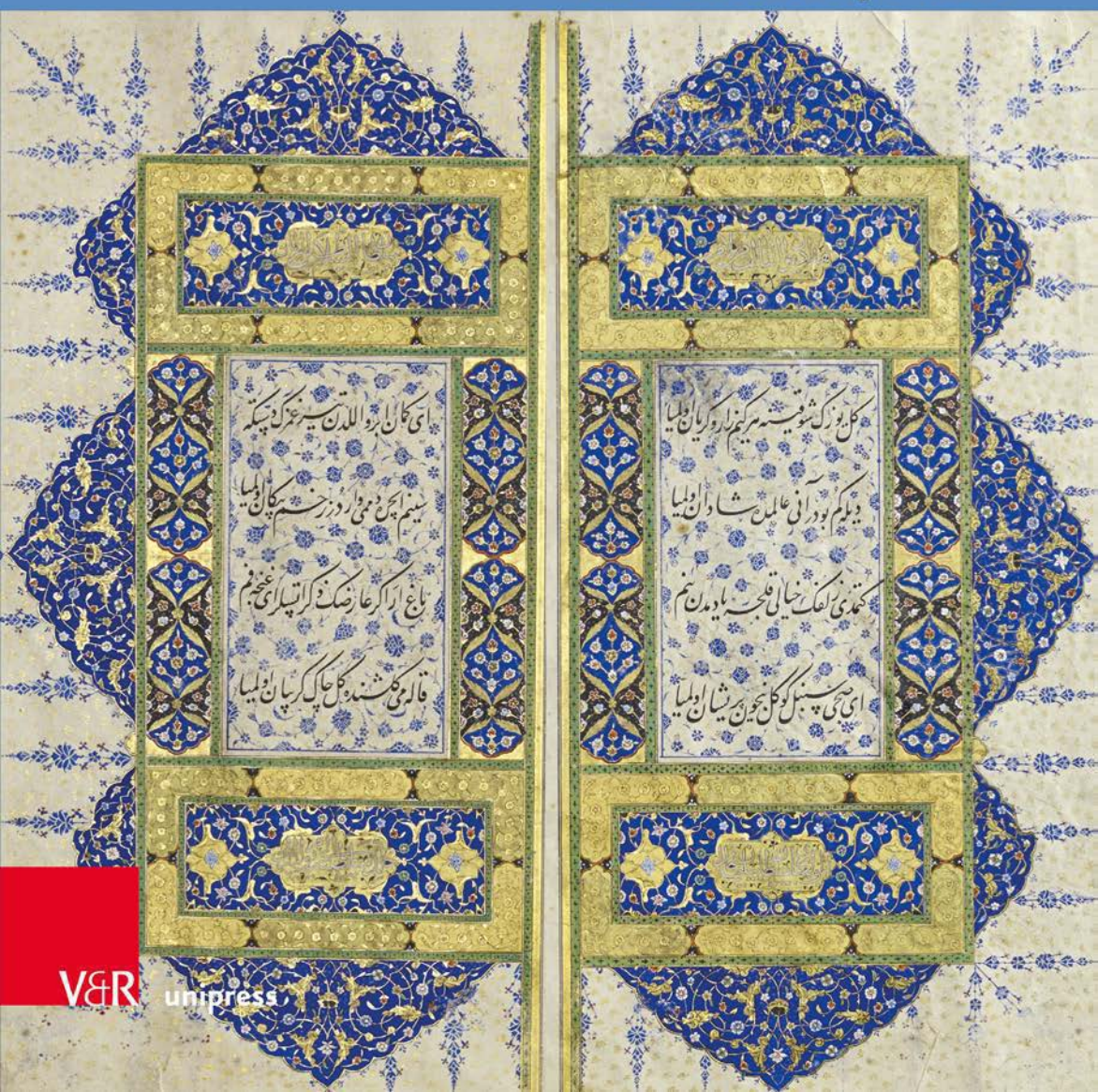
Christiane Czygan / Stephan Conermann (eds.)

An Iridescent Device: Premodern Ottoman Poetry

Bonn University Press



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Stephan Conermann, Sevgi Ağcagül und Gül Şen

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Transcription of the Ottoman Script[1]

Ottoman letter	transcription
آ	Ā, ā
ء	ʾ
ب	b
پ	p
ت	t
ث	s̱
ج	c
چ	ç
ح	ḥ
خ	ḫ
د	d
ذ	ẕ
ر	r
ز	z
ژ	j
س	s
ش	ş
ص	ṣ
ض	ż
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʿ
غ	ġ

1 See İsmail Ünver, "Çevriyazıda yazım birliği üzerine öneriler". *Turkish Studies. International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish and Turkic.* Vol. 3/6. 2008. 1–46. The following examples are taken from Ünver's article.

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(Continued)

Ottoman letter	transcription
ف	f
ق	ḳ
ك	ğ / k / ñ / y
گ	g
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	v
ي	y
ا	ā
و	ū
ي	ī

Persian prefixes und suffixes are written without a hyphen.[2]

In some cases the very same word can be a pre- or suffix or a pre- or postposition of nominal or verbal nature.[3]

يكبار	yek-bār (once)	bār (a burden, a load, fruit)
نكته دان	nükte-dān (who understands and appreciates subtleties e. g., a critic)	to distinguish from the suffix -dān (denoting what holds or contains something)

Arabic and Persian prepositions and particles are written with a hyphen:[4]

بر مراد	ber-murād	
درحال	der-ḥāl	
الى	الى آخره	ilā-āḫirihi
على	على الخصوص	ʿale'l-ḫuṣūṣ
لا	لايسئل	lā-yüsʾel

2 Ünver, "Çevriyazıda yazım birliği üzerine öneriler." 6, 9, 11–19.
3 Ünver, "Çevriyazıda yazım birliği üzerine öneriler." 8, 11, 13.
4 Ünver, "Çevriyazıda yazım birliği üzerine öneriler." 9–10, 12.

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Arabic names and titles:

Salāḥuddīn
Beytü'ṣ-ṣebāb

Persian iżāfet:

After an ā or an ū followed by an -l the iżāfet has to be read as -i: ḥāl-i ḥāżır.
If they are lexical units -y follows directly after the ending vowel: Niẓāmī-yi Gencevī

Arabic nisbe:

ادبيات	edebiyyāt
بشريت	beşeriyyet

Persian vāv-ı maʿdūle:

خواجه	ḫ͡vāce
خواب	ḫ͡vāb

Places and buildings are given in Turkish orthography. For other terms and the texts in general, we adopted the British orthography.

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Abbreviations and Illustrations

Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic (language)
Az.	Azerbaijiani (language)
CIÉPO	Comité International des Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes
EI²	Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition
EI³	Encyclopaedia of Islam. Third Edition
Eİr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
İÜK	Istanbul University Library
MKG	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg
MS	Manuscript
Osm.	Ottoman (language)
Owo.	Old Western Oghuz (language)
s.v.	*sub verbo*
TDVIA	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
Ttü.	Turkish (language)
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

Illustrations

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Christiane Czygan

Introduction

Premodern Ottoman Poetry aims to demonstrate the depth, variety, and power of Ottoman poetry, as well as the wide scope of its practises. As a central communicative tool of Ottoman society, poetry both shaped the social milieu and was shaped by it. Thus, if we are to achieve a comprehensive understanding of premodern Ottoman society, we do well to consider the vital and intricate role played by poetry.

Today a volume on premodern Ottoman poetry produced in Germany might come as a surprise. Although significant publications have appeared in Turkey and in the United States, premodern Ottoman literature has been neglected in Europe in recent decades. This volume gathers significant work undertaken by scholars from Austria, Germany, Hungary, and Turkey. It developed out of a workshop held at the University of Bonn in 2014, and it has been extended by further contributions. We hope to show how beneficial an international network on premodern poetry can be, and so to build on the recent works of Hatice Aynur and Angelika Neuwirth.[1]

Throughout the 1960's European Ottoman scholars were intensely interested in poetry. The *Fundamenta Philologicae* constituted a milestone in literary research, and it has remained an important work of reference.[2] Alessio Bombaci laid emphasis on *ʿilm al-balāġat* (knowledge of rhetoric), underlining the common ground in Arabic, Persian and Turkish divan poetry.[3] Barbara Flemming's

Note: We are grateful for Hatice Aynur's lecture and we warmly thank her for her most insightful comments.

1 Hatice Aynur, Müjgân Çakır et al. (eds.), *Kasîdeye medhiye biçime, işleve ve muhtevaya dair tespitler.* (Eski Türk Edebiyatı; 8). (Istanbul: Klasik, 2013); Angelika Neuwirth, Michael Heß, et al. (eds.), *Ghazal as World Literature II. From a Literary Genre to a Great Tradition. The Ottoman Gazel in Context.* (Istanbuler Texte und Studien; 4). (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006).

2 *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin, Tayyib Gökbilgin et al. (Wiesbaden; Steiner Verl., 1965).

3 See Alessio Bombaci, "The Turkic Literatures. Introductory Notes on the History and Style." In *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta.* Ed. Louis Bazin, Tayyib Gökbilgin et al. (Wiesbaden; Steiner Verl., 1965). 10–72.

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work in Hamburg and Leiden concentrated on Ottoman poetry as well.[4] Although Andreas Tietze from Vienna did not focus on poetry, he published several articles on this topic.[5] In Hamburg, Petra Kappert shifted her emphasis from premodern historiography to literature.[6] Most of the authors whose work is contained in this volume were in one way or another trained or influenced by these outstanding scholars.

In Turkey and beyond, İsmail E. Erünsal's work influenced all contemporary literary historians with his explorations of Turkish archives and libraries.[7] His archival research opened up new perspectives on the lives of premodern poets and poetesses, linking economic, gender and social aspects with lyrical creations.[8]

Recently, in his extensive overview on premodern Ottoman poetry in the *Cambridge History of Turkey*, Selim Kuru outlines its main genres, models, and developments.[9] His large conceptual apparatus attests to the rich literary research production of the recent decades. Here we will delineate some of the more important discourses and approaches in premodern Ottoman poetry research. In addition we will consider the wider discourse on premodern Middle Eastern poetry and new forms of analyses.

4 See Barbara Flemming, "Das türkische Gasel." In *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. Orientalisches Mittelalter.* Eds. Wolfhart Heinrichs et al. Vol. 5. (Wiesbaden: AULA-Verlag, 1990). 278–283; idem, "Maḏnūn Laylā." In *EI*^{2}. Vol. 5. (Leiden: Brill, 1986). 1105–1106; idem, *Essais on Turkish literature and history.* (Leiden: Brill, 2017*).*

5 See Andreas Tietze, "Mehemmeds Buch von der Liebe, ein altosmanisches romantisches Gedicht." In *Der Orient in der Forschung.* (Wiesbaden: 1967). 660–685; idem, "The poet and the market place; remarks on an Ottoman poem of the end of the 14th century." *Vostocnaja filologija Tbilisi.* Vol. 3. 1973. 229–234idem, "The poet as a critique of society. A 16-century Ottoman poem." *Turcica.* 9/1. 1977. 120–160.

6 See Petra Kappert, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnīs von 1520 bis 1557 oder Tabaḳāt ül-Memālik ve Derecāt ül Meşālik.* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1981); idem, "Nigār Ḫānım. Dichterin und Dame von Welt im ausgehenden Osmanischen Reich." In *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zur Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich.* Festschrift für Hans Georg Majer. Eds. Sabine Prätor, Christoph K. Neumann. (Istanbul: simurg, 2002). 315–332; idem, "Die Ghaselen in August Graf von Platens orientalischer Dichtung. " In *Ghazal as World Literature II. From a Literary Genre to a Great Tradition. The Ottoman Gazel in Context.* Eds. Angelika Neuwirth, Michael Hess et al. (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006). 317–322.

7 İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı kütüphaneler ve kütüphanecilik: tarihi, gelişimi ve organizasyonu.* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2015)^2; idem, *Edebiyat ve Tasavvuf, Kütüphanecilik ve Arşivlik.* Eds. Hatice Aynur, Aydın Bilgin et al. (Istanbul: Ülke, 2014).

8 İsmail E. Erünsal, *The life and works of Tâcîzâde Ca'fer Çelebi with a critical edition of his Dîvân.* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1983); idem, *Edebiyat Tarihi Yazılar. Arşiv Kayıtları, Yazma Eserleri ve Kayıp Metinler.* Ed. Hatice Aynur. (Istanbul: Dergâh, 2016).

9 See Selim Kuru, "The literature of Rum: The making of a literary tradition (1450–1600)." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire as a World Power. 1453–1609.* Eds. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, Kate Fleet. Vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2013). 548–591.

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Approaches to Classic Ottoman Lyricism

Dīvāns constituted an important part of the classic Ottoman lyricism which established itself between 1450 and 1600, parallel to the creation of state institutions.[10] *Dīvāns* are collections of poems written by a single poet consisting of various genres. As a rule they combine *ġazels* (love poems) and *ḳaṣīdes* (eulogies). In Ottoman poetry, however, poems that praise the Prophet – *naʿt* – comprise an integral element, and they have a fixed place within the *dīvāns* (poem collections).[11]

Dīvāns existed not only among the Ottomans, but also among the Persians, Arabs, and Indians. The exact time in which *dīvāns* took shape as a distinct Ottoman form has been a point of scholarly dispute. Two diverging, but parallel positions have dominated the conversation since the beginning of the 20th century, depending upon how great the historian of literature understood the Persian influence to be. Elias John Wilkinson Gibb took this influence to be substantial and claimed that prior to the 17th century, Ottoman poetry was a mere copy of Persian poetry with no distinct character.[12] Other leading literary historians such as Fuat Köprülü, Alessio Bombaci, and Walter Andrews, maintained the creative character of Ottoman poetry as a proper kind of art from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century,[13] and it is this view which prevails today.[14]

Edith Ambros has highlighted the originality of premodern Ottoman poetry and its stylistic features since the early 1980's.[15] She paved the way for a new understanding in revealing networks,[16] modes of communication,[17] and a sense of humour in lyrical creations.[18]

10 See Kuru, "The literature of Rum."568.
11 See Emine Yeniterzi, "Naʿt." s.v. *TDVIA*. Vol. 32. 2006. 436.
12 See E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry. Vol. 1. (London: Lowe and Brydone, Reprint 1958). [First Publ. 1900]. 3–6; see Ömer Faruk Akün, "Divan Edebiyatı.". s.v. *TDVİA*. Vol. 9. (Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 1994). 401.
13 See Walter Andrews, Mehmet Kalpaklı, "Gazels and the world: some notes on the 'occasionalness' of the Ottoman gazel." In *Ghazal as World Literature II. From a Literary Genre to a Great Tradition. The Ottoman Gazel in Context.* Eds. Angelika Neuwirth, Michael Hess et al. (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006). 153–162.
14 See Suraiya N. Faroqhi, "Introduction." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire as a World Power. 1453–1609.* Eds. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, Kate Fleet. Vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2013). 3.
15 See Edith Ambros, *Candid penstrokes. The lyrics of Me'ālī, an Ottoman poet of the 16th century.* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1982). 93–130; idem. "Linguistic duality and humour as a stylistic marker in Ottoman lyric poetry of the 16th century." In *Orientalische Landschaften.* Eds. Markus Köhbach, Stephan Procházka et al. (Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; 100). (Wien: Institut für Orientalistik, 2010). 37–56.
16 See Ambros, *Candid penstrokes.* 14, 17, 32.
17 See Ambros, *Candid penstrokes.* 33, 30.
18 See Ambros, *Candid penstrokes.* 13–19.

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Since 1985 Walter Andrews has decisively influenced Ottoman research on poetry. Aware that the rhetoric of late medieval and premodern times was full of ambiguity,[19] he developed a terminological approach that focused on the explication of ambiguous concepts. His discussion of the lyrical 'I' and of the various dimensions of love have received substantial attention.[20] Another new approach was initiated by Erika Glassen, who emphasized the fundamental ambiguity in gender in Ottoman divan poetry.[21]

Together with Mehmet Kalpaklı, Walter Andrews initiated a lively discussion through which a number of fundamental concepts have been revised. Although scholars have tended to assume that *dīvāns* were courtly creations, Walter Andrews und Mehmet Kalpaklı referred to Ẕātī (1471–1546) and other poets in order to show that *ġazels* were enjoyed by a much larger segment of society,[22] including artisans and uneducated women.[23] This has led to a new understanding of the interaction between court and city. In due course the Persian concept of a purely courtly poetry was shown to be inappropriate to Ottoman realities. Both researchers provided ample evidence for poetry's urban features. Their deconstruction of the purely courtly affiliation had an impact on the controversial attitude towards the term 'divan literature,' which was charged with the connotations of court poetry.[24] Although the term is still in use, leading scholars since the early 20th century have tended to avoid the term, as Ömer Faruk Akün has pointed out.[25] Selim Kuru pursues the critical perception of this term revealing 'divan literature' as a mere construction, not adequately representing the range of 16th century poets. Instead, Selim Kuru suggests a dubbing of this classical Ottoman poetry *Literature of Rūm* (Rum), given that 16th century poets often underlined their local affiliation to the lands of Rum and designated themselves as *şūʿarā-yı Rūm* (poets of Rum).[26] However, Kuru concedes that in the 16th century, a general term did not exist and the poets used *şiʿr u inşāʾ* (poetry and

19 See Douglas Kelly, *Medieval Imagination. Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love.* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin Press, 1978). 234.

20 See Walter Andrews, *Poetry's voice, society's song. Ottoman lyric poetry.* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1985). 62–108. For an in-depth investigation on ambiguity see Thomas Bauer, *Die Kultur der Ambiguität: eine andere Geschichte des Islams.* (Berlin: Verl. der Weltreligionen, 2011).

21 Erika Glassen, "Geschlechterbeziehungen im Wandel." In *Literatur und Gesellschaft: kleine Schriften von Erika Glassen zur türkischen Literaturgeschichte und zum Kulturwandel in der modernen Türkei.* Ed. Jens Peter Laut, assisted by Barbara Pusch. (Istanbuler Texte und Studien; 31). (Würzburg: Ergon Verl., 2003). 353.

22 Fahir İz, "Dhātī." s.v. *EI²*. Vol. 2. 1965. 220–221. Andrews / Kalpaklı, "Gazels and the World." 153–162.

23 Andrews / Kalpaklı, "Gazels and the World." 160.

24 See Kuru, "The literature of Rum." 549.

25 See Ömer Faruk Akün, "Divan Edebiyatı". *İA,* Vol. 9. 1994. 389–390.

26 See Kuru, "The literature of Rum". 549.

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prose composition) to describe their activity.[27] This term suggests an intertwining of poetry and prose which does not occur in 'divan literature'.

Besides expanding Ottoman poetry beyond the purely courtly context and criticizing the term 'divan literature,' recent research has also started to explore single poems in a variety of contexts, e. g. in prose,[28] *mecmūʿas* (miscellanies),[29] or *meṣnevī*s (Turkish Romantics).[30] These explorations point to the wide range of lyrical production and show that *dīvāns* were an important means to present poetry, though by far not the only one.

Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı went a step further. They focussed on *ġazels,* highlighting them as the most popular genre within the 16th century.[31] Their rich material provides evidence of the broad social use and relevance of *ġazels.* From their perspective *ġazels* should be understood as the fundamental form of Ottoman communication in the 16th century.[32] However, the great variety of genres investigated recently[33] suggests that Ottoman poetry's popularity was, at least in part, due to its vivid sensual representations and great lyrical variety. To be sure, *ġazels*, which were quite common in *dīvāns*, were a significant factor in this regard.

A further strand of research is dedicated to premodern poetry's literary reception over time. Hatice Aynur has undertaken important work in this area.[34]

27 See Kuru, "The literature of Rum". 550.

28 See Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims. A Study of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's Künhü'l-Aḫbār.* (Leiden, Het Oosters Institut, 1991). 45 f; see the contributions in this volume.

29 See Hatice Aynur, Müjgân Çakır et al. (eds.), Mecmûa: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı. (Eski Türk Edibiyatı Çalışmaları; 7). (Istanbul: Turkuaz, 2012); See Gisela Procházka-Eisl, Hülya Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times. Hidden Treasures: Selected Texts from Ottoman Mecmūʿas (Miscellanies*). Vol. 1. (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2015); see Gisela Procházka-Eisl, Hülya Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times. "The Yield of the Disciplines and the Merits of the Texts". Nevʿī Efendi's Encyclopaedia Netāyic el-Fünūn.* Vol. 2. (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2015).

30 See Ali Emre Özyıldırım, *Fikrî Çelebi ve Ebkâr-ı Efkâr'ı. On Altıncı Yüzyıldan Sıradışı Bir Aşk Hikâyesi.* (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2017).

31 See Walter G. Andrews, Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds. Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*. (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2005). 114.

32 See Andreews, Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds.*1–31.

33 See Hatice Aynur, Müjgân Çakır et al. (eds.), *Kasîdeye medhiye: biçime, işleve ve muhtevaya dair tespitler.* (Eski Türk Edebiyatı Çalışmaları; 8). (Istanbul: Klasik, 2013).

34 See Hatice Aynur, "Cumhuriyet dönemi antolojilerinde tekrarlanan şiirler antolojisi." In *Eski Türk edebiyatına modern yaklaşımlar II, 27 Nisan 2007.* Eds. Hatice Aynur, Müjgan Çakır et al. (Istanbul: Türkuaz, 2008). 228–295; see Hatice Aynur, "Cumhuriyet dönemi Divan şiiri antolojileri." In *Eski Türk edebiyatına modern yaklaşımlar II, 27 Nisan 2007.* (Istanbul: Turkuaz, 2008). 58–109.

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Interdisciplinary Approaches

In the late Middle Ages and in the first half of the 16th century, the period in which the poems considered in this volume were written, a number of important terms were used differently than they are used today. Meanings of words and concepts changed over time so that we cannot assume that premodern terms are meant in the way we are inclined to understand them today.[35] It is, for example, important to note differences among various notions of the cosmos and of love. Interestingly, the idea that the individual could be used to represent the whole finds strong parallels in Western lyrical analyses of the time.[36] Douglas Kelly, who has meticulously investigated French medieval love poetry and highlighted its fine rhetorical nuances has pointed this out. He interpreted imagination as a poetic principle that allowed the personification of natural forces and provided coherence to a multilayered world.[37] The perception that the individual expresses the whole and that material and ideal world are united is also suggested by Julie Scott Meisami with regard to Arabic literary history.[38] She delineates the difference between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age with respect to the diverging codes that mark them. In the Middle Ages, as she explains, the visible was understood to indicate a deeper reality beyond itself. The medieval world was full of signs and this sign system found a corresponding language of images in lyric poetry. Images were used to establish a connection between earthly and divine realms and to give the various elements of creation a certain order.[39]

The relationship of medieval and premodern poetry to Latin rhetoric has been controversially discussed.[40] One of the genres popular within Ottoman poetry of the time were *ġazels*, which have the same scheme and structure in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman poetry. They are based on *ʿilm al-balāġat*, a complex, scientifically-based set of artistic skills of Arabic origin, whose relationship to the Aristotelian model seems to have emerged only later. The extent to which Arabic poetry may or may not have been influenced by the work of Aristotle is a matter of continuing discussion. While some researchers see the poems as separate constructions unified only through the use of double verses,[41] others criticize this

35 See Kelly, *Medieval Imagination.* 16–20.

36 See Julie Scott Meisami, *Structure and meaning in medieval Arabic and Persian poetry. Orient pearls.* (London: Routledge, 2003). 8, 18–19; Kelly, *Medieval Imagination.* 30; Julie Scott Meisami, *Medieval Persian court poetry.* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1987). 245.

37 Kelly, *Medieval Imagination.* 25, 28, 84, 230.

38 Kelly, *Medieval Imagination.* 84; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning.* 8–9.

39 Meisami, *Structure and Meaning.* 5–8.

40 Meisami, *Structure and Meaning.* 9, 18, 20; Akün, "Divan Edebiyatı." *İA.* 406; Kelly, *Medieval Imagination.* 12.

41 J.T.P. De Bruijn, "Ghazal". *Elr.* 355.

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approach as structuralist and overly focused on dividing the work into parts.[42] Between these poles there are a range of positions, including one which argues that the fundamental thematic coherence consists in a 'molecularity.'[43]

Meisami argues on the basis of a triple-layered model: *ʿilm al-meʿānī* (knowledge of meanings) that distinguishes among *inventio*,[44] *dispositio*,[45] and *ornamentatio*.[46] The *inventio* refers to the lyrical theme and the external framework; the *dispositio* indicates the composition and the structuring of various parts; and the *ornamentatio* focuses on the ways in which rhetorical devices beautify the poem.[47] The thesis of the three-level composition has not run into as much criticism as some other topics have; however, it requires further discussion, especially given the uncertainty of the extent of the Latin influence.

Although it is tempting to insist on the many similarities between premodern literary phenomena in Europe and the Middle East, there are also important differences. Akün points to the differences between the French concept of the *amour courtois* and the Ottoman concept of love relationships inherent in *ġazels*, i.e. the relationship between the lover and the beloved.[48] However, the concept of the impossible love seems to be inherent in the *amour courtois* as well as the Ottoman *ġazels*. Further interdisciplinary discussion would be necessary to reveal the striking meeting-points and divergences.

The differences between Ottoman and Azeri poetry should be mentioned as well and Michael Hess made some of these distincitions.[49] An analysis of at least of some of the differences as well as similarities between premodern Ottoman, French and Arabic poetry remains an important desiderata.

Last but not least, we would like to emphasise that we are well aware of Azeri literature's autonomy and originality and we keep Azeri spelling separately. However, we believe that the Turkic-Ottoman language and the premodern period establish a common basis upon which to consider the very different poets, poems and topoi presented in this volume.

42 Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*. 12–15.

43 Geert Jan van Gelder, *Beyond the Line: Classical Arabic literary criticism on the coherence and unity of the poem*. (Leiden: Brill, 1982). 14.

44 Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*. 23–25.

45 Meisami does not present a clear correspondence to the Arabic rhetoric, but rather differentiates various aspects of the *dispositio*. Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*. 112–113.

46 Here Meisami chooses *badīʿ* for the corresponding concept. Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*. 245.

47 Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*. 19–20, 24–26, 58, 244.

48 Akün, "Divan Edebiyatı". 415.

49 Michael Heß, "Azerbaijani literature." In *EI*[3]. Eds. Kate Fleet. 2015. 34–37; Michael Heß, "Nesīmī und die Ḥurūfīs als gescheiterte Reformatoren der Iraner und oghusischen Türken." In *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher. Neue Folge*. 24 (2010/2011). 136. [103–137].

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Summary

The contributions to this volume follow Selim Kuru both in his deconstruction of the term 'divan literature' and in his emphasis on locality. However, these contributions also suggest that networks played an intricate role as well, and it is striking how intently poets attended to their peer-poets' creations.

In her stylistic examination of the genres and forms of fourteen different poets, Edith Ambros presents a diorama of premodern Ottoman poetry. She discovers that an essential feature of the poems considered to be excellent was the use of emotive language. Good poems were expected to have a certain "burning" or "ardour," as expressed by the Persian term *sūz*. Ambros points out, however, that some genres were more likely to create an emotive atmosphere than others, and she draws attention to the stylistic factors that contribute to the emotive power of various poems. In particular, she discusses how the explicit appearance of the narrator enhances a poem's emotional appeal. In all of these ways, she reveals the originality underlying the conventions of premodern Ottoman poetry.

Gisela Procházka-Eisl explores the role of poems in four different types of 16th century Ottoman prose: the chronicle, the encyclopaedia, the social essay, and the miscellany opus. She outlines the genesis of this new research area and highlights its pioneers. Her focus, however, is on the question of authorship, the choice of poets, and the further development of categories to classify the function of lyrics in prose. In the course of these considerations she reveals the importance of networks and local affiliations for quoting specific authors and she demonstrates how the editorial decision to include lyrical texts was also based on pragmatic concerns. She also shows how the lyrical texts promoted various social and political purposes, enabling their author to overcome taboos or to gloss over certain facts for ideological reasons.

Jan Schmidt demonstrates the multifarious role of poetry in prose by examining three exemplary texts. The first is an unknown manuscript which Schmidt discovered in the Leiden Library. The second text is an extract of a historiography, which Schmidt explored in his magnum opus, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims*. The third text is taken from the official chronicle written under Sultan Süleymān's rule and produced for the most part in the 16th century. Schmidt observes how the role of the poems inserted within the prose texts varies from embellishment to commentary. He also explores criticism in the official historiography which is not found in the other individual prose texts. Interestingly, he argues that the more or less elaborate style of the prose does not correspond to the poem's function, be it mere embellishment or meaningful illustration.

Gül Şen examines the function of poetry in 16th century historiographic prose on the basis of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's opus *Künhü'l aḫbār*. As a man of letters,

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Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī wrote an extensive number of historiographic texts, as well as numerous poems which were collected in a divan. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī never obtained the position of a court chronicler, earning his living through various posts in beauraucracy instead. Nevertheless, since his historiography is flavoured by his personal perspectives, *Künhü'l aḫbār* provides important glimpses into social life. Şen uses the chapter of the facsimile edition on Sultan Selīm published by *Türk Tarih Kurumu*. Methodologically, she draws upon Gérard Genette's distinction between factual and fictional narrative, but she refines these terms so that they apply to the analysis of poems. Accordingly, she develops categories that reveal the different functions of poems within this historical text and which serve to distinguish their various structural meanings and perspectives.

In her contribution Hülya Çelik explores the 16th century Ottoman elegy. Her empirical studies draw attention to the increasing use of the genre *terkīb-i bend* and to a lesser extent the *tercīʿ-i bend* from the 15th to 16th century. She follows Mustafa İsen's analysis of schemes and considers 31 different elegies. However, her analysis focuses on three elegies that were written for the occasion of the death of Sultan Bāyezīd's son ʿAlemşāh (1467/871–1510/916). Here Çelik draws attention to the fact that although the elegies were written by three different poets, each was created in the genre *terkīb-i bend*. She then goes on to explore why this genre was favoured and reveals the important Persian influence at play. She also suggests that the dynamic scheme of *terkīb-i bend* allowed more creative freedom than the *tercīʿ-i bend*.

Ali Emre Özyildirim elucidates the way in which the *meşnevī*s (Ottoman romantics) adhered to conventions whilst being innovative in producing new tropes. In addition to introducing a 16th century poet who had fallen into oblivion (Māşī-zāde Fikrī Çelebi). Özyıldırım highlights the importance of locality as an element in *meşnevī*s. He analyses two *meşnevī*s written by poets who lived centuries apart, but who each described the city of Edirne extensively. He explains why the poems place emphasis on Edirne's mosques and markets, and he highlights the references to the Bektashi lodge. Moreover, Özyıldırım reveals the coincidental description of ugly human features in both opuses as taboo-breaking and highly entertaining.

In his in-depth investigation of lyrical imitations, dubbed *naẓīre*, Benedek Péri draws attention to the long tradition of this genre in the Middle East and beyond. He analyses modes of lyrical imitation presented in a 16th century anthology composed of nineteen *naẓīres*. These poems are united by their *ġazel*-genre, their meter, and the rhyme-word *bekleriz* (we are waiting, we are guarding). Moreover, by tracing back the vita of each poet, Péri succeeds in showing how their social and local affiliations are relevant to the editor's choice to include them. He also explores the wide scope of cross imitations and emulations by peer poets. Perhaps most importantly, Péri shows how these *bekleriz-naẓīres* devel-

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oped from a trend into a tradition that persisted over time and was still referred to in the 20th century.

In her investigation Christiane Czygan focuses on a newly discovered *dīvān*-manuscript by Sultan Süleymān. She combines formal empirical research with references to the research discourse on the nature of the beloved. She also provides an analysis of the poet's intentionality by exploring what remained unsaid. Moreover, she takes advantage of the extraordinarily large number of the poet's divans to pave the way for a genealogy. By presenting the *dīvān*-manuscript in the context of its complex setting, she demonstrates its profound relevance to the genesis of Sultan Süleymān's *dīvāns.* Specifically, she explores the number of so-called 'new' poems in the *dīvān* at hand and she explains what they reveal about the creation of this specific ruler-*dīvān.* Perhaps most interestingly, she shows how love and power were united in personal relations and landscapes.

Ṣāh İsmāʿīl was a prolific poet and founder of the Savavid dynasty, who also created a Turkic *dīvān.* In his analysis Michael Hess focuses on this *dīvān* by exploring the iridescent semantic of martyrdom. He elucidates how erotic and religious imagery were related to the idea of martyrdom and how the ruler poet used his poems to promote Shia. Within the context of martyrdom, Heß explores key words in their etymological depth and reveals the complex entanglement of secular and religious rhetoric. He also shows how the mystical concept of the circle was transferred into the lyrical form through the creation of a cyclic structure wherein the last distich refers to the first. Finally, Heß reveals the ruler poet's strategy for power in his claim of divine, spiritual and paternal support.

That 16th century poetry is not merely art, but an integral part of Ottoman daily life has been emphasised in several contributions. In her investigation Hatice Aynur outlines poetry as an important tool for historiography. She demonstrates that poetry is essential to the revision of historiographic assumptions, and she sheds light on how Istanbul was developing at the time. For this purpose she explores two *teẕkīres* (bibliographical dictionaries of poets) and two *meṣnevī*s (love narratives), all written in the 16th century. On the basis of these lyrics and with reference to historiographic works, she establishes eight types of places for lyrical performance. She also finds indications that the consumption of drugs and similar substances often went together with lyrical performance. Most importantly, however, Aynur demonstrates just how closely 16th century Ottoman poetry was interwoven with specific localities. Her vivid detail establishes a kind of 16th century map of Istanbul's important places.

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Style

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Edith Gülçin Ambros*

Emotivity as a Stylistic Marker in Ottoman Lyric Poetry of the 15th and 16th Centuries

This study is a continuation of our study "Linguistic duality and humour as a stylistic marker in Ottoman lyric poetry of the 16th century."[1] In the former study we posited that linguistic duality (basically elaborateness versus simplicity), in facultative combination with humour, is a stylistic marker in Ottoman poetry. Emotive language was also referred to in that context. 'Emotive' is used here with the meaning "tending or able to excite emotion."[2]

That emotivity is a stylistic marker is a fact that need not be gone into further. In the present study we shall use this marker to start determining the importance given emotivity and the variations seen in the degree of emotivity in Ottoman lyric poetry of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The Importance Given Emotivity

One of the styles used in lyric poetry is called *ʿāşıḳāne*, which means "lover-like, amorous, affectionate." The element that makes language *ʿāşıḳāne* is *sūz* (literally "a burning", figuratively "ardour") or *sūz u güdāz* (literally "a burning and melting/consuming"). In our context this translates into emotivity and its application into emotive language. Of course, *sūz* is not restricted to the *ʿāşıḳāne* style.

* This is the enlarged version of the paper I read at the *Osmanische Poesie im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert – Fragen zu ihrer Übersetzung, Analyse und Kontextualisierung* Symposium in Bonn, 21 November 2014.

1 See Edith Gülçin Ambros, "Linguistic duality and humour as a stylistic marker in Ottoman lyric poetry of the 16th century." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* (*Orientalische Landschaften*). Vol. 100. (2010). 37–56.

2 *The Oxford Universal Dictionary Illustrated*, revised and edited by C. T. Onions, Third Edition, Vol. I (Oxford: The Caxton Publishing Company Limited), reprinted 1974, *s.v.* Emotive 1.b.

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When a contemporary authority says that something is lacking, then we can take his word for it that something was thought necessary, not to say desirable at the time.

Harun Tolasa indicates a passage in Laṭīfī's (d. 1582) *Tezkiretü'ş-şuʿarā* ("Poets' biographies") which indirectly shows the importance Laṭīfī attributes to *sūz* in poetry. The passage is about Tācīzāde Caʿfer Çelebi's (d. 1515) poetic talent.

> "*Latîfî burada Cafer Çelebi'nin şiiri için, sanatlıdır, uslupça sağlam ve mükemmeldir, ama „sûz" (yani duygu, duygululuk, heyecan) yoktur, der. Böylece bu tezkirecimiz, bir şiir için sanatın, sanatlılığın, üslûpça sağlam ve mükemmelliğin yeterli olmadığı, şiirde duygu ve heyecan da olması gerektiği şeklinde bir düşünce ve anlayışa sahib olduğunu, dolaylı ve kısaca da olsa ifade etmiş olur: 'Nazm-ı belîgine elfâz ve maâniden söz yokdur; lakin eşʿâr-ı bedîʿasında san'at ve hayal vardur, sûz yokdur.'"*[3]

> "Laṭīfī says here about Caʿfer Çelebi's poetry that it is artful, of solid and excellent style, but has no *sūz* (that is, feeling, emotionality, excitement). In this way this biographer of ours [that is, Laṭīfī] has expressed, albeit indirectly and shortly, that he is of the opinion and understanding that art, artiness, stylistic solidity and perfection are not sufficient, that there must be feeling and excitement in poetry, too: [and then Tolasa quotes Laṭīfī:] 'One can't say anything negative about the words and meanings in his [Caʿfer Çelebi's] poetry; however, in his innovative poems there is art and imagination, but not *sūz*.'"[4]

The importance given emotivity (*sūz*, "ardour") in poetry is also reflected in the poets' claim of having it. Whether they did or not in the eyes of their peers is beside the point. Here is such a claim by Keşfī (d. 1538–9):

> "*Kimüñ ki ėrse semʿine bu naẓm-ı āteşīn*
> *Yaḳar dilini sūzla bu tāb u iltihāb*"[5]

> "This passion and excitement will burn the heart with ardour
> Of anyone who hears this fiery poetry."

3 See Harun Tolasa, *Sehî, Latîfî, Âşık Çelebi Tezkirelerine göre 16. Y.Y.'da Edebiyat Araştırma ve Eleştirisi*, I (Bornova/Izmir: Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1983). 366–367. On variants of this passage see *Latîfî: Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ (İnceleme-Metin)*. Ed. Rıdvan Canım (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2000). 211, 659. Please note that in quotations from editions (our own or others') we have adhered to the original transliteration.

4 All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. For more information on Tācīzāde Caʿfer Çelebi's literary personality see İsmail E. Erünsal, *The Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Caʿfer Çelebi, with a Critical Edition of his Dîvân* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1983). LXXII–C,V.

5 See Hülya Çelik, Ph.D. dissertation (in preparation), "Die Lobgedichte (*qaṣāʾid*) des osmanischen Dichters Keşfī (m. 1538–9) und die Determinierung seines 'unpopulären' Stils anhand seines Werkes", *tercīʿ-i bend* Nr. I, 4th strophe, couplet 9. Metre: *mefʿūlü – fāʿilātü – mefāʿīlü – fāʿilün.*

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Keşfī underlines his claim on "ardour" by using words related to it: *sūz*, *āteşīn*, *tāb u iltihāb*, *yaḳmaḳ*. The use of (near-)synonyms is typical of his style and, as will be seen further on, at times excessive.

Keşfī was not a major poet of the day, but Necātī Beg (d. 1509) was, and he, too, makes such a claim:[6]

"*Sözüñüñ sūzı ile yandı Necātī dil-ü-cān*"[7]

"Necātī, the heart and the soul burned with the fire of your words"

A poet sultan's claim: the following couplet is out of a *ġazel* by Muḥibbī, that is, Sultan Süleymān (ruled 1520–66):

"*Şi'r-i pür-sūzuñ Muḥibbī çünki bir eglencedür*
Ḫālī olma bir nefes 'ālemde sen eş'ārdan"[8]

"Since your poetry full of ardour is an amusement, Muḥibbī,
Don't deprive yourself of poems even for a moment in this world."

Literary critique as evidence: Laṭīfī says in his entry on Hümāmī, who lived in the first half of the 15th century,[9] that he writes poetry with words that set the heart and soul afire (*elfāẓ-ı dil-sūz ve cān-efrūzla naẓma getürüp*).[10]

The choice of the pen name *Sūzī*, "the burning/ardent one," is evidence of desirability. On the poet Sūzī (d. 1524) we also have the favourable opinion of Laṭīfī:

"*Bu daḫi naẓm-ı ābdār u pāk ve şi'r-i āteş-teʾşīr-i sūz-nāḳle ā'yān-ı naẓmuñ maḳbūllerinden ve şu'arā-yı Rūmuñ memdūḥlarından idi.*"[11]

"He, too, with his pleasant and pure poetry and his ardent poems with the effect of fire was one of the valuable ones among the notables of poetry and one of the praised ones among the poets of Rūm."

A literary critic's astonishment at a lack of appreciation is further evidence. In his entry on Cemālī (d. 1510–12?) Laṭīfī remarks:

"*'Acep budur ki bu ḳadar naẓm-ı pāk ve şi'r-i sūznāk ile miyān-ı enāmda şöhret bulmamış […]*".

6 On this aspect of Necātī Beg see Bayram Ali Kaya, "Necâtî Bey'in Şiir Anlayışı," *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 27. (2012). 189.

7 *Necatî Beg Divanı.* Ed. Ali Nihad Tarlan (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1963). 489. Metre: *fe'ilātün – fe'ilātün – fe'ilātün – fe'ilün.* We became aware of this example through Kaya's article "Necâtî Bey'in Şiir Anlayışı." 189.

8 *Muhibbî Dîvânı – İzahlı Metin – Kanûnî Sultan Süleyman.* Ed. Coşkun Ak (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1987). 656.

9 Date of death unknown.

10 See *Latîfî,* ed. Canım. 573.

11 See *Latîfî,* ed. Canım. 311.

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"It is strange that in spite of so much pure poetry and ardent poems he gained no fame amidst the people […]"[12]

The criticism of 'coldness,' the antithesis of "heat" (*sūz*), as evidence: We quote two unedited independent satiric couplets (*müfred*s) by Keşfī on the *dīvān* of his contemporary Ẕātī (d. 1546):

"*Buz istetmez Aġustos ıssısında*
Ne meclisde ki ola dīvān-ı Ẕātī"[13]

"Nobody will wish for ice in the heat of August
In an assembly where Ẕātī's *dīvān* is to be found."

"*Tāb-ı tābistānda buz ḫarcı yanında*[14] *ḳılmaġa*
Birbirinden ḳapışır dīvān-ı Ẕātīyi ʾavām"[15]

"The common people grab Ẕātī's *dīvān* out of each other's hands
To use it alongside ice in the heat of summer."

Another example: Laṭīfī relates that during the Egypt expedition of Sultan Selīm I (ruled 1512–20), the poet Revānī (d. 1523–24) presented a *ḳaṣīde* to the sultan in the hot month of July with the refrain word (*redīf*) *berf* "snow". This was not to the taste of the Sultan who himself was a poet and said, "Is snow a thing to be praised that you want to depict a *cold word* like this (*bunuñ gibi lafẓ-ı bāridi*) and present me a *ḳaṣīde* with it?" And the Sultan showed a chilling countenance to the poet Revānī because of those *expressions of coldness* (*ol ʾibārāt-ı berd içün*).[16] Whereupon the contemporary poet Sücūdī (d. ?) gloatingly made fun of Revānī with a satiric poem, the first couplet of which is:

"*Ṣovuḳ sözlerle ṭoñdurduñ cihānı*
Başuña ṭolular yaġsun Revānī"[17]

"You have made the whole universe freeze with cold words.
May hail fall on your head, Revānī!"

Critique by a modern authority on a leading poet of the past as evidence: This is Harun Tolasa's following opinion on Aḥmed Paşa's (d. 1496–7) poetics:

12 See *Latîfî,* ed. Canım. 215.

13 MS of Keşfī's *Dīvān*, 82v, *Hicviyyāt* section. Metre: *mefāʾīlün – mefāʾīlün – feʾūlün.* This is the only known, unfortunately incomplete MS of Keşfī's *Dīvān.* It is in the private possession of İsmail E. Erünsal, whom I thank sincerely for putting it at my disposal.

14 MS of Keşfī's *Dīvān: y-'-n-ñ-d-h.*

15 MS of Keşfī's *Dīvān*, 82v. Metre: *fāʾilātün – fāʾilātün – fāʾilün.*

16 See *Latîfî,* ed. Canım. 296: *Merḥūm Revānī […] Mıṣr seferinde ol ṣāh-ı suḫandān-fehīme aʾni Sulṭān Selīme eyyām-ı Temmūz-ı ciger-sūzda berf redīf bir ḳaṣīde diyüp […] Ammā Ḥażret-i pādişāhuñ mizācına ḫoş gelmeyüp berf bir memdūḥ nesne midür ki bunuñ gibi lafẓ-ı bāridi taʾrīf ḳaṣd idüp baña ḳaṣīde ṣunarsın diyü ol ʾibārāt-ı berd içün ṣüret-i serd göstericek […].*

17 See *Latîfî,* ed. Canım. 296. Metre: *mefāʾīlün – mefāʾīlün – feʾūlün.*

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"*[…] Ahmet Paşa'nın şiirde yapmış olduğu şeyi, aşağı-yukarı üç ana noktada toplamak mümkündür: Medih, tavsif, suz u güdaz (yanıp yakılma).*"

"[…] what Ahmet Paşa has done in poetry can be grouped more or less under three main points: praise, description, and *sūz ü güdāz* (burning and being consumed)."[18]

Variations in the Degree of Emotivity

The Ottoman poetic vocabulary and stock of similes and metaphors was conventional. This has two effects in this context. Firstly, words and metaphors lose some of their emotive potential through use and re-use, even though they are used in different combinations. Secondly, the sameness of the words and metaphors used, though in different combinations, makes it often hard to recognize emotivity or assess the emotive degree of poems. To illustrate the second point we shall first quote a couplet by Āhī (d. 1517), of whom Laṭīfī said that he had ardour (*sūz*)[19]. This couplet is among the verses Laṭīfī quotes. We note, however, that Laṭīfī does not make any remark about the *sūz* quality of this specific couplet. The second example we shall give for comparison is a couplet by Me'ālī (d. 1535–6), who was not remarkable for his *sūz* but was very well known for his pleasant humourous attitude and wordplay. Both couplets are out of *ġazel*s. This is Āhī's:

"*Saçların çözsün bulutlar ra'd ḳılsun nāleler*
Ḥaşre dek yansun yaḳulsun ḳabrüm üzre lāleler"[20]

"May the clouds let their hair down, may the thunder groan,
May the tulips[21] on my grave be alight and aflame till Judgment Day."

And this is Me'ālī's couplet:

"*Ḥasret-i zülfüñ-le cān vèrenlerüñ yasın ṭutub*
Her seḥer ṣaçın çözüb gülşende sünbül aġlar"[22]

"Mourning for those who died yearning for your locks,
Every morning the hyacinth lets down its hair and weeps in the flower garden."[23]

18 See Harun Tolasa, *Ahmet Paşa'nın Şiir Dünyası.* (Ankara: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1973). 6.
19 See *Latîfî,* ed. Canım. 182.
20 See *Latîfî,* ed. Canım. 182. Metre: *fā'ilātün – fā'ilātün – fā'ilātün – fā'ilün.*
21 Please note that the tulip in this poetry is always red, the colour of passion.
22 See Edith Ambros, *Candid penstrokes: The lyrics of Me'ālī, an Ottoman poet of the 16th century.* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1982). 399, *ġazel* 221, couplet 3. Metre: *fā'ilātün – fā'ilātün – fā'ilātün – fā'ilün.*
23 See Ambros, *Candid penstrokes.* 121.

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The choice of words is more dramatic in Āhī's couplet than in Meʾālī's, but basically they are very similar because they are both anthropomorphic, both set in nature and both about death and mourning. Āhī's is a simply but carefully composed and worded couplet. There are only five loanwords (*raʿd*, *nāle*, *ḥaşr*, *ḳabr*, *lāle*) to eight pure Turkish words and the loanwords are well-known ones, except for one (*raʿd*). There is no *iżāfet* construction. So this is a couplet that even people with little education could understand easily. Meʾālī's couplet is similar in simplicity and composition (only six very well-known loanwords, if we do not count the turkicized *yas*), though there is one *iżāfet* construction. In spite of these similarities, there is one important difference. In Āhī's couplet there is a personal link, "*my* grave"; in Meʾālī's couplet the object of mourning is anonymous: a number of unnamed dead lovers. Āhī's couplet thus has direct personal emotional relevance (personal emotions being one of the characteristics of lyric poetry, the other being a song-like quality), whereas in Meʾālī's couplet there is no link to the narrator except that implicit in the address "*your* locks" (*zülfüñle*). So Āhī's couplet has more *sūz*/emotivity than Meʾālī's.

An excessive amount of rhetorical elements such as parallelism in structure, repetition of words and tropes, alliteration and assonance is counter-productive when it comes to creating emotional impact. A very good example for this is the following poem by Keşfī. This is not a *ġazel*, but a *müsemmen*, a strophic form with strophes of eight lines. We shall give the first two strophes out of a total of nine strophes, followed by the translation of Hülya Hancı (Çelik):

"*Gördüm bu gėce bāġda bir serv-i gül-ʿiẕār*
Ėdüb gül üzre sünbül-i reyḥān[ı] tār-mār
ʿAks-i ruḫı-yla eylemiş ol bāġ[ı] lāle-zār
Ol lāle-zāra ḳarşu o bāġ içre bī-ḳarār
İñlerd[i] āh u nāle ḳılub bir żaʿīf ü zār
Cān-ı naḥīfüme ḳılub ol āh u nāle kār
Dėdüm bu bāġ u zār nedür dėdi ol nigār
Servem esīr bülbül-i cānuñ-durur nizār

Dün seyr-i bāġda yine ol mihr-i meh-niḳāb
Ṣalmış zemīne mihr ruḫı tābiş-ile tāb
Ol tābdan derūn-ı cihān ṭolub ıżṭırāb
Her ẕerre cūş ėdüb nite-kim ʿāşıḳ-ı ḫarāb
Ṣalmış zemīne āteş-i āhı-yla iltihāb
Görüb ol iltihābı göñül bī-tevān u tāb
Dėdüm bu iltihāb nedür dėd[i]ol āftāb
Sūz-ı hevāmdur ki yaḳubdur başuñda nār"[24]

24 See Hülya Hancı, "Ein außergewöhnliches Lobgedicht: Die meisterhafte Erzählstruktur in einem Strophengedicht (*musammaṭ*) des osmanischen Dichters Keşfī (m. 1538–9)." In

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"Heute Nacht sah ich im Garten eine Zypresse mit Rosenwangen.
Als sie auf das Rosengesicht [ihr] duftendes Haar wirr durcheinander legte,
Verwandelte sie mit dem Schein ihrer Wangen jenen Garten in ein Tulpenbeet.
Jenem Tulpengarten gegenüber, innerhalb jenes Blumengartens unentschlossen,
Stöhnte mit Seufzern und Wehklagen jammernd ein Schwacher und Trauriger.
Meine schwache Seele quälten jene Seufzer und Wehklagen,
Und ich sagte: 'Was ist dieser Garten und diese Trauer?' [Und] jene Schönheit erwiderte:
'Ich bin eine Zypresse, deine gefangene Nachtigallseele ist schwach!'

Gestern beim Gartenspaziergang, wieder jene Sonne mit dem Mondschleier,
Auf die Erde warfen ihre Sonnenwangen glanzvolles Licht,
Aufgrund jenes Glanzes füllte sich das Innerste der Welt mit Leid.
Jedes Atom geriet in Aufregung, so wie der zerstörte Liebende –
Auf die Erde warf er mit dem Feuer seiner Seufzer Feuer[funken].
Jenes Feuer erblickend, das Herz kraftlos und schwach,
[So] sagte ich: 'Was ist dieses Feuer?' [Und] jene Sonne erwiderte:
'Es ist der Brand der Lust nach mir, welches in deinem Kopf Feuer entfacht!'"[25]

The style of this poem is certainly remarkable. It is highly melodious as a result of such intricate construction and the lavish use of repetition. With its wealth of figurative language, it gives the impression of a fantasy world. There is a dreamy charm through poetic imagination and diction. Because of this, and even though the second strophe is full of words connoting "heat/ardour" and the narrator is constantly present, the poem has hardly any direct emotional impact. There is a feeling of nebulous distance similar to that seen in some ballads. At least in this poem, Keşfî's style of communicating emotion is unusual.[26]

The style of Keşfî's poem is all the more remarkable because strophic poems tend to have a higher degree of directness and simplicity in communicating emotion than most other poetic forms. The song-like quality, especially if there is a refrain, gives the poem a lighter note. On the other hand, a refrain binds the stanzas to each other and emphasizes through repetition what emotion there is. An example in the form of quatrains (*murabba'*) by Meʾālī as illustration:

"*Düşeli ʿışḳuña göñlüm ḫoşcadur ʿālemcigüm*
Mūnisüm derd ü ġamuñdur eşkdür hem-demcügüm
Bir gün ola olasın şăllăh benüm maḥremcügüm
Pād-şāhum devletüm çoḳ sevdügüm Ḫurremcügüm

Kim naṣīḥat ḳıldı kim böyle beni zār ėdesin
ʿIşḳuñuñ derdi-yle bīmār u dil-efgār ėdesin

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, (*Orientalische Landschaften*). Vol. 100. (2010). 70. Metre: *mefʿūlü – fāʿilātü – mefāʿīlü – fāʿilün.*

25 Hancı, "Ein außergewöhnliches Lobgedicht." 61.

26 Contemporary criticism of Keşfî's poetry will be dealt with in detail by Hülya Çelik (Hancı) in her Ph.D. dissertation; see footnote 5.

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Ṭatlu cānumdan beni hecrüñ-le bīzār ėdesin
Pād-şāhum devletüm çoḳ sevdügüm Ḫurremcügüm

Ġuṣṣañı çoḳ çekmişem bir dem beni şādān[27] *ḳıl*
Göz yaşın çoḳ dökmişem gel ḫurrem u ḫandān ḳıl
Yoḳ-mı inṣāfuñ yėter derd-ile ser-gerdān ḳıl
Pād-şāhum devletüm çoḳ sevdügüm Ḫurremcügüm

Umaram kesb-i kemāl ėtmege ṭālib olasın
Ol sebebden ben ḳuluñ-ile müṣāḥib olasın
Ḥālüme ḥăl-daş olup yār-ı münāsib olasın
Pād-şāhum devletüm çoḳ sevdügüm Ḫurremcügüm

Göreli zībā cemālüñi Meʾālī dil-berā
ʿIşḳuña düşüb saña cānı-yla oldı mübtelā
Raḥm ḳılmazsañ aña derdā dirīġā ḥasretā
Pād-şāhum devletüm çoḳ sevdügüm Ḫurremcügüm"[28]

Here the song-like quality is created by the refrain and the relatively long rhyme. The first stanza sets the tone, in fact the word *Ḫurremcügüm* does this: in the first stanza we have 22 times u/ü, in the others ten to fourteen times. The language is simple enough to be understood by a large section of the population and includes common Turkish expressions such as *bir gün ola olasın şăllăh*, *tatlu cānum*, *çoḳ çekmişem*, *yoḳ-mı inṣāfuñ.* The melodiousness and repetitiousness causes the emotion in this poem to be rather light-hearted.

"Since I fell in love with you, my dear little all[29], I quite rejoice.
My companions are the grief and pain you cause, tears are my dear little comrades.
May a day come when you will become – so God wills it! – my dear little intimate.
My king! My happiness! My dearly beloved darling little Ḫurrem!

Who advised you to make me so miserable,
To make me ill and heartbroken with lovesickness for you,
To make me weary of my sweet life by forsaking me?
My king! My happiness! My dearly beloved darling little Ḫurrem!

