6 From Adam to Süleyman

Visual Representations of Authority in ʿĀrif's Shāhnāma-yi Āl-i ʿOṣmān

Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz

In the spring of 1558, the court eulogist ʿĀrif was ready to present the first complete volume of his dynastic literary project *Shāhnāma-yi Āl-i ʿOṣmān* (The Shāhnāma of the House of ʿOṣmān) to his patron and king Süleyman (r. 1520–1566), the tenth sultan in the dynastic line of Osman.[1] ʿĀrif's was a universal history project consisting of five volumes.[2] The first volume, entitled *Anbiyānāma* (The Book of Prophets), narrates in Persian verse a selection of stories of the biblical antediluvian prophets, including Adam (*Ādam*), Seth (*Shīsh*), Enosh (*Anūsh*), Cainan (*Kanʿān*), Mahalaleel (*Mahlāʾīl*), Jared (*Barad*), Enoch (*Idrīs*), and Noah (*Nūḥ*).[3] The narrative also mentions leading figures from Iranian mythic history, such as kings Kayumars (*Kayūmarṣ*), Zahhak (*Ḍaḥḥāk*), and (especially) Jamshid (*Jamshīd*).[4]

In fact, as the title of ʿĀrif's project indicates, the literary and, to a lesser extent, visual program of *Shāhnāma-yi Āl-i ʿOṣmān* adopted the Persian poet Firdawsī's (d. 1020) classic rendering of Iranian mythic history in his *Shāhnāma* written at the beginning of the eleventh century. In *Anbiyānāma,* two of the ten miniatures depict selected moments from the reign of the great Iranian King Jamshid: Jamshid with the old lady and Jamshid being slain in two.[5] Aspiring to write a second *Shāhnāma,* the great classic of the Islamicate cultural world, more than five hundred years later was a rather daring—if not arrogant—feat for a writer. Adapting an epic that chronicles the mythic past of a rivaling eastern neighbor in order to glorify Ottoman lineage and its contemporaneous descendants could have been considered downright haughty.

Leaving the possible judgment of their Safavid contemporaries aside, what concerns us here is the visual and literary descriptions of the ideal ruler in *Anbiyānāma*. I have argued elsewhere that the Ottoman *Shāhnāma* of ʿĀrif portrays Sultan Süleyman as an ideal ruler, divinely selected and favored to lead, guide, and legislate humanity, over whom he also had the right to exercise jurisdiction.[6] In this essay, I argue that the foundations for the image of Süleyman as a quasi-prophet-king were established in word and image in the first volume of ʿĀrif's *Anbiyānāma*.

Adam's Authority

If *Anbiyānāma* has a primary hero, it is certainly Adam. After the twelve introductory folios, fifteen of the remaining thirty-five explain the story of Adam from God's blowing of his soul into Adam's body to his death. Three of the ten miniatures in the visual program of the book were also dedicated to moments in Adam's life. They depict Adam giving the first sermon,[7] Eve giving Adam the grain of Paradise,[8] and the sacrifice of his sons Cain and Abel.[9] The visual representation of Adam's leadership in the first two of these three images in *Anbiyānāma* will be the first analytical focus of this essay.

In the second chapter (*sūra*) of the Qur'an it is written that God announced to the angels his intention to create a viceroy. When the angels showed their dismay by questioning his decision to create a human being who would cause war and bloodshed on earth and to place him over the angels—who have always glorified and adored him—God reminded them that surely he knew things that the angels did not. God then taught Adam the names of all things and ordered him to teach these names to the angels.[10] The knowledge of names—given to him by God—provided Adam a higher status than the angels, who had not been shown the same divine favor; Adam's act of teaching these names to the angels, thereby sharing the knowledge given to him by the divine source, confirmed this supremacy. The first miniature of Adam in *Anbiyānāma* is a representation of this supremacy (fig. 6.1).

In the miniature, a flying angel brings an already crowned Adam a bunch of grapes on a tray while the other angels are standing or kneeling before him respectfully. Adam is depicted standing in a pulpit (*minbar*), wearing a stately robe and a crown. The pulpit is the only architectonic element in the representation. The contrast between the angels sitting or standing in a spatially ambiguous state and Adam looking down at them from the enclosure of the pulpit adds an iconic quality to Adam's figure.

This iconic quality becomes even stronger due to the extension of the image of Adam in the pulpit beyond the page. It is worthwhile to pause a moment to imagine how this book would be viewed and preserved: ordinarily, one would fold the oversized part of the page as he or she closed the book. However, once the page is folded, the pulpit cannot be seen. Thus, when the reader/viewer opened the double folios in which the image is laid on the recto, he would encounter a group of angels looking toward the left in anticipation. Only upon opening the folded part would one see the object of the angels' gaze: the crowned Adam addressing them from a pulpit in gold. The unveiling of Adam's image in the pulpit must have enhanced its impact.

As for the angels who constitute Adam's audience, most of them are seated on bent knees, resembling respectful madrasa students, while a few are standing. A more accurate description would be that most are kneeling in the posture of the Islamic community in a mosque, with those at the back standing due to the lack of space.

The extraordinary aspect of this image results from its thematic choice. To my knowledge, *Anbiyānāma* is singular in representing Adam's first sermon to the angels.

Figure 6.1. Adam's first sermon, ʿĀrif, *Anbiyānāma,* 1558. Bruschettini Foundation for Islamic and Asian Art, 15a.

In manuscripts on the life stories of the prophets, the scene that is usually chosen for representation at this point in the narrative is the angels' reverence toward Adam. Adam's divinely bestowed superior position, juxtaposed with the angels' subjugated posture before him, invites clear associations with the relationship between an absolute ruler and his subjects. In the visual idiom, this association has most often been delivered by the symbols of universal earthly authority, such as the hexagonal throne and the crown. Below are two examples belonging to the same genre and period as ʿĀrif's *Anbiyānāma.*

In a copy of a book thematically similar to *Anbiyānāma,* al-Ṯaʿlābī's (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Isḥāḳ al-Nīsābūrī, d. 1035) *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (The Stories of the Prophets), we encounter an example of this popular scene.[11] In this representation, the scene is depicted indoors in a courtly atmosphere; the view with trees to Adam's right indicates the Garden of Paradise (fig. 6.2).

Adam is represented sitting in a royal cross-legged position on a hexagonal throne. He is wearing the helmet-like crown typical in depictions of heavenly figures and pre-Islamic Iranian kings. Here, however, the angels are bareheaded, with their hair tied at the top rather than hidden under a crown. The angels' hairstyle—hair collected on top of their heads—is not an unusual detail per se; in fact, it is common in such compositions. At the same time, the contrasting depiction of angels with helmet-like crowns in all of the other images in the manuscript strongly suggests that in this scene the absence of the angels' crowns is intentional. In this image, the prophet's unique crown appears to indicate his kingly status—and hence his political authority.

In another copy of al-Ṯaʿlābī's popular work we encounter the representation of the same event: the reverence of the angels before Adam.[12] In this miniature, Adam is depicted sitting on a hexagonal throne wearing both a crown and a fiery nimbus to which an angel is adding more fire (fig. 6.3).

In the top left corner of the image, another angel is waiting with a tray of additional fire behind a hill. Some of the angels are depicted wearing crowns while others are bareheaded.

To Adam's right another angel is bringing a crown. The representation of the first crown (with the fiery nimbus) in an image in which Adam is bestowed with two crowns suggests that the first crown, the one that he is already wearing, represents his spiritual authority, while the crown that is being brought to him by an angel indicates his political authority. In this way, earthly and spiritual authorities are represented separately, by two crowns, one with and the other without the nimbus. Furthermore, according to the chronology represented in this image, God had bestowed spiritual authority on Adam prior to political authority. Hence, the reverence of the angels becomes part of Adam's political coronation ceremony.

Both manuscripts mentioned above were produced probably in the second half of the sixteenth century, like ʿĀrif's *Anbiyānāma,* and all three belong to the same royal collection. In the first example, the scene of the angels' reverence to Adam narrates his

