ABSTRACT
This article suggests that the *futuwwa* articulated by Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (1144-1234) created a paradigm of exclusion and inclusion for late medieval Anatolian urban confraternities. This largely faith-based construct was developed at the Seljuk capital of Konya and reduplicated in *futuwwa* treatises that were composed in Armenian, Persian and Turkish in the region. The multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-religious cultural environment of the late medieval Anatolian city provided an opportunity and, possibly, a necessity for *futuwwa* associations to draw boundaries around their associations. It is uniquely through the study of the city as a unit that we will be able to understand the huge cultural and religious transformations that were taking place in Anatolia during the late medieval period; study of *futuwwa* associations as regulating urban populations provides a window of insight into the ways in which groups of men attempted to define themselves in juxtaposition with others.
The 14th-century hagiography, the *manāqib al-ʿārifīn*, contains a short but striking story from the life of Chalabī Amīr ʿĀref (d. 1320), grandson of Mowlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273).1 According to the text’s author, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī (d. 1360), Chalabī Amīr ʿĀrif traveled from Konya to Sivas with a group of his followers, including a team of rendān (or, lower level members of a futuwwa-based urban confraternity).2 While riding through the city, Chalabī Amīr ʿĀrif came upon a disheveled and mumbling mystic with a large crowd gathered around him. The townspeople called this dervish the “pivot of the world,” (*qutb-i ʿālam*) a term used within the context of Islamic mysticism for those individuals who have achieved union with God and can be considered, “perfect.”3 But the author of the hagiography included one complicating detail: this dervish, this “pivot of the world” with the grand following in the streets of Sivas was speaking Armenian.4 Aflākī does not problematize the fact that an Armenian-speaker would likely have been a Christian (at least by birth) or the fact that the people in the streets listening to him must have understood at least some of what he was saying – if they were, indeed, referring to him as a “pivot.” But he does relate that Chalabī Amīr ʿĀrif disliked that the man had such a large audience and challenged him, ordering him to pack up his things and move along. According to Aflākī, once the Armenian-speaking mystic was confronted, the *rindān* of Sivas reacted violently and a ruckus broke out

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1 The *Manāqeb al-ʿĀrifīn* is a hagiography of the family of Mowlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī that was commissioned by Chalabī Amīr ʿĀrif around 1318. The author was a close associate of Chalabī Amīr ʿĀrif and subsequent to his death in 1319, continued to serve members of his family until his death. While not considered an unbiased or totally accurate account of the development of the mystical brotherhood associated with Mowlānā, the text gives great insight into the political, social and cultural playing field of 13th and 14th-century Anatolia and also into the ways in which Chalabī Amīr ʿĀrif wanted his family’s legacy to be recorded.

2 The *rind* (pl., *rindān, runūd*) or “rogues” of late medieval Anatolia appear in various chronicles and hagiographies of the time period. Speros Vryonis has suggested that they are the low-level initiates of the *akhī* associations. Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism and the Islamization of Asia Minor* (Berkeley: University of California, 1971), p. 398. As they were basically free agents, it would seem that they most often collaborated with the grass-roots *akhī* confraternities, but were also “hired out” on occasion by various other powers, including the Seljuk sultans themselves. See: Anonymous, *Andolu Selçukluları Devleti Tarhı III / Histoire des Seldoukides d’Asie Mineure*, ed. F. N. Uzluğ (Ankara: TTK, 1952), pp. 33 (T), pp. 50 (P).

3 This particular mystic, as he is described by the author as *parishān* (Pers., disheveled) might even have been one of the antinomians who renounced the world and introduced a new mode of religiosity into Islamdom in the later middle period as studied by Ahmet Karamustafa in *Gods Unruly Friends* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1994), pp. 2-6.

between the visiting akhīs and rindān from Kayseri and Konya and the hometown fraternity members. The fighting was only put to a stop when a local leader -- Akhī Muḥammad-e Dīvānī -- suggested that both men were significant spiritual leaders and that no one should engage in combat but rather should wait and see what happened. According to the narrator, the Armenian-speaking mystic died just seven days later after which many of the people of Sivas became loyal followers of Chalabī Amīr ‘Ārif.

This particular moment as described by Aflākī offers insight into the machinations of everyday life in a 13th or 14th-century Anatolian city. The account as described attests to the importance of urban identity (and loyalty) in the region. And also suggests that categories of social organization in late medieval Anatolia were not necessarily clear, but that an individual’s identity was multi-layered and complex and seemingly governed by a range of allegiances (to linguistic identity, faith group and urban association), and that this created a certain degree of confusion that could result in violence if not monitored. In this specific case, the fact that an Armenian-speaking mystic was protected in Sivas by members of a futuwwa-based confraternity forces us to question many of the basic assumptions made by scholars about inter-faith interaction and futuwwa-based confraternities in late medieval Anatolian cities.

Late medieval Anatolian urban confraternities – based on codes of futuwwa – were exclusive institutions whose constitutions aimed to direct members in dealing with various challenges posed by city life. Concerns related to late medieval Anatolian urbanism and present in the codes composed there include: determining factors of inclusion and exclusion, the observance of faith-related practices, and the relationship of members of futuwwa associations with various aspects of city life (in terms of the type of structure they should use, how they should behave with each other in private and in public and, specifically, with relation to the marketplace.)