I've endured much sorrow you've caused. Make me happy for a moment!
I've wept a lot. Come make me smile and laugh.
You've distressed me enough with grief. Have you no pity?
My king! My happiness! My dearly beloved darling little Ḫurrem!

I hope you'll seek to acquire accomplishments,
Will keep company with me, your slave, to that end,

27 The second syllable of this and the other two rhyme words in this quatrain are over-long.
28 See Edith Ambros, *Candid penstrokes.* 181–182. Metre: *fāʿilātün – fāʿilātün – fāʿilātün – fāʿilün.*
29 Literally "world."

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Will be my fellow sufferer, will become a congenial friend.
My king! My happiness! My dearly beloved darling little Ḫurrem!

O sweetheart, when Meʾālī saw your charming beauty,
He fell for you and lost his heart to you.
If you don't have mercy on him, ah!…alas!…oh, the pity!
My king! My happiness! My dearly beloved darling little Ḫurrem!"[30]

A stanza of an elegy (*merṣiye*) is called *sūz* in Persian.[31] This is an indication that the degree of emotivity expected or desired in an elegy is high. So it does not surprise that the following elegy by Bāḳī (d. 1600) is more continuously emotive than many (most?) of his *ġazel*s. Bāḳī wrote this elegy of eight strophes (a *terkīb-i bend* of eight couplets each, except for the eighth strophe that contains ten couplets) upon Sultan Süleymān's death (1566). We shall quote the 6th strophe followed by Annemarie Schimmel's translation of it.

"*Tīġuñ içürdi düşmene zaḫm-ı zebānları*
Baḫṣ itmez oldı kimse kesildi lisānları

Gördi nihāl-i serv-i ser-efrāz-ı nīzeñi
Ser-keşlik adın añmadı bir daḫı bānları

Her ḳanda baṣsa pāy-ı semendüñ niṣār içün
Ḫānlar yoluñda cümle revān itdi cānları

Deşt-i fenāda mürġ-i hevā ṭurmayup ḳonar
Tīġuñ Ḫudā yolında sebīl itdi ḳanları

Şemşīr gibi rūy-ı zemīne ṭaraf ṭaraf
Ṣalduñ demür ḳuşaḳlu cihān pehlevānları

Alduñ hezār büt-gedeyi mescid eyledüñ
Nāḳūs yirlerinde oḳutduñ ezānları

Āḫır çalındı kūs-ı raḥīl itdüñ irtiḥāl
Evvel ḳonaġuñ oldı cinān būstānları

Minnet Ḫudāya iki cihānda ḳılup saʿīd
Nām-ı şerīfüñ eyledi hem ġāzī hem şehīd "[32]

We have some ingenious phonologic grouping in this strophe: *zaḫm-ı zebānları*, *kimse kesildi*, *serv-i ser-efrāz-ı …ser-keşlik*, *deşt-i fenā – mürġ-i hevā*, *ṭaraf ṭaraf*, *raḥīl – irtiḥāl*, *cinān…būstān.*

30 See Edith Ambros, *Candid penstrokes.* 112–113.
31 See F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature.* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1963)[5]. *s.v. soz.*
32 *Bâḳî Dîvânı, Tenkitli Basım*, Ed. Sabahattin Küçük (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1994). 79. Metre: *mefʿūlü – fāʿilātü – mefāʿīlü – fāʿilün.*

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"Hat doch dein Schwert einst die Zungen der Feinde bezwungen:
Niemand mehr stritt; ausgeschnitten war allen die Zungen.
Ragender Trieb der Zypresse erblickt' deine Lanze –
Nie ist vorm Wärter das Wort ihr vom Hochmut erklungen!
Wo auch der Fuß deines Rosses berührte den Boden,
Streuten dir hin ihre Seelen die Alten und Jungen.
Vogel der Leidenschaft weilt nicht in des Entwerdens
Wüste – er sucht, daß ihm eilends die Heimkehr gelungen.
Gleich einem Schwerte hast du alle Länder der Erde
Ringsum mit eisenumgürteten Helden durchdrungen.
Tausend eroberte Tempel schufst du zu Moscheen,
Statt Glockenschlägen wird dort der Gebetsruf gesungen.
Aber der Abreise Pauke, sie ward doch geschlagen,
Zum Paradies hat sogleich sich die Seele geschwungen.
Gott sei gedankt, daß du glücklich bist dort wie auch hier:
'Sieger' und 'Märtyrer' – die Namen schenkte er dir!"[33]

This elegy of the dead sultan composed in studied but not over-burdened language becomes a poignant lament when personal emotion comes into play. This is the case in the beginning of the 5th strophe, where we have the inclusion of simple Turkish.

"*Gün ṭoġdı Şāh-ı ʿālem uyanmaz mı ḫʸābdan*
Ḳılmaz mı cilve ḫayme-i gerdūn-cenābdan

Yollarda ḳaldı gözlerümüz gelmedi ḫaber
Ḫāk-i cenāb-ı südde-i devlet-meʾābdan"[34]

"The sun has risen. Doesn't the Shah of the world wake up?
Doesn't he come forth from the tent of heavenly majesty?

We are longing for him. No news have come
Of the dust of the majestic gate of sovereignty."

Bāḳī occasionally inserts plain language into a text that is stylistically elaborate; the ensuing contrast emphasises the appearance of personal feeling and seeming sincerity. Such a contrast is found especially in the second couplet quoted here, where the first line is idiomatic and purely Turkish with the exception of the Arabic loanword *ḫaber*, which however is in general common use (*Yollarda ḳaldı gözlerümüz gelmedi ḫaber*), whereas the second line contains not one word of Turkish origin and is composed of a threefold *iżāfet* construction and a com-

33 See Annemarie Schimmel, *Aus dem goldenen Becher: Türkische Gedichte aus sieben Jahrhunderten* (Köln: Önel-Verlag, 1993). 91.
34 *Bâḳî Dîvânı*. 78.

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posite word (*Ḫāk-i cenāb-ı südde-i devlet-meʾābdan*). Such insertions may have been meant as a stylistic counter effect.[35]

*Naẓīre*s, that is imitative poems, hinder spontaneity, an important factor in the generation and reception of personal feelings. The following *ġazel-i yek āheng* written by Bāḳī shares some characteristics with a number of other *ġazel-i yek āheng*s written by other poets of roughly the same time.[36] This makes it likely that they are *naẓīre*s. However, we do not know who wrote the 'model' and who emulated. After this poem by Bāḳī, we shall give a similar poem by Ṭaşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg (d. 1582).

"*Erġavānī cāme geymiş ol gül-i gül-zār-ı cān*
Bāġ-ı ḥüsn içre nihāl-i erġavān olmış hemān

Erġavānī cāmeñi görüp n'ola ḳan aġlasam
Yaraşur āb-ı revāna ḳarşu zīrā erġavān

Lāle-zār itmiş leṭāfet gül-sitānın ser-te-ser
Ruḫlaruñla erġavānī cāmeñ ey naḫl-i revān

Erġavānī cāmen içre oldı cismüñ ey perī
Erġavānī cild ile gūyā kitāb-ı Gül-sitān

Serv-ḳadsin serve ʿādet sebz-pūş olmaġ iken
Erġavānī cāmeye girmek neden ey nev-cevān

Ḳanına girmiş boyınca Bāḳī-i dil-ḫastenüñ
Erġavānī cāme geymiş ṣanmañ ol serv-i revān"[37]

"That rose in the rose-garden of my soul has put on a purple gown
And turned at once into a young Judas-tree in the orchard of loveliness.

A Judas-tree looks lovely facing a flowing stream,
So why should I not cry my heart out when I see your purple gown?

O ambling sapling, your cheeks and your purple gown
Have turned the rose-garden of charm from end to end into a bed of tulips.

O fair one, your body in its purple gown seems to have become
The "Book of the Rose-garden" in a purple binding.

You have the figure of a cypress. O youngster, the habit of the cypress
Is to be clad in green. So why have you put on a purple gown?

35 On such insertions in Bāḳī's *ġazel*s see Ambros "Linguistic duality." 50.

36 See Edith Gülçin Ambros, "Rhapsody in Blue (White, Red, Green…): Colour as the Aural and Thematic Focus of a Species of Ottoman Lyric Poetry." In *CIÉPO 19: Osmanlı Öncesi ve Dönemi Tarihi Araştırmaları, II.* Eds. İlhan Şahin, Hikari Egawa, Emine Erdoğan Özünlü, Tuncay Öğün. (Istanbul: İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği Yayını, 2014). 843–860.

37 *Bâḳî Dîvânı,* 341. Metre: *fāʾilātün – fāʾilātün – fāʾilātün – fāʾilün.*

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He has smeared himself all over with love-sick Bāḳī's blood he shed;
Do not think what that strolling cypress is wearing is a purple gown."[38]

In imitative poems much depends upon the choice of topic, of course, and with such a theme the result is perforce ingenious and harmonious rather than emotional or spontaneous. On the other hand, being a *ġazel-i yek āheng*, the unity of theme reinforces what feeling there is. Also, the 'model' sets the tone so that the imitators use a similar degree and type of emotive language. Emotion in imitative poetry can never be as personal as that in poetry that is 'original' because this emotion is partly derived from someone else's feelings and thoughts or clad in a form recalling that other person's expression of them. Leaving that aside, imitative poems can have ardour of expression and Bāḳī's above poem does have it in moderate degree. It is created mainly through the choice and repetition of words and assonance.

One of the similar poems written by Ṭaşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg follows. He wrote seven, whilst Bāḳī wrote only the one given here. Ṭaşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg's *ġazel-i yek āheng* is about a blue gown.

"*Āsumānī bir libās idinmiş ol māh-ı münīr*
Aña bu ḥüsn ile bulınmaz gök altında naẓīr

Nīle girmiş Yūsuf-ı Mıṣr-ı melāḥatdur didüm
Āsumānī cāme ile gördüğüm gibi faḳīr

Āsumānī cāmesin geyse n'ola ol pādişāh
Bir Mesīḥādur ki aña āsumān olmış serīr

Āsumānī cāme ṣanmañ 'aks-i dūd-ı āhdur
'Āşıḳa āyīnedür cism-i nigār-ı dil-peẕīr

Şi'r-i Yaḥyāda me'ānī bir müsellem ḫūbdur
Baḥr-i naẓmından geyüpdür āsumānī bir ḥarīr"[39]

"That luminous moon has put on a cerulean gown.
No one under the skies can match his loveliness.

Miserable that I am, catching sight of him in his cerulean gown,
I cried, 'It is Joseph of Egypt, the Beautiful, bathing in the Nile!'

Why shouldn't that sultan wear his cerulean gown?
He is a Christian for whom the sky has become a throne!

Don't think this is a cerulean gown. It is the reflection of smokey sighs,
[For] that idol's charming body is used as a mirror by his lovers.

38 See Edith Gülcin Ambros, "Rhapsody in Blue." 849, with comments on 850.

39 See *Yahyâ Bey, Dîvan, Tenkidli Basım.* Ed. Mehmed Çavuşoğlu. (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1977). 365. Metre: *fā'ilātün – fā'ilātün – fā'ilātün – fā'ilün.*

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The fancies in Yaḥyā's poetry make up a perfect charmer
Clad in a metric gown of cerulean silk."[40]

Both Bāḳī's and Ṭaşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg's above poems are mainly descriptive. They are similar in their structure and their use of parallelism, repetition, and assonance that create a melody. The narrator is involved personally in both poems (for example, "why should I not cry my heart out", *n'ola ḳan aġlasam*, and "catching sight of him…I cried/said", *dėdüm…gördügüm gibi*, respectively), but the reference to the author is impersonal in both cases ("love-sick Bāḳī's", *Bāḳī-i dil-ḫastenüñ*, and "in Yaḥyā's poetry", *şi'r-i Yaḥyāda*). The moderate degree of *sūz* is about equal in these two poems.

*Ġazel-i yek āheng*s (*ġazel*s with one melody, that is closely treating one theme from beginning to end) are rare in the 15th and 16th centuries. More correctly, the poets writing them in significant number are rare. Ṭaşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg was such an exception. An example by him:

"*Āḫiret yolı gibi ġurbete tenhā gitdüm*
Gitdüm ammā ki 'aceb vālih ü şeydā gitdüm

Rāh -ı kūyuñ gibi boynumı burup ḥasret ile
Aġlayu aġlayu sensüz yine cānā gitdüm

Seni cānum gibi ḫōş ṭutmadum ey māh-ı şıyām
Bilmedüm ḳadrüñi ḥayfā vü dirīġā gitdüm

Ne göñül ḳaldı ne 'aḳl u ne firāset ne ḳarār
Eyledüm kendümi bir ẓālime yaġma gitdüm

Çāre yoḳ ṣabra elümden ne gelür ey Yaḥyā
Emr-i taḳdīr-i Ḫudā ḳıldı taḳāżā gitdüm"[41]

The diction of this poem is simple, natural, and straightforward. There are only two *iżāfet* constructions (a simple one in the second couplet and a double one in the last line). The number of Persian and Arabic words is rather low and those used are mostly well-known even to relatively uneducated people. There is a significant number of Turkish idiomatic expressions (*boynunu burmak*, *canı gibi hoş tutmak*, *kadrini bilmek*, *çare yok*, *elinden gelmek*) and a gerund (*aġlayu aġlayu*). There are no erudite allusions. As a result, the poem is easy to understand. There is a subtle use of assonance that emphasizes the message. The word "Yaḥyā", or technically the sound a/ā, sets the tone: there is assonance with "a" in every couplet. The second key-word is *gitdüm* ("I went"); this is the refrain word (*redīf*), which occurs three times in the first couplet, thus reinforcing the state-

40 See Edith Ambros, "Rhapsody in Blue." 848–849, with comments on 849.
41 See *Yahyâ Bey, Dîvan.* 445. Metre: *fe'ilātün/fā'ilātün – fe'ilātün – fe'ilātün – fe'ilün/fa'lün.*

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ment of "going away", and is contrasted with the verb for "coming" (*gelmek*) in the last.

"Into exile, all alone as if on the road to the other world, I went.
I went, but distracted and crazed by love. I went.

Twisting my neck like your village's road in regretful sorrow,
Crying and crying, once more without you, O beloved, I went.

I did not please you as if you were my own soul, O Ramazan.[42]
I did not know your worth, alas! O woe is me! I went.

I've no heart, no mind, no discernment, no firmness left.
I let myself become the booty of an oppressor and went.

There is nothing to do but to endure. O Yaḥyā, what can I do?
The fateful order of God pressed me…I went."

This poem has an ardent message that is given without linguistic exaggeration. The degree of emotivity (*sūz*) in this poem is higher than average, the language used simpler and more straightforward than average.

Conclusion

In this study we have tried to determine the importance of emotivity and the variations in its application in Ottoman lyric poetry of the 15th and 16th centuries. We have found that the reliance on a conventional vocabulary, the excessive use of some rhetoric elements, and the writing of emulative poems (*naẓīre*s) influence emotivity negatively. Strophic forms are predestined to be more song-like, with the resulting positive and negative effects regarding the expression of emotion. Writing an elegiac poem influences the writer to concentrate more on emotive language. Close fidelity to one theme throughout a lyric poem (as for example in a *ġazel-i yek āheng*) is arguably the most important condition for creating a poem with a constant, and occasionally high, emotivity.

Necātī Beg, Aḥmed Paşa, and Bāḳī, who were the great masters and trend-setters of the day, all placed importance on the component *sūz* ("ardour"/ emotivity), but not exclusively. They also concentrated on other linguistic and semantic aspects, such as aesthetic refinement, solidity of composition and the inclusion of proverbs and sayings, which reduced the potential for emotivity. The majority of poets followed in their wake. But there were some who showed originality: they deviated from the popular degree and style of emotive language.

42 Text: *māh-ı ṣıyām*, literally "month of fasting," that is the month Ramazan; so this is a discreet way of mentioning the beloved's name.

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We have given two examples of this. Both Ṭaşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg and Keşfī tried a different emotive style. The first surpassed the average degree of emotivity, the second did not reach it, at least in the poem cited. Arguably *sūz* was less convention-bound than some other components of Ottoman lyric poetry. This is a point that needs further investigation.

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Poetry in Prose

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Gisela Procházka-Eisl

The Insertion of Poems into Ottoman Prose: Mere Embellishment and Decoration?

The insertion of poetry into Ottoman prose texts or long narrative *meṣnevī*s is found in Ottoman literature[1] – including folk-literature – throughout the centuries of its existence.[2] For a long time scholarship has marginalized such poems, regarding them as superfluous and deliberately omitting them from consideration. We see this particularly in editions of ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde's *Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOṣmān* (The History of the House of Osman)[3]. Richard Kreutl left the poems out from his German translation of this work without a word of explanation.[4] Nihal Atsız included the poems in his first edition; but they were omitted from the 1985 edition, being explicitly regarded as worthless.[5]

However, recently more researchers have become interested in these poems. In 2003 Barbara Flemming published an article, "The Poem in the Chronicle," that analyses numerous chronicles from early and classical Ottoman times up to 1600, including prose as well as *meṣnevī*s. In his monograph *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims*, Jan Schmidt devoted several pages to the poems inserted in Muṣṭafā

1 It is characteristic not only of Ottoman, but also of Arabic and Persian *adab* literature. See Barbara Flemming, "The Poem in the Chronicle: The Use of Poetry in Early Ottoman Historiography." In *Turcica et Islamica. Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta.* Ed. Ugo Marazzi, (Napoli: Univ. degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", Dipt. di Studi Asiatici 2003). 176.

2 We observe a decreasing popularity in the practise after the 16th century.

3 ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde / ʿĀṣıḳī (d. 1484).

4 See Richard F. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte: Frühzeit und Aufstieg des Osmanenreiches nach der Chronik "Denkwürdigkeiten und Zeitläufte des Hauses ʿOsman" vom Derwisch Ahmed, genannt ʿAṣik-Paṣa-Sohn.* (*Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber* 3). (Graz: Styria, 1959) [2].

5 "Şiir bakımından hiç değeri olmadığı gibi eserdeki güzel ve akıcı Türkçe'den de bu manzumelerde eser yoktur." See Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, *Aşıkpaşaoğlu Tarihi. Osmanlı Tarihleri I.* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1985). 7. H. J. Kissling agrees, stating that the poems were "vom dichterischen Standpunkt ziemlich dürftige Erzeugnisse"; and Fuat Köprülü finds them "kusurlu, zevksiz ve ahenksiz". See Hans-Joachim Kissling, *Die Sprache des ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde.* (Breslau: Straub 1936). 66; Fuad M.,Köprülü, "Âṣıḳ Paṣa-Zāde." In *İslam Ansiklopedisi* I, 706–709.

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ʿĀlī's *Künhü'l-aḫbār* (The Essence of History)[6], writing a concise summary about them,[7] which is important for Ottoman works besides the *Künh.* And previously (1984) Robert Dankoff published an article about the *ġazels* inserted into Persian and especially Turkish romantic *meṣnevī*s. Although Dankoff did not deal with lyrics in *prose* texts, we shall consider him in this paper, because many of his thoughts about the *ġazels'* function in the *meṣnevī*s can be applied to prose texts as well, and in his study Dankoff did include two Ottoman prose texts, the *Dānişmendnāme* and the *Baṭṭālnāme.* A recent study by Murat Efe Balıkçıoğlu investigates the poems in the Persian chronicle *Rāḥata'l-ṣudūr* (The Resting of the Hearts)[8] and considers why they were omitted from this work's translation into Turkish.

The writer of this article has herself written two papers on the subject: first many years ago on the poems in the Old Ottoman chronicle of ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde; and more recently on the poems inserted in the *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn* (The Imperial Festival Book), a long, ornate prose text by a certain İntiẓāmī from Bosnia (d. after 1612), which deals with the great circumcision festival organized in 1582 by Murād III for his son Meḥmed.[9]

While Flemming and Dankoff work with genres (chronicles, romantic *meṣnevī*s), the other publications mentioned above deal with particular texts. In this paper I will examine and consolidate the findings of these studies, adding further texts for a broader basis of analysis. I will especially focus on questions concerning the poems' authors, criteria of selection, and the poems' function.

The additional texts I consider are all from the 16th century and chosen because they are neither chronicles nor romantic *meṣnevī*s. They are:

1) The popular encyclopedia *Netāʾicü l-Fünūn* (The Yield of Disciplines) by Nevʿī from Malkara (d. 1599).[10]
2) The *Mevāʾidü'n-Nefāʾis fī Ḳavāʿidi'l-Mecālis* (Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings.) by Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī. This, ʿĀlī's final work finished in the year of his death, is a kind of genre picture reporting on the conditions – and nuisances – at the Ottoman court and on various social groups and their etiquette.[11]

6 Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī from Gelibolu (d. 1600).

7 See Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims.* A study of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's *Künhü l-Aḫbār.* (Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1991). 222–225.

8 "The Resting of the Hearts" by Rāwandī (date of death unknown).

9 See Gisela Procházka-Eisl, "Blumen und Musik: İntiẓāmī als Dichter." *WZKM* 100 (2010).

10 A popular edition of the text was published by Ömer Tolgay. For a critical edition of the Viennese manuscripts and a translation into English see Gisela Procházka-Eisl / Hülya Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times.* "*The Yield of the Disciplines and the Merits of the Texts*". *Nevʿī Efendi's Encyclopaedia Netāyic el-Fünūn.* Vol. 2. (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University 2015).

11 See Brookes (Ed.), *The Ottoman Gentleman* and Mustafa Âli Gelibolulu, *Mevâ'idü'n-nefâ'is.*

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3) The third example is a *mecmūʿa* (miscellany) of mainly prose texts, with poetry inserted. It is part of the Oriental collection of the Austrian National Library and was compiled by a certain Meḥemmed Kemālī (the date of his death is unknown),[12] who included in it prose and poetry particularly concerned with contemporary history (end of the 16th century).[13]

The Poets

The authorship of the inserted poems are of three types:

Poetry by the authors of the prose texts; anonymous poems (sometimes by the prose text author himself); and poems by known poets identified either by the mention of their pen name in the poem itself or in a short introduction by the prose author ("this is a *ġazel* by …").

All of the prose texts here considered include poems written by the author himself – whether Old Ottoman chronicles such as the *Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOṣmān* by ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde, who was a modest dervish with only a basic knowledge of *dīvān* poetry, or prose compilations of the Classical Age like the *Mevāʾid* of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, who was adept at poetry and composed four *dīvān*s in Turkish, as well as several other poetic works.[14]

It is difficult, even impossible, to determine how many of his own poems an author has inserted into his prose because these authors do not necessarily identify the poets of the poems. If a poem has neither a *maḫlaṣ* (pen name) nor is accompanied by the remark *li-müʾellifihi* or *li-münşiʾi*, we can assume that it is probably a poem by the prose author.[15] But even the note *li-müʾellifihi* can be misleading. For example, there is a poem in the Topkapı manuscript of the *Sūrname-i Hümāyūn* which İntiẓāmī identifies as his own (*naẓm li-müʾellifihi*), although its *maḫlaṣ* indicates that the author was actually Revānī.[16] Jan Schmidt observed a similar situation among the poems in the *Künhü'l-aḫbār.*We do not know if such cases of appropriated authorship were conscious, or merely mis-

12 According to the *Teẕkire* of Riyāżī he actually only wrote, "He died in the last years of Murād's reign" (Murād III ruled to 1595). See Gisela Procházka-Eisl / Hülya Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times. Hidden Treasures: Selected Texts from Ottoman* Mecmūʿas (*Miscellanies*). Vol. 1. (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University 2015).

13 Austrian National Library, MS.A.F.268; for a detailed description of this manuscript and its contents see Procházka-Eisl and Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning* Vol. 1.

14 See *TDVİA.*Vol. 2. 416–421; s.v. Âlî Mustafa Efendi (Edebî yönü).

15 To identify the authors of anonymous poems is a time-consuming and frustrating task – although, thanks to internet search-tools and a steadily growing number of on-line-publications of *dīvān*s, it is becoming increasingly easier.

16 Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Ms. H.1344. 191–192.

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haps, slips of the pen, or whims. In any event, they show that the remark *li-mü'ellifihi* is not a reliable indicator that a poem was written by the prose text's author.[17]

In ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde's chronicle we see another strange phenomenon: The author inserts only his own poems, often using his *maḫlaṣ* ʿĀṣıḳī, which frequently does not fit in the metre. He prefers the metric form *hezec* (v – – –) and usually places his *maḫlaṣ* as the first word of the last *beyt*, giving us the quite inelegant case of a *ẓihāf* plus an *imāle* (ʿAṣīḳī) in only one word. ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde himself relates that he incorporated an older chronicle into his *Tevārīḫ*, written by Yaḫṣı Faḳī, son of İsḥāḳ Faḳī, in the days of Sultan Orḫān, which has not survived.[18] So it is hypothetically possible that at least in some instances ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde made use of poems from this source, changing the pen name.

Much more interesting are those poems which the prose authors did not compose themselves, but intentionally selected and placed in their works. A variety of criteria are evident. The poems do not necessarily fit or even complement their thematic context: in most cases the poem could be omitted without doing violence to the text's thought flow.

Besides the personal taste of the author, which did not necessarily play the main role in his decision, pragmatic factors like the maintenance of personal networks, the availability of poems, and popularity or fashion were clearly involved in the selection of poems.

All of the roughly 30 identifiable poets whose work İntiẓāmī inserts into the *Sūrnāme* lived during the 16th century, and the overwhelming majority of them were his contemporaries. Presumably he knew many of them personally. Several of them were Bosnian, as was İntiẓāmī himself: he was born in Foça and moved to Istanbul, where he worked as a scribe. Obviously, he had a certain predilection for poems of poet-colleagues from his land of origin. Hence, in the *Sūrnāme* İntiẓāmī presents us with his personal *teẕkire*. Because the *Sūrnāme* was written to be presented to the Sultan, İntiẓāmī intentionally chose poems of friends to draw the Sultan's attention to them. For example, he includes twelve poems – the largest number of poems in the *Sūrnāme* from one poet – of a relatively unknown individual named Livā'ī. We do not know much about Livā'ī, only that he was a janissary in the 16th century with a difficult life and psychological problems.[19] So presumably İntiẓāmī tried to promote Livā'ī through a generous selection of the latter's poems.

17 See Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims*. 223.

18 See Friedrich Giese, *Die altosmanische Chronik des ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde. Auf Grund mehrerer neuentdeckter Handschriften von Neuem herausgegeben.* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1929). 3. The manuscripts show Faḳī, most likely a misspelling of Faḳīh.

19 See Procházka-Eisl, "Blumen und Musik." 152, note 59.

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We get a similar impression from the Viennese *mecmūʿa* mentioned above. It includes a number of poems, many of which, like the *mecmūʿa*'s prose text, are about Ottoman Hungary's history in the late 16th century. Meḥemmed Kemālī, the compilator of this *mecmūʿa*, was an Ottoman officer in Hungary. The majority of the poets he quotes were his contemporaries, many of them having close connections with Hungary – either through participating in campaigns or working in Hungary as officers. Both İntiẓāmī and Kemālī therefore preferentially selected poems of individuals from their own networks. At the same time this practice of selection – a common practice by compilers and editors of all places and periods – endows the prose texts with the function of bringing contemporary poems to the attention of a larger audience.[20]

Another factor that influenced İntiẓāmī, Kemālī and others (such as Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, who quotes a variety of poets in his *Künhü'l-aḫbār*) in their selection of poems was simply fashion and popularity. In his study on Aḥmedī's (d. 1413) chronicle *İskendernāme*, T. Kortantamer remarks that at that time it was a common fashion for chroniclers to insert verses from the *İskendernāme* into their work.[21]

Besides personal and probably fashion motives, the selection of poems was conditioned by availability. Authors who wrote in the provinces or did not belong to the poets' circles of the capital would have had few literary resources beyond their own poetry. ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde, for example, did not use a single contemporary poem, presumably because he, as a dervish who spent long periods on campaigns, had infrequent access to books and libraries.[22]

A good example of availability conditioning selection appears in Meḥemmed Kemālī's *mecmūʿa*, which has several uncredited Persian verses in marginalia, seemingly a random selection. These include two unrelated verses from Celāleddīn Rūmī's (d. 1273) *Meşnevī-yi Maʿnevī*, single verses from the *Şāhnāme*, one short poem of Dehlāvī (d. 1325), etc. When we were identifying the poets of these verses on the internet, we found that the same verses in the same order had appeared in the *Ḫamse-i müteḥayyırīn*[23] of ʿAlī Şīr Nevāʾī (d. 1501), a prose work

20 In the chronicle *Rāḥat aṣ-ṣudūr*, its author Rāwandī remarks that he was advised by a friend to prefer poems of his contemporaries to outdated ones. See Efe Murat Balıkçıoğlu, "Poetry in the text: the use and function of poetry in Rāwandī's Rāḥat al-ṣudūr and Yazıcızāde Alī's translation of the same work in Tevārīkh-i Âl-i Selçuk." In *Osmanlı Araştırmaları.* Vol. 42. (2013). 359.

21 See Tunca Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild des altosmanischen Dichters Aḥmedī unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Divans.* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Schwarz, 1973). 30.

22 See Alessio Bombaci, *La letteratura turca: con un profilo della letteratura mongola.* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1969). 347. Bombaci remarks that ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde's chronicle includes several verses from Aḥmedī's *İskendernāme*; but this is true of the anonymous *Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOşmān,* not for ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde.

23 A text consisting of five chapters, devoted to the Persian poet Cāmī (d. 1492).

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with inserted poetry, which Nevāʾī had written in memory of the famous Persian scholar and poet Molla Cāmī (d. 1492).[24] This shows that Kemālī had a copy of the *Ḫamse* at hand in Budapest – either acquired or borrowed from a friend – and that the selection of Persian poems in his *mecmūʿa* was determined by an available source.[25]

On the Function of the Poets in the Texts

The observations of Dankoff, Flemming, and the other researchers mentioned above indicate that the poems served as: a) carriers of direct speech; b) a method of structuring the prose text c) a means of expressing emotion; d) the bearers of cultural reference. Any given inserted poem might have served more than one of these functions.

a) Viva Voce, Direct Speech

When looking at Dankoff's analysis of the *ġazels* within romantic *meṣnevī*s, one is struck by the fact that *all* lyrical insertions are of direct speech, apparently recited by the acting persons.

Example:

"1. Gülşāh, bound by Benī ʿAmr, *cries out* to God to save her (l.125)
2. Varqa, departing for Yemen, *recites* a love poem to Gülşāh (l.331)
3. Gülşāh *bemoans* Varqa's parting (l.346)
4. Varqa, in the hands of ʿAnter's black slave, *recites* a love poem for Gülşāh (l-667)
5. Gülşāh, betrothed to king Muḥsin, gives Varqa's ring to her slave-girl and *cries out* to God lamenting her fate (l.953)
6. Varqa, believing Gülşāh dead, is prevented from killing himself, and *recites* a love poem (l.1031).
7. Varqa *laments* to Gülşāh their sad plight (l.1347)
8. Varqa, about to part from Gülşāh, *recites* a love poem (l.1402)
9. Gülşāh's *reply* (l.1410)
10. Varqa *begs* God to let him die since he cannot live without Gülşāh (l.1442)
11. Gülşāh, at Varqa's grave, *recites* a lament before killing herself (l.1517)."[26]

24 For the edition see Ayşehan Deniz Abik, *ʿAlī Şīr Nevāyī: Ḫamsetü'l-Müteḥayyirīn. Metin-Çeviri-Açıklamalar-Dizin.* (Ankara: Seçkin, 2006).

25 For details see Procházka-Eisl and Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning* Vol. 1.

26 See Robert Dankoff, "The Lyric in the Romance: The Use of Ghazals in Persian and Turkish Maṣnavīs." In *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.* Vol. 43, No. 1. (Jan. 1984). 11, emphases added.

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In the *Sūrnāme*, too, İntiẓāmī frequently describes the performance of guilds before the Sultan, putting *ġazel*s or *ḳıṭʿa*s into their mouths. For example, the guild of the mirror-makers (*āyine-sāzān*):

> "*ʾuşşāḳ münkesirü'l-ḳalb olub göz göre cefālarına teḥammül ėdüb bu beyti vird-i zebān ėdüb tekrār ėderler* beyt: […]"
>
> "The lovers' hearts were broken and they consciously bore their [i. e. the mirror-makers' apprentices'] cruelties, reciting and repeating this verse: […]"

The guild of the silk-weavers (*ġazzāzān*):

> "*cumhūren südde-i saʿādet-destgāha gelüb * duʿā vü ṣenāya durub bu beyti vird-i zebān eylediler* * beyt: […]"
>
> "They came all together to the court, the weaver's shop of felicity, lined up for prayer and praise and recited this verse: […]"

The members of the guild of the sword-makers (*ḳılıççıyān*) even engaged in a poetic dialogue with their admirers:

> *"müşāhede ėdenler bu beyti vird-i zebān eylediler* beyt: […]"
>
> "The viewers recited this verse: […]"
>
> "*meḥābīb daḫı bi-l-muḳābele baʿde l-mücādele bu maẕmūnı tekrār eylediler* beyt: […]"
>
> "And the beloved ones, in return repeated, after the fight, this composition: […]"[27]

We do not know if İntiẓāmī used such poetic insertions simply to liven up his report, or if certain guild groups indeed did recite verses or whole poems when performing at the Hippodrom. Nicolaus Haunolth, who was present at this circumcision festival and left a very detailed report of it, does not mention such recitations,[28] so they apparently were İntiẓāmī's rhetorical device.

ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde's chronicle contains many poems in direct speech, a device less frequent in later, more sophisticated, chronicles. Probably the most prominent of these poems is a rhymed interpretation by Şeyḫ Edebali of ʿOṣmān's famous dream, foretelling the fortunes of the Ottoman dynasty:[29]

27 See Gisela Procházka-Eisl, *Das* Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn. *Die Wiener Handschrift in Transkription, mit Kommentar und Indices versehen.* (Istanbul: İsis, 1995). fol. 36r (mirror-makers), 25v (silk-weavers), 35r (sword-makers).

28 See Haunolth, Nicolas, "Particular Verzeichnuß/ mit was Ceremonien/ Gepräng und Pracht das Fest der Beschneidung deß jetzt regierenden Türckischen Keysers Sultan Murath/diß Namend des dritten/ u. Sohns/sultan Mehemet genannt/ welches vom andern Junij biß auff den 12. Julij deß 1582.Jars gewehret und continuiert hat/ zu Constantinopol celebriert und gehalten worden". in: Hansen Lewenklaw von Amelbeurn, *Neuwe Chronika Türckischer Nation.* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Bey Andres Wechels seligen Erben nemlich Claudi de Marne und Johan Aubri 1590). 468–514.

29 See Giese, *ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde.* 10.

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"Dėr oġlum nuṣret ü furṣat senüñdür
Saña vėrildi baḫt u düşmesüz taḫt
Senüñ neslüñde ʿālem rāḥat ola
Yana çırāḳlaruñuz ʿālem içre
İki cihānda ḫayr-ilen añılmaḳ
Çū ḥaḳḳdan ėrdi saña baḫt u devlet
Süleymān[-]i zamānuñ menbaʿısın
[*hezec* v – – – / v – – – / v – –]

Hidāyet menzili niʾmet senüñdür
Ezelī tā ebed devlet senüñdür
Duʿālar neslüñe ėrden senüñdür
Döşene ṣofralar daʾvet senüñdür
Nisāb-u nesl-ilen burhān senüñdür
Cihān içre olan devrān senüñdür
Ki ins-ü cinne hem fermān senüñdür"

Of the texts investigated for this paper, poems in direct speech are especially frequent in the *Sūrnāme* and ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde – presumably because, like Dankoff's romantic *meṣnevī*s, these texts were written for entertainment. Insertion of lyrics in the form of direct speech are typical of this genre, whether Turkish folktales or *adab*-literature in Turkish, Persian, or Arabic. Although the *Sūrnāme* was a careful listing of performances by artists and guilds over long periods, it was not thought of as a chronicle, but as a piece of literary edification on a high level. The opposite is true of ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde, whose *Tevārīḫ* though intended as chronicles, use the language and style of folk stories and frequently give the impression of being composed for oral recitation.

b) Structuring the Prose Text: Reprise, Relief, Conclusion

Another function of inserted poems is the intentional breaking of the prose text with something completely different, a strategy with several possible reasons. In his article Dankoff – though doubting that it is the sole reason for the poems – cites Rypka and Gibb, who concur that the romantic *meṣnevī*s were so monotous and verbose that the poems were inserted simply to break the monotony.[30] Alternative possibilities are that the poetry was inserted into the prose text as an interruption, for stressing something, or as a bridge or pause before a change of subject.

We observe this in Nevʿī Efendi's *Netāʾicü l-Fünūn.* This encyclopaedia, which is divided into chapters dealing with specific scientific fields, contains poems by a variety of authors, including Nevʿī himself. At the end of every chapter, as a sort of conclusion, Nevʿī adds a *ġazel* or *ḳıtʿa* authored by himself, suitable to the chapter's subject. The poem permits the reader to pause and reflect upon the often complicated material of the prose text. The style of these closing poems is light, in a sufi mode, and sometimes includes a pinch of fine humour, as the following two examples show. The first poem concludes the chapter on the science of medicine, and the second the chapter on jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*):

30 See Dankoff, "The Lyric in the Romance". 22. Mordtmann *apud* Dankoff loc. cit. states that many of the romances are "of tiresome garrulity" ("von ermüdender Weitschweifigkeit").

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"Bīmār-i ʿışḳ-i yāra ʿilāc ėtmesün ṭabīb *ʿĀşıḳ ʿilāc ü şerbet-ile ėtmez imtizāc*
Sevdā-yi ḥāmı sürmege pesdür dimāġdan *Puḫte şarāb-ile ṭolu bir kāse-i zücāc"*
[*mużāriʿ*: – – v / – v – v / v – – v / – v –][31]

"The doctor should not cure one who is love-sick;
A lover does not recover with remedies and medical draughts.
To dispel the crude aspiration from the mind,
A glass goblet filled with matured wine suffices."

"*Gelmeyüb meclise temāruż ėder* *Derse meşġūl olur faḳīh-i fużūl*
Maraż-i cehl ise ḳadīmīdür *Aña nāfiʿ degül şarāb-i uṣūl*"
[*ḫafīf*: v v – – (or: – v – –) / v – v – / v v – (or: – –)][32]

"The noble jurist does not come to the gathering, pretending to be ill,
[but] is busy with study.
The illness of ignorance is eternal,
And root-syrup is not beneficial for it.[33]"

Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Mevāʾid* comprises 141 chapters. In addition to the poems inserted into the text, virtually every chapter ends with a poem. The *Mevāʾid* enable us to reconstruct how Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī conceptualized the insertions of poetry. He wrote this work only a short time before he passed away in 1600, and there are about 100 empty places, neatly framed and with a definite number of lines, headlined with *şiʿr li-müʾellifihi* or *kıṭʿa li-müʾellifihi.* Obviously, he intended to insert his own poems later – whether from his *dīvān*s or newly composed for this purpose – into these places. In another place it is clear that he intended to insert a certain verse by the Persian poet Molla Cāmī because he inserted the caption, "a verse by Cāmī."[34] This shows that ʿĀlī had a clear-cut conception of where and with what poems to break the flow of the prose.[35]

The *Sūrnāme*, too, includes several poems which function as transitions to other subjects. İntiẓāmī reports that when a guild left the square, its members would recite a poem or a verse. Frequently we find this passage:

"*muḳābele-i pādişāhīde durub bu beyti tekrār oḳuyub revāne oldılar*"

"They lined up facing the padishah, repeated this verse and left"

ʿĀşıḳpaşazāde, on the contrary, usually interrupts the prose text with his poems to repeat something already said, thus giving it emphasis. He addresses his poems

31 See Procházka-Eisl and Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning* Vol. 2, fol. 81v.
32 See Procházka-Eisl and Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning* Vol. 2, fol. 58r.
33 Wordplay with *şarāb-i uṣūl* (Wurzel-Syrup, see *Zenker*, s.v.) and "wine of the principles (of jurisprudence)".
34 See Brookes, *The Ottoman Gentleman*, 111; end of the *Mevāʾid*'s 52nd chapter.
35 See Brookes, *The Ottoman Gentleman*, XVIII. Brookes notes the possibility that the copyist left the poems out of the MS, intending to write them in later, but thinks that ʿĀlī's death is the more likely explanation for the blank spaces.

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directly to the reader / listener, in this way actively participating as narrator of the story, like a *meddāḥ.*[36] The imperative *gör!* "see!" is typical of these poems, two of them even using *gör!* as a *redīf.*

"*Gör imdi ḥīle-i ʿOs̱mān ne ėtdi*"
"See now the trick of ʿOs̱mān, what he did!"

"*Miḥal kim dügün ėtdi gör ne ėtdi…*"
"See what Mihal, who married, did!"

"*Gör imdi neyleyiser Ġāzī Orḫān*"
"Look what Ġāzī Orḫān now will do!"[37]
[all of them *hezec* v – – – / v – – – / v – –]

c) Emotions

Another function of the inserted lyrics is the expression of affects – praise, criticism, pain, propaganda, motivation. The *mecmūʿa* of Kemālī has good examples of lyrics as carriers of emotions. The collected historical texts are of a straightforward, sober nature, including *fetḥnāme*s, a long *ḳānūnnāme* of Hungary, an extract from Ḫ̬ʷāce Saʿdeddīn's (d. 1599) *Selīmnāme*, a treatise on accountancy in Hungary, and assorted lists. The inserted poems are also historical in theme and clearly intended to add life and feelings to the dry historical facts. Some are sharp criticisms of the desolate state of the Ottoman army in Hungary, or on the shortcomings of administration. There are some very mischievous verses about the poor morale and bad fighting spirit of the soldiers. By contrast, there are also poems celebrating various conquests and praising victorious commanders.[38]

The following are extracts from poems of criticism in our material:

Kemālī's *mecmūʿa* contains several such poems. After the battle of Keresztes in 1596 many Ottoman soldiers deserted, and a very harsh poem concerning these events circulated and found its way into his *mecmūʿa.* The following is an extract from that longer poem:[39]

36 ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde also frequently addresses the reader in the prose, as in those well-known passages headed by "question" and "answer," where he seems to allow for questions from the listeners.

37 See Giese, *ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde,* 18, 17, and 28.

38 See Dankoff, "The Lyric in the Romance" 12; Dankoff, too, observes that ghazels are inserted in romantic *meṣnevī*s at moments of crisis and high emotion.

39 A *terkīb-i bend* by Fidāʾī Beg. For the whole poem (incl. translation) see Procházka-Eisl and Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning* Vol. 1.

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"*Biz muḫanneslıḳ ėdüb ʿavret gibi ḳılduḳ firār*
Zen gibi nezkeb giyüb başına olduḳ ḫar-süvār
Er dėmeñ şimden gėrü bi-llāhĭ ḳarı dėñ bize
Ġayri nām-ile caġırmañız firārī dėñ bize"
[*remel:* – v – – / – v – – / – v – – / – v –]

"We behaved like fags and fled like women.
We put scarves on our heads like women and rode donkeys.
Don't call us men from now on, by God, call us women!
Don't use any other names for us; just call us flee-ers."

Another poem in this *mecmūʿa* is a vigorous address to Murād III written by ʿAbdī (d. 1605), who had the by-name Sarḫoş, criticizing the situation in Ottoman Hungary. The poem seems to have been quite popular, and it is found almost fifty years later in the *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī:*[40]

"*Elā ey pādişāh-i āsmān taḫt [!]* *Hümāyūn[-i] salṭanet şāh-i cevān-baḫt [!]*
Kelām-i ḥaḳḳı gūş ėt dōstlardan *Şehā ser-ḥadleri ḳapladı düşmen*
Ṭemeşvār ile Gūla ḳaldı ancaḳ *ʿAdū żabṭındadur heb ġayrī sancaḳ*
Budūna tābiʿ olanlarda el-ān *Ḳalupdur Şolnoḳ u Ḳopān u Ḥaṭvān*
Birisi daḫı İstolnī Belġrād *Ḳalanuñ ḥāli oldı cümle ber-bād* […]"
[*hezec:* v – – – / v – – – / v – –]

"Hey padishah of the heavenly throne,
Hümāyūn of the sultanate, fortunate Shah![41]
Listen to the true words of [your] friends!
O Shah, the enemies have surrounded the frontiers.
Only Temesvár and Gyula are retained:
All the other provinces are in the hand of the enemies.
With those who are subject to Buda,
Now only Szolnok, Kopan, and Hatvan have remained.
And there is also Székesfehérvár.
The situation of all those who have stayed is disastrous! […]"

In ʿĀşıḳpaşazāde's chronicle, too, criticism and derision are definitely more frequently expressed in rhyme than in prose – as when he addresses a poem clearly and directly to the sons of Sultan Bāyezīd I on the subject of fratricide:

"*ʿİsā yā Mūsā vü Emīr Süleymān* *İşidüñ bu türe eḥlidür ahmaḳ!*"
"ʿİsā, Mūsā, and Emīr Süleymān! Listen, people who follow this practice are stupid!"[42]

40 See Mehmet İpşirli (Ed.), *Selânikî Mustafa Efendi: Tarih-i Selânikî.* Vol. 2. (İstanbul: 1989). 519ff. The complete poem was published previously by Orhan Burian in a modern Turkish transcription with several omissions. Orhan Burian "Bozuk İdareden Şikâyetçi İki Şair." *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih – Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, VIII/4 (1950). 675–681.

41 Lit.: "Shah, whose luck is young."

42 See Giese, *ʿĀşıḳpaşazāde*, 75.

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All in all our material suggests that it was easier to criticise in rhyme than in prose. The reason for this is not clear to me. Was a poem with its standardized rhyme and metric patterns considered more impersonal, more distanced than prose? Was it therefore easier for an author to express open criticism in verse than in unrhymed speech? Was poetry regarded as more innocent, softening down the harshness of criticism? Probably all this is true – and there are parallels even in modern Oriental literature. For example, in modern Arabic folk poetry subjects studiously avoided in prose, such as politics, sexuality, and criticism, are articulated much more openly in songs and poems.[43]

d) Cultural References

The idea that the inserted poems are transmitters of cultural references was expressed by Balıkçıoğlu in his article on the inserted poems of Rāwandī's *Rāḥata'l-ṣudūr*. He presumes that the chronicle's Turkish translator ʿAlī Yazıcıoğlu (d. ?) altered many of the numerous original Persian poems because the poems contained references that were unfamiliar and culturally irrelevant to the Turkish audience.[44] This probably explains the presence of a very atypical poem for ʿĀşıḳpaşazāde in his chronicle. Superficially it is about love and seems very out of place in his chronicle:[45]

"Ḫırāmān geldiler maḥbūb-i Rŭmlar
Ḳaçankim bäġce içre geldi bunlar
Yañaġı gülgŭn-u laʿlīn dudaḳlar
Melek envārlu ḳızlar geldi cānlar
Çemen üzre çū servī seyr ėderler
Ḫayāli gölgesi cān göñlüm aldı
Naẓar atarlar u ġamzelü tĭrler
Dımāġlar mest ėder o müşk-būlar
Rūmca söyler ü bize nāz eyler
Bu resme ġāzīler bunları gördi
Bile evler mükellef naḳd cinsler
Ġāzīler göñli yandı ṣanki mŭmlar
Ġāzīler dėdi melek ola bunlar
O sīmīn sāḳ o ter sīb zinaḫlar
Ki gördi ḳul oldı göñül-ü cānlar
Göñüller gölgeye düşüb giderler
Muʿanber zülfi būyı ʿaḳlum aldı
Fedā olur gören yigid ü pĭrler
ʿAḳıllar ṣayd ėder o Rūmī ḫūlar
Ṣanasın ney çalar çeng-ü sāz eyler
Ḫān Orḫān bunları ġuzzāta vėrdi
Vėrildi ġāzīlere oldı ünsler."

[*hezec* v – – – / v – – – / v – –; numerous mistakes]

"The Greek beauties came in swaying walk;
The hearts of the *ġāzī*s burned like candles.
When they entered the garden,
The *ġāzī*s said, "These are angels!
Their cheeks are rosy, their lips bright red,

43 See Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun, "The Gap between Tradition and Modernity as Mirrored in the Bedouin Poetry of Southern Tunisia." In *Quaderni di Studi Arabi.* Nuova Serie 2. (2007). 67: "Poets can say allusively what cannot be said explicitly".

44 See Balıkçıoğlu, "Poetry in the text." 266.

45 See Giese, *ʿĀşıḳpaşazāde.* 39.

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Those silver legs, those chins like fresh apples!
Hey friends, girls beaming of light like angels have arrived!"
Whoever saw them became their slave with heart and soul.
They swagger on the meadow like cypresses.
The hearts became beshadowed and disappear.
The shadow of their imagination captured my heart and soul;
The fragrance of their amber locks drove me out of my mind.
They cast glances and arrows of twinkles;
Young and old, whoever saw this, sacrificed himself to them.
Those musk-smelling beloved ones make the mind drunken;
They hunt the sense, these [girls of] Greek habits.
They speak Greek and flirt with us,
It is as if they blew the flute and played harp and lute.
This is the way the *ġāzī*s saw them.
Orḫān Ḫān presented them to the *ġāzī*s.
Together [with them] houses and a rich stock of money
Were given to the *ġāzī*s, and they became familiar."

ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde here draws upon the rich vocabulary of love poetry: rosy cheeks, chins like apples, a walk like a swaying cypress, etc. But the context of this poem is not romantic at all: it deals with the conquest of İznik, when Orḫān Ġāzī presented the town's Greek women to his soldiers. Thus, the beautiful Greek women who are the subjects of the poem were not, as ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde would have us believe, coquettish girls flirting with the soldiers, but rather frightened women. After the horror of the siege and the loss of their husbands, they were hardly presented to the victorious conquerors voluntarily. ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde distorts this event into a romantic scene. Several more similar instances can also be found in his prose. In her article on women in ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde's *Tevārīḫ*, Barbara Flemming discusses this literary mutation of sexual violence into seduction with the women's consent. She attributes this 'change of register' from realistic prose to lyrical fantasy to the expectations of the chronicle's readers. According to Flemming, a realistic literary presentation of what actually happened on a *ġazā* would threaten the Ottoman intelligencia's naive belief in their own values and institutions.[46] I completely agree with Flemming, but would suggest that one more factor must be taken into account – the *ġāzī*-ideology. In the past, research overestimated the importance of religious war and the *ġazā* in ʿOṣman's and Orḫān's time.[47] But when ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde wrote his *Tevārīḫ* several generations

46 See Barbara Flemming, "'Āṣıḳpaşazādes Blick auf Frauen." In *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich. Festschrift Hand Georg Majer.* Eds. Sabine Prätor, Christoph K. Neumann. (Istanbul: Simurg, 2002). 69–96; especially 86–90.

47 For the significance of *ġāzī* ideology in early Ottoman history see Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia.* (Bloomingon: Indiana University, 1983). Chapter 1,

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later, a romantically glorified idea of the early Ottoman *ġāzī* heroes had taken shape already. Thus, ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde tempered even such inglorious events of the Ottoman past to contemporary predilections, and thus enhanced the heroic image of the early *ġāzī*s.

In conclusion, I will discuss the value of the inserted poems as sources of information. The number of poems in our texts which are indispensable for their content are extremely small.[48] Although practically all the poems have some thematic connection with the surrounding prose text, there would be absolutely no loss of information if we eliminated them completely. The Vienna manuscript of the *Sūrnāme*, for example, has only about a third of the poems of the Topkapı manuscript, but one has no sense of anything lacking. Barbara Flemming remarks on the omission of inserted poems from later versions of Neşrī's (d. before 1520) *Cihān-Nümā* (Cosmorama).[49] M. E. Balıkçıoğlu likewise notes that – concerning their value of information – the poems of the Persian *Rāḥata'l-ṣudūr* omitted from the Turkish translation are not missed.

So are the inserted poems really only embellishments and decoration? Not at all! As has been demonstrated, the inserted poems serve a wide range of functions. They are an excellent means of expressing various subtle messages and subtexts on a level beyond factual information. They convey to readers and listeners the atmosphere and emotions between the lines and thus help fashion the fundamental tone of the prose text. In this way they play an essential role, because, as in all literature, meaning is conveyed not only by *what* is said, but also by *how* it is said.

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esp. 7: "The fifteenth-century chronicles, beginning with Ahmedi, did their best to fit the recalled facts of Ottoman history to this ideological justification."

48 The only poem which is really is indispensable for the flow of the prose text is the dream interpretation of Şeyḫ Edebali in ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde's *Tevārīḫ* quoted above.

49 See Flemming, "Poem in the Chronicle." 79.

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Jan Schmidt

Poetry in the Context of Prose Historiography, Illumination or Illustration?

Introduction

What I present here has been inspired by a conversation I had very long ago with Hans de Bruijn, Professor of Persian Language and Literature at Leiden University. He talked about the importance of learning to read and understand Persian poetry, even if one were only interested in studying prose, because Persian 'classical' prose is full of poetical intermezzi and these, he said, were not only there for purely literary reasons but often added to the historical content of the text; one can't understand such prose texts properly if one skips these lyrical passages. This sounded plausible, and if true, also of importance for Ottomanists.

As regards the surplus value, so to speak, of poetical fragments in prose context, there is an interesting parallel here: illustrations (miniatures) found in Ottoman histories. Recently Turkish (art)historians like Tülün Değirmenci, Emine Fetvacı and others have convincingly shown that illustrations, which are found in some works, do add something to the written content and may provide intriguing clues, only decipherable by the knowledgeable.

In what follows I will look, quite at random, at three texts with this question in mind: what does the verse add to the text? At the same time I will look at the context of the surrounding prose and see whether the poems bear any relationship with the prose in which they are embedded.

If one tries to oversee the field as a whole, one can roughly say that, first of all, texts abound in Ottoman literature in which we find prose alternated with poetical fragments. As for histories, there are three categories: (1) prose texts without such intermezzi, (2) prose texts with such intermezzi, and (3) texts which are poems, mostly rhymed *meṣnevīs*, without prose. This latter, third category is rare. The second category can be anything, but there is clearly a tendency: most poetical intermezzi are found in texts of high rhetorical content, the prose of which is mostly rhymed as well. Poems here can be either in (rarely) Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, composed by the author himself or by someone else whose name is not always mentioned. Within longer works, moreover, the occurrence of

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poetical fragments may vary in accordance with the genre of the separate chapters. In introductory statements, for instance, there is a good chance of finding the most complex rhymed prose with scores of poems in between, whereas in the duller, chronicle-type part of histories one hardly finds any verse. These practices were not an invention of the Ottomans, but had a long history among the Arabs and Persians.

But is there a surplus value in poems appearing in the context of prose? Do they only increase the literary/esthetic aspect of a text? Or do they add to the content of a text? In other words, do such poems function as mere illumination (embellishment) or as meaningful illustration? And what about the relationship between the poetical intermezzi and the genre/style of the context?

I must confess I have never given much thought to these questions, although I do read, or try to read, the poetical passages of my texts with De Bruijn's remarks in mind. Not many of our colleagues have given much thought to the matter until now.[1] Some have found the material illegible and trite. Indeed, as Gisela Procházka has pointed out, editions and translations of ʿĀṣıḳpaṣazāde's (early 16th-century) chronicle omit the accompanying verses altogether.[2]

Leiden MS Or. 26.968

The recent acquisition of an intriguing, undated and until recently unidentified manuscript text by the Leiden University Library, Cod.Or. 26.968, was another motive to join you here. When I opened the somewhat tattered manuscript, I saw a text in Ottoman rhymed prose alternated with lots of verses and ending in a red number 944, obviously the solution of a chronogram composed in the middle of the 16th century (see Fig. 1).

