*).

In this moment, Artūhı steps into his role as mirror character. The narrative has reached a point where the Muslim army is seemingly defeated and a principal character taken captive; here, Artūhı clearly demonstrates what ‘Ārif ‘Alī intended his audience to feel, for the narrative delves into Artūhı’s inner emotional life. Not only does he cry out and outwardly grieve (*aġlamak; zārī kılmak*), he falls silent due to his distress and anxiety. Elsewhere in the narrative, when Muslim lives are lost in battle, the narrative does not describe Artūhı as weeping or mourning (these scenes center Melik Dānişmend’s emotions); the only scenes in which Artūhı weeps are episodes which involve Efromiya, thus imbuing them with certain narrative expectations. This episode, like others involving the romance between Artūhı and Efromiya, inspires questions such as: will Efromiya be saved? Will she and Artūhı be reunited? The narrative expectation is that yes, she will—but not yet. From this, it is possible to extrapolate that Artūhı’s anxiety in this scene was meant to inspire empathetic⁶⁶ anxiety in the part of the audience.

⁶⁶ “Empathy involves, among other things, a conscious or unconscious inference to what someone else is feeling. It also involves an open-ness to putting oneself in the place of the other person.” Hogan, Patrick Colm. *The Mind and Its Stories: Narrative Universals and Human Emotion*. Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction. Second Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003: 81.

Artūhī and his fellow gāzī, Süleymān, return to the Muslim army camp, where Artūhī continues to act as the mirror character by wailing and weeping for his kidnapped wife. Presumably, Melik Dānişmend receives news of this terrible event; the narrative also describes his reaction to this event emotionally by saying that his insides burn (*Melik Dānişmendüñ özi göyinürdi*). The narrative then returns to Artūhī and continues to reveal this character's inner life. It describes how Artūhī does not eat or rest because he grieves Efromiya's loss so profoundly. In an act that echoes how he once circled the city walls of Amasya in hopes of seeing Efromiya, Artūhī paces around the camp through the night, continuing to wail (*zārī kılmağ*).

Artūhī's weeping should come as no surprise to scholars of medieval Islamic literature, especially those who study popular literature and/or romances. The representation of Artūhī's loss and grief is a fixed formula within the medieval Islamic canon. As a trope, it is possible to trace representations of male grief like Artūhī's weeping through the Persian prose epics and verse romances that more likely than not formed 'Ārif 'Alī's literary canon.⁶⁷ This representation of Artūhī's weeping is, for a piece of popular literature that straddles the boundary between epic and romance, both a genre and oral and textual narrative convention.

Here, this fixed formula serves a two-fold purpose in this episode. First, it has the power to draw audiences deeper into the narrative. It was likely expected by an audience composed of 'Ārif 'Alī's emotional community; whether 'Ārif 'Alī was aware of the affective power of such a trope or not, the audience's experience reflecting the emotions of this mirror character might be compounded by their familiarity with a fixed formula like the one described above. As

⁶⁷ 'Ārif 'Alī draws parallels in verse to *Khosrow & Shīrīn* and, in prose and verse, to the *Shāhnāme*; in addition to these explicit references, there are many tropes and allusions throughout the narrative that make it possible to place these two works, among others, in 'Ārif 'Alī's literary canon. For a thorough discussion of literary influences, see Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:164-69.

emphasized in ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s couplet “Because the guests must not be sad/just as we must not laugh when it is appropriate to cry,” the audience knows from storytelling experience within that literary canon and emotional community that mirroring Artūhī’s emotions in this episode is the *appropriate* response to the narrative. Second, this episode illustrates how the emotions of the mirror character drive the narrative forward. Patrick Hogan writes in *The Mind and Its Stories: Narrative Universals and Human Emotion*, that what he terms “paradigm stories”—stories, according to his definition, that are engaging, that are celebrated and repeated—are stories that “move us... by portraying emotions or emotionally consequential events.”⁶⁸ As with Hogan’s conception of paradigm stories, celebrated and repeated fixed formulae such as Artūhī’s weeping “animate and structure” this episode and others featuring mirror characters in *Dānişmendnāme*. An audience composed of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s emotional community would *expect* Artūhī’s reactions to be represented in a certain way, and their anticipation of it and of what might follow would heighten narrative tension.

The emotional plot of this episode culminates in Artūhī making a decision. While the rest of the army rests, Artūhī turns to one of his companions, a gāzī called Yaḥya. Artūhī says that he will go to Manḡuriya, which is where Efromiya has been taken by her infidel kidnappers. Artūhī then says that if Melik asks for him tomorrow, for Yaḥya to report that Artūhī went looking for Efromiya (*eger yarın beni Melik şorarsa Efromiya’i isteyü gitdi diyesin*). He then asks Yaḥya to not forget to pray for him (*beni ḥayır du ‘ādan unutmayalar*). The inclusion of this final line of dialogue emphasizes that the adventure on which Artūhī is about to embark is a dangerous one, one where success might not be possible without the prayers of his companions. This implication

⁶⁸ Hogan, *The Mind and Its Stories*, 5.

heightens the narrative tension. Artūhı then leaves the army (*[...]dēdi daḥı derḥāl tırıgeldi sāzın selebin gendüye rāst kıldı, çerinden revānı oldı*). Implicit in the above dialogue is the fact that Artūhı did not ask for permission to leave the army from his commander, the king. His heightened emotions drive him to act on his own—an act that the text glosses as honorable and, perhaps, laudable in the eyes of the audience’s emotional community. This is exceptional for both Artūhı and the narrative formula of the rescue mission.

Throughout the narrative, Artūhı is portrayed as ultimately submissive to his king, even in times of heightened tension before the excitement of battle. For example, in the second *meclis*, the narrative describes how Melik Dānişmend and Artūhı ride to save Efromiya from her father, Şaṭṭāt, who has prevented the lovers from being together for the last seven years. As we see in the excerpt above, the two warriors approach the city of Amasya and learn from an encounter with a Rūmī that Efromiya is to be wed against her will. Artūhı, discussed above, is distraught; Melik encourages him not to lose faith and swears that he will make sure they get Efromiya. Then the two warriors ride and plan to rescue Efromiya from the wedding caravan itself.

They crossed the Amasya river and saw that tents had been erected on the plain. Rūmīs sat busying themselves with drinking and drums and flutes played in Neştor’s tent.

“Let’s attack,” Artūhı said.

“No,” said Melik. “We will not be successful that way. Let us be patient. Tomorrow when they are on horseback and have put the girl in a litter, we will stand on the road. When they will pass, we will take the girl from the litter.”

“As you command,” Artūhı said.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ *Amasya şuyın geçdiler gördiler kim ol yazıda hayma ve bārgāhlar kurulmuş, Rūmiler oturub içküye meşgūl olmuşlar, Neştor bārgāhında kūs ve naḳāralar çalınur. Artūhı eydür: “Ḥamle kılalum.” Melik eytdi: “Olmaz, nā gāh elümüze girmeye. Şabr ēydelüm, érte kim bunlar atlanalar, kıızı maḥāfeye koyalar, biz yolda turalum anlar geçeler biz daḥı kıızı maḥāfedden ḳapalum.” Artūhı eydür: “Siz bilürsüz.”* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:27, I:214.

Here, it is evident that upon seeing the wedding encampment of Neşor and Efromiya, Artūhı becomes impatient to save his beloved. He wants to attack immediately. When Melik insists they must be patient in order to be successful and then presents a plan of how to do so, Artūhı does not challenge the king's authority. He immediately acquiesces. The two warriors are patient and attack the wedding party the following day, as per Melik's plan.

When we compare this rescue mission with Artūhı's emotionally-driven decision to leave the Muslim army and go to Mançuriya to rescue Efromiya on his own, the differences are striking. Also striking are the differences between Artūhı's decision to leave the Muslim army without permission and another episode from the sixth *meclis* wherein Efromiya grieves Artūhı's capture by the enemy. When she learns that Artūhı has been taken in battle, like Artūhı, Efromiya grieves (*ğamnāk oldı*) the loss of her beloved. Unlike Artūhı, the narrative does not linger on her reaction, nor does it illustrate her inner life; this is not an instance of her acting as a mirror character. Unlike the episode with Artūhı described above, Efromiya immediately turns to Melik Dānişmend and asks for permission to battle a Rumī warrior, Miḥā'il, and save Artūhı.⁷⁰ Even in times of emotional distress, Efromiya is also ultimately submissive to Melik Dānişmend, as is clear in the way she seeks and waits until granted permission to act.

Both of these episodes (Artūhı reining in his impatience to obey Melik Dānişmend; Efromiya asking for Melik's permission) highlight how unusual Artūhı's decision to leave the Muslim army without permission and rescue Efromiya is in the context of character interactions and structures of authority established elsewhere in the narrative. Despite this, Melik implicitly approves of Artūhı's decision. The next morning, when Artūhı is discovered absent and Melik

⁷⁰ *Efromiya ğamnāk oldı, pes Melik Dānişmendden destūr diledikim vara Miḥā'ilile cenk édüb Artūhıyı kırtara, Melik destūr vèrdi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:85.

Dānişmend wonders aloud where he has gone, Süleymān tells the king where Artūhı went and why. Rather than expressing anger or disappointment at Artūhı’s decision to abandon his comrades, Melik Dānişmend says he will pray for Artūhı’s success. The scene resumes.⁷¹

The fact that Melik Dānişmend implicitly approves Artūhı’s unauthorized mission to rescue Efromiya on his own gives special weight to the emotion words *bīhuzūrlık*, *ğuşsa*, *hayrān u zār kılmağ*, and *zārī kılmağ*. Because these emotion words and others derive from a scene featuring a mirror character, in which ‘Ārif ‘Alī explicitly signals to the audience how to feel, we can conclude these words were a part of his contemporary emotional vocabulary. Therefore, these can be added to our taxonomy of important emotion words in the Appendix.

The narrative’s approval of Artūhı’s decision to abandon the army and find Efromiya on his own signals to the audience that Artūhı’s emotionally-described reactions as the mirror character are worthy of the audience’s admiration and empathy. This demonstrates that the emotions of mirror characters throughout *Dānişmendnāme* are glossed as morally correct by the narrative. This theory is strengthened if we turn to analyze instances in which characters other than Artūhı act as mirror characters.

Further Reflections: Other Mirror Characters

While Artūhı is the figure who acts as mirror character the most often in *Dānişmendnāme*, he is not the only mirror character. When other figures act as mirror characters, such as Efromiya and Melik Dānişmend, it is evident that the narrative of *Dānişmendnāme* portrays mirror characters as performing morally correct emotions and behaving in morally correct ways.

⁷¹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:163.

Above, I described an episode in which Efromiya grieves when she discovers that Artūhı has been kidnapped. The phrase used in that description (*ğamnāk olmağ*) an example of a typical way in which the narrative emotionally describes her reactions to narrative events: it is specific, yet brief. The narrative privileges Artūhı and Melik Dānişmend's inner lives to a greater extent than Efromiya's; that being said, there are episodes in which I argue she acts as the mirror character.

In the fourteenth *meclis*, the villain Şaṭṭāt is finally captured by the Muslims alongside many Christians.⁷² Melik Dānişmend entreats one group of captives to convert to Islam; when they refuse, Melik commands the infidels be taken across the castle and torn to pieces.⁷³ Upon hearing the cries of these infidels, a second group of captives (among whom was a priest) raise their fingers and readily convert to Islam.⁷⁴ Melik then asks Efromiya why her father has not converted. Efromiya replies that, with the king's permission, she will go to her father in captivity that night and advise him that he should become Muslim or he will be killed.⁷⁵ If he agrees, all will be well (*eger k̄ābul ēderse hoş*); if not, “do whatever you wish [to him] tomorrow,” which euphemistically refers to Şaṭṭāt being killed. This heightens the tension and sets the foundation of the emotional plot of the episode: will Efromiya's father be killed or not?

⁷² This episode is discussed Chapter Two (pp. 100-1), but is examined differently and in greater depth here.

⁷³ *Melik çün ol h̄ali görüb buyurdi ol es̄irleri getirüb im̄ān 'arz ētdiler; ol es̄irler "olmazuz" dēyince Melik buyurdi k̄āfirleri kal 'eye karşu p̄āre p̄āre kıldılar.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:235.

⁷⁴ *bu yaña es̄irler anı işidüb barmağ götürdiler Müsülm̄ān oldılar; ba 'zisi koca ruhb̄ānidi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:235.

⁷⁵ *Efromiya eytdi: "Yā Melik ez-zem̄ān! Benüm atam anam hanum̄ānum başum c̄ānum senün̄ yoluña Muḥammed 'ışkına kurb̄ān olsun! Amma bu gēce ic̄āzetün̄ile atam katına varayım naşihat ēdeyim: 'gel Müsülm̄ān ol yoḥsa érte seni öldürürler; 'dēyeyim. Eger k̄ābul ēderse hoş ve illa érte ne dilerseñ işle," dēyüb.* II:236

We follow Efromiya as she goes to her father's side. "Oh father, do you recognize [know] me?" she asks. This is the first time she has spoken to her father since using deception and her martial arts to defeat him in hand-to-hand combat, and certainly the most emotionally intimate space they have been in together since she freed herself from the wedding caravan and joined Melik Dānişmend's army.

Şaṭṭāṭ lifts his head and looks at Efromiya. Instead of acknowledging her as his daughter, curses pour from his mouth. "You are the cause of all my misfortune," he says, "for without you, what would I have to do with the sorcerers [Muslims]?"⁷⁶ The narrative turns to verse as Efromiya entreats her father to convert to Islam; his reply, also in verse, emphatically rejects her invitation. When he is finished speaking, Efromiya cries out that "If you do not become Muslim, Melik will hang you! He will kill you." In response, Şaṭṭāṭ curses the Prophet. The emotional plot turns: Efromiya realizes her entreaty has failed: she is deeply distressed (*gāyet bī hūzūr oldı*) by the outcome of her conversation with her father.⁷⁷ In *Dānişmendnāme*, we become familiar with emotional reactions to the fixed narrative formula of conversions of Christians with whom principal characters have or form personal relationships (albeit briefly): these are invariably are joyous affairs. Artūhı's conversion of allies such as Pānīç and Meryem are rewarded with marriages; Efromiya's successful entreaty to convert the stubborn Christian captive Gülnüş Bānū

⁷⁶ *Andan Efromiya atası katına varub içerü girdi eytdikim: "Ey ata, beni bilürmisin?" dedi. Şaṭṭāṭ başın kaldurub Efromiya'i girdi daḥı ağızından herzeler aqmağa başladı, andan eytdikim: "Bu kamu belā baña senüñ başuñ altındadır yoḥsa benüm bu cāzūlarile ne işüm vardur?" dēyüb. Mélikoff, La geste, II:236.*

⁷⁷ *Efromiya eytdi: "Pes ögüdüm alub Müsülmān olmazsañ Melik seni boğazundan aña, murdār ölesin!" La 'ın bunı işidüb Peyğamberi sögdi, herzeler yedikim demek olmaz. Efromiya gāyet bī hūzūr oldı daḥı tırdı Melik Dānişmend katına geldi daḥı dedi kim: "Zinhār ol mel 'una amān vèrmekim hıç işlāha kâbil degüldür," dedi. Andan gèrü dönüb gendü ḥaymasına geldi. Mélikoff, La geste, II:236-7.*

is met with joyous fanfare as the noblewoman is united in marriage with Melik Dānişmend.⁷⁸ The narrative expectation is clear: conversions, whether they happen in battle, in dreams, or through impassioned conversations, have positive emotional resonance in the text and the representations of the emotions of the characters are replete with emotion words such as *sevinmek* (to rejoice) and *şād olmak* (to be happy).⁷⁹ These indicate joy, celebration, and ultimately, acceptance of the convert.