Futuwwa is a concept that crystallized by the 10th century as a code of conduct linked to Islamic mysticism and meant for use by groups of young men. But the tenets of the code itself – as articulated in treatises by mystics in places like Khorasan and

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Baghdad (and later in Anatolia) – seem to have changed with some frequency. An overwhelmingly urban phenomenon, over time futuwwa had a changeable relationship with faith (and, specifically, with shiism and mysticism), trade and violence. In many cases, early medieval descriptive texts seem to paint a picture of the activities of futuwwa-based brotherhoods that differs quite distinctly from the content of their codes. It has been suggested by Deborah Tor, for example, that the relationship between medieval ‘ayyārs (urban paramilitary groups) and futuwwa in the caliphal capital of Baghdad was in many ways similar to the relationship between medieval European juvenes and codes of chivalry. Tor has shown that participation in a futuwwa-based association implied violence to a certain degree (even though the codes themselves generally oppose it) and that proponents of futuwwa did engage in armed conflict, not necessarily in contradiction with their code of conduct, even if their enthusiasm for violence was occasionally criticized by contemporary descriptive sources.

This article suggests that the city – as a unit of measurement – offers a prime opportunity for the study of the late medieval Anatolia as the region experienced a wide range of political, institutional and cultural changes. And it will examine the experience of different Anatolian cities with regard to the activities and philosophies of futuwwa-based confraternities. Futuwwa organizations were one of the most significant “intentional communities” in late medieval Anatolian cities. As has been suggested by Cemal Kafadar, the comparison between Anatolia and Iberia offers a great opportunity for profound understanding of the ways in which different linguistic and religious cultures interact with one another in the late medieval Mediterranean world. While historians like Américo Castro advocated for an overwhelming convivencia (or, coexistence) in the

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multi-cultural Iberian Peninsula, more recent scholarship has suggested that Europe was home to a certain degree of inter-faith toleration but that interactions between various communities were punctuated by periods of intense violence against minority groups.

This article will suggest that study of futuwwa associations in late medieval Anatolia offers an alternative approach to the study of late medieval societies with complex cultural constituencies. The texts composed by urban confraternities centered in futuwwa – and the information we know about the cities within which the texts were composed -- suggest that in Anatolian cities, there was a need for the creation of faith-based, exclusive, urban brotherhoods that were engaged in various managerial activities. Study of these associations and their obsession with regulation of membership activity – both inside and outside the confraternity itself – suggest a sort of Anatolian urban consciousness of: the importance of the city as a political unit; the potential significance of an urban confraternity; the necessity of faith-based identity; and the enforcement of inclusive and exclusive policies related to the brotherhood.

Because of the complicated political theater that existed in late medieval Anatolia, the region’s robust cities became more significant as arbiters of social expression. As futuwwa-based confraternities were primarily urban actors, the relative significance of urban life meant that akhi associations became defining players in the daily life of the region. And while confusion abounds with regard to our understanding of the time period, futuwwa treatises and the study of akhi associations offer insight into how and why faith-based, exclusive, community-building urban social institutions were established and what their relationship was to the cultural, social and political tumultuousness of the time.

The beauty – and efficacy – of study of the codes composed for futuwwa brotherhoods in late medieval Anatolia is that they articulate at different moments, in different in cities, various rules associated with exclusion and inclusion policies. That cities were significant as political units and places where much inter-cultural interaction took place means that these texts offer insight into how those inter-faith interactions were mediated at various moments in disparate regions of Anatolia. That the texts share so

many commonalities in spite of this – and that the cities that influenced their composition had such different political histories and yet similar forms of exclusion, inclusion and participation reinforces the significance of the urban experience in Anatolia as a means of better understanding the cultural and political transformations of the time.

THE ANATOLIAN CITY

The late 13th-century Seljuk chancellor and chronicler Ibn Bībī, in describing the development of the city of Konya under the Seljuk Sultan ‘Alā ad-Dīn Kay Qubādh (r. 1220-1237), composed the following poem:

Men from all lands hasten
To make in that city of happiness a homeland.
Not a city, you were a complete world;
You were a deep sea and the city of renown.13

That the Seljuk chronicler Ibn Bībī describes the capital city of Konya as a “world unto itself” suggests a medieval Anatolian reverence for cities and their development, most likely as a sign of stability and intellectual and tangible wealth. The movement towards urban revival and development is generally linked with Seljuk expansion, as initiated under Sultan ‘Alā ad-Dīn Kay Qubādh.14 However, throughout the 13th century and even into the early 14th century, great construction projects were undertaken in many cities in Anatolia – both before and after the Mongol invasions in 1243 -- and the result was the creation of a vivacious urban life.15 Because futuwwa associations were intimately linked with urban activity, their activities as performers in the “worlds” of late medieval

14 In her recent Ph.D dissertation, Suzan Yalman has termed this particular sultan’s efforts to develop construction and social services in cities a “commitment to urbanism.” Suzan Yalman, Building the Sultanate of Rum: Memory, Urbanism and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of ‘Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-1237) (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation: Harvard University, 2010), p. 233.
Anatolia shed light upon how and why futuwwa communities were formed and why there seems to have been a necessity for them in Anatolia during this time period.

The pluralism of short-lived polities that existed in very quick succession and ruling over varying areas of land in late medieval Anatolia has generated a historiography based on dynasty-oriented narratives that create a jumbled, ephemeral understanding of the time. Considering urban units as an alternative basis of historical analysis offers a means for comparison that allows us to see continuity in the story of competing hierarchies within an urban context. The latter is possible because the types of actors engaged in city life were generally the same, even though each city may have a different story of political governance. These actors include: akhīs (or, members of urban confraternities), dervishes, priests and bishops (Arm, Greek, Syriac), imams, qādis, antinomians (whether Christian or Muslim) and nobles (whether Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Greek, Syriac, Persian or Turkish-speaking). And not only were the actors in cities across Anatolia similar, but so were many of their concerns with regard to the establishment of exclusive, faith-oriented, hierarchical associations.