The text, partially vocalized, is written in a rather indifferent *taʿlīḳ* script, with rubrics (chapter headings) in which here and there Sultan Süleymān and Luṭfī Paşa are mentioned. Luṭfī Paşa (d. 970/1562–3) is particularly known for a 'mirror for princes,' entitled *Āṣafnāme*, of which a great many manuscript copies have survived, three of them in the Leiden University Library alone. The pasha also wrote a history of the Ottoman Empire.

1 An exception is Barbara Flemming, "The Poem in the Chronicle: the Use of Poetry in Early Ottoman Historiography." In *Turcica et Islamica. Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta* (Naples: Univeristà degli studi di Napoli d'Orientale, 2004). 175–184. See also the footnote below.

2 See Gisela Procházka-Eisel, "Die lyrischen Einschübe in der altosmanischen Chronik des Āşıkpaşazāde." In *Journal of Ottoman Studies.* Vol. 15. (1995). 93.

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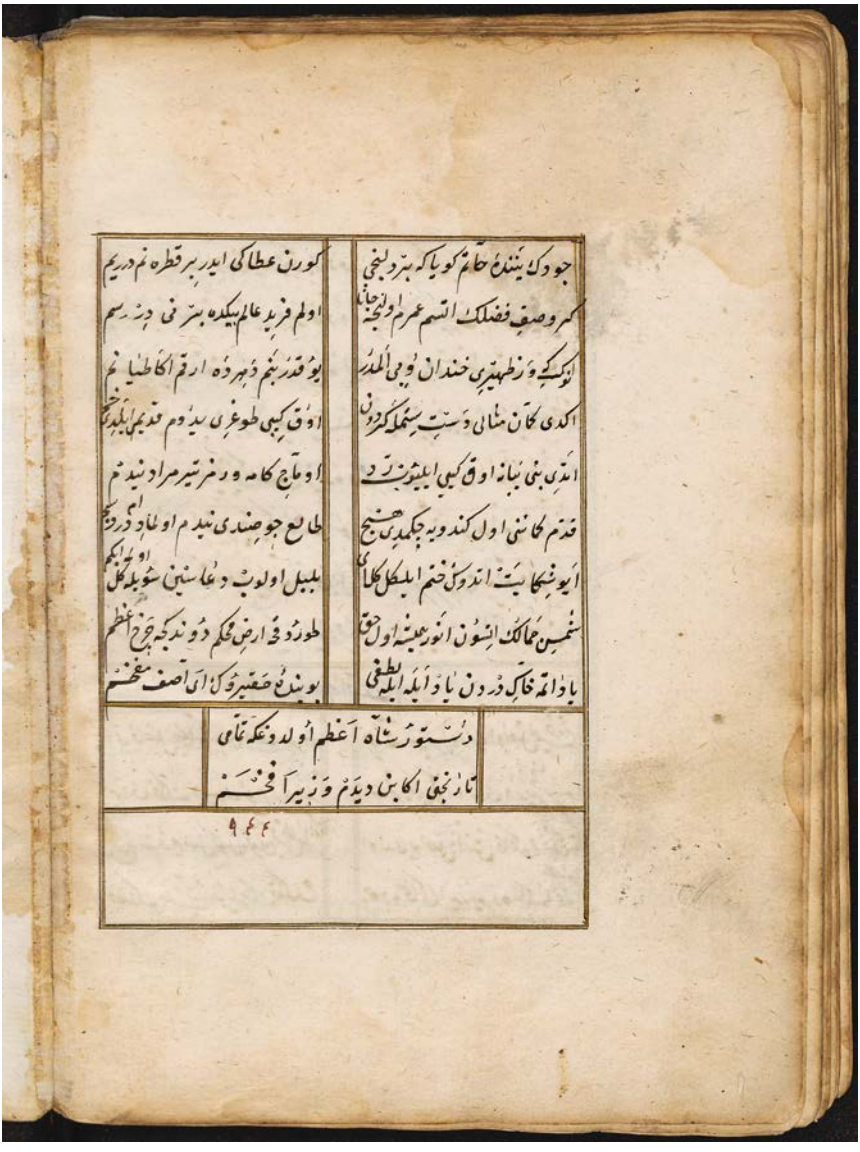

Fig. 1. Last pages of the Leiden MS Or. 26.968, with number 944 (right page)

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Having a closer look at the work,[3] I saw that it was written by a certain ʿAbdulcelīl of Kastamonu. This is confirmed in a note on the 'title page' – but I could not find a title (see Fig. 2).

The author, who mentions himself a lot throughout the text, however, called it both a *risāle* and a *maḳāle* (treatise). The content is much about the yearning of the author for help (*meded*), meaning the protection of a mecenas. He clearly had in mind our Luṭfī Paşa, who is lavishly praised all through the tract, especially in a few long *ḳaṣīdes* inserted in the text. It is perhaps no coincidence that there was a geographical connection in the town of Kastamonu. The author was born there, as he writes in the book, and Luṭfī Paşa briefly served as *sancāḳbeg* (governor) of the town at the beginning of his career. The author seems to have attained his goal because towards the end of his book he writes that the pasha ordered him to add a chapter to his work on the "ġazā and cihād" against Pulye, meaning Apulia, South Italy. This was, according to other sources, not a separate undertaking, but merely a raid "by forces under Lutfī Paşa." It was a small-scale affair that was part of a larger expedition against the Albanian town of Avlonya (Valona, Vlorë) which took place in the summer of 1537 (943–944).[4] "The steel-based bastions" (*ḳılāʿ-ı pulād-nihād*), as the author calls them, perhaps referring to Otranto and Brindisi, were besieged, but could not be subdued. The author may have joined the expedition.[5] The brief description of it does not contain poetical fragments, but paints grandiose battle scenes and the safe return of the fleet to Istanbul in vivid colours. It is concluded by the aforementioned chronogram in, not surprisingly, high praise of Luṭfī Paşa, who had been promoted to third vizier in 941/1534–5 and was later grand vizier (946/1540–948/1541). The fact that throughout our text he is called *Āṣaf*, the Muslim name for king Solomon's vizier, may suggest that the tract was written during the years he occupied that higher office. Apart from the year 944 mentioned at the end of the chronogram, there is no colophon or indication when the text was written or copied. Additional verses and prose fragments dated between 1120 (1708–9) and 1193 (1779) were added on the end papers in different, and clearly more elegant hands (see Fig. 3).

Perhaps the manuscript is an autograph. The text seems to be rare; I have not been able to find mention of another copy in any of the numerous catalogues I have searched. I only encountered the name of the author once; he seems to have been the copyist of an Arabic manuscript completed in 948/1541 and kept in one

3 I am indebted to Arnoud Vrolijk, keeper of the Oriental manuscripts in the Leiden University Library, for purchasing the manuscript in the first place and helping me to solve some of the riddles surrounding the text.

4 See Colin Imber's article on the pasha in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition.

5 The aforementioned note on the "title page" has it that the author accompanied Luṭfī Paşa to Apulia: "*Müʾellif-i kitāb ʿAbdu'l-celīl Ḳastamonuyī Lutfī Paşa'nıŋ deryā seferine donanmayıla git[di]*".

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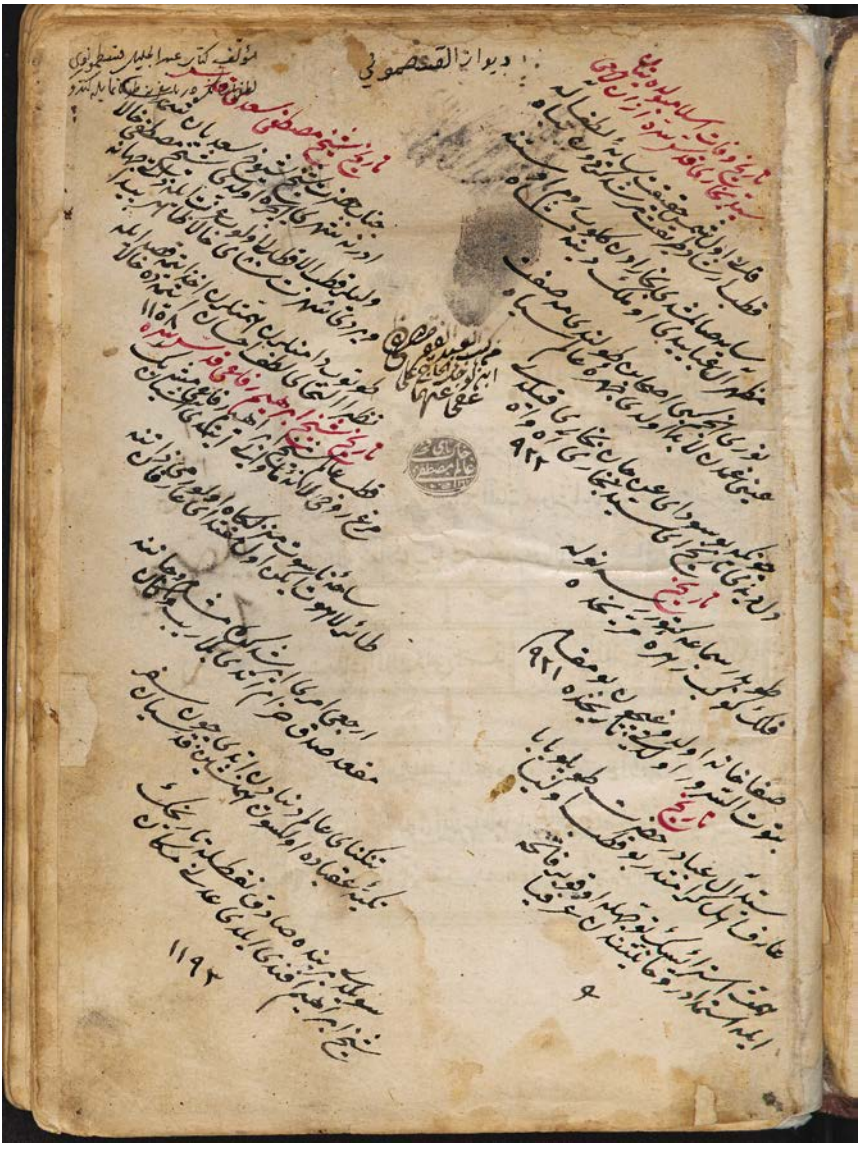

Fig. 2. “Title page” of MS Or. 26.968, with additional verse.

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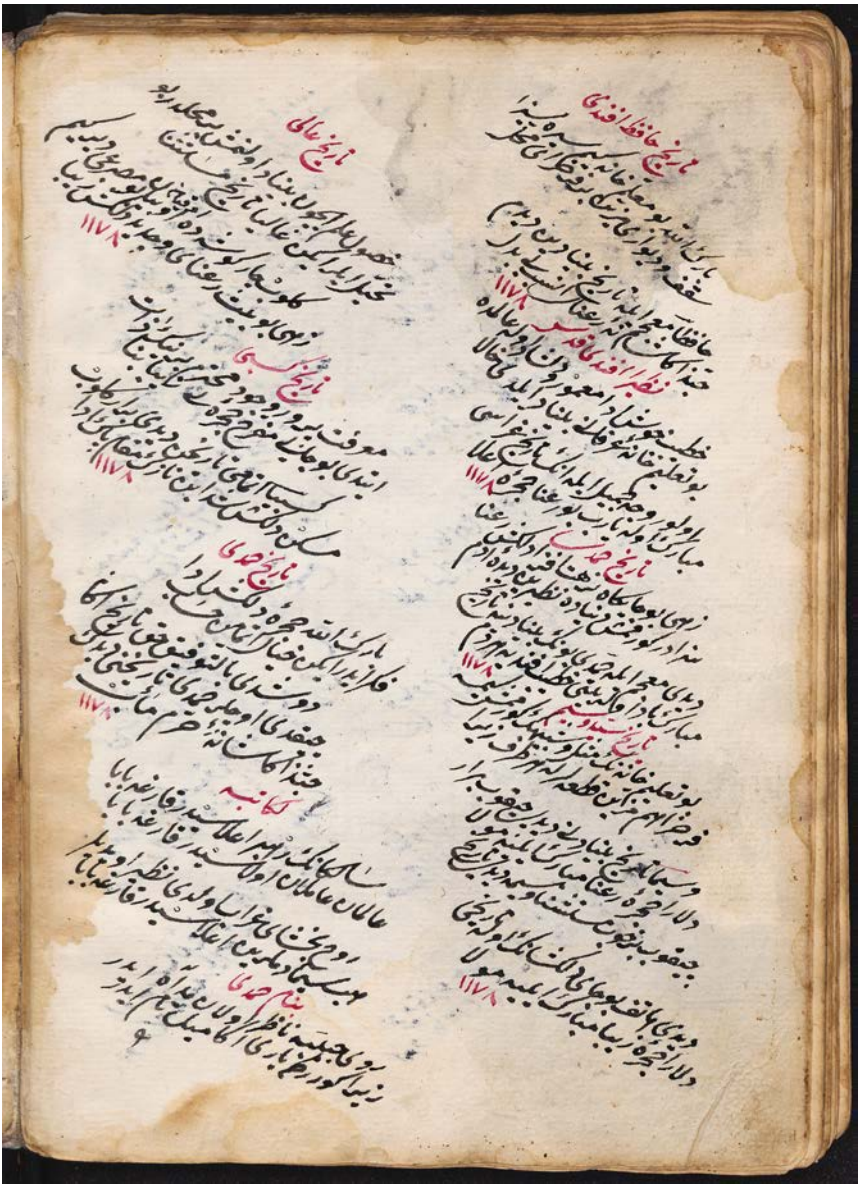

Fig. 3. Later additions to the endpapers of MS Or. 26.968.

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of the libraries of Antalya.[6] Identification is not a hundred percent certain, but the chance that there was another *Ḳastamonu'lu ʿAbdulcelīl* around at the time is negligible. If he was the same person, it meant that ʻAbdulcelīl was back home in the year Luṭfī's grand-vizierate came to an end. It was also the end of his Istanbul adventure and a lapse into obscurity.

This was not the end of the story, however. Thanks to Hedda Reindl-Kiel's wide experience with 16th-century texts, she was able to point me to the existence of an MA thesis of 2008 by Murat Akgün, which is an edition of Ḥarīrī ʿAbdulcelīl Efendi's *Ferḥatnāme* (Book of Delight). Comparison between the Leiden MS and the latter text brought to light that it is the same text (although in the Kastamonu MS the text preceding "The Reason for Composing the Book" is missing) written in the same hand. No other MSS have been discovered so far. The pen name of the author and the title of the work are not mentioned in the Kastamonu MS either, but they were discovered, as Akgün points out, by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu in an archival document about which the latter published an article in 1982. Not surprisingly, the undated MS is kept in the Kastamonu Halk Kütüphanesi, No. 1507/1. As Akgün notes, Ḥarīrī is discussed in a few reference works, including Laṭīfī's dictionary of poets, but there is almost no data about his life in the secondary literature. The year of his death mentioned in some publications is clearly wrong. Laṭīfī wrote that he entertained friendly connections with a number of Ottoman statesmen and received a prize for his *ġazā-nāme*. He seems to have written some other works, but no copies of these have been identified. One gets the impression that Laṭīfī found Ḥarīrī's verse somewhat overwrought (see Fig. 4).

Let us now turn to our topic, the interplay of prose and poetry in Ottoman histories. Although our text turned out not to be a history in the more strict sense of the word, it merits a closer look. What does the verse add to the treatise? This is what we read in the introductory chapter in which the author explains what motivated him to compose his work (*sebeb-i naẓm-ı kitāb)* (see Fig. 5).

"Aḥvac-ı ḫalḳu'llāh ve aʿżaf-ı ʿibādu llāh er-rācī ba l-meliki l-cemīl[7]
aḥḳaru'l-ubeyd ʿAbdulcelīl
bu ġarīb nemnāk-ı çeşm ü ġamnāk-ı bāl
alūde-i ḫāk-ı ġumūm-ı ʿālām-ı āmāl
vaṭan-ı aṣlımdan

6 MS 250 in: *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu / The Union Catalogue of Manuscripts in Turkey, Antalya.* Vol. 1. (Istanbul: Kütüphaneler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1982). 135. One ʿAbdulcelīl, moreover, is mentioned in the introduction to the fourth volume of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī Efendi's *Künhü'l-aḫbār* (cf. below) as the father of the *münşī* and historian Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 288, f. 7a. His father is not known from other sources, see Nicolas Vatin, Ferīdūn Bey, *Les plaisants secrets de la campagne de Szigetvár.* (Vienna & Berlin: 2010). 63.

7 All translations in this article are undertaken by the author.

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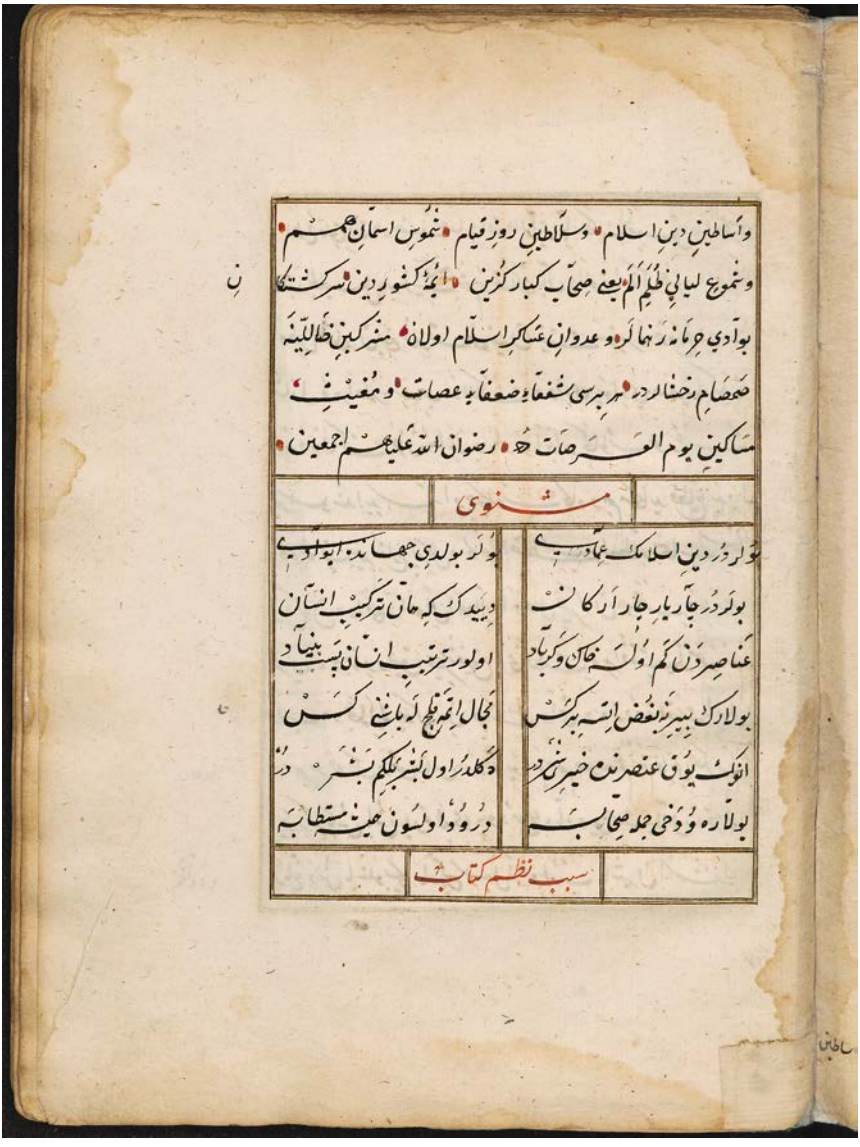

Fig. 4. “The reason for composing the text,” In MS Or. 26.968 (heading bottom, left page).

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Fig. 5. MS Or. 26.968, the next two pages of "the reason for composing the text."

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yaʿnī şehr-i Ḳastamonı'dan
niyet-i sefer birle ḫurūc edüb
menāzil ü merāḥilde şiʿāb-ı hevlnāk
ve vādī-be-vādī ṣaʿbnākda
endūhnāk-ı ḥüzn ü elemle
vihād u encād geçilüb
ve raʿb u hirāsla şedāyid-i sedād çekilüb
gāh vehm-i mekāyid-i ḳuṭṭāʿ-i bed-dil
gāh ḫavf-ı bīm-i biḳāʿ-i pür-kīl
gāhi ıżṭırāb-ı emṭār-ı seḥāb-ı āsümān-ı nīlgūn
ve efkār-ı aḥvāl-ı emvāl-i evḥāl-i ḳırgūn
ve ḳaḥr-ı dehr-i zehr-i tarīḳ
ve cevr-i rafīḳ-i ġayr-ı şefīḳ
muḫālaṭat u murāfaḳat-ile mehmūm olub
ve ʿacele ile bu gerdūn-i dūnuñ dahi döne döne ʿaḳabāt-i ḫāyili
ve dehr-i pür-ḳahruñ ṭas ṭas devā diye emsem ṣorduğum semm-i ḳātili
cigerim paralayıb ve yüregim baş baş yaraladı
ve dümūʿ-ı dimā'-ı dīde seyelānı ḳızıl ırmaġ-veş başlu pıñarlar gibi seyller olub
başımdan aşdı
ve āteş-ı ġamdan çıḳan dūd-ı siyāh-ı āsümān-ı nīlrengī göge boyalayub
ve hevā-yı bād-ı emel-i bāṭıl
bu ḫāk-ı vücūdumu finā'-i heves-i ʿātılı içre
hebāʾ-ı fenā'ı ḳılub
yele verdi."

"I, this most needy of God's people and weakest of God's worshippers and petitioner of the gracious king, the most despicable of slaves ʿAbdulcelīl, this stranger moist of eye and disconsolate of heart, soiled by the dust of sorrows caused by painful hope, departed from my country of origin, that is the town of Kastamonu, with the intention of making [this] journey. In stages and stopping places, at frightful passes, in arduous valley after valley, passing through lowland and over highland, along plains, anxious from the sadness and pain I was suffering from, intimidated and frightened, [tortured by] adversities and obstructions. Now one imagined the machinations of wicked brigands, then one feared stretches full of mud, now there was the terror of rains from the clouds in a dark sky, then alarming thoughts about the consequences of the plague, and distress about one's fate and the bitterness of travel, and the unfairness of an unfriendly comrade, becoming increasingly worried about mixing with company. Soon, while the frightful events caused by the wheel of a sinister fate that turns and turns, and bowl after bowl of lethal poison – I had asked for medicine to cure [me] – of fickle fate full of distress shattered my liver and wounded my heart, and the stream of bloody tears [running] from [my] eyes became torrents like fountains, [red-]headed as the Red River, overwhelming me while the black smoke of the dark sky produced by the fire of sorrow painted the heavens, and the fancy of the wind of vain hope turned the clay of my body in the courtyard of idle fantasy into perishable dust, scattering it to the wind."

The prose fragment is followed by a poetical 'piece', *ḳıtʿa*

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(metre: *remel* - u - - / - u - - / - u - - /- u -)

"*Döne döne bildüġi ālāmını carḥ etdi ḫarc*
yüzüme bir kez döne baḳmadı ve oldı raḳīb
Baña yarım deyü eylerdi bütün daʿvāyı ol
görmedim ben yarımı gördüm bütün ġamlar ʿacīb
Derd-i dil emsem ṣorarken semm ṣunar sākī-yi dehr
nice müddetdür meded yoḳ kim meded ola naṣīb
Ḳaşlarım sedd neden ırmaġ edemedim cūyını
göz piñarınıñ ki başdan aşdı aḳar bālā vu şīb
Az zamānda çaḳ elem çekdürdüġim ʿarż-ı anuñ
mümkin olmaz ṭūl-ı ʿömr-ile eger olsa naṣīb"

"*The wheel [of fortune] distributed its sorrows turning round and round*
it did not once turn and look me in my face, was a rival
He said to me he was my friend and came with endless pretentions
but I did not see my friend and was amazed about all those woes
While my heart's pain asks for medicine the cupbearer of fate gives me poison
how often wasn't there any help, let help be my lot
Why couldn't I let my eyebrows stop the river's flow
while the fountain of your eye pours down from my head
Shortly the blow of his presence from which I let myself suffer
will be impossible for the rest of my life should that be my fate."

In both prose and poetry, as you see, rhetorical exuberance is rife. Concrete facts are hardly mentioned. There are three names: that of the author, his country of origin and the Red River/ Kızılırmak in Anatolia, the latter only used in a metaphorical sense.

The main theme is that of a suffering man (the author) who wants help. Metaphors are partly adopted from those used in the *ġazel*, whereby a longing lover yearns for union with his cruel beloved, who keeps the lover at a distance, although in the book union does take place in the end, something which never happens in a *ġazel*. But of course union here is patronage and eventually lacks the mystic/erotic connotation we find in the *ġazel*s. Key words here are suffering, medicine/poison, the wounded liver and heart, blood tears (turning here into a suffocating Red River behind which lurk hordes of "Red Heads," doubtless a reference to the dreaded *ḳızılbaş* of Anatolia, who became a problem for the Ottomans in the early 16th century), and black smoke from the fire of sorrow. Added to these we find the rival (a standard protagonist of the *ġazel*) who threatens to rob the lover of his beloved, and the friend (beloved), who is not explicitly mentioned in the prose, whom he could not see, and would not see unless fate was to ordain it.

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The second important theme is that of land travel and its extraordinary hardships. Which route our author took to get to Istanbul, however, is not specified.

Comparing the content of the prose with that of the poetical piece, we see that there is a clear overlap. The poem does not supply any new information although it does make the figure of the 'friend'/mecenas more concrete. There is significant repetition, indeed the prose and poetry share the same vocabulary in ten instances.

It therefore seems that the verse functions as a means of illuminating the prose text. Is this situation different in other texts, one wonders.

Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Künhü'l-aḫbār*

Let's have a go with a 'real history,' in fact one of the most celebrated ones in Ottoman historiography. I refer here to the *Künhü'l-aḫbār*, the "Essence of Histories," a world history in four volumes composed by the polymath Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī Efendi of Gallipoli (died 1008/1600). The style of the work is mixed, but it contains quite a few chapters and passages in extremely florid rhymed prose and it includes numerous poetical intermezzi in the three languages besides long chapters in dry, factual prose without any verse. Brilliant from a literary point of view are in particular the two grand introductory parts to the first (general) and fourth (Ottoman) part ("pillar") in which the author displays his extraordinary skills as a writer and satirist. These skills made him famous among the Ottomans of his time.

In the introduction to the fourth (Ottoman) volume of his "Essence of Histories," then – the chapter as a whole survives only in the early 16th-century Leiden manuscript Cod.Or. 288 – there occurs a passage on contemporary historiography, in particular the appearance at the Istanbul court of the so-called *şehnāmeci*s who were meant to emulate Firdevsī, author of the famous Persian *Şāhnāma*, Book of Kings, in praising the sultans who employed them (f. 6b–7a)[8]:

"Ġıbbe ẓālik ümerāʾ-ı rūzgār
cemʿ-ı māla sālik
ve vüzerāʾ-ı büzürgvār
iddiḫār-ı zer ü sīme mütehālik
ṣanādid-i ʿulemā kemāl-i himmetle gūṣe-i izdivāda mebhūt
ecāvīd-i fużalā birer bucaḳda maḥzūn ve ṣāḥib-i sükūt

8 See Jan Schmidt, *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's* Künhü l-aḫbār *and its Preface according to the Leiden Manuscript.* (Leiden, Istanbul: Netherlands Historisch-Arhoeologisch Instituut Te Istanbul, 1987). 37–38, 60–62, 84–55.

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ve vāʾiżlerüñ pend ü naṣīḥatı
ekābirüñ ṭabīʿatlarına göre lāyiḥ meşāyiḫüñ tekmīl-i tarīḳatı
berā-yı maʿāş idügi rūşen u vāżiḥ olub
kibār u ṣıġār müzaḥrefāt-ı dünyevīye iʿtibārında
eşrāf u aḫyār muḥassenāt-ı dīnīye iḫtibārarında
erḳām-ı maʿārifüñ defteri dürüldi
aṣḥāb-ı leṭāyifüñ muḥāsebātı ne ṭaleb ḳıldı
ne ṣoruldı"

"Thereupon it became clear and manifest that the princes of the time took the road of collecting money, that the illustrious viziers were eagerly devoting themselves to the hoarding of gold and silver, that the leading scholars had retired in bewilderment despite their ambitions, that generous men of learning were each of them hiding, depressed and silent, in a corner and that advice and counsel of preachers were adapted to the whims of the great and that the chiefs of dervish convents did their work [only] for a salary. While great and small were warned for worldly lies and the noble and the virtuous were aware of religious virtues, their accounts being settled according to the numbers of their knowledge, the accounts of jesters were not required or asked for."

"li-münşīʾihi"

(metre: *remel* u u - - / u u - - / u u -)

"*Yırtub evrāḳını ʿilm ü aṣruñ*
indiler ṭāḳçe-i nisyāna
Fużalā ṣadrına geçdi cühelā
raġbet etdi ulular nā-dāna
Eller üzre ṭutılan dürr ü güher
redd eliyle aṭılub yabana
Ẓillete düşdi ekābir cümle
çıḳdı bir bir süfehā meydāna"

"[verse] *by the author*

They tore up the pages of knowledge and the age
they descended into the niche of oblivion
The stupid penetrated the circle of the excellent
great men preferred ignorance
The pearls and jewels they wore on their fingers
were cast behind their backs
The great diminished themselves, all of them
and fools, each of them, appeared on the scene"

"*Çunki aḥvāl-i rūzgār*
bu minvāl ile aşikār oldı
sevād-ḫān mertebesindeki rū-siyehler
yüz aḳlıġı daʿvāsı ile hünerverler nāmına vücūd buldı

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evvelā Loḳmān-nām […] bir şaḥṣ-ı nā-mevzūn-ı kelām baġteten şehnāmegūy-ı ḫāḳānī oldı […]
der-ʿaḳb Nuṭḳī-nām bir ḫayvān-ı nāṭıḳ yine şehnāmegūylıḳ rütbesine lāyıḳ görüldi
hengāme-gīr şeyyādına
ve ḳıṣṣa-ḫān nāmına
bir rusvā-yı māder-zād
ve ʿacemiligi ile ʿAcemlerden maʿdūd bir rūstāy-nihād iken
mīr-i ṣadr-ı şuʿarā maḳāmı anuñ gibi erzelī iclāsla
mükedder kılındı."

"When thus the circumstances of the time had become evident, blackguards who could hardly read and write materialized as respectable ("white-faced") artists. First there was Loḳmān[9] […] a man of unbalanced speech who all of a sudden became a Imperial Şāhnāma writer […] Later one Nuṭḳī ("talker"), no more than a talking animal, was deemed fit for that rank […] The position of Grand Vizier of Poetry was thus disturbed by the appointment of an infamous person, a congenitally ignominious character, a loud hypocrite, better known as storyteller, and boorish peasant who could be reckoned a true Persian (*ʿAcem*) in all his clumsiness (*ʿacemilik*)."

This is satire, again showing the full panoply of rhymed rhetoric. The passage resembles our first sample in that it contains a lot of allegations but only a few pieces of concrete information, in this case the names of the two incumbents of the post of *şehnāmeci* during the reigns of Selim II and Murad III: Loḳmān and Nuṭḳī. About the latter nothing further is known and he is not mentioned in any other source as far as we know. He was succeeded by Taʿlīḳīzāde (Meḥmed b. Meḥmed el-Fenārī) in 1590, who was also discussed by ʿĀlī in a following paragraph. The poetry here continues in the same vein as the prose, with the motives of the decline of learning and the waste of royal generosity on stupid foreigners. (This was a recurrent theme in ʿĀlī's work, cf. below.) Striking here is the metaphor of bookkeeping which crops up in the prose: the *şehnāmeci*s's skills and learning are not taken to account, and – in the poem – the book of knowledge, as it were, was torn up page by page. There is no overlap in vocabulary here, but we find illumination rather than illustration.

Luṭfī's Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān

A rather different, much more matter-of-fact fragment, is the following, drawn from Luṭfī Paşa's aforementioned Ottoman history (*Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān*). Luṭfī Paşa was, like ʿĀlī Efendi, author of both a history and a book of advice addressing the ruling sultans, although he wrote more than one work in each genre.

9 Seyyid Loḳmān of Urmia, western Iran, appointed in 1569, died in 1601 or later.

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Both included passages of advice in their historical work. (ʿĀli included advice in other genres as well.) A difference between Luṭfī Paşa and ʿĀlī Efendi was that the latter had an unsatisfactory career in the Ottoman administration, about which he complained in his work (charlatans and upstarts from Persia were adopted by the court, whereas truly learned men like ʿĀlī were left in the lurch.

In the history of Luṭfī Paşa we read:[10]

"*Hicret-i nebīnün aleyhi's-selām ṭoḳuz yüz yıl ḳırḳ altıya gelicek*
İslāmbol'da ṭāʿūn-ı ekber olub Ayās Paşa vezīr-i aʿẓam ṭāʿūndan fevt olub
pādişāh-ı ʿālem-penāh Sulṭān Süleymān vezīr-i aʿẓamlıġı bu tārīḫinüñ müʾellifine vericek
bunuñ mü'ellifi ṭışrada yaʿnī sancaḳlarda ve beglerbegiliklerde ḫaylı zamān olub
ve ʿOs̱mānlu'nuñ envāʿ-ı dürlü ẓulmlarınuñ ḫallerine muṭṭaliʿ olub
evet bu ulaḳ żulmı cemiʿisinde ḳatı ve çoḳ olmaġın
aña bināʾen pādişāh-ı rūy-ı zemīni vebāldan ve sāʾir Müslimānları ve reʿāyayı biz
miskīnleri żulmından ḳurtarmaġa bu ḫākir iḳdām-ı küllī edüb
ve pādişāh-ı İslām murād-ı küllī idigi
ve nice kerre daḫı emr edüb
ḳaṣd etmişlerdi-ki ulaḳ ẓulmı gide
evet vezīr-i aʿẓam olanlar müsāʿadet etmezler […]

"When it came to the year 956 [1549] of the hijra of the Prophet, upon him be peace, there was a major bout of the plague in Istanbul. The Grand Vizier Ayās Pasha died and when Sultan Süleymān, Refuge of the Universe, offered the grand-vizierate to the writer of this history, its writer was for quite some time in the countryside, that is, in districts and provinces, where he became aware of all kinds of abuse. While of these all, verily, the abuse involving couriers was the most painful and widespread, this lowly one did his utmost to protect the Sultan of the Earth from this pest, and all Muslims and minorities, us poor people, from its woe. The Sultan of Islam was more than willing and gave orders many times with the purpose that the abuse would go away, but, alas, those who were grand vizier did not allow it. […]"

Previous sultans, the author continues, had not been able to solve the problem, not even Selim I, who had led Ottoman troops as far as the borders of India. Ambassadors from Europe, having been asked whether this problem also existed in Europe, denied it. Without express messengers a state cannot exist. The expansion of Ottoman territory made the problem only worse. As the number of couriers increased, horses disappeared and their price soared.

A competent poet of the time commented as follows:

Naẓm

(metre: *hezec* u - - - / u - - - / u - -)

10 I quote the printed edition Istanbul 1341, edited by the conservator of the Museum of Antiquities, Kesbī ʿĀli. 374–378.

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"Giderler her yaña dāʾim eşeklü
olupdur şimdi ḫar atdan gereklü
Ata binenlerüñ gitdi sürūrı
eşeklüdür bulur oldı ḫużūrı
Zamānıdır eger devlet yerine
ki baġlandı eşekler at yerine"

Verse

"People go everywhere all the time on asses
bereft of horses one needs a donkey
The pleasure of those mounting a horse was gone
but as donkey-riders they found peace of mind
If instead of good governance it was the time for them
that asses were engaged instead of horses"

Neṣr

"*ve pādişāhlardan ġayrī vüzerā'nuñ ve defterdārlaruñ ve aġalaruñ ve bunlardan māʿadā kimesnelere ednā maṣlaḥatdan ötüri ulaḳ ḥükmin verirlerdi*
ve ulaḳ ḥükmin bir merḥāmetsiz kimsenüñ eline verüb
ol ḫabīṯ daḫı fī l-ḥāl ol ulaḳ ḥükmin alduḳda
ḳāżīye ve subaşıya ḥükmin gösterüb
ḳāżī ve subaşı daḫı bulduḳda eger faḳīrüñ ve eger ġānīnüñ atların cemʿ edüb
ol ḫabīṯe götürürlerdi
iri gerek kemi gerek diledügin alırdı
ve dilemedügin redd edüb
bu ehl-i ḥāl ulaḳ belāsına uġrayub
ol zamānda bunu ḥikāyet deyü naẓm edüb yazmış ama şikāyet-i küllī"

"Prose

And to others than grand viziers and apart from viziers, *defterdārs* ("financial directors") and aghas and the like, they used to issue rulings on the courier [problem] to all kinds of people for even the most trifling affairs and used to put such rulings into the hands of some ruthless person, and when such a person received the courier ruling, the scoundrel immediately showed it to the *ḳāżī* (judge) and *subaşı* (police officer) and if the *ḳāżī* and the *subaşı* could find them, they collected the horses of both the poor and rich and brought them to the scoundrel and he took as many, be it many, be it few, as he wanted. Those he did not want he gave back. When a dervish was visited by this courier calamity, he composed this poem, saying it was a story, wrote it down and said, complaining loudly from the bottom of his heart:"

"*Naẓm*"

(metre: idem)

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"*Meger bir şefḳatı yoḳ ẓālim ulaḳ*
ḫudāsından ḫabersiz müfsid ü ʿāḳ
Çıḳub İslāmbol'dan bir gün ermiş
deñizden Üsküdar şehrine girmiş
Biri birine ḳatmış yolcuları
ḳoparmış at içün ḫalḳ içre zārı
Getürdüb subaşı adamlarına
niçe atları baḳmaz kimlerine
Bu āḫar iḫtiyār etdükde aḫır
bulunmış ṣāḥibi yañında ḥāżır
Demiş paşa ḳulıyım ben ḫabīr ol
bu yaña ḫidmet içün ṭutmışım yol
Verüb atın anuñ bir daḫı ṭutmuş
evvel at isside bu sözi etmiş
Ki ben-daḫı Bilāl Aġa adamıyım
muḳarrib çākiri ve hemdemiyim
Anuñda atını vermiş revān ol
bir ata daḫı yapışmış hemān ol
Ol atıñ ṣāḥibi-miş bir ḫoş insān
selīm ve kendü ḥālinde Müslimān
Varub atına yapışduḳda aña
ulaḳ ṣormış ki kimsin söyle bana
Demiş ol tengri ḳulıyım ben ey merd
daḫı kimsim yoḳ andan özge bir ferd
Hemān etmeyüb aña raḥm ü ṣabr
eyerletmiş ol atı anda cebrī
Binüben yolına olmış revāne
işin etmiş o cāhil ʿāḳilāne
At issi baḳaḳalmış zār u ḫayrān
demiş āh ederek ey yüce ṣubḥān
Budım ben ne deyim ġayret senüñdir
mededsiz ḳullara raḥmet senüñdir
Bu sözi dedügi dem yaña yaña
Duʿāsı oḳı erişmiş nişāna
Ulaḳ şehr içine ermişdi ancaḳ
hem ol sāʿat erişmiş saṭvet-i ḫaḳḳ
Yıḳılmış sūr çöp at altında nāgāh
depesi üstine gelmiş o kemrāh
Ṭaġılmış begini üzüldi boynı
unutmış ẓulm-la her dürlü işi
Ṭurub at ayaġ üzre ṣaġ u sālim
helāk olmış ol irāde o ẓālim
Ḫudāsına ṣıġınan āhir ucın
alur ḫalḳın ne deñlü görse gücin"

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"Poem

There once was a merciless and cruel courier
who was unaware of God, rotten and lawless
Having one day arrived from İslambol
he entered the town of Üsküdar from the sea
Travellers who had been thrown together
were weeping bitterly about their stolen horses
The subaşı did bring to these men
many horses irrespective to whom they belonged
When he [the courier] had finally chosen a stall
he found himself present next to the owner
He said: I am a slave of a pasha, so let me inform you
I have taken to the road hither to serve [him]
He gave him his horse, thus he obtained another
but first the horse's owner said these words
"I am one of Bilal Agha's men
I am his close servant and constant companion"
But the man had the horse moved
and immediately added another to it
The owner of the horse however was a nice man
a sound and a true Muslim
When he approached the horse and grabbed it
the courier asked him "who are you, tell me"
He said "I am a slave of God, oh man
I am nobody's and apart from Him quite on my own
But he did not show mercy to him or patience
and saddled the horse there and then by force
He mounted it and went on his way
he did his job, this ignorant one, in a clever way
The horse's owner remained behind weeping and bewildered
he sighed and said "O Praised and Exalted One
Here am I, what can I say, Yours is the power
mercy to your helpless slaves is Yours"
When he spoke these words burning with fire
the arrow of his prayer hit the mark
As soon as the courier reached the town's centre
exactly at that moment the full force of God struck
Of a sudden the town wall under the horse collapsed into rubble
That slow-paced one had just reached its top
His brains were scattered, his stature broken
his vile deeds and any other business forgotten
But the horse stood on its legs safe and sound
His will had destroyed the oppressor
Those who find shelter with God eventually will take the clue
from His creation when they see how great His power is"

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"*Neṣir*

Ve daḫı vaḳt olurdı-ki ḳapudan baʿż-ı kimesneler ulaḳ ḥükmin verirlerdi bir at kendüsiçün ve dört beş at ḥidmetkārler-içün ve bir at daḫı ḳulaġuz içün. Vaḳt olurdı baʿż-ı ḥuṣūṣlara beş altı kişiye ulaḳ ḥükmin verirlerdi. Anlar daḫı beşer altışar kişi ile bir gunuñ (= ḥalḳıñ) atlarına binüb ve bir cānibe çıḳub giderlerdi."

"Prose

It sometimes happened that some people from the court were handing out courier rulings [that stipulated] one horse for [the courier] himself and four, five horses for his servants and also one horse for the guide. At other times they handed out courier rulings to five, six people for some special purposes. They then mounted the horses of a village with five, six persons each and went away in a certain direction."

This is only a small part of a longer dissertation on the 'courier problem,'[11] which is also discussed very briefly in the author's *Āṣafnāme*.[12] The poems in this text, in contrast to our previous samples, do add content to the prose and are not mere embellishment. The main theme is the suffering of the common people from the confiscation of horses by couriers. The first intermezzo funnily brings up the theme of people who turn to asses/donkeys to solve their lack of horses – this is nowhere mentioned in the prose context. The second, longer poem is, supposedly, a 'story' by another author, a pious dervish, who offers hope to the victims by successfully invoking God's wrath against an unjust courier and horse robber.

What is also different here in comparison to our earlier samples, is style. Both the prose and the inserted verses are of a much lower level of complexity. The prose doesn't rhyme and has much less of a rhetorical effect. Or could there be a clue in the sub-genre, namely that of the "Book of Advice" (mirror for princes)? I doubt it. Luṭfī Paşa's aforementioned *Āṣafnāme*, for instance, is written in a summary and businesslike prose and does not contain verses at all. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's "Counsel for Sultans" (of 1581), which is much more longwinded and written in exquisite rhymed prose, on the other hand, does contain many of them.

11 Little research has been done on the pre-modern Ottoman postal system; pioneering work has been done in this field by Colin Heywood, who wrote a number of articles on it between 1977 and 2001. A reorganization of the *ulak/menzilhane* system was carried through in the late 17th century. See Colin Heywood, 'Two fermans of Mustafa II on the reorganization of the Ottoman courier system (1108/1696) (Documents from the Thessaloniki cadi sicills)." In *Acta Oientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* 54 (2001). 485–496.

12 See Rudolf Tschudi, *Das Asafnāme des Lutfī Pacha nach den Handschriften zu Wien, Dresden und Konstantinopel.* (Leipzig: Drugulin, 1910). 10–11 (11–12 in the translation).

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Conclusion

What these quotations seem to suggest, or rather confirm what most of us doubtless already knew, is that Ottoman authors who wrote about the past and the present Ottoman reality had the option, and also now and then felt free, to choose the appropriate style – 'high', 'middle' or 'simple' prose as they are characterized by Ottoman rhetoricians – and modulate from one style to another in one work, inserting verse in their prose whenever they saw fit. Such verse, moreover, could assume the function of mere embellishment; it could add actual content; or even provide a commentary. This means, as in the case of Luṭfī's *Histories*, that quite simple, unrhymed prose could be alternated with relatively unsophisticated verse. This freedom also extended to other literary genres. This explains the existence of text formats that do not neatly fit into fixed categories such as 'advice to sultans,' 'history' or 'autobiography.' Historians could – and did – interrupt a straightforward chronicle with stories, anecdotes, autobiographical passages, biographies and verse. A striking and rather unusual example of a mixture of genres is our treatise by ʿAbdulcelīl of Kastamonu, which is largely a petition to Luṭfī Paşa but combines elements of autobiography, lyrical descriptions of land- and townscapes (of Galata and Kāğıdhane), encomium (exuberant praise of Sultan Süleymān and Luṭfī Paşa) and history/historical propaganda (*ġazānāme* of the expedition to Apulia). Here the 'high prose' is also, as could be expected, nearly everywhere mixed with short and long poems, including long *ḳaṣīdes*.

This seems to imply that general statements on the relation between genres/style levels and poetical intermezzi are impossible to make. But more research is clearly needed here.

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Gül Şen

The Function of Poetry in Sixteenth Century Historiography: A Narratological Approach to the *Künhü'l-aḫbār* by Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī

Numerous Ottoman chronicles contain a profusion of widely varied poetical inserts. Given that poetry is studied mostly within the domain of its own discipline, such material, hidden in plain sight, has often been overlooked. Another reason for this inattention is that since historiography is considered the domain of historical studies, the inspection of poetical elements in historiographical works seems expendable. However, even standard chronicles that arrange their content in a strictly annalistic and chronological framework include brief poetical fragments so frequently that the phenomenon may even be considered a convention of the genre. The court chronicle *Tārīḫ-i Naʿīmā* (History of Naʿīmā) is a case in point.[1] The present chapter argues that more attention should be paid to the interrelationship of poetry and historiography and that the compartmentalization of the two into separate genres should be attenuated. Only then may the analysis of narratological strategies be linked to their social, historical, and literary context in further research.

This chapter looks at sixteenth-century historiography and the case of *Künhü'l-aḫbār* (The Essence of History or Essence of Histories),[2] the *opus magnum* of the bureaucrat and historian Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (1541–1600). Its aim is to examine how the poetical inserts actually operate. This prominent sixteenth-

Note: I am grateful to Dorothée Kreuzer for her helpful comments and reading the previous draft of this paper.

1 Examining the literary and historiographical tradition of the *Tārīḫ-i Naʿīmā*, a court chronicle that covers the last twenty-three years of the sixteenth century and two-thirds of the seventeenth century, I was struck by the relative scarcity, not to mention the strategic narrative value, of its poetical inserts. Seeking a better understanding of the traditional roots of the history of the Naʿīmā in the sixteenth century, I realized that it was impossible to ignore the strategic value of poetical inserts in historiographical works.

2 Cornell H. Fleischer translates the title as *The Essence of History* whereas Jan Schmidt prefers *Essence of Histories.* See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Muṣṭafā Âli (1541–1600).* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986). 140; Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims: A Study of Mustafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's Künhü l-ahbār* (Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1991). 1, which is based on the Leiden Ms. Cod 288 Warn, University Library.

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century historical work demonstrates brilliantly how the intertwining of highly elaborate poetry with prose can be sustained over a voluminous text. The theoretical and methodical approach of choice for the analysis of the text is narratology.

Features of Sixteenth-Century Historiography

The sixteenth century in the Ottoman realm was deeply imprinted by the reign of Süleymān I the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566). It was not only a period of political triumph but one in which literature and historiography flourished. The establishment of the office of *şehnāmeci* (Writer of the King's Book)[3] in 1555 is considered to have yielded the historiographic genre preceding the formal institution of official historiography with the appointment of the *vaḳʿanüvīs* (Writer of Event). The first to hold this position was Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā (1655–1716), who first took the office in 1699.[4] Petra Kappert points out the strong link in this period between political success and the flourishing of historiography: The new Ottoman self-perception, she says, called for new forms of historiography, which were indeed created as the composition of universal and dynastic histories made contemporary history a prominent subject. Süleymān's glorious reign inspired many authors to switch from traditional genres to contemporary history. The *selīmnāme* genre (Books of Selīm) was one form of contemporary history, but the epic treatment of its themes – says Kappert – resulted in a mixture of history and entertainment literature.[5] The production of prose in an ornate style, the so-called *inşāʾ* literature, developed as a new type in the middle of the sixteenth century – during Süleymān's reign – and became one of the hallmarks of that century.[6] The *inşāʾ* style, 75 percent of its vocabulary taken from Arabic

3 On *şehnāmes*, see Christine Woodhead, "Reading Ottoman şehnames: Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century." In *Studia Islamica.* Vol. 104–105. (2007). 67–80.

4 On Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, see Lewis V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima.* Ed. Norman Itzkowitz. (New York: New York University Press, 1972). 16–20. See also Gül Şen, "Kompilation als Handwerk des Historiographen: Zur Narrativität in Naʿīmās (gest. 1716) Hofchronik." In *Innovation oder Plagiat? Kompilationstechniken in der Vormoderne.* Ed. Stephan Conermann (Berlin: EB Verlag, 2015). 169–174; for the office of *vaḳʿanüvīs* idem, 176ff.

5 See Petra Kappert, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnīs von 1520 bis 1557 oder Ṭabaḳāt ül-Memālik ve Derecāt ül-Mesālik von Celalzade Muṣṭafā, genannt Ḳoca Nişāncı.* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981). 15–ff. See also idem "Zur Charakteristik osmanischer historisch-narrativer Quellen des 16. Jahrhunderts, in Vorträge." *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 28. Sept. bis 4. Okt. 1975, Freiburg im Breisgau.* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977). 1204–1209.

6 On ornate prose, see Muṣṭafā İsen, "Estetik Nesir," In *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi.* Vol. 2. Ed. Talât Sait Halman (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006). 86f. See also Christine Woodhead, "Estetik Nesir," In *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi.* Vol. 2. Ed. Talât Sait Halman. Transl. Yurdanur Salman. (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006). 317–325.

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and Persian,[7] was a characteristic feature of this new type of historiography, setting it apart from the literature of previous ages, which was written in relatively pure Turkish. At this time, poesy became so much a part of the official rhetoric that sultans themselves engaged in it. In so doing, they emulated Turko-Mongolian dynasties[8] just as all sixteenth-century Ottoman historiography relied on the heritage and literary traditions of previous dynasties in the region. The following major histories of this period reflect the features of this type of historiography:

1) *Künhü'l-aḫbār* (The Essence of History) covers the period from Creation to 1596. Written by Ġelibolulu Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (1541–1600), a bureaucrat and virtuoso "littérateur-historian," it contains a multitude of poetic fragments.
2) *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī* (History of Selānīkī) covers 1563–1600, i. e., only three years of Süleymān's reign). It was written by Muṣṭafā Selānīkī (b. unknown – d. ca. 1600) in straightforward language and has few poetic fragments.[9]
3) *Ṭabaḳātü'l-memālik ve derecātü'l-mesālik* (The Classes of States and the Ranks of Military Roads) combines a geographical survey with a history of the years 1520–1557, corresponding to Sultan Süleymān's reign. Its author, the bureaucrat and chancellor Celālzāde Muṣṭafā (1490–1567), enriched the text with a great number of poetic fragments.[10]
4) *Tācü't-tevārīḫ* (The Crown of Histories), in which the grand mufti Ḫᵛāce Saʿdeddīn (1536–1599) covers the period from the emergence of Ottoman rule to the reign of Selīm, is written in an elaborate style.[11]
5) *Cāmiʿü't-tevārīḫ* (The Compendium of Histories), a universal chronicle covering the period from Creation until the time of its author, Meḥmed Zaʾīm Efendi (d. 1595), uses poetical fragments but only infrequently. The chapter

7 Woodhead, "Estetik Nesir." 317.

8 On Süleymān writing poetry under his pen name Muḥibbî, see Christiane Cyzgan, "Zur Ghazelkultur in der Zeit Sultan Süleymâns des Prächtigen." In *Kutadgu Nom Bitig: Festschrift für Jens Peter Laut zum 60. Geburtstag.* Eds. Elisabetta Ragagnin and Jens Wilkens, in collaboration with Gökhan Şilfeler. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015). 81; on some of his ghazals, ibid. 85–87. For Murād III (r.1574–1595) see Christine Woodhead, "Poet, Patron and Padişah: the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (1574–95)." In *Ambition and Anxiety: Courts and Courtly Discourse, c. 700–1600.* Eds. Giles E. M. Gasper, John McKinnell. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2014). 229–249.

9 See Selânikî Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî.* Vol. 1–2. Ed. Mehmet İpşirli. (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1989 and Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999). For the only study on the author so far see idem: "Muṣṭafā Selânikî and His History," In *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi.* 9 (1978). 417–472.

10 On the author and his elaborate style, see Kappert, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymān.* 3–40. Kappert gives a highly detailed description of the content of the *Ṭabaḳāt* on pages 52–102 followed by the facsimile of the Berlin ms. Or. Quart.1961 supplemented by variants from other manuscripts.

11 Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't-Tevarih*, simplified by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, 5 Vols. (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1974–1979).

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about Selīm I, for example, contains no fragment, that on Süleymān only a short one, and that on Murād, in contrast, fifteen fragments.[12]

6) *Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān* (Histories of the House of ʿOs̱mān), by Luṭfī Paşa (1488–1563), addresses the period from the beginning of the Ottoman Empire to 1553. This chronicle contains only a few poems.[13]

Poetry in the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Realm

Determining the relationship between poetry and prose in historiographical works is not as straightforward as it might seem. Both art forms must be considered simultaneously.[14] It is only for the sake of clarity that I consider poetry first.

Although poetry forms a major part of Ottoman literature, only two major collections of Ottoman poetry exist: Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's monumental *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst. Mit einer Blüthenlese aus zweytausend, zweyhundert Dichtern*[15] and Elias John Wilkinson Gibb's six-volume *History of Ottoman Poetry.*[16] Among the studies on sixteenth-century poetry,[17] Christiane Cyzgan notes in a recent article the significance of *ġazel* poetry in daily life.[18] Building upon the work of Andrews and Kalpaklı, she asserts that *ġazels* were so popular in the sixteenth century that they could be called a form of communication.[19] On these grounds, Cyzgan calls for a more intensive consideration of Persian court culture.[20]

12 See Meḥmed Zaʾīm, *Cāmīʿü't-Tevārīḫ (202a–327b Giriş-Tenkitli Metin–Sözlük-Dizin).* Vol. 1. Ed. Ayşe Nur Sır. (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007).

13 See Lütfī Paşa, *Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān.* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-ı Āmire, 1341 [1922]). On the author and his book see Kayhan Atik, *Lütfi Paşa ve Tevârîh-i Âli Osman.* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi 2001). 5–95.