The refusal of Şattāt to convert upends this narrative expectation. Not only does he refuse to convert, this scene also depicts Efromiya failing to convert an infidel, the first and only time this occurs for her. This is especially noteworthy given her identity as a convert (emphasized by the fact her name is never changed to a Muslim one) and her kinship ties with Şattāt.

Efromiya's reaction to her father's decision signals to the audience that, while Şattāt has invariably been portrayed as a villain throughout the narrative, his refusal to become a Muslim is still a tragedy. In this, she acts as the mirror character, guiding the audience toward the "appropriate" emotional response to this episode. The emotional plot concludes the next morning, when Şattāt's ally and the enemy of the Muslims, Nestor, comes forth to meet the Muslim army in battle. Melik Dānişmend orders that Şattāt be brought forth. When Şattāt is before the armies, Melik commands him to become Muslim, giving the villain one final chance for redemption: "Come, become Muslim," he says, "and I will set you free."⁸⁰ Şattāt refuses, curses pouring forth from his mouth, so he is bound to a tree for his execution. It is Efromiya

⁷⁸ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:217.

⁷⁹ *Çün Melik bu haberi işidüb sevindi [...] Andan hāzır olan gāziler ve begler sevinüb şād oldılar.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:217.

⁸⁰ "Ey Şattāt, gel Müsülmān ol, seni āzād edeyim." Mélikoff, *La geste*, 238.

who comes forth and shoots the first arrow; the arrows of other *gāzīs* follow, thus ending her father's life.

The narrative does not represent Efromiya's emotional reactions to events with the same level of description, rich with emotion words, as it does Artūhī's. Despite this, Efromiya acts as the mirror character in this episode. She guides the audience's reactions: the depiction of her emotions signals what the emotional regime of this text deems the morally "appropriate" response to such a tragedy as one's own father refusing to accept Islam and being killed as a result.

The identity of these mirror characters can tell us much about how an audience composed of 'Ārif 'Alī's emotional community might perceive and react to the representations of these characters' emotions. Artūhī, as a warrior, represents a masculine ideal. He is described as *yigit*, as is part of the audience of 'Ārif 'Alī in verse; he is a warrior in whom other warriors in the audience could read themselves into (so to speak). Analyzing Artūhī and the emotion words used to describe his emotional reactions allows us a better understanding of the contemporary emotional vocabulary—and thus, emotional community—of author and audience. To a slightly lesser extent, Efromiya, as a convert herself, likewise signals appropriate reactions to the tragedy of her father refusing to convert.

Conclusion

Analyzing mirror characters in *Dānişmendnāme* in light of *Baṭṭālnāme* allows us to greater appreciate the relative literary and psychological sophistication of a text that has long been denied analytical treatment beyond its obvious preoccupations with conquest and confrontation

with the Other. It firmly places *Dānişmendnāme* within the sphere of Ottoman and Old Anatolian Turkish literary studies as a text that can provide vivid windows into the emotional communities of the text's audience in fourteenth-century eastern Anatolia, a historical period about which much remains to be discovered.

‘Ārif ‘Alī makes explicit in his verses that he intends his redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* to affect the emotions of his audiences in specific ways. I have argued that he successfully achieves this through the employment of mirror characters. Moreover, the scenes featuring mirror characters have given us much to dissect in the way of contemporary emotional vocabulary of ‘Ārif ‘Alī. The repetition of certain emotion words, such as *zārī kılmak* and *ağlamak*, deepens their importance in our methodological estimation. The additions of *göñli şınmak* and *bīhuzūrlık*, which only occur once each in the text, are equally interesting in this project's analytical eye. The presence of these two emotion words further emphasizes how deep the character's distress is; when we anticipate the audience's mirroring of these emotions, it is possible to see how tension rises in this moment, thus vividly illustrating each episode's emotional plot. Therefore, these can be added to our taxonomy of important emotion words in the Appendix.

The study of mirror characters and the emotion words used to describe their represented emotions serve many vital ends for the expanding the field of Old Anatolian Turkish studies. This chapter has discussed but two. First, the analytical lens of the mirror character has allowed us to articulate and appreciate a difference in emotional register and literary techniques between *Baṭṭālnāme* and to *Dānişmendnāme*, which, in ‘Ārif ‘Alī's fourteenth-century redaction, is one degree further removed from oral tradition than the former. Second, scenes with mirror characters and the emotion words contained therein provide the scaffolding—albeit imperfect—

for scholars to begin to see the contours of the emotional community of ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his audience.

CHAPTER FOUR

An Ideal King of Fictional Past and Political Present

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the representations of the grief and virtuous anger of Melik Dānişmend in light of his position as king, how that role was depicted in the text, and the historical context of the redaction. It discusses how representations of Melik Dānişmend's most heightened emotions can be read as answering a striking question, one that for ġāzīs in late medieval Anatolia was a question of great consequence: how should a king mourn the men who fight for him?

This emphasis on how the king *should* feel when his warriors are wounded or martyred underscores the narrative's preoccupation with a second question that was important to 'Ārif 'Alī and his emotional community: what kind of king is an ideal king? While other aspects of the depiction of Melik Dānişmend as the ideal king in *Dānişmendnāme* are notably incongruous with the period in which the text was redacted, close reading of the king's emotions demonstrates that to 'Ārif 'Alī and his audience, an ideal king was one whose relationship with his warriors was an emotional as well as political one.

Melik Dānişmend's depiction in *Dānişmendnāme* models a certain kind of temporal power that scholars have termed *sacral kingship*. This model was anachronistic to the post-Chinggisid political world in which 'Ārif 'Alī was redacting his source material. It is tempting to speculate that this representation of Melik Dānişmend is a fixed formula, cemented in oral tradition, preserved when put to paper in the Seljūk period by Ibn 'Ālā, and repeated by 'Ārif 'Alī in his

redaction. Thus is Melik Dānişmend, the pious and ideal king, a narrative relic of a much earlier period.

However, analysis of Melik Dānişmend's emotions suggests another possibility. Representations of the king's emotions at their most heightened states demonstrate lexical flexibility in the choice, repetition, and variety of emotion words; critically, these heightened emotions—namely grieving and virtuous anger—are the results of emotional plots that invariably begin with the wounding, kidnapping, or martyrdom of his warriors. In fact, the *only* times when Melik Dānişmend expresses emotions of this intensity are when his warriors or companions are imperiled or killed.

I read this as a potential reflection of the fact that in the post-Chinggisid eastern Anatolian milieu in which 'Ārif 'Alī was redacting *Dānişmendnāme* kings and usurpers were made and broken by power brokers, by the warriors who chose to support them or not. As a potential member of a military-bureaucratic class, 'Ārif 'Alī and his audience were likely aware of this political power dynamic.

By examining Melik Dānişmend through the history of emotions, this chapter illuminates what kinds of modes of emotional expression were seen as ideal for a king by 'Ārif 'Alī's emotional community. Then, by embedding this analysis alongside the redaction's historical context and contemporary conceptions of political legitimacy, we can appreciate that this representation of kingship can be read as a commentary on the political milieu in which 'Ārif 'Alī lived. Centering the emotions of Melik Dānişmend illuminates how this fictional king, despite the anachronistic nature of his relationship with this caliph, can be read as commentary on 'Ārif 'Alī's contemporary political atmosphere. An ideal king, in the eyes of 'Ārif 'Alī and his

emotional community, valued his warriors. An ideal king *should* express his appreciation for his men through appropriate emotion. His relationship with them *should* be emotional as well as political.

Finally, this act historicizes a narrative long-stripped of its specific historical context and constitutes a vital piece of our understanding of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s emotional community.

How Should the Ideal King Feel?

Dānişmendnāme references several works of Islamic literature in verse and prose; its depiction of Melik Dānişmend compared to these other works as a pious, morally-correct king is worthy of note. In other texts of its religious-heroic genre, namely *Baṭṭālnāme* and *Şaltuḡnāme*, the titular hero-protagonist is a warrior, like Melik Dānişmend, but never is he a king. They confront infidels in the name of Islam, but never do they explicitly conquer territory and then rule as Melik Dānişmend is given explicit permission to by the caliph (see below).¹

‘Ārif ‘Alī draws parallels in verse to the Persian romance *Khosrow o Shīrīn* and, in prose and verse, to Ferdowsī’s *Shāhnāme*; in addition to these explicit references, there are many tropes and allusions throughout the narrative that make it possible to place these two works, among others, in ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s literary canon.² To make an all-too-brief example that draws on both works, let us turn to the quasi-legendary Sassanian king Khosrow, whose tale is retold in both the *Shāhnāme* and Nizāmī Ganjavī’s *Khosrow o Shīrīn*.

¹ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:68-9.

² For a thorough discussion of literary influences, see Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:164-69.

In one scene, as Melik prepares for battle, the narrative exalts the king’s majesty and might in verse: in one line, ‘Ārif ‘Alī writes that that if Şīrīn were to see the king’s beauty (*dilāvīz*), she would say, “this, certainly, is Pervīz!”³ Though the two might be alike in kingly majesty, Melik Dānişmend’s behavior as a king differs greatly from Khosrow. To greatly simplify this classic of Persian literature: Khosrow’s arc in *Khosrow o Shīrīn* is defined by his weaknesses and shortcomings; his failings as a king and a lover build toward his redemption near the end of the romance, when he at last marries Shīrīn and sits on this throne as a just king.⁴ Conversely, Melik Dānişmend appears from the first *meclis* of *Dānişmendnāme* as pious and learned. He is introduced to the audience as residing in a place called Çahār Bāğ (Four Gardens) with Sultan Tūrasān, the grandson of Seyyid Baṭṭāl. The two men practice sword fighting during the day; at night, Melik Dānişmend reads, writes, and studies, earning himself the moniker *dānişmend*, that is, “wise man.”⁵ Throughout the narrative, he is unfailingly wise: he encourages other characters to be patient rather than rushing headlong into battle (see Chapter Three) and listens to the divine guidance granted to him in dreams from Seyyid Baṭṭāl, that legendary warrior’s companions, and the Prophet.

This difference between these two representations of kings can be chalked up to a question of the difference in genre between the two works. *Khosrow o Shīrīn*, as courtly romance, focuses on the protagonist’s “quest for self-knowledge”; moreover, as a work of verse—and thus, Julie Meisami writes, exemplary fiction—the romance was viewed as a “was viewed as a means of

³ *ki bu resme ũonandı ol dilāvīz/ki Şīrīn gorse: “bu dur, diye, Pervīz!”* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:166.

⁴ Chelkowski, Peter J. and Nizāmī Ganjavī. *Mirror of the Invisible World: Tales from the Khamseh of Nizami*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975: 43.

⁵ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:5.

guiding his audience towards their own self-perfection, a perfection capable of definition in precise ethical terms.”⁶ As a religious-heroic work of prosimetrum that grew from an oral tradition, *Dānišmendnāme* is exemplary in a different way: rather than being didactic to its audience through its protagonists’ quest, its depiction of kingly behavior models what would be considered appropriate and even laudatory behavior between a king and his warriors to ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his emotional community.

The last chapter argued that Artūhī can be read as a mirror character because he reflects the intended audience of *Dānišmendnāme*, and because he represents an *ideal* of that audience. Melik Dānišmend, on the other hand, represents both an ideal and the political and moral superior of that intended audience of warriors. Representations of Melik Dānišmend’s most heightened emotions—such as grief and virtuous anger—can thus be read as answering a critical question posed by the narrative: how should a ideal king treat and mourn the men who fight for him? In *Dānišmendnāme*, that answer is found in the formation of two emotional plots.

In the previous chapter, I analyzed the emotion words in scenes that feature mirror characters to build a contemporary emotional vocabulary of the emotional community of ‘Ārif ‘Alī. Here, we continue that methodology: I trace the emotional plot of Melik Dānišmend’s represented emotions that circle the English terms *grief* and *despair*. I analyze emotion words (and their repetition) to sketch the contours of a contemporary emotional vocabulary relevant to this representation of a king’s emotions. The patterns we find may suggest what the emotional community of the text believed how kings of Melik Dānišmend’s status and political legitimacy *should* behave when danger or death came to the men under his command, as ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s own

⁶ Meisami, “Kings and Lovers,” 1, 2.

words emphasize his awareness of the affective power of his work and appropriate patterns of behavior (*because the guests must not be sad,/just as we must not laugh when it is appropriate to cry*).⁷

Dānişmendnāme demonstrates where and when it was considered acceptable for Melik Dānişmend to express grief or despair and the value he should place on his warriors' lives. Emotion words such as *melūl* (sad), *perīşān* (dejected, unconsolable), *göñli şınmağ* (one's heart tightening), *özi göyinmek* (one's insides burning), *zār kılmağ* (weeping), and *zārī kılmağ* (weeping) are used to describe a sudden shift in Melik Dānişmend to a saddened emotional state after hearing ill tidings or witnessing fallen soldiers. Some emotion words, like *melūl* (sad) and *zārī kılmağ* (weeping), are used to represent the emotions of both the principal characters (Melik Dānişmend; Artūhı; Efromiya) and villains (Neştor; Şattāt). Others, such as *göñli şınmağ* (one's heart breaking) and *özi göyinmek* (to feel compassion for), are notably only ever used with Melik Dānişmend. The difference in between the saddened emotional states of other characters vis à vis Melik Dānişmend lies in the continuing arc of their emotional plots: after feeling this sadness, what do their emotional states transform *to*? In the case of Melik Dānişmend, the emotion words *melūl*, *perīşān*, and, more rarely, *göñli şınmağ*, *özi göyinmek*, and *zārī kılmağ*, signal the beginning of a transformative emotional plot to one of two states: (1) prayer and/or reflection and (2) virtuous anger.

Prayer and Reflection

⁷ *ki şohbet ehline hiç ğam gerekmez/gözi yaşlu gerek ħurrem gerekmez.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:267-8, II:81-2.