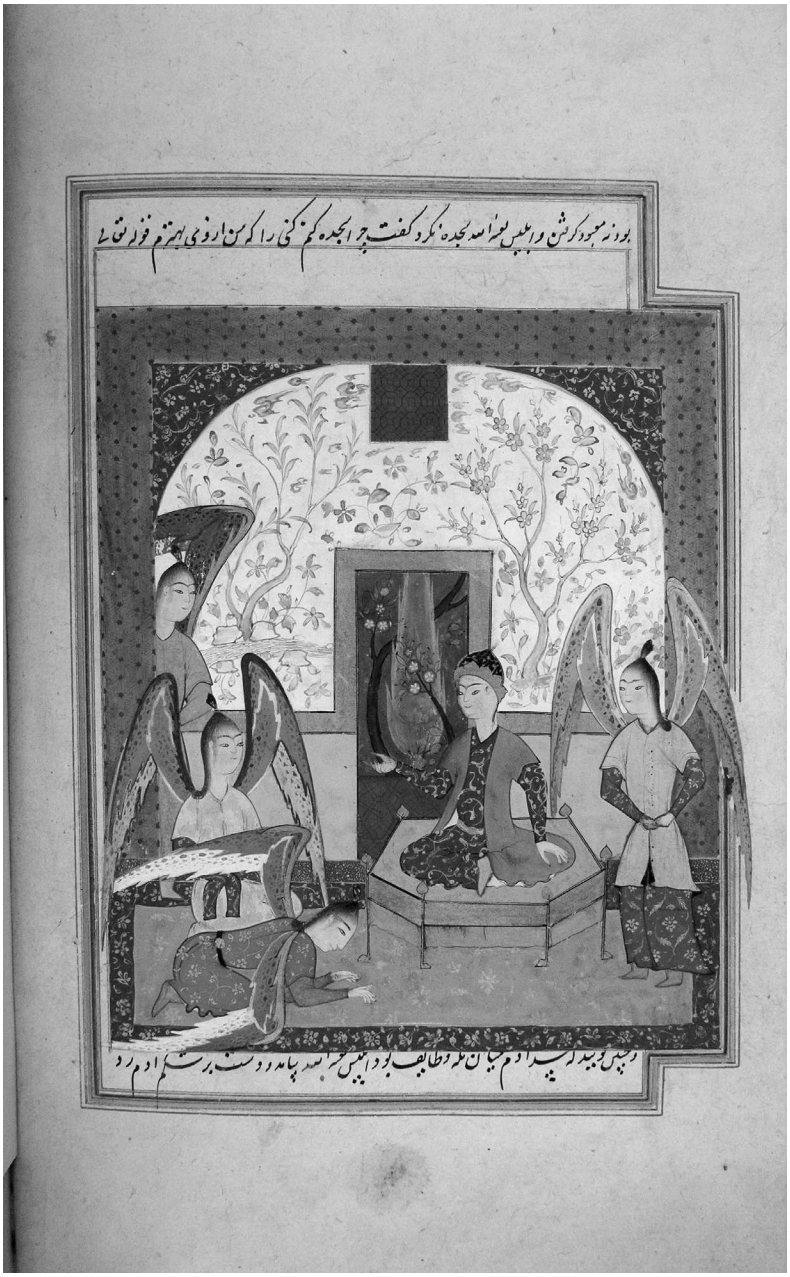

Figure 6.2. The reverence of the angels, al-Thaʿlābī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, probably sixteenth century. TPML, Istanbul, E.H. 1430, 8a.

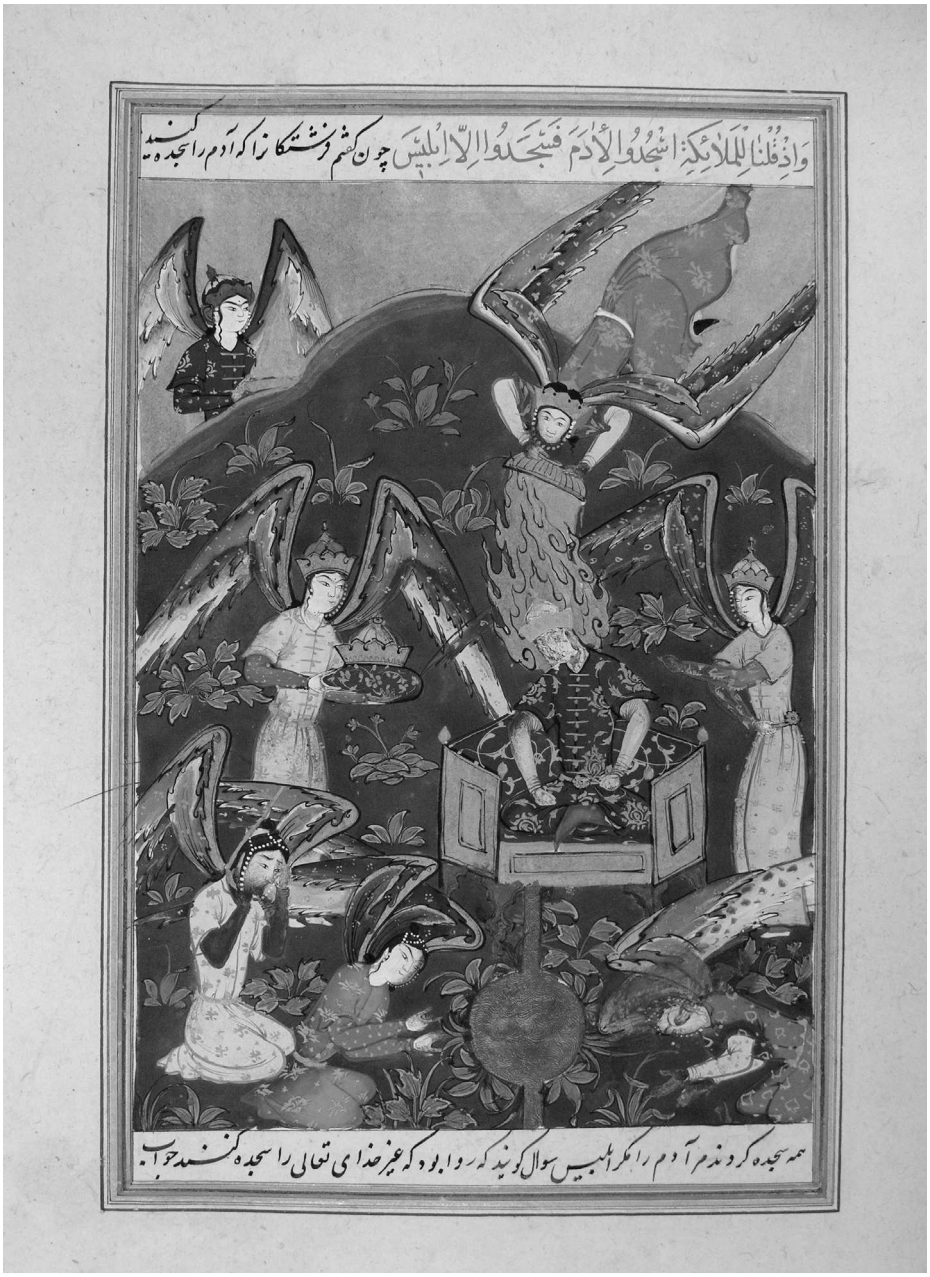

Figure 6.3. The reverence of the angels, al-Thaʿlābī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ,* probably sixteenth century. TPML, Istanbul, H. 1226, 8b.

supremacy over the angels as the viceroy-king of God. While the spiritual dimensions of the scene would always be obvious to the viewer (i.e., the incident takes place in Paradise with the first Islamic prophet and angels), in this image it was not the aspect that was emphasized.

In the second image, two separate forms of Adam's authority over the angels, one spiritual and the other political, are indicated. These two forms are interrelated, as both stem from divine will and favor. Moreover, the image points to a certain temporal order in the bestowal of these authorities: Adam's spiritual authority precedes his political authority over the heavenly inhabitants of Paradise.

As in the second example, *Anbiyānāma*'s Adam, too, is granted two crowns and hence two forms of authority. Furthermore, the order of the crowns is repeated: first he receives the crown of spiritual authority and only then the crown of political authority. We read:

> When the angels saw God apparent on his face
> They threw themselves in prostration with much pomp
> To the prayer niche (*miḥrāb*) of the curved eyebrow of that heart-soothing one
> The angels positioned themselves for prayer one by one
> By chance that day marked by auspicious light
> Was a Friday of the week according to that time
> When Adam was honored that Friday
> He was glorified by the Almighty with the angels' reverent prostration[13]

The text relates the reverence of the angels and Adam's role as the "imam" of the Islamic community, which was at this point composed of angels. The text continues by stating that the incident took place on a Friday of the week within the temporal concept of Paradise, suggesting parallels between the images of the angels' reverential position before Adam and the Islamic community's following their imam in Friday prayers as he guides them through the steps of prayer, alternating between standing, kneeling, and prostrating positions according to the various stations in the prayer scheme.[14]

After the explanation that Friday was given as holiday to Adam's descendants as a result of the angels' honoring him on a Friday, the text continues:

> When God bestowed Adam with such guidance
> He adorned the crown of his head with the Crown of Salvation
> With the hand of His intrinsic divine power
> He invested his body with the robes of Paradise
> He taught him all names
> He subjugated all things to him
> He then ordered a throne of divine light (*nūr*)
> The angels placed it due to their disposition and joy
> On the select path, God's Pure One
> Climbed up the throne with the Crown of Magnanimity[15]

We should note here that the position of Adam as the imam of his community does not limit his status to merely that of a guide in Friday prayers for the Islamic congregation. Instead, according to *Anbiyānāma,* Adam becomes the first imam who has the spiritual authority to lead the community of believers on the path to salvation. Hence the first of the two crowns that he was granted by God is the Crown of Salvation.

According to the text of *Anbiyānāma,* he is then invested with the royal robe that is depicted in the image of him giving the first sermon. When God teaches him the names of all things, the divine knowledge passed to Adam makes him sovereign to everything he knows as such. After God orders Adam a throne of divine light, Adam walks up the steps toward his throne with the second crown granted to him: the Crown of Magnanimity.

The narrative continues with the angels lifting the throne on their shoulders and circumambulating the heavens. This act of glorification becomes further confirmation of Adam's suzerainty over the heavens as God's viceroy, for he names all of the angels he sees on his tour and thereby confirms his dominion over them. Following the circumambulation, God orders the archangel Gabriel to announce that the heavenly residents are to gather in rows to listen to Adam's sermon.[16]

ʿĀrif then continues to describe the royal appearance of Adam, adorned with glittering precious stones, gold, and pearls. On his finger is a royal seal of ruby and pearls; his two tresses are likewise ornamented with star-like gems.[17] In a royal robe adorned with precious jewels and gold, wearing the Crown of Magnanimity as well as a seal ring and possessing a throne of divine light, Adam is described as the sovereign of Paradise only after God himself.[18]

As we have noted, Adam's political authority was also represented in paintings of the reverence of the angels in both copies of al-Ṯaʿlābī's *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ.* Furthermore, ʿĀrif's differentiation between two types of authority is similar to the one made in the second example discussed above. In contrast to these two manuscripts, however, in *Anbiyānāma* the reverence of the angels is not represented visually. Instead, the textual descriptions stand as a prelude to Adam's first sermon, which is depicted with a miniature. The double representation—literary and visual—of Adam's delivering his divine knowledge as a sermon underlines its importance. At the same time, it pushes the conventionally preferred scene of the reverence of the angels to a secondary position.