14 Historical works also turned out to be a storehouse for the preservation of poetry.

15 See Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst: Mit einer Blüthenlese aus zweytausend, zweyhundert Dichtern.* Vol. 1–4. (Pesth: Hartleben, 1836/1838).

16 See John Wilkinson Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry.* Vol. 1–6/reprint 1958–1963. Ed. Edward Granville Browne. (first: London: Luzac, 1900–1909).

17 See especially Selim S. Kuru, "The literature of Rum: The making of a literary tradition (1450–1600)." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603.* Vol. 2. Eds. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, Kate Fleet. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). 548–592.

18 Czygan, "Ghazelkultur." 77–91.

19 Czygan, "Ghazelkultur." 84. For Andrews and Kalpaklı the the sixteenth century was the "Age of Beloveds." See Walter G. Andrews and Mehmed Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society.* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

20 Czyzan, "Ghazelkultur." 92.

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Although some case studies on the relationship between poetry and prose turn their attention to the function of poetry in prose, poems inserted into historical writing have largely been neglected. Gisela Procházka-Eisl, examining poetical inserts in the earlier Ottoman chronicle of ʿĀṣıḳpaşazāde (1400–1484), notes critically that even the Ottoman copyists paid no attention to poems in the chronicle genre.[21] Even if the poems inserted into this chronicle do not satisfy the standard literary-aesthetic conventions, they make this up by concrete description, criticism, and humor.[22] Barbara Fleming divides Ottoman histories into three categories: "*[…] prose virtually without inserts; prose with inserts of narrative mesnevī; [and] prose with all sorts of narrative and non-narrative inserts in mesnevī, ghazal, and other forms.*"[23] Her taxonomy, however, is restricted to Ottoman historiography.

In her subsequent study of a sixteenth-century work based on three manuscripts of *Sūrnāme-i hümāyūn* by İntiẓāmī, which she places in Fleming's third category, Procházka-Eisl identifies three different functions: narrative changes immediately following a lyrical insert; poems that rupture the monotony without affecting the text flow; and poems that serve as a vehicle for direct speech.[24] The last-mentioned function, she argues, ties into the orality of the poetical inserts, something that she calls "*the main function of verses in prose.*"[25] These functions, she maintains, recur almost identically in the poems in *Künhü'l aḫbār* because this obviously reflects the period taste of the educated reader of the sixteenth century.[26] Investigating a more specific context of genre, Claudia Römer emphasizes the poetical features of the *süleymānnāme* genre. She demonstrates how Bostān's *Süleymānnāme* reflects the spoken language of the middle of the sixteenth century while employing the stylistic devices of *inşāʾ* prose. Although the style is "*not so different from other works of the same period,*"[27] Bostān (d. 1565) is unusual in that he repeats whole passages and poems. Römer calls him "*a writer*

21 See Gisela Procházka-Eisl, "Die lyrischen Einschuebe in der altosmanischen Chronik des Āşıkpaşazāde." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 15 (1995). 95. See also Friedrich Giese (ed.), *Die altosmanische Chronik des ʿĀšıḳpašazāde: Auf Grund mehrerer neuentdeckter Handschriften von Neuem* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1929).

22 See Gisela Procházka-Eisl, "Die lyrischen Einschuebe in der altosmanischen Chronik. " 122.

23 See Barbara Flemming, "The Poem in the Chronicle: The Use of Poetry in Early Ottoman Historiography." In *Turcica et islamica: studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta*, Vol. 1. Ed. Ugo Marazzi. (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli l'Orientale, 2003). 179.

24 See Gisela Procházka-Eisl, "Blumen und Musik: İntiẓāmī als Dichter." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Vol. 100. (2010). 153–155.

25 See Procházka-Eisl, "Blumen und Musik." 155.

26 See Procházka-Eisl, "Blumen und Musik." 156.

27 See Claudia Römer, "The Language and Prose Style of Bostān's Süleymānnāme." In *Humanism, Culture, and Language in the Near East: Studies in Honor of Georg Krotkoff.* Eds. Asma Afsaruddin, A.H. Mathias Zahniser. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997). 417 f.

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of second rank" relative to Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī and Celālzāde Muṣṭāfā, "*the great masters of Ottoman prose.*"[28]

Below I approach the issue of poetic inserts in prose texts through the example of one historiographical text, Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Künhü'l-aḫbār,* The Essence of History. As mentioned above, ʿĀlī affords us a salient example of the combination of both art forms.

Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī and his *Künhü'l-aḫbār*

Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī and his composition are the subjects of as-yet unrivalled works by two scholars: Cornell Fleischer's biography of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī as a historian and a bureaucrat[29] and Jan Schmidt's study on Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *opus magnum.*[30] The following information is therefore primarily based on their studies.

Born in Gallipoli (Western Anatolia), Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (1541–1600) became a high-ranking bureaucrat in the Ottoman court but was also a man of letters and a historian with fifty works on a wide range of subjects, from history to *divan* poetry, to his credit. Indeed, he was the model "*literary bureaucrat,*" a highly educated Ottoman bureaucrat with a special interest in literature.[31] Due to the elaborate style of his historical writing, he belongs to a group that Fleischer terms "*littérateur-historian.*"[32] These literary historians did not, however, employ style as its own sake. ʿĀlī in particular, according to Ullrich Haarmann, "*was one of the most outspoken commentators [on] and critics of the prevailing system of government and of public morals during the first half century of what is seen today as Ottoman political decadence.*"[33]

Fleischer reconstructs the life of an average Ottoman literary bureaucrat as starting with a thorough education beginning in childhood and continuing in the Ottoman court with promotions by patrons during the official's education and

28 See Claudia Römer, "The Language and Prose Style." 418. See also Römer's earlier study, Claudia Römer, "Bostān historiographe ottoman en tant que poète." In *Anatolia Moderna-Yeni Anadolu.* Vol. 3. (1992). 237–246.

29 See Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual.*

30 See Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water.* See also his study on the second introduction of *Künh ül-aḫbār:* Jan Schmidt, *Mustafā ʿAlī's Künhü'l-ahbār and its preface according to the Leiden manuscript* (İstanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul, 1987).

31 For this term (in German *Literarbürokrat*) and concept, see Henning Sievert, *Zwischen arabischer Provinz und Hoher Pforte: Beziehungen, Bildung und Politik des osmanischen Bürokraten Rāġıb Meḥmed Paşa (st. 1763)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2008). 45–76. On the education of bureaucrats see also Carter V. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom, A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). 36, 53–55.

32 Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual.* 236.

33 Ulrich Haarmann, "The plight of the self-appointed genius – Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī," In *Arabica* 38 (1991). 74.

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later career.[34] At the age of six, ʿĀlī began to study Arabic grammar in his hometown, Gallipoli. His move to the capital was facilitated by family connections that reveal a pattern of network relations at an early stage. At the age of fifteen, he went to Istanbul for a university (*medrese*) degree, where he also learned Persian. This equipped him with four languages. (Besides Arabic and Persian, he knew the spoken dialect of Westanatolia as well as Çagatay.) This linguistic versatility is important because it is reflected in the wide range of literary styles in all his works. He enjoyed *meclis* literary gatherings, the salons of the time, where poets recited in three languages. It was under a poetic *nom de plume* (in accordance with literary conventions) that ʿĀlī, ("The Exalted,") started his career as a poet.[35] In his lifespan of almost fifty-nine years, ʿĀlī managed to fill a vast array of official positions in the Ottoman state, most of them high-ranking. In his professional career, he switched between secretarial duties (as *kātib*) and accounting in the financial branches (as *defterdār*) in the imperial capital as well as the provinces, criss-crossing the empire with postings to the Balkan province of Bosnia and several Anatolian cities as well as the Arab provincial capitals – Damascus, Cairo, and finally Jeddah, where he died.[36]

In a departure from the convention of the time, Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī wrote his *Künhü'l-aḫbār* without being commissioned to do so and without any dedication to a patron in the last years of his life.[37] *Künhü'l-aḫbār* is a universal history that covers the time from Creation to the campaign in Hungary in 1596 in roughly 1,000 manuscript folios.[38] It evinces a fully developed elaborate style, marked by the insertion of poems and biographical references (*teẕkire*). Thus, *Künhü'l-aḫbār* presents a mixture of different historiographical and literary genres.[39] The whole work is divided into four volumes, each termed a "pillar" (*rükn*): *Rükn* 1: General introduction, geographical/cosmographical information, creation, the prophets; *Rükn* 2: the prophets, the Persian kings, the Umayyād and ʿAbbāsid dynasties; *Rükn* 3: the Mongol and Turkish dynasties, Mamluks; and *Rükn* 4: a second introduction for the Ottoman Empire. This fourth and last *rükn*, the best known today, recounts the history of the Ottoman Empire and the reign of fifteen

34 See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual.* 14–187.
35 See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual.* 21–24
36 See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual.* 34–187.
37 See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual.* 140.
38 See Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water.* 2.
39 I have discussed elsewhere some characteristics of *Künhü'l-aḫbār* within the genre of universal history. See Gül Şen, "Historisches Denken und Herrschaftslegitimation: Die Narration in der Universalgeschichte des Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (gest. 1600)." In *Wozu Geschichte? Historisches Denken in vormodernen historiographischen Texten: Ein transkultureller Vergleich.* Ed. Stephan Conermann (= Das Mittelalter. Beihefte. Bd. 5). (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017). 169–194.

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sultans, from ʿOṣmān to Meḥmed III. Each chapter also includes *teẕkīres* on contemporary dignitaries.[40]

The Function of Poetry in Historiography

ʿĀlī's outstanding literary accomplishments are undisputed in scholarship. Remarking on *Künhü'l-aḫbār,* Schmidt states that "ʿĀlī's stylistic superiority among contemporary historians is evident."[41] After examining five titles by this author, Andreas Tietze qualifies ʿĀlī "*as a master in his art*" in *inṣāʾ* prose and, among other aspects, shows via ʿĀlī's writings how rhyme and rhythm contribute to the overall effect of a poetical style: "*The elements come like waves, as it were, never alone, always accompanied by a second wave, sometimes also more.*"[42]

Schmidt already analyzed, however briefly, poetry as an important feature of ʿĀlī's work.[43] He emphasises the sheer quantity of hundreds of poetical fragments of varying length, mostly in Turkish but some in Persian and Arabic, and their seamless insertion into the prose text. "*They illustrate, support or embellish the narrative or argument. […] If we left out the poetry, the narrative or argumentative thread of the prose would not be broken apart from a very limited number of cases in which essential information is contained in the verse, in most cases verses containing sentences spoken or thought by historical protagonists.*"[44]

Taking the aforementioned studies as a point of departure, I will examine the poetical inserts of a single chapter as basic narrative elements by applying narratological methods.[45] Narratological strategies of investigation may be applied to all kinds of texts, be they factual as in historiography or fictional as in a novel.[46]

40 For a summary of the whole content, see Schmidt, *Pure Water.* 283–348.

41 Schmidt, *Pure Water.* 276.

42 See Andreas Tietze, "Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's Prose Style." In *Archivum Ottomanicum* 5. (1973). 299.

43 See Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water.* 222–225.

44 See Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water.* 222f.

45 Beginning with Hayden White, narratology has progressively been applied since 1970s. See his *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1973). Of great impact on current narratological theories and methods is also the French literary theorist and pioneer of narratology Gérard Genette, see his *Narrative Discourse Revisited* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988). On narratology and its entaglements with history see Stephan Jaeger, "Erzähltheorie und Geschichtswissenschaft," In *Erzähltheorie, transgenerisch, intermedial, interdizsiplinär.* Eds. Vera Nünning, Ansgar Nünning (Trier: WVT, 2002). 237–263.

46 For a theoretical discussion of fact and fiction see Martínez, Matías and Scheffel, Michael, "Narratology and Theory of Fiction: Remarks on a Complex Relationship." In *What Is Narratology: Questions and Answers Regarding the Status of a Theory.* Eds. Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003). 221–38.

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From this perspective, I consider *Künhü'l-aḫbār* to be a combination of factual historical narrative and fictional poetical narrative. One question to be explored is whether the spillover of the poems into the factual introduces some level of fictionality in the latter.

To examine this issue, I identify first the function of fictionality and second the structural, affirmative, communicative, and exemplary functions of poetical inserts in a non-poetical text. A similar method, based on the framework provided by Gérard Genette, is applied by Hakan Özkan in his analysis of different types of functions in a treatise in classical Arabic, a work of *adab*-literature from the ʿAbbāsid period.[47] His investigation also includes a quantitative analysis of the text.[48]

Before approaching the analysis of the multiple functionalities, however, a structural analysis of the text is in order. The title of one chapter in Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's text, which deals with the reign of Sultan Selīm I (1512–1520), reads as follows: "Chapter on the reign of the Alexander of his age, the lord of the auspicious conjunction (*ṣāḥib ḳırān*), the Salomon-like Selīm, ruler of the realms, Sultan Selīm, the son of Bāyezīd Ḫān." In the absence of a critical edition and for the sake of convenience, I use the facsimile edition of the manuscript, kept today in the *Türk Tarih Kurumu*.[49] The chapter, comprised of 47 Ms. folios (Ms. TTK No. Y/546, 223b–270b), is structured as follows:

Caption and introductory statement
Major events in Selīm's reign (14)
Selīm's charitable works and the circumstances surrounding his demise
Biographies of dignitaries

47 See Hakan Özkan, "Du rôle de la poésie dans les récits du Kitāb al-faraǧ baʿd al-šidda d'al-Tanūḫī." In *Annales Islamologiques*. Vol. 40. (2006). 90–104. Özkan identifies 16 functions for poems within anecdotes, which are summarized in Hakan Özkan, *Narrativität im Kitāb al-Faraǧ baʿda š-šidda des Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin at-Tanūḫī*. (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz-Verlag 2008). 132–136.

48 See Özkan, " Du rôle de la poésie." 85–90.

49 Hereinafter: TTK. The manuscript bears the catalogue number Y/546; the facsimile edition was published by TTK as Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, Dördüncü Rükn: Osmanlı Tarihi, C.1. Tıpkıbasım (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2009). [hereinafter: Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr* (TTK)]. Among the many extant manuscripts, two in the Kayseri Raşid Efendi Library have been published in a typescript transcription into the Latin alphabet. I have consulted this edition occasionally: Gelibolulu Mustafa ʿÂlî Efendi, *Kitâbü't-Târîḫ-i Künhü'l-Aḫbâr*. Eds. Ahmet Uğur et.al., Kayseri 1997, Vol.1/1, according to manuscripts No. 901 and 920 in the Kayseri Raşid Efendi Library. For an overview of the history and distribution of manuscripts see Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water*. 363–415.

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I omit the last section not only due to its length (257b–270b) but because it represents a different genre within the chapter.[50] This leaves us with 33, five folios, or 66, five pages altogether.

The most striking visual and structural characteristic of this manuscript is the continuous and smooth flow of the text with its thirty-seven lines per page. All poetical lines are fully integrated into the horizontal stream without any specific framing device that would highlight them or setting them apart. In Celālzāde's work, in contrast, similar inserts are clearly separated from the prose text by a horizontal line and are then subdivided into a double-column structure. The TTK manuscript, however, does mark in red ink the titles of subchapters, pointers to events (*ḥādiṯe* or *vaḳʿa*), switches to poetical inserts (indicated mostly by *naẓm* or *li-münşihi*), and verse dividers in minuscule print. Occasionally the switch back to prose is also marked with the word "prose" (*nesr*) in red ink. The impression of visual homogeneity is further enhanced by the close surrounding of the textual field by a rectangular frame composed of two thin black lines filled with gold.

The table below enumerates the poetical inserts and specifies their distribution, lengths, and relative positions in the subchapters:

Subchapter	Number of poetical inserts	Position	Length (in Ms. pages)	Sum poetical lines
General introduction	12		10,5	74
Event 1	None		1,5 (lines)	0
Event 2	1	End	1	10
Event 3	11		16	19
Event 4	1		1,5	8
Event 5	1	End	1,5	4
Event 6	1	End	2	4
Event 7	None		2,5	0
Event 8	None		1,5	0
Event 9	2	Center	5	4
Event 10	7	1 Opening	8	16
Event 11	6	1 end	8,5	50
Event 12	None		11 (lines)	0
Event 13	None		10 (lines)	0

50 The omitted part is a kind of biographical dictionary for the reign of Selīm, listing 97 personalities including 19 poets along with choice quotations. Jan Schmidt notes that these biographical entries are a trove of socio-historical data for each period. See, Schmidt, *Pure Water*. 257. On the biographies of poets as a literary genre and a historical source, see Hatice Aynur, "Ottoman Literature." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey:* The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839. Vol. 3. Ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). 492–496.

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(Continued)

Subchapter	Number of poetical inserts	Position	Length (in Ms. pages)	Sum poetical lines
Event 14	None		13 (lines)	0
Conclusion	6		6	26
Total	49			215

The space allotted to the narration of individual events gives some idea of the narrative strategy and its characteristics. Thus, the longest subchapters (3 and 11) are indicative of the relative significance that the author attributes to the events that they recount: the Battle of Çaldıran (1514) against Ṣāh İsmāʿīl and the conquest of Syria and Egypt (1517).

The largest number of poetical inserts appears in the general introduction to the chapter, this being the common characteristic of openings in all literature of this type, at least in the sixteenth century, Interestingly, the description of the conquest of Arab lands (Event 11) contains the largest number of lines of poetry, which are gathered into six inserts, closely followed by Subchapter 3. However, the distribution of inserts across the subchapters follows no discernible pattern. Remarkably, six of the shorter events have no poetical lines at all.[51] An overview of the poetical inserts yields an overwhelming majority of Turkish verses of varying length, from one hemistich to twelve distichs, mostly with a very strong inflection of Persian in both grammar and lexicon (c. 170). In second place are inserts purely in Persian, restricted to hemistichs and single distichs (c. thirty-four). Only six inserts are in Arabic.

1. The Function of Fictionality

Fictionality is, of course, not limited to the inserted poems; it may affect other elements in the text as well. Here, I confine myself to poems. The examination of fictionality in the text is a challenging task because the author's claim to the factuality of his text is beyond doubt. The literary conventions of the time allowed and even expected poems to be inserted in factual texts thus, the reader would not categorize the text as non-factual.[52] On the other hand, the possibility that readers

51 It should be noted that the two introductory chapters of *Künhü'l-aḫbār* display a different literary style. This extends to the use of poetical inserts: according to Schmidt the introductions of the first and the fourth pillars contain 103 poems of different length and the general introduction 82. See *Pure Water*. 224.

52 The relationship between poetical inserts and the role of orality in the literary tradition is an aspect which has to be factored in, but is not considered here.

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would perceive elements of the narrated history as fictional cannot be excluded.[53] According to Sönke Finnern, the poetics that designate the linguistic-aesthetical character of a poetical work should be distinguished from fictionality as two different, mutually independent, but possibly entangled factors.[54]

Finnern proposes five levels of fictionality, ranging from the determination that almost all places, times, events, and persons are probable (as is the case in historiography) to the determination that none of them are real or possible (as in a fairy tale).[55] This quantitative scale of fictionality appears to be a useful tool in determining the effect of a poetical insert, particularly when the factual narrative frequently alternates with inserts that often allude to legendary symbols and historical figures. Based on Finnern's differentiation of factuality and fictionality, below I analyse a poem from the introductory section of *Künhü'l-aḫbār*.

"By the author
The lands of the Arabs and the Persians submitted to him / What talent this ruler displayed within eight years
Had his life-span doubled / This army would have conquered all of the earth
He would have wound the lasso of conquest around Mount Qaf[56] / The splendor of his sword would have stunned the race of djinn(s)
Within sixteen years Alexander of Rūm[57] made / The span of the whole earth his dominion
But that world-conqueror, master of the lands / His threshold was the refuge of the sultans of fleeting time
The tree of his rule sprouted late, but withered early / Oh, the shadow of God flew away without enveloping the planet"

"Li-münşihi
Musaḫḫar oldı aña mülket-i ʿArab u ʿAcem / Sekiz yıl içre bu deñlü[58] *hünerler ėtdi o Şāh*
Bir ol ḳadar olsa zamān-ı ʿömri eğer basiṭ-i / ʿArżı ḳılurdı tamama żabṭ sipāh
Atardı feṯḥ-i kemendini Ḳull-e Ḳāfa / Olurdı tiġı şuʿāʿīnda dīv u der gümrāh
On altı yılda ėdübdür Sikender-i Rūmi / Cemīʿ yer yüzini ʿaskerine cevelāngāh
Velī o şāḥ-ı memāliksitan-ı ʿālemgīr / Ḳapusın ėtdi selāṭīn-i rūzigāra penāh
Dıraḫt-ı devleti geç bitdi velī tīz yitdi / Cihānı ḳaplamadı gitdi ḥayf o ẓıllullāh"[59]

53 See Finnern, *Narratologie.* 73.
54 See Finnern, *Narratologie.* 73.
55 See Finnern, 71f. and 272f.
56 Mount Qaf (Persian *Ḳuh-e Ḳāf*) is the legendary mountain which supposedly surrounds the earth. See Kürşat Demirci, "Kafdağı." *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi.* Vol. 24. (2001). 144–145.
57 *Rūm:* "The Ottoman domains in Rumelia and Anatolia, particularly those areas that formed the core of the Empire before the conquests of Selīm I." Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual.* 328. In Ottoman it includes the inhabitants of these domains. See Casim Avcı, "Rum." *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 35. (2008). 225.
58 "bu deñlü" is repeated, obviously a copyist's error.
59 See Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbār* (TTK). 224b. Interestingly, the Kayseri MSS. mention an-

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Taking up the thread of factuality versus fictionality and attempting to identify the respective elements in this poem, I propose the following distribution: Factual persons are Arabs and Persians, Alexander of Rūm, the ruler "*ṣāh*", and the army "*sipāh.*" Factual objects (elements from the surrounding world) are army, earth, planets, land, sword, lasso, and tree. Factual periods of time are eight years (the reign of Selīm I) and sixteen years (that of Alexander). Fictional figures are the race of djinns, the world conqueror "*ʿālemgīr*," sultans of fleeting time in power "*selāṭīn-i rūzigāra penāh*," and the shadow of God "*ẓıllullāh.*" There is one fictional object, the Mount Kaf "*Ḳull-e Ḳāf*," and one fictional deed: throwing his lasso of conquest around the Mount Ḳaf.

However, as the last item demonstrates in an exemplary manner, factual items and actions are transposed from the level of the factual to that of the fictional, hence to a symbolic dimension, within a single expression. The deployment and interweaving of these elements, which create a larger-than-life effect, need to be examined in greater detail. Both Alexander and Selīm I, even though clearly historical (hence factual), are conjoined in mythical stature by their poetical expansion into the limitless territory that they control: the whole earth as Alexander's dominion, with Selīm I as a 'world-conqueror' his close second.

2. Structural functions

The structural functions of poetical inserts may be gauged by the distribution of poems across the text and their relative placement in it:

a) A poetical insert that concludes a subchapter dealing with an event: four instances

One example is the subchapter dealing with Event 5 – the campaign against ʿAlā'uddevle, ruler of the Ẕulḳadīriyye[60] – which concludes with this poem:

> "*By the author*
> *That Sultan of Rūm is the Alexander of his age / Whose splendor bends around every corner*
> *[They] learnt from him to succeed in the world / Only Cengīz and even Tīmur understood.*"

other distich before the last distich missing in our MS.: "*Sekiz yıl içre alurdı on altı yıl kamın / Ṣunaydı saḡar-ı āb-ı ḥayātı ana ilāh*": "Within eight years he would have attained the goals of these sixteen years / Had the Lord granted him the cup of the water of life" See Uğur et.al., *Gelibolulu.* 1053.

60 The Anatolian principality of Ẕulḳadīriyye existed between 1339 and 1521.

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"Li-münşihi
İskender-i zamānedir ol şehriyār-ı Rūm / Her kūşe ḳıldı ṭanṭanesi kūşeberd
Andan oñurdı gelmekle ṣaḥn-ı ʿaleme / Kendin yegāne añladı Cengīz ve eger Tīmur"[61]

b) A poetical insert that opens the subchapter onto the description of an event: one instance

The subchapter about Event 10 – the initial phase of the Egyptian campaign – which contains seven poems altogether, opens with an untitled poem:

"A hero always longs for war / He longs for dusty face and cold blood (= battle hardened)
He guards his perimeter like a point / And he longs for an adversary who is his equal"

"*Merd olan dem be-dem neberd ister / Rūy-ı pür gerd ü ḫūy-i serd ister*
bekleyüb noḳṭa gibi dāʾiresin / Kendü-yi ceng içinde ferd ister"

All other poetical inserts are placed in the middle of the text; hence, they affect neither the beginning nor the conclusion of the narration.

c) A poetical insert that ruptures the textual flow. Rupture is a useful narratological tool for establishing the setting of the plot. The function of rupture by poetical insert was mentioned by Schmidt, who believes that even though the narrative is interrupted, it can be followed as if the insert had not been there.[62] This may well be the case when the text is mined for facts and ignored as a text. It is problematic, however, when we detect within the rupture of the discursive flow elements of either prolepsis and analepsis, which refer either to things to come (prescience or prediction) or to past events and hindsight, respectively.

Both analepsis and prolepsis are invoked consistently in the textual flow of historiographical works[63] and analepsis is prominent within long poems that are incorporated into such works. In general, prolepsis makes the narrative more thrilling; thus, a closer investigation will yield interesting results. Taking the long poem cited above as an example, the reference to Alexander functions at first sight as analepsis but projects the glorious past into the future, hence serving a proleptic function: "Within sixteen years Alexander of Rūm made / The span of the whole earth his dominion."

61 See Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künhü'l-Ahbār* (TTK). 239a.
62 See Schmidt, *Pure Water*. 233.
63 For use of prolepsis and analepsis within the text of *Tārīḫ-i Naʿīmā*, See Şen, "Kompilation als Handwerk." 210f.

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3. Affirmative function

The affirmative function concerns statements that confirm and possibly elaborate on a narrative statement by the author.[64] In an example at the very beginning of this chapter, ʿĀlī notes that the reign and lifespan of Sultan Selīm I was very short. He then confirms this by inserting a quotation from a poem by the Grand Mufti Kemāl Paşazāde and a lengthy introduction of its author:

> "*In accordance, the grand mufti Kemāl Paşazāde Mevlānā Şemseddīn Aḥmed, may God shed the light of holy law*[65] *the spiritual guide of his coevals, Sultan of the legal scholars (ʿulemāʾ) in East and West (ḫāfiḳayn), with the honourable title of a Mufti of men and jinns (saḳaleyn) – may God enlighten him with the light of the Islamic doctrine*[66] *– has written in the book of conquests (fetḥnāme) of the aforesaid Sultan (pādişāh) in a stanza. In every way he demonstrates his regret, that his great favour had not been of long duration:*
> *He completed many deeds in his short life / His shadow became the conqueror of the world*
> *[224a] The splendor of his age was the sun of the century / Just as a shadow grows shorter, his own lifespan became shortened* "
>
> "*Az müddetde çok iş ėtmişdi / Sāyesi olmuşidi ʿālemgīr*
> *Şems-i ʿaşr idi ʿaşrda şemsiñ / Ẓıllī memdūd olur zamānı ḳaşīr*"

He also inserts a stanzaic poem (*tercīʿ-i bend*) in the form of an elegy (*merşiye*). Its opening distich (*serbend*) follows:

> "*Poetry*
> *Woe on Sultan Selīm, a hundred thousand times woe / May both the pen and the sword weep.*"[67]
>
> "*Naẓm*
> *Hayf Sulṭān Selīme yüzbiñ ḥayf / Hem ḳalem aġlasun āña hem seyf*"

By inserting two poems by another well-placed source, ʿĀlī not only corroborates his own factual information by citing an authoritative outside source, but he also establishes an emotional commonality between colleagues.[68]

64 I prefer to call affirmative what Özkan labels as witness-function: le poème comme šāhid or le poème-témoin, See Özkan, "Du rôle de la poésie." In *Annales Islamologiques.* Vol. 40. (2006). 92.

65 This is an Arabic insert: *Nawwar al-Allah muzjiʿahumā bi-anwār al-ghufrān.*

66 Arabic insert: *Nawwar al-Allah muzʿar bi-anwār al-shariʿa al-Muḥammad.*

67 See Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künhü'l-Aḥbâr* (TTK). 223b–224a.

68 Sultan Selīm I. died in 1520 at the age of fifty.

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4. Communicative function

In the subchapter dealing with Event 10 – the Egyptian campaign of 1517 – the letter that Sultan Ḳanṣuh Gavrī sends Selīm as he moves his troops from Egypt to Aleppo is answered by the following verse in lieu of a discursive letter:

> "*If this last letter is supposed to make an impression on us, / Then we opt for the language of the sharp sword.*"
>
> "*Meyān-ı mā ger ez in pes peyām ḫ*ᵛ*āhed būd / Peyām-ı mā be-zebān-ı ḥusām ḫ*ᵛ*āhed būd*"

Without another word, this single distich from Selīm I clearly expresses his message and succeeds eminently in communicating with his Mamluk adversary, hence it effectively serves the function of communication.[69]

5. Exemplary function

In the final part, dealing with Selīm I's demise, Alexander is summoned again as an example from the past that concurrently elevates Selīm I to the same legendary stature:

> "*By the author*
> *Why should the soldier not sigh endlessly? / Such a leader passed into the Hereafter;*
> *He was like an Alexander of his age, / With unique mind and action;*
> *Had this glorious man had a sufficient lifespan, / He could have become Lord of the auspicious conjunction;*
> *The great God may bless him, / And paradise may be his domicile.*"
>
> "*Li-münşihi*
> *Nice nālışlar ėtmesün leşker / Gitdi dünyādan öyle bir server*
> *Ṣanki İskender-i zamān idi / ʿAḳl u tedbīr ile yegāne idi*
> *Olsa bir ḳarna mālik ol ẕişān / Özge ṣāhib ḳırān olurdı ʿayān*
> *Haḳḳ-ı Teʿālī ġarīḳ-i rahmet ide / Cāygāhın ḥarīm-i cennet ide*"

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the relationship between poetry and historiography, delineated some functions of poetical inserts in a historiographical text, and explored several methodological possibilities for their investigation.

69 Özkan notes that poetry attains a key position in such moments in the narrative without which the story would collapse, see "Du rôle de la poésie." 96.

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An overview of poetry in Ottoman historiography is not within reach at the present. What is clear by now, however, is that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the insertion of poetical fragments was no simple ornament or hyperbole; instead, it reflected the intellectual concerns and literary dispositions of the Ottoman elite. It also allows insights into the order and hierarchy of knowledge of the period.

Despite these preliminary findings, a fundamental question remains to be explored in greater detail: Why did historiography, a genre that professes factuality, require the deployment of poetry in the first place? With this in mind, a host of other questions comes to mind. The most obvious are: Which criteria governed the selection of poets and poems? Then, were they part of a literary canon with which every well-educated reader could readily identify, or were they merely expressions of an author's individuality? While the characteristics of the poems (length, genre, meter, symbolism, etc.) have been studied, their place in real life and their social function deserve further inquiry; only then can their function within historiography be properly determined. Another dimension to be fruitfully explored is the study and analysis of the *inşā'* style, which, just like investigation of the oral tradition, is vital for understanding the role and use of poetry. Instead of submitting historiographical texts to the exclusive scrutiny of a department of literature or of history, they should be studied as embedded in a multi-layered context.

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Genres

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Hülya Çelik

The Connection Between Genre and Form in a Poem: The 16th Century Ottoman Elegy and the Stanzaic Poem

This article will investigate the connection between the elegy genre and the *terkīb-i bend* and – to a certain extent – the *tercī'-i bend*[1] forms of poetry; the focus will be on the conventions of 16th century Ottoman literature. This connection will be illustrated through three elegies which were written by three different Ottoman poets for one and the same person, namely Meḥemmed ʿAlemşāh (d. 916 AH / 1510), Sultan Bāyezīd II's (r. 1481–1512) son. Of these three poets Lāmiʿī (d. 938 AH / 1531–2) was one of the well-known poets and scholars of his time, while his contemporaries Revānī (d. 930 AH / 1523–4) and Keşfī (d. 945 AH / 1538–9) were among the less well-known. Prior to examining the form, content, and style of the above-mentioned elegies some information on ʿAlemşāh and his life will be provided.

Note: I owe Univ.-Doz. Dr. Edith Ambros a great debt of thanks for her suggestions and comments during the development of this article.

1 In addition to these terms, the forms *terkīb-bend* and *tercī'-bend* are also prevalent; see F. Thiesen, *EI²*. Vol. X. s.v. "Tardjī-Band and Tarkīb-Band." 236. Thiesen notes that the designation with an *iżāfet*, which is prevalent in Ottoman poetry, is an error. Ömer Faruk Akün is also of the opinion that the designation with an *iżâfet* is erroneous: "*Bu ikiz nazım şeklinin adlarının, birer vasf-ı terkîbî teşkil eden "terci'-hâne" ve "terkib-hâne" de olduğu gibi "terci'-bend, terkib-bend" şeklinde olması gerekirken bizim eserlerimizde sonraları onu vasf-ı terkîbîlikten çıkarıp birer izâfet terkibi kılığına sokan "tercî'-i bend" ve "terkîb-i bend" diye bir okunuşa girmiştir. Böylece gerçek okunuşları unutulup doğrunun yerine yanlış olan benimsenmiştir.*" See Ömer Faruk Akün, *Divan Edebiyatı.* (İstanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2013). 112. As the terms with the *iżâfet* pertaining to Ottoman poetry are much more common, I have decided to use the forms *terkīb-i bend* and *tercī'-i bend* in this article.

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The Connection between Genre and Form – The Elegy and the *Terkīb-i bend*

In the context of Ottoman *Dīvān* poetry the term elegy (*merṣiye*)[2] denotes a lyric poem which could be written in various forms of poetry composed with the intention of mourning the death of a person. To enable a better understanding of the hypotheses that will be posited later dealing with the connection between the elegy and the *terkīb-i bend* and *tercī-i bend*[3] forms of poetry, the formal characteristics of the two poetry forms in question shall be described. Concerning this subject Finn Thiesen states: "*The tarǰīʿ-band and the tarkīb-band can both be described as a stanzaic poem consisting of a series of short ḳaṣīdas separated (or perhaps rather connected) by a series of isolated verses which mark the end of each stanza. If one and the same verse is repeated after each stanza we have (in modern usage) a tarǰīʿ-band (or "return-tie" in the words of E.G. Browne, who also refers to the repeated verses as the "refrain"). If, however, each stanza is concluded with a new/different verse, we have a tarkīb-band (or "composite tie"). The isolated verses follow the mathnawī rhyme scheme. All parts of a tarǰīʿ or tarkīb-band must follow the same rhythm.*"[4] Thiesen's definition of the *terkīb-i bend* and *tercī-i bend* in Persian literature also applies in part to the forms used by the Ottoman poets. Thus, the possible rhyme schemes for the two 'classic' forms adopted from Persian poetry are as follows:

-) For the *terkīb-i bend:* aa xa xa xa … bb cc xc xc xc dd …
aa xa xa xa … aa bb xb xb xb aa …
-) For the *tercī-i bend:* aa xa xa xa … BB cc xc xc xc BB …

With reference to Ottoman poetry, İpekten also mentions the possibility that the verses in the *ḫāne* (the name for the stanza without the 'intermediary verse' – *vāsıṭa beyt*) can also rhyme among themselves, producing the following variations:

-) For the *terkīb-i bend:* aa aa aa aa … bb cc cc cc cc dd …
-) For the *tercī-i bend:* aa aa aa aa … BB cc cc cc cc BB …[5]

2 Since it is well known that there is a comprehensive study of elegies in Ottoman literature by Mustafa İsen, it does not seem necessary to examine the genre in undue depth here. See Mustafa İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye.* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1994)[2].

3 For a detailed analysis of these forms of poetry see Halil Erdoğan Cengiz: "Divan Şiirinde Musammatlar". *Türk Dili. Türk Şiiri Özel Sayısı II (Divan Şiiri).* Sayı: 415–417 (1986). 395–412.

4 See Thiesen, *EI*[2]. Vol. X. s.v. "Tarǰīʿ-Band and Tarkīb-Band." 235.

5 Haluk İpekten, *Eski Türk Edebiyatı Nazım Şekilleri ve Aruz.* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2008)[10]. 114 and 119; Cem Dilçin: *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi.* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2013)[10]. 233.

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It should be noted that there is another possibility for the rhyme scheme in the intermediary verse. As is the case, for example, in Lāmiʿī, it is possible to make the intermediary verse after the second stanza *xb* rather than *bb*.[6]

As Thiesen and İpekten indicate, there is no clear limit that can be set regarding the length of these forms of poetry. While İpekten specifies that the *terkīb-i bend* in Ottoman literature is generally between five and seven stanzas long,[7] Ömer Faruk Akün indicates that both forms of poetry "*allow the poet some options and freedoms in terms of the rhyme scheme of the stanzas, the number of verses, the rhyme scheme of the intermediary verse*" and that the possibility of modifying the rhyme in each stanza saves the poet from the stress of the 'monorhyme' of a *ḳaṣīde* and from the monotony which results from this.[8]

In reference to form it should also be noted that the number of verses in the various stanzas does not have to be the same, a fact which naturally lends the poet further freedom when composing these forms of poetry.[9]

It is well known that a connection does exist between the genre of the elegy and the *terkīb-i bend* (and to a certain extent the *tercīʿ-i bend*) form of poetry, a point which is made by Mustafa İsen and others.[10] İsen specifies that 80 of the 138 elegies he examined were composed in the *terkīb-i bend* form, representing a share of 57.97 %.[11] Additionally, 16 elegies are in the form of a *ḳaṣīde* (11.59 %) and 15 in the form of *tercīʿ-i bend* (10.86 %). The remaining elegies were written in the form of stanzaic poems with stanzas of four lines each (*murabbaʿ*, 11 / 7.97 %),

6 See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye*. 246–249.

7 See İpekten: *Eski Türk Edebiyatı Nazım Şekilleri ve Aruz*. 114.

8 See Akün, *Divan Edebiyatı*. 113: "*Bu ikiz şekil bendlerin (hâne) kafiye örgüsü, beyit sayısı, vâsıta beyitlerinin kafiyelenişi bakımından şaire bazı seçenek ve serbestlikler tanır. Terciʿ ve terkibde kafiye hususunda ikili bir imkân vardır. İstendiğinde ya gazeldeki gibi beyit esasına dayalı kafiye tertibiyle, yahut da musammatlarda olduğu üzere kıta nizamında olarak her mısraı kafiyeli tarzda yazılabilir. Öte yandan kafiyenin her bendde değişebilirliği, şairi uzun manzumesinde kasidenin tek kafiye sıkıntısından ve bunun getirdiği monotonluktan kurtarır.*"

9 See Akün, *Divan Edebiyatı*. 116: "*Terciʿ ve terkib için nazariyatta farklı farklı bend (hâne) ve bunlardaki beyit sayısı belirtilir, özellikle bu beyitlerin beşten aşağı ve ondan yukarı olamayacağı kaydedilirse de bendlerin ve onların içindeki beyit miktarını sınırlayan mutlak ve zorlayıcı bir kaide yoktur.*" Halil Erdoğan Cengiz notes that the assumption that all stanzas of a *terkīb-i bend* or *tercīʿ-i bend* must have the same number of verses is a widespread and major error; see Cengiz, "Divan Şiirinde Musammatlar". 407: "*Terkîb-i bendler ve tercî-i bendler konusundaki yaygın ve önemli bir yanılgı da bunların her bendindeki beyit sayısının mutlaka eşit olmasını gerektiren bir kuralın var olduğunun sanılmasıdır.*"

10 See M. Zeliha Stebler Çavuş, "Türk Edebiyatında Mersiyeler". *A. Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Sayı 38 (2008). 133: "*Mersiyeler, kaside, gazel, müseddes, muhammes, kıt'a, terkib-i bend, terci-i bend gibi nazım şekilleriyle yazılabilirse de en çok kullanılan terkib-i bend şeklidir.*"

11 See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye*. 13: "*Değerlendirmeye aldığımız 138 mersiyenin 80 tanesi bu türün en çok tercih edilen şekli olan terkib-bend tarzıyla yazılmıştır ki bunun yüzde olarak ifadesi % 57.97'dir.*"

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stanzaic poems with stanzas of six lines each (*müseddes*, 7 / 5.72 %), lyrical poetry (*ġazel*, 2 / 1 %), the form of poetry with the rhyme scheme xa xa … (*ḳıṭʿa*, 2 / 1 %), stanzaic poems with stanzas of ten lines each (*muʿaşşer*, 2 / 1 %), stanzaic poems with stanzas of five lines each (*muḫammes*, 2 / 1 %), stanzaic poems in which a verse is expanded with three further lines (*taḫmīs*, 2 / 1 %), stanzaic poems with stanzas of eight lines each (*müşemmen,* 1 / 1 %), and in the form of the epic poem with the rhyme scheme aa bb cc … (*meṣnevī*, 1 / 1 %).[12]

What could be the reasons that such a large number of elegies were written using the *terkīb-i bend* form? Since the elegies dealt with later on were composed in the 16th century and İsen asserts that the 16th century is the century in which the most elegies were composed,[13] the question arises as to which form of poetry it was that the elegies in this century were predominately composed in.[14] Examining the form of the 16th century elegies presented in İsen's work one obtains the following (provisional) result:

16th Century	*Terkīb-i bend*	*Tercī-i bend*	*Ḳaṣīde*	*Murabbaʿ*	*Muʿaşşer*	Hybrid form
Bāḳī	2					
Türābī		1				
Cinānī	7					
Ḥayretī	1		1			
Ḫayālī		1				
Ḫayālī[15]				1		
Ẕātī	4					
Ẕihnī	1					
Raḥmī	1					
Revānī	2					
Rūḥī	6					
Sāmī					1	
Selīmī				1		

12 See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye.* 13f. It should be noted that İsen also addresses the prevalence of elegies by century. However, he does not state in which century one or another form of poetry was 'more popular.' See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye.* 12.

13 See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye.* 9: "*Şair sayısındaki artışa paralel, bir gelenek olarak mersiyeye toplumun gösterdiği ilginin de sonucunda bu yüzyılda toplam 68 tane mersiye yazılmıştır ki bunun genel toplama oranı % 49.27'dir.*"

14 In explaining the *terkīb-i bend* form of poetry, Haluk İpekten indicates that it was predominately elegies that were written in this form and lists various poets between the 15th and 19th centuries who wrote their elegies in the *terkīb-i bend* form. All these poets are also to be found in İsen's work. See İpekten: *Eski Türk Edebiyatı Nazım Şekilleri ve Aruz.* 114f.

15 A certain Şeyḫ Aḥmed Efendi (d. 1570); See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye.* 86.

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(Continued)

16th Century	*Terkīb-i bend*	*Tercī-i bend*	*Ḳaṣīde*	*Murabbaʿ*	*Muʿaşşer*	Hybrid form
Şevḳī	1					
ʿĀlī	2					
ʿUbeydī	1					
ʿArşī	1					
ʿIşḳī	2					
ʿUşūlī	1					
ʿUlvī	5	2				
Fażlī	1			1		
Fünūnī	1					
Fevrī	2					
Ḳādirī						1[16]
Kemāl Paşazāde		1				
Lāmiʿī	2	1				
Mānī	1					
Maḥremī		1				
Müdāmī					1	
Muṣṭafā					1	
Muʿīnī	1					
Nisāyī				2		
Naẓmī	2					
Nevʿī	1	1	1			
Hüdāyī				1		
Yetīm	1					
Yaḥyā	3					
Anonymous				1		
73 elegies	**52**	**8**	**2**	**7**	**3**	**1**

The table shows that 52 of 73 elegies were composed in the *terkīb-i bend* form, a fact which allows us to draw the conclusion that there was a clear preference for this form of poetry. The table also shows that 25 out of 38 poets either wrote all of their elegies or some of their elegies using this form. The number of elegies composed either in the *terkīb-i bend* form or in another form could certainly be higher, since only those 16th century elegies which appear in İsen's work are

16 A hybrid form which, according to İsen, begins as a *müşemmen* and continues as a *murabbaʿ* (the first two stanzas have eight lines each and the remaining nine stanzas each have four lines); See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye*. 322–323.

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presented in the table. One example is the poet Keşfî, in whose *Dīvān* – which is not preserved in its entirety – a total of three elegies can be found.[17] One of these elegies, which is also dealt with in this article, was composed in the *tercīʿ-i bend* form. Keşfî wrote the remaining two elegies in the *terkīb-i bend* form, as did most of his contemporaries.[18]

Assuming that their predecessors served as role models for the 16th century Ottoman poets, it is worth casting an eye over the 15th century Ottoman poets and their 'preferences' in selecting a form of poetry to use when composing elegies:[19]

15th century	*Terkīb-i bend*	*Tercīʿ-i bend*	*Ḳaṣīde*	*Meşnevī*
Aḥmed Paşa	1			
Aḥmedī	1			
Ümmī Kemāl			2	
Caʿfer		1		
Cem			1	
Şeyḫī		2		
ʿAynī	1		1	
Firdevsī				1
Ḳıvāmī	1			
Mesīḥī	1			
Necātī	2			
15 elegies	**7**	**3**	**4**	**1**

Even though significantly fewer elegies have been preserved from this century, those elegies which are available demonstrate a clear preference for the *terkīb-i bend* form in comparison with the remaining forms of poetry. Six of the eleven poets composed their elegies in the *terkīb-i bend* form.

Returning to the roots of the traditions that influenced Ottoman lyric poetry in its initial period, namely Arabic and Persian literary traditions, one finds the following information:[20] "*Unlike the classical Greek elegy, Persian poems of*

17 The only manuscript of Keşfî's *Dīvān* is incomplete and is the private property of Professor İsmail E. Erünsal, to whom I owe my sincere thanks as he made a large part of the manuscript (excluding *hicviyyāt* and *ġazeliyyāt*) available to me for my dissertation. The title of my dissertation is *Lobgedichte und andere Gedichte des osmanischen Dichters Keşfî (m. 1538–9): Versuch der Bestimmung eines 'unpopulären' Stils.* (Wien: Universität Wien, 2016).

18 One of these elegies comprises three stanzas of six verses each and was composed on the occasion of the death of a woman who is not mentioned by name. The second elegy comprises five stanzas of ten verses each and deals with the death of two people, Süleymān Beg and Muṣṭafā, who – on the basis of the references in the poem – may have been related to a Dāvūd Paşa.

19 Likewise in this table the poets who appear in İsen's work have been used to provide a basis.

20 İsen indicates in his work that the majority of the elegies in Persian literature "after a certain

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mourning were not bound to specific prosodic rules but could be written in any type of verse. The qaṣīda was the obvious medium for a courtly elegy. Masʿūd-e Saʿd [d. 515 c. AH / 1121–2] was perhaps the first to use the tarkīb-band in a poem on the death of one of his sons […]. *Many later poets (e. g., Ḵāqānī, Kamāl-al-Dīn Esmāʿīl, Saʿdī, Jāmī) adopted the latter form not only for private purposes, but also for poems devoted to public figures. The stanzaic form became the standard in Shiʿite elegies."*[21] Masʿūd-i Saʿd, who was described by J. T. P. de Bruijn as the first poet who used the *terkīb-i bend* form for composing elegies, was an eminent 11th/12th century Persian poet.[22] By contrast, according to Charles Pellat, in Arabic poetry it was the *ḳaṣīde* which was used for composing elegies.[23]

It can be assumed that the preference which developed in Persian poetry for the use of the *terkīb-i bend* form for composing elegies was first adopted by the 15th century Ottoman poets and was then further cultivated in the following century.

By examining the formal characteristics of a *terkīb-i bend* more closely, one is able to put forward some suppositions as to why this form of poetry was so preferred by Ottoman poets in the 16th century. Cem Dilçin has the following to say regarding the *tercīʿ-i bend* which he compares with the *terkīb-i bend:* "In terms of form and rhyme it is similar to the *terkīb-i bend.* It is only that the intermediary verses that link the stanzas to each other recur at the end of every stanza in the *tercīʿ-i bend.* In a poem of 10 to 12 stanzas of each with up to 10 verses, all the stanzas must, in terms of meaning, have something to do with this [recurring] verse in order for them to be able to be linked with one particular verse in this way. The fact that the intermediary verse is repeated at the end of every stanza imparts a monotony to the poem and brings about difficulties in creating a cohesive meaning."[24] Dilçin concurrently indicates that elegies were 'usually' composed in the *terkīb-i bend* form.[25] Dilçin's statement offers a possible indication of why the *terkīb-i bend* and *not* the *tercīʿi-i bend* or another form of poetry was preferred for the composition of an elegy. Thus, with a *terkīb-i*

point in time" were written in the *terkīb-i bend* and *tercīʿ-i bend* form; See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye.* 8: "*Ama mersiye İran edebiyatında belli bir tarihten sonra büyük çoğunluk Terkîb-bend ve Tercîʿ-bend nazım şekliyle yazılmaya başlanmış ve adeta artık mersiyenin ruhuna en uygun nazım şekilleri olarak bunlar kabullenilmiştir.*"

21 See J. T. P. de Bruijn: *Encyclopaedia Iranica.* Vol. VIII. s. v. "Elegy." 355.

22 See. J. W. Clinton: *EI²*. Vol. VI. s. v. "Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān." 783.

23 See Ch. Pellat: *EI²*. Vol. VI. s. v. "Marthiya." (1. In Arabic literature). 605.

24 See Cem Dilçin, *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi.* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2013)[10]. 250: "*Biçim ve uyak yönünden terkîb-i bende benzer. Yalnız, tercîʿ-i bendde, bentleri birbirine bağlayan vasıta beyitleri her bendin sonunda yinelenir. Her biri 10 beyte yakın, 10–12 bentlik bir şiirde bütün bentlerin böyle tek beyte bağlanabilmesi için, anlam yönünden hepsinin bu beyitle ilgili olması gerekir. Vasıta beytinin her bendin sonunda yinelenmesi şiire bir tekdüzelik verdiği gibi anlam ilgisi kurma bakımından da güçlük doğurur.*"

25 See Dilçin, *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi.* 233.

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bend, the poet can – through the 'seclusion' of a stanza by means of the changing *vāsıṭa beyt* – prevent himself from lapsing into 'monotony,' an issue which could more easily befall him with a *tercī-i bend.* Akün also indicates that the composition of a *tercī-i bend* is more difficult due to the recurring verse at the end of every stanza and that, by contrast, the poet feels 'freer' when composing a *terkīb-i bend.*[26] Moreover, Akün emphasises that in the verse forms *terkīb-i bend* and *tercī-i bend,* the verses are not in the uniform sequence of the *ḳaṣīde*, but rather the poem is lent a 'movement' by the intermediary verse and these verse forms therefore possess their own integrity and efficiency.[27]

It seems plausible to identify multiple reasons for the preference on the part of the 16th century Ottoman poets for the *terkīb-i bend* form when composing elegies: on the one hand, one can explain the preference through 'adoption' and the influence of Persian literary traditions on Ottoman literature, especially in its initial period. On the other hand, this preference will also have been down to 'practical' reasons for each poet. Thus the preference may be explained by the fact that it is a form of poetry which – in contrast to other forms of poetry – permits the poet certain freedoms and additionally guarantees that while remaining with 'one' theme (namely grief in general) he does not lapse into the potential 'monotony' induced by the 'uniformity' of a *ḳaṣīde.*

Prince ʿAlemşāh

Secondary sources give varying dates for ʿAlemşāh's lifetime. Thus, one finds information that ʿAlemşāh was born in the year 1467 (871 AH) and died in 1510 (916 AH).[28] Çağatay Uluçay specifies that ʿAlemşāh was born in the year "1466 (871)" in Amasya.[29] The date of his death is given as 1503 in some sources,

26 See Akün, *Divan Edebiyatı.* 115: "*Terci'-bend, bütün bendleri, her birinde söylenenin vâsıta beytinde tekrarlanan ana fikre çıkacak ve anlatılanı periyodik aralıklara çıkış nokatsındaki düşünceye bağlayacak surette tanzimini gerektirdiğinden terkib-bende nazaran daha güçtür. Terkiblerde vâsıta, bütün bendlerin daima kendisine yönelik olmasını gerektiren bir mihver olmaktan çıktığı ve her bendde değişebildiği için şair bu nazım şeklini kullanırken kendini daha serbest hisseder.*"

27 See Akün, *Divan Edebiyatı.* 114: "*Kasidede beyitlerin tek düze bir sıralanışından ibaret kalırken terci' ve terkibde manzumeye bir hareketlilik getiren, onu bendlere dağıtıp sonra kendi üzerlerinde toplayan vâsıta beyitlerinin kompozisyonca sağladığı ayrı bir bütünlük ve tesirlilik vardır.*"

28 For example see A. D. Alderson: *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty.* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956). Table XXVIII; M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları.* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VII. Dizi – Sa. 63). (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1980). 23.

29 See M. Çağatay Uluçay, "Bayezid II. nin âilesi". *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi.* Vol. X. Nr. 14. (Eylül: 1959). 111.

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presumably based on a statement made by Luṭfī Paşa (d. 970 AH / 1562–3)[30] in his *Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOşmān.*[31] Even though it is not possible to determine the date of death with certainty, one can definitely say that ʿAlemşāh died relatively young.

ʿAlemşāh was a son of Sultan Bāyezīd II from his marriage to Gülruḫ Ḫātūn who, in turn, is only listed in the sources as the daughter of ʿAbdülḥayy[32]. She was also the mother of at least one biological sister to ʿAlemşāh, namely Ḳamer Sultan.[33] ʿAlemşāh was appointed governor of Menteşe (*vālī*) in c.1481 and of Manisa (Saruhan) from 1507 to 1510.[34] It is also known that ʿAlemşāh had a son named ʿOşmān who lived in the palace with his grandfather Bāyezīd II[35] in accordance with the rules of the Ottoman Empire and later became *vālī* of Çankırı.[36] According to laws established during the reign of Sultan Meḥmed II (r. 1451–1481), ʿOşmān was executed together with the sons of the Sultan in the year 1512 when Sultan Selīm (r. 1512–1520) acceded to the throne.[37] Sources indicate two other children: one daughter named ʿAyşe Sultan and another named Fāṭima Sultan.[38]

Information about ʿAlemşāh's private life has been obtained through a letter written by his mother, Gülruḫ, to Sultan Bāyezīd. This letter can be found in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (E. 5499).[39] Uluçay, who has dealt with this letter in

30 See *EI*[2]. Vol. 5. s.v. "Luṭfī Pasha." 838.

31 For example see Feridun M. Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazâsı.* (Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. XIV. Dizi – Sa. 6). (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989). 30; Uluçay: "Bayezid II. nin âilesi". 111.

32 Uluçay: *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları.* 23.

33 Uluçay: *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları.* 28: "*Kamer Sultan: II. Bayezid'in Gülruh Kadın'dan doğan kızıdır. Bursa Sicillerinde adı Kamerşah şeklinde yazılmaktadır. Bursa'da Gülruh Sultan Türbesinde gömülüdür. Üzerine konan levhada ölüm tarihi yazılı değildir. Davud Paşa oğlu Mustafa Bey ile evliydi. Alemşah'ın kardeşidir. II. Bayezid 1491 yılında Malkara'nın Sırt Köyünü temlik etmişti.*"

34 See Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty.* 23. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı also cites 1507 (913 AH) as the beginning of his time as governor of Manisa; see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı.* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından VIII. Seri – No. 15). (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1945). 119.