Let us first trace the emotional plot of Melik Dānişmend that leads from sadness to reflection cued by the emotion word *melūl*, which is translated as melancholy; sad; dejected; out of spirits. In the third *meclis*, Melik Dānişmend and his companions, Artūhı and Efromiya, befriend Harkıl Zāhid, a Christian monk who converted to Islam in a dream. Harkıl Zāhid provides them with food and lodging; the heroes are able to rest from their journey in his monastery. Later, Harkıl Zāhid is slain by the villain Şattāt. Upon discovering the death of Harkıl Zāhid and others, Melik is distraught.

Melik was saddened (*melūl oldı*). He dismounted his horse and prayed for those martyrs. He prayed for their souls. He turned and fastened the door and prayed. Efromiya was on watch [lit: it was her turn], Artūhı slept, [and] Melik Dānişmend Ğāzı occupied himself with prayer.⁸

This scene follows a narrative formulae in which *melūl* cues the following emotional plot: first, Melik Dānişmend hears word of or witnesses ill befalling members of his army or his companions (being martyred; being wounded; taken captive). At this, he is saddened (*melūl olmağ*). In his grief, he turns inward to prayer, a solitary and reflective activity. In the above excerpt, it is implied that while his companions take turns keeping watch and resting, the king prays through the night.

In other examples of this formula, we see that the emotion word *melūl* transforms the king to a similarly reflective state where he chooses to be alone and think.

[The infidels] took those two heroes back to the prison. Melik was grieved (*melūl ve mahzūn*) and returned to the army (camp), and entered his own tent. That night Artūhı

⁸ *Melik katı melūl oldı, atından indi, ol şehīdlerūn namāzın kıldılar, rūhlarına du'ā kıldılar, ğerü kapuyı bağladılar, namāz kıldılar, Efromiya nevbet şakladı, Artūhı uyudu, Melik Dānişmend-i Ğāzı namāza meşğūl oldı.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:46

stood watch; Melik sat alone in his tent, thinking while aggrieved (*melül u maḥzün fikr ederdi*).⁹

Here, the emotional plot of Melik Dānişmend begins with his knowledge that two of his soldiers have been taken by his enemy to prison. At this, he is grieved: compared to the first example, the Melik Dānişmend's saddened state is deepened with the addition and later repetition of *maḥzün* (aggrieved), a derivative of the Arabic *ḥuzn* (grief). He returns to the army camp and enters his tent, where he chooses to be alone with his thoughts and grief for his kidnapped *gāzīs*.

Within the context of *Dānişmendnāme*, the emotion word *perīşān* can be translated as afflicted or melancholy (or, in other contexts, dispersed, disheveled, distracted, or confounded).¹⁰ Like *melül*, its use triggers the unfolding of an emotional plot that leads Melik Dānişmend from witnessing or learning of the ill fortune of men under his command to reflection and great sadness. Let us examine the following three examples, of which the third is particularly illustrative of the above point:

(1) Melik was [greatly] miserable, and had no choice but to return.¹¹

(2) Melik saw that four hundred Muslims were martyred; he was acutely miserable.¹²

(3) Melik saw that many men among the Muslims had become martyrs; the majority [of the others] were wounded. When Melik saw these, he thought a short while. Suddenly, Artūhı came forward and made Melik aware of Efromiya's state. When Melik heard this, he prayed without dismounting his horse. He was deeply miserable.¹³

⁹ [Kafirler] ol iki serveri gëru zindāna göndürdiler. Melik dahı melül ve maḥzün gëru dönüb çeri katında geldi, gendü bāriğāhına girdi. Ol gece Artūhı nevbet şakladı, Melik bāriğāh içinde yalnız oturub melül u maḥzün fikr ederdi. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:123.

¹⁰ Pomorska, *A Historical Dictionary of New Persian Loanwords in Old Anatolian and Ottoman Turkish*, 193.

¹¹ Melik 'azım perīşān olub nāçār gëru döndi. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:87.

¹² Melik gördikim dört yüz Müsülmān şehīd olmuş, 'azım perīşān olmuş. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:122.

¹³ Melik gördikim Müsülmānlardan çoğ ādem şehīd olmuş ekşerī dahı zaḥımlu, Melik Dānişmend bunları böyle görüb biraz fikre vardı, nā gāh Artūhı ilerü gelüb Efromiya aḥvālin Melike bilürdi, Melik anı işidüb namāzı dahı kaḫā edüb at üstinde kıldı, ḫātırı katı perīşān oldı. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:146-47.

For Melik Dānişmend, *perîşân* operates much in the same way as *melûl*. In this representation of the king's emotions, bearing witness to the men under his command being martyred triggers an intensely sorrowful feeling. It is not that Melik Dānişmend never expected martyrdom to be a part of the conquest of Anatolia—on the contrary, in the first *meclis*, he receives a dream premonition predicting that he, Sultan Tūrasān, and many others would become martyrs in their quest to conquer Rūm in the name of Islam. When Melik wakes from this dream, he is melancholy (*melûl oturur*) enough that his companions ask him why he is melancholic.¹⁴ He replies that he had a dream in which Sultan Tūrasān and their companions were getting into a boat, and as Sultan Tūrasān stepped onto the boat, it sank. He interprets this as meaning that Rūm will be conquered, but that they will all become martyrs in the process.¹⁵ Martyrdom is an expected, if bittersweet, part of the king's quest. Even though Melik Dānişmend knows it is his divinely-destined fate to be martyred in his quest to bring Rūm into the abode of Islam, he still feels deeply when his gāzīs are endangered or killed. He grieves his martyred men; their loss prompts deep reflection and prayer.

While the emotion words *melûl* and *perîşân* are used for characters other Melik Dānişmend, representations of his reflective sadness and grief occasionally contain emotion words that are used for no other character. These moments of lexical flexibility of formulae are likewise striking for the manner in which the emotion words locate Melik Dānişmend's emotions

¹⁴ *Yāranları gördiler kim Melik Danişmend melûl oturur, şordular kim: "Ey server, niçün melulsin?"* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:18.

¹⁵ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:18.

inside his body. This sharpens the narrative’s focus on the king’s internal state. Take, for example, the emotion word *göñli şınmak*, which denotes the tightening of one’s heart:

Then Melik looked at the army once and saw that many Muslims had become martyrs. When he saw this state, he wept, his heart broke (*göñli şındı*); he wept profusely and turned his face to the sky, and recited a poem beseeching God the Almighty for help.¹⁶

In her work on emotions in the Qur’ān, Karen Bauer writes that the heart is the primary organ of perception, knowing, and feeling, and that it is more than just an organ: in accordance with pre-Islamic theories of the heart like that of Aristotle, “it is the locus of both understanding and emotion.”¹⁷ She argues that understanding the heart as the central organ of perception and the locus of feeling is key to understanding emotion in the Qur’ān; ultimately, although there is no word for “emotion” in the Qur’ān, she writes that “correct feelings in conjunction with sensory perceptions” of the heart and “rational thought” in order to “bring the believer into a true awareness of God.”¹⁸ At least four different words that mean “heart” that are used in the Qur’ān; similarly, Old Anatolian Turkish, like Ottoman Turkish, uses different words for heart depending on the context of use. In *Dānişmendnāme*, the word *göñül* is used as the perceptive locus of emotion.¹⁹ In *göñli şındı*, Melik’s heart is the grammatical subject of the sentence as it tightens in an embodied emotional representation of grief.

Likewise is *özi göyinmek* (to feel compassion for [lit: for one’s insides to burn]) in the example “Artūhı wept for Efromiya [and] Melik Dānişmend’s felt deeply for him (*özi*

¹⁶ *Andan Melik çeriye bir gez nazar [kıldı] gördi kim çok Müsülmān şehid olmuş, Melik ol hāli görub ağladı göñli şındı, çok ağladı dağı yüzün göge tütub münācāt kılub Alla Te’āladan yardım diledi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:164.

¹⁷ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 10, 14, 14n53, 15.

¹⁸ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an, 14.

¹⁹ Bauer, “Emotion in the Qur’an,” 14.

göyünürdi)” located deep in Melik Dānişmend’s body.²⁰ When Efromiya is kidnapped by the infidel enemy, Artūhı weeps for her; Melik, responding to Artūhı’s grief and the loss of one of his companions and company leaders (Efromiya is often referred to as *server*), feels deep grief. Used for no other character but Melik Dānişmend, *özi göyünmek*’s resonance as an emotion word that signifies an aggrieved state is contextually confirmed by examples in *Tarama Sözlüğü* that associate this feeling of compassion for another with one’s liver burning, weeping (*ağlamak*), and tears (*göz yaşı*) in Old Anatolian Turkish verse romances such as *Süheyl ü Nevbahār* (1350).²¹

A look at the eighth *meclis* provides the most explicit description of the narrative locating Melik Dānişmend’s emotions inside his body.

The infidels brought another twenty [Muslim] prisoners and hanged them. Melik Dānişmend was filled with pain inside and out (*içi taşı acı ile toldi*), but he could do nothing. Another two hundred people were made martyrs, struck by the stones from the catapults. Melik was aggrieved (*‘azīm melūl*); they returned to camp. The day passed, and night fell, and darkness filled the world.²²

In this excerpt, Melik Dānişmend and his army lay siege to an infidel fortress. In a shocking image of violence, the infidels take twenty Muslim captives and hang them in sight of the Muslim army. At the sight of this, Melik Dānişmend is filled with pain inside and out (*içi taşı acı ile toldi*). The emotion word *acı* indicates emotional as well as physical pain; here, it indicates the former. Melik Dānişmend then realizes his inability to help the martyred prisoners. When another two hundred Muslims are martyred in battle, he grieves; here, the narrative draws

²⁰ *Artūhı Efromiya için zārī kılub ağlardı, Melik Dānişmendün özi göyünürdi. Mélikoff, La geste, II:148.*

²¹ Hoca Mes‘ūd, and Cem Dilçin. *Süheyl ü Nevbahār: inceleme, metin, sözlük*. Vol. sayı 51. Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1991.

²² *Kāfirler dağı ol esīrlerden yigirmi kişi dağı getirüb aşakodılar: Melik Dānişmendün içi taşı acı ile toldi, çāresiz kaldı. İki yüz kişiyi dağı şapan taşıyile şehīd kıldılar. Melik ‘azīm melūl gērü bārigāha geldiler. Ol gün geçdi, gece oldı, ‘ālemi karanlılık tutdı. Mélikoff, La geste, II:123.*

on the same emphatic description of sadness as it does elsewhere to describe Melik Dānişmend mourning the loss of his warriors (‘*azīm melūl*). But *içi taşı acı ile toldı* is more unusual in the context of the text. Again, the narrative demonstrates lexical flexible formulae as it locates Melik Dānişmend’s emotions deep in his body.

Other times, however, Melik Dānişmend’s emotions are worn on his sleeve, so to speak. In *Dānişmendnāme*, *zār kılmağ* and *zārī kılmağ* are emotion words that mean to weep or wail. When used to represent character emotion, these emotion words indicate more demonstrative and performative displays of feeling. These emotion words might already be familiar to the reader from discussions of Artūhı weeping in previous chapters; indeed, they are most often used in connection with that character. They are not often used with Melik Dānişmend, but we find one interesting example of this in the tenth *meclis*.

In these Narrative verses, we see representations of Melik Dānişmend’s despair amplified by the shift in register from prose to verse. Chapter Three detailed how ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s understanding of and his address of his audience reveal his awareness of the affective power of his work; here, I posit that when emotion words and words of implied emotion appear in verse, they perform a vital function. The shift in register from prose to verse refocuses the audience’s attention on the character’s transforming internal state; this deepens the affective resonance of the emotional plot of both character and audience.

In the tenth *meclis*, Melik Dānişmend and his men experience a defeat. “Countless” Muslims have been martyred; Efromiya has been kidnapped; the army’s supplies plundered by the infidels; leaders among the *gāzīs* have been wounded; and Melik Dānişmend himself was wounded in three places.

When Melik Dānişmend returned [to camp], he saw that most of the supplies for the road had been plundered and that countless Muslims had been martyred. All the leaders were wounded; not one remained who had not been. As for Melik Dānişmend, he was wounded in three places. [...] While the others returned to their tents to rest, Melik occupied himself in prayer and beseeched the help of God the Almighty:

“Oh Creator of the universe and all beings!
Grant us your help, You who are endowed with mercy.” [...]

He spoke thus, suddenly weeping;
prostrating, this hero put his head on the ground.

At that moment, sleep shut his eyes,
and in his dream he saw the face of the Prophet.

Around him [the Prophet] stood all his companions;
the moon, the sun, and Jupiter served as their pages.

When Melik saw the Prophet,
this hero was filled with joy.²³

This poem is an example of Narrative verses because the couplets continue and deepen both the plot events and emotional plot of the scene. After the line “this hero was filled with joy” (*anda oldı şādumān ol pehlevān*), the poem continues for four more couplets; then, the Prophet and

²³ *Bu yaña Melik dağı gèrü dönüb rahtı katına geldi gördikim rahtuñ ekşeri gāret olub bī had Müsülmānlar şehīd olmuş, tamāmet serverler dağı mecrūh olmuş zaḥmsuz kimesne qalmamış. Melik Dānişmendüñ dağı üç yerde zaḥmı varidi. [...] Melik dağı ‘ibādete meşgūl olub biraz Haq Te ‘āladan mu ‘āvenet diledi.*

*Ey yaradan ‘ālemi hem ins ü cān
Sen meded eyle size yā Zū’l-aman [...]*

*Zārī kılub böyle dèdi nagāhān
secdeye kodi başın ol pehlevān*

*ol dem uyhu aldı anuñ gözini
gördi düşde ol Resūluñ yüzini*

*yöresinde turmuş aşḥābı tamām
ay ile gün muşterī aña golām*

*ol Resūli çün Melik gördi ‘eyān
anda oldı şādumān ol pehlevān*

Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:341; II:155.

Melik Dānişmend continue to converse in the king’s dream in prose. Unlike Stock poems, the narrative carries directly through the verse and continues in the prose on the other side.

This is also true of the emotional plot. First, Melik Dānişmend sees that his supplies were plundered and his warriors were martyred. His leaders (*server*) are wounded and so is he. While his men stand watch or rest, the king retreats, seeking solitude. This act echoes the formulae demonstrated in the above excerpts. Then, Melik Dānişmend occupies himself with prayer. As he begins to pray, the narrative shifts to verse. He asks for the help of the Almighty in this time of dire need. The narrative switches to verse; in this moment, it is possible to see Melik Dānişmend’s emotional transformation activate in the line “he spoke thus, suddenly weeping;/ prostrating, this hero put his head on the ground” (*zārī kılub böyle dedi nagāhān/secdeye kodı başın ol pehlevān*). This switch from prose to verse deepens the emotional resonance of this representation of the king’s grief for his fallen warriors. Unlike other examples, where he is *melūl* or *perīşān* and his feelings turn inward, here, in verse, the king weeps—a far more outwardly demonstrative display of grief and despair, albeit expressed in private. The emotional plot continues in verse with Melik Dānişmend falling asleep and being granted a vision of the Prophet; this makes him joyful (*anda oldı şādumān ol pehlevān*), which concludes the emotional plot of this scene.