Here a phenomenological clarification is needed: authority derived from knowledge does not comprise an overriding power; angels possessed many powers that the human Adam did not. Furthermore, authority based on knowledge does not guarantee political power. In both the Judeo-Christian and Islamic traditions, God appointed Adam as his viceroy over the angels and put this decision into practice by sharing his knowledge and appointing him as a teacher. Hence, Adam's authority comes, first, through God's will, second, through God's favoring him in his act of sharing

knowledge, and, finally, through Adam's acquired knowledge. In other words, while knowledge is empowering, as is demonstrated in the story of Adam in the Qurʾan, in *Anbiyānāma,* and in Islamicate and Judeo-Christian literature in general, power is not contingent upon knowledge.

Instead, Adam's divinely bestowed sacred knowledge confirms his spiritual authority as the first imam to lead the Muslim community on the right path to salvation. At the same time, it confirms his political authority. *Anbiyānāma* states openly what is implied in the Qurʾan: the angels suffer embarrassment remembering their initial doubt in accepting Adam as God's viceroy. They realize his superior knowledge as he explains the process of Creation in his sermon. In other words, Adam not only delivers the names of all things but also has a further knowledge of events only known to God as the Creator. Bearing in mind the association of the deliverance of the Friday sermon first as a declaration and then as a confirmation of political authority in Islamic political history, we should note that *Anbiyānāma* depicts the first sermon of its kind.

Anbiyānāma's second depiction of Adam's legacy concerns the well-known topic of his sinning by eating the forbidden fruit of Paradise. The particularity of this scene stems once again from its thematic choice, which contrasts discretely but nevertheless clearly with the convention as we know it.

Adam Loses His Kingdom

The *Anbiyānāma* scene depicts the moment shortly before the sinning of Adam. In the Garden, Eve is seen offering her partner a cluster of wheat (fig. 6.4).

Both image and text draw a clear parallel between Adam's fall from grace and his losing his kingship. Off of his centrally placed hexagonal throne, he is seen accepting the wheat from Eve. The presence of the peacock and a figure that seems to be Satan, along with the serpent, confirms that among the volumes in the current royal Ottoman collection on the lives of the prophets, *Anbiyānāma*'s version of the story of the original sin as described in this miniature corresponds only to the version in the *Qiṣaṣ* of al-Kisāʾī (fl. ca. 1100). To my knowledge, only in *Qiṣaṣ* and *Anbiyānāma* are each of the three figures conspiring against Adam and Eve present, Satan unhidden.[19]

In the version narrated in al-Kisāʾī's *Qiṣaṣ* and ʿĀrif's *Anbiyānāma,* Satan promises that he will teach the peacock, the most beautiful bird of Paradise, the three words that can save him from old age, illness, and death; thus, he convinces the peacock to help him enter Paradise. The peacock, being afraid of the Guard of Paradise (*Riḍwān*), fetches the serpent, the mistress of the beasts of Paradise, to help Satan. Seduced by the same promise, the serpent agrees to take Satan between her fangs to Paradise. There, Satan carries out his plan of temptation by approaching Eve. He talks to her first through the mouth of the serpent and then outside of the serpent's body, pretending to be a slave who had eaten from the Forbidden Tree and hence gained eternal life.[20]

Like the story of the angels' reverence toward Adam, the sinning of Adam and Eve is a theme commonly illustrated in manuscripts of the prophets' life stories. As is noted

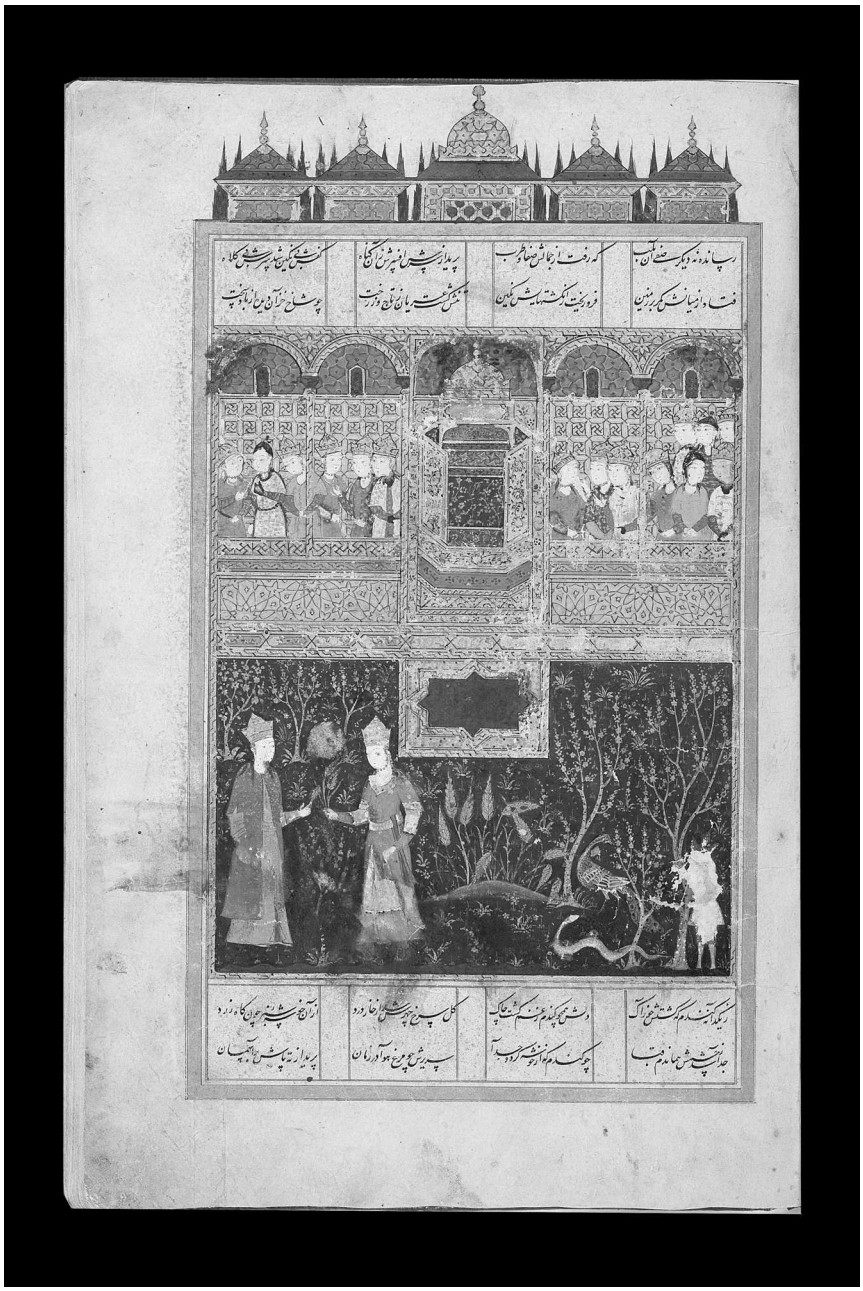

Figure 6.4. Adam and Eve about to eat the forbidden fruit, ʿĀrif, *Anbiyānāma,* 1558. Bruschettini Foundation for Islamic and Asian Art, 20a.

above, once again the moment depicted in the *Anbiyānāma* miniature differs clearly from the moment typically represented in the narration of the sinning of Adam and Eve in Paradise.

In contrast to the image in *Anbiyānāma,* in many of the miniatures from the Ottoman palace collection the two protagonists of the scene are depicted in exodus, after they have sinned.[21] They are conventionally drawn mounted on or standing by a fearsome dragon and a beautifully executed peacock (fig. 6.5).

Artists' preference for representing these animals in such fabulous fashion suggests that the scene owes much of its allure to the exoticism that the image of the peacock and the serpent in the Garden of Paradise promises.

The *Anbiyānāma* miniature treats these two animals much more literally. Here, the awe-inspiring images of the two animals are reduced in size and importance to de facto participants in the incident. The peacock looks more like a humble goose than its majestic self and the snake is merely a snake and not a dragon. The two animals are pushed aside to the bottom right of the image, along with the dwarfed Satan. In this way, the composition highlights the importance of Adam and Eve, who are the largest figures.

Moreover, as in the manuscripts in the Ottoman royal collection mentioned above, the convention has Adam and Eve half-naked, each with only a skirt made of leaves. In the *Anbiyānāma* depiction, however, both figures are dressed in royal outfits, hence stealing further from the exoticism of the scene.

The verses on the page do not describe Adam becoming aware of his nakedness, nor do they narrate the actual moment depicted in the image; instead, they describe its aftermath. The text explains that Adam was literally stripped of his garments and the insignia of kingship: he loses his throne, crown, and seal ring. In this way, his nakedness becomes a metaphor for his descending to a baser state after losing the supremacy and glory God bestowed upon him earlier:

> His crown flew off his head because of that sin
> His hand became empty of its ring, his head bare of its crown
> His belt fell from his waist onto the ground
> The seal ring dropped down from his fingers
> His body became bare of crown and garment
> Just like a branch in autumn is made to suffer by a strong wind[22]

The message that Adam loses his kingdom after he sins is further underlined in the *Anbiyānāma* miniature by the presence of his community, watching the events unfold from under a portico. This community becomes audience to the most decisive event in human history as it was conceived in the Judeo-Christian and Islamic traditions. At the same time, its existence confirms Adam's political stance as a ruler. After all, a ruler, by definition, needs subjects to rule.