35 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı.* 127: "*Çelebi sultan yani sancak beği olan şehzâdelerin erkek çocuklarından bir tanesinin pâdişah olan büyük babalarının yanına gönderilmeleri usuldendi; bunun bir kanun halinde devam edip etmediğini bilmiyoruz; yalnız böyle bir kaide bulunduğunu Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in yanında bulunan Bayezid'in oğlu şehzâde Korkut ve Cem'in oğlu Oğuz han'dan ve bir de İkinci Bayezid'in hükümdarlığı zamanında da Osmanlı sarayında bulunan Alemşah'ın oğlu Osman Şah'ın mevcudiyetlerinden anlıyoruz.*"

36 See Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı.* 119.

37 See İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi II. Cilt: İstanbul'un Fethinden Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Ölümüne Kadar.* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından XIII. Seri – No. 16[2]). (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949). 244. ʿOşmān's exact date of execution is given as 16. 12. 1512; see Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty.* Table XXVIII.

38 See Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları.* 25n, 26n.

39 See M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem'den Mektuplar.* (İstanbul: Vakit Matbaası, 1956). 40.

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detail over the course of several papers and articles, explains that it sheds light on the early death, character, and life of Prince ʿAlemşāh.[40] Before Gülruḫ wrote this letter, she had been personally commissioned by Bāyezīd to go to Manisa and attend to her son ʿAlemşāh,[41] as Bāyezīd had discovered that he was leading an eccentric lifestyle full of amusement and alcohol.[42] In her letter to Sultan Bāyezīd, Gülruḫ explains that the blame for this lifestyle lies with the people her son is surrounded by: his tutor (*lālā*), his doctor, his master of the stirrup holders (*rikābdār başı*), his chief of the Imperial Larder (*kilārcı/kilerci başı*), his master of mercenaries (*ʿulūfeci başı*) and the commander of the older cavalrymen (*eski sipāhī oġlanları aġası*). Following detailed explanations as to how these people mentioned above encourage her son, ʿAlemşāh, to commit 'bad' deeds, Gülruḫ requests that suitable 'pious' Muslims be sent to him in order to influence him positively.[43] Leslie P. Peirce makes the following remarks concerning this letter: "*Mothers of princes were responsible for the proper behavior of their sons in their provincial posts. The potential difficulties of this task are vividly illustrated in a letter to Bāyezīd II from Gülruh Khatun, one of his concubines and mother of the prince ʿAlemşah. In the letter she responds to the sultan's instruction that she look to the conduct – obviously unsatisfactory – of her son.*"[44] Peirce and Uluçay also draw attention to Gülruḫ's statement that her son is very ill, and due to his months of alcohol consumption, is only getting better very slowly, an aspect that both authors connect with the prince's early death.

In addition to the information given above, it is also known that, at the very least, the poet Çākerī (d. 900 AH / 1494–5) dedicated one of his works, his *Yūsuf u Züleyḫā* to Prince ʿAlemşāh, a fact which could suggest an acquaintanceship.[45] It is interesting to note that ʿAlemşāh obviously did not have any dealings with contemporary poets beyond that. At least, no information concerning this could be found in the biographies of the poets (*teẕkire*s). Unlike his better-known brother Ḳorḳud (d. 874 AH / 1513),[46] ʿAlemşāh does not seem to have concerned himself with the literary and cultural life in Manisa, the town where he was

40 See Uluçay, "Bayezid II. nin âilesi". 111.

41 See Uluçay, *Harem'den Mektuplar*. 36: "*emr-i padişahi ile gurbete müteveccih olıcak benüm saadetlû sultanım Allah-ü-taalâ emir ve Resul-i şer'i üzre oğlumu zapteyleyesin deyu buyurmuşdu*".

42 See Uluçay, "Bayezid II. nin âilesi". 111.

43 For the entire letter in the latin alphabet but not transcribed: Uluçay, *Harem'den Mektuplar*. 36–40.

44 See Leslie P. Peirce: *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). 48.

45 See http://www.turkedebiyatiisimlersozlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=detay&detay=258 (written by Hatice Aynur).

46 For Manisa as a literary and cultural centre and the role of Şehzāde Ḳorḳud see Halûk İpekten, *Divan Edebiyatında Edebî Muhitler*. (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1996). 181–185.

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governor. Nonetheless, Keşfî, Lāmiʿī, and Revānī composed elegies following his death.

Three Elegies for ʿAlemşāh

As regards form, it should be noted that Keşfî's poem is a *tercīʿ-i bend* while Lāmiʿī's and Revānī's poems are *terkīb-i bend*.[47] Strikingly, in accordance with Dilçin's and Akün's statements, the intermediary verses in Keşfî's *tercīʿ-i bend* appear temporarily 'unconnected' so that 'fractures' arise at these points. When viewing his poem as a whole, this can be regarded as a deficiency, which the elegies by Revānī and Lāmiʿī do not have simply because of their choice of form.

All three poems were composed in the *mużāriʿ* metre (*mefʿūlü-fāʿilātü-mefāʿīlü-fāʿilün*).[48] The following table shows both a comparison of the forms and the summarized content of the three poems:[49]

	Keşfî *tercīʿ-i bend:* 5 Stanzas	Revānī *terkīb-i bend:* 5 Stanzas	Lāmiʿī *terkīb-i bend:* 7 Stanzas
1st stanza	12 verses: v. 1–6: Transience v. 7: Description and praise v. 8: Fate v. 9: Grief v. 10: Description and praise v. 11: Grief v. 12: Lament	8 verses: v. 1–7: Transience v. 8: Lament	8 verses: Transience

47 As previously mentioned above, Keşfî's elegy is part of his incomplete *Dīvān* and is found on fol. 55v–57v of the manuscript. For the sake of consistency the transcriptions of all three poems were standardized. See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye*. 246–249 (Lāmiʿī's poem) and 250–252 (Revānī's poem); additionally the Viennese manuscript of Lāmiʿī's *Dīvān* was consulted; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken: Cod. Mxt. 427 Han (*Dīvān-ı Lāmiʿī*), fol. 115v–117r [Onlineressource: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00616270].

48 As Akün indicates, the tradition of writing elegies in this metre held sway in Ottoman *Dīvān* literature. See Akün, *Divan Edebiyatı*. 118f.: "[…] *Bâkî'nin, arkasında Muhteşem-i Kâşânî'nin mersiyesi bulunan Kanûnî Süleyman mersiyesi de Fuzûlî ile birlikte kendinden önceki mersiyelerden devraldığı "mefʿûlü fâilâtü mefâîlü fâilün" veznini bu nazım nevi için âdeta gelenekleştirmiştir.*"

49 İsen divides the subjects that occur in the elegies in the following way: Transience, praise of the deceased person and grief over their death, lament, prayers and wishes. See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye*. 22.

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(Continued)

	Keşfī *tercīʿ-i bend:* 5 Stanzas	Revānī *terkīb-i bend:* 5 Stanzas	Lāmiʿī *terkīb-i bend:* 7 Stanzas
2nd stanza	10 verses: v. 1–5: Grief v. 6: Lament v. 7–9: Grief v. 10: Lament	8 verses: Grief	8 verses: v. 1–4: Grief v. 5–8: Transience
3rd stanza	10 verses: Mix of grief and lament v. 10: Lament	8 verses: Grief v. 8: Lament	8 verses: Grief v. 8: Transience
4th stanza	10 verses: v. 1+4–9: Grief v. 2: Transience v. 3+10: Lament	7 verses: Grief v. 7: Lament	8 verses: Grief and lament v. 8: Praise and grief
5th stanza	10 verses: v. 1: Grief v. 2–8: Prayer v. 9–10: Lament	8 verses: v. 1–7: Prayer v. 8: Transience	9 verses: Grief and lament v. 9: Praise
6th stanza			8 verses: Grief (emotional)
7th stanza			8 verses: Prayer

It is striking that Revānī's and Lāmiʿī's poems have certain similarities regarding the rhyme. Thus, in both poems the verses of the first stanza end with *imiş* (Revānī: *-āyimiş*, Lāmiʿī: *-ān imiş*), and the verses of the last stanzas end with *ola* (Revānī: 5th stanza – *-ām ola*; Lāmiʿī: 7th stanza – *-āl ola*).

Linguistic and Stylistic Comparison

Regarding language it should be mentioned that the use of idiomatic expressions concerning grief, pain, and agony is frequent in all three poems. In Revānī's case, at least 19 such idiomatic expressions have been counted, with 39 in Lāmiʿī's case and 18 in Keşfī's.[50] Moreover, it should be noted that Revānī's elegy – as will

50 Examples for idiomatic expressions which occur are *dili yanmaḳ* (to burn the heart; Lāmiʿī), *dilini yaḳmaḳ* (to set one's heart alight; Keşfī), *mātem ṭutmaḳ* (to mourn; Revānī and Keşfī), *ḳan aġlamaḳ* (lit.: "to weep blood"; to weep bitterly; Revānī and Keşfī), *şaç(lar)ını yolmaḳ* (to tear one's hair out; Lāmiʿī and Revānī), *sīnesini dögmek* (to beat one's breast; Lāmiʿī and Keşfī), *sükker gibi erimek* (to melt like sugar; Lāmiʿī), *tācını şuya atmaḳ* (lit.: "to throw one's crown in the water", as expression of impotence; Revānī), *yère külāh çalmaḳ* (lit.: "to throw

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become evident in the example given below – has been composed using a simpler mode of expression than those by Lāmiʿī and Keşfī.

As regards style, it should be noted that the stylistic device of the *tecāhül-iʿārif* (*docta ignorantia*) occurs frequently. In Revānī's poem, for example, it is found in every verse of the second stanza except the intermediary verse. Fittingly for this stylistic device, Revānī uses questions such as "wherefore," "why," or "for what reason."

"Ne içün yüzini yėrlere urur ki āftāb
Yā ḳara yaşlu gibi ne içün yaş döker seḥāb

Gök cāmesini māh ne içün egnine alur
Yā aḳ ridāsını niye atar yėre şihāb

Ne olmış ki pāre pāre ėder gendözini ḫaṭ
Ḳana neden boyadı yüzin ṣafḥa-i kitāb

Bāʿiş ne ḫayret ile ṣalar serv başını
Mūcib nedür ki ṣuya atar tācını ḫabāb

Ḥikmet nedür ki bülbül ėder dāyimā fiġān
Bu nice sır-durur ki geyer ḳaralar ġurāb

Muṭrib eliyle çeng niye ṣaçını yolar
Def gögsini dögüp ne içün iñiler rebāb

Dīvāne-veş bu ḫalḳ nice döginüp yürür
Ne içün fiġān u zārī ḳılurlar ya şeyḫ ü şāb

Şeb aldı egnine yine ḳara libāsını
Şehzādenüñ meger ṭutar ol daḫı yasını"

"Why does the sky strike its face on the ground?
And wherefore do the clouds shed tears like someone who is deep in mourning?

Wherefore does the moon throw its dark blue dress over its shoulder?
And why does the shooting star throw its white wrap to the floor?

What has happened, that the calligraphy cleaves into pieces?
Wherefore has the page coloured its face bloody?

What is the reason that the cypress shakes its head in perplexity?
Wherefore do the bubbles throw their crowns into the water?

What is the reason that the nightingale continually laments?
What is this secret that the crow dresses in black?[51]

the cap on the ground"; Keşfī), *yüregi delinmek* (to pierce the heart; Keşfī), *yüzini yėrlere vurmaḳ* (to strike one's face on the floor; Revānī), *yüzini yırtmaḳ* (to claw at one's face; Keşfī).

51 In addition to the *docta ignorantia,* the rhetorical figure of the *ḥüsn-i taʿlīl* (etiology) is also to be noted here. Revānī suggests the "blackness" of the crow is indirectly due to the fact that it has dressed itself in black/dark clothing because it is mourning the passing of ʿAlemşāh.

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Why does the harp tear out its hair by the hand of the musician?
Why does the tambourine strike its breast and why does the lute groan?

How does this nation strike itself and walk around madly?
Why do old and young lament and wail?

The night has once again donned its dark dress,
It appears that it, too, mourns the Sultan's son."

A further stylistic element which can be observed in the case of all three poets is the use of the so-called "*ḳanı*" ("where?") verses. The following examples come from Keşfî's and Lāmiʿî's poems:

In the first stanza of his elegy which, as noted above, predominately has transience as its subject, in verses 3 to 6 Keşfî writes the following:

"Ḳanı nebīler ü ḳanı yā ceyş-i mürselīn
Ḳanı Muḥammed-i ʿArabī şāh-ı enbiyā

Bū Bekr ü yā ʿÖmer ḳanı ʿOşmān u yā ʿAlī
Ḳanı Ḥasan Ḥüseyn-ile evlād-ı Murtażā

Ḳanı Key ü Ḳubād u Ferīdūn u Erdeşīr
Kim her birisi gitd[i] adı old[ı] mā-mażā

Ḳanı şehān ki ʿāleme ḥükm ėtdiler temām
ʿAcz-ile riḥlet eylediler zār u bī-nevā"

"Where are the prophets and where is the army of the messengers?
Where is Muḥammed from Arabia, the sovereign of the prophets?

Where is Ebū Bekr or ʿÖmer? Where are ʿOşmān and ʿAlī?
Where are Ḥasan, Ḥüseyn and the descendants of the Murtażā?

Where are Key and Ḳubād and Ferīdūn and Erdeşīr?
For every one of them is gone and their names have [also] passed on.

Where are the sovereigns who ruled over the world as a whole?
They have died through incapacity, lamenting and helpless."

In contrast to Keşfî, Lāmiʿî uses the *ḳanı*-verses as an intermediary verse in every stanza of his elegy except in the fifth. Thus, the intermediary verses of the first three stanzas read as follows:

"*Ol şeh ḳanı ki sāyesi gerdūn-penāh idi*
Baḫtı dıraḫtı ʿāleme ḫoş tekyegāh idi"(1st stanza)
"Where is that sovereign whose shadow was the refuge of heaven,
Whose tree of fortune was a pleasant place of repose for the people?"

"*Ḳanı şu verd-i tāze ki ānı bāġbān-ı dehr*
Ḫūn-ı cigerle besler idi sāl u māh idi" (2nd stanza)

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"Where is this freshly blossomed rose which the gardener of time
Continually fed with the heart's blood?"

"*Ḳanı o mihr-ṭalʿat u meh-menzilet k'anuñ*
Mirʾāt-ı rūyı maṭlaʿ-ı nūr-ı ilāh idi" (3rd stanza)
"Where is that apparition of the sun and that of the rank of the moon, whose
Mirror was the dayspring of God's light?"

Thematically speaking, all three poets portray the whole world, including the world of nature, as in mourning due to the death of ʿAlemşāh. The verses by Revānī which were quoted to show the use of the stylistic device *docta ignorantia* can also be seen as belonging to this kind of mourning verse. Likewise in the second stanza of his elegy, Lāmiʿī concentrates on different kinds of flowers which are in mourning because of ʿAlemşāh's death. Above all, he uses the rhetoric device of the *ḥüsn-i taʿlīl* (etiology), also interspersing verses which are intended as reminders of the transience of life:[52]

"*Bu derd ḳana boyadı ruḫsārını gülüñ*
Bu ġamdan ėrdi göklere feryādı bülbülüñ

Burdı bu ġuṣṣa boynını miskīn benefşenüñ
Yoldı bu derd ṣaçların āşüfte sünbülüñ

Yandurdı baġrını bu belā nārı lālenüñ
Dāġ urdı sīnesine bu miḥnet ḳaranfilüñ

Bu bezmden götürdi çün ol şeh-süvār ayāġ
Ḥayret elinde ḳaldı ʿinānı taḥammülüñ

Olma cemāl ü ḥüsnüñe maġrūr ey bahār
Bir gün ḫazān ėrüp bozısardur tecemmülüñ

Arduñcadur hemīşe ecel şāhbāzı çün
Ey kebk ḳahḳahayla nedür bu teġāfülüñ

Ey gülşen-i ṣafāda müselsel aḳan Furāt
Āḫir bu devr içinde kesilür teselsülüñ"

"This suffering has coloured the cheeks of the rose bloody.
Through this grief the laments of the nightingale have reached heaven.

52 Since not all the stanzas of the three poems dealt with here could be given in transcription and translation, it should be noted that Lāmiʿī also has nature – and especially the heavenly bodies – mourn the death of ʿAlemşāh in the following third stanza of his elegy. Thus, for example, the wheel of the world's back stoops and it burns together with the sun; Saturn throws its crown to the ground and puts on a gown of mourning; Jupiter disrupts its market; the ground shakes, the seas mourn, the world laments; lightning suspires and the clouds weep. See İsen, *Acıyı Bal Eylemek: Türk Edebiyatında Mersiye*. 247: Verses 1–4 of the third stanza.

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This grief has bent the neck of the woeful violet.
This suffering plucked the hair of the sorrowful hyacinth.[53]

This disastrous fire has set the heart of the tulip alight.
This calamity has branded the breast of the carnation.

For that glorious rider has taken away the cup from this feast,[54]
The reins of endurance are left in the hand of perplexity.

Oh spring! Do not flatter yourself concerning your beauty and grace!
One day it will be autumn [and this] will destroy your magnificence.[55]

The hawk of death is always in pursuit of you!
Therefore, oh grey partridge, wherefore this laughter and this carelessness?

Oh Euphrates, you who flow uninterrupted into the rose garden of clarity!
At the end your ceaseless flow in this world will be interrupted."[56]

Finally, the sixth stanza of Lāmiʿī's elegy should be cited here since this includes the only verses which are very emotional and they also reference both the individual and the family of the deceased:

"Deryālar acısun o dür içün ber aġlasun
Tāc u ḳabā vu taḫt u kemer yekser aġlasun

Göz yaşı-yıla bu odı teskīn içün bir az
Ol ḳurretü l-ʿuyūn o şeh-i kişver aġlasun

Bir yādgārı idi nüh atanuñ ol püser
Bir daḫı yoḳdur aġlar ise māder aġlasun

Dürdānesi bu miḥnet ile oldı çün yetīm
Derdi ile baġrını delüp ol gevher aġlasun

Çullar geyüp efendilerinüñ āhından āh
Dīvān-ı şāha cemʿ oluban ḳullar aġlasun

Ḳaddini çeng ėdüp ṭaġıdup dehre şaçların
Çalsun özini yėrlere ḫunyāger aġlasun

53 The hyacinths also tear out their hair in Keşfī's poem; 2nd stanza, 3rd verse: *Sünbül yolub muṣībet eli-yile ṣaçların / Yırtar yüzüni nāḫun-ı ḫār-ıla gülsitan.* "*The hyacinth tears out its hair with the hand of misfortune. The rose garden claws at its face with the fingernails of thorns.*"

54 Another possible way of reading this would be: *ayaġ götürmek*. Translation: "*Since that glorious rider has left this feast…*"

55 In this verse and in the last verse the stylistic device of *iştiḳāḳ* (derivation) can be seen, as Lāmiʿī initially uses *cemāl* (beauty) and *tecemmül* (magnificience) together and then later *müselsel* (incessant, unbroken) and *teselsül* (chain, catenation).

56 Literal translation: "your chain will be cut off."

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Añduḳça bezmi gülşenini lāleveş müdām
Ḫūn-āb-ı ġamla baġrı ṭolup ṣāġar aġlasun

Ḳanı o bezm-i tāze ki meclisde gül yüzi
Ḫalḳa hezār luṭf ile ḫoş ʿöẕr-ḫᵛâh idi"

"The seas should mourn that pearl, the countries should weep for that one,
The crown, the cloak, the throne, the belt; they should all weep together.[57]

In order to dampen this fire a little with his tears,
This feast for the eyes, the ruler of countries should weep.

This son was the gift of the nine ancestors;[58]
There is no one else; if anyone weeps, then the mother should weep.[59]

For his pearl through this suffering has become an orphan;
This jewel should pierce its heart with its grief and weep.

Alack, the servants should put on rags with the suffering of their master,
Should gather in the council of the sovereign and weep.

The figure of the singer should contort, he should strew his hair about,
Throw himself to the floor and weep.

As often as the cup like the tulip abidingly thinks of the garden of its revelry,
Should its heart be filled with the bloody water of grief and it should weep.[60]

Where is that refreshing feast in whose assembly his rose face
With a thousand graces was a pleasant advocate for the people?"[61]

Conclusion

This article has aimed to demonstrate that a strong link existed in 16th century Ottoman poetry between the *terkīb-i bend* form of poetry and the elegy genre. The obvious preference for the *terkīb-i bend* for the composition of elegies can,

57 In this verse Lāmiʿī makes all the subjects which occur (sea, land, crown, cloak, throne, and belt) appear as people and in so doing uses the rhetorical device of *teşḫīṣ* (personification, anthropomorphism).

58 By "nine ancestors/fathers" Bāyezīd II and the eight Ottoman rulers before him are meant.

59 In this verse the rhetoric device of the *tenāsüb* (harmony of terms) should be noted. Thus, the terms *ata* (father), *māder* (mother) und *püser* (son), which are related to each other, are used here.

60 Lāmiʿī also uses personification in this verse by ascribing a heart to the cup which fills with the bloody water of grief.

61 The rhetoric device of *tevriye* (ambiguity) which is used in this verse, but which could not be expressed in translation is the use of *hezār* (nightingale/thousand) together with *gül* (rose), in which one would expect the proximate meaning of *hezār*, here, namely "Nightingale", but Lāmiʿī intends the more remote meaning of "thousand."

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on the one hand, possibly be attributed to the influence of Persian literary traditions on Ottoman literature. On the other hand, it could also be said that the characteristics of the form of a *terkīb-i bend* made certain freedoms available to the poet with which he could achieve a thematic entity, namely grief, without lapsing into a possible monotony.

Three poems from the 16th century are, of course, too few to allow us to establish and illustrate the different reasons which could explain the preference for the *terkīb-i bend* in the composition of elegies. The work outlined above shows that there are numerous commonalities – some of which cannot be addressed in their entirety here – between these three poems linguistically, stylistically, and also as regards content. The significant difference in form is a result of Keşfî's choice of the *tercī̇-i bend* instead of the *terkīb-i bend* – as addressed previously – which had a negative effect on his elegy. However, one must not lose sight of the fact that this is not due so much to the use of a refrain-like intermediary verse, but rather to his way of writing poetry, which does not sufficiently respect the intermediary quality of the refrain verse.

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Ali Emre Özyıldırm

Two Poets, Two Works. Some Conclusions from *Ebkār-ı efkār* and *Miḥnet-keşān* on the Constants and Functions of the Ottoman *Meşnevī*s from the 16th Century to the 19th Century

Introduction

This article aims to underscore the continuity in the world of perception of Māşī-zāde Fikrī Çelebi (d. 1572) and Keçeci-zāde ʿİzzet Molla (1786–1829), who lived in the midst of 16th and early 19th centuries respectively. First I will outline some striking similarities in their *meşnevīs* (composed poetry in rhymed couplets), entitled *Ebkār-ı efkār* (Unheard Thoughts) and *Miḥnet-keşān* (Sufferers). Secondly, I will discuss some unchanging characteristics of the Ottoman *meşnevī* tradition, including the way the poets who were also members of the *ʿilmiyye* (ruling class) at that period perceived the outer world, as well as some non-literary functions of the *meşnevīs*. By drawing attention to the realist elements at the forefront of these texts, I will highlight three important similarities in particular: (1) Edirne and constructions in Edirne, (2) utterances about the Bektashi Order, and (3) descriptions of disliked people.

Two Poets

The first of these two poets is Māşī-zāde Fikrī Çelebi[1] who was one of the poets of Süleymān the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566) and who passed away during the reign of Selīm II (r. 1566–1574). Fikrī was the son of a famous *mudarris* (professor) and like his father, he chose the path of *ʿilmiyye*. He was from Istanbul, and he served as *ḳāżī* (judge) in various cities in Rumelia throughout his whole life. Probably thanks to the influence of his family, he became a protégé of Ḳoca Nisāncı Muṣṭāfā Çelebi (d. 1567), who was an important statesman at that period and who made friends with the famous poets, critics, and intellectuals of the time,

1 About Fikrî see Ali Emre Özyıldırım, *Fikrî Çelebi ve Ebkâr-ı Efkâr'ı. 16. On Altıncı Yüzyıldan Sıradışı Bir Aşk Hikâyesi.* (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2017). This book includes text and facsimile of *Ebkâr-ı Efkâr* and the couplets in this article are taken from this book.

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such as ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi (d. 1572) and Gelibolulu ʿĀlī (d. 1600). In the light of his credentials, we may identify Fikrī as one of the typical poets of the 'Classical Age'. Fikrī, who was praised in all biographical sources of his age, but slipped into near oblivion through time, was a prolific *meṣnevī*-poet and translator. Only one of his works is currently available, and this work constitutes the subject of this article: *Ebkār-ı efkār*.

The second poet to be considered here is Keçeci-zāde ʿİzzet Molla (1786–1829), famous during the reign of Sultan Selīm III (r. 1789–1807) and of Sultan Maḥmūd II (r. 1808–1839). ʿİzzet Molla, whose father was a famous senior bureaucrat and a member of *ʿilmiyye*, was born in Istanbul. He entered and was promoted in the *ʿilmiyye* thanks to his family relations. Under the protection of Ḥālet Efendi (d. 1822), a strong statesman of the Sultan Maḥmūd II's period, he served as a high-ranking *ḳāżī* and civil servant within the state bureaucracy. Because of his political views, the poet was exiled twice in his short lifetime, first to Kesan and then to Sivas, where he passed away. ʿİzzet Molla, who was also a famous *mevlevī* (pertaining to the order founded by Celāleddīn Rūmī) and firm member of literary and intellectual circles of his age, was considered the last great representative of the Ottoman literature before the Tanẓīmāt period. He had two *dīvāns* (poem collections) and produced two *meṣnevīs.* One of these *meṣnevīs* is identified with the poet's name, *Miḥnet-keşān.*[2] This is his most famous work and it is the one addressed in this article.

As these brief biographies attest, the two poets had much in common. Both were *şehrī*s (born in Istanbul). Both were sons of the prominent figures of their age and both became members of the *ʿilmiyye* class thanks to their fathers. In addition, by taking advantage of their fathers' circles and networks, they each received the protection of strong political figures of their age. Nevertheless, Fikrī Çelebi's sense of belonging to Rumelia and ʿİzzet Molla's sense of belonging to Istanbul are arguably more dominant factors in their careers. In addition to their official duties and activities, both enjoyed writing and had a passion for poetry. If they hadn't lived in different periods, these two poets might have come together at the same *meclis* (get-togethers); their lives might have intersected at some points. Nonetheless, ʿİzzet Molla's involvement in the dynamic political life in Istanbul, which forced him into exile twice, stands in stark contrast to Fikrī Çelebi's relatively serene life in small Rumelian districts away from the capital.

Comparing these two poets in terms of the periods that they lived in will also reveal interesting contrasts and similarities. Fikrī Çelebi lived during the reign of

2 The critical edition of the work has been published as two volumes including a detailed research about the poet's life and facsimile of text See Ali Emre Özyıldırım, *Keçeci-zâde İzzet Molla and Mihnet-Keşan.* (Harvard: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2007). The couplets referred in this article were taken from this work.

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a strong sultan, Süleyman the Magnificent, who ruled the Empire in its heyday and made some changes that may be described as reforms. ʿİzzet Molla was the poet of a period when the state started to lose its power, but was still ruled by the competent reformist Sultan Maḥmūd II. During the eras of both Fikrī Çelebi and ʿİzzet Molla, poetry was highly valued and various segments of society participated in a vibrant literary life.

There are also a number of similarities with regard to the two poets' lifestyles and personalities. According to their biographies and works, they were members of the same social class and became famous for being "*zāde*"s (descendants of high-ranking figures). They were extroverts with a taste for eating, drinking, and falling in love with beautiful boys. They both appear to be conversable, witty figures who were not interested in high ranking positions or day-to-day affairs, but enjoyed reading and writing. The fact that both poets wrote literary-autobiographical texts, i. e. the subjects of this article, suggests that each had a strong sense of self as well.

Besides all these similarities, it should be emphasized that both poets may be understood to represent their periods not only in terms of literary trends, but also with regard to social and class-based aspects.

Two Works

Ebkār-ı efkār was compiled in 1566 by Fikrī Çelebi and the authenticity of this work was persistently emphasized by ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi. *Ebkār-ı efkār* is a love story in which the protagonist is the author himself. A brief summary of the work is as follows: The poet, the protagonist of the work, begins to look for a young boy that he can fall in love with in order to escape from a depression to which he has succumbed. The poet-protagonist goes first to Edirne and then to İstanbul and joins various circles (*mecālis)* in these cities. In one of his dreams, he visits the Kaaba (Mecca) and a beautiful boy serves him wine. He starts looking for the boy that he saw in his dream and finally finds him in Istanbul. After a series of adventures, including struggles with rivals (*raḳībs*), they come together. However, as the beard of the young boy gets longer, the poet-protagonist succumbs to depression once again. He finally finds peace by following the advice of a wise man he sees in another dream, resolving to stay away from worldly beauties and dedicating himself to books, wisdom and knowledge instead.

Ebkār-ı efkār, which is composed of 1582 couplets, has been written in *ḥasbiḥāl* style (a private narrative respecting one's circumstances), a genre that became widely popular with Ḥalīlī's *Fürkat-nāme* (Book of Separation), the model work in Ottoman *meṣnevī* tradition, and particularly with Caʿfer Çelebi's *Heves-nāme* (Book of Strong Desire) and Taşlıcalı Yaḥyā's *Şāh u Gedā* (Shah and

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Beggar). These works became popular in the16th century and were inspired by *şehrengīz* (works that describe a city and the beauties of that city). Two of the most apparent characteristics of this style of work are 1) the narration of a fictional love story that is told by an I-narrator and retains some autobiographic characteristics and 2) an emphasis on local life portraits, in particular city descriptions. It is also possible to consider this group of works as a local and realist reaction to Iranian origin love-*meṣnevīs*, such as *Leylā ve Mecnūn*, and *Ḫüsrev ve Şīrīn.*

The second work, *Miḥnet-keşān,* was completed in 1824 and it is the poetic story of ʿİzzet Molla's yearlong exile to Keşan, which took place from 1823 to1824. The poet, who was exiled by Sultan Maḥmūd II, tells of the events he experienced throughout this year, including his trip from and to Istanbul and the people he met. His observations are presented in an utterly realist way and with much humour. The poet also added to this *meṣnevī* some of his poetic-prose correspondences with various statesmen during his life in exile. Hence the *meṣnevī* has the characteristics of a travel notebook or diary, rather than a planned and structured work.

As a voluminous *meṣnevī*, *Miḥnet-keşān* is composed of 4167 couplets. In Ottoman literature, these works are written to give information or leave a record of poet's personal experiences or a part of their lives, obviously with literary and aesthetic concerns in mind, and are generally named *sergüẕeşt-nāme* (Book of Adventure). Nonetheless, this work that belongs to one of the strongest poets of that period, ʿİzzet Molla, has a privileged position among its genre due to its original literary descriptions, its humorous and ironic style, and the reflection of the poet's strong personality in the work. In fact, the work, written on the eve of Tanẓīmāt, has been viewed as a pioneer in modern realist Ottoman poetry.

A comparison of these two *meṣnevīs* demonstrates that the most important similarity is the first person-narration of the events experienced – or claimed to be experienced – by the I-narrator. Accordingly, both works are *meṣnevīs* and/or ego-documents, in which a realist emphasis can always be sensed. Notwithstanding, Fikrī Çelebi's goal was to write a literary love story, while ʿİzzet Molla said he wanted to leave behind an entertaining and exemplary memoir based on his own experiences. A comparison of the two works from this perspective indicates that *Ebkār-ı efkār* belongs to the *ḥasbiḥāl*-genre, as a love story in which aesthetic and fictional elements are more prominent; while *Miḥnet-keşān* belongs to the *sergüẕeşt-nāme*-genre, a personal history in the form of a diary or travel book, even though it reflects an aesthetic concern as well. In *ḥasbiḥāls*, one can find an orderly structure and a centralized story line. However, *sergüẕeşt-nāmes* are more disorganized and fragmental, with the poet's own life estab-

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lishing the center.[3] Therefore, the poet has more space to freely express what he sees. For instance, one of the most important reasons for lengthy descriptions of various places, figures, and events in *Miḥnet-keşān*, as opposed to the shorter ones in *Ebkār-ı efkār,* is the poet's feeling of being free of a certain structural plan. It should be stressed that a transitivity exists between these two styles and the boundaries are not very strict.[4]

Another question should be raised and answered first: Is it probable that ʿİzzet Molla might have read Fikrī Çelebi's *Ebkār-ı efkār?* The answer to this question is important, because if we think he has read the work, we should point out a possible direct influence of Fikrī on ʿİzzet Molla; otherwise, it means that commonalities and similarities between these two works are coincidental. The arguments and conclusions in this article are based on such a coincidence and are only meaningful in that case. My personal view is that ʿİzzet Molla was unaware of Fikrī Çelebi and his work, which I can justify as follows: First of all, from what my studies of the period demonstrate, Fikrī's name was mentioned in none of ʿİzzet Molla's works or the works of any 18th and 19thcentury poets. Second, even though he was commemorated with praises by the 16th century *teẕkire*-authors (biographical dictionary), it is understood that Fikrī Çelebi was totally forgotten within a matter of fifty to sixty years after his death, namely by the second half of the 17th century. Beyond a few exceptions, he was not mentioned in any poetry journals nor referred to in *dīvān*s or *meşnevīs.* Among biographical works, none of the sources mention him, except Kātip Çelebi's (d. 1657) *Keşfü'ẕ-ẕünūn* (Revelation of Doubts) and Müstaḳīm-zāde's (d. 1788) *Mecelletü'n-niṣāb* (Volumes of Requisite Condition). More importantly, only one copy of *Ebkār-ı efkār* has reached our age. Therefore, there is no indication that the work was circulated and widely read. In sum, although it is impossible to reach definitive conclusions in such issues, it is almost impossible that ʿİzzet Molla knew anything about Fikrī Çelebi's work.

3 As a matter of fact, ʿIzzet Molla explicitly points out that he is well aware of this issue by mentioning this fragmented structure at the end of his work: "*Yazıldı nice fıḳra-i lā-yuʿad / Degil sā'ir āṣārveş yek-ṣaded // Ne vādìden açsan eder ḳīl ü ḳāl / Olur herkesiñ derdine ḥasb-i ḥāl.*" (c. 4097–4098). "*Countless topics have been written [in this book], it does not concern a single subject like other works. / Whichever subject you broach, it speaks of it; it provides a remedy for whatever ails one.*" Couplets in this article are translated by Irvin Cemil Schick. I sincerely thank him.

4 For different perspectives and arguments about *ḥasbiḥāl* and *sergüẕeşt-nāme*, see Haluk Gökalp, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Manzum Sergüzeştnameler.* [P*oetic Sergüzeştnames in Classical Turkish Literature*]. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2009). 1–11; See Ali Emre Özyıldırım, "Sergüzeştnameler Üzerine Hasbihal veya Hasbihalin Sergüzeşti" In *Nazımdan Nesire Edebi Türler.* [*Literary Genres From Poetry to Prose*]. Ed. H. Aynur et al, (İstanbul: Turkuaz., 2009). 134–167; See Selim Sırrı Kuru, "Mesnevi Biçiminde Aşk Hali, Birinci Tekiş Şahıs Anlatılar Olarak Fürkatnâme ve Heves-nâme Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme." In *Nazımdan Nesire Edebi Türler.* Ed. H. Aynur et al. (İstanbul: Turkuaz, 2009). 168–183.

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The City of Edirne as the Center of Attraction / *Meşnevī*-Poet as Travel Writer

Almost half of the events narrated in *Ebkār-ı efkār* take place in Edirne (s. 251–850 / 600 couplets). Poet-protagonist Fikrī mentioned explicitly that he has travelled to several cities, but that Edirne was his favourite.[5] Besides that personal choice, the events in the two capitals and two most important cultural centres of the state constitute a piece of the spatial setting in the *meşnevī*. The places described by the poet in the city are:

Described Place	Interval of Couplets	Number of Couplets
II. Bāyezīd Mosque (Cāmi-i Şāh) district[6]	c. 336–347	12 couplets
Recreation spots and gardens at the coast of Tunca river	c. 348–426	78 couplets
New Mosque (Üç Şerefeli Mosque)	c. 610–635	25 couplets
Ḫıżırlıḳ Bektashi Lodge	c. 676–687	12 couplets
Edirne Palace (New Palace)	c. 691–701	10 couplets

Other than these place descriptions, Fikrī has provided a detailed depiction of the charming boys from the *meclis* of various social classes who seek entertainment and recreation along the Tunca coast (c. 274–284; 336–385; 390–393; 427–590); as well as young and beautiful apprentices of the craftsmen (c. 651–675) at the Edirne bazaar – as in the *şehrengīz*-genre (poems about beloveds in the city). With a rough calculation, the poet dedicated 90 couplets to the descriptions of places in Edirne and approximately 250 couplets to the descriptions of charming boys (and girls once) in various *meclis*.

I wonder what ʿİzzet Molla's impression about Edirne was. First of all, it is an important detail that on his way back to Istanbul at the end of his exile in Kesan, the poet preferred Edirne as a destination *en route*, deliberately extending his travel. Indeed, he could have chosen the shorter route on his way from Kesan. Besides, the poet stressed that he wanted to see the former capital (*taḥtgāh-ı ḳadīm*) and clearly stated his desire to describe the city by referring to Nefʿī (d. 1635), who had written a eulogy (*ḳaṣīde*) about Edirne. This reference is important in terms of demonstrating the circulation and influence of poems written on Edirne among poets. Accordingly, ʿİzzet Molla's travel to Edirne is not a part of his exile, but a matter of choice with 'touristic' purpose. The poet first narrates how the city resembles Istanbul as he sets foot in Edirne (c. 3755–56).

5 "*Ayaġum baṣmadügi yer yoḳdur / Diyemem saŋa derd-i ser çoḳdur // Cümle Rūmilleri be-ġāyet eyi / Lìk göŋlüm begendi Edrene'yi.*" (c. 249–250) "*I have traveled far and wide, and of sorrows I have too many to recount. / All the lands of Rūm are wonderful, but it is Edirne that my heart loved the most.*"

6 First I had thought *Cāmiʿ-i Şāh* might be the Shah Melek Mosque.

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The events in Edirne constitute a small part of *Miḥnet-keşān* (c. 3755–3872 / 117 couplets). The places and events in the city subject to descriptions are:

Described places	interval of couplets	number of couplets
General description of Edirne	c. 3755–3756 / 3858–3863	8 couplets
Welcoming by the governor (*müsellim*) of the city	c. 3757–3773	16 couplets
Edirne Palace (New Palace)	c. 3777–3794	17 couplets
Visit to Gülşeni and Mevlevi Dervish Lodges	c. 3795–3812	17 couplets
Selimiyye Mosque	c. 3813–3842	29 couplets
Ali Paşa Market	c. 3843–3857	14 couplets

ʿİzzet Molla described the inn (a part of the palace) where he stayed, the Selimiyye Mosque, and the bazaar among the public spaces, but when it comes to the *tekkes* (convents), he simply narrates their spiritual aura.

First of all, it should be highlighted that Edirne, as the former capital, is the center of attraction for both poets. Fikrī Çelebi frankly said Edirne is the most beautiful city in Rumelia, and ʿİzzet Molla visited the city at the expense of prolonging his route. The fact that Fikrī mentioned Istanbul as the second city in terms of spatial setting in his story and that ʿİzzet Molla remembered Istanbul when he walked into the city make us think that after Istanbul, Edirne is the second most important city of the country in the minds of the poets. Maybe, apart from the beauties in the city, the fact that, apart from Istanbul, Edirne is the only city that has an Ottoman palace, plays a part in this analogy.

How would the perception of an Ottoman poet in Edirne in particular, or any other city in general, be formed? Which buildings, areas, or places would attract their attention in the first place, and why? The works of Fikrī and ʿİzzet Molla are in a way answers to these questions. First of all, it is obvious that public and monumental constructions are symbols formulating the identity of the city. Of course, mosques rank at the top of the list of public and monumental constructions. As a matter of fact, as Fikrī Çelebi and ʿİzzet Molla describe the New Mosque (*Üç Şerefeli Cami*) and Selimiyye respectively, they also mention the greatest sanctuary of their period. It is an interesting detail that both poets describe the mosque not only from outside but also from inside. The palaces that symbolize the non-religious architecture and power and greatness of the state are important description topics as well, for they are distinctive examples of the monumental constructions in the city. Fikrī's reference to Bektashi convent and ʿİzzet Molla's reference to *Gülşeni* and *Mevlevi tekkes* indicate that Sufi centres are also significant places that form the character of the city.

Other places in the city that the poets are particularly interested in are bazaars and markets. As the signs of business life and thereby the richness of the city, the markets are also seen as the centre of attraction, since they enjoy a central

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position in terms of both their location and social mobility in the Ottoman cities. In addition, there is another reason for the importance attributed to the markets. As it is known, *şehrengīzs,* works of a local and realistic style and one of the *sui generis* literary types of the Ottoman literature, started to become popular by the beginning of the 16th century, and these works featured literary descriptions of the young and beautiful apprentices of artisans in the city market. Accordingly, markets as a place where beautiful people exist together (*maḥbūblar mecmaʿı*) are of a particular importance in the minds of the poets as lovers. Besides, Fikrī Çelebi mentions the markets briefly, but describes the beautiful boys without mentioning the spatial characteristics of the market. Similarly, he mentions the *meclis* on the coast of Tunca for the purpose of describing the beautiful boys from different classes. Moreover, ʿİzzet Molla, after praising Ali Paşa Market and its talented artisans, mentions the apprentices ("*tācir-beçe*") in a few couplets (c. 3854–56).[7]

Is it possible to explain the intent of the poets about spatial descriptions on local life, briefly mentioned above and particularly depicted in such *meṣnevīs*, solely based on literary efforts? Or is it possible that they have attributed a different function to these works, which could be labelled as their *ego-documents?* At this point, we may think that the related sections might have been formulated as travel writing as well. The secondary function of the *meṣnevīs, which* bear a realist emphasis, seems to be to inform the readers about the places that they are likely to visit. Accordingly, in one sense the poet turns into a pilgrim and a travel writer, and the related parts of the work turn into a guidebook for tourists or into travel writing. The places in a city worth seeing are, of course, monumental religious constructions, namely mosques, as well as palaces and public places like market-bazaar, which show the richness of the city. For example, the fact that both of the poets state that they have been inside the mosques to pray and that they indeed describe the interiors of the places of worship, is meaningful in this sense. Like travel writers, the poets satisfy the curiosity of readers about the interiors of the mosque. At this point, it becomes clear why the beautiful descriptions arise in the context of the market-bazaar. It is certain that the *meṣnevī* readers are primarily poets or people with poetic talents, and these are educated members of the upper echelon. It should be considered that being a poet means being in love; accordingly, beautiful or beloved people need to be mentioned. *Şehrengīz,* as a similar type, serves as a kind of travel guide by fulfilling this expectation as well.

Now, let's try to look at this similarity from a different angle. Which common images have been used by the poets as they relay their observations, along with

7 ʿİzzet Molla openly states that he was impressed by an apprentice he saw in a tobacco shop in Buyukcekmece on his way to Kesan. See *Mihnet-keşan.* 372ff.

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the descriptions of the city and buildings in the city? In other words, how do the imaginations of the poets, who lived 250 years apart, work? It is quite natural that the poets produce dreams and similitudes, including similar connotations under similar situations in an understanding of poetry where tradition and idealism are decisive. There are thousands of examples of this, especially when the descriptions of beloveds and lovers are at stake. The exemplary couplets stated below strikingly reflect what an Ottoman poet feels about a mosque, and the impressive continuity in the poet's imaginary world in terms of both image and expression.

Ebkār-ı efkār	*Miḥnet-keşān*
Mosque is a source of divine light for town	
"*Yeñi Cāmiʿ ki nūr-ı lāmiʿdür* *Nice faẕl u kemāli cāmiʿdür*" (c. 610)[8]	"*Selīmiyye ol cāmiʿ-i dil-güşā* *Tamām eylemiş beldeyi rūşenā*" (c. 3813)[9]
ʿAlem of a mosque is like the sunlight	
"*Aña altun ʿalem meh-i nevdür* *Nice meh āfitāb-pertevdür*" (c. 619)[10]	"*Şuʿā'-ı ʿalem şanma pertev-feşān* *Ser-i çerḫa miʿmārı dikmiş sinān*" (c. 3816)[11]
The dome of the mosque is as high as the heavens	
"*Ḳubbesi şan ki çerḫ-i dāyirdür* *Süllem-i maḥfili ʿanāṣırdur*" (c. 618)[12]	"*Ne ḳubbe zemīnde diger āsumān* *Meşābīḥ-i raḫşānı kevkeb-nişān*" (c. 3818)[13]
The mosque's *maḥfil* (private lodge) is like a rose branch, muezzin is like a nightingale	
"*Her müʾeẕẕin çü bülbül-i gūyā* *Eyleyüp zümre-i enāma ṣalā*"(c. 628)[14]	"*Ne maḥfil müʾeẕẕin olursa sezā* *Ḳoyup gülbünün bülbül-i ḫoş-nevā*" (c. 3824)[15]
"*Maḥfili bir dıraḫt-ı pür-güldür* *Her müʾeẕẕin laṭīf bülbüldür*" (c. 624)[16]	

8 "Yeni Cami (the New Mosque), which is a light that shines brightly, brings together much learning and wisdom."
9 "The Selimiyye, that exhilarating mosque, lights up that entire city."
10 "That golden finial atop the mosque is like the new moon; indeed, it is a moon that shines like the sun."
11 "Think not that the ray of the finial is emitting light; its architect has planted a lance at the highest heaven."
12 "Its dome is like the revolving heavens; the stairs of the lodge [of its caller to prayer] are the [four] elements."
13 "That is not a dome, it is another sky come down on earth. Its luminous lamps are akin to stars."
14 "Each caller to prayer is just like a nightingale, as he invites the people to assemble."
15 "The lodge [of its caller to prayer] is so beautful that it would behoove the sweet-voiced nightingale to abandon the rosebed and become a caller to prayer."
16 "The lodge [of its caller to prayer] is a tree in full bloom; each caller to prayer is a graceful nightingale."

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The doors of the mosque are like doors opening to heaven

"*Ḫāk-i cennetden itdiler saña ḫişt*
Heşt bābuñ özüñ velīki behişt"(c. 898)[17]

"*Ne ebvāb bāb-ı bihişt-i berīn*
İki ḥalḳası dīde-i ḥūr-ı ʿīn" (c. 3819)[18]

Bektashi *Tekkes* (Lodges) as Mystic Focal Points / *Meṣnevī* Poets as Investigative Journalist

It is common knowledge that Bektashi *tekkes* hold a special position in the Ottoman social and mystic life. Even though it is a local cult (*tarīḳa*) with close ties to the state through its connection with the Janissary corps, it is certain that compared to other cults, Bektashi *tekkes* are more negatively regarded, more private, and perceived as mystic formations, particularly due to their heterodox characteristics.[19] The fact that most Bektashi *tekkes* are built far from city centres may be deemed as a factor reinforcing this mystery and negative view, and at the same time as some sort of defence mechanism developed by the Bektashis as well.

One of the interesting similarities between Fikrī Çelebi and ʿİzzet Molla is that they both relayed their observations from their visits to Bektashi tekkes in their works. It should be particularly emphasized that both poets refrain from negative expressions about Bektashi *tekkes* and Dervishes in the *tekkes* and they even use an appreciative language. Here, the hospitality that the poets witnessed should be taken into account. Fikrī Çelebi, as indicated above, went to a Bektashi *tekke* located at the Hıdırlık Hill, somewhat far away from the city in Edirne (c. 677–687 / 10 couplets), while ʿİzzet Molla visited Rüstem Baba Bektashi *tekke* near Maarız, one of the villages in Keşan (c. 1956–2223 / 267 couplets). Why did the poets choose to visit these *tekkes* and to mention them in their works, while there were many *tekkes* belonging to different cults both in Edirne and in Keşan and furthermore the poets were not Bektashi themselves? Is it only a personal choice or do they strive to satiate the curiosity and draw the attention of the readers curious about Bektashism? Although it is not possible to put forward a certain claim in this subject by any means, my sense is that the poets consciously strive to inform their readers about Bektashi *tekkes.* Accordingly, from this point of view,

17 "Your mud-bricks were made of heavenly earth. With eight gates you yourself are Paradise." Hagia Sophia, rather than the New Mosque, is addressed in this couplet.

18 "Those are not doors, they are the gates of lofty Paradise; its two rings are the eyes of the houris."

19 In fact, Izzet Molla succinctly expresses the dominant and suspicious view against Bektashis. "*Bizim kārımız ḫalḳı tefsīḳdir / Deriz bak şu Bektāşi zındīḳdir.*" (c. 2207). "All we are good for is to set people against one another; we say [for instance] look, this Bektashi is a heretic."

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we can assume that the poets acted like today's investigative journalists and enriched their *meşnevīs* by giving information about an intriguing subject.[20]

Physical Descriptions of Disliked People / *Meşnevī* Poet as Humourist

In both works, there are physical descriptions of the people they disliked within the flow of events. The rival (*raḳīb*) as an indispensable part of love relations (c. 1061–1074) and beloved whose beard grows for the first time (c. 1512–1537) in *Ebkār-ı efkār;* an ignorant notable *aʿyān* who disturbs the poet by speaking out of turn (c. 771–784) and an extremely clumsy doctor (c. 2715–2735) in *Miḥnet-keşān* were described as unsavoury characters belonging to this class. As a narration technique, descriptions always have a significant place in *meşnevīs.* As much as possible, *meşnevī* poets strive to prove that they can successfully use their literary skills in different areas by describing objects, places, various seasons, night, day, situations, and especially sweethearts and lovers. It should be first explained why this article elaborates on descriptions of disliked people in further detail, while there could be – naturally – different descriptions and commonalities between two *meşnevīs.* It is possible to see most of the descriptions in the *meşnevīs* in shorter poems in different styles. For instance, descriptions of beloveds and lovers are indispensable parts of *ġazels* (love poems); there are descriptions of night, day and seasons in *ḳaṣīde-nesībs* (first part of eulogies) and descriptions of sultans, statesmen or more generally 'the capable people' in *medḥiyyes* (encomia). Furthermore, some clichés about rivals (*raḳīb*) cast aside, the equivalent of the 'unsavoury man' descriptions in *meşnevīs* may be found only in *hiciv* type (satiric) of poems. However, *hiciv* has never been found tasteful and or even legitimate in Islamic ethics.[21] Moreover, it may be thought that poets find a legitimate ground through descriptions of a rival, old ugly woman or bad man in *meşnevī* tradition and they try to demonstrate their skills around this theme.[22] In

20 Here we should remember the renowned novel of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (d. 1974), *Nur Baba* (first edition as a book in 1922), as a modern example in which general curiosity and interest about Bektashism intersects with literature. The fact that *Nur Baba* turned into a popular work in a very short time and similar works have been written based on the same model is a striking example of the vivid curiosity about Bektashism in every era.

21 We should remember the recommendations in various ethics books and works on eloquent stating that poets should refrain from satire and talking bad about people. For examples see Kınalı-zâde Ali Çelebi, *Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î*, Ed. Mustafa Koç, (İstanbul: Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı. 2014). 388; Nâbî, *Hayriyye*, Ed. Mahmut Kaplan. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1995). 261.

22 About this type of descriptions: A. Atilla Şentürk, *XVI. Asra Kadar Anadolu Sahası Mesnevilerinde Edebî Tasvirler.* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2002). 393ff.

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any case, descriptions of an 'unwanted bad man' are either not included or comparably less included in numerous *meṣnevīs.* From this perspective, the fact that this type of descriptions appear in both *meṣnevīs* with two examples each, is a remarkable commonality.[23]

As the following examples suggest, it is obvious that this type of poetry to describe the physical appearances of disliked people can be categorized under the type of satire (*hiciv*) written with a rude and even insulting sense of humour, which adds an entertaining feature to the work. In other words, the fact that the poets allocate space to such descriptions allows a different voice by adding a humorous mood. This clearly shows that one of the secondary functions of *meṣnevīs*, as long-winding works, is to entertain people and make them laugh; and hence the *meṣnevī* poet becomes a satirist and a humourist.

The following couplets are examples of the poets' physical descriptions of disliked people and of the resulting satire and humour. Actually, the rude language that poets use about disliked people is an integral part of a poet type based on satire. It should be emphasized that this kind of vile humorous description may be more authentic than the stereotyped descriptions of sweethearts, lovers, or sultans. Although these descriptions of ugly people seem vile and rude in terms of content and meaning, they are quite creative and impressive in terms of originality. While stereotyped templates in the descriptions of beauty are serious obstacles restricting the originality, descriptions of ugly people provide a substantially productive and free space for classical Ottoman poets. I think that this issue should be discussed in detail from this perspective. Even though examining the subject from different aspects will yield interesting results, it would be beyond the scope of this article.

The identification or association of the described people with various animals for defamation purposes and writing metaphors particularly about the faces of the described people using hideous and grotesque language -but with a creative imagination- are seen as constants reflecting the nature of Turkish humour. As can be seen below, the fact that Fikrī likens his sweetheart's (of whom beard growing time has come) mouth to a toilet hole, his tongue to toilet wood and that ʿİzzet Molla likens the clumsy doctor's head to a cube full of dirt, and his face to emetic medicine are extreme examples of these metaphors. In the selection of the examples below, only satirical descriptions reflecting physical appearances are included.

23 It is obviously important to consider the elements of humor within both works not just in terms of commonalities and similarities, but also in terms of differences, in order to observe the historical development of humor and satire in Ottoman literature. However, it should be noted that differences are not addressed within the framework of this article, which concerns itself with similarities alone; and that differences require a study beyond the scope of this article.