The fixed formulae of these scenes that represent Melik Dānişmend’s grief emphatically highlight a relationship between the king’s men and his sadness—unless he has lost men to martyrdom in battle, emotion words such as *melūl*, *perīşān*, *göñli şınmağ*, *özi göyinmek*, and *zār kılmağ*, and *zārī kılmağ* are simply not used for Melik Dānişmend. Indeed, *göñli şınmağ* and *özi göyinmek* are not used for any other character in the narrative.

Because of Melik Dānişmend's status as king, these representations of his grief and despair can be read not as examples of what or how 'Ārif 'Alī and his emotional community believed any person should behave, but specifically how they believed a leader should feel about his subordinates. When Efromiya is kidnapped, Artūhı weeps and paces the camp and refuses food and drink; the king, however, is held to a different standard of appropriate behavior, especially as regards the men who fight for him. The emotional plots of scenes in which he grieves his men shepherd a transformation that culminates in specific, idealized actions. Seeing them martyred and wounded is an experience that causes the king to turn inward, to reflection and prayer.

These scenes highlight what for 'Ārif 'Alī and his emotional community might have been characteristics of the ideal king or temporal, secular ruler. From the beginning, Melik Dānişmend is established as a king who is learned, wise (literally, *dānişmend*), and pious. He is humble before his God; he asks for help from the divine and is granted it in visions and premonitions. He recognizes his place in a larger political framework: yes, he is a king, and yes, he enjoys an intimate relationship with God, saints (Hızır), and warrior saints (Seyyid Baṭṭāl; 'Abdü'l-vehhāb) that grants him a measure of divine guidance in his quest, but he also seeks political legitimacy from the caliph and is granted it. Finally—and most importantly, perhaps—Melik Dānişmend recognizes and values the men who fight for him.

But given *Dānişmendnāme*'s most well-known characteristics—its preoccupation with conquest and long, elaborate battle scenes—we would be remiss to omit discussion of one very notable idealized characteristic of the king. As I said above, use of emotion words such as *melūl*

signal the beginning of a transformative emotional plot to one of two states. The second of these is virtuous anger.

Virtuous Anger

Anger is an enormous subject in the field of the history of emotions; whole books comprise of its study.²⁴ I wish to focus on one aspect of Melik Dānişmend's anger in particular: the emotional plot that transforms his emotional state from sadness to anger. This results in an emotional state that I describe as *virtuous anger*. Like his grief, Melik Dānişmend's anger is an idealized representation of what a ruler *should* feel; it is virtuous not only because the king is pious and already an idealized figure, but because of Melik Dānişmend's role as divinely-sanctioned conqueror of Rūm. In the first *meclis*, a vizier of the caliph learned in astrology analyzed the stars and planets with an astrolabe and declared that Rūm would never be conquered in the name of Islam unless it was by Melik Dānişmend.²⁵ Melik Dānişmend's conquests and the battles his quest requires are explicitly placed into a divine cosmic order by the narrative.

In her article "Emotions, Gender, and Lordship in Medieval Literature: Clovis's Grief, Tristan's Anger, and Kriemhild's Restless Corpse," Ann Marie Rasmussen writes about a scene in Gottfried of Strausberg's thirteenth-century *Tristan* in which the titular lord Tristan is

²⁴ Rosenwein, Barbara H., ed. *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

²⁵ *Andan Sa 'd-i Aşterî felek ü nucûm 'ilmünde mâhiridi, Hâlifenün sözün işitdi, uşurlâb getürdi, nazâr kıldı, derc ü daqâyıkdan yegirmi sekiz menâzilden on iki burcdan yedi yılduzdan hisâb kııurdi. Çünkü uşurlâba nazâr kıldı gördi kim bunlaruñ tãli 'i yüce düir; andan Hâlıfeye eytdi kim: "Ol ikisini vërbikim ol iqlîm anlaruñ elinde Müsülmân ola ve ol el Küfürden arına. Meger ol iki kişi olmasaya idi ol iqlîm hıç açılmıya, şöyle kalaydı."* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:12.

depicted as angry “in at least two particular, culturally specific ways.”²⁶ The “external [...] cold” anger that Tristan experiences in battle one she terms “heroic anger”: in the context of *Tristan*, this anger (encapsulated by the emotion word *zorn*, which Rasmussen notes in Middle High German can also mean *battle*) “accommodates immense capacity for battle” that is deemed virtuous for that hero’s victory over his enemy, the Irish villain Morold, represents an enactment of divine justice.²⁷

Passages that chronicle the emotional plot of Melik Dānişmend from sadness to anger culminate in the representation of a *zorn* of his own, so to speak: this anger both contains immense capacity for battle and is also virtuous. The battles in which Melik Dānişmend participates are a part of his divinely-sanctioned quest to conquer Rūm; his conquests and all the skirmishes with the infidel that they entail are by extension, the will of God. Likewise, Melik Dānişmend’s virtuous anger in battle represents the will of God. In Gottfried’s *Tristan*, Rasmussen concludes that anger of male lords “is virtuous when it is legitimized by divine right.”²⁸ So too is the anger of Melik Dānişmend in battle virtuous when it flows immediately from grief at the loss of men who fought alongside him to bring Rūm into the abode of Islam.

We can trace the contours of this emotional plot in the below excerpt from the seventh *meclis*:

Suddenly Eyyüb arrived among the army. With a single strike they [infidels] downed Eyyüb and bound him, then they struck down Süleymān, then they struck down ‘Abdürrahmān and bound him. Those three warriors were given to five hundred infidels and sent to Neştor. Melik Dānişmend was saddened by the taking of the warriors (*melül oldı*). He gave a war cry that shook the world. He arrived before Toṭori, the brother of

²⁶ Rasmussen, “Emotions, Gender, and Lordship,” 180.

²⁷ Rasmussen, “Emotions, Gender, and Lordship,” 180;181.

²⁸ Rasmussen, “Emotions, Gender, and Lordship,” 184.

Nikola, and crying “Ya Allah!”, struck him with such a blow of his sword that he was split in two from head to saddle.²⁹

In the midst of battle, Melik Dānişmend’s warriors Eyyüb, Süleymān, and ‘Abdurrahmān are captured and bound by the enemy. They are then sent to Neştor, one of the arch-villains of the narrative. Upon realizing that his men have been captured and taken, Melik Dānişmend is sad; the emotion word *melül* cues this emotional shift. His emotional transformation continues immediately: in the next clause, he releases a war cry (*na ‘ra*) so powerful that it shakes the world (*bir gez şöyle na ‘ra urdıkim ‘ālem yanķulandı*). Here, due to its immediate context, *na ‘ra* can be read as a word of implied emotion. Though it is not an emotion word, it is embedded in an emotional plot that indicates a transformation on the part of Melik Dānişmend from sadness to virtuous anger. Additionally, we will see below that is often accompanied by emotion words related to anger or rage. Finally, the emotional plot of this scene culminates with Melik Dānişmend facing one of the infidel leaders and killing him in a single, climactic blow.

We see this formula again in the ninth *meclis*. In an example that will be familiar to readers from Chapter Three, Efromiya is kidnapped by Neştor in the heat of battle. Artūhı discovers this in the aftermath of the battle; though his fellow gāzīs, Süleymān and Eyyüb, attempt to comfort him, he is beside himself with grief. Soon thereafter, when the trio reunites with the portion of the army with Melik Dānişmend, Eyyüb reports that Efromiya has been taken and their part of the battle lost:

²⁹ *Nāh gāh çeri arasında Eyyüba erdi, bir zırbile Eyyübi yıķdı bađladılar, andan Süleymānı yıķdı, andan ‘Abdurrahmānı yıķdı bađladılar. Ol üç serveri bēşyüz kāfire ıřmarladı dađı Neştora göndürdi. Bu yana Melik Dānişmend ol serverler tutulduđına melül oldu dađı bir gez şöyle na ‘ra urdıkim ‘ālem yanķulandı. Nā gāh Melik Toťorinün karadaşı Nikolaya uğradı: “Yā Allah” dēyüb bir zırb-i tıg Nikolaya şöyle urdıkim eyer kaşına deđin iki pare kıldı. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:103.*

When Eyyüb explained this story to Melik Dānişmend, Melik became aggrieved (‘*aẓīm melūl oldı*). Because his rage, each of his hairs [on his arms] stood on end like thorns (*kaķıduđından her kılı bir dikene döndi*). He immediately gave a war cry and he himself fell upon Nestor’s entourage. In his hand he had a mace, and attacked, shattering them [to pieces].³⁰

Here, when Melik Dānişmend learns of part of his army’s defeat while in the midst of battle, we encounter a familiar formula: the king’s sadness (*melūl*) marks the beginning of an emotional transformation. He is not simply sad; the presence of the word ‘*aẓīm* (very; greatly) adds deeper affective resonance to the emotion word *melūl*, allowing us to render this phrase into English as *aggrieved* to best express its intensity and depth. At this point, the emotional plot turns on its heel: Melik Dānişmend becomes so profoundly angry that the hairs (on his arms) stand on end due to his anger and are likened to thorns (*kaķıduđından her kılı bir dikene döndi*). Then, he gives a war cry and attacks the villain Nestor with his mace.

The striking image of the arm hairs of the king standing on end due to his rage appears nowhere else in the narrative. The solitary nature of its appearance means it can be read as an example of a flexible formula: rather than the fixed formulaic depiction of the anger of villains (see below), Melik Dānişmend’s virtuous anger in battle gains emotional resonance from its use of unusual imagery and emotion words.

Villainous Anger

Much like the terms *fixed* and *flexible*, virtuous anger comes into sharpest focus when contrasted with what I term villainous anger, its opposite in *Dānişmendnāme*. Of the infidel

³⁰ *Eyyüb dađı mācerāyı Melik Dānişmende ŧerħ eyledi, Melik ‘aẓīm melūl oldı kaķıduđından her kılı bir dikene döndi, hemān bir na‘ra urub gendüsini Nestor tūlpına urdı, elinde ğürzi varidi, uğraduđın ħurd u ħām kıldı. Mélikoff, La geste, II:146.*

villains in the narrative, the two who appear the most frequently are Şāh-ı Şaṭṭāṭ and Nestor. Because of their relationships with Efromiya (the former being her father and the latter her would-be betrothed), their resulting confrontation with Melik Dānişmend, Artūhı, and Efromiya runs deeper than other infidels the three heroes face; in a way, Şaṭṭāṭ and Nestor are the nemeses of the narrative's principal characters. While they display anger in battle similar to Melik Dānişmend, a pattern emerges in their emotional plots. Often, the emotional plots of villainous anger begin with learning or being informed of actions that the narrative treats as virtuous, good, and/or the result of God's will, such as the conquest of Rum by Melik Dānişmend, the marriage of Artūhı and Efromiya, and the conversion of Efromiya to Islam.

Chapter Two discussed how the infidel Other (usually Rūmī, but also Frankish and Georgian) are generally described with fixed narrative and linguistic formulae. They scheme, sending letters to one another about how they will defeat the Muslims; they eat pork and other unclean food; they carry large crosses; they drink to the point of intoxication; and, finally, they are prone to rage. One emotion word in particular is used to describe villainous anger that is never used to describe the anger of Melik Dānişmend or any of the Muslims: *ğazaba gelmek*, which denotes to become infuriated or filled with rage.

In the seventh *meclis*, the narration shifts to the point of view of Nestor and Şaṭṭāṭ. They receive a letter from Melik Dānişmend declaring the king's intention to conquer their lands. When they read the contents of the letter, anger takes them: "We come to the story of Nestor and Şaṭṭāṭ: when they read Melik Dānişmend's letter and knew its contents, they were infuriated (*ğazaba gelmek*), they became enraged (*kaḳıdılar*)."³¹ This emotional plot begins with learning

³¹ *Biz geldük bu yaña Nestor ve Şaṭṭāṭ (hikāyetinde) çün Melik Dānişmendüñ nāmesin okuyub mazmūnıñ bildiler, ḳatı ğazaba gelüb kaḳıdılar.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:102.

of Melik Dānişmend’s intent to conquer their domain—a virtuous quest which, as has been established above, the narration treats as a part of God’s divine, cosmic plan—and transforms them to a state of rage. This and two other instances (which describe the emotions of Şaṭṭāt) are the only places in *Dānişmendnāme* where the emotion word *ğazaba gelmek* is used; therefore, it solely denotes villainous anger.³²

In the ninth *meclis*, Şaṭṭāt and Neştor learn from a letter that Melik Dānişmend arranged for Artūhı and Efromiya were wed in a ceremony the likes of which “cannot be described”:

Şaṭṭāt left his throne and swooned; when his senses returned to him, he quickly wrote a letter to Neştor and sent it. Neştor also swooned; when his senses returned to him anew, he swore: “Until I destroy Melik’s army, until I burn all the country from Malatya to the gates of Damascus, I will forswear the ancient priests and my own crosses!”³³

Here, the emotional plots of Şaṭṭāt and Neştor again begin with learning of the divinely-sanctioned and, according to the narrative, good news that the star-crossed warriors Artūhı and Efromiya have been wed and fêted with all the celebration their long years of separation and longing for one another deserve. Like Melik Dānişmend’s conquests, this wedding is explicitly ordered to be carried out by the divine. Here, rather than the stars spelling the cosmic plan, a dream comes to Melik Dānişmend in which appear not only the Prophet, but also ‘Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥüseyn, and legendary, quasi-saintly warriors such as Abū’l-Muslim and Seyyid Baṭṭāl.³⁴ Until this point, Artūhı and Efromiya, while constant companions in battle, have been sleeping in

³² Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:25, 215.

³³ “*Artūhıya bir düğün eylediki vaşfa gelmez [...]*” *déyince Şaṭṭāt gendüyi tahtdan bıraḳdı ‘aḳlı gıtdi, gèrü başına geldi, tèz bir nāme yazub Neştora gönderdi, Neştoruñ daḳı ‘aḳlı gıtdi, yine başına geldi, and içdikim: “Melik çerisini kırmayınca Malaṭıyadan tā Şām kapusına dek oda yaḳmayınca eski rühbānlardan ve gendü şaliblarumdan bizāram,” dedi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:323; II:137-8.

³⁴ Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:134.

separate tents. When Melik Dānişmend asks these dream apparitions why they have come to him, Seyyid Baṭṭāl replies that they have come for Artūhı’s wedding, for Efromiya has been Artūhı’s destiny “from the beginning.”³⁵ As with their emotional reaction to the news that Melik Dānişmend intends to conquer their domains, Şaṭṭāt and Neştor are overcome with emotion and swoon from anger.