Although each of the angels is depicted with a standard hairstyle—their head crowned either by an elegant knot of their long hair or by a golden helmet-crown—here they are represented, curiously, without visible wings. Without their characteristic

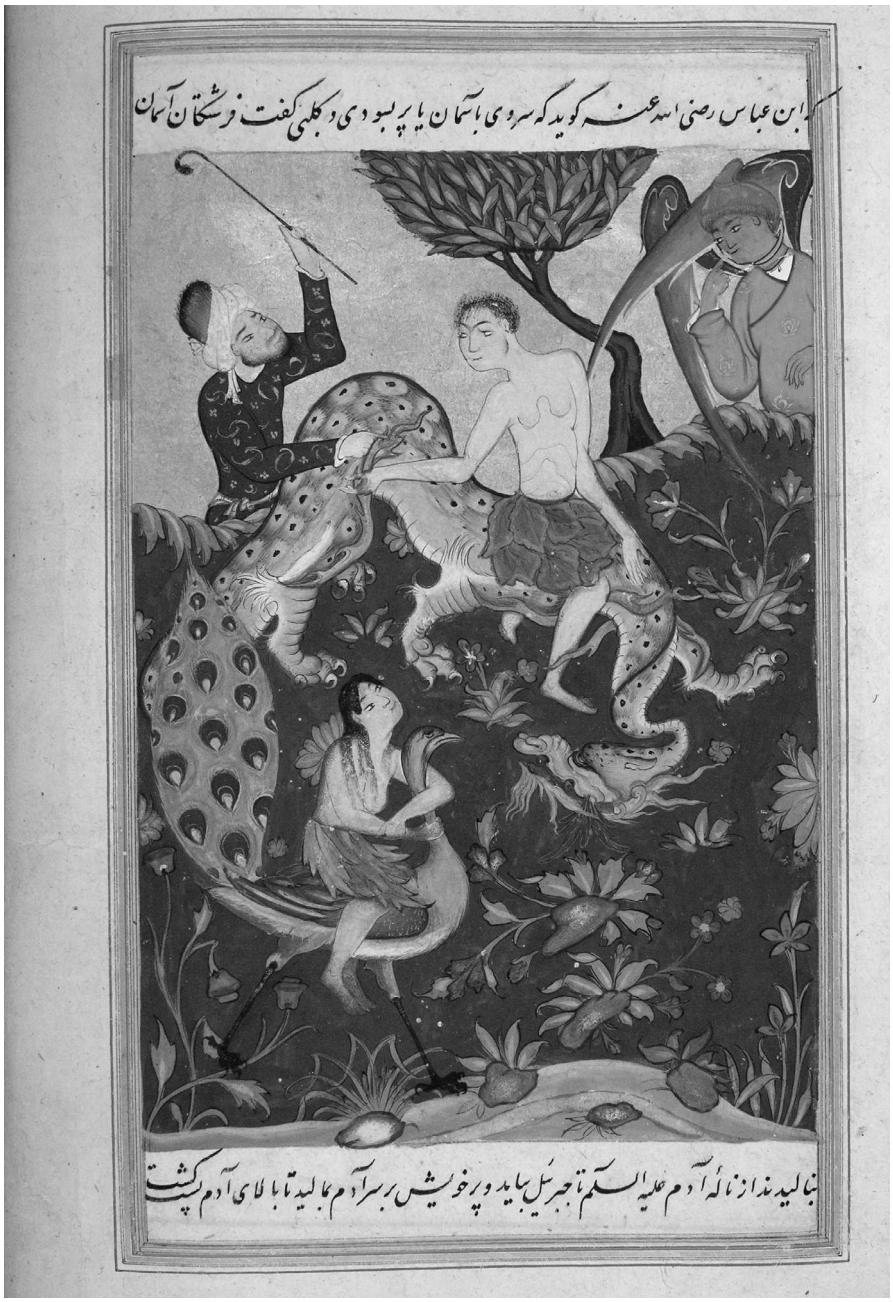

Figure 6.5. Expulsion of Adam and Eve, al-Thaʿlābī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, probably sixteenth century. TPML, Istanbul, H. 1225, 14b.

multicolored wings, this elegantly dressed and mostly crowned group of figures also resembles a royal crowd.

The presence in *Anbiyānāma* of a relatively long section and two miniatures on the reputed Iranian king Jamshid's fall from divine grace and loss of his throne evokes an association with Adam's story. It also suggests that, among other functions, *Anbiyānāma* might have been intended as advice literature, with examples of even prophets and legendary kings sinning and losing their divine favor. If so, it is possible that the resemblance of the group under the portico to a royal assembly is intended to create self-consciousness among the royal readers/viewers who would see in the group their look-alikes.

Whether they are merely angels whose wings are hidden behind them or they stand in for a royal assembly in order to teach a lesson to *Anbiyānāma*'s royal readers, at least a part of their function is clear. Along with the architecturally organized space, they stress the political and "worldly" kingship of Adam at this stage, ironically in the "heavenly" Garden. Indeed, with her crown and courtly dress, Eve, too, looks like a queen.

Let us take a moment to recapitulate what we have observed thus far in the version of Adam's story represented in *Anbiyānāma.* We have seen that God granted Adam two forms of authority, spiritual and political. The existence of these separate forms is made clear in the text by the representation of each form through a specifically named crown: the Crown of Salvation for spiritual and the Crown of Magnanimity for political authority. Later, when Adam eats the forbidden fruit of Paradise, he is stripped of his political authority. The next time he is represented visually in *Anbiyānāma,* in the image of his sons' sacrificial offerings to God, Adam is depicted bareheaded but with a nimbus: he is no longer a king, but he is still a prophet. We have also seen that both the political and spiritual natures of his authority are confirmed by his teaching the sacred knowledge he received from God to the rest of the Muslim community in Paradise.

The Science of the Prophets

While Adam's spiritual and especially his political authority are represented in manuscripts other than *Anbiyānāma,* the emphasis on the science of the prophets appears particular to this volume. Considered from this perspective, Adam's not only teaching the names of things but also delivering a sermon on God's creating power is an interpolation on his sacred knowledge that is formally delimited in the Qurʾan and Islamic literature to "the names of all things."

The emphasis on the science of the prophets is embellished by the regular repetition of its transmission through his descendants. Indeed, the passing of the authority-confirming divine knowledge to Adam's chosen line of descendants is articulated clearly in ʿĀrif's text. Time after time we read that the arriving prophet is equipped with divine light (designated often by an adjectival or nominal compound that includes the word *farr,* such as *farrahī* or *farrukh*) and wisdom based on knowledge (*dānish*), such as in the case of Jared or Enoch.

The volume's visual program further underlines the significance of the science of the prophets. Three of *Anbiyānāma*'s ten miniatures represent the relevant prophets exercising their teaching capacities. Aside from the representation of Adam's sermon, there are two other representations of this theme. The depictions of Adam's last son and rightful heir Seth teaching tailoring and his descendant Enoch teaching writing deliver the message that the capacity of each of the *Anbiyānāma* prophets to teach the science (*ʿilm*) that he had received from God is one of the most important themes explored in the manuscript.

Nevertheless, just as the construct of Adam's separate political and spiritual authorities is not an invention in ʿĀrif's book, neither are the themes of the empowering and authority-confirming wisdom of the prophets and their capacity as teachers. These themes are extended variations of the references in the Qurʾan concerning prophets.

In the Sura of the Prophets (*al-Anbiyāʾ*) it is stated that God gave Lot ruling authority (or jurisdiction) (*ḥukm*) and science (*ʿilm*).[23] Shortly after, when referring to Solomon and David, the same phrase is reiterated: God gave them all ruling authority (or jurisdiction) and science.[24] In other words, the spiritual guidance that is included in the meaning of Islamic prophethood was accompanied by two other qualities, political authority and sacred knowledge, both of which were bestowed as graces by God.

It is no coincidence that the same terminology—involving the grammatical roots of the words for ruling authority and science in Arabic—is used by the angels in reference to God. In the second chapter of the Qurʾan, in the section on his appointment of Adam as his viceroy, after teaching Adam all names, God asks the angels to name things.[25] The angels appear to have only partial knowledge of the names and say that they only know what God has taught them. They conclude their reply with the submissive and glorifying words, "You are the possessor of science (*al-ʿalīm*) and ruling authority (*al-ḥakīm*)."[26]

The use of the same vocabulary in the Qurʾan's second chapter and in the twenty-first chapter on prophets indicates that a relationship mimicking that between God and the angels is envisioned between God's appointed prophets, who were also anointed with sacred knowledge, and the Islamic community. Naturally, the latter relationship conforms to a much humbler scale, for in Islam prophets were human agents appointed by God and did not possess divine knowledge in its entirety.

Returning to ʿĀrif's text, we can state that, rather than pure creativity, it is, first, the persistent and consistent exploitation of these themes and, second, its unique choice of thematic emphasis in both literary and visual programs that mark a difference between *Anbiyānāma* and other books on the prophets' life stories. Could we, or should we, however, classify ʿĀrif's volume as an example of the genre of *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*? How can we justify the inclusion of a significant section with two miniatures on the Persian king Jamshid and shorter references to other well-known names of Persian mythic history, such as the kings Kayumars, Zahhak, and Merdas (*Merdās*), Zahhak's father? What does an "Ottoman *Shāhnāma*" mean when we consider ʿĀrif's work?

The Question of Genre

Although thematically *Anbiyānāma* approaches the genre of stories of the prophets, it cannot be properly classified as such. Aside from the selective inclusion of Iranian mythic history, we should not disregard the fact that *Anbiyānāma* was not conceived as an independent work. It was the first of a five-volume universal history project. A comparison with another Ottoman *Shāhnāma* project that ʿĀrif began, the giant Imperial Scroll (*Ṭomār-ı Hümāyūn*), allows us to suggest a probable organizational scheme.[27]

After an introductory section and two disk-maps, the narrative of the Scroll is delivered in the form of a genealogical tree. Despite its very different format, the Scroll also tells its version of universal history from Adam, originally, to Sultan Süleyman.[28] As in the five-volume history project, in the Scroll information is organized in five consecutive sections demarcated by the visual contrast between them.

The Scroll's first section corresponds to *Anbiyānāma* and comes to an end with the Flood in Noah's time: the Flood is represented by the visual effect of a rushing flood of interwoven words[29] (fig. 6.6).