In fact, considering late medieval sources, it becomes clear that identities were formed almost primarily around the city. A poem by Sultan Walad (d. 1313), the son of Mowlānā, illustrates the author’s reverence for the Seljuk capital:

O Konya, full of cavalry soldiers
You are the throne of the territories of Rum
Every city is grand like an Emir
You are the head of the cities like a Shah
Every citadel is a luminous star
You are the head of the stars like the Moon
Since his highness our Shah selected you
You are the Mecca and the Kaaba Divine.

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16 Study of the time period was even discouraged by specialists in the field because of its “complexity” and the supposed “dearth” of sources. See Gary Leiser, “The Seljuks of Anatolia,” Mesogéios, V. 25-26 (2005), pp. 7-8.
As early as 1971, Claude Cahen linked an urban-based identity to the tradition of history-writing in late medieval Anatolia. More recently, Andrew Peacock has shown that the importance of urban identity can be gleaned from the works early 13th-century historians. Having considered the earliest Anatolian Persian-language history, *Anīs al-Qulūb* (completed in Persian by a Muslim resident of Ani known as Anavī in 1210) and *al-Walad al-Shafiq* (composed by a Kadi from the city Niğde), Peacock has, in fact, suggested that the two authors of these texts were more concerned with their urban identities than they were with their regional notions of self. In the late medieval Armenian context, as well, it would appear that urban identities were important, even though on top of urban allegiances towards local rulers negotiated by Armenians, there also existed relatively loose allegiances of place and power to local Armenian nobles and *mecatuns* (or, nouveau riches) as well as to two Armenian hierarchies: that of the Armenian Church as well as that of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1178-1375). Still, concern with the city and with the importance of urban identity is vocalized by some of the most significant Armenian authors of the 13th century.

For example, late 13th-century Armenian priest-poet Yovhannēs of Erzinjan – who composed two Armenian-language treatises on *futuwra* -- compares a man’s body to the structure of a city:

As you see the body of a man, it is like a city with one fortification and five gates surrounding it: one gate is the eye, another is the ears, one is the nose, another is the mouth, and one is the hand and foot which are tangibles. All good and evil enters and exits through these gates.

That such an intimate relationship between city and a man’s body was constructed by Yovhannēs of Erzinjan suggests that this author knew that his audience would relate to such an image, and to the anthropomorphizing comparison he makes. In what was perhaps a reference to the numerous attacks by various powers on the cities in which

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Yovhannēs had lived, he compares Satan to invaders attempting to steal booty from the city:

The soul is the inhabitant of this city. Man’s good works are the treasure of this city, its source and its jewel. The mind is the king and the watchman of the jewel. Satan and the devils are evil-minded and want to take the city and the good soul, which is its treasure, and steal it.  

His message is clear: if one is meant to protect the booty in one’s city from invaders, then one must be sure to protect one’s soul from Satan.

The centrality of the city itself was a fundamental part of a late medieval Anatolian urban conception of reality, regardless of the language one spoke or the faith one practiced. It was, in fact, within the framework of the city that urban dwellers understood their immediate reality – and not necessarily within the context of a particular polity or religious hierarchy. It is because of the centrality of the city that urban-based futuwwa brotherhoods became significant in late medieval Anatolia. And, thus, that in contemplating their activities and concerns that the complexities of medieval Anatolian coexistence and competition can be better understood as realities that affected the ways in which urban dwellers understood exclusion and inclusion.

*AKHĪS, URBANITY AND BUILDINGS*

Throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, members of Anatolian futuwwa associations were involved in a wide range of urban activities. Akhīs lived in cities – even if some of them were part of a landed elite -- and endowed buildings in them (primarily lodges and tombs); in some cases, akhīs also interceded as diplomats interacting with foreign leaders. Their involvement in this range of activities (i.e., endowing, interceding with foreign leaders, and protecting their cities) suggests their potential for broad participation in urban life. That an organization whose members were unofficially recruited from amongst city dwellers was able to play such an important role in late medieval Anatolia is

Ibid.
indicative of the diffuse power structure that existed in the region during this time period, especially in the aftermath of the Mongol victory in 1243.22

The Mowlāwī hagiographer Aflākī suggests that specific structures were associated with particular social functions or groups in late medieval Konya. He describes a moment in which Seljuk Sultan ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn Kay Qubādh invited Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and his father to stay in his Konya palace as his guest. The hagiographer relates that Rūmī’s father declined the offer, opting, rather, to stay in a madrasa: “Shaykhs reside in khānaqāhs, imāms reside in madrasas, dervishes in zāwiyas, amīrs in palaces, merchants in khāns, the runūd on street corners and strangers on the benches.”23

One of the most unique things about the Anatolian futuwwa-based associations in the context of other futuwwa–based associations is the construction of an institutional identity centered in a physical structure, i.e., the akhī lodge. While futuwwa-based associations had existed previously in places like Baghdad and Khorasan, they rarely appear in relation to a physical structure until their appearance on the scene in Anatolia. Once the associations are embedded in Anatolian cities, they become linked to the zawiya, or the akhī lodge. Through her research on texts composed by or for dervishes in the 13th and 14th centuries, Ethel Sara Wolper has shown that a great deal of importance was placed on linking dervish organizations with a specific physical structure in late medieval Anatolia and suggests a parallel development for futuwwa-based brotherhoods.24 Concern with the actual structures used by futuwwa-based brotherhoods seems only to occur after Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (1144-1234), the Anatolian envoy of the Caliph an-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (1158-1225), calls specifically for the construction of futuwwa buildings in his second work on futuwwa, composed while he was stationed in Anatolia.