Swooning is used elsewhere in the narrative and is not exclusively used alongside emotion words that indicate anger. As discussed in Chapter Three, the act of swooning is a word of implied emotion; the emotional connotation that it takes on must be derived from the context in which it is found. In earlier excerpts featuring Artūhı learning news about Efromiya being wed against both her and his will, his swooning indicates being overcome with distress. Here, the swooning of Şaṭṭāt and Neştor upon receiving news of Efromiya’s marriage to Artūhı implies how they are overcome with anger, for when Neştor’s senses return to him, he curses Melik Dānişmend—an act that is done in anger in the context of *Dānişmendnāme*. This is reminiscent of scenes in *Baṭṭāl-nāme* in which the highest-ranking representative of villains, the *kaşşar* of Rum, receives letters of Seyyid Baṭṭāl’s conquests, rises from his thrown, throws his crown to the ground in anger, and/or swoons. Thus, we can conclude that Şaṭṭāt and Neştor swooning is a fixed lexical and narrative formula.

Furthermore, Şaṭṭāt and Neştor react to the news that Artūhı and Efromiya have been wed by plotting to take Efromiya captive. In the ninth *meclis*, they attack the Muslims. When his soldiers are unable to capture Efromiya in battle, Neştor is overcome with anger: “Neştor became

³⁵ Melik eytdi, “Ey Ğāziler, nite oldıkim biz şorageldüñüz?” dedi. Seyyid-i Baṭṭāl-i Ğāzī eytdi: “Biz Artūhınuñ düğünine geldük,” dedi, “gerekdür erte düğün yarağın göresi [...] ezelden ol kız [Efromiya] Artūhınuñ naşibidir.” Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:134.

enraged (*kağıdıkim*). ‘What kind of army are you, that a girl has brought you down!’ he said. The army resumed their attack in earnest.”³⁶ Though she fights valiantly, Efromiya is taken captive and imprisoned by her father and Nestor. *Kağımak*, to become enraged, is used elsewhere in the narrative, especially to describe the anger of Melik Dānişmend in battle. The anger of villains is not simply villainous because it is expressed by infidels, but because it is the culmination of an emotional plot that begins by infidels rejecting the divine plan of the narrative—whether that is rejection conversion, rejecting the marriage of Artūhı and Efromiya, or rejecting Melik Dānişmend’s claim to conquer Rūm.

Likewise, the anger of Melik Dānişmend in battle is virtuous when it flows immediately from the emotional plot of grief at the loss of men who fought alongside him to bring Rūm into the abode of Islam.

The Representation of Kingship in *Dānişmendnāme*

Melik Dānişmend’s depiction in *Dānişmendnāme* models a certain kind of temporal power that scholars have termed *sacral kingship*. But ‘Ārif ‘Alī redacted *Dānişmendnāme* at a time when models of sacral kingship had vanished and kingship and the sources of political legitimacy on which it drew were in dramatic flux. This was acutely true in eastern Anatolia.

According to the sixteenth-century historian and intellectual Muştafā ‘Ālī, ‘Ārif ‘Alī was the garrison commander of Tokat, which at the time of *Dānişmendnāme*’s composition was a part of the beylik of Eretna. There being no confirmation of this claim external to Muştafā ‘Ālī’s writing, it is necessary that we problematize the question of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s city of residence and

³⁶ Nestor kağıdı kim: “Bu nice çeri bir kızdān aşığa mı kaldunuz!” dēyince, çeri gayrete gelüb gērü hamle kıldılar. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:145.

occupation. However, the text of *Dānişmendnāme* itself may provide clues that ‘Ārif ‘Alī was familiar with—if not a native of—the region that in the fourteenth century comprised the Eretnid beylik. In the absence of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s source text, Mélikoff hypothesizes that ‘Ārif ‘Alī “transposed” the action of the legend of Melik Dānişmend to places that were “familiar” to him, namely, the region of the Yeşil Irmak and its tributaries.³⁷ Indeed, the territory conquered by the fictional king is roughly similar to the extent of Eretnid territory under ‘Alāeddīn Eretna: centered around Sivas and Kayseri and extending to Erzurum, Çarhi-Karahisar, Niksar, Tokat, Amasya, Samsun, Ankara, Aksaray, Develi-Karahisar, and Niğde.³⁸ Based on this, it is possible to speculate that if he was not, as Muştafā ‘Ālī claims, garrison commander or even a resident of Tokat, ‘Ārif ‘Alī might well have been a resident of this region and at time of immense political instability.

With this caveat in mind, I propose taking Eretna as an example to demonstrate the political trends that were prevalent in post-Chinggisid central and eastern Anatolia, namely, the political instability and renegotiation of political legitimacy that may have influenced *Dānişmendnāme*’s depiction of the relationship between the titular king and his warriors.

In 1352, the founder of the statelet, Sultan ‘Alāeddīn Eretna, died; his three sons struggled for the throne, resulting in instability and loss of control over the *beylik*’s outlying territories. While A.C.S. Peacock points out the period between 1323 and the eventual takeover of the Eretnid state in 1381 by the usurping jurist Kāḍī Burhāneddīn is “especially poorly

³⁷ Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:64.

³⁸ Göde, Kemal. *Eratnalılar, 1327-1381*. Vol. sa. 153. Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları. VII. dizi; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000: 295-96. Yıldız, “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities,” 34.

documented,”³⁹ Jürgen Paul’s work on the importance of Mongol aristocrats in Eretnid politics both before and after 1381 illuminates a crisis of political legitimacy.⁴⁰ If ‘Ārif ‘Alī was, as Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī writes, the *dizdār*, or garrison commander, of Tokat, and thus a member of a military-bureaucratic class, he could not have been ignorant of the political instability unfolding around him.

Examinations of Melik Dānişmend’s relationship with the caliph might lead one to believe that the kinship modeled in *Dānişmendnāme* is a narrative relic of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s Ur-text. After describing this kingship model and comparing it to the historical context of the redaction, I hypothesize why ‘Ārif ‘Alī might have chosen to preserve this depiction of sacral kingship in his redaction. Then, I argue that, contrary to this anachronistic kingship mode, it is possible to read Melik Dānişmend as a reflection of the post-Chinggisid Anatolian milieu in which ‘Ārif ‘Alī was redacting *Dānişmendnāme* (and in Eretna specifically), where kings and usurpers were made and broken by the warriors who chose to support them or not.

King and Caliph in Dānişmendnāme

The fourteenth-century redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* depicts Melik Dānişmend as an unwaveringly pious, morally-correct ruler. It also depicts caliphal conferral of temporal authority as the foremost source of Melik Dānişmend’s political legitimacy as conqueror and ruler of Rūm. The first *meclis* tells of how one day, Melik Dānişmend and Sultan Ṭurasān travel to Malatya,

³⁹ Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 16.

⁴⁰ Paul, Jürgen. “Mongol Aristocrats and Beyliks in Anatolia. A Study of Astarābādī’s Bazm va Razm.” *Eurasian Studies* IX, no. 1–2 (2011): 105–58.

where Melik Dānişmend leads the people in prayer.⁴¹ Then, the people of Malatya beseech him and Sultan Tūrasān to defend them from infidels.

Then, the inhabitants of the city spoke together: “Oh Sultan Tūrasān and oh Melik Danişmend! Know that the infidels have raised their hands against all the Muslims and killed them. You also must unite [with us] and wage holy war against the infidels. Your own ancestors cut the infidels at their roots!”

Then Melik Dānişmend said: “It is necessary to ask for permission from the caliph.”

So the people of Malatya replied: “Let us ask for permission from the caliph.”⁴²

Rather than simply listening to the will of the people of Malatya, Melik Dānişmend insists that the acts of making war on infidels and defending the Muslims of Malatya require the permission (*destūr*) of the caliph. His personal piety in this excerpt is emphasized by his act of leading the people of Malatya in the Friday sermon.

Melik Dānişmend and Sultan Tūrasān then travel to Baghdad. When they arrive, the caliph is out hunting; when the caliph returns and is seated on his throne, Melik Dānişmend and Sultan Tūrasān’s two companions—*gāzīs* called Süleymān bin Nu‘mān and Eyyüb bin Yūnus, the latter an inhabitant of Malatya and both of who reappear several times later in the narrative—approach and recite a poem.

Oh my shah, you are the Caliph of Time!
You are the security and peace of all the world.

We rejoiced the moment we saw your face;
in our misfortune, we desire that you will bring [us] remedy.

⁴¹ [...] *andan Melik menbere çıkdı, hoþbe okıdı, andan namāz kıldılar, du ‘ā étdiler.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:5.

⁴² [...] *andan şehir halkı cümleten āgāz kıldılar kim: “Ey Sulţān Tūrasān ve yā Melik Aþmed! Şöyle bilün kim Kāfirler el götürdiler kim kamu Müsülmānları helāk éderler, gerekdür ki sizler daþı el bir édüb Kāfirlere gāzā kılasız, sizün hod ceddünüz Kāfirlerün kökünü kesmişdi.” Andan Melik Aþmed eytdi kim: “Emür el-Mu`minin Halifeden destür gerekdür,” dedi. Pes Malātiya halkı: “Halifeden destür isteyelim,” dediler.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II: 10-11.

The entirety of Malatya
emphatically address prayers to the shah [the caliph],

[and] implores the Commander of the Faithful,
[and] begs of his excellency the caliph:

give us permission to go to the land of Rūm,
so that we may destroy the infidels and wage holy war on them.

For first, we must meet our master,
submit to his will, and please him.

We will only act on your order;
whatever your command be, we will carry it out.

We are hopeful our desire shall be granted:
that we shall fight against the infidels;

that we shall find the dignity of martyrdom;
that we shall go to Rūm and wage great *ḡazā*!

Shah! May your majesty fill the world.

This is our request of the caliph.⁴³

This poem is notable in that it explicitly voices that the people of Malatya know they require the permission of the caliph in order to conquer Rūm (*size destūr vère Rūma varavuz/ķıruban Kāfiri ğazā kılavuz*). They acknowledge that they will only act on his orders and only do as he commands (*sizüñ emrüñüz ile iş éderler/ne kim emr étseñüz aña giderler*)—though they wish mightily that those orders will be the same as their desires. The repeated emphasis in prose and in poetry that Melik and the people of Malatya require (and, in the case of the people, are *aware* of the fact that they require) the caliph’s permission implies that a Muslim king’s temporal authority—to conquer and then to rule—new lands must be granted by the authority of caliph.

⁴³ *Eyā Şāhum! Ğalīfe-i zemān sin
bu cümle ‘āleme emn ü emān sin*

*yüzüñi görüben şāz olduk el-ān
dilerüz édesin bu derde dermān*

*Malāţiya cemā ‘atı temāmet
du ‘ālar eyleyüb şāha beĝāyet*

*dilerler kim Emīr el-Mu ‘minīnden
umaruz kim Ğalīfe Ğazretinden*

*bize destūr vère Rūma varavuz
ķıruban Kāfiri ğazā kılavuz*

*zira evvel ulū ‘l-emre tanışmak
gerekdür hem muţī ‘olub yakışmak*

*sizüñ emrüñüz ile iş éderler
ne kim emr étseñüz aña giderler*

*ümīzdur kim murāda érişeler
varuban Kāfirile urışalar*

*şehādet mertebesini bulalar
varalar Rūma hoş ğazā kılalar*

*Şaha! Şevketüñüzle tola ‘ālem
Ğalīfeden budur murādumuz hem
Mélíkoff, *La geste*, II:11.*

The caliph considers this request. He is initially reticent to give Melik Dānişmend and Sultan ʿUrasān permission to defend the people of Malatya from infidels and conquer Rūm, citing the encroaching threat of Frankish Crusaders and the need to direct military resources to defend Jerusalem before even considering conquering Anatolia: “In Syria, the Franks have conquered Anṭākiya, ‘Akka, ʿArabalūs, Şifāt, and Neblūs, up to the borders of Jerusalem. The Muslim army must first move in that direction. If God the Almighty grants the Muslims victory [...] then we will send them to the land of Rūm.”⁴⁴

But Süleymān and Eyyüb press on. They stress the unparalleled courage of Melik Dānişmend and Sultan ʿUrasān, the two men’s connection to legendary conquerors of bygone eras, and how much the people of Malatya want the caliph to give his permission to the two warriors. Upon hearing this, the caliph calls upon a vizier learned in the “science of the heaven and the stars” to determine the good fortune of Melik Dānişmend and Sultan ʿUrasān using an astrolabe.⁴⁵ The vizier’s conclusion is emphatic: he advises the caliph to send Melik Dānişmend and Sultan ʿUrasān to conquer Rūm, for that country will become Muslim at their hands and would never be conquered otherwise. The caliph changes his mind and acts accordingly.

When the caliph heard these words, and he learned of how good their good fortune was, he had a *fermān* written in the names of Sultan ʿUrasān and Melik Aḥmed ordering them to put themselves at the head of the army of Islam and march to Rūm and wage holy war by the order of God and with the permission of the caliph together, as had been written by the glorious word of God the Majestic and the Most High: *in the name of God the most gracious, the most merciful. Victory comes from God and triumph is near; announce the*

⁴⁴ *Andan Halife eytdi: “Hayır murādınıuzı Allah yetişdüre inşā’Allah!” dedi. “Amma Şām elinde Anṭākiya ve ‘Akka ve ʿArabalūs ve Şifāt ve Neblūs ve Kudūs kenārına degin Firenk tutmuşdur, pes Müsülmānlık çerisi gerekdür kim ol yaña varalar, Haḳ Te’āla Müsülmānlara fırsat vère ol eli Firenk elinde alalar, selāmahlığile gèrü geleler, Rūma vèrbiyemüz,” dedi.* Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:12.

⁴⁵ Excepted pg. 174n30. Mélikoff, *La geste*, II:12.

good news to the believers.⁴⁶ When the *fermān* was prepared, they gave beautiful robes of honor to Melik Aḥmed and another to Sultan Ṭurasān. Then they were given two banners for the Caliphate, twenty pairs of gold flutes [and drums], the banner of Baṭṭāl Ġāzī and the standard of Abū Müslim; [they were] also [given] forty Qur’an reciters with flowing diction and beautiful voices and two hundred horses for riding, four hundred slaves and a hundred bundles of treasures. All of this the caliph gave to Melik Dānişmend and Ṭurasān so that they undertake the holy war and conquer those countries. The caliph said, “If they still need goods and armies, we will give them to them. They must not tire of waging the holy war.”⁴⁷

The caliph grants Melik Dānişmend and Sultan Ṭurasān authority to conquer Rūm through several acts. First, he orders a *fermān* to be written that names Sultan Ṭurasān and Melik Dānişmend as the heads of the army of Islam. This document instructs them to march against the country of Rūm and wage *ġazā*, or holy war, “by order of God and with the permission of the caliph together” (*Taḥrī emri ve Ḥalīfe destūri birle*). The addition of “together” in my translation is inelegant; indeed, Mélikoff omits it in hers.⁴⁸ But I believe the emphasis *birle* (together) adds to that phrase illuminates how the command of the caliph and of God are one and the same; for the pious king Melik Dānişmend, this divine permission of the caliph was *sine qua non* in order for him to act against the infidels that threatened Malatya. The caliph’s permission, then legally

⁴⁶ Qur’an 61:13. Mélikoff notes that according to the *Abūmüslimnāme*, this verse was embroidered in gold letters on the black banner of champions of the Abbasids. In the Paris manuscript, the copyist left a blank space to accommodate the verse, but it appears in the Istanbul manuscript (Fol. 5v). Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:195.