Hence, the second section of human history begins with the aftermath of the Flood and continues until the arrival of Prophet Muhammad. While the third runs through Islamic history and finds its conclusion with the appearance of Osman, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty, on the historical stage, the fourth section of the Scroll is marked by the history of the Ottoman state until Sultan Süleyman, who lifts the curtain for the fifth, and originally last, act.

If we follow the same scheme for ʿĀrif's history in book format, the currently extinct second volume of the project must have continued chronologically, narrating the stories of the Islamic prophets and Iranian mythic kings after the time of Noah, most probably until Prophet Muhammad. The likewise extinct third volume would then narrate principally Islamic history until the debut of the Ottoman dynasty.

ʿOṣmānnāma, the extant fourth volume of ʿĀrif's *Shāhnāma,* continues the narration from the time of Osman Beg and provides a chronological account of Ottoman history.[30] It arrives at an immature break in the immediate aftermath of the death of Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402) in captivity in 1402. In the fourth volume, the relatively haphazard placement of the colophon, which appears to have been added later, strongly suggests that the text was meant to continue. The originally planned end must have been the death of Selim I (r. 1512–1520), for the fifth and final volume is dedicated to the time of the reigning sultan Süleyman, the son of Selim.

As the first volume of a universal history project that includes religious, mythic, and political history as well as a propagandist emphasis on the Ottoman Empire and its contemporaneous sultan, to which genre does *Anbiyānāma* belong? I suggest that we start seeking the answer by exploring the present inventory of the royal collection to which it belonged, in order to see the relevant works prepared before and around the time that ʿĀrif and his team were producing their work.

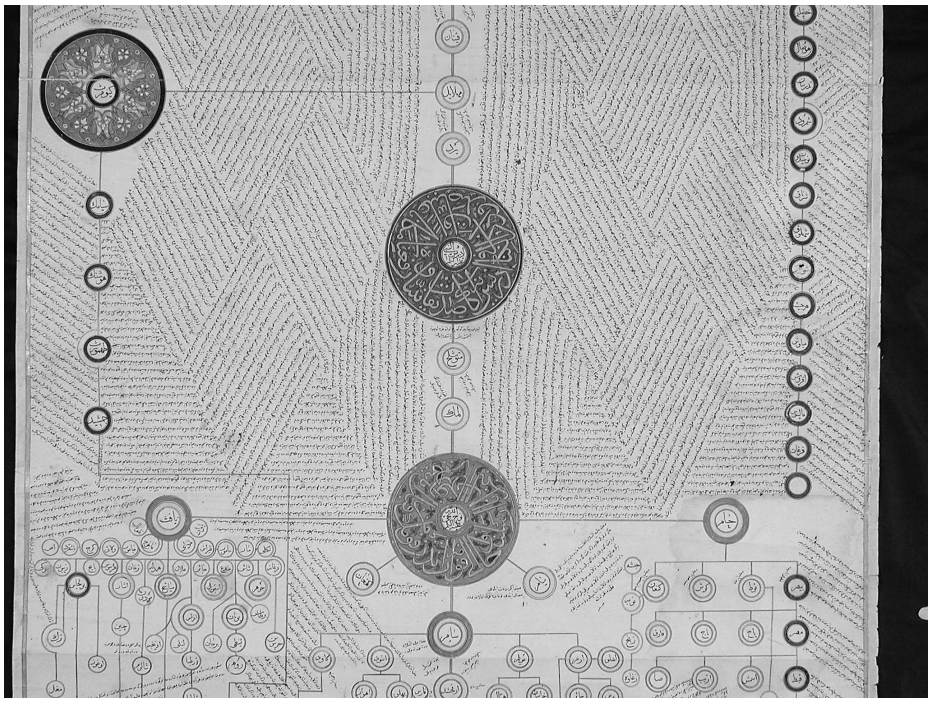

Figure 6.6. *Ṭomār-Hümāyūn,* ʿĀrif/Eflāūn (Visual representation of the Flood in Noah's time, the image), around 1560, TPML, Istanbul, A. 3599.

The Stories of the Prophets and Universal Histories in the Topkapı Collection

There are eleven volumes in Persian on the histories of the prophets in Topkapı Palace Museum's manuscript library. Eight are sixteenth-century copies of al-Ṯaʿlābī's *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*[31] and one is the work of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daydūzamī (d. 13th c.).[32] We have already discussed some of the visual representations in these copies. The authors of the other two *Qiṣaṣ* are anonymous.[33] Among the Arabic manuscripts in this genre, at least fourteen were prepared before the seventeenth century[34] and at least five of the copies in Arabic are of al-Kisā'ī's work from the same period.[35] As we have seen above, some narrative details of the textual and visual depictions of Adam and Eve eating the forbidden wheat in *Anbiyānāma* closely correspond to the narration of the same story in al-Kisā'ī's collection.

Among Topkapı Palace Museum's Arabic manuscripts are also two copies of al-Ṯaʿlābī's *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*,[36] one of which (A. 2964) was prepared in 1556, about two years before *Anbiyānāma*'s date of completion. Furthermore, the Topkapı collection

includes six volumes of what seem to belong to the same set of Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī's (d. 923) universal history in Arabic.[37] In its Persian collection presently there is only one translated copy of this work (E.H. 1390) from the eighteenth century.[38]

The interest in universal history that includes the histories of the prophets is visible in the other holdings of the library, which include nine copies of the universal history of Muḥammad b. Mirkhwand (d. 1497–1498), *Rawżat al-ṣafā*.[39] Of these volumes, seven were prepared after the sixteenth century. Of the sixteenth-century copies, however, one (A. 2916) was copied in 1553, when ʿĀrif's own universal history project was in preparation.

Şükrullāh's (d. 1459–1460) *Bahjat al-Tawārīkh* (R. 1538) is present with two copies. The Topkapı catalogue also lists a copy of *Tawārīkh-i ʿālam* (A. 2935) by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 13th c.). Another well-known universal history in the current Persian manuscript collection is Rashīd al-Dīn's (d. 1318) *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh,* represented with three copies: H. 1653, H. 1654, and R. 1518.[40] Each of these universal histories treats the life stories of the prophets, though often in summary fashion. More interestingly, Ṭabarī's history and Bukhārī's *Tawārīkh-i ʿālam* include Iranian history as part of their narrative program.

The brief survey of the Topkapı collection sketched above demonstrates a marked interest in universal histories and literature on the stories of the prophets. Moreover, it displays two important characteristics of universal history-writing in the Islamic tradition that survived well into the sixteenth century. First, it reveals that religious and political histories were conceived as integral parts of the same story of human civilization. While the non-division between the sacred and secular should not be surprising in a pre-modern universal history, it is still worthwhile to revise it as we seek to understand the cultural origins of ʿĀrif's work.

The second significant trait of the Topkapı collection is the acceptance of mythic history outside of the domain of the three Religions of the Book—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—but within the domain of universal history. In the case of Islamic historiography, the principal reference was Iranian mythology brought to a comprehensive written form by Firdawsī in his *Shāhnāma* at the very beginning of the eleventh century. Although the inclusion of mythic history does not appear to be obligatory, as we have seen in the examples included in the Topkapı collection, it certainly presents itself as a valid option.

For the purposes of this essay, it suffices to note that the inclusion of Iranian mythic history in Ṭabarī and Bukhārī's histories provides precedence for *Anbiyānāma* and places it within a certain line of tradition in universal history-writing. Consequently, narrating the life story of the Iranian mythic king Jamshid in the first volume of ʿĀrif's universal history is not an anomaly. As a result, notwithstanding its thematic proximity to the genre of stories of the prophets, we can formally classify *Anbiyānāma* as the first chapter of a pre-modern universal history project that combined Islamicate religious, political, and mythical history in its special amalgam.

Nevertheless, I argue that, for ʿĀrif, writing linear history was only a means to an end. I contend that ʿĀrif and his team, while maintaining the outer shell of a universal history, are telling a further story, that of Sultan Süleyman's special role in history, as it begins from Creation. The hints of this story can be found in what has been defined as the two characteristics that mark *Anbiyānāma*'s differences from similar books: its persistent and consistent exploitation of the themes of the nature of authority and the science of the prophets and its singular thematic choices, which are emphasized in its visual program. In order to investigate the particular treatment of these issues in *Anbiyānāma,* let us revisit the genre to which it is thematically, if not conceptually, most related.

The Literature on the Prophets' Life Stories and *Anbiyānāma:* A Comparison of Interests

Whether as individual works or as parts of larger histories, the stories of the lives of the prophets owed their popularity among the various social classes of medieval and pre-modern Near Eastern society not only to the religious significance of their subject matter but also to the curious details they explained. These stories narrated events of a distant past with different norms. People lived for many hundreds of years. God communicated much more directly with humans. Even if they were not the order of the day, miracles were not uncommon. Although their intrinsic truth was not doubted by the faithful, the prophets' life stories certainly shared much with folkloric fairy tales and mythology in their frequent inclusion of extraordinary and exotic details. These curious details provided material for the illustrations of the books of the genre. The representations of Paradise, prophets, elegant and colorful angels, and other extraordinary creatures added further attraction to the written texts.

In the case of *Anbiyānāma,* however, we observe that the typical allure of the genre of prophets' life stories was not effectively exploited visually. Instead of Adam and Eve in exodus on wondrous animals, for example, we see them more statically placed as the king and queen of Paradise just before their losing their kingdom. The obvious choice for Noah's story, his ark loaded with pairs of animals, is rejected in favor of a range of calamities possibly suffered by the disobedient and the unfaithful. It is not the intrinsically sinister representation of the crow teaching Cain how to bury his brother, whose corpse Cain is typically depicted carrying and that we see in *Anbiyānāma.* Instead, God's choice of the brothers' sacrificial offerings is represented.