In order to illustrate the significance of a structure associated with the code, in fact, Suhrawardī relates an anecdote about a futuwwa disciple in Khorasan who had constructed a khānaqāh (Pers., lodge) but had forgotten to place a flag on its roof such that it could be seen from afar. The moral of the story is that futuwwa can be a guide on

23 Aflākī, p. 257.
24 Ethel Sara Wolper, Cities and Saints, pp. 20-23.
the proverbial path (*tarīqa*) to spiritual enlightenment. Suhrawardī concludes the story by stating that everywhere in Khorasan where one finds a *khānaqāh*, one will also find a standard announcing its existence for the far-off traveler. According to the author, the activities of a *khānaqāh* (he also uses the term *zawiyā*) include offering guests drink and food and a place to rest. While Suhrawardī insists upon the similarity of the house of *futuwwa* (here Suhrawardī calls it the *fotoww khāne*) to the dervish lodge – he explains that the *fotoww khāna* was fashioned after the *khānaqāh* and that both must always leave their doors open to travelers -- he stresses the notion that when it comes to hospitality, *futuwwa* is the best (*bartarīn*) of all spiritual paths.

In 13th century-Anatolia, the most active benefactors of construction projects (outside of administrators linked to the state) were dervishes and *akhīs* who primarily endowed lodges and tombs in cities and changed both standard Seljuk building patterns and the form of Anatolian urban spaces. That so many individuals participated in the patronage of the great late medieval Anatolian building project is perhaps the best indication both of the nature of political power in Anatolia during the 13th and 14th centuries and of the immense political potential to which a grassroots association like a *futuwwa* confraternity had access, specifically within the bustling urban centers. That buildings were seen as identity markers reinforces the notion that late medieval Anatolian cities were spaces within which identity was defined according to participation in a particular organization that engaged in activity in a specific space.

KONYA

Because of its role as capital city of the Seljuk sultanate in Rūm (1097-1277), the city of Konya offers some of the richest examples of *akhī* participation in the creation of an urban fabric. The role of *akhīs* in the ceremonial life of the city of Konya is described in great detail by Ibn Bībī. In 1211, upon the arrival of ʿIzz al-Dīn Key Kawūs (r. 1211-

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26 Ibid., pp. 125-126.
27 Ibid., p. 110.
to take the Seljuk throne, the akhīs were amongst those who welcomed the new Sultan outside of the capital city in order to accompany him into Konya. Those participating in the welcoming contingent, according to Ibn Bibī, included: those who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, influential people, nobles, akhīs, musicians and the members of the military band. This “welcoming committee” of local men of import then offered gifts to the Sultan and received, in return, his khil’at.

At the ascension of Sultan ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn Kay Qubādī to the Seljuk throne in 1220, the akhīs once again participated in the pomp and circumstance involved in welcoming the new sultan to the capital city.

Groups of the nobles (Pers., ‘ayyān), the ighdiš (Trk., a general term for half-Muslim half-Christians) and akhīs (Pers., ikhwān) screamed that they wanted to see the new Sultan. And so, once again, many of them went as far as Obruk to meet the Sultan there. Dressed in their finest robes and wearing their most valuable jewels, they greeted ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn with animal sacrifices, and gifts of gold and silver.

One year later, upon the arrival of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī in Konya as representative of the Caliph al-Nāṣir, the akhīs – together with the ‘ayyāns of the city – greeted him.

While the shaykh stayed in Konya, the sultan sought to visit him repeatedly. All the elite and commoners of the land of Rum, especially the inhabitants of Konya, young and old, nobles and akhīs, gained the honor of wearing the shaykh’s khirqa of tabarrok and irāda. Everyone received his due portion of the shaykh’s magnificent powers in the sunna, the ṭariqa, the sharia and the haqīqa. To this day, the fruits of that happiness still remain.

Akhīs also participated in the resolution of conflicts between Seljuk elites, according to Ibn Bibī. In the confusion over succession to the Seljuk throne in 1196, the akhīs played a determining role. Having sworn allegiance to Ghiyās al-Dīn Kay Khusraw (r. 1192-

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29 Ibn Bibī, p. 139.
30 Ibid., p. 140.
31 Ibid., p. 232.
32 Ibid., p. 249.
33 Ibid., p. 233.
1196), the *akhīs* of Konya supported him for four months in the struggle against his brother, Malik Rukn al-Dīn (r. 1196-1204). Ibn Bībī insists upon the complete loyalty of the *akhīs* to Ghiyās al-Dīn. Eventually, a diplomatic agreement was signed between the feuding brothers, and the *akhīs* (along with local princes, notables and nobles) acted as witnesses to the signing of the peace, after which Rukn al-Dīn became Sultan.  

The importance of some *akhī* leaders in the city suggests that the organization had the capacity to offer a platform for potentially significant leadership roles – even in competition with Seljuk ministers! Akhī Ahmed Shāh, described as the “leader of the city” of Konya in the anonymous *Seljuk Nāma* wielded so much power in the city of Konya that, according to the author of the chronicle, he was able not only to reverse an increase in taxes placed on various wares in Anatolia, but the Seljuk minister, Fakhr al-Dīn Qazwīnī (d. 1280) was, in fact, put to death by the Mongol khān due to his complaints. In the chronicle, a verse of Sultan Walad’s is placed at the conclusion of the report:

You must put an end to the tyranny you have created in Konya.
Don’t you consider Konya as a small and unimportant city.
Here, someone has created justice.
As for him who creates tyranny, he will die like a pig.