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Ebkār-ı efkār	*Mihnet-keşān*
From description of rival	From description of ayan (notable)
"*Nā-gehān bir ḫar-ı dü-pā geldi* *Gözleri dūş olup çıḳa geldi*" (c. 1061) "Suddenly a two-legged donkey arrived, its eyes fixed on us."	"*Ne ʿillet kim insāna beñzer gözü* *Görünmez ṣaḳaldan egerçi yüzü*" (c. 771) "What kind of affliction is this, that his eyes look human even though his face is invisible behind his beard."
"*Gözleri gūr-ı kāfirüñ ʿaynı* *Ġılzet ile ġabāvetüñ ġaynı*" (c. 1064) "His eyes are like an unbeliever's grave. He is crudeness and stupidity personified."	"*ʿAceb bīşezār-ı ḥamāḳat ṣaḳal* *İçinde ayılar geze iḥtimāl*" (c. 779) "His beard is a strange forest of idiocy; it is likely that bears roam in it."
"*Nefesi bed ḳara dütün suḥanı* *Aġzı gūyā boyacılar ḳazanı*" (c. 1065) "Bad breath and words like black tobacco, his mouth is like a dyer's cauldron."	"*Temevvücde mānende-i kişţzār* *Felek ṣevrini otladırsa ne var*" (c. 780) "When [that beard] undulates like a pasture, it would be no surprise if the heavens took their bull there to graze."
"*Ţutagınuñ biri birinden dūr* *Zişt ü ḳabḳara gū[yi]yā leb-i gūr*" (c. 1069) "His lips are far apart, ugly and pitch-black, they look like the edges of an open grave."	"*Ḳabūl eylemez liḥyesi intiẓām* *Verir zuʿmu üzre cihāna niẓām*" (c. 781) "While his own beard refuses to behave properly, he thinks he can give order to the world."
"*Zen-i pūjīne-çeşm ḫirs-şikem* *ʿÖmri bī-ḥad velīki dānişi kem*" (c. 1071) "Like a woman with a monkey's eyes and a bear's belly, countless years old, but no wiser."	"*Ţutar liḥyesinden ederse ḳasem* *Ṣaḳal ḥaḳḳı içün diyip mültezem*" (c. 782) "He holds his beard when taking an oath, and feels it necessary to say, "for the sake of my beard.""
"*Bire dünyā delüsi māl eşegi* *Mezbele dūdesi ḥelā köpegi*" (c. 1082) "O worldly-minded, materialistic donkey, muckheap fumes, outhouse dog"	From description of doctor
"*Eriseñ ţurasın bire ḫar-ı ner* *Gāv-ı māde vü ḫūk-kirev seg-ber*" (c. 1084) "Come face me if you are a man, Ojack-ass, cow, pig-dented, dog-torsoed one."	"*O ḳalpaḳ ki bir lāne-i mūş idi* *Ḫum-ı cīfeye ṣanki ser-pūş idi*" (c. 2730) "That calpack was a rat's nest, like a lid to cover a garbage bin."
From description of sweetheart whose beard grows for the first time	"*Cihān-pehlevānān-ı seblet-dırāz* *Bürūtundan eyler görüp iḥtirāz*" (c. 2731) "World-renowned, long-mustached wrestlers would shy away upon seeing his mustache."
"*Ādem oġlı dimeli olmadı* *Oldı ṣaḳallı gavur ırġadı*" (c. 1522) "No longer deserving to be called a human being; he had become a bearded infidel laborer."	"*Muḳayyīye ḥācet degil çehresi* *Gören ḫasteniñ çāk olur zehresi*" (c. 2732) "His face leaves no need for an emetic; a patient would be horror-struck just at seeing it."
"*Ţūţī-i ḫoş-edāsı zāġ oldı* *Bülbül-i ḫoş-nevā kelāġ oldı*" (c. 1525)	

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(Continued)

"A pleasant-mannered parrot, he became a crow. A beautiful-sounding nightingale, he became a raven." "*Bir sifāl-i şikeste oldı yüzi* *Döndi bir ṣırça pāresine gözi*" (c. 1526) "His facelooked like a broken jug; His eye turned into a piece of glass." "*Ḳara kirpikler oldı ḳara diken* *Ne diken yekser oldı āhenden*" (c. 1527) "Those black eyelashes became black thorns; not just thorns, they were entirely of steel." "*Lebleri menter-i siyāh oldı* *Ḳartalup sebzeler giyāh oldı*" (c. 1528) "Those lips turned into black mushrooms; those fresh greens [the down on his cheeks] turned into coarse weeds." "*Dehen-i müsterāḥa döndi dehān* *Taḥta-i müsterāḥa döndi zebān*" (c. 1529) "That mouth turned into a latrine pit; That tongue turned into a latrine board." "*Baġladı ḳubḥ geldi netn-i nefes* *Dürr-i dendān ḳarardı oldı ʿades*" (c. 1530) "He became ugly and his breath began to stink; his pearl-like teeth darkened and turned into lentils." "*Kirpinüñ ʿaynı oldı ṭūp-ı zeḳan* *Ġabġabı çirkin oldı tosbaġadan*" (c. 1532) "His round chin turned into a porcupine; his double chin became uglier than a tortoise."	

Conclusion

These sections that I have selected from the two works show important similarities. In both there is a realist emphasis at the forefront, and the observations and descriptions based on poets' personal sentiments have a central place. Although the works were written 250 years apart, they resemble each other by chance rather than by exposure. Above all, what becomes evident are the non-

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literary functions of the *meşnevīs* in general and the kind of *meşnevīs* in particular. *Meşnevīs* may include tourist information about the places worth a visit, informative brief observations about the intriguing mysterious places as in the example of Bektashi *tekkes*, and humorous parts with an entertaining function as in the descriptions of the disliked people. It is almost as if the *meşnevīs* turned into a magazine (*mecmūʿa*), and the poets added realistic themes and descriptions in order to and keep the attention of their readers. In this way, it becomes possible for the *meşnevī* poet to share his different interests outside of literature with readers. Considered from this point of view, the *meşnevī* poet appears as a multifaceted writer who pens travel writing, presents research papers based on observation about a subject of curious interest, and offers entertaining humorous essays.

A second inference is the impressive continuity in the descriptions of humorous persons and places as well as in the poets' perceptions of the outer world. Emphasizing such a continuity may at first sight seem like stating the obvious for a literary tradition where stereotyped metaphors are discussed. That said, the selectiveness in terms of places that are part of public life, the style of perception and reflection in describing these places, and the use of crude, vile and grotesque metaphors regarding human faces in descriptions of disliked people should be perceived as examples constituting a different aspect of continuity.

As a final word, one should note that these conclusions are only preliminary. In order for them to contribute to an understanding of the nature of Ottoman-Turkish poetry, they would have to be complemented by a larger-scale analysis that takes into account differences as well as similarities.

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Benedek Péri

"... *beklerüz*": An Ottoman Paraphrase (*naẓīre*) Network from the 16th Century

"…you will express yourself eminently well, if a dexterous combination should give an air of novelty to a well-known word"
Horace: Ars Poetica[1]

"Roman literature is the first derived literature. Its authors consciously took account of the tradition of another people which they recognized as superior. In differentiating itself from its predecessors, Roman literature found its own identity and a specific self-awareness."[2]

Michael von Albrecht's description characterizing the relationship between Roman and Greek literary traditions could be applied almost word by word to the birth and development of the Ottoman literary tradition. The role classical Persian literary tradition played in shaping the Ottoman path was crucial, and Persian models exerted a deep and far-reaching influence on Ottoman authors. The oeuvre of the classics of the Persian poetical canon served as a reference point for Ottoman poets who "*measured their success in terms of Persian models*" for centuries[3] and who compared their literary accomplishments to the works of Emīr Ḫüsrev Dehlāvī (1253–1325), Ḥāfiẓ (1325–1389), Selmān Sāvecī (d. 1396), Kemāl-i Ḫucendī (d. 1400), Cāmī (1414–1492) well into the 19th century.[4]

1 See Christopher Smart–Theodore / Alois Buckley: *The Works of Horace Translated Literally into English Prose.* (New York: Harper and Brothers 1869). 302.

2 Michael von Albrecht, *A History of Roman Literature. From Livius Andronicus to Boethius.* Vol. 1. (Leiden: Brill, 1997). 12.

3 See Talat S. Halman, "Rev. to Andrews, W. G.: *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry.* Minneapolis, Minnesota and Chicago 1976." In Talat S. Halman: *The Turkish Muse. Views and Reviews.* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006). 78.

4 The following couplet by Benderli Cesârî (d. 1829) a prolific poet from the mid-19th century illustrates this point well.
"*Eş'ār-ı Cesārīyi görüp yār dimiş kim / Bu nuṭḳa pesend itmeye mi Hāfiẓ-ı Şīrāz*"
"*My beloved saw my verses and said: / Hâfiz of Shirâz would appreciate these words, wouldn't he?*"
Yasemin Akkuş, *Benederli Cesârî'nin (Ölüm: 1829) Dîvânı ve Dîvânçesi. (İnceleme–Tenkitli Metin).* Doktora Tezi. (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi 2010). 701. For an in-depth study of the subject see Hakan Yekbaş, "Divan Şairinin Penceresinden Acem Şairleri." *Turkish Studies* 4/2 (2009). 1159–1187.

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Contemporary Ottoman literary critics also considered the successful imitation of Persian models a laudable deed. Laṭîfî (d. 1582), for example, praised Aḥmet Paşa (d. 1496–97), one of the key figures who shaped the independent Ottoman tradition, for reproducing and recreating Persian models in an Ottoman linguistic environment. Laṭîfî called Aḥmet Paşa "the sultan of poets and the oracle among the eloquent ones." According to Laṭîfî:

> "He carefully copied and scrupulously studied all the books and divans that were available in Persian. He imitated Persian lyrical pieces; he adapted their useful elements and applied their rhetorical figures
>
> Good poetic meaning (maʿnā) is like a beautiful person with a pure body,
> Who always appears dressed in a different garment.
>
> In line with these verses he exchanged the Persian garb of the beauty of poetic meaning for an elegant dress weaved from Rūmī (Ottoman) expressions and thus he adorned and decorated her with a new attire and with an ornate costume."[5]

Laṭîfî's words appreciating Aḥmet Paşa's choice of poetic strategies clearly indicate that the idea of copying or imitating earlier literary texts and recreating them in a new fashion or in a new context lay at the very heart of the Ottoman literary tradition. This notion in itself should have been enough to shape Ottoman critics' views on such concepts as imitation, novelty, and originality. Nevertheless, the verses Laṭîfî quotes in order to stress his views on imitation make it clear that as far as imitation as a creative artistic process is concerned, Ottoman critics adopted the stance of their Persian colleagues. The couplet he cites was originally composed by Cāmī (1414–1492), the last great poet of the classical period, but its key-metaphor of dressing up the person of poetic meaning into different garments of verbal expressions had already been used by a much earlier Persian literary critic, Şemsalḳays in his book on the art of poetry.[6]

Though literary imitation had always played an important role in the history of Persian poetry, the consolidation and canonization of Persian literary legacy that took place in the Timurid period, the era when the first conscious steps towards creating an Ottoman literary tradition were taken, brought with it the

5 See Latîfî, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuʿarâ ve Tabsiratü'n-Nuzamâ. (İnceleme-Metin).* Ed. Rıdvan Canım. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2000). 155–156. The translation of Ottoman and Persian texts quoted in this paper were made by the author.

6 "*Good poetic meaning (maʿnā) is like a beautiful person with a pure body, / Who always appears dressed in a different garment. / The new dress becomes a cause for shame, / If it does not enhance the beauty of the person who wears it. / Thus it is a virtuous deed to remove an old woollen robe, / And exchange it for a dress of silk and brocade.*"
Cāmī, *Bahāristān.* (Wien: K. u. K. Hofdruckerei, 1846). 99; Şems al-Ḳays, *al-Muʿcem fî meʿā'ir-i eş'ār-i 'Acem.* Ed. Muhammed ʿAbd al-Vahhāb Ḳazvīnī–Müderris Riżavī. (Tehrān: Maṭbaʿa-yı maclis, 1314). 331.

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growing popularity of imitation as a highly appreciated creative process,[7] especially as far as a special type of imitation poem or paraphrase called *naẓīre* in Ottoman is concerned. The popularity of *naẓīre* as a sub-genre of Persian *ġazel* poetry in the Timurid period might be best illustrated by the thematic *dīvāns* of Abū Isḥāḳ Hallāc (d. 1424 or 1456), Fattāḥī Nīşāpūrī (d. 1448), Ḳārī-yi Yazdī (late 15th century) titled *Dīvān-i Aṭʿima* (A Collection of Poems on Food), *Dīvān-i Esrārī ve Ḫumārī* (A Collection of Poems on Weed and Wine) and *Dīvān-i Albisa* (A Collection of Poems on Garments) respectively and Mīr ʿAlī Şīr Nevāʾī's (1441–1501) Persian divan that represented an essential part of his vision of creating a Persianate Eastern Turkish (Çağatay) literary tradition. All four collections consist primarily of paraphrases inspired by earlier poetic texts.[8]

The most evident feature of the sub-genre of *naẓīre* is the formal framework so typical of these imitation poems. *Naẓīre*s were composed as 'poetic responses' to earlier or contemporary *ġazels* and *ḳaṣīdes*, and they used the same metre, rhyme, and refrain-like *redīf* combination as their models.[9]

Cāmī's short poem cited by Laṭīfī highlights an important feature of poetic imitations, which was also stressed by Ottoman critics. Imitation as an accepted method of poetic creation at its highest level was expected to be permeated by the spirit of competition.[10] In this respect Persian and Ottoman authors approached the issue of poetic imitation very much like Roman, Medieval and Renaissance authors did.

Cāmī used his poem to illustrate his appreciative views of the poetry of Selmān Sāvecī, who was clearly not ashamed of imitating the works of others and who did his best to outdo his models:

> "He composed *ḳaṣīdes* in response to the poems of the classics. Some of them are better than the original, some of them are worse and some of them are equal to their models. His poems are full of ideas (*maʿnā*) he borrowed from earlier masters especially Kemāl-i İsmāʿīl and these ideas are very characteristic of him."[11]

7 See Riccardo Zipoli, *The Technique of the Ĝawāb. Replies by Nawāʾī to Hāfiz and Ĝâmī.* (Venice: Cafoscarina, 1993). 14.

8 See J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature.* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1968). 273; Abū Isḥaḳ–Hallāc Şīrāzī: *Dīvān-i Aṭʿima.* (Ḳosṭanṭiniyye: Maṭbaʿa-yı Abū al-Ziya 1302); Ḳārī-yi Yazdī: *Dīvān-i Albisa.* (Ḳosṭanṭiniyye; Maṭbaʿa-yı Abū al-Żiyā, 1303). Mīr ʿAlī-Şīr Nevāyī "Fānī": *Dīvān.* Bi-saʿī u ihtimām-i Rukn ad-Dīn Hūmāyūn Farrūḫ. (Tehrān: Asātīr, 1375).

9 For various definitions of *naẓīre* see Edith Gülçin Ambros, "Naẓīre, or will-o'-the-wisp of Ottoman Dīvān Poetry." *WZKM* 79 (1989). 57–58; Fatih M. Köksal: *Sana Benzer Güzel Olmaz. Divan Şiirinde Nazire.* (Ankara: Akcağ, 2006). 13–20; For the various terms used to denote slightly different shades of the concept of 'imitation' in Persian literary criticism see Paul Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī. Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal.* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1998). 107–114.

10 For the different levels of *naẓīre* poetry see Cemal Kurnaz: *Osmanlı Şair Okulu.* (Ankara: Birleşik Yayınevi, 2007). 32–57.

11 Cāmī: *Bahāristān.* 99.

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As it has been referred to earlier, the notion of competition was present in *naẓīre* writing in an Ottoman context as well. Many examples could be quoted here, but let it suffice to refer to Laṭīfī's report of how Ḳaramanlı Niẓāmī (born around 1435–1440) endeavoured to impress Meḥmed the Conqueror, a practicing poet himself. Niẓāmī decided to demonstrate his poetic skills by besting Aḥmet Paşa and thus he composed poetic responses to some of the Paşa's *ġazels* and *ḳaṣīdes.*[12]

> "In order to best the Axis of Poets, the deceased Aḥmet Paşa, he (Niẓāmī) composed unparalleled naẓīres to the Paşa's *ḳaṣīdes* using the *redīf ḳasr* ("citadel"), *laʿl* ("ruby") and güneş ("sun") respectively and also to his famous and most appreciated ġazels that were like the seven planets. He (Niẓāmī) wrote his compositions with utmost care, used many elegant rhetorical figures and these poems earned him an entry through the sublime and most exalted thresholds."[13]

Compared to the elitist Persian classical tradition where most poets were highly educated and well-trained professionals, the Ottoman environment was more 'democratic.' In the second half of the 15th century, as the Ottomans shifted from state-making to empire-building, the cultivation of poetry became an important public affair, and a new imperial cultural identity evolved within the newly created imperial linguistic-literary paradigm. Composing poetry in Ottoman Turkish developed into a social activity that was not reserved for a few highly talented and well-schooled specialists. Rather, it became a game that could be played at various levels and it was open to all layers of contemporary Ottoman society. Moreover, since the world of poetry was imbued by the spirit of meritocracy that was "*intrinsic to classical Ottoman institutions,*"[14] it was worth trying to compose good pieces of poetry: acknowledged art work could mean acceptance into the circles of the literary elite.

The easiest way towards a success in the field of poetic art was through writing *naẓīre*s to poetic texts created by famous authors or to famous or popular poetic texts. Not only because imitation, as we have seen, was an acknowledged act or process of literary creation, but also because a model poem provided poets with a firm poetic framework they could rely on. The chosen model supplied authors of imitation poems with a well-established metre, rhyme and *redīf* combination, a poetic mood defined by a set of ready-made ideas and images, and last but not least, a characteristic vocabulary. At the most basic level of imitation, all they had

12 For a short overview of Ḳaramanlı Niẓāmī's life see A. Azmi Bilgin, "Karamanlı Nizâmî." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi.* 24. (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001). 453–454.

13 Latîfî, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuʿarâ.* 533.

14 See Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600).* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). 173.

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to do was rearrange their poetic building stones into a new pattern. However, if they were ambitious and talented enough, they could add new elements as well.

In this context *naẓīre*, as a genre that rendered the process of composing poetry easily accessible and pleasing for anyone, even for beginners, the less talented or the poorly schooled, gained new importance. Besides offering a field for the professionals where poets of the higher leagues could compete with each other, it also gave amateur poets an arena in which they could practice and develop their skills. Contemporary biographical anthologies (*teẕkire*s) are full of reports of amateur poets like Cezerī Ḳāsim Paşa,[15] who

> "…tried his hand at composing poetry. He tested his talent by composing *naẓīres* to the poems of Aḥmet Paşa."[16]

The popularity of *naẓīre* as a sub-genre of gazel poetry in the early and mid-16th century might be assessed by two facts: the appearance of several voluminous *naẓīre* collections and the re-emergence of the poetical strategy represented by poets who composed almost exclusively imitation poems.[17]

Some scholars consider the quite voluminous *naẓīre* anthologies "educational tools" intended as textbooks for poets.[18] They might, however, also be viewed as snapshots of the contemporary literary scene for they presented a vast collection of classical literary forms popular at the time of their compilation. Thus, in contrast to *teẕkires*, which concentrated more on the details of the poets's lives, paraphrase anthologies documented current literary trends. It should be added here that though the contents of *naẓīre* anthologies vary and might reflect the personal taste of their compiler as well, they look very similar in form.[19]

These collections contain mainly *ġazels*, and they are divided into units or sets consisting of a base poem and a series of undated *naẓīre*s.[20] This kind of arrangement would suggest that each and every *naẓīre* of a given set is a para-

15 See Yaşar Akdoğan, Özlem Demirel, "Cezerī Kasim (Sāfī) Paşa'nın Hayatı ve Eserleri." *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili Ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 36 (2008). 1–40.

16 See ʿĀşık Çelebi, *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ.* Vol. 3. Ed. Kılıç, F. (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010). 1267.

17 The 16th century poet Muḥyī, for example, composed more than 400 *naẓīres.* See Mustafa Arslan: *Muhyî. Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği ve Divanı.* Doktora Tezi. (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi 2006). 60. Laṭīfī's long complaint about poets who can not do anything but imitate other poets' pieces is also a telling proof of the trend. Latîfî, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ.* 95–96.

18 See Selim S. Kuru, "The Literature of Rum." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey 2. The Ottoman Empire as a World Power; 1453–1603.* Eds. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, Kate Fleet. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). 580.

19 For a basic description of the collections of Eğridirli Hacı Kemāl, Edirneli Naẓmī and Pervāne Beg see Köksal, *Sana benzer.* 68–75; Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Şair Okulu.* 4–5.

20 Eğridirli Hacı Kemāl's anthology contains not only *ġazels* but other genres such as *ḳaṣīdes* and *murabbās.* For the terminological difference between the base poem (*zemin şiir*) and the model poem (*model şiir*) see Köksal, *Sana benzer.* 76–82.

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phrase of the *ġazel* that the compiler of the anthology considered the base poem. However, as the following comparative analysis of a choice set will show, the actual state of affairs is more complex. While some of the *naẓīres* within a given set are imitation poems inspired solely by the base poem, others have intertextual links to one or several other *gazel* or *ġazels* of the set as well. To make the situation more complicated, some of the *naẓīre*s have nothing in common with the base poem except for their basic formal framework that is, the metre, rhyme and *redīf* combination. It seems that the connections binding the elements of a given set together are not linear, but that they form a network, the shape of which varies from set to set.

A detailed analysis of relations within *naẓīre* networks in general might reveal why, and most importantly how, *naẓīre*s were composed. Through understanding why poets composed *naẓīres* and what strategies they applied in picking and imitating their models, we can gain insight into the workings of the Ottoman literary scene.

Since most classical poems, especially *ġazels*, "*were only transmitted as isolated pieces of poetry, detached from the context to which they belonged originally, the study and mapping of naẓīre networks in their entirety is particularly important.*"[21] The networks provide poems with a poetical context, and an analysis of this context opens up the possibility for an interpretation of individual poems which would not be possible solely on the basis of independent divans. Traditionally accepted claims on certain issues of 16th century Ottoman literary history, such as rock-hard opinions on the nature of the relationship between several of Ḫayālī's and Fużūlī's *ġazels*, could be challenged and altered this way.[22]

The *naẓīre* network from Pervāne Beg's collection dated 1560 has been selected here as a case study for several reasons. First of all, the network is a comparatively small one, consisting of a base poem and nineteen imitation *ġazels*.[23] Its relatively small size renders an in-depth comparative analysis of the poems a feasible undertaking.

21 See J. T. P. De Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry. An Introduction to the Mystical Use of Poems.* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997). 56.

22 For a few of these opinions, see Ali Nihat Tarlan, *Hayâlî Bey Dîvânı.* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1945,) 11; Hasibe Mazıoğlu, *Fuzûlî–Hâfız. İki Şair Bir Karşılaştırma. Doktora Tezi.* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956). 4; İskender Pala, "Fuzûlî'nin Kâfiye Örgüsü." In *Bu Alâmet ile Bulur Beni Soran.* Eds. Hanife Koncu, Müjgan Çakır. (İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2009). 213–215; Gencay Zavotçu, "Hayâlî ve Yahyâ Bey'in Gazellerinde Fuzûlî Etkisi." *Ilmî Araştırmalar.* 18 (2004). 123–134.

23 Pervāne Beg's collection contains much larger sets as well. The network that starts with Aḥmedī's *ġazel* using the metre *remel-i müṣemmen-i maḥẕūf* and the rhyme – *āb*, for example, contains 128 *naẓīre*s. B. Gündoğu, *Pervâne Beg Nazire Mecmuası (30a–67b). Trans-*

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Secondly, all the authors whose poems are included in the selected set seem to have shared several common features: they lived in the first half of the 16th century, they seem to have stayed in İstanbul for a longer time at some point of their lives, and they had connections to the imperial palace. Since they were contemporaries of each other, they might have been aware of each other's poetic efforts, and Pervāne Beg, who worked for the palace during this period as well, is apt to have known at least some of them. Supposing he had first hand information on the chronology of the network, the arrangement of the poems in his anthology might reflect the approximate order of their composition.

Another reason for the choice of this network is that the poems have an easily recognizable formal framework consisting of a common metre, *remel-i müṣemmen-i maḥẕūf*, a rhyme (*-at/-et*) that provides poets with a wide range of rhyming words, a unique *redīf* (*beklerüz* "we are waiting"; "we are guarding") and a characteristic vocabulary.[24]

Another important reason for the choice of this network is the fact that quite a few *beklerüz naẓīres* were composed in the period between the late 16th and the late 20th centuries. This enables us to place the network into a historical perspective, trace its reception history and see how a distinct poetic form becomes a sub-genre of ġazel poetry and gets institutionalized within the Ottoman tradition.[25]

The *beklerüz naẓīre* network, as it is recorded in Pervāne Beg's collection, starts with the base poem of Enverī (d. 1547), an illiterate ink maker, firework expert, and amateur poet who had good connections with state officials at the palace.[26]

As already mentioned, the majority of the eighteen authors of the nineteen *naẓīre*s lived in İstanbul at some point of their lives, and were, in one way or

kripsiyonlu ve Edisyonkritikli Metin. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2002). 197–296.

24 According to Haluk İpekten's estimation, 30 % of Ottoman *ġazels* rely on the *metre remel-i müsemmen-i maḥẕūf*. Mustafa İsen thinks that this proportion is around 40 %. Haluk İpekten, *Eski Türk Edebiyatı. Nazım Şekilleri ve Aruz.* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2002). 281; Mustafa İsen, "Aruzun Anadolu'daki Gelişme Çizgisi". in: *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı–Belleten.* (1991). 121. Many verbal nouns (*nomen actionis*) of Arabic origin end in *–at/-et*, and this may be a reason why the rhyme is used frequently. Even if we do not count the words that do not fit into the metrical pattern, a wide range of suitable rhyming words remain. Seydī ʿĀlī's early 20th century dictionary of rhyming words supplies a forty page list of words ending in *–at/-et*. Seydī ʿĀlī: *Secʿī ve Ḳāfiye Lüġatı.* (İstanbul: Maṭbaʿa-yı Kütüpḫāne-i Cihān, 1905). 129–170.

25 For the text of the *bekelrüz* poems discovered so far, see the appendix of my unpublished habilitation thesis. Benedek Péri, *Mehmed Fuzûlî (1483–1556) …bekleriz redífre írt gazelje és helye az oszmán költészet történetében* (*Mehmed Fuzūlī's gazel using the redīf bekleriz and its place in the history of Ottoman poetry*). (Budapest: 2015). 152–235.

26 For his life and career see Cemal Kurnaz / Mustafa Tatcı, *Ümmî Divan Şairleri ve Enverī Divanı.* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 2001). 17–38.

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another, connected to the Serāy. Ḫayālī (d. 1557), an antinomian Ḥaydarī dervish turned professional poet, arrived in İstanbul around 1520. He quickly became the favourite of the Sultan Süleymān.[27] Ḥaydar Beg Remmāl (d. 1565/66), the author of the second *naẓīre*, was also close to the emperor. He was born in Tebrīz and he studied astrology in Iran. As a learned man and an expert on various techniques of soothsaying, he became tutor to Tāhmāsb Mīrzā, son of Shah İsmāʿīl around 1520.[28] He fled to İstanbul sometime "during the early years of Tāhmāsb's reign" and served Sultan Süleymān as an influential geomancer for a few decades.[29] He knew Enverī, the author of the base poem, very well, as Enverī acted as his steward (*kethüdā*) for some time.[30]

The third *naẓīre* was composed by Ḳānūnī Sultan Süleymān (Muḥibbī)[31] and the fourth one by a certain Pertevī Paşa, who appears to be identical with the Ottoman state official Pertev Meḥmed Paşa (d. 1572). During his career Pertev Paşa served in many high positions, first as a commander of the guards at the Palace (*ḳapucıbaşı*) and later as commander of the janissaries (*yeñiçeri ağası*; 1544–1554).[32] He was elevated to the rank of second vizier in 1564/65 and a couple of years later he got an appointment to the navy. After the disastrous sea battle at Lepanto, he retired and finally died in 1572.

It is difficult to ascertain the true identity of the poet whom Pervāne Beg calls *Meḥmed Paşa-i vilāyet-i Diyārbekir*, but if we suppose that Pervāne Beg wished to make it possible for his readers to identify lesser known poets and thus he used an appellation that characterized them the best, out of the three Meḥmed Paşas governing Diyarbekir in the first half of the 16th century, Toḳatlızāde Meḥmed is our most likely candidate.[33]

27 For a detailed description of his career and his relationship with the Sultan see Cemal Kurnaz, "Kânûnî'nin En Sevdiği Şairdi: Hayâlî Bey." *Dil ve Edebiyat.* 30, (Hazıran: 2011). 16–33.

28 See Stephen P. Blake, *Time in Early Modern Islam.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). 167.

29 Blake: *Time*, p. 171. For his career on Ottoman soil, see Cornel Fleischer, "Seer to the Sultan: Haydar-i Remmal and Sultan Süleyman." In *Cultural Horizons. A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman.* Ed. Jayne L. Warner. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001). 290–299.

30 Cemal Kurnaz: *Türküden Gazele. Halk ve Divan Şiirinin Müşterekleri Üzerine Bir Deneme.* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1997). 85; Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi. *Tezkiretü'ş-şuʿarâ.* Vol. 1. Ed. İbrahim Kutluk. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989). 189.

31 For further research on Muḥibbī see Christiane Czygan, "Power and poetry: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's Third Divan." *Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II. Turkey Transformed? Power History, Culture.* Eds. Meltem Ersoy, Esra Özyürek. (Wiesbaden: Springer VS., 2017). 101–112.

32 İdris Bostan, "Pertev Paşa." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi.* Vol. 34. (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007). 235. I. E. Petrosjan (Ed.) *Mebde-i kânûn yeniçeri ocağı târihi.* (Moskva: Nauka, 1987). 194.; Solak-zâde: *Solak-zâde Tarihi.* Ed. Vahid Çabuk. Vol. 2.. (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1989). 242.

33 See İbrahim Yılmazçelik, "Osmanlı Hâkimiyeti Süresince Diyarbakır Eyâleti Vâlileri (1516–

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Penāhī is the *nom de plume* (*taḫallus*) of the court painter Şāh-ḳulu (d. 1556), who became the head of the royal atelier in İstanbul during the reign of Süleymān.[34] We do not have much information about the next poet, ʿİşretī. According to our sources he became closely attached to Prince Bāyezīd in the early 1550's and followed his patron to Edirne and later to Kütahya. He was a kadi in Eskişehir for a while, but due to his heavy drinking, Süleymān dismissed him.[35]

None of the contemporary *teẕkire*s mention a poet with the *taḫallus* Belāʾī. According to ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi's *teẕkire*, Sirācī was still alive in 1568/69. He was well-versed in various sciences and also in the art of rhetoric. Caʿfer Çelebi, the "*defterdār* of Bagdad" might be the same person to whom Fużūlī addressed quite a few ḳaṣīdes, four in Turkish and five in Persian.[36]

Merāmī's family had been working at the palace kitchen for generations. He studied to become a clerk and worked for the imperial council (*dīvān-i hümāyūn*).[37] Ḳınalızāde mentions two ʿEyşīs in his anthology. One of them was originally from Baghdad and arrived in İstanbul in the 1570s; the other ʿEyşī, who might be our poet, came from Iran at an unknown date and worked as a clerk at the imperial chancery.[38] ʿArşī from Yenipazar specialized in composing chronograms.[39] He must have had formal schooling and worked perhaps as a clerk because Pervāne Beg calls him *Çelebi*.[40] Our sources do not mention any poet bearing the *taḫallus* Ādemī. Raḥīḳī (d. 1546) originally served as a janissary, but in connection with the riots that took place in İstanbul in March 1525, he was dismissed.[41] He started a new career and became a druggist. The designer drug he invented (*ḥabb-ı Raḥīḳī* or *berş-i Raḥīkī*) got very popular at the end of the century and was produced until the early 1830s.[42]

1838)." *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 10:1. (2000). 243. For a more detailed treatment of the question see Péri, *Mehmed Fuzûlî*. 24–26.

34 For a detailed description of his life and works see Banu Mahir, "Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Ünlü Ressamı Şah Kulu ve Eserleri." In *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi – Yıllık* 1 (1986). 113–234.

35 See ʿÂşik Çelebi: *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ*. 2. Ed. Filiz Kılıç. (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010). 1082.; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak: "XIV–XVI. Yüzyıllarda Kalenderî Dervişleri ve Osmanlı Yönetimi." In *Osmanlı Sufiliğine Bakışlar. Makaleler – İncelemeler*. (İstanbul: Timaş, 2011). 152. Ed. Mustafa İsen. *Künhü'l-Ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994). 228.

36 For a detailed argumentation see Péri: *Mehmed Fuzûlî*. 28, 97–102.

37 See Süleyman Solmaz, *ʿAhdî ve Gülşen-i Şuʿarâsı*. (İnceleme–Metin). (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2005). 542; Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şuʿarâ*. Ed. İbrahim Kutluk. Vol. 2. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989). 889–890.

38 Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi: *Tezkiretü'ş-şuʿarâ*. 710–711.

39 See ʿÂşik Çelebi, *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ*. Vol. 2. 1065.

40 See Yakup Yılmaz: *Pervâne Beg Nazîre Mecmuası (99b–129a). Transkripsiyonlu, Edisyon Kritikli Metin*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2001). 74.

41 See Péri, *Mehmed Fuzûlî*, p. 30.

42 See Ömer Düzbakar, "Notes on the Attar Poets in Ottoman History: Reflections from the Shari'a Court Records of Bursa and Poets' Biographies." *Journal of the International Society*

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Şihābī is not mentioned in any of the contemporary biographies. ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi mentions a secretary to the janissary corps (*yeñiçeri kātibi*) named Şihābuddīn, who introduced the young janissary Yaḥyā, the later Taşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg (the renowned poet of the second half of the 16th century), to various arts (*hüner*) and sciences (*ʿilm*).[43] Since it was not rare among amateur poets to use their own names as a pen name, Şihābuddīn and Şihābī might be the same person.[44]

Ḳara Memi Çelebi (Müdāmī) was born in İstanbul sometime in the early 1500s and in his youth he served as a *sipahi oğlanı.* His fascination with knowledge drove him to study. Later in his life he became a teacher (*müderris*), a judge, and finally a representative of the state treasury (*emīn-i beytü'l-māl*) in the capital. He passed away in the 1560s.[45]

Cinānī has not been identified yet. Contemporary *teẕkires* mention three Cinānīs, the author of the *Bedāyiʿü'l-Āṣār* (Amazing Works), a soldier poet from Semendire (Szendrő), and a certain Riżvān-zāde from Amasya who died during the reign of Selīm I.[46]

As mentioned earlier, most of our poets shared a few common features: they lived in İstanbul during the 1520s–1540s for sometime, they were connected to the imperial palace, and the great majority of them were not professional poets. Their amateurism and the way they handled their poetical devices lent a more or less uniform outlook to their *ġazels.* The metrical analysis of the *beklerüz ġazels* show that their authors were aware of the main rules of the Persian system of quantitative verse (*ʿarūż*). They rarely made mistakes in scansion (*taḳṭīʿ*) and implemented the rule of overlong syllables (*imāle-i maʿdūde*) correctly for the most part.[47] Nevertheless, as it often happened with less talented or experienced poets, they often resorted to applying a lengthening of Turkish short vowels (*imāle-i makṣūre*) and in order to have the required number of syllables in a given

for the History of Islamic Medicine. 5:9 (2006). 21; Ali Riza Bey, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul.* (İstanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi, n. d.). 143; Murat Uluskan, "İstanbul'da Bir Afyonlu Macun İşletmesi: Berş-i Rahîkî Macunhanesi (1783–1831)." *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 29 (2013). 77–106. For the ingredients of Raḥīḳī's highly succesful product see Péri Benedek, "A Janissary's Son Turned Druggist.and His Highly Successful Designer Drug in the 16th–17th Century." In *Osmanlı İstanbulu IV.* Eds. Feridun M. Emecen, Ali Akyıldız, Emrah Safa Gürkan. (İstanbul: Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi , 2017). 643–654.

43 See ʿÂşik Çelebi, *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ.* 2. 673.

44 Harun Tolasa: *Sehî, Lâtîfi ve Âşık Çelebi Tezkirelerine Göre 16. Yüzyılda Edebiyat Araştırma ve Eleştirisi.* (Ankara: Akçağ , 2002). 234.

45 See Solmaz, ʿ*Ahdî.* 521–524; Kınalı-zâde, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuʿarâ.*2. 885; ʿÂşik Çelebi: *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ.* Vol. 2. 796.

46 See Osman Ünlü, *Cinânî'nin Bedâyiü'l-Âsâr'ı. İnceleme ve Metin.* Doktora Tezi. (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi, 2008). 13; Latîfî: *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuʿarâ.* 218–219; Kınalı-zâde: *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuʿarâ.*. 1. 266–268.

47 The two instances are in the third copulet of ʿEyşî's and in the fourth couplet of Merāmī's *ġazel.*

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hemistich, they frequently inserted relatively meaningless time expressions (e. g. *niçe yıllar* "for a couple of years", *her rūz u şeb* "every day and night", *her dem* "every minute", etc.) into their lines.

Though poets of the *beklerüz* network had a wide choice of rhyming words at their disposal they tended to use the same emblematic nouns (*selāmet* "well-being", *melāmet* "scorn", *nevbet* "turn of duty, watch", etc.) and rarely introduced new elements.[48] The uniformity of the *ġazels* of the network is further enhanced by their unique *redīf*, *beklerüz*, which belongs the category of refrains that can heavily influence a *ġazel's* mood.[49] Most *beklerüz* ġazels in Pervāne Beg's collection are *yek-āheng ġazels*, mainly love poems (*ʿāşıḳāne ġazels*); but while Ḥaydar Beg's, Muḥibbī's or ʿEyşī's *ġazel* is most probably addressed to an earthly beloved, Ḥayālī's poem can be interpreted as an expression of devotional love (*ʿışḳ-i ḥaḳīḳī*) towards the Absolute Truth (*Ḥaḳḳ*). This type of love lyric represents a transitory stage between the *ʿāşıḳāne* and *sūfiyāne* (mystical) *ġazels* of the set to which Ādemī's and Cinānī's poems belong.

We should add here that in spite of the extremely formal nature of classical *ġazels*, a very personal tone may be detected in several of the poems. The closing couplet (*maḳṭaʿ*) of Caʿfer Çelebi's *ġazel* expresses the poet's longing for his homeland, and the first few *beyts* of Sirācī's piece might be interpreted as lines from a *merdāne ġazel* expressing a pledge of loyalty to the ruler.[50]

Poems of the *beklerüz* set are connected to the base poem of Enverī or to each other through an intricate network of inter-textual links that will be presented here through a few choice examples. The set contains two poems composed by Ḥayālī. Even a short glance is enough to see that the two *ġazels* were inspired by two different model poems. A few scattered inter-textual allusions, especially the combination of the imagery of wine drinking, the notion of 'burning' love, the *iżāfet* phrase at the beginning of the second hemistich, and the rhyming word of the fourth couplet suggests that Ḥayālī's first *ġazel* is an emulation of Enverī's base poem.

48 Sirācī, the most innovative of our poets as far as the selection of rhyming words is concerned, uses four rhyming words (*mürüvvet* "generosity", *ruhsat* "permission", *himmet* "grace", *vahdet* "singleness") none of which his fellow poets used.

49 For a general description of the concept of *redīf*, see Laurence Paul Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian Metres.* (Cambridge: 1976). 225–226.; Franklin D. Lewis, "The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain. The Radīf "Ātash u Āb." In *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry.* Ed. Suzanne Pickney Stetkevych. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994). 200–201. For *redīf* in the Ottoman tradition and its influence on a poem's mood, see Nurettin Albayrak, "Redîf." In *TDVİA.* Vol. 34. (2007). 523–524; Kaplan Üstüner: "*Güler* Redifli Gazellerin Karşılaştırması." *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi.* 28 (2010). 183; Muʿallim Naci: *Iṣṭılāḥāt-ı Edebîye.* (İstanbul: Ā. Āsādūryān Şirket-i Murettebîye Matbaʿası, 1307). 178.

50 For a short description of this unique mood characteristic to Turkish, especially Ottoman *ġazel* poetry, see Péri, *Mehmed Fuzûlî.* 46–47.

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Enverī V.
Enverī Ferhād-ile Mecnūnı yaḳdı cām-ı ʿIŞḲ
Meclis-i dil-dārda biz daḫı soḥbet beklerüz[51]
"Enverī! The cup of love has burnt Ferhād and Mecnūn,
In the assembly of the beloved we are guarding the conversation"

Ḫayālī 1/IV.
Ḫūn-ı dil nūş itmege peymānesinden dāġumun
Meclis-i ʿuŞŞĀḲda eṣḥāb-ı soḥbet beklerüz
"In order to drink the blood of our hearts from the goblet of our burning wounds,
In the assembly of lovers we are guarding the conversation."

Ḫayālī's second *ġazel*, on the other hand, seems to be linked to another poem. The first couplet (*maṭlaʿ*) of a *naẓīre* might have a special function and serve as a kind of 'title' or 'introduction' informing the reader whose poem the author is going to imitate or emulate. Ḫayālī's *maṭlaʿ* is full of references hinting at a close link to the third couplet of Pertev Paşa's poem. The two phrases at the end of the two *mıṣrāʿs* (*kūy-i ferāġat* "the street of renunciation," *künc-i ḳanāʿat* "the corner of contentment") containing the rhyming words, the *künc* "corner"-*genc* "treasure" homographic pair, and the concept of renouncing earthly attachments are key motives in the third couplet of the Paşa's poem as well.

Ḫayālī 2/I.
"Ḳayddan āzādeyüz kūy-ı ferāġat beklerüz
Naḳd-i ṣabrun GENC*iyüz künc-i ḳanāʿat beklerüz"*
"We are free of (earthly) bonds, we are guarding the street of renunciation,
We are the treasure that can be purchased for the coins of patience. We are guarding the corner of contentment."

Pertev Paşa III.
"Bulmışuz künc-i ḳanāʿatde nice GENC*-i nihān*[52]
Tāc u taḫtı terk idüb kūy-ı ferāġat beklerüz"
"We have found the hidden treasure in the corner of contentment.
We have abandoned our crown and throne, we are guarding the street of renunciation."

Quite a few of the poetic building stones of Ḫayālī's third couplet, such as the noun phrase *pīr-i muġān* "the old man of the magi," the noun *ʿālem* "world," the time expression *ḫaylīden* "for a long time," and the nominal phrase containing the rhyming word of the couplet *bāb-i saʿādet* "the gate of bliss" have their corresponding parts in Pertevī's second *beyt*.

51 Typographic devices are applied with the intent to highlight parallelisms of the couplets compared.
52 The editor of the text read the word *genc* in the first hemistich as *künc*, which is clearly a mistake.

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Ḫayālī 2/III.
"Ḫaylīden PĪR-I MUĠĀNuñ sākin-i dergāhıyuz
Kāmrān-ı ʿālemüz bāb-ı saʿādet beklerüz"
"We have been dwelling in the palace of the old man of the magi for a long time,
We have found contentment in this world, we are guarding the gate of bliss."

Pertev Paşa II.
"Bende-i PĪR-I MUĠĀN olduḳ nice demler durur
ʿĀlemün sulṭānıyuz bāb-ı saʿādet beklerüz"
"We have been servants to the old man of the magi for quite some time,
We are the sultans of this world, we are guarding the gate of bliss."

If we add to this the fact that the word *pertev* ("light") occurs in the second couplet of Ḫayālī's poem, our theory that Ḫayālī's second ġazel was written as a poetic response to Pertev Paşa's poem seems to be more than plausible.

Pertev Paşa's poem, on the other hand, looks as if it was inspired by Ḫayālī's first *ġazel.* The title-like *maṭlaʿ*, defining the context of interpretation for the reader, is a close replica of Ḫayālī's first couplet. Pertev Paşa applied the most primitive or basic method of composing imitation poems that we might term reproduction or "the repetition of the same."[53] His aim might have been to create an exact copy or a duplicate of his model, and in order to achieve this goal he used either the original building stones of his model arranged in a different order or he slightly modified or paraphrased them.

In their first couplets both poets use the same rhyming words, *melāmet–selāmet* and in both of the second hemistiches the rhyming word is part of the same noun phrase, *kūy-ı…* "the street of." The first word of Ḫayālī's beyt, *ʿāşıḳuz* "we are lovers," resurfaces as a qualified noun in a nominal phrase in the second *miṣrāʿ* of the Paşa's couplet, "*bir belā-keş ʿāşıḳuz.*" Ḫayālī's second hemistich starts with an imperative clause, "*zāhidā ṣanma bizi*" ("Ascetic, do not think that we…!") which reappears in many later *beklerüz ġazels.* Pertev Paşa's first *mıṣrāʿ* begins with a slightly modified version of this emblematic clause most likely because the Paşa intended to inform his readers and also the author of his model that the poem should be read and interpreted as a paraphrase of Ḫayālī's first *ġazel.*

Ḫayālī1/I.
"*ʿĀşıḳuz dervāze-i şehr-i melāmet beklerüz*
Zāhidā ṣanma bizi kūy-ı selāmet beklerüz"
"We are lovers. We are guarding the gates of the city of scorn.
Ascetic, do not think that we are guarding the street of well-being!"

53 For a detailed study on the subject see John Muckelbauer: *The Future of Invention. Rhetoric, Postmodernism and the Problem of Change.* (Albany: State University of New York, 2008). 57.

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Pertev Paşa I.
"*Ṣanma zāhid bizi rāh-ı selāmet beklerüz*[54]
Bir belā-keş ʿāşıḳuz kūy-ı melāmet beklerüz"
"Ascetic, do not think, that we are guarding the road leading towards well-being,
We are pain-stricken lovers, we are guarding the street of scorn."

The similarities between the two *ġazels* do not end at the *maṭlaʿ*s. The key concepts and the vocabulary used to express them are very much alike in Ḫayālī's third and Pertevī's fourth couplet. The notion of buying and selling, the noun expressing ready money (*naḳd*), the concept of the goods of being together with the beloved (*kālā-yı vuṣlat* and *vaṣlun meṭāʿı*) that can be purchased in exchange for the poet's soul (*cān*), the verbal noun *almaġa* (in order to purchase), and the noun *ḫ̲ᵛāce* "master" are all present in both beyts.

Ḫayālī 1/III.
"*Ḫ̲ᵛāce-yi ʿışḳuz bugün bāzār-ı mihr-i yārda*
Naḳd-i cānla almaġa kālā*-yı vuṣlat beklerüz*"
"We are the masters of love. We are at the marketplace where our beloved's love is sold,
We are waiting in order to pay for the goods of being together with the coins of our soul."

Pertev Paşa IV.
Almaġa vaṣlun meṭāʿını *virüb cānı revān*
Naḳd-i ʿömri ṣarf idüb iy ḫ̲ᵛāce nevbet beklerüz
"It is agreeable to get the goods of being together in exchange for our souls.
We have spent the coins of our life. Master, we are waiting for our turn."

We do not know anything about the nature of the relationship of Ḫayālī and Pertev Paşa, but the symbolic gestures of imitating each other's poems would suggest that they knew and respected one another.

As far as the inter-textual links binding Pertev Paşa's *ġazel* to other poetic products of the mid-16th century are concerned, we should briefly mention here a *muḫammes* composed by Nisāyī, one of the few lady poets of the age.[55] The text was published several times but none of the editors noticed its connection to Pertevī's *ġazel*. Nevertheless, if we take a closer look at the text, we see that it is a *taḫmīs* containing Pertevī's *ġazel*, the model poem in its entirety as per rule of the genre.[56]

54 The *mıṣrāʿ* contains a metrical mistake in this form. The first long syllable of the second foot is missing.

55 See Mehmet Çavuşoglu, "16. Yüzyılda Yaşamış Bir Kadın Şâir." *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 9. (1978). 405–416; Walter G. Andrews / Najaat Black / Mehmet Kalpaklı, *Ottoman Lyric Poetry. An Anthology*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006). 284.

56 Çavuşoğlu considered the poem a *taḫmīs*, but he thought that it was inspired by Fużūlī's or Ḫayālī's *ġazel*. Çavuşoğlu: "16.Yüzyılda". 408. Nisāyī's poem is not the only *taḫmīs* in the four and a half century long history of the *beklerüz* tradition. However, the great majority of *beklerüz* poems composed in this genre were written in the 18th–19th century. Muvaḳḳit-zāde

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While Pertevī and Ḫayālī had a certain poem in mind when they composed their *naẓīre*s, Raḥīḳī's poem, the fifteenth *ġazel* in the set, represents a very typical type of *beklerüz* ġazel and at the same time an often used imitation strategy. Rahīkī based his emulation poem not on a single model, but more on a faceless *beklerüz* tradition. He used several choice elements selected from previous poetic texts to create something new and original, while remaining within the formal framework of the *beklerüz* network.

The first *mıṣrāʿ* of his title-like first couplet appears to be a close copy of the second hemistich of Ḫayālī's first *ġazel*. By producing an almost identical replica of one of Ḫayālī's emblematic lines, Rahīkī might have wished to inform his readers that his poem should be read and judged as a poetic response to Ḫayālī's *ġazel*.

Raḥīḳī I/1.
Ṣanma ey zāhid bizi künc-i selāmet beklerüz
"Do not think, ascetic, that we are waiting in the street of well-being"

Ḫayālī 1. I/2.
"*Zāhidā ṣanma bizi kūy-ı selāmet beklerüz*"
"Ascetic, do not think that we are guarding the street of well-being!"

The pair of rhyming words (*selāmet–melāmet*) Raḥīḳī uses in his *maṭlaʿ* should be considered as another inter-textual allusion connecting his poem to Ḫayālī's first *ġazel*. From the second beyt onwards this close relationship between the two *ġazels* ceases to exist, and instead of directly using the building stones of Ḫayālī's *ġazel*, Rahīkī turns to a much wider source and starts borrowing elements from other poems of the *beklerüz* network. The time expression *ṣubḥa dek* ("till dawn") and the clause *her gece nevbet beklerüz* ("we stay on guard every night") occur together in this order in two ġazels, and they precede Raḥīḳī's poem in the Pervāne Beg's collection.

Raḥīḳī II/2.
"*Ṣubḥa dek göz yummazuz her gece nevbet beklerüz*"
"We do not close our eyes till dawn. We stay on guard every night"

Meḥmed Pertev (1746–1807) was inspired by the poem of a certain Seyyid ʿAtīḳ Efendi. In order to express their respect and gratitude, he and his fellow student Endrūnlu Ḥalīmī (d. after 1830) also composed *taḫmīs*es using the *beklerüz* gazel of their beloved teacher Hoca Neş'et Efendi. Bayburtlu Ẓihnī (1797–1859), Ḥālişī (1797–1858), Bursalı Murād Emrī (1850–1916) based their *taḫmīs*es on the famous *beklerüz ġazel* of Fużūlī. Bayburtlu Ẓihnī, *Dīvān-i Ẓihnī. Ġazeliyāt.* (İstanbul: Dersaʿādet, 1876). 34–35; İsa Çelik, "Kadiriyye Tarikatı Hâlisiyye Şubesinin Kurucusu Şeyh Abdurrahman Hâlis Kerkükî." *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* no. 38 (2008). 177–178. İbrahim İ. Öztahtalı, *Bursalı Murâd Emrî Efendi ve Divanı.* Doktora Tezi. (Ankara: AnkaraÜniversitesi, 2009). 380–382.

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Sirācī II/2.
"*Dergehinde ṣubḥa dek her gece nevbet beklerüz*"
"We stay on guard in his palace till dawn every night."

Caʿfer Çelebi IV/II.
"*Eşiğünde ṣubḥa dek her gece nevbet beklerüz*"
"We stay on guard at his gate till dawn every night."

The simultaneous occurrence of the noun *kārbān* ("caravan") and the phrase *der bend-i miḥnet* ("in the shackles of…") in the third beyt suggests a possible connection between Rahīḳī's *ġazel* and Enverī's base poem.

Raḥīḳī III.
"*Gözlerüz kūh-ı belāda kārbān-ı ġuṣṣayı*"
Vādī-yi endūhda der-bend-i miḥnet beklerüz"
"We are watching the caravan of sorrow advancing on the mountain of troubles.
We are waiting in the valley of anxiety in the shackles of pain."

Enverī I.
"*Kārbān-ı vaṣl-ı dildārı beġāyet beklerüz*
Nice yıllardur ki der-bend-i maḥabbet beklerüz"
"We are waiting for the caravan of getting together with our beloved.
We have been waiting in the shackles of love for years."

Though it is difficult to prove, the idea behind the concept of the "mountain of troubles" (*kūh-ı belā*) might connect Raḥīḳī's third couplet to Ḫayālī's second beyt, which also contains the noun phrase *der bend-i miḥnet* "in the shackles of pain," as well as the image of a mountain, the Mountain of Bisutūn, where Ferhād, "the mountain digger" (*kūh-kan*) struggled to carve a road in the unrelenting rocks.

Raḥīḳī's fourth and the fifth couplets seem to draw heavily from conventional elements of the *beklerüz* tradition. Their keywords *pādşāh*, *mülk* ("kingdom"), *ḥüsn* ("beauty"), a *bende* ("servant"), a *serhad* ("border"), a *hicrān* ("separation"), a *dāʾim* ("continuously"), *şehr* ("city"), *fenā* ("annihilation"), *pāsbān* ("guard") appear separately or in pairs in poems that are placed before Raḥīḳī's in Pervāne Beg's *mecmūʿa*.

We should return here to Raḥīḳī's third couplet for a moment because it seems to be connected to a mid-16th century *beklerüz* poem that is not included in the anthology. Its author, Seḥābī (d. 1564), migrated from Iran to Istanbul after the *ʿIrāḳeyn* campaign of 1534–35. He was introduced at court by his patron Ḳadrī Efendi, and since he was considered an expert on Sufism, the sultan entrusted him with the translation of al-Ġazzālī's *Kīmyā-yı seʿādet* (Alchemy of Eternal Bliss), which he finished in 1562–63.[57]

57 Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şuʿarâ*. 450–452.

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Even if we cast only a superficial glance at the two poems, it becomes clear that, except for a slight grammatical difference in the first hemistich, Raḥīkī's and Seḥābī's third couplets are identical.

Raḥīḳī III.
"*Gözlerüz kūh-ı belāda kārbān-ı ġuṣṣayı*
Vādī-i endūhda der-bend-i miḥnet beklerüz"
"We are watching the caravan of sorrow advancing on the mountain of troubles.
We are waiting in the valley of anxiety in the shackles of pain."

Seḥābī III.
"*Gözlerüz kūh-ı belādan kārbān-ı ġuṣṣayı*
Vādī-i endūhda der-bend-i miḥnet beklerüz"[58]
"We are watching the caravan of sorrow from the mountain of troubles.
We are waiting in the valley of anxiety in the shackles of pain."

The parallels between the two poems, however, start earlier, at the *maṭlāʿs*. Though the first hemistichs differ slightly in meaning, their structure and vocabulary is almost the same. The structure of the second *mıṣrāʿ* is the same as well. Both of them consist of two utterances with a first person plural predicate and with a caesura falling after the third syllable of the second foot. Their rhyming words are the same (*melāmet*) and the character the shah of love appears in both of them.

Raḥīḳī I/1.
"*Ṣanma ey zāhid bizi* künc-*i selāmet beklerüz*
Mülk-i ʿışḳun şāh*ıyuz taḫt-ı melāmet beklerüz*"
"Do not think, ascetic, that we are waiting in the street of well-being!
We are the shahs of the kingdom of love. We are guarding the throne of scorn."

Seḥābī I/1.
"*Ṣanma kim zāhid gibi* genc-*i selāmet beklerüz*
Ṣaḥne-i şāh-*ı ġamuz şehr-i melāmet beklerüz*"
"Do not think that we are guarding the treasure of well-being like an ascetic!
We are the sentries of the shah of sorrow. We are guarding the city of scorn."

The second beyt of Raḥīkī and that of Seḥābī also share some common elements. Beside the rhyming word (*nevbet*) and two time phrases (*ṣubḥa dek* "till dawn", *her gece* "each night"), a keyword *ḳalʿe* ("fortress") also occurs in both couplets.

Seḥābī's *ġazel* takes us to the problem of those mid-16th century *beklerüz ġazels* that are not included in Pervāne Beg's anthology. It is very difficult to explain why the altogether eight poems composed by Muḥibbī (3 *ġazels*),[59] Cenāb

58 See Cemal Bayak, *Sehâbî Dîvânı*. (Ankara: n. d.) 80. http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti-/10648,metinpdf.pdf?0 (10. 06. 2015).