Unfortunately, many of the manuscripts that represent the stories of the prophets in word and image are not dated properly. Among those that are dated, the books produced earlier than *Anbiyānāma* are not illustrated. It seems that the illustration of books of this genre began in or around the sixteenth century.[41] Hence, we are not in a position to state that ʿĀrif and his team of artists stepped out of an already existing artistic convention with the scenes that are depicted and the moments that are emphasized in *Anbiyānāma.* Still, this should not hinder us from insisting on *Anbiyānāma*'s

diversity. Even if all of the extant illustrated manuscripts in the genre were dated after it, we can say that *Anbiyānāma*'s thematic choices were not aesthetically convincing enough to establish a tradition for books of this genre produced for the Ottoman palace in the 1570s.[42] While the *Anbiyānāma* depictions maintain their own beauty, they do not whet the viewer's appetite for curiosity.

Aesthetic criticism is not what is intended here. Instead, I argue that the thematic and compositional choices made in *Anbiyānāma* point toward other priorities, which were dictated to a large degree by the tastes and needs of the sultan and his court. In other words, the wonderful images of an illustrated book on the prophets' lives produced during the reign of Murad III (r. 1574–1595) might not have found the same favorable reception in the court of the older and ailing Süleyman.

In the case of *Anbiyānāma,* we have images that are not mere illustrations to add color and wonder to the text: they add aesthetic value, but they are not only decorative. Rather, they form an integral part of the narrative. They tell the stories of prophets and kings acquiring and at times losing political or spiritual authority and divine favor.[43] They demonstrate the disobedience of the first humans and prophets against God's rules and that, ultimately, they were always punished.[44]

In addition, we have seen that *Anbiyānāma*'s visual program presents teaching and civilizing the Islamic community as essential parts of the nature of prophethood.[45] Consequently, if we take the images in *Anbiyānāma* of Adam giving a sermon and Seth and Enoch teaching as representations of exemplary actions, we conclude that it is a responsibility of the prophets to share with their community the knowledge granted to them by God and transferred to them through the genealogy of Adam.

Interestingly, despite the book's title *Anbiyānāma* (The Book of Prophets), ʿĀrif rarely uses the term for prophet either in its singular or plural form—that is, *nabī* or *anbiyāʾ*. Thus, he also avoids engaging directly in the controversy among Islamic scholars concerning who among Adam's descendants until Noah was a prophet (*nabī*) and who was merely a deputy (*khalīfa*). Still, in the chapter headings, only after the names of Adam, Seth, Enoch, and Noah does ʿĀrif use the respectful phrase "peace be upon him," designating these men as Islamic prophets. Likewise, the name of Jamshid, who is one of the most important protagonists of the volume, does not appear even once in the chapter headings. In this way ʿĀrif acknowledges that Jamshid is not an actual Islamic prophet or a saint. With these measures, ʿĀrif carefully remains within the parameters of Islamic orthodoxy. Without crossing these boundaries, he tells his own "dynastic story."

All of the messages, the exemplary qualities and human errors of *Anbiyānāma* prophets and kings are described in word and image with what we can call "dynastic vocabulary." Although most of the same stories are included—albeit often in much shorter versions—in other world histories and stories of the prophets, in *Anbiyānāma* they are narrated with a "dynastic" perspective. From such a perspective, whether or not the protagonists of these stories are considered "prophets" (*anbiyāʾ*) is only of

secondary importance: all of the biblical figures are God's deputies (*khalīfa*), or viceroys, on earth. They all inherit divine light (*farr*) and sacred knowledge (*dānish*). In this way, ʿĀrif's storytelling in *Anbiyānāma* approximates the succession of prophets to dynastic succession.

Anbiyānāma's protagonists leave their "thrones" to their heirs. There are rightful heirs, like Seth, and those who try to usurp authority, like Cain. In filial relationships, the father is always in the right. In contrast, we read of both obedient (Abel, Seth, Enoch, Mahalaleel, Kayumars) and disobedient (Cain, Noah's son, Zahhak) sons.

Fraternal relationships are mentioned only in cases of inherent tension. Cain, disobeying God's rule, kills his brother Abel to marry his own twin sister, who was to be the rightful wife of Abel. Later, Seth kills his unbelieving, murdering brother Cain. Mahalaleel holds an assembly composed of dignitaries and his brother Kayumars after his father, Cainan's, death. They are both capable sons, but their father had declared Mahalaleel his rightful heir. The tension is resolved by Kayumars's unconditional obedience to his brother: now that their father was dead, leaving Mahalaleel as his rightful heir, Kayumars was obliged to see his brother as father and king.

Significantly, this meeting invites a nearly one-to-one correspondence with the imagined meeting between Osman's sons Orhan (r. 1324–1361) and Alaüddin (d. 1331) in *ʿOṣmānnāma,* the fourth volume of ʿĀrif's Ottoman *Shāhnāma*. Due to Alaüddin's compliancy, Orhan's meeting with his brother also ends in a similar, peaceful fashion. After reading the detailed descriptions of these invented meetings in *Anbiyānāma* and *ʿOṣmānnāma,* one cannot help but wonder: Were these meetings conjured in order to set examples to Sultan Süleyman's two remaining sons, Bayezid (d. 1561) and Selim (r. 1566–1574)?

As a matter of fact, the issue of dynastic succession had been an open wound for the Ottoman dynasty since its days as a budding principality at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Sultan Süleyman's great-grandfather Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446 and 1451–1481) had even legalized fraternal bloodshed with a law code declaring that it was acceptable for the prince upon whom sovereignty was bestowed by God to kill his brothers for the sake of public order.[46] However, it was Süleyman's father Selim I who had raised the level of violence to a level never seen before. In his late teens, then-prince Süleyman witnessed his father's massacre of his uncles, nephews, and probably his grandfather in order to seize the Ottoman throne. Needless to say, for a prince, murdering his own father was never deemed acceptable, by law or by custom.

As he started aging, Sultan Süleyman himself became convinced that there were threats to his own throne and possibly his well-being by his first-born, Mustafa (d. 1553). Merely five years after having his widely popular son Mustafa killed—and his own reputation of justice ruined by this action—around 1558, when *Anbiyānāma* was produced, the tension between his remaining two sons was on the rise. It would not come as surprise that ʿĀrif's Ottoman *Shāhnāma* reflected anxiety and fear of bloodshed and even offered solutions approved by the sultan. In fact, the concern for

the imminent problems of succession would explain well the noticeable emphasis on father-son stories and Cain's "over"-representation, as well as the imagined meeting between Mahalaleel, the Hebrew prophet, and Kayumars, the ancient Persian king, as brothers.

Whether or not ʿĀrif's *Shāhnāma* offered solutions for a peaceful resolution of dynastic succession, the first volume, with its dynastic tone and its selection of highlighted themes, reminisces rather suggestively of contemporaneous concerns. Pertaining to filial and fraternal behavior, it presents both idealized examples to emulate and unmistakably bad ones from which to learn. At the same time, *Anbiyānāma* confirms the constant good will of the father. Moreover, the emphasized stories of human error and sins (Adam, Cain, Jamshid, Zahhak, Noah's son); disobedience and punishment (Cain, Jamshid, Noah's son); seduction by the devil and the harm it causes (Adam and Eve, Cain, Jamshid); as well as fatherly affection, disillusionment, despair, anger, and suffering (Adam, Noah, and, though less elaborated, Zahhak's father, Merdas) invite the reader/viewer to empathize with the early prophets as if they were fellow humans from one's own century. The discernable similarities between the concerns of *Anbiyānāma*'s prophet-kings and those of the Ottoman "king" Süleyman approach the projection of the personae of the prophet-kings onto Süleyman.

However, if one wished to promote the image of the sultan as a prophet-king, it would not have sufficed to drag down the divinely chosen prophet-kings to the human level of an elderly sultan whose legacy was in danger. The image of the sultan should be elevated toward the level of prophet-kings.

The Nature of Sultan Süleyman's Authority

> While he is not a prophet, to that distinguished creature
> The Creator gave all moral qualities of the prophets
> All saints recognized his saintly power
> If that shah is called "holy," that suits the notion of holiness.
> Especially necessary and important are the attributes of the earlier kings who were adornment of the rank of world-rulers and personification of the imperial position such as subjects-nourishing endeavors and justice-spreading affairs. The rays of light that are marks (of holiness) were manifest and visible, evident and clear like lights in his noble character, on his face that resembles the shining sun.[47]

With these words, Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi (d. 1567), one of the most prominent Ottoman statesmen of the sixteenth century, described the young sultan Süleyman in the preamble to the law code of Egypt. If we believe his words, they indicate clearly that this well-respected statesman, who served as chancellor to Süleyman between 1534 and 1555, considered himself before a saintly universal emperor. The sultan he served, "while not a prophet," was bestowed by God the moral qualities of a prophet as well as saintly power.

The fact that Celālzāde wrote these words in the introduction to a highly important public and legal document—and that they were not the outcome of mere eccentricity, as both the writer and his preamble remained in position—leaves no doubt that his views were accepted and approved. The prominent bureaucratic position of Celālzāde and the public quality of the document also make it more than likely that he was not the only person who envisioned and/or described his sultan in these terms. The image of the sultan as the saintly king must have had currency at least among other high statesmen as well as among the lower officials who had to pay them lip service.

In fact, Süleyman's own interest in acquiring a special crown from Venice around 1532, less than ten years after the preamble was written, demonstrates that a version of Celālzāde's claim of political authority and spiritual guidance for the sultan was shared by Süleyman himself. Furthermore, it was shared by his Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1536) and Treasurer Iskender Çelebi (d. 1534), both of whom encouraged and mediated the order and the purchase.[48]

This crown of four tiers was richly encrusted with jewels and decorated with a plumed aigrette. Visually, it resembled the outcome of the superimposition of two crowns: the imperial crown that formed the base and the papal crown of three tiers. The structure of the plumed helmet-crown also made allusions to similar helmet-crowns in the images of Near Eastern kings and especially of Alexander the Great in Ottoman miniatures.[49] Unlike the tiered form of the crown, the plume as a decoration belonged, in fact, to the conventional ceremonial headgear of the sultan. In all, the image of Süleyman with this extraordinarily high crown of four tiaras was a powerful and rather haughty symbolic declaration of his leadership in both the temporal and the spiritual realms.