⁴⁷ *Çün Ḥalīfe bu sözi işitdi, anlaruñ tāli’i yēgregin bildi, buyurdi fermān yazdılar Sulṭān Ṭurasān ile Melik Aḥmed adına, ol ikisi İslām leşkerine baş olub Rūmdan yaña yürüyeler, Taḥrī emri ve Ḥalīfe destūri birle ġazā kılalalar şöyle kim Haḳ subḥana ve te’āla kelām-u macīdi içinde yād kılar: bismillah al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, naşrun mina Allahi wa fataḥun qarībun wa bashiri al-mu’minīna. Çünkim fermān tamām oldı bir eyü ḥil’at Melik Aḥmed için ve bir ḥil’at daḥı Sulṭān Ṭurasān için vėrdiler; andan iki ‘alem ḥilāfet için vėrdiler, yēgirmi çift nakāra altundan ve Baṭṭāl Ġāzī sancaġın ve Abū’l-Müslim ‘alemin, kırk ḥāfız daḥı devān muḳrī ḥüb āvāzile ve iki yüz at binmek için ve dirt yüz kul, yüz yük ḥazīne, bu ḳamusın Ḥalīfe Melik Dānişmendile Sulṭān Ṭurasāna vėrbidi kim ġazā niyyetine bēl bağlayalar ve ol elleri açayalar. “Kaḳankim daḥı māl ve çeri lāzim olursa vėrevüz, ġazā kılamakdan uşañ olmasunlar,” dēdi. Mélikoff, *La geste*, 12-13.*

⁴⁸ “[...] de faire la Guerre Sainte, par ordre de Dieu et avec la permission du Calife.” Mélikoff, *La geste*, I:195.

decreed in a *fermān*, transfers temporal authority to Melik Dānişmend, giving him the political legitimacy and authority to expand the abode of Islam.

The broad strokes of this scene are echoed in a second encounter with the caliph in the fifth *meclis* of *Dānişmendnāme*. In this section of the narrative, Melik Dānişmend undertakes the conquest of Dokiya (Toğat). After succeeding in leveling the citadel of that city, the *ġāzī* ‘Oşmān son of Apiyya takes wealth from the treasury of Dokiya and brings it to the caliph in Baghdad. When he is summoned to see the caliph, ‘Oşmān brings word of the conquests Melik Dānişmend has undertaken with the caliph’s permission:

‘Oşmān was ordered to approach [the caliph]; he came forward and touched his head to the ground and gave thanks. Then the caliph asked after Melik Dānişmend. ‘Oşmān related Melik Dānişmend’s adventures; the caliph was astonished at Melik’s courage [literally: *erlik*, manhood]. [...] The caliph ordered that ‘Oşmān be given a robe of honor, and that others be given to Melik Dānişmend, Artūhı, and the other leaders (*server*). He had a banner and a great horse given to Melik Dānişmend and had a *fermān* written for Melik that said: “You who are Melik Dānişmend: conquer these lands with your companions. You took trouble upon yourself for us and sent us goods. With kindness, divide between your army the goods that you will seize and, should you still need goods, we will send them to you in order for you to continue your conquests. Those lands [that you take] will be entirely yours.” When the *fermān* was ready, it was delivered to ‘Oşmān. He took the robes of honor and the gifts that had been given to Melik and the heroes/leaders (*server*) and gave thanks to the caliph. [...] When ‘Oşmān had recited this praise to the caliph, he took out the *fermān* [and] the robes of honor and left. He crossed plains and deserts and arrived in Malatya. [...] When he arrived in the camp of Melik Dānişmend, Melik was given this news and went out to meet ‘Oşmān. Suddenly, when Melik Dānişmend-i Ğāzī saw the banner of the caliph he rose to his feet. Soldiers came to ‘Oşmān, brought him in, and bade him sit comfortably. ‘Oşmān presented the caliph’s *fermān* and robes of honor to the heroes/leaders; when they saw these, they rejoiced. That

night they rested, and when it was morning, Melik and the heroes donned their robes of honor and went out riding.⁴⁹

Here, the steps of the conferral of temporal authority are repeated, albeit with some notable changes in the fixed formula. A *fermān* is drawn up at the caliph's command. This *fermān* reaffirms Melik Dānişmend's authority to conquer those lands (*Senki Melik Danismendsin, ol  lleri y ranlaruŋ ile a asın*) and explicitly gives him political legitimacy as ruler of that conquered territory by saying that those lands that are entirely his (*ol vil yet c mle siz ŋ olsun*). It recognizes the power-sharing relationship between king and caliph in the exchange of money (plunder) and the promise of further goods and soldiers should Melik D nişmend require them. When the messenger  Osm n returns to Melik D nişmend's camp to deliver the *ferm n* and gifts from the caliph, Melik D nişmend rises to his feet at the sight of the caliph's banner: the gifts of the robes of honor and the caliph's banner are further signs of the caliph's blessing, and thus,

⁴⁹ *Melik buyurdu al kal 'e' i yıkdılar, Őyle eylediler kim t  himine ind rdiler. Andan Őoŋra  Osm n bin Apiyya yara  ed b ol m li h z ne' i aldı, y z on kulile ol ge e Dokiyadan  ıkub Baĝd da 'azm  tdi. Bir ka  g n gitdiler, n  g h Baĝd da y tdiler. Halife ol g n seyr na binmişdi, bunlar daŋı  rdiler, Halife g rdikim bir ka  kiři develer y dmişler, y kleri var, tiz Halife bir h cib v r(bi)dikim: "var g r ne kiřilerd r," dedi. H cib vardı g rdi kim  Osm ndur, bildi daŋı tiz g r  gel b  Osm nuŋ ahv lin Halifeye bild rdi.   nkim  Osm n  rişdi, Halife buyurdu,  Osm n iler  gel b bař kodı, Halifeye du '  ve sen  kıldı, andan Halife Melik D nişmendi Őordi,  Osm n Melik D nişmend ŋ serg zeřtin daŋı y d kıldı, Halife Melik D nişmend ŋ erligine 'acebe kaldı, andan  Osm n Halife ile bile řehre vardılar, Halife  Osm na bir a'la h l'at buyurdu ve bir ey  h l'at Melik D nişmende ve bir daŋı Art hıya tam m hep serverler i un birer h l'at buyurdu, andan Melik D nişmende bir řanca  ve bir ey  at v rdi, andan ferm n yazdılar Melik i un daŋı buyudılar kim: "Senki Melik Danismendsin, ol  lleri y ranlaruŋ ile a asın daŋı biz m i un zahmete d ş b m l v rmişsin, keremler l t fler  desiz ele giren m li  eriye bařş  desiz ve eger m la h cet olursa biz daŋı g nd rev z Ő ylekim ol  li a asız, ol vil yet c mle siz ŋ olsun," dedi.   nkim ferm n yazıldı  Osm n eline v rdiler, ol h l'atlar ve ol tohfeler kim Halife (Melik) i un ve serverleri un v rmişdi, anı alub daŋı Halifeye du '    sen  kıld [...]   nkim  Osm n bu medhi Halife (H zretine) okudı, ol h l'at menş ri aldı  ıkdı rev ne oldu.  ok yazı y b n ge di, Malařiyaya  rdi, Malařiya kavmı  Osm nı g r b ř d oldılar,  Osm n andan daŋı rev ne oldu.   n Melik D nişmend katına  rişdi Melike haber oldu,  Osm na istikb la  ıkdı, n  g h Melik D nişmend-i G z  Halifen ŋ sancaĝın g r b yaya  oldu, 'asker  Osm na karřu geldiler,  Osm nı get r b kondurdılar.  Osm n daŋı Halifen ŋ menş r n ve h l'atın serverlere 'arř kıldı, anı g r b ř d oldılar. Ol ge e karar kıldılar,   n  rte oldu Melik ve serverler h l'atların g ydiler daŋı Melik ile seyr na bindiler. M likoff, La geste, II:68-9.*

further affirmation of the conferral of temporal authority. At this, the warriors welcome the messenger 'Osmān emphatically and rejoicing (*şād oldılar*).

The gift of plunder as a symbol of power-sharing and of the king's military protection of the abode of Islam and the caliph's reaffirmation of Melik Dānişmend's political legitimacy and temporal authority over his conquests are reiterated later in the fifth *meclis*.

[...] Melik Dānişmend sent a hundred slaves, a hundred slave girls, a hundred horses, a hundred mules, a hundred camels carrying a cross [made] of pure [lit: red] gold as heavy as two camels to the caliph. When the wealth and the slave girls reached the caliph, they put it in the treasury. The caliph was astonished at Melik Dānişmend's good fortune. Then the caliph ordered that Melik immediately be given a robe of honor (*hul'at*) and that the heroes also be given different robes of honor and gifts. He [the caliph] said "All of Rūm's cities shall be Melik's." He wrote a letter and put it in the hand of a messenger; it arrived to Melik. Melik ordered that each person don their robes of honor and that the caliph's *fermān* be read and made known. Melik and Artūhı and the other *gāzīs* were glad and were filled with joy and rejoiced.⁵⁰

While more abbreviated than the previous example, this excerpt drives home the same points.

When Melik Dānişmend sends the caliph a portion of the spoils of his latest conquest, the caliph orders the king be given robes of honor and explicitly reiterates that all the cities of Rūm shall belong to Melik Dānişmend (*Rūm şehirleri hep Melikūñ olsun*), thus conferring temporal authority upon the king. He orders another *fermān* to be written. Though this document's contents are not stated, based on the fact that this scene can be read as a fixed narrative formula, we can assume its contents are similar to the earlier *fermān*: Melik is granted authority to conquer Rūm and the lands he takes are entirely his. In a deviation from the previous excerpt,

⁵⁰ *Melik Dānişmend kal'e mālından yüz kul, yüz karavaş, yüz at, yüz katır, yüz deve ve iki deve yüki şalīb kızıl altundan Halīfeye göndürdi. Çünkim māl ve karavaş Halīfeye érđi, hazīneye iletđiler; Halīfe Melik Dānişmendüñ fırsatına nüşretine 'acebe kaldı. Andan Halīfe buyurđı Melik için hul'at vèrbidi ve serverler için dađı ayrı hul'atlar ve tohfeler vèrdi ve dađı "Rūm şehirleri hep Melikūñ olsun" dedı. Bir nāme yazub kāşıd eline vèrdiler; revāne olub Melike érđi. Melik buyurđı her kişi hul'atın gèydiler; ol Halīfe fermānın okuyub bildiler; Melik ve Artūhı ve bākı gāziler şāz ve ferahnāk oldılar; sevindiler. Mélikoff, La geste, II:72.*

when this *fermān* is delivered to Melik Dānişmend, the king orders that it be read and made known (*Melik buyurdı [...] ol Ḥalīfe fermānın okuyub bildiler*), thus publicly disseminating the caliph's commands. The king, Artūhī, and the other *gāzīs* are then depicted as emphatically rejoicing (*şāz ve feraḥnāk oldılar, sevindiler*).

A pattern is evident in these three examples of interactions between Melik Dānişmend and the caliph. While *Dānişmendnāme* is a work of popular literature and neither a mirror for princes nor political text, it is still possible to see the contours of a power-sharing relationship between the king and caliph wherein the caliph confers political legitimacy on a secular ruler. This unambiguous depiction is curious in a text redacted in the middle of the fourteenth century—especially because 'Ārif 'Alī wielded a notably editorial hand in his redaction—because such a relationship between a secular ruler and a caliph had not existed since the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, which brought an effective end to the caliphate with the execution of the caliph al-Musta'şim in 1258.

Political Legitimacy in Post-Chinggisid Eretna

The question of political legitimacy was far from an abstract political theory in late medieval Anatolia. Jürgen Paul uses sources such as 'Azīz ibn Ārdashīr Astarābādī' *Bazm o Razm (Battle and Banquet)* and others to demonstrate that the question of political legitimacy very much preoccupied the ruling and military elites of central and eastern Anatolia, specifically in Eretna, during the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The Introduction provided an overview of how the founder of the dynasty, Sultan 'Alāeddīn Eretna, came to power (see pp. 19-21). From 1341-2, Sultan 'Alāeddīn Eretna

proclaimed himself “the just sultan” and “the great sultan” on building inscriptions and coins. While Peacock writes that “this innovation can be seen as replicating the more general breakdown in the concept of Chinggisid legitimacy in the 1340s; rulers who had till then had sheltered behind the pretence they were ruling on behalf of a Chinggisid now sought other forms of legitimacy,” Paul demonstrates in the years after Sultan ‘Alāeddīn Eretna’s death, aristocratic Mongol power brokers in Eretna—lacking Chinggisids to whom to give their allegiance—preferred to give “at least nominal authority” to the house of Eretna because of how that house had originally ruled in the name of the Ilkhānids.⁵¹ The question of political legitimacy was thrown into sharp relief by the seizure of power of Ḳāḍī Burhāneddīn.⁵² While this period occurred after the redaction of *Dānişmendnāme* was completed, examining its themes and preoccupations can reveal much about the decades preceding it.

Born in Kayseri and educated as a young man in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, Ḳāḍī Burhāneddīn returned to Eretna in 1364-5. The then-ruler of Eretna, Ğiyāş al-Dīn, raised Ḳāḍī Burhāneddīn to the office of *ḳāḍī* and gave him his daughter in marriage.⁵³ It was not long after

⁵¹ Paul, “Mongol Aristocrats,” 129. Peacock, *Mongol Anatolia*, 62, 62n136, 62n137. Göde, *Eratnalılar*, 64.

⁵² Settling on a consistent spelling for the name of Ḳāḍī Burhāneddīn proved a somewhat thorny task. Secondary literature makes use of a wide array of transliteration conventions; this is not surprising, considering the fact that the historical subject in question was one who wrote in Arabic and Turkish, was written about in Persian, and who has become the subject of study for scholars in different fields with different linguistic backgrounds. After much deliberation, this project utilizes “Ḳāḍī Burhāneddīn” from among possible transliterations for this figure’s name (alternatives: Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, Qāzī Borhān al-Dīn). This spelling reflects both *JMES* Ottoman Turkish transliteration standards and the modern Turkish collapsing of the Arabic definite article “*al-*” in names espoused by Turkish scholarship. This decision sprang from two chief considerations: a desire for consistency and an awareness of the intended audience of this project. In undertaking this project, I seek to remedy a failing of Ottoman and Turkish studies: the omission, until recently, of the study of Old Anatolian Turkish literature and literary history that predates the Ottomans, especially of literature originating from eastern Anatolia. This and other orthographic choices reflect a conscious decision to situate this project in conversation with other scholars of early Ottoman history and Turkic literatures of late medieval and early modern (or middle period) Anatolia.