59 See Coşkun Ak, *Muhibbî Divanı*. (Trabzon: Trabzon Valiliği Yayınları, 2006). 379, 382–83.

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Aḥmed Paşa "Cenābī" (d. 1561; 2 *ġazels*),[60] Seyrī,[61] Firdevsī (d. 1564)[62] and Fużūlī (d. 1557),[63] respectively, are not included in the *mecmūʿa*. It is not known how Pervāne Beg collected his material or on what basis he chose some poems rather than others. Since the anthology includes a few other poems by Cenābī, Firdevsī, Fużūlī and Seḥābī, the easiest way to explain the absence of the above mentioned *ġazels* would be to surmise that these poems were either not ready at the time when Pervāne Beg collected his material or, as it might have happened with Fużūlī's *ġazel*, they remained unknown to him somehow.

The authors of the "missing" *ġazels*, on the other hand, seem to have been well aware of at least some of the already existing poems. The *ġazels* composed by Firdevsī, Seyrī and Fuzūlī belong to the group of typical *beklerüz ġazels* which combine elements of a faceless tradition with new elements that reflect a given poet's talent and imagination. The majority of these *ġazels* are products of poetic emulation, rather than imitation. They appear to be a kind of personal and subjective synthesis of earlier texts.

Cenābī's first *ġazel* represents the other end of the line. With its five couplets directly borrowed from Ḫayālī's first *ġazel*, it seems to be nothing else but a flagrant case of literary theft (*sirḳat*). Muḥibbī's pieces, being reworked and updated versions of his first *ġazel*, look as if they were somewhere in-between the two extremes.[64]

Though we can only guess why Fużūlī and the others wished to join the authors of the network,[65] the sheer fact that these poems came into being indicates that the *beklerüz* tradition represented a fashionable and popular genre in mainstream Ottoman poetry in the mid-16th century.

The *beklerüz* network continued to enjoy an undiminished popularity in the oncoming decades. Nine more *ġazels* appeared during the second half of the century. The great number of 'traditional' elements, metaphors (e. g. the mill of fate that grinds the seeds of human life), set phrases (e. g. *Ḳāf-i ḳanāʿat*), time hardened rhyming words (e. g. *maḥabbet*, *melāmet*), and other vocabulary items

60 See Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu, "Ankara'da Cenabi Ahmed Paşa Camii ve Cenabi Ahmed Paşa." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942). 216; *Dīvān-i Cenābī*. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Pertev Paşa. 390. 38b–39a.

61 *Dīvān-i Seyrī*. BnF Turc 280, f. 75r. We do not know much about Seyrī. The only source for his life is his *dīvān*. See Péri, *Mehmed Fuzûlî*. 37–38.

62 Sümeyye Koca, *Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan No: 1972'de Kayıtlı Mecmūʿa-i Eşʿār (Vr. 160b–240a). İnceleme-Metin*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2013). 289.

63 See Fuzulî, *Türkçe Divan*. Ed. İsmail Parlatır. (Ankara: Akçağ, 2012). 257.

64 For a comparative analysis of Muḥibbī's poems see Péri: *Mehmed Fuzûlî*. 39–40.

65 Fużūlī's *ġazel* might have been part of a grand strategy that aimed at gaining the support of potential Ottoman patrons. For a full and detailed analysis of the poem and for my views on Fużūlī's *beklerüz ġazel* see Péri: *Mehmed Fuzûlî*. 86–115).

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(e.g. *ṣanma*) present in the *beklerüz ġazels* composed by Bursalı Raḥmī (d. 1568),[66] Ḫazānī Efendi (d. 1571),[67] Emrī (d. 1575),[68] Ravżī (d. before 1582),[69] Mostarlı Żiyāʾī (d. 1584),[70] Ḥüsāmī (d. 1593),[71] Bālī (d. 1594?),[72] Vāhibī (d. 1595)[73] and Kelāmī[74] suggest that the initial paraphrase network had already started to develop into a well-definable *beklerüz* tradition.

Poets who very consciously became bearers of this tradition did not try to imitate one model or some select poems of the network, but rather aimed at interpreting or recreating an anonymous tradition in a very personal way. It is interesting to notice that this method of imitation, which is so characteristic of Persian literary traditions, appears to be quite similar to the path the Italian humanist, Petrarch (1304–1374) advised authors of imitation to follow: "*He will strengthen, I hope, his mind and style and produce one thing, his very own, out of many things, and he will, I will not say flee, but conceal the imitation so that he appear similar to no one, and will seem to have brought, from the old, something new*…."[75]

As part of their efforts to create something traditional yet unique, some authors of the *beklerüz* tradition introduced elements from other classical poetic traditions. Some of these, such as the motif of the "boat" (*fülk*), which first appeared in Mostarlı Żiyāʾī's poem (*fülk-i felāket* "the boat of hardships") and later reappeared in the *ġazels* of Mekkī (*fülk-i cān* "the boat of the soul") and Şemseddīn Cān-pek (*belā fülkü* "the boat of calamities")[76] were incorporated into the *mundus significans*, or, in other words, the traditional toolbox of the *beklerüz ġazel* poets. Others, such as Emrī's metaphors comparing the poet's sigh

66 Koca, *Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi*, p. 289. The poem is not included in his dīvān.

67 Mihrican Odabaşı: *Tuhfe-i Nâilî Metin ve Muhteva. 1. Cilt S. 234–467.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (Sivas: Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi, 2009). 67.

68 Yekta Saraç (Ed.), *Emrî Dîvânı.* (Ankara n.d.). 117. http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10607,emridivanipdf.pdf?0. (23.05.2014).

69 Yaşar Aydemir, *Ravzî Divanı.* (Ankara: 2009). 226. http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10603,metinpdf.pdf?0. (15.01.2014).

70 Müberra Gürgendereli (Ed.), *Mostarlı Hasan Ziyâ'î Divanı.* (Ankara n.d. 142–143). http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10629,metinpdf.pdf?0 (23.05.2014).

71 Yavuz Özenç, *Şeyh Hüsamuddin Uşşaki Divanı. Transkripsyonlu Metin.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2008). 98.

72 Betül Sinan, *Bâlî Çelebi ve Divanı (2b–35a). İnceleme – Metin.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2004). 192.

73 *Dīvān-i Vahhāb ʿÜmmī.* University of Michigan Library. Isl. Ms. 859. ff. 135b–136a.

74 Mustafa Karlıtepe: *Kelâmî Divanı.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 2007). 280–281.

75 Quoted in George W. Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance." *Renaissance Quarterly* 33/1 (Spring, 1980). 10.

76 See Gürcan Karapanlı, *Mekkî Divanı ve Tahlili.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2005). 242; Şemsettin Canpek: *Külliyât-i Şemsî. (Dîvân Hadîkatü'l-Meânî).* Ed. Orhan Bilgin. (İstanbul: [Unidentified] 1990). 140.

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to a sword or to a stick (*tīġ-i āh-ı āteş-bārumuz* "sword of our fire laden sigh"; *ʿaṣā-yı āhumuz* "stick of our sigh") were not used by later poets.

It is clear that in spite of the ongoing canonization process of the tradition that was already well underway by the end of the 16th century, the *beklerüz* tradition did not become fossilized. It remained flexible and open to poetic inventions that fell in line with the spirit of the tradition. As a rule, however, the modifications that were integrated into the tradition during the oncoming centuries were relatively minor.

Two major trends, which came to influence the next two hundred years of the *beklerüz* tradition, began to develop at the turn of the century. In the first place, there was a definite shift in the mood of the poems from *ʿāşiḳāne* to *ṣūfiyāne*, a move that may explain why the above-mentioned metaphors of Emrī' were not incorporated into the tradition. Secondly, Fużūlī's *ġazel* became increasingly influential.

The first direct evidence of Fużūlī's influence comes from the *maṭlaʿ* of Süheylī's (d. 1634) *naẓīre*, which works as a title, telling the reader that the poem was composed as a poetic reply to Fużūlī's poem. Furthermore, as the difference between the two second hemistichs is only one word, the second *mıṣrāʿ* of Süheylī's opening beyt seems to be a close replica of the second hemistich in Fużūlī's eighth couplet.

Süheylī I/2.:
"*Mülk-i ʿışḳ içre livā-yı istiḳāmet beklerüz*"
"We are guarding the flag of rectitude in the kingdom of love."

Fużūlī VIII/2.
"*Mülk-i ʿışḳ içre ḥiṣār-ı istiḳāmet beklerüz*"
"We are guarding the citadel of rectitude in the kingdom of love."

Most of the hitherto discovered *beklerüz ġazels* composed in the period between the 17th and the late 20th century seem to have been inspired by or modelled on Fużūlī's poem, although some of them are only vaguely bound to it by intertextual allusions.[77] The few exceptions that are not modelled on Fużūlī's poem are

77 Their authors are Süheylī (d. 1634), Naḳşī ʿAlī Akkirmānī (d. 1655) see Hikmet Atik, *Nakşî Alî Akkirmânî Dıvânı. (İnceleme-Metin).* [Doktora Tezi]. (Ankara: 2003). 230–231; Niṣārī (d. 1656) see Nagihan Çağlayan, *Nisârî Dîvânı.* [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Sivas: 2007). 124–125; Ayıntablı Ḥāfiẓ (late 17th century) see Beşir Ataç: *Ayıntablı Hafiz Abdülmecidzade Divanı. Inceleme – Metin.* [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Gaziantep: 2007). 93; Nazīm Efendi see Doğan Evecen, *17. Yüzyıldan Üç Mecmua-i Eşʿâr.* [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Çanakkale: 2011). 151; Ḳavsī see Mümine Çakır, *Kavsî, Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği ve Dîvânı.* [Doktora Tezi]. (Ankara: 2008). 49–50; see Qövsi Təbrizi, *Divan.* Ed. Kərimov, P. (Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası, 2005). 213–214; Ṣāfiʿī (mid-17th century) see Salih Gençer, *Mecmûʿatü'l-Eş'âr. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Galata Mevlevihanesi Numara 57 (1b–64a). İnceleme–Metin.* [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Sakarya: 2015). 216; Feyżī (d. 1758) see Sevinç Karagöz, *Feyzi Efendi Divanı. İnceleme,*

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represented by two distinct groups of *ġazels*. Muvaḳḳitzāde Mehmed Pertev (1746–1807), Enderūnlu Ḥalīm (d. after 1830) and Kethüdāzāde ʿĀrif (1777–1849) were the disciples of Ḫ^{v}āce Neṣʾet Efendi (1735–1805), a celebrated teacher of Persian poetry whose activity resulted in a renaissance of the Indian style (*sebk-i Hindī*) in late 18th century İstanbul. Since Pertev, Ḥalīm and ʿĀrif composed their *ġazels* with the intention of honouring their highly venerated teacher, these *naẓīres* were modelled upon Ḫ^{v}āce Neṣʾet Efendi's poem.[78] These poems, especially Pertev's emulation, bore the traits of *sebk-i Hindī* and thus expanded

Transkripsiyonlu Metin, Sözlük. [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Sakarya: 2004). 244–245; Āṣafī (d. 1781) see Hasan Kaya. *18. yy. Şâiri Âsaf ve Dîvânı*. [Doktora Tezi]. (İstanbul: 2009). 559; Mekkī (1704–1797) see Karapanlı, *Mekkî Divanı*. 242; Priştineli Nūrī see Metin Yıldırım, *Priştinelî Nuri ve Divanı*. [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Ankara: 2008). 128–129; Hoca Neṣʾet Efendi (d. 1807) see *Dīvān-i Neṣʾet Efendi. Gazeliyât*. (Bulak: Maṭbaʿat Ṣāḥib al-Saʿāda al-Abadīya, 1836). 16; Muvaḳḳitzāde Meḥmed Pertev (1746–1807) see Mehmet Ulucan, *Muvakkit-zâde Mehmed Pertev – Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği, Eserleri, Divanı'nın Tenkitli Metni ve Tahlili*. [Doktora Tezi]. (Elazığ: 2005). 611–612; Refʿet Mehmed (1784–1813) see Benal Tari, *Refʿet Mehmed (1784–1823) Dîvânı. (İnceleme – Metin)*. [Yüksek Lisans Tezi.] (İstanbul: 2011). 121–122; Ḥalīm Girey (d. 1823) see *Dīvān-i Ḥalīm Girey*. (İstanbul: Takvīm-i Vekāyiʿ, 1841). 23; Fāʾiḳ ʿÖmer (d. 1829) see Hande Büyükkaya, *Faik Ömer ve Divanı: Karşılaştırmalı Metin-İnceleme*. [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (İstanbul: 2008). 205–206; Enderūnlu Ḥalīm (d. after 1830) see Mehmet Turgutlu, *Enderûnlu Halîm Dîvânı. (Inceleme-Metin)*. [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Konya: 2008). 132–133; Kethüdāzāde ʿĀrif (1777–1849) see Kethüdāzāde ʿĀrif, *Dīvān*. (İstanbul: Maṭbaʿa-yı Āmire, 1854). 29; Bayburtlu Zihnî (1797–1859) see Bayburtlu Zihnî, *Dīvān-i Ẕihnī. Ġazeliyāt*. (İstanbul: 1876). 33; ʿAṣī Muṣṭafā (d. after 1860) see Melek Bıyık Yapa, *Aşkî Mustafa Dîvânı. Edisyon Kritik*. [Doktora Tezi]. (İstanbul: 2007). 323; Nigārī (d. 1885) see Nigârî, *Dîvân*. Ed. Azmi Bilgin. (Ankara: 2011). 190–191; http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/dosya/1-281559/h/nigar-i-divani-azmi-bilgin-.pdf. 17.12.2013); ʿÖmer Necmī Efendi (d. 1889) see ʿÖmer Necmī, *Dīvān-ı Necmī*. (İstanbul: [Unidentified], 1870). 25; ʿOs̲mān Şems Efendi (1814–1893) see Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu, *Osman Şems Efendi Dîvânı'ndan Seçmeler*. (İstanbul: Kubbealti Neşriyati, 1996). 375–376; Dāmād Maḥmūd Celāleddīn Paşa, "Āsaf" (1853–1903) see *Dāmād Maḥmūd Paşa'nın eşʿārı*. (Kahire: Maṭbaʿa-yı ʿOs̲māniyye, 1898). 281; Rifkī see Mevlüt Altınoluk, *Rifkî Divanı*. [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Ankara: 2008). 77; Sutūrī see Emine Adaş, *Sutûrî, Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği ve Divânı*. [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Afyonkarahisar: 2008). 307; ʿÂbid ʿAṣḳī, Hamdī, Menṣūrī, Seyfī, Āṣim see Tufan Kaya, *Konya Bölge Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi'ndeki 13467 Numaralı Mecmuanın Metni*. [Yüksek Lisans Tezi]. (Konya: 2007). 88–89; ʿĀsim, Hamamīzāde İḥsān Beg (1885–1948) see Ḥamāmīzāde Iḥsān, *Dīvān*. (Istanbul: Ahmed Ihsān Maṭbaʿası, 1928/1347). 9–11; an anonymous poet from Hatay see Ahmet Faik Türkmen, *Mufassal Hatay Tarihi. 3üncü Cilt. Hatay Şairleri*. (İstanbul: Iktisat Basımevi, 1939). 805–806; Şemseddin Canpek (1886–1965) see M. Şemsettin Canpek, *Külliyât-i Şemsî*. Ed. Orhan Bilgin. (İstanbul: [Unidentified], 1990). 139; Behcet Kemal Çağlar (1908–1969) see Behcet Kemal Çağlar, *Benden İçeri: Şiirler*. (İstanbul: [Unidentified], 1966). 335; Cenap Muhittin Kozanoğlu (1893–1972) see C. M Kozanoğlu, *Kadın*. (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit, 1936). *ġazel* no. 62; Mustafa Tanrıkulu see (http://www.diyarbakirhaberleri.com/siir/bende-yi-dergah-i-silm-olduk-selamet-bekleriz/#; 31.01.2014).

78 For Neṣʾet Efendi's activities as a teacher and his influence on contemporary literary life, see Mehmet Ulucan, "Edebiyatımızda Lider Tipi ve Hoca Neşet Örneği." *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 17/1 (2007). 131–144; Ekrem Bektaş: Pertev'in Hoca Neş'et Biyografisi. *Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 9/2 (2011). 181–205.

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the signifying universe of the *beklerüz* tradition. By introducing additional topics, unconventional metaphors, and novel vocabulary, these poems widened the thematic scope of the *beklerüz* tradition.

The other group of paraphrases that were not modelled on Fużūlī's poem came from Anatolia and reflected the influence of the initial 16th century *beklerüz* tradition. The *ġazels* were composed by hitherto unidentified and most probably amateur poets, who might have belonged to the local intelligentsia like gendarme officer Hamdī.[79]

The influence Fużūlī's *ġazel* exerted on the *beklerüz* network was enormous. Whereas the network was previously characterized by a complicated system of relations, it became more unified and quite visibly Fużūlī centered in the post-Fużūlī period. Prior to Fużūlī's influence, poems tended to be linked to several other poems of the network through easily recognizable and direct intertextual allusions. After Fużūlī's poem became fashionable in the 17th century, the situation changed and almost all post-Fużūlī *beklerüz ġazels* started having intertextual allusions only to Fużūlī's *ġazel*. Poets still continued to use select elements of the *mundus significans* of the *beklerüz* tradition, but their poems ceased to have direct intertextual connections to other poems of the network. Besides changing the balance and the nature of relations within the network, the undoubtedly high prestige Fużūlī's *ġazel* enjoyed in Ottoman literary circles gave impetus to other important processes, which heavily influenced the role the *beklerüz* network played in the later phases of the history of Ottoman classical poetry.

Though the first signs of the development of a unique *beklerüz* semantic field with various present tense forms of the verb *bekle-* at its centre had already been in view in the late 16th century, the popularity of Fużūlī's poem must have greatly contributed to its establishment and canonization by the middle of the 17th century. Naẓīr İbrāhīm's (1694–1774) and Ḥalīl Nūrī's (d. 1799) following couplets demonstrate very tellingly how deeply the *beklerüz* semantic field became absorbed into the Ottoman literary tradition and how smoothly it functioned among different formal frameworks and in new poetic contexts.

Naẓīr İbrāhīm
"*Āsiyāb-ı feleke*[80] *fikr-i daḳīḳ ile gelüp*
Beklerüz ḫaylī zamāndur bize nevbet gelmez"
"We arrived into the mill of destiny with a definite plan,
We have been waiting for a long time but our time has not come yet."

79 See Kaya, *Konya Bölge Yazma Eserler*. 88–92.

80 Necdet Şengün, the editor of the text, misread the word *felek* ("sky") as *fülk* ("boat") possibly because he wrongly identified the metre of the poem. Necdet Şengün, *Nazir Ibrahim ve Divani. (Metin-Muhteva-Tahlil).* Doktora Tezi. (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2006). 645.

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Ḥalīl Nūrī 12/IV.
"*Gice nevbet beklerüz bīdār olunca baḫtımız*
Bī-sebeb ey şūḫ ṣanma terk-i ḫāb itdik bu şeb"[81]
"We are waiting every night for our luck to wake up,
Hey you, coquettish one, do you think that we gave up sleeping without reason?"

The *beklerüz* semantic field soon transgressed the boundaries of classical *ġazel* poetry and penetrated into the world of other literary genres. It appeared in Żiyāeddīn Seyyid Yaḥyā's *Gencīne-i Ḥikmet* (1629/30), which was written in elaborate Ottoman rhyming prose,[82] somewhat later in two *murabbaʿ*s of a minstrel (*ʿāşıḳ*) poet, ʿĀşıḳ ʿÖmer (d. 1707),[83] in a *muḫammes* composed by Erzurumlu İbrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī (1703–1780),[84] and in a *müseddes* by Hāşim Baba (1716–1783).[85]

The *beklerüz* semantic field thus became an inseparable part of the Ottoman poetic canon during the 18th century, and from that period onwards it could practically be used in any classical genre, provided the context was appropriate. Still, the main genre of the *beklerüz* tradition remained the classical *ġazel*, though the poetic strategies of poets authoring *beklerüz ġazels* had fundamentally changed. While earlier poets tended to compose imitations that were closely linked either to their models or to a faceless *beklerüz* tradition, 18th and 19th century poets started to compose loose emulations and struggled to distance themselves from earlier texts. Their endeavour to create something unique, something original in the sense of the word as it is used in post-romantic European criticism, might have been motivated by the changing Ottoman literary scene and the advancement of European literary ideals. As a result of the poetic experiments of poets from this period, many new elements entered the *beklerüz* tradition.

These developments led to the institutionalization of the *beklerüz* tradition and to its establishment as a *ġazel* sub-genre in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The emergence of this new sub-genre of Ottoman classical *ġazel* poetry

81 See Mehmet Güler, *Halil Nuri Divanı. Edisyon Kritik – İnceleme.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (Sivas: Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi, 2009). 219.

82 "*Bu ḳadar zamāndur ḳarşusunda bekler bir ālāy sineklerüz ve gice gündüz segler gibi çārşusında hezār derd ü mihnetle beklerüz.*" "We have been lingering in your presence like a group of flies and like a pack of hounds / we have been sticking around your marketplace enduring many miseries day and night." Sengül Özdemir, *Ziyâeddin Seyyid Yahyâ'nın Gencîne-i Hikmet'i (Metin–İnceleme).* Doktora Tezi. (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi, 2011). 226.

83 See Saadettin Nuzhet Ergun, *Âşık Ömer. Hayatı ve Şiirleri.* ([İstanbul]: Semih Lütfi Matbaası, n. d.). 69, 236.

84 See Erzurumlu İbrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī, *Dīvān.* (İstanbul: Dār al-Ṭabāʿat al-ʿĀmire, 1847). 188–190.

85 See Mehmet Kayacan, *Haşim Baba ve Divânı (İnceleme-Metin).* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (Isparta: Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, 2002). 130–132; *Dīvān-i Hāşim Efendi.* (İstanbul: [Unidentified], 1252 (1836)). 52.

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might be well illustrated by a patriotic march titled *Bekleriz marşı* and by four particular *ġazels* which filled the traditional framework of the *beklerüz ġazel* with fresh and unconventional poetic content.[86] ʿĀsim's mock *ġazel* tells the confessions of a glutton always looking for food.[87] Ḥamāmīzāde İḥsān Beg (1885–1948) provides the reader with a subjective and critical description of the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire in his *ġazel* of more than seventy *beyts*, titled *Taṣvīr-i Ḥāl* (1904).[88] The *ġazel* composed by an anonymous poet from around Hatay is the monologue of a traveller sitting in a cafe and waiting to get a lift home.[89] Behçet Kemal Çağlar's (1908–1969) poem might be interpreted as an artistic credo of a Kemalist poet.

It seems that the long history of the *beklerüz* tradition that started in the first half of the 16th century with a set of *naẓīres* composed by a group of poets in Istanbul and finally led to the emergence of a *beklerüz ġazel* sub-genre in the late 19th – early 20th century has not ended yet. Mustafa Tanrıkulu, a contemporary poet from Diyarbakır has quite recently returned to the *beklerüz* tradition and composed a *ṣūfiyāne* ġazel very much in the style of his 19th century predecessors.[90]

Though oncoming generations of poets might compose new *beklerüz ġazels* and hitherto unknown poems might be discovered and added to the list in the future, they will not alter our picture of the network fundamentally. The *beklerüz naẓīre* network was created in Istanbul in the first half of the 16th century by a group of amateur poets who lived in the city for some time and who had close connections to the imperial palace. It became fashionable in the middle of the century and its popularity was further enhanced by Fużūlī's *ġazel* that became a model for quite a few poets from the early 17th to the late 20th century. During this time the signifying universe of the *beklerüz* tradition was expanded to accommodate new topics, ideas, key words, poetic devices, rhyming words, etc., which ultimately resulted in the transformation of the tradition into a sub-genre of Ottoman *ġazel* poetry.

The conclusions of the analysis of the sample paraphrase network can be summarized in a few points. First of all, writing imitation *ġazels* in an Ottoman

86 http://www.sanatmuziginotalari.com/nota_inderme.asp?notaid=57841&mode=1&sessionid=665161507 (15.08.2015).

87 See Kaya, *Konya.* 91–92.

88 See Ḥamāmīzāde Iḥsān, *Dīvān.* (Istanbul: Ahmed Ihsān Matbaʿası 1928/1347). 9–11. For a modern edition see Ali İhsan Kolcu, "Hamamîzâde Ihsan Bey'in Şiirinde Pozitivizm." In *Trabzon ve Çevresi: Uluslararası Tarih-Dil-Edebiyat Sempozyumu Bildirileri.* Vol. 2. (Trabzon: Trabzon Valiliği , 2002). 281–290.

89 Türkmen: *Mufassal.* 805–806.

90 http://www.diyarbakirhaberleri.com/siir/bende-yi-dergah-i-silm-olduk-selamet-bekleriz/# (01.31.2014); http://www.antoloji.com/bende-yi-dergah-i-silm-olduk-selamet-bekleriz-siiri/ (16.09.2015).

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literary environment seems to be a social activity connecting individual poets to a well-established literary tradition. Secondly, this tradition appears to be a democratic one in the sense that it accepts amateur versifiers and professional poets alike. In the third place, sets of *ġazel* imitations inspired by the same model can grow into paraphrase networks that in due course may develop into subgenres within *ġazel* poetry, and in certain cases their impact can be felt in other genres, such as prose or folk poetry, as well. Finally, paraphrase networks surviving a long span of time seem to have a history of their own, reflecting major changes in the Ottoman literary tradition, the appearance of influential authors, and shifts in literary taste and fashion.

As mentioned above, most *ġazels* were preserved as single poetic texts detached from their original context. However, the analysis of *ġazel* paraphrases can help literary historians to establish some sort of context for these short and very formal literary texts. Indeed, the study of these paraphrases might reveal the key forces and undercurrents that created and sustained the Ottoman classical poetical tradition for centuries. Paraphrase networks provide independent poems with a context which enable us to tap into the discourse that poets had with their contemporaries and their predecessors. Through mapping the network of inter-textual links and connecting poems of a limited poetic universe with each other, we gain insight into the motives and basic strategies of the poets, and we become able to detect shifts and changes in poetic taste or fashion.

Appendix

Containing those *beklerüz naẓīres* that are dealt with in more detail in the text

The base poem of Enverī
"*Kārbān-ı vaṣl-ı dil-dārı beġāyet beklerüz*
Nice yıllardur ki der-bend-i maḥabbet beklerüz
Ḫırmen-i ʿömri ṣavurub dānemüz dermekdeyüz
Bir deġirmendür cihān biz bunda nevbet beklerüz
Ṣemʿ-i āhı dikdük iy māhum fenā fānusına
Pāsbān-ı miḥnetüz şehr-i felāket beklerüz
Vuṣlatun şehrine mānīʿdür şehā virmez geçid
Nice günlerdür kenār-ı nehr-i firḳat beklerüz
Enverī Ferhād-ile Mecnūnı yaḳdı cām-ı ʿışḳ
Meclis-i dil-dārda biz daḫi ṣoḥbet beklerüz"

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Ḫayālī 1.
“ ʿĀşıḳuz dervāze-i şehr-i melāmet beklerüz
Zāhidā ṣanma bizi kūy-ı selāmet beklerüz
Bīsütūn-ı ʿışḳda çalındı ṭabl-ı sīnemüz
Biz daḫi Ferhād-veş der-bend-i miḥnet beklerüz
Ḫᵛāce-i ʿışḳuz bugün bāzār-ı mihr-i yārda
Naḳd-i cānla almaġa kālā-yı vuṣlat beklerüz
Ḫūn-ı dil nūş itmege peymānesinden dāġumun
Meclis-i ʿuşşāḳda eṣḥāb-ı ṣoḥbet beklerüz
Ey Ḫayālī şāh-ı gerdūn dergehinde zerre-vār
Āftāb-ı ʿālem-ārā gibi şöhret beklerüz”

Ḫayālī 2.
“*Ḳayddan āzādeyüz kūy-ı ferāġat beklerüz*
Naḳd-i ṣabrun genciyüz künc-i ḳanāᵛʿat beklerüz
Sākin-i çāh-ı ṭabīʿat ideli devrān bizi
Ey ḳamer-ruḫ pertev-i necm-i hidāyet beklerüz
Ḫaylīden pīr-i muġānun sākin-i dergāhıyuz
Kāmrān-ı ʿālemüz bāb-ı saʿādet beklerüz
ʿIşḳ ile sulṭānınun ser-dārıyuz Mecnūn gibi
Ġam sipāhın cemʿ idüb şāhum vilāyet beklerüz
Çün Ḫayālī-nām bir şeydāya uyduḳ iy refīḳ
Sen selāmet ol ki biz kūy-ı melāmet beklerüz”

Pertevī
“*Ṣanma zāhid bizi rāh-ı selāmet beklerüz*
Bir belā-keş ʿāşıḳuz kūy-ı melāmet beklerüz
Bende-i pīr-i muġān olduḳ nice demler durur
ʿĀlemün sulṭānıyuz bāb-ı saʿādet beklerüz
Bulmışuz künc-i ḳanāʿatde niçe genc-i nihān
Tāc u taḫtı terk idüb kūy-ı ferāġat beklerüz
Almaġa vaṣlun meṭāʿını virüb cānı revān
Naḳd-i ʿömri ṣarf idüb iy ḫᵛâce nevbet beklerüz
Biz belā Ferhādıyuz yād-ı leb-i Şīrīn-ile
Nice demdür Pertevī der-bend-i miḥnet beklerüz”

Raḥīḳī
“*Ṣanma ey zāhid bizi künc-i selāmet beklerüz*
Mülk-i ʿışḳun şāhıyuz taḫt-ı melāmet beklerüz
Uyḫumuz yaġmaladı feth iderüz ġam ḳalʿasın
Ṣubḥa dek göz yummazuz her gece nevbet beklerüz

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Gözlerüz kūh-ı belāda kārbān-ı ġuṣṣayı
Vādī-yi endūhda der-bend-i miḥnet beklerüz
Olalı ṣol pādṣāh-ı mülk-i ḥüsnün bendesi
Serḥad-i hicrānda dāʾim ṣehr-i ẕillet beklerüz
Ey Raḥīḳī ḳalʿa-i dār-ı fenāda her gece
Pāsbānuz muttaṣıl ṣehr-i nedāmet beklerüz"

Seḥābī
"*Ṣanma kim zāhid gibi genc-i selāmet beklerüz*
Ṣaḥne-i ṣāh-ı ġamuz ṣehr-i melāmet beklerüz
Ṣubḥa dek her gece ṭan mı eylesek feryād kim
Ḳalʿa-yi vīrāne-i ʿālemde nevbet beklerüz
Gözlerüz kūh-ı belādan kārbān-ı ġuṣṣayı
Vādī-yi endūhda der-bend-i miḥnet beklerüz
Ṣaḳlaruz dil kişverinde miḥnet ü derd ü ġamı
Pādişāh-ı ʿālem-i ʿışḳuz vilāyet beklerüz
Ey Sehābī gece vü gündüz kilāb-ı yār ile
Āsitān-ı devlet ü bāb-ı saʿādet beklerüz"[91]

Cenābī 1.
" *ʿĀşıḳuz dervāze-yi ṣehr-i melāmet beklerüz*
Zāhid-āsā ṣanma kim kūy-ı selāmet beklerüz
Bīsutūn-ı ʿışḳ[d]a çalındı ṭabl-i sīnemüz
Biz dahi Ferhād-veş der-bend-i miḥnet beklerüz
Ḫūn-ı dil nūş etmege peymānesinden dāġımın
Meclis-i ʿuşşāḳda erbāb-ı ṣoḥbet beklerüz
Ḫ^{v}āce-yi ʿışḳuz bugün bāzār-ı mihr-i yārda
Naḳd-ı cānı almaġa kālā-yı vuṣlat beklerüz
Ẓulmet-i şeb-sāy-ı zülfünde kaldı gönlümüz
Rüʾyet-i dīdār ṣubḥ-ı saʿādet beklerüz
Ey Cenābī dergehinde ṣāh-ı gerdūn rifʿatın
Āftāb-ı ʿālem-ārā gibi ṣöhret beklerüz"[92]

Fużūlī
"*Nice yıllardır ser-i kūy-ı melāmet beklerüz*
Leşker-i sulṭān-ı ʿirfānuz vilāyet beklerüz
Sākin-i ḫāḳ-i der-i meyḫāneyüz şām ü seḥer
İrtifāʿ-i ḳadr içün bāb-ı saʿādet beklerüz

91 See Bayak, *Sehâbî Dîvânı.* Ankara n.d. 80.
92 See Dağlıoğlu: *Cenâb Ahmed Paşa.* 219.

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Cīfe-i dünyā degil kerkes gibi maṭlūbumuz
Bir bölük ʿAnḳālarız Ḳāf-ı ḳanāʿat beklerüz
Ḫ͡ʷāb görmez çeşmimiz endīşe-i aġyārdan
Pāsbānuz genc-i esrār-ı maḥabbet beklerüz
Ṣūret-i dīvār ediptir ḫayret-i ʿışḳun bizi
Ġayr seyr-i bāġ ider biz künc-i miḥnet beklerüz
Kārvān-ı rāh-ı tecrīdiz ḫaṭar ḥavfın çeküp
Gāh Mecnūn gāh ben devr ile nevbet beklerüz
Ṣanmanız kim geceler bī-hūdedir efgānumuz
Mülk-i ʿışḳ içre ḥiṣār-ı istiḳāmet beklerüz
Yatdılar Ferhād ü Mecnūn mest-i cām-ı ʿışḳ olup.
Ey Fużūlī biz olar yatdukça ṣoḥbet beklerüz"

Āsim
"*Ṭālib-i ḳaymaḳlarız her gice daʿvet bekleriz*
Çile-keş ʿāsıḳlarız kūy-ı ziyāfet bekleriz
Dā'imā cūʿ ul-baḳardan süst-endām olmuşuz
Gāşe-i maṭbaḫda şūrbā üstüne et bekleriz
Yāre sevdā ile pāre pāre oldı sīnemüz
Meclis-i bezm-i vaʿādī içre rüşvet bekleriz
Zülf-i dilber gibi bend itdi ḳadāʾif gönlümü
Ey şeker ey sāde yāġ sözden ʿināyet bekleriz
Her ne deñlü yoḳ ise meylim tarīḳ-i ṭāʿata
Deşt-i ʿışyānda yine zuʿmumca cennet bekleriz
Āsimā oldum ise maġlūb her bir gün saña
Ḫışm eder sulṭānımız andan ʿadālet bekleriz"[93]

Unknown author
"*Nice gündür biz seni eymiri hikmet bekleriz*
Bir akıllı şoferin övnile övdet bekleriz
Kahvei bellur önünde sakiniz şami sahar
Tekyei genci hudaden taze kismet bekleriz
Bütcede çoktan bitirdik faslı fovkel adeyi
Bir sahavet kārı dilberden mürüvet bekleriz
İntihabindan bu dehrin görmedik bir faide
Müntehip sani gibi hala ziyafet bekleriz
Şadi hürrem işü nuşı etmektedir alem bu gün
Biz dahi paşayı danaden adalet bekleriz

93 See T. Kaya, *Konya Bölge Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi'ndeki 13467 Numaralı Mecmuanın Metni.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. (Konya: Selcuk Üniversitesi, 2007). 91–92.

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Gelmez oldu şimdi cevriden dahi hiçbir haber
Dideler hep yolda kaldı bir beşaret bekleriz
Rahın uğrarsa eger İskenderune ey seba
Sıhhatı yaran üçün senden inayet bekleriz
El açık lutfi hudaden ol mücahitler içün
Ruzi şeb sivri sinek harbinda nusrat bekleriz
Şame tebdili mekan etti sureyyayıozeman
Bizde onda bir şeker … yok buzlu şerbet bekleriz"
Eylemez nisyan hukukun şehri antakıyyenin
Şimdi ol zatın lisanından telaket bekleriz
Mesti camı aşk olup yatmış fuzuli nabiya
Biz olar yattikça üstadile növbet bekleriz"[94]

Behçet Kemal Çağlar
"*Sanma biz bir kimseden lütf ü mürüvvet bekleriz*
Peyrev-i ehl-i Kemālız bâb-ı behcet bekleriz
İptidâmız nār-ı ʿaşk u naʿra-ı sanʿat bizim
Öyle mevzūn u mukaffa hoşça temmet bekleriz
Mest-i câm-ı ʿaşk olup düştü Fuzūlī toprağa
Biz içip iksīr-i ʿaşkı zinde növbet bekleriz
Cümle meşhūr āâem içre gıbtamız Mecnūna'dır
Sînemiz ʿaşka küşāde öyle cinnet bekleriz
Müjde-i vuslatla mādem başlamıştık Behçetā
Şimdi elbet mühr-i būseyle nihāyet bekleriz"[95]

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94 See A. F. Türkmen, *Mufassal Hatay Tarihi. Hatay Şairleri.* 3. Vol. (İstanbul: Iktisat Basımevi, 1939). 805–806.
95 See B. K. Çağlar, *Benden İçeri: Şiirler.* (İstanbul: [Unidentified], 1966). 335.

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Ruler Poetry

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Christiane Czygan

Was Sultan Süleymān Colour-Blind? Sensuality, Power and the Unpublished Poems in the Third Dīvān (1554) of Sultan Süleymān I

Introduction

Typically, we are taught that Ottoman poetry is determined by convention. As much as this may be true, individual perspectives were significant as well. Ottoman *dīvāns* (poem collections) reveal much about the poet's predilections, daily practices, cultural horizon, and – in the case of ruler poetry – political purposes.

Ḳānūnī Sulṭān Süleymān (r. 1520–1566) was not only an outstanding Ottoman ruler with an extraordinarily powerful army, but also a sultan noted for his cultural achievements. Central to this cultural input was poetry. Sultan Süleymān created thousands of poems under the pen name Muḥibbī (the lover, or God lover). He was the most prolific Ottoman ruler poet. It is clear that Muḥibbī enjoyed the interplay between sound, images and rhythm; otherwise he would not have created poems so frenetically. However, even if the creation or writing of poems pleased him, it was never merely for pleasure. Each of the Sultan's statements had a political impact, be it a poem, a campaign, or a visit to a mosque.

Ottoman intellectuals in the 19th century referred to some of Sultan Süleymān's verses which seem to have been circulated over time among the Ottoman and Turkish elite.[1] Furthermore, Europeans gained access to individual poems through Gibb's congenial translation.[2] Selected poems were also translated by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall,[3] Georg Jacob[4] and Talat Halman.[5]

Note: Parts of this paper were presented at the annual MESA-Meeting in November 2015 and at the Free University of Berlin in April 2016. My warm thanks are dedicated to Hatice Aynur for her invaluable comments. All translations are undertaken by the author.

1 See İsmail Ünver, "Olmaya devlet Cihanda." In *Türk Dili.* Vol. 385. (1984). 54; Coşkun Ak, , "Süleyman I." Vol. 38. *İA*. 2010. 74.

2 See E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry.* Vol. 3. (Leiden: Brill, 1904). 10.

3 See Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst.* Vol. 2. (Pesth: 1837). 4–7.

4 See Georg Jacob (Ed.), *Sultan Soliman des Grossen Divan. In einer Auswahl mit sachlichen und grammatischen Einleitungen und Erläuterungen.* (Berlin: Mayer&Müller, 1903).

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Sultan Süleymān's Third Dīvān deviates in various ways from the standard. Four specific differences will be explored below:

1. A *dīvān* was typically produced once in a poet's lifetime, as a sample of poems written by one poet. However, several different *dīvāns* attributed to him were produced at different times during Sultan Süleymān's lifetime and beyond. Some, such as the *Third Dīvān*, were illuminated, while others were less splendid and some were not even undated. As in the case of the *Third Dīvān*, numbering in the incipit was also a rare feature of Sultan Süleymān's *dīvāns*.
2. With regard to the content, it is striking that hues and other sensory images are rarely evoked.
3. The ambiguity of the beloved is partially set aside when the poet used his own markers and provided some common images inflected with his personal meaning.
4. The high number of unpublished poems shows that Sultan Süleymān's *dīvāns* were meant to be more than mere copies, and points to the making of the *Third Dīvān*.

These different topics are put together in this article in order to approach this newly discovered manuscript from a formal, as well as a text-intentional perspective.

State of the manuscripts

The Turkish National Library in Ankara houses 33 manuscripts of Sultan Süleymān's poem collections which are listed as *dīvāns*.[6] Coşkun Ak described 19 *dīvāns* in his publication on Muḥibbī 18 of these also appear in the list of the National Library.[7] The remaining 15 manuscripts of the National Library contain no substantial information beyond the place, archive number, and number of folios. Further research must be done to determine whether these manuscripts are *dīvāns* or only copies of minor collections. None of these lists mention the *Third Dīvān*.

Manuscripts which are produced by the same calligrapher and illuminator are called sister-manuscripts. These include the following:

– İÜK, No. 6467
– Revan, No. 738

5 See Talât Halman, *Süleyman the Magnificent Poet. Selected Poems.* (Istanbul: 1987).

6 www.yazmalar.gov.tr accessed 19.03.2016.

7 The manuscript Mevlana museum Konya no. 563 is not listed in the Turkish library but in Ak's edition. See Coşkun Ak, *Muhibbî Divanı. İzahlı Metin Kanuni Sultan Süleyman.* 2 Vols. (Trabzon: Trabzon Valiliği Yayınları, 2006)^2. 35.

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– MKG, 1886.168 [*Third Dīvān*]

Dated more than ten years later than the *Third Dīvān*, the still more splendid manuscript İÜK (Istanbul University Library) no. 5467 was completed in Ṣaʿbān 973/March 1566. The lavishly illuminated manuscript Revan no. 738 is dated Ramaḏān 973/April 1566 and is located in the Topkapı Museum.[8] IÜK no. 5467 and Revan no. 738 both contain marginal illuminations on all folios. The *Third Dīvān,* IÜK no. 5467 and Revan no. 738 were produced in the palace atelier in Istanbul by the calligrapher Meḥmed Ṣerīf and the illuminator Ḳara Memī.[9]

Important manuscripts:
– İÜK no. 1976
– Topkapı Museum H. no. 1132

The manuscript IÜK no. 1976, located in the library of Istanbul University, contains 189 folios and 1,929 poems, mostly written in the margins. No other known *dīvān* contains so many poems.[10] The manuscript H. no. 1132 is said to have been written by Sultan Süleymān's own hand and was recently published in facsimile and transcription by Orhan Yavuz.[11] With 287 poems on 120 folios, it represents a smaller poem collection.[12]

Numbered manuscripts of Sultan Süleymān's *dīvāns* are rare. Moreover, the incomplete numbering has never been investigated. A *First*, a *Third* and a *Fifth Dīvān* exist:
– *First Dīvān:* Istanbul University Library İÜK no. 5467[13]
– *Third Dīvān:* MKG 1886.168
– *Fifth Dīvān:* Nuruosmaniye no. 3873.[14]

As I mentioned briefly in my previous published articles, the arrangement of Muḥibbī's different *dīvāns* still remains a conundrum, and it is not clear why the

8 See Esin Atıl, *The age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.* (New York: Abrams, 1987). 67.
9 See Claus Peter Haase, "Der Dritte Divan Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen. Eine Handschrift aus dem Istanbuler Hofatelier." In *Jahrbuch des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg.* Vol. 5. (1986/1987). 29.
10 *Istanbul Kitaplıkları Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu, 1. Vol. XII.–XVI. Asır.* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947). 151.
11 See Orhan Yavuz (Ed.), *Muhibbī Dîvanı kendi Hattıyla. İnceleme, Metin, Tıpkıbasım.* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014).
12 See Atıl, *The age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.* 66; see Ak, *Muhibbî Divanı.* 31; see Yavuz, *Muhibbī Dîvanı kendi Hattıyla.*
13 *İstanbul Kitaplıkları Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu.* 151.
14 *İstanbul Kitaplıkları Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu.* 148.

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oldest *dīvān* is labelled as *Third Dīvān* (1554) whilst the *First Dīvān* appeared twelve years later in 1566.[15]

The oldest print was published by ʿAdīle Sultan in 1890–91.[16] In 1980 a new print in Latin was initiated by Vahit Çabuk.[17] Some years later a further edition was published by Coşkun Ak and a new print appeared in 2006.[18] Ak considered four manuscripts (H. no. 1132, İÜK no. 1976, İÜK no. 689, İÜK no. 5467) for his edition, and he arranged them alphabetically according to the end rhyme. This procedure corresponds to the conventional arrangement of dīvāns and it also allows for the easy identification of poems that do not belong. Ak's edition represents a large collection of poems, but the special character of the individual manuscripts is lost. Moreover, a critical commentary does not exist in Ak's edition.

In recent years, in addition to the manuscript Topkapı Museum H. no. 1132, Orhan Yavuz published a further *dīvān* of Muḥibbī, the Konya Bölge Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi no. 3718.[19] It seems to have been hitherto unknown and may therefore be designated as a newly found manuscript of Sultan Süleymān. Yavuz also referred to another manuscript which neither appears in Ak's edition nor in the Ankara library list, the Konya Mevlāna Müzesi Kütüphanesi, no. 2407.[20] According to both, Yavuz and Ak, Muḥibbī created between 3,000 or 4,000 poems.[21] These figures point to the current state of research and may increase significantly with the exploration of further *dīvāns.* Since repetitions of whole poems from other *dīvāns* of Muḥibbī occurred often, originality appears not to have been a criterion for the inclusion in a *dīvān.* In fact, the inclusion of poems in several different *dīvāns* seems to have been standard procedure. Even so, the content of a number of *dīvāns* remains unexplored, and it is likely that they contain a number of new poems.

It is striking that the *Third Dīvān* contains:

– More than twenty poems which only appear in the Topkapı Museum H. no. 1132, in Sultan Süleymān's own handwriting.

15 See Christiane Czygan, "Power and Poetry: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's Third Divan." *Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II. Turkey Transformed? Power History, Culture.* Eds. Meltem Ersoy, Esra Özyürek. (Wiesbaden: Springer VS., 2017). 106; see Christiane Czygan, "A device of communication: The Third Divan of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1529–1566) and its political context." In *Islamic Perspectives.* Vol. 15. (2016). 84.

16 See ʿĀdile Sulṭān, *Dīvān-ı Muḥibbī.* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-ı ʿoṡmānīye, 1308/1890–91).

17 See Vahit Çabuk, *Divan-ı Muhibbi.* 3 Vols. (Istanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi Yayınları, 1980).

18 See Ak, *Muhibbî Divanı.*

19 See OrhanYavuz (Ed.), *Muhibbi Divanı. Bölge Yazma Eserler Nüshası. İnceleme, Metin, Tıpkıbasım.* (Konya: İnci Kağıtçılık Matbaa, 2014).

20 See Yavuz, *Muhibbi Divanı. Bölge Yazma Eserler Nüshası.* 12.

21 See Ak, *Muhibbî Divanı.* 172; see Yavuz, *Muhibbi Divanı. Bölge Yazma Eserler Nüshası.* 12.

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- More than thirty poems which only appear in ʿĀdile Sulṭān's edition of 1308/1890–91.
- Single poems which only appear in Revan (Topkapı Sarayı) no. 738.

It might be too early to develop a complete stemmata. However, it is clear that the *Third Dīvān* unites a broader range of different manuscripts than all other manuscripts hitherto taken into account. This correlates with its date. Completed in 1554, the *Third Dīvān* of Muḥibbī, currently located in Hamburg, represents the oldest of Muḥibbī's dated *dīvāns* hitherto known.

The Third Dīvān

The *Third Dīvān* was discovered by Petra Kappert by chance in the *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* in Hamburg in the 1980s. She recognized that the name Muḥibbī, given on the artifact, contradicted the museum's labelling as a Koran. In fact Muḥibbī was the pen name of Ḳānūnī Sulṭān Süleymān and the manuscript is entitled *The Third Dīvān of Sultan Süleymān.* But how did it come to the museum in Hamburg? Unfortunately, we do not have any historical records regarding the route the *Third Dīvān* travelled before it was bought by the *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* in Hamburg in 1886. Nor can we say for sure when it left the royal library. We do not know to what extent products of the *naḳḳāṣḫāne*, the famous palace atelier where precious manuscripts were produced, left the Ottoman Empire as royal gifts. We do know, however, as Hedda Reindl-Kiel's work has shown, that gift-giving played an important role in diplomatic and personal relations of the period.[22] Or was it sold during the Ottoman bankruptcy of 1875, as suggested by Tobias Mörike, the *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe's* Islamic Department curator?

The *Third Dīvān*, or Hamburg manuscript, labelled as *Dīvān-ı Muḥibbī* is dated to the year 961/1554 and contains 213 folios. The *dīvān* contains 614 poems, 545 *ġazels*, 8 *muḫammes'* (poems with strophes of five hemistichs), 17 *ḳıṭʿas* (poems of two-ten distiches) and 41 *müfreds* (poem of a distich with non-rhyming hemistichs). It is written in *taʿlīḳ*-ductus. The catch-title is *Dīvān-ı Muḥibbī 18* in Arabic script.

22 See Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman Diplomatic Gifts to the Christian West." In *The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Culture. Papers from the International Conference at the National Museum in Krakow June 26–27, 2015.* Eds. Robert Born, Michal Dziewulski. (Krakow: National Museum in Krakow, 2015). 95–111.

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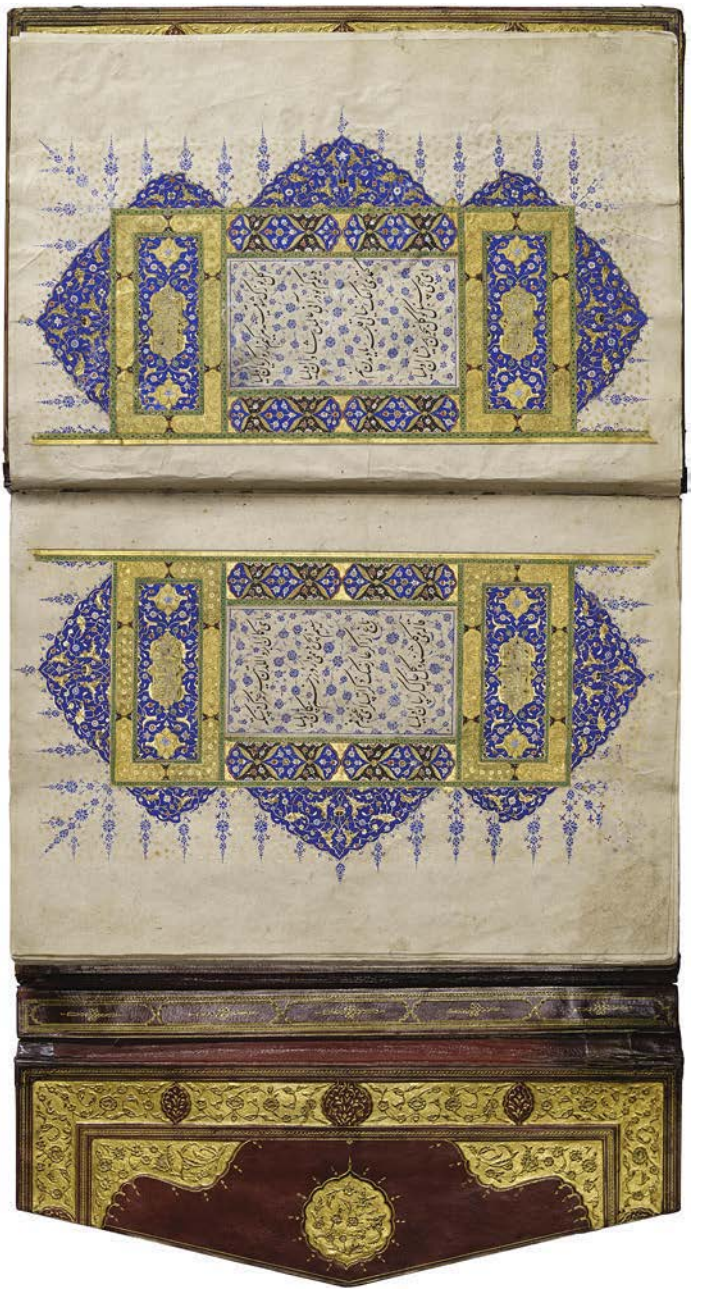

Fol. 6. MS, MKG, 1886, 168. Fol._2a_2b

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Fig. 7. MS, MKG, 1886, 186. Fol._2013b_Collophon

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The paper is well-polished and is ivory-colored. The frames are gilded and each poem is framed by floral illuminations in the *ʿunvān* (a heading). The cover is decorated with golden ornaments and is slightly brittle.

The incipit states: "*This is the Third Dīvān from the speech of the sultan of sultans of the time, from Ġāzī Sulṭān Süleymān Ḫ̆ʷān may his rule last until Judgement Day*"[23]

The date, its calligrapher, and illuminator are indicated in the colophon. It states: "*Ḥācī Meḥemmed has finished this whilst praying wholeheartedly for lasting conquests and victories at the last ten days of the month Rabīʿ aṣ-ṣānī in the year 961 (March 25-April 4, 1154).*"[24]

Beneath this text, in smaller writing, the gilder (*müẕehhib)* is named as Ḳara Memī.

Colours and Other Sensory Images

In the context of love poetry, sensuality is expected. For this reason it is striking that colours and other sensory images do not often occur. Throughout the approximately 50,000 words of the *dīvān* the references to colours are extremely rare; at most, there are four quotes pertaining to each of the following colour groups.

Throughout the whole *dīvān* the following colours are evoked:

- *sīm u zer* / (gold and silver)[25]
- *altun* (gold)[26]
- *sabz* (green)[27]
- *kebūd* (blue)[28]
- *siyāh* (black)[29]
- *al* (red)[30]
- *pembe* (pink)[31]

23 All translations of the *Third Dīvān* are the author's. Incipit: MKG 1886.168, folio_001b [Folio_001b] "*Haẕā dīvān eṣ-ṣāliṣ min-ḳalām* [Folio_002a] *sulṭān as-salāṭīn az-zamān* [Folio 001b] *[min] al-Ġāzī Sulṭān Süleymān Ḫān* [Folio_002b] *ḫallada salṭanatahu ilā yevm ed-dīn.*"

24 See MKG 1886.168, folio 213 *"Ḥācī Muḥammed al-muṣtaġalu bi-duʿā' al-fatḥi vaʾẕ- ẓafari ʿalāʾd-davām fī avāḫir ṣahri rabīʿ aṣ-sānī sanata iḥdā va sittīn va [tisʿa miʾa].*"

25 See MKG, 1886.168, fol_138b_139a; MKG, fol_159b_160a; MKG, fol_160a_160b; MKG, fol_170a_170b.

26 See MKG, fol_189b_190a; MKG, fol_138b_139a.

27 See MKG, fol_94b; MKG, fol_114b_115a; MKG, fol_161a; MKG, fol_157b_158a.

28 See MKG, fol_121b_122a_122b.

29 See MKG, fol_183b_184a.

30 See MKG, fol_121b_122a_122b, MKG, fol_150b.

31 See MKG; fol_113a_113b; MKG, fol_150b.

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When colours are at all mentioned, they often occur along with the word *felek* (sphere of the heavens, fortune, fate), which suggests cosmic symbolism. Moreover, it seems that some of these few poems allude to Ḫurrem Sulṭān (1502–1558), his beloved consort. Gold and silver also seem to express preciousness in a homoerotic context. Green alludes to spring and the blossoming of trees.