These verses of Sultan Walad indicate the pride he felt in the city of Konya and also suggest an offer of solidarity with Akhī Aḥmed Shāh in attempting to stop the “tyranny” of Fakhr al-Dīn.

In spite of their involvement in the politics of the city, thanks to Ibn Batṭūṭa, we also know that the *akhīs* of Konya were deeply engaged in the practice of excellent hospitality, as prescribed by Suhrawardī. The 14th century qādī Ibn Qalam Shāh was, in fact, head of the *futuwwa* hospice in which the 14th-century traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304-1369) stayed while he was in Konya.

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34 Ibid., pp. 52-53.
36 Ibid., p. 53 (T), p. 76 (P).
We stayed there at the hospice of the judge (qāḍī) who is called Ibn Qalam Shāh, and is a member of futuwwa. His hospice is very large indeed and he has a great many disciples. They trace their affiliation to futuwwa back to the Caliph ʿAlī, and the distinctive garment of the order in their case is the trousers, just as Sufis wear the patched robe. This qāḍī showed us even greater consideration and hospitality than our former benefactors, and sent his son with us in his place to the bath.  

The two texts on futuwwa composed by Suhrawardī while he was living at the Seljuk capital of Konya were written specifically for the akhīs of that city. The texts themselves reveal the philosophical and the realistic frameworks within which Suhrawardī was operating as emissary of the concept and organizational potential of futuwwa from Baghdad to Anatolia. Most significantly in terms of helping us to understand the way in which this sort of exclusive institution was constructed in the region, the author practically ignores the concept of the caliphate (even though the caliph himself was ostensibly the head of all futuwwa associations, particularly in the aftermath of his 1207 reform of the institution). In fact, Suhrawardī explains that the basis of an association based on futuwwa is the pact of mutual responsibility – both between all members and between the master and novice. In terms of behaviour, Suhrawardī insists upon the importance of table manners within the lodge and on peace between participants in the code internally and outside between futuwwa followers and others. Of distinct importance is the reliance upon religious practice and the importance of eating halal foods and avoiding wine drinking as it indicates that non-Muslims (amongst those excluded from the organization) really could not have participated in the association had they not agreed to accept certain Islamic regulations. As described in the manāqeb al-ʿārifīn, it would seem that there were many Christians living in the city of Konya during the lifetime of Rūmī who were more than open to the possibility of conversion to Islam.

As discussed, Suhrawardī insists upon the significance of a building associated with futuwwa – thus, offering the association an opportunity to establish physically its

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38 Ohlander, p. 278.
40 Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, Kitab al-Futuwwa, in Sarraf, ed. Traités, pp. 121-149.
grassroots power symbolically in a structure, and a structure with its doors open to guests, at that.\textsuperscript{41} Considering his insistence on the importance of a structure of \textit{futuwwa}, Suhrawardī encouraged the physical institutionalization of \textit{futuwwa} associations in Konya. Perhaps more telling is that Suhrawardī’s is the first \textit{futuwwa} author to delineate prescribed actions of members of the association in terms of the “opening” and “closing” of various body parts.\textsuperscript{42} A participant in \textit{futuwwa} is meant to close his: pants (such that he remain chaste), his stomach (to ensure that he eat only \textit{halal} foods), his tongue (such that he not use evil language), his ears and eyes (to anything that should not be heard or seen) and his hands (such that he not engage in violence). On the other hand, a participant in \textit{futuwwa} must keep open: his hand (with generosity) and his table (to guests).\textsuperscript{43} Given the complicated cultural paradigms that existed in 13\textsuperscript{th}-century Anatolian cities, the case made by Suhrawardī (even via his opening/closing allegories) and repeated in later treatises on \textit{futuwwa} composed in Anatolia suggest that exclusion was an important part of participation in these urban confraternities.

These first treatises on \textit{futuwwa} composed in Anatolia by Suhrawardī set the tone for the codes that were composed after it. Associations of \textit{futuwwa} were meant to be faith-based, behaviour-focused, community-building, physically-established urban brotherhoods that were inclusive up to a certain degree and exclusive on a deeper level, and particularly to individuals who were not Muslims.

As most of the requirements stipulated by Suhrawardī were copied in the treatises composed throughout Anatolia in the aftermath of the Mongol occupation, we can surmise that: this type of grassroots pattern of organization was useful in dealing with the complexities of late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century Anatolian urban culture. We might also surmise that they are an indication of an almost uniform response to this sort of complication, in cities ranging from Antalya to Tokat, suggesting that in spite of geographical, political and even linguistic differences, cities in late medieval Anatolia experienced very similar challenges and responded to those challenges with similar attempts at regulation of large portions of their urban populations.

\textsuperscript{41} Suhrawardī, \textit{Risalat fī al-futuwwa}, pp. 119-120.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., pp. 96-98, Suhrawardī, \textit{Kitab al-Futuwwa}, p. 116.
ERZINJAN

A large metropolis in North Eastern Anatolia, contemporary chroniclers and travelers alike refer to Erzinjan as a largely Armenian town. Several Armenian monasteries were active in and around the city during the 13th and 14th centuries, including Awag, Surb Lusavorič (Hayrapēt), T’ili, Surb Nersēs (Tirašēn), Tataski, Surb Geworg, Surb Asdouacacin, Surb Kirakos. And many of these monasteries were home to significant manuscript production in the late medieval period.