The existence of such a crown, which repeatedly appeared in contemporaneous engravings and pamphlets by western European artists, also signified that in the early 1530s the idea of Süleyman's joint universal political and spiritual authority was still publicly claimed. Whereas Celālzāde's words were directed to an Ottoman audience composed mainly of the judiciary branch of the pre-modern Ottoman state, the symbolism of the crown was directed toward a western European audience in general and to the Pope and the Habsburg emperor Charles V (d. 1556) in particular.

Indeed, the crown was ordered for the occasion of Süleyman's military campaign toward Vienna, where he hoped to meet Charles as the commander of the Habsburg troops. Charles V had been crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope in February 1530. In September 1529, a few months prior to the coronation, in his famous discourse in Madrid, he had stated his desire to be the universal ruler "as it is established in the Sacred Kingdom of the Heavens."[50] To the disappointment of the Ottoman sultan, however, the Holy Roman Emperor withheld the order for a decisive battle with the Ottoman army. In 1533, without an encounter with his rival Ottoman emperor, Charles retreated to Spain.

The crown of four tiers represented Süleyman's claim over the universalist ambitions not only of Charles V but also of the Pope. We do not know whether the Ottoman sultan investigated the symbolic meaning of the tri-level papal crown, although such curiosity on his part should be regarded as a logical possibility. It would be interesting to know if Süleyman was aware that one of the common interpretations of the three tiaras made direct reference to the three-fold office of Christ: as priest, prophet, and king. Another popular interpretation explains the symbolism of the crown in terms of the three-fold authority of the Supreme Pontiff: as Universal Pastor, Universal Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and Temporal Power. Still another interpretation associates the three tiaras with the Pope's role as lawgiver, judge, and teacher. The terminological and ideological similarities between the ambitions of the Pope and Süleyman "the Lawgiver"[51] are clear and numerous.

In this political environment of contention in the first half of the sixteenth century, Süleyman's crown also revealed that, in the Mediterranean basin, expectations of politically and spiritually unified governance were shared.[52] As for the symbolic language used to express them, it was easily translatable. The idea of charging each level of a crown with a different authority that we have seen in both Süleyman's superimposed double crown and the papal crown of three tiaras reflects a mentality akin to the one behind the descriptions of Adam's authority in *Anbiyānāma*. The associations with temporal and spiritual authority, as well as educational guidance, that figure repeatedly among interpretations of the symbolic meaning of the papal crown echo the themes salient in *Anbiyānāma*'s literary and visual program, a section of which we have examined previously.

While direct importation from one example to another does not seem likely, it is also difficult to deny the existence of a common cultural denominator at least in the pre-modern Mediterranean context in which the crown was used as a prominent instrument in representing authority and in which authority was seen as the exercise of power in several realms.[53]

Furthermore, in both the Christian and Muslim cultural domains the ideal and most legitimate base of authority, may it be temporal or sacred, was the Divine.[54] We can consider the words of Celālzāde and Charles V as two of many formulations of this ancient base of authority. It is also in this context that the representations of authority in *Anbiyānāma* become relevant to the Ottoman political culture in Süleyman's time.

Conclusion: The Significance of *Anbiyānāma* in Constructing Süleyman's Image

We have seen that in the first volume of the first dynastic history project of Süleyman's reign, the two miniatures on Adam's legacy demonstrate that God created a kingdom to be ruled by a human in the Garden before Adam and Eve's expulsion. In fact, as it appears in the miniatures, in the original and ideal scheme of things God willed only one human to rule all creatures, the way Adam did. In a sense, the image Sultan

Süleyman's artists were painting in the sinning scene of Adam was merely a version of the "Sacred Kingdom of the Heavens" to which Charles V was referring in his imperial speech in Madrid as he supported his universalist claims on a religious basis.

In contrast to the crown of four tiers, however, the Persian verse of ʿĀrif's Ottoman *Shāhnāma* and its Persianate miniatures did not address a western European audience. To be exact, *Anbiyānāma* and the other four volumes of his universal history belonged to a specific group of books prepared for the literary and visual consumption of the sultan and his court. Unlike Celālzāde's preamble to the law code and Süleyman's crown of four tiaras, which were prepared for an external public of varying composition and size, ʿĀrif's *Shāhnāma* was manufactured for the eyes, ears, and minds of an audience within the palace. Its refined language; persistent yet subtle dealing with taboos (such as the defeat of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I by Timur in the fourth volume and Prince Mustafa's execution by his father Süleyman's order in the fifth); and the presence of historical, literary, and visual references to incidents, works, and people easily recognizable by the court elite but perhaps not by the common literate subject (such as Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha's [d. 1561] physical particularities and the reputed soldier-poet Yaḥyā Beg's [d. 1578] poem after Mustafa's execution in the fifth volume) reveal that the project was directed toward an inner audience limited in number but not in stature.[55]

As such, ʿĀrif's *Shāhnāma-yi Āl-i ʿOṣmān* had not only a propagandist but also an instructive quality. This quality previously has been mentioned in relation to the lessons the reader/viewer could derive by "reading" the literary and pictorial narration of the sins represented in *Anbiyānāma.* Other indicators of the instructive function of ʿĀrif's project include the attention shown and the space given in *Sulaymānnāma,* the fifth volume of the project, to the workings of and the ranks forming the Ottoman order. This care also reflects an instructive mindset that aims to present and conserve the correct parameters of an established and idealized order. The same mindset can be observed in the organization of the figures in the depictions of the same fifth volume, in groups according to their duties and ranks (fig. 6.7).

Aside from reflecting an inherent obsession with hierarchy and order, these and other details make it highly likely that, like the many books circulating in the court, one important function of ʿĀrif's *Shāhnāma* was "to create a common culture and a shared imperial identity."[56] As is often the case with history-writing, in the hands of ʿĀrif and his team of artists narrative history became a vehicle to construct a certain identity. In the case of *Shāhnāma-yi Āl-i ʿOṣmān,* the identity referred to is principally dynastic. It is also exceptionally ambitious.

In effect, ʿĀrif's *Shāhnāma* bends not only the Persian literary language but also Iranian iconography to elevate the history of the Ottoman dynasty to mythic levels. By commencing the fourth volume—and hence the fourth epoch of human history—with the arrival of Osman, it implants the relatively new and hybrid seeds of the dynasty into a historically privileged terrain irrigated simultaneously by Iranian mythology

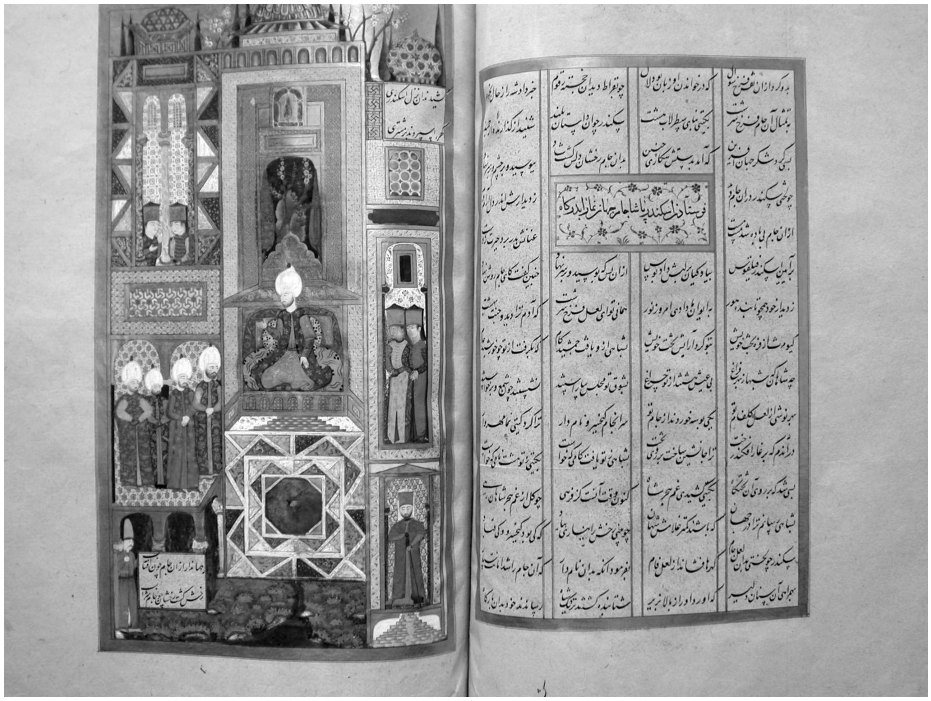

Figure 6.7. Süleyman presented with the ruby cup, ʿĀrif, *Sulaymānnāma,* 1558. TPML, H. 1517, 557a.

and Islamicate legacy. As the age of the prophets does not end with the closing of the first volume of *Anbiyānāma,* the Ottoman age begun by the arrival of Osman does not end with the fourth volume. On the contrary, the following volume brings the glad tidings of a new Ottoman epoch, that of Süleyman. In this last volume, the qualifications for the prophet-kings presented in *Anbiyānāma* find their realization once more after an entire journey of world history. It is also here that the sultan is raised toward the level of *Anbiyānāma*'s prophet-kings, the narration of whose human suffering, I had argued previously, brought them close to Süleyman.

According to the introductory pages of *Sulaymānnāma,* no other person joined royal glory and religious leadership in his person like Sultan Süleyman, who ruled over the world in a century equally extraordinary. ʿĀrif writes that both the century, the tenth after the Hijra, and its child and lord—the tenth in the Ottoman dynasty, Sultan Süleyman—were far more different than anyone could have imagined.[57] Moreover, in the cosmology described in the introductory folios of this volume ʿĀrif declares that the Ottoman ruler was the last reformer of (the true) religion (*mujaddid*)[58] and the seal indicating the end of "credence and kingship" (*kīsh-u-shāhī*).[59] In other words,

Süleyman was the last mythic-king of the "new *Shāhnāma*" as well as the last person who combined prophetic authority with the political in human history and educated and guided humanity toward the right path. As Adam began the first era of human history, Sultan Süleyman marked the last.