⁵³ Rypka, “Burhān al-Dīn,” *EP*.

this that the star of Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn’s political career began its rapid ascent. He played a role in the revolt which resulted in the death of Ġiyās al-Dīn (767/1365-1366), and served as vizier and *atabeg* (an honorific referring to the guardian-tutor of a prince) for Ġiyās al-Dīn’s successor.⁵⁴ In 1381-1382, Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn seized power in a coup d’état and declared himself sultan of the lands previously belonging to the house of Eretna. He established his residence at Sivās and, in accordance with the prerogatives of Islamic sovereignty, minted coins and had the Friday sermon said in his name.⁵⁵

Sara Nur Yıldız notes that Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn, being the son of a judge and a judge himself, was a historical anomaly, an “unusual case of an urban religious elite usurping the dynastic power from a polity based on Mongol political structures and pastoralist economy.”⁵⁶ Examinations of *Bazm o Razm* proves that the Mongol emirs of Eretna found Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn’s claim to power just as anomalous. An elaborately-written Persian chronicle, *Bazm o Razm* concerns the life, career and worldview of Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn.⁵⁷ *Bazm o Razm* illustrates the political maneuverings of Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn over the course of his reign, shedding light on the balance of power between Mongol emirs and ruler in central and eastern Anatolia. These machinations also illuminate what the internal balance of power in Eretna might have looked like before Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn’s coup. Mongol leaders in Eretna were true power brokers, “an

⁵⁴ Rypka, “Burhān al-Dīn,” *EP*.

⁵⁵ Rypka, “Burhān al-Dīn,” *EP*.

⁵⁶ Yıldız, “Post-Mongol Pastoral Polities,” 34-35.

⁵⁷ Peacock, A. C. S. “Metaphysics and Rulership in Late Fourteenth–Century Central Anatolia: Qadi Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas and His Iksīr al-Sa‘ādāt.” In *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, edited by A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, Band 34:101–36. Istanbul Texts and Studies, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2016: 101. Wing, *The Jalayirids*, 11.

important factor for every ambitious man in the post-Ilkhanid political scene” in central and eastern Anatolia, whether by alliance, partnership, and/or bonds of vassalage.⁵⁸ Over the course of the latter part of the lifespan of the Eretnid beylik, these emirs effectively decided who won and lost in succession struggles, notably in 1381. Many of these emirs struggled to accept Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn: he was not a member of the ruling house and could easily be called an usurper or pretender to the throne.⁵⁹ Paul writes that “Eretnid legitimation was clearly an important issue,” in this period, and Ẓāḍī Burhāneddīn “evidently had problems in establishing his rule as legitimate.”⁶⁰ While this problem seems to have resolved itself in the latter years of his rule (where cooperation existed with some of the Mongol leaders), *Bazm o Razm*’s preoccupation with legitimation issues certainly reflects the political concerns of the era.

Pre-Chinggisid Sacral Kingship in Dānişmendnāme

When we examine the relationship between Melik Dānişmend and the caliph, a clear pattern emerges. Melik Dānişmend seeks permission of the caliph to act, thus acknowledging him and his religious authority. In return, the caliph grants Melik Dānişmend temporal authority, and thus, political legitimacy, to rule the lands of Rūm that he conquers. This pattern clearly echoes the sacral kingship model of temporal authority that dominated the Islamic world before the advent of Chinggisid power in the region, one that is succinctly articulated by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) in *Iḥyā ‘ulūm al-dīn (The Revival of Religious Sciences)* and *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk (Counsel for Kings)*: the secular holder of military power (i.e, the temporal ruler, or *sultān*) recognized the

⁵⁸ Paul, “Mongol Aristocrats,” 132.

⁵⁹ Paul, “Mongol Aristocrats,” 123.

⁶⁰ Paul, “Mongol Aristocrats,” 112-13.

caliph, and the caliph in turn granted political legitimacy to the sultan.⁶¹ Then the sultan demonstrated his allegiance to the caliph by “observing the caliphal prerogatives of the Friday sermon and coinage,” that is, *khutba* and *sikka*.⁶² Nizām al-Mulk, administrator under the Great Seljūq sultāns Alp Arslān and Malikshāh and de-facto master of the Great Seljūq empire until his assassination in 1092, famously wrote that “religion and kingship are twins”; without one there is no consolidation of the other, as “religion is the foundation of kingship, and kingship becomes its guardian.”⁶³ This is the kind of kingship which we see unambiguously modeled in *Dānişmendnāme*.

After 1258, in the absence of a caliphate, political legitimacy could no longer be achieved by mutual acknowledgement of authority by secular *sultān* and religious caliph, for both divine ordination and military clout now resided in the same man: the Chinggisid ruler, whose sovereignty was divinely-granted. But in mid-fourteenth-century Eretna, that Chinggisid ruler was nowhere to be found. As was described above, the question of who could be a legitimate ruler in the absence of a Chinggisid was being aggressively renegotiated in central and eastern Anatolia in the fourteenth century, even at the time ‘Ārif ‘Alī was redacting *Dānişmendnāme*.

The Ideal King of Fictional Past and Political Present

⁶¹ Arjomand, Saïd Amir. “Legitimacy and Political Organisation: Caliphs, Kings and Regimes.” In *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Volume 4: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Robert Irwin, 4:223–73. The New Cambridge History of Islam. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010: 244.

⁶² Bosworth, Edmund. “The Steppe Peoples in the Islamic World.” In *The New Cambridge History of Islam Volume 3: The Eastern Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, edited by Michael. Cook, 19–77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010: 42-43.

⁶³ Arjomand, “Caliphs, Kings and Regimes,” 234.

What, then, can be made of *Dānişmendnāme*'s depiction of Melik Dānişmend as a model of sacral kingship, but also as a ruler whose relationship with the warriors who fight for him is emotional as well as political? Several options present themselves.

(i) Given the genre of *Dānişmendnāme* and its origins as an orally-transmitted narrative, the first question we must ask about this depiction of kingship of Melik Dānişmend is if his interactions with the caliph in *Dānişmendnāme* are fixed narrative formulae. As was discussed in previous chapters, the most appropriate text with which to compare *Dānişmendnāme* is *Baṭṭālnāme*, another representative of religious-heroic genre of popular literature and a text with which *Dānişmendnāme* is in unambiguous conversation.

The origin story of Seyyid Baṭṭāl and impetus for his quests differ from those of Melik Dānişmend. First and foremost, unlike Melik Dānişmend, Seyyid Baṭṭāl is not a king. Second, in *Dānişmendnāme*, we first encounter Melik Dānişmend as an adult who is sought out by the people of Malatya to defend them from infidels; he then seeks the permission of the caliph to do so. In *Baṭṭālnāme*, the audience is introduced to Ja'far—who later becomes Seyyid Baṭṭāl—through his lineage. Ja'far's father is killed by infidel warriors when Ja'far is an infant. When Ja'far grows to thirteen years of age, he is already accomplished in religious studies and goes to the ruler of Malatya seeking to take his father's empty position as the ruler's servant. He is told that in order to take up his father's position, he must prove his skills as a warrior and slay the infidel who killed his father. The majority of the second *meclis* recounts how he does so. When young Ja'far returns victorious to the court of Malatya, he is met first with disbelief and then with great acclaim. In an act that clearly echoes the above scenes from *Dānişmendnāme*, the

ruler of Malatya sends a detailed letter to the caliph recounting Ja‘far’s victory against the infidels.

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 [the ruler of Malatya] and many other begs saying “watch out and be careful lest the Caesar of Rūm march again you. Do not be in the least afraid, just place your trust in God.”⁶⁴

The contours of this interaction are familiar (the sending of messages back and forth; the rejoicing and the bestowal of robes of honor, or *hıl‘at*), but there are key differences. First, there is no mention of permission asked and granted before seeking confrontation with the infidels; the ruler of Malatya and Ja‘far take this task upon themselves, seemingly without requiring the permission of the caliph. Second, there is no sending of gifts of plunder to the caliph in this excerpt. Third, the caliph’s reply in *Baḫḫālnāme* differs from those we see in *Dānişmendnāme*: notably absent are the explicit announcement of Melik Dānişmend being granted the right to temporal rule over the lands he conquers (i.e., *şöylekim ol eli açasız, ol vilāyet cümle sizün olsun*).

If reporting conquests to the caliph and receiving replies expressing the caliph’s joy and gifts of robes of honor is a narrative formula in Old Anatolian Turkish religious-heroic popular narratives, then in *Dānişmendnāme*, we see the flexibility of this formula: it differs from what we see in *Baḫḫālnāme* in ways directly related to the depiction of the granting of political legitimacy.

It is possible that ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s Ur-text may have featured interactions between hero and caliph that were more similar to *Baḫḫālnāme*. Considering *Baḫḫālnāme*’s provenance as being one step closer to its orally-transmitted legend than the redacted *Dānişmendnāme*, it is possible that

⁶⁴ Dedes, *Battalname*, 111.

he made an editorial intervention in this regard. But without the text from which ‘Ārif ‘Alī worked, it is difficult to say much beyond conjecture.

(ii) Let us then consider the possibility that the interactions between Melik Dānişmend and the caliph existed in earlier traditions before the fourteenth-century redaction. We must then consider ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s role in preserving and reshaping that narrative into a redaction. Why did he choose to preserve a so distinctly pre-Chinggisid depiction of secular rule in his specific historical context? Was it because, beholden to no named patron, ‘Ārif ‘Alī simply followed the conventions of this genre of popular literature, conventions that had not caught up with a world that moved swiftly into a post-Chinggisid model of political legitimacy?

(iii) Or are Melik Dānişmend’s interactions with the caliph preserved because they represent a depiction of a romanticized past? Did ‘Ārif ‘Alī preserve his Ur-text’s depiction of Melik Dānişmend because he noticed a lack of such an ideal Muslim king in his time? In central and eastern Anatolia, the successors of Sultan ‘Alāeddīn Eretna received poor marks across the board from both their contemporaries and modern scholarship.⁶⁵ Kāḍī Burhāneddīn’s coup in 1381 is further testament to the lackluster performance of the Eretnid line, though the usurping judge was not without his own battles to face, going tête-à-tête with Mongol power brokers to solidify the legitimacy of his rule.

Whatever the reason for the preservation of Melik Dānişmend’s sacral kingship and relationship with the caliph, *Dānişmendnāme*’s depiction of his emotions can be read as reflective of the time in which the redaction was produced. As a member of the military-bureaucratic elite living in the political climate of mid-fourteenth-century eastern Anatolia, ‘Ārif

⁶⁵ Paul notes that Melville “speaks of ‘total incompetence,’ and many more authors—Sümer, Yücel, Nagel, Göde—could be quoted in the same vein.” Paul, “Mongol Aristocrats,” 122.

‘Alī saw that the political legitimacy of a king was determined by the warriors who supported him. Melik Dānişmend is from the start presented as an ideal, not only in his personal attributes—he is pious, wise, and patient, but vigorous and akin to the *Shāhnāme* hero Rostam in battle—but also in how the cosmos decreed that the conquest of Rūm would be accomplished by him and him alone. His quest and his conquests were legitimized by the caliph, but his political, temporal rule was not carried out alone. His conquests were made possible by his *gāzīs*. From the moment he receives the blessing of the caliph to meeting Artūhī to his death, Melik Dānişmend is never without the martial—and thus, political—support of his warriors. The only time he is alone is when he seeks solitude to grieve their deaths. To ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his audience of *gāzīs*, the ideal king valued his warriors both politically and emotionally: he celebrated their marriages, but he mourned their deaths and avenged them with virtuous anger.

Conclusion

It might be tempting to look at the sacral kingship modeled by Melik Dānişmend and dub it a fixed narrative formula, a trope crystallized by oral transmission with no relationship to the historical context in which the redaction was written. But the lexical flexibility and number and diversity of emotion words that we encounter in *Dānişmendnāme* that are used to describe Melik Dānişmend mourning or avenging his warriors lead me to speculate otherwise. In fact, analysis of emotion words leads me to conclude that the emotional relationship between king and warrior is a central motif of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s *Dānişmendnāme*. Not only does this allow us to historicize a narrative that has long been stripped of its specific historical context, it provides scholars with

another vital piece to see the emotional community of 'Ārif 'Alī and his audience with greater clarity.

CONCLUSION

I first encountered *Dānişmendnâme* as I wrote my masters thesis on warrior women in *Varğa ve Gülşāh*, where I used the character of Efromiya as a foil to my subject of study. When I began to read *Dānişmendnâme* with my dissertation proposal in mind two years later, I decided to approach it from a different angle, planning to read the text until new research questions revealed themselves to me. It did not take long.

By the second *meclis*, I was taken aback by the affective power of Artūhı's weeping. Even to a modern audience (specifically, a twenty-first-century student struggling to piece together Old Anatolian Turkish syntax and vocabulary), Artūhı's anxiety, frustration, and love for Efromiya were vivid and striking. My curiosity piqued by these scenes, I sought secondary literature on the subject of the history of emotions in Islamic literature, and was equally taken aback to discover that very little existed. Instead, I turned to scholarship on the history of emotions in Western European medieval texts. Invigorated by the methodologies employed by these scholars, I returned to *Dānişmendnâme* with new questions and new approaches.

The affective power of fiction has always been more than a pastime for me. In my work as a novelist, I am deeply preoccupied by the question of how texts inspire feeling in their audiences. That professional obsession abetted my scholarship. As I continued to read *Dānişmendnâme*, more emotions rose to the surface in every *meclis*: Melik Dānişmend despaired the death of his men; Efromiya experienced distress when Artūhı was taken captive.

Artūhı wept, and this project began.

In its first chapter, this project articulated my methodological approach to the study of emotions in *Dāniṣmendnāme* by defining terms that I have adopted, adapted or coined. The second chapter demonstrated that *Dāniṣmendnāme*'s depiction of emotions makes it a unique representative of its genre and a necessary subject for the study of emotions. It also demonstrated that the text contains scenes that challenge the narrative formulae that scholars expect from its genre and the demands of orally-transmitted tradition. It achieved this by comparing fixed and flexible formulae within the text itself and through comparison to the fixed formulae evident in *Baṭṭālnāme*. "Formulaic" prose does not preclude a text from having much to reveal about the people who wrote and/or interpreted the text; this conclusion permits scholars to read the linguistically fixed formulaic and flexible formulaic emotion words of *Dāniṣmendnāme* in such a way that sketches the contours of 'Ārif 'Alī's emotional community.