We know, also, that some Muslim scholars who visited or passed through the area expressed a certain disdain for its population, most likely because there were comparatively few Muslims living there. For example, the Persian mystic Najm al-Dīn Razī (d. 1256) spent time in the city in the service of the Mengujekids and wrote that the people of Erzinjan were “a people void of all humanity, with the seed of vileness sown in their souls.” Even Aflākī betrays a certain degree of 13th-century mistrust for the inhabitants of the city of Erzinjan; according to the manāqib, when Bahā’ al-Dīn Walad (d. 1232) was traveling from Malatya towards Ezinjan, his companions expressed a desire to enter the city of Erzinjan but Bahā’ al-Dīn refused them, saying “there are many bad persons in that place.”

Ibn Bībī shows more affection for the city and describes it in the following fashion:

In the Armenian borderlands is a country. It is like a shining star on a tower. It is a famous and developed city. On every side it is as if it is decorated with flowers. And all around it is a great flatness. From the middle of it streams the Euphrates, like a sea. From every brook there flows a stream. On each stream there are several known villages. Each one of them is as beautiful as paradise. Heaven’s guard has never seen a

46 Aflākī, p. 19.
tree so beautiful as the trees there. Because every nook and cranny of the place gives one’s soul peace of mind, intelligent people started to call it the “land of the soul.” From the perspective of profit, every village is so valuable that no one can distinguish a village from the city.  

On an important trade route stretching from Lajazzo to Tabriz, the city of Erzinjan was known for the textiles it produced, as attested by Marco Polo and various 13th-century Genoese sources. The marketplace in Erzinjan must have been a place of interest as it was described by Ibn Baṭṭūta as “well-organized” and visited by a disguised Cilician Armenian King Het’ovm (d. 1271) en route to the Mongol capital at Karakhorum in 1252, and was recognized by an artisan there.

At the same time, the city lived a politically complicated existence – on the one hand under Mengujekid/Seljuk rule (1122-1248) and then under the Ilkhanid Mongols (1248-1335) while its majority Armenian population consistently vocalized a sort of loyalty to the Armenian Church and the Kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375). A local Armenian Bishop (Sargis, d. 1277) had a close relationship with the Ilkhanid leadership (specifically with Abagha Khan, r. 1265-1282) and even attempted to receive an iqta’ (land grant) from the Ilkhanids (but was refused, ostensibly because of his link to the Armenian Church).

While no descriptive sources from the time period offer insight into the activities of Armenian akhīs, Ibn Baṭṭūta did pay a visit to the city and was housed there in the 1330s by a local Muslim futuwwa brotherhood.

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50 Ibn Baṭṭūta, Travels, p. 437.
51 Bar Hebraeus, The Chronography of Gregory Abu’l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly known as Bar Hebraeus; being the first part of his political history of the world, transl. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), vol. 1, p. 419.
We lodged there in the hospice of the Young Akhī Nizām al-Dīn; it is one of the finest hospices and he too is one of the best and chief of the fītyān, and he showed us the most perfect hospitality.  

While based on Christianity rather than Islam, the futuwwa treatises composed in Armenian in 1280 by the priest Yovhannēs of Erzinjan reflect many of the same concerns voiced in the treatises by Suhwaradī with regulations for futuwwa members. At it’s most basic level, the text presents itself as a reform-minded document for an organization whose basis is Christianity, thereby making participation in the association an impossibility for individuals who are not Christians. Yovhannēs also insists upon the importance of the master-novice relationship and even goes so far as to call the novice an “adoptee” of the master, underlining the great significance of their relationship. Similar to Suhrawardī, this Armenian author also writes about specific religions practices – such as thrice daily prayer -- and expresses certain regulations in the context of opening and closing bodily parts. The text insists upon the importance of the members of the brotherhood helping one another and goes so far as to spell out the fact that they should pile their profits together and live off of them. Like other futuwwa texts, these two also indicate the importance of chastity and in the event of marriage to keep one’s self clean and far from “foreign” beds. And while wine drinking was not prohibited by Christianity, similar to Suhrawardī’s text, the treatise by Yovhannēs indicates that members should not indulge in wine drinking. The author -- making a plea for peace and underlining the importance of calm with the ultimate goal of service -- wrote two constitutions that encourage the participation of work-oriented, order-minded Christian men who will participate in an exclusive association based on mutual loyalty. Yovhannēs in Erzinjan wants to build walls around his community while, at the same time, clearly

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54 Ibn Batṭūta, p. 437.
56 Ibid., p. 225.
57 Ibid., p. 223.
58 Ibid., p. 224.
59 Ibid., p. 239.
participating in the “reform” of a “type” of organization that clearly resembles an Islamic *futuwwa* association.\(^{60}\)

**ANTALYA AND BURGHAZI**

The city of Antalya was conquered by the Seljuks in 1207, just seven years before their conquest of Sinop. Once the sultanate held both cities in its possession, the route from Sinop to Antalya linked trade between the Black and Mediterranean Seas. With its proximity to Cyprus, as well, mercantile activity in the city flourished. In the aftermath of its conquest, agreements were signed between the Seljuk sultanate and the Republic of Venice\(^ {61}\) with specific reference to trade in the city of Antalya. (Claude Cahen has gone so far as to suggest that the Seljuk conquest there was facilitated by trade concerns.\(^ {62}\))

While visiting Antalya in the 1330s, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was clearly impressed.

> It is one of the finest of cities, enormous in extent and bulk, among the most handsome of cities to be seen anywhere, as well as the most populous and best organized. Each section of its inhabitants live by themselves, separated from each other section. Thus, the Christian merchants reside in a part of it called al-Mīnā and are encircled by a wall, the gates of which are shut upon them at night and during the Friday prayer service; the Rum, who were its inhabitants in former times, live by themselves in another part, also encircled by a wall; the Jews in another part, with a wall round them; while the king and his officers and mamlūks live in a separate township, which also is surrounded by a wall that encircles it and separates it from the sections that we have mentioned. The rest of the population, the Muslims, live in the main city, which has a congregational mosque, a college, many bath houses, and vast bazaars most admirably organized.\(^ {63}\)

\(^{60}\) Ibid., pp. 226-227.