Notes

1. This essay would not have been possible without the kind help and generosity of Dr. Alessandro Bruschettini of the Bruschettini Foundation of Islamic and Asian Art in allowing me to work on *Anbiyānāma*. I also owe many thanks to İlber Ortaylı, the director of the Topkapı Palace Museum, and Zeynep Çelik Atbaş from its manuscript library for permission to use their images. All of the manuscripts are preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum manuscript library, except *Anbiyānāma* and *ʿOṣmānnāma,* which are in the Bruschettini collection. Catalogue numbers of manuscripts consulted at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TPML) are as follows: A. 2861, A. 2862, A. 2863/1, A. 2863/2, A. 2863/4, A. 2864, A. 2865/1, A. 2865/2, A. 2866, A. 2867, A. 2868, A. 2964, A.2965, A. 3006, A. 3599, B. 41, B. 249, E.H. 1430, H. 1224, H. 1225, H. 1226, H. 1227, H. 1228, H. 1517, H. 1570, H. 1653, H. 1654, H.S. 578, R. 1518, R. 1536, R. 1540 mükerrer. All of the translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Only the excerpts from the text are transcribed fully. The Persian transcriptions follow the spelling of the original text as much as possible and hence diverge from the modern spelling at certain points.

2. ʿĀrif was the penname of Fetḥullāh Çelebi, who acted as the first official *şehnāmeci* (or *shāhnāma-gūy,* Ottoman *shāhnāma* narrator) during the reign of Sultan Süleyman. For ʿĀrif's career and the Ottoman *shāhnāma*s of Süleyman's reign, see Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz, "The Shehnamecis of Sultan Süleymān: ʿĀrif and Eflatun and Their Dynastic Project" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2010). For other evaluations of the Ottoman *shāhnāma*s, see Christine Woodhead, "Reading Ottoman Şehnames: Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 104/105 (2007): 67–80; and Baki Tezcan, "The Politics of Early Modern Ottoman Historiography," in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire,* ed. Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

3. ʿĀrif does not explain the stories of Enoch's descendants until Noah. Instead of the legacies of Methuselah (*Matūshālaḥ*) and Lamech (*Amak*), he includes a section with no chapter headings on the mythic Iranian king Jamshid. In the text we also encounter curious spellings for Jared and Seth: "Barad" and "Shīsh," respectively.

4. Kayumars is the first mythical Iranian king. Zahhak is the son of Merdas, who was believed to descend from an Arabic tribe. Seduced by the evil source Ahriman, Prince Zahhak kills his father and usurps the throne. As a result of his pact with Ahriman, a snake that needs to be fed a human head each day appears on each of his shoulders. Thus, Zahhak becomes a doomed and demonized figure. He is also the one who takes over the reign of Jamshid after the latter falls from divine favor, and Zahhak orders Jamshid to be slain in two.

5. The remaining images represent incidents from the legacies of the prophets Muhammad (the miraculous ascension), Adam (Adam's first sermon, Adam and Eve [*Ḥawwā*] about to eat the forbidden fruit, the sacrifice of Cain [*Qābīl*] and Abel [*Hābīl*]), Seth (Seth teaching tailoring, the battle of Seth and Cain), Enoch (teaching writing), and Noah (the Deluge).

6. Eryılmaz, "The Shehnamecis of Sultan Süleymān."

7. *Anbiyānāma,* 15a.

8. Ibid., 20a.
9. Ibid., 25b.
10. Qur'an, 2: 30–33.
11. TPML, H. 1226, 8b.
12. TPML, E.H. 1430, 8a.
13. *Anbiyānāma,* 14a.
14. There is, however, an important distinction between the two situations. The angels are prostrating in adoration of the vision of God on Adam's face. Adam is the first imam, but he also, in a sense, embodies, or at least reflects, the divine essence. In contrast, Muslims do not prostrate before the imam but before God and behind the imam. The imam is an ordinary member of the Muslim community with a special temporary assignment in Islamic religious practice. Adam, however, is not an equal member of the community of the faithful. He is raised above the angels—and closer to God.
15. *Anbiyānāma,* 14a.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., 14b.
18. The quality of the image does not allow us to determine whether Adam is wearing a double-tiered crown, which would include both his Crown of Salvation and his Crown of Magnanimity.
19. All translations from al-Kisā'ī are from *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i,* trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Boston: Twayne, 1978), 36–42. In the versions related in al-Ṭabarī, for example, Satan talks to Eve either through a serpent or openly as an angel. The peacock does not appear in any of the versions, and in those in which Satan does not hide there is no mention of the snake. See *The History of al-Ṭabarī (Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk),* trans. Franz Rosenthal (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 1:274–282. In *Bahjat al-Tawārīkh,* Satan talks to Adam and Eve through the snake, telling them that in order to stay in Paradise eternally they must eat from the cluster of grain. TPML, R. 1538, 49a.
20. For various versions of the story of the original scene and general references, see *EI2,* s.v. "Ādam" (Johannes Pedersen).
21. From the royal Ottoman collection in the Topkapı Palace Museum manuscript library we can give as examples several copies of al-Tha'lābī's *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā',* including H. 1225 (14b, fig. 5), H. 1228 (8a), and R. 1536 (16b). From the same collection, B. 250 (36a), a copy of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daydūzamī's *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* offers another similar example.
22. *Anbiyānāma,* 20a, published in Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), 59.
23. Qur'an, 21: 74.
24. Qur'an, 21: 79.
25. Qur'an, 2: 31, 32.
26. Qur'an, 2: 32.
27. On the Imperial Scroll and its authorship, see Eryılmaz, "The Shehnamecis of Sultan Süleymān."
28. With later additions, the Scroll's text extends to the beginning of the reign of Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603).
29. TPML, A. 3599.
30. This manuscript is preserved in the collection of the Bruschettini Foundation of Islamic and Asian Art.
31. TPML, B. 249, H. 1224, H. 1225, H. 1226, H. 1227, H. 1228, R. 1536, E.H. 1430.
32. TPML, B. 250; Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), 47.
33. TPML, R. 1534, H. 1236; Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu.*

34. TPML, R. 1584, R. 1585, A.2964, A. 2965, A. 2861, A. 2862, A. 2863/1, A. 2863/4, 2865/2, A. 2866, A. 2867, A. 2868, A. 3006, and B. 41. An additional four (A. 2863/2, A. 2864, A. 2865/1, H.S. 578) are not dated. A. 2863/2 formally resembles the Mamluk copies and must date from the late fifteenth century. The calligraphy of A. 2864 and A. 2865/1 also suggests that they originate from the same source and hence are likely to date from late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries.

35. TPML, A. 2861, A. 2862, A. 2863/1, A. 2863/4, A. 2865/2. The undated copies A. 2863/2, A. 2864, A. 2865/1 are also copies of the same work, most probably from the same period.

36. TPML, A. 2964, A.2965; Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1966), 3:406–407.

37. TPML, A. 2929/1, A. 2929/9, A. 2929/11, A. 2929/12, A. 2929/13, R. 1555; Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu,* 3:339–341.

38. Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu,* 37.

39. Ibid., 39–42.

40. Ibid., 38, 53, 329. For this essay I examined H. 1653.

41. Although sixteenth-century interest in the visual representation of the prophets' life stories calls for examination in itself, such an investigation falls outside the scope of this article.

42. For examples of the visual programs of books on the stories of the prophets, see Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of the Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), especially 185–217.

43. For example, the images of the sinning of Adam and Eve, Jamshid with the old lady, and Jamshid slain in two.

44. For example, the images of the sinning of Adam and Eve, the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, the battle of Seth and Cain, Jamshid with the old lady, Jamshid slain in two, and the Deluge.

45. For example, the images of Adam giving the first sermon, Seth teaching tailoring, and Enoch teaching writing.

46. "Ve her kimesneye evlādumdan salṭanat müyesser ola ḳarındaşların niẓām-ı ʿālem içün ḳatl itmek münāsibdir ekṣer ʿulemā daḫī tecvīz itmişdür anuñla ʿāmil ola." *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOṣmān* (Istanbul: Aḥmed İḥṣān ve Şürekāsı, 1330/1914), 27.

47. From the translation of the preamble to the law code of Egypt by Snježana Buzov. Snježana Buzov, "The Lawgiver and His Lawmakers: The Role of Legal Discourse in the Change of Ottoman Imperial Culture" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2005), appendix A, 209. I thank Buzov for sending her unpublished thesis.

48. Gülru Necipoglu, "Suleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 401–427.

49. Ibid., 411.

50. Translation mine. The complete quotation is "nuestro deseo y voluntad es que no haya muchos señores, sino uno solo, como está constituido el Santo Reino de los Cielos." Series directed by John Lynch, *Monarquía e Imperio: El Reinado de Carlos V,* 194. For a general overview of Charles's imperial project in English, see John Lynch, *Spain 1516–1598: From Nation to World Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), especially 95–116.

51. We do not know if Süleyman was given the epithet of "Lawgiver"—or "*Ḳānūnī*" in Turkish—during his reign. However, he cultivated justice as one of the pillars of his reputation and is credited for the standardization of law to an extent that was exceptional for a pre-modern state of such vast territorial domain.

52. Indeed, the Ottoman-Habsburg contention had the effect of uniting apocalyptic expectations with the universalist ambitions of the rivaling rulers. In this respect, we should note Mevlānā ʿĪsā's (d. 1543) third rescension (1543) of his Ottoman history *Cāmiʿü'l-Meknūnāt* (The Compendium of Hidden Things), in which he argued that Sultan Süleyman had a special role as the temporal and