This project's third chapter demonstrated that 'Ārif 'Alī makes explicit in his verses that he intends his redaction of *Dāniṣmendnāme* to affect the emotions of his audiences in certain ways. I have argued that he successfully achieves this through the deployment of the literary device of mirror characters. This discussion of mirror characters in *Dāniṣmendnāme* allows us to articulate a shift in emotional register and literary techniques from *Baṭṭālnāme* and other orally-transmitted narratives to *Dāniṣmendnāme*. It is now possible to appreciate the relative literary and psychological sophistication of a text that has long been denied analytical treatment beyond its obvious thematic preoccupations.

This project has also shown that scenes with mirror characters are vivid windows into that emotional community. The emotion words in these scenes comprise a contemporary

emotional vocabulary, a tool that provides the scaffolding—albeit imperfect—for scholars to begin to see the contours of the emotional community of ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his audience.

The fourth chapter examined the lexical flexibility, number, and diversity of emotion words used in *Dānişmendnāme* to describe Melik Dānişmend mourning or avenging his warriors, concluding that the emotional relationship between king and warrior is a central motif of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s *Dānişmendnāme*. The examination of ‘Ārif ‘Alī’s historical and political context allows us to now speculate how *Dānişmendnāme*’s depiction of kingship, rather than being a fixed narrative formula inherited from oral tradition, might in fact reflect that contemporary context.

Through these new approaches, it is now possible to sketch a portrait of ‘Ārif ‘Alī and his audience’s emotional community. Throughout this dissertation, I have speculated about who that audience might have been composed of. While we learn something of potential audience composition from the fact that *Dānişmendnāme* is a work of popular literature, the Introduction articulated that the bifurcation of court and popular literature is now a known false dichotomy in the study of pre-modern Islamic literature. It is possible that the emotional community of ‘Ārif ‘Alī could have extended beyond his immediate audience as well. Our study has shed light on the system of feeling that this textual community espoused.¹ What did the emotional community of ‘Ārif ‘Alī define as valuable or harmful to them? What evaluations did they make about others’ emotions, the affective bonds between people, and modes of emotional expression?

The analysis of emotion words provides the building blocks to answer many of these questions. The repetition of certain emotion words, such as *zārī kılmak* and *aglamak*, deepens their importance in our methodological estimation. The additions of rarer emotion words, such as

¹ Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” 842.

göñli sınımak and *bīḥuzūrlık*, which only occur one or two times each in the text, are equally interesting, as the presence of these two emotion words further emphasizes how deep the character's distress is. When we anticipate the audience's mirroring of these emotions, it is possible to see how tension rises in this moment, thus vividly illustrating each episode's emotional plot. From *Dānişmendnāme*, we learn when it is appropriate for the audience to mirror the represented emotions of characters in different episodes. For example, it is appropriate for the audience to mirror the joy inherent in celebrating a character's conversion; likewise, it is appropriate for them to mirror Efromiya's disappointment when her father, the villain Şattāt, refuses to convert.

Likewise, it is appropriate that Melik Dānişmend, as king, grieve the men who fought and fell for him and his quest to bring Rūm into the abode of Islam. Scenes depicting Melik Dānişmend's grief or virtuous anger as he avenges the death of his men likewise allow us to uncover what 'Ārif 'Alī's emotional community defined as *valuable*. The emotion words used to describe how Melik Dānişmend mourns and avenges his kidnapped, wounded, or martyred warriors models an idealized affective bond between a king and his warriors. This sheds new light on a little understood and often overlooked historical moment, a moment that for men of 'Ārif 'Alī's class in eastern Anatolia was critical. He and his emotional community witnessed the fading of Mongol dominion; just as potentates in this region renegotiating what kingship and political legitimacy should look like on a political level, *Dānişmendnāme* is evidence that an emotional renegotiation of kingship was unfolding as well. What did it mean, emotionally, to serve a king as a warrior? How should that king feel about the warriors who fought and died for him? These were questions with which *Dānişmendnāme* is deeply preoccupied. Therefore, we

can cautiously extrapolate that these were questions that preoccupied the emotional community of 'Ārif 'Alī at a time of great political and societal upheaval.

The Appendix's taxonomy of emotion words found in *Dānişmendnāme* comprise a contemporary emotional vocabulary that may form the foundation of further study of this text and other Old Anatolian Turkish texts. It is the an early step toward adopting Rosenwein's methods for the study of pre-modern Islamic texts; by demonstrating that it is possible to sketch a portrait of an emotional community by compiling a contemporary emotional vocabulary, I lay a foundation for future studies to do the same.

These are the slices of this emotional community that reading *Dānişmendnāme* through the lens of the history of emotions allows us to see for the first time. It is an imperfect portrait, but acknowledging and articulating its existence comprises a vital step toward furthering the study of emotions in Islamic literature and pre-modern Islamic society.

I do not argue that 'Ārif 'Alī's emotional community is an exceptional one. Rather, it is easy to speculate that such textual and emotional communities across Anatolia at this time, and indeed, across the Islamic world through shared literary traditions. Rather, this project's chief intervention is historiographical: it centers an otherwise overlooked text and emotional community as subjects of historical study. It further argues that works of popular literature that have long been relegated to specific, monochromatic roles in the study of late middle period Anatolia have a wealth of material to offer scholars armed with new literary approaches. Thus, this project historicizes and *redefines* *Dānişmendnāme* within the literary and cultural history of the beylik period.

While keeping this project's focus honed on the building blocks of emotional community—emotion words, emotional plots, mirror characters, etc.—means that it served the vital end of expanding the field of Old Anatolian Turkish studies, this focus necessarily limited its scope. Many unexplored paths lead from this project's doorstep. Some of these remain unexplored due to the necessarily curtailed nature of a dissertation written to deadline and could be expanded in a future book project. For example, Chapter Two discussed the fixed formulary evident in conversion scenes in *Dānişmendnāme*; a thorough examination of the emotions in conversion scenes in the text went beyond the scope of the arguments of each chapter, but could be a rich source of future study. Likewise is there ample material in *Dānişmendnāme* for a discussion of masculinity and its intersections with emotion. The characters of Artūhı, Neştor, and Melik Dānişmend provide ample material to discuss this topic. Their anger, their taunting of one another, their actions in battle, and their interactions with women (especially Efromiya) provide myriad material for further study. A thorough examination of the precise ways in which *Dānişmendnāme* draws on Persian traditions, on both a lexical and thematic level, would have much to offer.

Other threads were not pursued due to the nature of *Dānişmendnāme* itself. For example, a thorough look at the gendered aspect of different emotions, especially regarding female characters, was impossible due to the limitations of the source. The number of female characters and the lexical palette with which their emotions were drawn by the narrated were simply too limited. However, a comparative project that encompassed other works—whether from *Dānişmendnāme*'s religious-heroic genre or Old Anatolian Turkish popular literary narratives of other genres, such as narrative verse romance—could make such a study possible.

This does not preclude these female characters from being examined outside of the constraints of the history of emotions. Efromiya, for example, presents a scholarly enigma: neither perfectly idealized nor villainized, she is a convert warrior who rides and fights alongside Melik Dānişmend and his Muslim army throughout the entire narrative. But when her king and husband—her male protectors—die, she is poisoned by her late husband’s servants, for if she were to revert to Christianity, she would be too dangerous to control. She is certainly worthy of future study. Nuanced, comparative projects with other examples of Islamic popular literature or Western European medieval literature could shed much light on Efromiya and other warrior women’s position in popular narratives as Other.

Among representatives of its genre, *Dānişmendnāme* is uniquely well-suited to analytical approaches drawn from the history of emotions due to the flexibility of its formulae. But popular literature and popular fictional narratives are certainly not the only Old Anatolian Turkish genres that could serve as rich sources. Historical chronicles, *futuwwa* documents, travelogues, poetry, catechisms, sermons, travelogues and myriad other sources—in Arabic and Persian as well as Old Anatolian Turkish—could reveal a wealth of material if examined through the lens of the history of emotions. Just as Nicolas Trépanier’s *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia* examined known documents through a new approach, so to could reading sources that have long been studied in a few ways through the history of emotions shed new light on fourteenth-century Anatolia.

To paraphrase Julia Bray, the question is not so much if it is possible to examine pre-modern Islamic history through the lens of the history of emotions. The wealth of sources—a

refreshing concept for scholars of the pre-modern Islamic world!—means that the question we should ask ourselves is rather *where* ought we begin?

My project demonstrated that the history of emotions can shed new light on familiar texts and open new windows into the literary, cultural, and emotional life of fourteenth-century Anatolia. In doing so, it contributes to the nascent field of the history of emotions in Islamic studies. It is my hope that the methodological foundations laid by this project will inspire new scholars of Ottoman and Turkish studies to consider Old Anatolian Turkish texts and the history of emotions not only as viable subjects of study, but as rewarding ones as well.

*Bu kıřřa bunda alsun sz uzakdur
zire meclis gerek kıřřa irakdur*

*size ogaldıcağ adam uřandur
anı dinleyenüñ ‘aklı yařanur*

*gerek sz muhtařar her hāl içinde
yarařmaz ol mutavvel kāl içinde*

*uzatmayalum imdi biz de size
ki dinleyenüñ uyumaya gözi*

size az söyleyüb öz söyleyelüm...

APPENDIX

Old Anatolian Turkish Emotion Words in *Dānişmendnāme*: A Contemporary Emotional

Vocabulary

Emotion Word	Definition	Comments
‘acebe al-	to be astonished	
acı	pain; bitter	
‘āciz	powerless, weak, to be not enough	
‘āciz al-	to be incapable of doing x (despite trying hard)	
ala-	to cry	
alaŝ-	to cry (collective)	
āh t-/eyit-/eyle-/ıl-	to sigh, to groan, to sigh	word of implied emotion
‘alı baŝına gel-	to regain consciousness (after swooning)	
‘alı git-	to swoon or lose consciousness	
and i-	to swear an oath	word of implied emotion
‘ayb/‘ayıb	shame	
ayın bayın	astonishment	
ayın bayın ol-	to be taken aback	
baŝı āteŝ ol-	to rage, to fume	literally: for one’s head to be aflame
bī-āre	poor, wretched, without remedy, without hope	
bīdār	waking, to be sleepless	
bī-dil ol-	to be in love	literally: to be without one’s heart (for it has left their chest)
bī-uzūr ol-	to be uneasy, restless, or anxious	
bī-uzūruluk	unease, malcontent	
bī-arār ol-	to uncomfortable or hesitant	
bī-mār ol-	to be ill, to be lovesick	

bīzār ol-	to be weary, to be sick of	
bağır-	to cry out, to shout	
buğz (eyle-)	hate; to hate	
cān u gönül ile	with passion, with one's soul and heart	
çāresiz ol-	to be without remedy; helpless	
dert	grief, sorrow	
derdimend	a great trouble or affliction	
der-mānde	without hope, without remedy; broken down or worn out	
dertlü	troubled, sorrowful	
derün-i dil	from the depths of the heart	
dil	heart	
dil-āvīz	very beautiful, who has the heart	
dil-dār	possessing one's heart; beloved	
dilek	wish, desire, want	
dil-ḥaste	heartsick	
dil-şād	happy-hearted, rejoicing	
dirīgā	a shame, woe is me!, alas	
efgān (eyle-)	lamentations	
endīşe (kıl-)	thought; worry; curiosity	
ferāḥnāk ol-	to rejoice	
feryād	shouting	
feryād ét-/eyle-/kıl-	shouting, asking for help	
feryād ü fiḡān kıl-/ kop-	shouting and lamenting	
fiḡān (ét-)	lament or cry, to lament	
ḡam	grief	
ḡam yè-	to be sorrowful, troubled, to worry	
ḡamnāk	grieving, sorrowful, anxious	

ğamnāk ol-	to grieve, to regret, to be sorrowful	
ğāzab	rage	
ğāzaba gel-	to become infuriated	
gōñli açıl-	to have internal distress relieved	
gōñli cūş eyle-	to be impassioned	literally: heart boiling
gōñli şın-	acutely troubled, grieved	literally: one's heart tightening
gōñli yumuşa-	to become merciful, to relent	literally: for one's heart to soften
gōñül	heart	
ğuşsa	grief, sorrow	
ğuşşalan-	to grieve, to be sorrowful	
ħacīl	to be embarrassed or ashamed	only used when one is in the presence of the Prophet (in dreams)
ħalvet (eyle-/kıl-)	alone; to leave alone	
ħasret	sadness or sorrow	
ħayrān ol-	to admire, rapturize, hold in high esteem	
ħirmān	misfortune, despair	
ħoş	pleasant, good	
ħoşnūd ol-	to be satisfied or contented	
‘ıyş-ü-‘ışret ol-	making merry	associated with banqueting
ıztırāb	pain or distress	
iñ(i)le-	to groan or wail, to make a sound of pain	
gendüye gel-	to come to one's senses (out of a swoon)	
gendüyi yire ur-	to throw oneself on the ground	
kellesi kıız-	to become angry	lit: for one's head to get hot
kařa döndür-	to make dizzy or to stun	
kařı-	to reprimand, to get angry, to become enraged	
kařı	apprehension, concern, fear, worry	

ķayġulu	worried, sad	
ķıġır-	to shout, to invite (taunting)	
ķıvan-	to rejoice, to brag	
ķıvandur-	to make happy, to gladden	
ķız-	to get angry/enraged	
(-dAn) ķorķ-	to fear	
ķorķu	fear	
ķorķu dūş-	to fear	
ķorķu ol-	to fear	
maħzūn	aggrieved	
meded	help	word of implied emotion
mehāfe	fear	
melālet	boredom, tedium; also sad	
melūl	sad	used frequently
miħnet ķek-	to worry or suffer	
miskīn	pitiful; a pitiful person	
muştuluk	good news	
mūbtelā (ķıl-)	suffer, suffering, to suffer	
nāķār	helpless, hopeless, desperate	
ōzi ķōyin-	to feel great pain, to burn inside	only used to describe Melik Dānişmend
perīşān	miserable, wretched	
sergeşte	miserable	
sevin-	to rejoice	
sōġ-	to curse or blaspheme	only used by infidels in anger
şād ol-	to rejoice	
şāz ol-	to rejoice	
şāzī ol-	for festivities to be celebrated	
şāzīlık ķıl-	to rejoice	
vehm (ol-/bıraķ-)	to fear	
vehmnāk	suspicious, fearful	

yüzin göke ıtut-	turning face to the sky (despairing, asking for help)	
yas dut-	to mourn	
zār	weeping; groaning; lamentation; misery	
zār ağla-/ét-/kıł-	to weep, to wail, to lament, to moan	
zār kāl-	to be exhausted or weak	
zārī kıł-	weeping, moaning, lamentation	

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