\(^{62}\) Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey*, pp. 91-96.

\(^{63}\) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, pp. 417-418. The fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions the ethno-religious separation of the city suggests that Antalya was different from other cities he visited in this respect and that this sort of institutionalized physical separation was an anomaly in the region. Still, this physicality of separation may have influenced the author of the Turkish-language *futuwwa* text who spent time living in the city of Antalya.
While in Antalya, Ibn Baṭṭūta had a range of interactions with local akhī members, suggesting that Antalya was home to a number of futuwwa associations in the early 14th century. In fact, it would appear that it was in Antalya that Ibn Baṭṭūta first encountered the akhīs about whom he would write so voluminously in his riḥla. Baṭṭūta was invited to eat with a man he imagined to be of meager means. Not wanting to impose upon a man of limited financial resources, Ibn Baṭṭūta suggested to his local guide – a shaykh – that he not accept the invitation in order to save the man some money.

The shaykh burst out laughing and said, ‘He is one of the shaykhs of the Youth [futuwwa] Brotherhood. He is a cobbler, and a man of generous disposition. His companions, about two hundred men belonging to different trades, have made him their leader and have built a hospice to entertain their guests. All that they earn by day they spend at night.’

From this limited description, it seems clear that akhīs living in the bustling city of Antalya in the early 14th century were engaged in crafts, presented themselves in a humble fashion, and were engaged in acts of hospitality. The futuwwa treatise by Yahyā ibn Khalīl Chubān, or “fatā al-Burghāzī” was most likely written in Southeast Anatolia (Gölpınarlı suggests the city of Aleppo) sometime between the mid-13th and mid-14th century. Burghāzī himself states clearly that he studied with a scholar by the name of Mūṣīlīh al-Dīn in the city of Antalya. And explains that his treatise was composed in Turkish due to the fact that Turkish was the common language in the region and people needed a treatise on futuwwa in the local language. What is most fascinating about this particular treatise is that while it exhibits some similarities with the works by Suhrawardī, it is quite unique in many respects and seems most similar to the treatises composed by the Armenian monk, Yovhannēs of Erzinjan.

Like Yovhannēs, Burghāzī states quite clearly that his goal is reform of an existing organization. With his insistence upon the Turkish language, the author is enforcing a new form of inclusivity: he wants to ensure the Turkish-speaking Muslims

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66 Ibid., p.112.
67 Ibid., p. 111-113.
can participate in futuwwa. Like Suhrawardī and Yovhannēs of Erzinjan, Burghāzī insists that the basis of the code is faith (in this case, Islam) and lists those individuals who are not permitted to participate in the code or its association. Of course, at the top of the list are non-Muslims.\(^{68}\) After the non-Muslims, there are certain professions which are listed as inappropriate (diviner, public bath employee, etc.) as well as certain activities (eating haram foods) which make participation in futuwwa impossible. He also makes clear the importance of the relationship between novice and akhī, explaining that the novice must be a servant to his master.\(^{69}\) Also similar to Suhrawardī, Burghāzī explains the details of prescribed behavior in the context of the opening and closing of various body parts.\(^{70}\)

Burghāzī’s Turkish futuwwa treatise stipulates: “ve dakhī akhīye bir pîše ve şan’at gerekdür, ana maşgül olâ,”\(^{71}\) stating quite emphatically that all akhīs must have either a craft or a trade by means of which they are occupied, again displaying a great convergence with the texts composed by Yovhannēs. With regard to behavior in the marketplace, the author paints a colorful picture of what was considered appropriate behavior and what was considered inappropriate. For example, the text prohibits laughing in the marketplace, along with eating and drinking.\(^{72}\) He also explains that in buying and selling in the marketplace, one must always speak in a soft voice, to not make profit, and to not to return anything.

The text by Burghāzī -- composed by the author after having been educated in the multi-cultural port city of Antalya -- offers an opportunity for the author to create inclusive and exclusive criteria via which individuals could either choose to participate in a futuwwa organization or not. The insistence upon the Islamic nature of the association and the importance placed on Islamic practice as well as the prevalence of “opening” and “closing” symbolism suggests that in the city of Antalya, as well, futuwwa associations were interested in constructing a specific identity around their organization.

\(^{68}\) Ibid., p. 121.
\(^{69}\) Ibid., p. 127.
\(^{70}\) Ibid., pp. 132-133.
\(^{72}\) Ibid., p. 140.
TOKAT

The Nāṣirī treatise on futuwwa was most likely composed in Tokat (or possibly Sivas or Aksaray) in 1290. We know very little about its author, other than that he also wrote a work entitled Kitāb al-Ishrāq in 1299 in the city of Tokat. In terms of attempting to understand the urban environments to which he was exposed, and, thus, the context within which he wrote his futuwwa treatise, it is significant that all three of the cities he mentions in his text (Aksaray, Sivas and Tokat) were under Ilkhanid domination at the time he penned his treatise. At the same time, as Ethel Sara Wolper has shown, both Sivas and Tokat were home to great construction programs financially supported by akhīs and dervishes in the aftermath of the Ilkhanid takeover that altered the topography of the city and created new spaces within which different forms of authority were articulated.\(^\text{73}\)

And as we saw above, the city of Sivas was home to an exciting and complex akhī/dervish culture that included the participation of Armenian-speaking mystics.

Tokat was an important part of the Seljuk domains in Anatolia by 1187 when Qilij Arslan II offered it to his son, Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh. And Ala al-Dīn Key Qubād spent much of his early adulthood there, from 1211 to 1220. The city must have been somewhat central to Seljuk conceptions of state as it served as one of the cities that housed treasure of the sultans.\(^\text{74}\)

As demonstrated in the work of Ethel Sara Wolper, the city – located between Sivas and Amasya – witnessed a great increase in construction projects after the repossession of the city by a joint Mongol-Seljuk power in 1257. As she has illustrated, many of the buildings constructed in the city while under Ilkhanid rule were, in fact, endowed by dervishes (and akhīs) and were the lodges within which these associations were able to congregate and invite guests (like Ibn Batṭūṭa) to participate in their daily social life.

After a relatively long description of futuwwa (generosity and unity based in the sharī'ah) and great heroes of the Qu'ran who were invested in futuwwa, Nāṣirī offers the first organizational directions to his readership. The first section on organization is a descriptive list of the ten types of individuals who cannot receive futuwwa. And, in first

\(^{73}\) Ethel Sara Wolper, Cities and Saints, pp. 44-55.
\(^{74}\) Cahen, p. 151.
place on this list, are non-Muslims “because they don’t accept the true religion (of Islam).” After the non-Muslims come mischief-makers, diviners, people who drink too much alcohol, shampooers in public baths, middlemen, weavers, butchers, surgeons and hunters. Thus, while futuwwa was used in late medieval Anatolian cities as an association for artisans and traders – and while Nāṣirī himself writes that all akhīs must earn their own living by taking up a profession, there were some professions that were not appropriate for the brotherhood. In fact, Nāṣirī lists a number of acts that will result in the revocation of futuwwa from a member of a confraternity. These reprehensible acts include: drinking alcohol, fornication, creating discord, lying, lusting, eating haram foods and stealing. It is not insignificant that two of the forbidden acts (i.e., drinking alcohol and eating forbidden foods) are activities that would be considered inappropriate for any Muslim, not necessarily uniquely for a member of a futuwwa association.

Suhrawardī’s bi-partite division of the futuwwa brotherhood is duplicated in the Nāṣirī treatise and he, too, uses the terms sayfī and qawlī to differentiate between the two (that is, initiation into futuwwa through a pledge by the sword [sayfī] and a initiation through a verbal pledge [qawlī]). Also, like Nāṣirī, the qawlī is the novice member while the sayfī is the more advanced, more complete member of the association. Nāṣirī, however, links the sayfī members of a futuwwa brotherhood to jihad. But explains that greater jihad is the internal struggle while lesser jihad is the killing of infidels.

Also, similar to the treatises by Suhrawardī, the author has a list of table etiquette including information about what should be placed on a table, when to say what (bismillah before eating and alhamdulillah after finishing), and how to be appropriate and pleasant at the table (not to take food from another’s mouth, etc.).

In keeping with the example set by Suhrawardī, Nāṣirī pays special attention to the lodge associated with the akhī groups. Nāṣirī’s treatise includes an entire section on how an akhī lodge should be furnished and on rules for who can enter the lodge itself. He refers to the lodge using both the terms āsitāne (Pers., saint’s tomb/lodge) and

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76 Ibid., pp. 316-317.
77 Ibid., pp. 323-325.
78 Ibid., p. 345.
He stipulates that the lodge should be square (Pers., \textit{chârsû}) in shape, painted white and filled with candles (\textit{qandîl}) and lamps (\textit{sham'}) so that it is very bright (\textit{rushân}). It should also have a beautiful fountain (\textit{sikāyat-e nîk}). The lodge of a great and honorable \textit{akhî} should also have a carpet (\textit{qâlî}). The chapter goes on to say that women cannot enter the lodge but that the lodge should be a refuge for travelers (\textit{misâfir}) and warriors (\textit{ahl-i silāh}).

**CONCLUSION**

In his early 14\textsuperscript{th}-century \textit{Gharîb-Nâme}, \AA şik Paşa (1272-1333, from Kırşehir, a city roughly equidistant and between Konya and Tokat) shares a story about four travelers -- an Arab, an Armenian, a Persian and a Turk -- who find a gold coin while they walk the proverbial path of life together and quarrel over what to buy with their newfound money. Eventually, a man comes upon the four arguing travelers, realizes their argument has been caused not because they disagree, but because they don’t understand one another. He takes the coin and purchases grapes for them, satisfying each of their desires. The moral of \AA şik Paşa’s story: “In a place there can be 1000 candles burning, but the light is one.”

That an early 14\textsuperscript{th}-century author like \AA şik Paşa was so concerned about the confusion and complication that the variety of languages spoken in Anatolia during this time period could create suggests that the multi-linguistic, multi-cultural atmosphere that existed in the region was not always an easy one to inhabit. And the moral of the anecdote he includes in his \textit{Gharîb-Nâme}, a 14\textsuperscript{th}-century piece of Anatolian advice literature, indicates that he felt it important to encourage (in Turkish, in Kırşehir) mutual understanding and a patience for difference. Yovhannës of Erzinjan, the Armenian author of the two \textit{futuwwa}-like treatises, writing around the same time, also encouraged an appreciation of “other” cultures. Still, associations based on \textit{futuwwa} in late medieval Anatolia seem more concerned with building walls around their organizations in order to offer the associations an exclusive identity within the important urban hierarchies of the

\footnote{79 Ibid., p. 329.}

time period. It was, perhaps, specifically due to their exclusivity and stringent regulations that these organizations were able to play such a uniquely significant role in the cultural and political chaos of late medieval Anatolia.