Similarly, there are relatively few images that appeal to the senses of touch and smell. There is no mention of anything being rough, smooth, velvety-soft, sharp or pointed. Similarly, although fragrances were precious in the Ottoman Empire, there is little mention of them. The famous musk is only named once.[32]

Fruits and other delights are almost completely absent.[33] Wine occurs frequently, but since it is a trope metaphorically related to mystical intoxication, it can not be taken literally. In sum, there are rare sensory perceptions related to colours, taste, or smell.

In contrast, acoustic features are frequent and the auditory sense is strongly involved. Crying and sobbing occur frequently.

The reluctance to rely on sensuality is characteristic of this *dīvān* by Muḥibbī and should not be perceived as a characteristic lyrical feature of the time or the genre. It contrasts starkly with the lavish use of hues in the poetic creations of Muḥibbī's peers,[34] as well as in the poetry of Celāleddīn Rūmī (d. 1273), whose opus was an important lyrical model. Fruits were a common motif used in Ottoman poetry, sometimes even frenetically as in İntiẓāmī's (d. after 1612) poems – a contemporary of Muḥibbī.[35]

It seems that sensuality was out of Muḥibbī's scope, be it for physical reasons or simply due to a lack of relevance. In contrast, the Kaaba is frequently evoked, often in combination with *tavaf*, the ritual circling around the Kaaba.[36] The pilgrimage to Mekka, a required ritual in Islam, is also a frequent topic in the *Third Dīvān.* Süleymān's father, Selīm I, conquered Mekka and Medina in 1517. Selīm I and his successors made sure that these holy places gained financial

32 See Hedda Reindl-Kiel, *Leisure, Pleasure and Duty. The daily life of Silahdar Mustafa, éminence grise in the final years of Murad IV (1635–1640).* (Otto Spies Memorial Lecture. Eds. Stephan Conermann, Gül Şen). (Berlin: EB-Verlag Dr. Brandt, 2016). 50; MKG, fol_156a.

33 See MKG, fol_160a_160b; MKG, fol_142b_143a.

34 See Edith Ambros, "Rhapsody in Blue (White, Red, Green…): Colour as the Aural and Thematic Focus of a Species of Ottoman Lyric Poetry." In *CIÉPO 19. Osmanlı Öncesi ve Dönemi Tarihi Araştırmaları II.* Ed. İlhan Şahin. (İstanbul: İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği Yayını, 2014).

35 See Gisela Procházka-Eisl, "Blumen und Musik: İntiẓāmī als Dichter. " In *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Volume 100. Orientalische Landschaften.* Eds. Markus Köhlbach et al. (Wien: Im Selbstverlag des Instituts für Orientalistik, 2010).

36 MKG, 1886.168. fol_79b; fol_87b; fol_99a; fol_101b; fol_114b; fol_129b; fol_130a; fol_137a_137b; fol_147a_147b_148a.

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support and that the pilgrim routes were protected.[37] However, no single sultan practiced the pilgrimage. This phenomenon still remains a conundrum.[38] Therefore, the frequent evocation of the Kaaba might be perceived as a metaphor for power, as suggested by Jürgen Paul.[39] As the sultan formed the centre of the earthly world, the Kaaba formed the centre for the believers. All believers are directed towards the Kaaba, as the subjects are focused on the sultan. Thus Muḥibbī seems to have been more concerned with power and authority than with sensual appeals.

The topos of the *Helpless Imperialists*, referred to by Marus Reinkowski and Gregor Thum,[40] is also significant when it comes to power and powerlessness – a frequent topic in the *Third Dīvān*. It is extended to an ontological dimension speaking of death and love as the essence of life as in the following poem:

[Fāʿilātün fāʿilātün fāʿilātün fāʿilün]

"Şol deñlü urdı cevr oḳın ol bī-vefā baña[41]
Raḥm ider oldı ḥālüme bay ve gedā baña

Sevdā-yı zülf başa getürdi belāları
Her ne getürse başuma oldı sezā baña

Ferhād u Ḳays eylese reşk ḥālüme ne ṭan
İḳlīm derdi virdi bugün cūn Ḫudā baña

ʿIşḳuñla ʿadem mülkine gitdükde ey perī
Olur ġamuñla miḥnet u derdüñ ġıdā baña

Cānuma bedel bula meger derd-i dilberi
İtdükce ḳaçan dest-i ecel merḥabā baña

Bu naẓm durur yār-ı Muḥibbī'nüñ işidüp
Taḥsīnler ide cān ile ehl-i ṣafā baña."

"The tyrannical arrow of the faithless hit me such
That lords and beggars had sympathy for me

37 See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans. The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517–1683.* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1994). 54–62.

38 See Hakan T, Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for the Historical Analysis." In *Legitimizing the Order. The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*. Eds. Hakan T. Karateke, Maurus Reinkowski. (The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage, Politics, Society and Economy. Vol. 34). (Leiden: Brill, 2005). 34.

39 I thank Jürgen Paul for having outlined this idea in a personal conversation.

40 See Maurus Reinkowski, Gregor Thum (Eds.), Helpless Imperialists. Imperial Failure, Fear, and Radicalization. (Schriftenreihe der FRIAS School of History; 6). (Vandenhoeck, Ruprecht, 2013). 7–11.

41 See Hamburg manuscript, MKG, 1886.168. fol_5b_6a.

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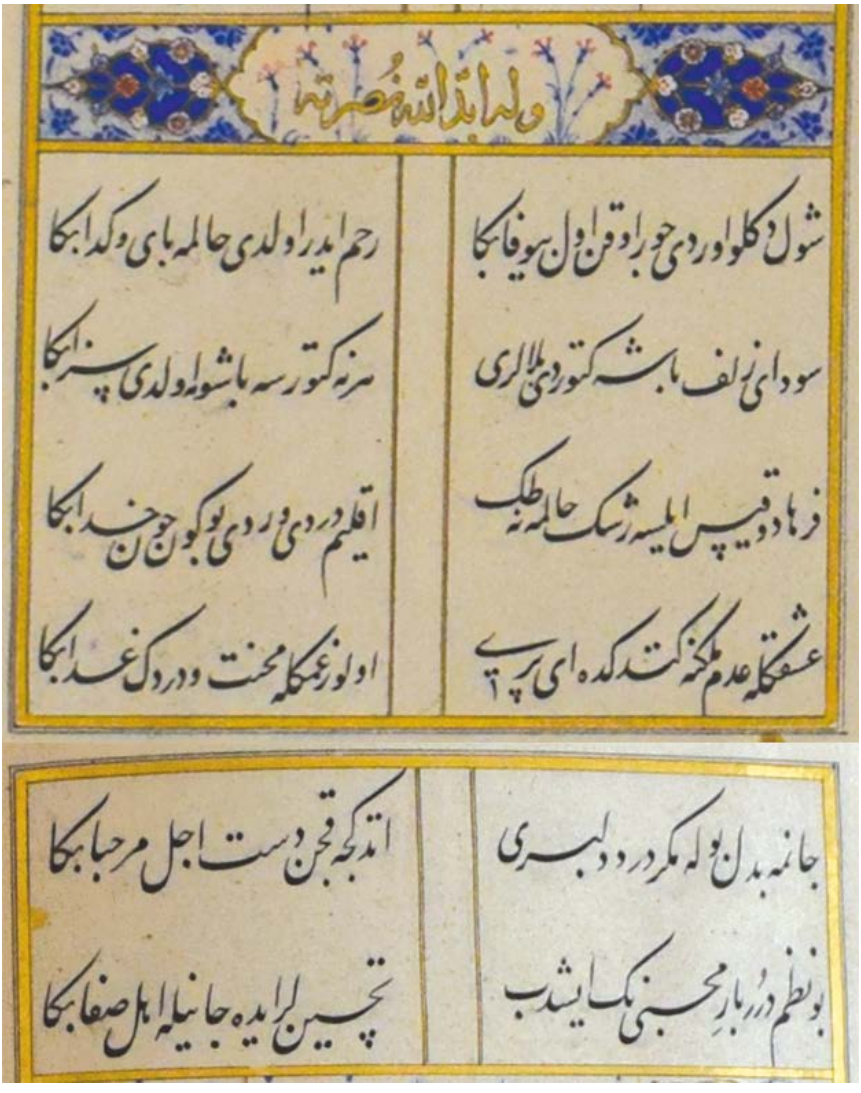

Fig. 8. MS, MKG, 1886.186. Fol._5b_6a

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The desire for the lock brought much misfortune to me
Whatever it brought to me, I merited it

No wonder if Ferhād and Ḳays envy me
Because, today, God submitted the suffering of the earth's surface to me

O perī, when with your love, I enter this weak dominion
The sorrow and affliction for you become my fare

When the hand of death greets me
It will find instead of my heart the pain of one captivated

This jewel-like composition of Muḥibbī is heard
By men of pure affection who laud me with a whole heart."

The Lyrical Beloved

Ottoman poetry is shaped by ambiguity and there is never a clear revelation of the beloved's identity, at least not in Ottoman court poetry. Urban Ottoman poetry differs crucially on this point since the names of the beloveds – and sometimes even their professions – are indicated, as revealed by Walter Andrews and Mehmed Kalpaklı.[42]

Despite this ambiguity in Ottoman court poetry, there are some markers in the *Third Dīvān* that point to female, male, or divine beloveds. The male beloved could also be understood to be a mystical beloved. The female beloved is often related to worldly power. The divine character of the beloved becomes clearer through further allusions. Beyond a specifiable beloved there is also a quantity of self-referring poems where the lyrical I is predominant and the beloved appears as something like the reflection of the lyrical I's ego.

There are four groups of beloved:

1. The divine beloved
2. A female beloved
3. A male beloved
4. The beloved ego

42 See Walter G. Andrews, Kalpaklı, Mehmet, The Age of Beloveds. Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society. (London: Duke University Press, 2005). 39, 105.

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1. The Divine Beloved

The divine beloved and the Prophet Muhammed are often evoked by the cypress tree and references to religion. References to the life of the Prophet are further markers not used in poems for female beloveds.

[Fāʿilātün fāʿilātün fāʿilātün fāʿilün]

"Aḳdı yaşum ṣu gibi ol serv-i bālādan yaña[43]
Ḳıldı dil-i murġ heves kūy-ı dil-ārādan yaña

ʿArż ḳılsañ görseler bir kez senüñ taṣvīriñi
Varmaz idi ehl-i şirk her giz kilīseden yaña."

"My tears flowed like water beneath this gracious cypress
The bird's heart was longing to fly to the place of the beloved

If you should wish, if they just once shall see your likeness
[Then] never again would Christians go to church."

2. The Female Beloved

As Edith Ambros has indicated, *ġazel*-poetry does not typically evoke a female beloved by name, but assumes the homo-erotic or mystical figure as the norm.[44] However, Muḥibbī openly contradicts and challenges this norm by employing images of a female beloved in the *Third Dīvān*, as well as in other *dīvāns* of his. Moreover, there are a few unpublished poems in which a female beloved is related to worldly power. The imagery is softer, with almost no features of the body mentioned. A lock of hair and a beauty spot are the only physical features that appear.

[Fāʿilātün fāʿilātün fāʿilātün fāʿilün]

"Iṣḳuñla ʿadem mülküne gitdükde ey perī[45]
Olur ġamuñla miḥnet u derdüñ ġıdā baña."

"O peri, when with your love, I enter this weak dominion
The sorrow and affliction for you become my fare."

43 See MKG, 1886.168, fol_3b_4a.
44 See Edith Ambros, "Frivolity and Flirtation." *Ottoman Women in Public Space.* Eds. Ebru Boyar, Kate Fleet. (Leiden: Brill, 2016). 154.
45 See MKG, 1886.168, fol_5b_6a.

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3. The Male Beloved

The imagery is more earthly and inner parts of the body are evoked. Furthermore, a mystical flavour is sometimes traceable through imagery related to wine.

The following distich, called *maṭla'* (end verse), seems purposely related to a male beloved, as it can hardly be understood as being addressed to a divine or female beloved:

[Feʿilātün feʿilātün feʿilātün feʿilün]

"Cān ile baş açayum tīġına ḳarşu durayım[46]
Ola kim yār-ı Muḥibbī diye merdāne baña."

"My soul and my reason will I open and remain in front of your sword
Who might be so brave as to become Muḥibbī's lover?"

4. The Beloved Ego

In these poems the beloved stands dimly in the background and love circles around the lyrical I, his feelings, or mood without reference to a beloved.

[Mefāʿīlün feʿilātün mefāʿīlün feʿilün]

"Bu Muḥibbī vādi-yi hicre yöneldi zād içün[47]
Ḫūn-i dil yeter şerāb ey ġam gelüb āş ol baña."

"It is this Muḥibbī who turned to the desert of separation for recreation
Heart blood is wine enough, oh, sorrow come and be my fare."

Unpublished poems

The *Third Dīvān* contains 232 unpublished poems which amounts to 38 % of the 614 poems contained in the manuscript. This figure might be perceived as a sensation under the heading: '232 newly found poems of Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent.' However, scholars have just started to focus on the aspect of unpublished poems. For example, Orhan Yavuz has revealed the figure of 130 in the handwriting of Sultan Süleymān, which corresponds to 45 % of the 287 poems in

46 See MKG, 1886, fol_5a_5b.
47 See MKG, fol_3a_3b.

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the dīvān.[48] While Ak considered only five manuscripts for his edition, Yavuz extended his investigation to nine *dīvāns*, which he compared with the sultan's handwriting.[49]

Orhan Yavuz 2014	Coşkun Ak 2006[50]
İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi no. 5467	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi no. 5467
İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi no. 689	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi no. 689
İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi no. 1976	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi no. 1976
Topkapı Müzesi Kütüphanesi no. 994	
Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi no. 3873	
Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi no. 3970	
Millet Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi no. 392	
Konya Bölge Yazma Kütüphanesi no. 3718	
Konya Mevlana Kütüphanesi no. 2407	
	Topkapı Müzesi Kütüphanesi no. 738

Since Yavuz considered these manuscripts only in comparison to the relatively small amount written by hand, their complete content remains unknown. It would be a great advance if Yavuz' considered manuscripts could also be made accessible for queries, as in the case of Ak's. A significant number of unexplored poem collections remain only in Turkey. Moreover, recent investigations of *mecmu'as* (magazines) brought further poems by Muḥibbī to light.[51] Therefore, it seems that we are only beginning the process of discovering Muḥibbī's unpublished poems, and there is a high probability that further findings will transform our current understanding of his poetry.

A *dīvān* was composed according to the Arabic alphabet, as the Koran. Therefore, the letters create the order and they are indicated through the last syllable in the distich. The allocation of the unpublished poems in the *Third Dīvān* according to the alphabet is as follows:

Arabic Letter	In Total	Unpublished Poems
ا	17	9
ب	9	2
ت	10	1
ث	2	0
ج	3	0
ح	3	1

48 See Yavuz, *Muhibbī Dîvanı kendi Hattıyla.* 17.
49 See Yavuz, *Muhibbī Dîvanı kendi Hattıyla.* 16f.
50 See Ak, *Muhibbî Divanı.* 30.
51 See Kamil Ali Gıynaş, "Üç Nazire Mecmuasından Hareketle Muhibbî'nin Dîvânında Bulunmayan Şiirleri." In *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi.* Vol. 7/29. (no date) 399–440.

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(Continued)

Arabic Letter	In Total	Unpublished Poems
د	7	2
ر	152	42
ز	23	9
س	4	1
ش	10	3
ص	1	0
ض	3	0
ط	1	0
ظ	1	0
غ	2	2
ف	7	3
ق	13	1
ك	38	12
ل	28	15
م	62	23
ن	59	22
و	3	0
ه	87	42
ى	65	39

The unpublished poems are not equally distributed throughout the *dīvān*; instead they appear in clusters. Since we can assume that Sultan Süleymān was not personally involved in the making of a *dīvān*, it is likely that the selection of the poems was undertaken by the editor. In this respect, it is striking that all 16 *ḳıṭ'as* and 41 *müfreds* are unpublished. This omission suggests either that there was a change in the editor or that these poems were not popular among the audience.

When the question turns to the editor of the *Third Dīvān*, the poet who comes to mind first is Bāḳī (1526–1600), a poet highly favoured by Sultan Süleymān. However, Bāḳī is said to have first gained Sultan Süleymān's attention through his presentation of a *ḳaṣīde*, eulogizing the sultan's campaign to Iran, from which he first returned the 12th Ramażān 962–07/31/1555, more than a year after the accomplishment of the *Third Dīvān.*[52] Therefore, while it may be assumed that Bāḳī was charged with the later dīvāns produced in the *naḳḳāṣḫāne* (palace atelier), it is unlikely that he produced the *Third Dīvān.*

Many of the poems in the *Third Dīvān* were incorporated into later *dīvāns*, often with substantial modification. Changes were undertaken to fit verses into the meter and to alter the lyrical emphasis as complete verses were converted,

52 http://www.turkedebiyatiisimlersozlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=arama_sonuc&genel_arama=Baki. (accessed 24.02.2017). *TDEA*. Vol. 1. 300; İsmail Hami Danişmend, Vol. 2. (Türkiye Yayınevi Tarih Serisi; 1). (Istanbul: Türkiye Basımevi, 1948). 296.

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deleted, or added.[53] The later editor, presumably Bāḳī, seems to have been unsatisfied with the poems displayed in the *Third Dīvān*; or perhaps he made so many changes because he wanted to leave his imprint.

Moreover, it is striking that among the unpublished poems the number of the four groups of beloveds is unbalanced, as almost all poems related to female beloveds also appear in later *dīvāns.* This indicates an editorial selection. It may be the result of the personal choice of various editors, but it seems more likely that the shift in presenting the image of the sultan which took place corresponded with a shifting ideology.[54] As recent research on medieval Ottoman ideology suggests, Ottomans were highly strategic.[55] Therefore, it is likely that poetry belonged to the set of strategic tools used by the poet or at least by the court around him. The construction of the *insān-ı kāmil* (the perfect man in a Sufi sense) and the inclination to sunni-Islam was a strategy fostered by Sultan Süleymān's chief adviser who served during the later period of his reign.[56] Therefore, it might be assumed that Bāḳī supported this strategy in the compilation of the later *dīvāns.*

In the *Third Dīvān* cosmic thinking is still mixed up with Islam, as in the following two poems:

Fāʿilātün Fāʿilātün Fāʿilātün Fāʿilün

"Şeh-süvārum seyre çıḳ ṣalın fedādur cān saña[57]
Ey kemān ebrū güzel cān u dilüm ḳurbān saña

Başumı ṭop eyledüm meydān-ı ʿışḳuñda senüñ
Zülf-i cevgān ile [çal] virildi cūn meydān saña

Ṣemʿ-i meclis yandıġum görüp benüm ḳan aġladı
Ḥālüme eyler ḳamu ḥayrān göñül ḥayrān saña

Āfitābum işidelden gün yüzüñ evṣāfını
Arayup bulam diye çarḫ oldı ser-gerdān saña

53 MKG, 1886.168, fol_28b; MKG, fol_42b; MKG, fol_77a; MKG, fol_109a_109b; MKG, fol_128a_128b; MKG, fol_179b:

54 See Barbara Flemming, "Public Opinion under Sultan Süleymân." In *Süleymân the Second and his Time.* Eds. Halil İnalcık, Cemal Kafadar. (Istanbul: İsis Press, 1993). 53; Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman. Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). 61f, 190f.

55 See Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State.* (SUNY series). (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003). 1–3.

56 See Colin Imber, "Government, administration and law." In *The Cambridge History of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire as World Power, 1453–1603.* Vol. 2. Eds. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, Kate Fleet. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). 240.

57 MKG, 1886.168, fol_7a.

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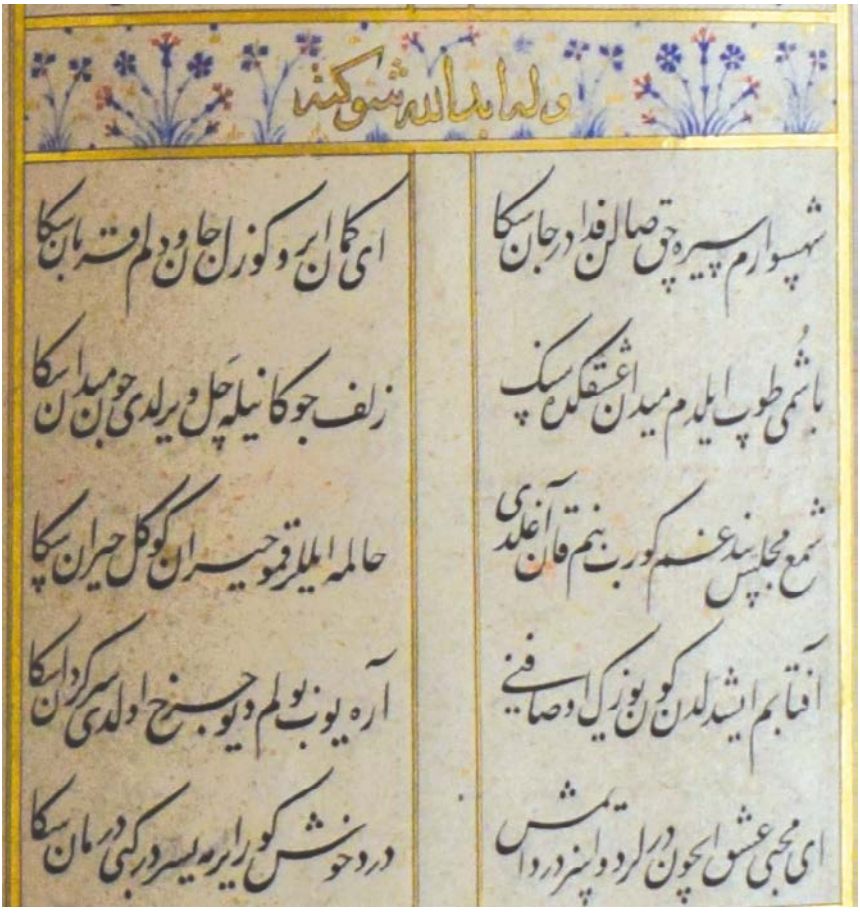

Fig. 9. MS, MKG, 1886.186, Fol._7a

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Ey Muḥibbī ʿışḳ içūn dirler devāsuz derd imiş
Derd ḫoş gör irmeyiserdür gibi dermān saña."

"My royal rider go out for a ride, sway, the soul is devoted to you
Oh arched beautiful eyebrow, my soul and heart are sacrificed to you

My head did I make to a ball on the grounds of your love
Strike with the polo-stick of your lock because the ground is given to you

In the assembling of candles he saw my burning and cried blood for me
All are bewildered by my state but the heart is bewildered by you

My sun, as the glare floods your beaming face
To search and to find you, my destiny is orbiting around your head

Ah, Muḥibbī, they say that divine love is suffering without remedy
Man accepts the suffering, as in a game of fortune, health can return to you."

The following published poem evokes a more mystical flavour combined with cosmic elements:

Mefʿūlü Fāʿilātü Mefāʿīlü Fāʿilün

"Didüm dehānuñ öpse idüm ey perī ne ʿayb[58]
Didi dehānı ne bilür bu ʿilm-i ġayb

ʿĀşıḳ irişdi ṣıdḳla eflāke seyr ider
Ancaḳ hemān başını zāhid çeker bī-ceyb

Ẕerrāt ḳamu ḥüsnüñe şāhid senüñ yiter
Gün şuʿlesine etmedi kimse kemān-ı reyb

Her kim ki göre laʿlüñi ol mey-perest olur
Mīr u gedā beg u faḳīr u cevān u şeyb

Çūn muḥtesib cām-ı meye tövbe eylemez
Gül vaḳti tövbe ṣorsa Muḥibbī olur mı ʿayb."

"I said when I kissed your mouth, o perī what blame
He said who knows this hidden science

Through truth the lover progresses to the spheres
Almost instantly he is drawn to abstinence without strain

Each atom suffices to witness your perfect grace
Nobody doubts the flame of the day

Everyone who gazes upon these ruby lips worships wine
Lord and beggar, prince and poor, beardless and grey

58 MKG, 1886.168, fol_9b.

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Fig. 10. MS, MKG, 1886.186, Fol._9b

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Because the keeper can not commit a vow to the glass of wine
In the rose time when Muḥibbī strips off the vow, can one blame him?"

Conclusion

The *Third Dīvān* provides an extraordinary opportunity to reveal the poet's specific predilections and tendencies in comparison with Muḥibbī's other *dīvāns.* We are just at the beginning of exploring Muḥibbī's intentionality; nevertheless, his focus becomes clear through a consideration of what is not or only occasionally said. The low number of appeals made to the senses of sight, smell, touch, and taste contrasts to the high number of acoustic images. It suggests that hearing was important for Muḥibbī. The choice to downplay certain sensory aspects seems to be intentional and may reflect Muḥibbī's political purposes. In this regard the high number of references made to divine power symbolized by the *Kaaba* are remarkable. Muḥibbī's emphasis on power leads to the question if divine and earthly powers were understood to be connected. Further explorations are needed on this point.

The ambiguous nature of the beloved is a well-known phenomenon in Ottoman poetry, and it has been meticulously discussed by Walter Andrews and Mehmend Kalpaklı.[59] Erika Glassen described it as an iridescent nature, and with this metaphor she underscores its beauty and evokes various modes of interpretation. However, in the *Third Dīvān* there are some markers that point to a female or male beloved, while the lyrical I seems predominant in others. With reference to *devlet* (prosperity, success, government) and similar allusions, the female beloved is related to power as well as to the mountains and rivers of the Ottoman lands. Muḥibbī's love for his consort, probably Ḫurrem Sulṭān, and his love for the Ottoman realm seem to have been connected. Interestingly, the people of the different Ottoman regions are not evoked, as if this vast Ottoman realm was unpopulated.

The *Third Dīvān* contains a hitherto unseen number of unpublished poems that seem to have been lost over time. Some may have been lost haphazardly, while others seem to have been intentionally dropped by Bāḳī, the poet assumed to be the later editor. It is significant that the *ḳıṭʿas* and *müfreds* do not appear in the other edited *dīvāns.* Therefore, the extraordinariness of the *Third Dīvān* lies not in the high number of unpublished poems, but in the fact that some poems

59 See Walter G. Andrews / Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds. Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society.* (London: Duke University Press, 2005). 1–31.

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appear exclusively in other manuscripts and therefore point to the *Third Dīvān* as one of Muḥibbī's earliest *dīvāns*.

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Michael Reinhard Heß

Sacrifice on the Path of the Shah
Martyrdom in Ḫaṭāʾī's Turkic Dīvān

Introduction

Ḫaṭāʾī (Osm., Az.: Xətai, Ttü. Hatai) is the pen name used by Şāh İsmāʿīl (1486–1524), who established the Safavid dynasty in Iran in 1501.[1] Apart from being a famous poet, Ḫaṭāʾī was a prominent political figure, too. He therefore belongs to the important category of divan poets who were at the same time political leaders. Other representatives of this class from the Oghuz Turkic language area are Ḳāżī Burhāneddīn (1344–1398) and the Ottoman sultans Meḥmed II. (1432–1481) and Süleymān I. (1494–1566).[2]

Ḫaṭāʾī/ Şāh İsmāʿīl's impact on Iranian and global history was immense. He was the first ruler to unite Iran after the end of the Mongol/Ilkhanid period, which was around 1330. The creation of this unified Iranian territory turned the Safavids into the most serious eastern rivals of the Ottomans.[3] After an initial phase of expansion, Şāh İsmāʿīl was decisively defeated by the Ottoman sultan

Note: The text quotes in the following contribution are taken from an edition of Ḫaṭāʾī's divan written in the Soviet Azerbaijiani (Cyrillic) script. For the sake of easier readability, this script has been converted to the Latin alphabet in use in the Republic of Azerbaijani today. No ambiguities whatsoever result from this transcription. Words from Old Western Oghuz are transcribed according to the unified transcription system suggested in Heß 2010/2011. For the sake of clarity, the source language can be indicated by an abbreviation in brackets. If not stated otherwise, all translations are my own.

1 See Christoph K. Neuman, Ein besonderes Imperium (1512–1596). In *Kleine Geschichte der Türkei.* Eds. Klaus Kreiser, Christoph K. Neumann. (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005). 109f; see Josef Matuz, *Das osmanische Reich. Grundlinien seiner Geschichte.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985). 78.

2 On Süleyman the Lawgiver and other Ottoman poet-sultans see Christiane Czygan, "Power and poetry: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's Third Divan." *Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II. Turkey Transformed? Power History, Culture.* Eds. Meltem Ersoy, Esra Özyürek. (Wiesbaden: Springer VS., 2017). 101–112.

3 See Christoph K. Neuman, Ein besonderes Imperium (1512–1596). 110. On the subsequent development of the Ottoman-Safavid antagonism see Michael Reinhard Heß, *Schreiben des Antagonismus. Dimensionen des osmanisch-safavidischen Konfliktes in Staatskorrespondenz um 1600.* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2013).

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Selīm I (ruled 1512–1520) in a great pitched battle near Çaldıran in Eastern Anatolia (1514).[4] This reversal not only seriously hampered the Safavids' military and political expansion toward the west, but also greatly damaged Ṣāh İsmāʿīl's personal prestige both as military and religious leader.[5] The gloomy atmosphere palpable in many of the poems ascribed to Ṣāh İsmāʿīl might be a consequence of the political and ideological disaster of Çaldıran, even if it is hard to put the mostly undated works into relationship with the historical data. Not only politically but also culturally, Ṣāh İsmāʿīl was very influential. He made Twelver Shia the state religion in his realm, thereby shaping Iran's cultural landscape to this day.

In addition to his role in world history, Ḫaṭāʾī is famous both for his Persian and his Old Western Oghuz poetry.[6]

Ḫaṭāʾī's works include both poems in (Az.) *əruz* metre and in the syllable-counting system. As is the case with many other Oriental poets, one cannot be absolutely sure whether all the poems handed down as Ḫaṭāʾī's were really composed by Ṣāh İsmāʿīl. It seems plausible that a ruler of his standing would have had the opportunity to employ ghostwriters, but there is to date no evidence to support this speculation. In any case, even if the authenticity of some of the poems analysed below could be doubted, they would still be of great value as

4 See Josef Matuz, *Das osmanische Reich. Grundlinien seiner Geschichte.* 80f.

5 On Messianic aspirations ascribed to Ṣāh İsmāʿīl see Matuz, *Das osmanische Reich. Grundlinien seiner Geschichte.* 82.

6 There is an abundant literature about Ḫaṭāʾī's works, which have been edited many timeꜱ. A recent edition is Şah İsmail Hatayî. *Şah İsmail Hatayî, Divan, Dehnāme, Nasihatname ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* [The divan, the dehnāme, the naṣīḥatnāme and the Anatolian Ḫaṭāʾīs]. Ed. İbrahim Aslanoğlu. (Istanbul: Der Yayınları, 1992). See also Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri* [Ṣāh İsmāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī. Works]. Əzizağa Məhəmmədov (ed.). Vol. 1. (Baku: Azərbaycan Dövlət Nəşriyyatı, 1975). Şah İsmayıl Xətai, Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri [Ṣāh İsmāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī. Works]. Ed. Əzizağa Məmmədov. Vol. 2. (Baku: Azərnəşr. 1976). For an introduction to Ḫaṭāʾī's literary personality, see Əzizağa Məhəmmədov (ed.), "Şah İsmayıl Xətainin əsərləri" [The works of Ṣāh İsmāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī]. In *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri [Ṣāh İsmāʿīl. Works].* Əzizağa Məhəmmədov (ed.), Vol. 1. (Baku: Azərbaycan Dövlət Nəşriyyatı, 1975). 5–28; Michael Reinhard Heß, "Ḫaṭāʾī. Dīvān." In *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon.* Ed. Heinz-Ludwig Arnold. Vol. 7. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2009)[3]. 143–144.; Michael Reinhard Heß, "Ḫaṭāʾī." In *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon.* Ed. Heinz-Ludwig Arnold. Vol. 7. (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2009)[3]. 143; Michael Reinhard, Heß "Azerbaijani literature." In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three.* Eds. Fleet, Kate et al. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015). 34–37. – On the term "Old Western Oghuz" and its alternatives See Talat Tekin, Mehmet Ölmez, *Türk Dilleri. Les Langues Turques.* (Ankara: Simurg, T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı. 1995). 114; Claus Schönig, "Turkmen." In *The Turkic Languages.* Eds. Lars Johanson, Éva Á., Csató. (London: Routledge, 1998). 261, Michael Reinhard Heß, "Zugänge zum Werk Nesimis." In *Jahrbuch Aserbaidschanforschung: Beiträge aus Politik, Wirtschaft, Geschichte und Literatur.* Eds. Mardan Aghayev, Ruslana Suleymanova. Vol. 4. (Bochum: Köster, 2011). 155–194; Heß, *Schreiben des Antagonismus*; Arienne M Dwyer, *Salar. A Study in Inner Asian Language Contact Processes. Phonology.* Vol. 1. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007). 28.

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witnesses to the historical development of martyrdom narratives. The production of this kind of classical poetry was a process that in many cases involved more than one person. Changes were frequently introduced both by the author(s) and the copyists, and this process of rewriting continues right to the present day. Some later posterior alterations in a given text were accidental, others were intentional. Some were of no consequence to the meaning or aesthetic outlook of the poetry, others caused dramatic changes in one or both of these categories. Hence, even if Ḫaṭāʾī is claimed to be the sole author of the majority of the poems collected in his divan, he evidently draws upon the works and ideas of previous poets and thinkers (consider the parallels to the poems of Nesīmī mentioned below); otherwise his poetry would present a serious problem for the audiences of his time. Put more generally: even if its name belongs to a single author, classical Turkic poetry always reflects the views and tastes of a collective.

The following contribution analyses martyrdom according to Ḫaṭāʾī's Old Western Turkic *əruz dīvān*. The edition consulted is the modern Azerbaijiani one of Əzizağa Məmmədov.[7]

Conventional Martyrdom Narratives

'Conventional martyrdom narratives' in Ḫaṭāʾī's Oghuz dīvān can be described as more or less clear references to martyrdom or martyr figures that do not represent innovative types but are more or less similar to pre-existing models."

Amongst such references one may in the first place count more or less abstract phrases containing (Az.) *yolunda* ("on the path of, for the sake of"),[8] (Az.) *qurban* ("sacrifice, sacrificial animal"),[9] (Az.) *qurban et-* ("to sacrifice, to turn into a sacrificial animal"),[10] (Az.) *canını qurban qıl-* ("to sacrifice one's soul/ life, to turn one's soul/ life into a sacrificial animal"),[11] (Az.) *fəda* ("sacrifice")[12]/ (Az.) *can fəda* ("the soul/ life is sacrificed"),[13] (Az.) *canını fəda qıl-* ("to sacrifice one's

7 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. Due to limitations in time and means, the analysis is limited to this first volume of Ḫaṭāʾī's works.

8 For instance, see Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 163, couplet 1; 166, couplet 5; 173, couplet 3.

9 For instance Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 163, couplets 1 and 6; 167, couplet 2; 250, couplet 5.

10 For instance, Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 163, couplets 1 and 6; 167, couplet 2; 250, couplet 5.

11 For instance, Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 308, couplet 4.

12 For instance, Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 173, couplet 3.

13 For instance, Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 267, couplet 4. Similarly in Şah İsmayıl Xətai 1975: 305, couplet 1. See also Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 341, couplet 4.

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soul/ life, to turn one's soul/ life into a sacrificial animal"),[14] (Az.) *can ver-* ("to give one's soul/ life"),[15] or similar expressions, or combinations of them,[16] which, by means of their lexical meaning, can be said to be typical of Islamic martyrdom narratives.

Of course, it is not in every instance clear whether similar expressions actually refer to martyrdom or to something else. Many of them betray a tendency towards metaphorization or semantical change that moves them away from the field of martyrdom. Arguably, in some cases the direct connection to the imagery of martyrdom may be fully lost. For instance, consider the expressions (Az.) *yolunda* and (Az.) *canfəda* in the next example. Especially *canfəda* is interesting, as it is a word derived from *can* ("soul, life") and *fəda* ("sacrifice"), which we have already seen to be associated with some forms of martyrdom. However, as a result of the amalgamation of both elements into the new lexeme *canfəda* ("sacrificing one's life") or ("willing to sacrifice one's life,") at least some part of the concreteness of the reference to martyrdom seems to be lost.

"*Şeydavü məstü valəhü heyranəm, ey sənəm,*
İxlasilə yolunda mənəm rindü canfəda."[17]

"I am mad, drunk, enraptured and entranced, my idol!
On your path, I am earnestly an underdog, and a sacrificer of my life!"

In addition to the lexical evidence discussed above, love martyrdom occupies an important place amongst the traditional and conventional types of martyrdom narratives in Ḫaṭāʾī's *dīvān.* For instance, the couplet

"*Çün qəmi-eşqində ölməkdir, həyati-cavidan,*
Həq bilür ölmək deyil, ol eyni-rahətdir mana."[18]

combines the notions of "love" (Az. *eşq*) with the idea of dying (Az. *ölmək*, appearing twice). In the first half of the couplet, these two words are morphosyntactically linked by means of a locative case phrase (Az. *eşqində*, literally "in the love of…"). This element is both morphologically and semantically comparable to the element *yolunda* ("on the path of…"), which is characteristic of

14 For instance, Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 343, couplet 3.
15 For instance, Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 177, couplet 9; 181, couplet 4; 237, couplet 4.
16 Examples of such combinations are *verdim canımı qurban* "I gave my soul/ life as a sacrifice", Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 188, couplet 5 or *Ey sənəm, yolunda bu aləm fədadır, can dəxi "Oh idol, on your path this world is a sacrifice, and the soul/ life, too."* (Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 188, couplet 5).
17 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 206. The metre is (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –).
18 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai: *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 40. The metre is (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –) again.

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many Islamic martyrdom narratives. As does the expression *yolunda* in such allusions to Islamic martyrs, *eşqində* seems to convey a notion of purpose alongside and/ or in addition to its primary meaning of indicating a place. Hence, the idea of dying for the purpose of love allows this couplet to be read as a reference to love martyrdom. The fact that "God/ the truth" (Az. *Həq/ həq*) and "eternal life" (Az. *həyati-cavidan*) are mentioned in the couplet also renders a religious interpretation possible. In particular, the paradoxical reference to "dying" (Az. *ölmək*), which is said to prevail and not to prevail at the same time, is remindful of the notorious Sufi concept of dying before death.[19] Still, it is not absolutely clear what kind of 'love' Ḫaṭāʾī speaks about in the above lines. This could be profane or divine or another form of love, or a mixture of more than one type. For instance, the expression (Az.) *eyni-rahət* in the second half allows a sensualistic/ erotic interpretation, as Az. *eyn* (Owo. *ʿayn*) both means "eye" (as well as "the same as"). A possible translation of the couple which allows more than one interpretation, is the following:

"As to die in the grief of his[20] love is eternal life,
God knows: this is not dying to me, but pure pleasure (or: a pleasing eye)"

According to some medieval Islamic medical theories, profane love could be a form of disease. The mention of a "healer" in the following lines might therefore be yet another hint that Ḫaṭāʾī does not generally disregard the dimension of profane eroticism when he speaks about martyrdom. The "coquettish glance" (Az. *qəmzə*, Owo. *ġamze*), which appears as an attribute of the "martyr" in the third line below, might also easily be taken to be an erotic symbol:

"*Çareyi-behbudimi sordum müalicdən, dedi,*
Dərd dərdi-eşqisə mümkün deyil səhhət sana.

Ey Xətai, sən şəhidi-qəmzeyi-dildarsən,
Həşrdə rəşk aparır yetmiş iki millət sana!"[21]

"I asked the therapist for a remedy that would restore my well-being.
'If the disease is the disease of love, health is not possible for you!' he answered.

19 On this idea see See İskender Pala, *Ansiklopedik divân şiiri sözlüğü* [An encyclopedic dictionary of divan poetry]. (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1998). 298, s. v. *mûtû kable en te-mût.* On its history and modern interpretations see Esat Korkmaz, *Anadolu Aleviliği [Anatolian Alevism].* (Istanbul: Berfin yayınları, 2000). 11 and Ismail Kaplan, *Das Alevitentum. Eine Glaubens- und Lebensgemeinschaft in Deutschland.* (Cologne: Alevitische Gemeinde Deutschland e.V., 2004). 81.

20 In fact, Məmmədov's text does not clarify whether the third or second person is referred to. The referent could be masculine or feminine in either case.

21 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai: *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri.* Vol. 1. 46. The metre is (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –).

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Oh Ḫaṭāʾī, you are a martyr of the coquettish glance of the sweetheart.
On the Day of Judgement the seventy-two sects will be jealous of you."

The twofold *iżāfe* phrase *şəhidi-qəmzeyi-dildarsən* sounds perhaps a little bit playful or even ironic given the solemnity usually surrounding the term "martyr" (Az. *şəhid*). In any case, this concatenation of three nouns seems to have been created ad hoc, as it is not a part of the martyrological lexicon. Against the backdrop of such an assumed playful tone, the second line might be thought to be hiding yet another joke. This is to say that the number "seventy-two," in addition to explicitly evoking the seventy-two (i. e. all) religious groups and sects, might secretly allude to the legendary seventy-two virgins, which according to some popular belief await male martyrs in the other world. The combination of the words "martyr" (Az. *şəhid*) and "seventy-two" (Az. *yetmiş iki*) is at least noteworthy. Of course, it is a well-established part of the literary game that such a subversive and dangerous joke cannot be proven. That love for a human being and not necessarily belief-based hopes of transcendental reward belonged to the forces motivating Ḫaṭāʾī seems to be suggested even more concretely by the next couplet:

"*Dilbərin getdi, Xətai, sən nedirsən dünyanı?*
Çünki can getdi, bu tən, yarəb, niyə qaldı mana?"[22]

"Your beloved one has gone away, Ḫaṭāʾī. What will you now make of your world?[23]
As the soul/ life has gone away, my Lord, why has this body been left to me?"

"To go away" (Az. *get-*) is a common expression used for the physical death of human beings, just as the "world" (Az. *dünya*) usually refers to this world as opposed to imaginary categories such as the divine sphere or life after death. Hence, the situation of loss Ḫaṭāʾī describes here may well refer to a human relationship.

The second line of the following initial couplet (Owo. *maṭlaʿ*) of a *ġazel* from Ḫaṭāʾī 's dīvān provides a sort of a definition of Islamic love martyrdom:

"*Ey gül yanağlu, qəddinə servi-rəvan derəm,*
Eşqin yolunda canımı versəm, rəvan derəm."[24]

22 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai: *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 37. The metre is once more (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –).

23 The translation "your world" is based on the assumption that the form *dünyanı* in Məhəmmədov's modern Azerbaijani edition corresponds to Owo. *dünyaŋı*. However, given the Chaghatay influences present in the Azerbaijani language of Ḫaṭāʾī and his contemporaries, one may also read it as *dünyanı*. In this case, the translation would change to "this world".

24 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 255. The couplet can be read according to the pattern (– – v – / – – v – /– – v – / v –), which is probably a variant of *recez*). See Akrem Džafar, "Metrika poėsii Nasimi." In *Nasimi. Sbornik statej*. Ed. Vysockaja, M. (Baku:

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"Oh you rose-cheeked one, I call your stature a walking cypress,
If I give my life for your love, I say: it is fair."[25]

The next example combines various elements already mentioned. As was the case in the first example, it contains the element *yolunda* and an explicit reference to love (in the form of the noun *aşiq* "loving one"). At the same time, the way Ḫaṭaʾī speaks of himself as somebody who has already "sacrificed his life/ soul" calls to mind the reference to the martyr in the second of the above examples:

"*Özgə aşiklər əgərçi dil verər dildarına,*
Bu Xətai xəstə gör, yolunda qıldı can fəda."[26]

"Although other lovers give their heart to the possessor of their heart,
Look at this (love-)sick Ḫaṭāʾī, he has sacrificed his life/ soul on her/ his[27] path."

To summarize: the above examples seem to indicate that Ḫaṭāʾī at least sometimes included profane love in what he (metaphorically or literally) understood as martyrdom. Martyrdom and eroticism are not mutually exclusive categories for Ḫaṭāʾī.[28]

Besides love martyrdom, other mostly conventional martyrdom narratives that are present in Ḫaṭāʾī's dīvān concern the figure of al-Ḥallāc. These references to the great Bagdadi martyr and mystic do not substantially reinterpret or enhance traditional interpretations of the figure. In some places they are limited to a mere mention of the name or one of his characteristic attributes. Consider the following example:

"*Çün təcəlla nurunu görmək təmənna eylərəm*
Şimdi Mənsurəm məni bir darə göndərmək gərək."[29]

"As I wish to see the light of (divine) manifestation,
I am now Manṣūr, it is necessary to send me to the gallows."[30]

Elm, 1973). 106 and Ali Alparslan (ed.), *Kadı Burhaneddin Dîvânı'ndan Seçmeler [Extracts from the divan of Kadı Burhaneddin]*. (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1977). 307 for a similar form of *recez*.

25 Or: "it is (my) soul", as the word Az. *rəvan*/ Owo. *revān* means both "fair, legitimate" and "soul", in addition to "going, walking" (see the first line).

26 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 49. The metre is again (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –).

27 Or "on your path", the edited text allows both readings.

28 Further examples of love martyrdom in the divan of Ḫaṭāʾī can be found in: Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 211, couplet 5; 217, couplet 5; 309, couplet 5.

29 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 49. The metre is (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –) again.

30 The translation "a gallows" interprets the word *bir* as the indefinite article. It might also be assumed to be a numeral, in which case the meaning would change to "the one gallows" (i. e., the gallows in a monotheistic sense, execution on the gallows for the sake of the one God). – As always, the word (Az.) *dar* is a homonym of the Arabic word (Arabic, Pers., Owo.) *dār*

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The following couplet shows that al-Ḥallāc not only appears as a martyr in Ḫaṭāʾī's Oghuz Turkic *dīvān*, but also as a mystic. For al-Ḥallāc's mystical motto is called a "secret" (Az. *sirr*), which Ḫaṭāʾī has hidden in his own heart:

"*Ənəlhəqq sirri, uş könlümdə gizli,*
Ki, həqqi-mütləqəm, həq söylərəm mən."[31]

"The secret of the 'I am God', here, it is hidden in my heart.[32]
For I am the absolute truth, I say 'God.'"[33]

The next couplet, which contains yet another direct mention of al-Ḥallāc, sounds as if it were influenced by some of the poems relating to the martyrdom of Nesīmī.[34] It mentions "(Islamic) judges" (Az. *qadilər*) as well as "flaying" (Az. *soy-*), which are characteristic and almost emblematic elements of Nesīmī's martyrdom. As to Ḫaṭāʾī's text, it must be mentioned that that the word Az. *Hüseynilən* morphologically also allows for a different interpretation. In addition to being identified as (Owo.) *Ḥüseynī(y)len*/*Ḥüseyni(y)len*, i. e. ("with *Ḥüseynī*/ Nesīmī"),[35] it can also be read (Owo.) *Ḥüseynilen* ("with al-Ḥusayn"). However, the fact that al-Ḥusayn did not die by hanging speaks against this interpretation. Instead, the couplet seems to evoke both the martyrdom of al-Ḥallāc and that of Nesīmī. Both figures are probably linked to the lyrical ego by means of the *devir* idea, a kind of Islamic interpretation of metempsychosis.

"*Gah Ḥüseynilən belə pustimi soydu qadilər,*
Gah o[36] *Mənsur donuna,*[37] *girdim "ənəlhəq" dar idim.*"[38]

"house, region." Hence, the end of the second line can also be translated as "it is necessary to send me to a region," and perhaps it could even mean "it is necessary to send me to the one region (of God)."

31 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 299. To be read according to the metre (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – –).

32 The present translation interprets the two lines as separate propositions. Alternatively, the second line may be taken to be the definition of the compound noun *Ənəlhəqq sirri* "the secret of the 'I am God'" of the first line. A complete translation of the couplet could then be as follows: "Here, hidden in my heart, is the secret of the 'I am God',/ Which is: 'I am the absolute truth, I say 'God.'" Or, if one assumes the definition to end after *mütləqəm* in the second line: "Here, hidden in my heart is the secret of the 'I am God' / Which is: 'I am the absolute truth.' – I say 'God.'"

33 The words for "truth" and "God" are the same (Az. *həq*).

34 A thorough discussion of these poems by Nesīmī is given in Michael Reinhard Heß, "Martyrdom in ʿİmādeddīn Nesīmī's Turkic Divan: A Literary Analysis – Part I." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* 106 (2016). 61–90; Michael Reinhard Heß, "ʿİmādeddīn Nesīmī's Turkic Divan: A Literary Analysis – Part II." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* 107 (2017): 59–76.

35 *Ḥüseynī* is another pen name that was used by Nesīmī. For one of the poems where Nesīmī uses this pen name see Baku, Institute of Manuscripts, MS M-227, fol. 34v–36v.

36 If the form *o* is authentic, it is quite an interesting morpheme, as the change from *ol* to *o*

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"Sometimes,[39] the judges flayed my skin together with Ḥüseynī, like this,
And sometimes[40] I took the shape of Manṣūr, I was 'I am God,' the gallows."

Another interesting, rather playful, and obviously hyperbolic mention of al-Ḥallāc is presented in the next two lines:

Mən ol canbazi-sərbazam, fələk fövqindədir darim,
Necə Həllaç, Mənsuri[41] yürütdüm rismanimdə.[42]

"I am that daredevil rope dancer, my gallows[43] is on top of the heavens,
I have led so many Ḥallāc-ı Manṣūrs on my thread."

The hyperbolic image which is at the core of these lines has two edges. On one hand, it is an almost blasphemic claim to be "on top of the heavens." This is the place where Muslim imagination situates Allah. In this interpretation, the word *dar* in the first line is probably best equalized to the Arabic *dār* ("house") (and not with the Persian *dār* "gallows"), as the Arabic *dār* is a term that was also used to describe astronomic phenomena. On the other hand, if one reads the word *dar* as the Persian *dār* ("gallows"), the expression contains a somewhat less ambitious, but nevertheless hyperbolic claim. For it amounts to the statement that the lyrical ego (quite directly present in the form of the first person singular personal pronoun Az. *mən*) was the greatest sufferer imaginable. This superb use of the homonymy of Owo. *dār* is not the only element in the couplet that refers to al-Ḥallāc. Another rhetorically brilliant feature which does the same thing is the "rope" (*risman*) in line 2. It doubly refers to al-Ḥallāc. On one hand, it can be understood to be the rope with which he was executed. On the other hand, it relates to his profession of cotton carder (Arabic *ḥallāc*), as ropes or threads could be made of cotton. In addition, the rope motif is present in the word *canbaz* ("rope dancer"). This word etymologically means "somebody who plays (Persian *-bāz*) with his life (Persian *cān*)" and therefore resumes al-Ḥallāc's courage.

became widespread only much later than the time of Ḫaṭāʾī. On the other hand, the preference of *o* over *ol* here has obvious metrical reasons, too.

37 The comma given in the Azerbaijani edition is unnecessary; it seems to be unmotivated, and it is very likely not derived from the original text.

38 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 256. The metre is (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –).

39 Or "in some places," as the conjunction (Az.) *gah* etymologically implies a locative meaning.

40 Or "in some places" see footnote 30.

41 The comma in "*Həllaç, Mənsuri*" seems to suggest that the editor Məhəmmədov considers "*Həllaç*" and "*Mənsur*" to be two different persons. It seems more likely to assume that both words refer to al-Ḥallāc. In this case, one should read Az. *Həllaci-Mənsuri* (Owo. *Ḥallāc-i Manṣūr*).

42 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 338. The metre is (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – –).

43 Or "house."

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Finally, the word "daredevil" (Az. *sərbaz*) echoes *canbaz*, for it contains the same suffixed verb stem (*-bāz* "playing with"). *Sərbaz* etymologically means "playing with his head" and therefore can be read as a sarcastic description of somebody who is hanged. In spite of the complex rhetorical structure of the above couplet, it is hard to see how it adds any new dimension to Ḫaṭāʾī's understanding of martyrdom. Rather it seems, to be a merely playful poetic exercise with the figure of al-Ḥallāc.[44]

The case is similar with regard to Ḫaṭāʾī's Turkic *dīvāns* which deal with Shii martyr figures. Many of these poems contain openly panegyric passages, and sometimes the whole narrative consists only in the praising of a certain Shii (martyr) figure. Given Ḫaṭāʾī's position as a ruler of a Shii empire (beginning in 1501), such laudatory allusions to Shii figures should come as no surprise.

The following panegyric *ġazel* represents a typical example of a conventional way to praise Shii figures, including Shii martyrs, in the dīvān of Ḫaṭāʾī. Its rather conventional structure and style can be compared to similar examples from the dīvān of Nesīmī.[45] The poem can be read as a programmatic declaration of adherence to the Twelver Shia religion, and, by implication, to the Shia martyrs. The personal attachment of Ḫaṭāʾī to the Shii imams is illustrated by the use of his pen name as the rhyme-word of the *ġazel*, and in particular by the final couplet, where Ḫaṭāʾī openly speaks about himself.

1 "*Yəqin bil kim, xudaidir Xətai,*
Məhəmməd Mustafaidir Xətai.

2 *Səfi nəsli Cüneydi-Heydər*[46] *oğlu*
Əliyyəl-Murtəzaidir Xətai.

3 *Həsən eşqinə meydanə gəlibdir*
Hüseyni-Kərbəlaidir Xətai.

4 *Əli Zeynəlibad Bağiru*[47] *Cə'fər,*
Kazim,[48] *Musa Rizaidir Xətai.*

44 For more references to the al-Ḥallāc figure in Ḫaṭāʾī s divan see Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 258, couplet 4; 308, couplet 5. (Here, the figure is evoked by way of his motto Az. *ənəlhəq*).

45 See Michael Reinhard Heß, "Subversive Eulogies: A *Medḥīye* about the Prophet and the Twelve Imams by ʾImād ed-Dīn Nesīmī." *Turcica* 38 (2006).

46 Perhaps the *iżāfe* read in *Cüneydi-Heydər* by Məhəmmədov should by emended to the conjunction *ü* (etc.) "and" (> Az. **Cüneyd ü Heydər*, Owo. **Cüneyd ü Ḥayder* "Cunayd and Ḥaydar"). The confusion of both morphemes is quite frequent in Old Western Oghuz Turkic texts. From the semantic point of view, a reading of the conjunction makes more sense (cf. the translation of the couplet below).

47 Better read as *Bağir u.*

48 Etymologically, the first syllable of the word *Kazim* is long. Read thus, the word would constitute a violation of the metre. However, the name might be assumed to have been Turkicized, in which case the first syllable can be read as short without problems.

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5 *Məhəmməd Taqidir, Əli*[49] *Nəqi həm,*
Həsən Əskər liqaidir Xətai.

6 *Məhəmməd Mehdiyi-Sahib zəmanın,*
Eşigində gədaidir Xətai.

7 *Mənim adım vəli Şah İsmayıldır,*
Təxəllüsüm Xətaidir Xətai."[50]

1 "Know for sure that Ḫaṭāʾī is one belonging to the Lord,
One belonging to Muḥammad Muṣṭafā[51] is Ḫaṭāʾī.

2 An offspring of Ṣafī[52] and son of Cunayd and Ḥaydar,[53]
One belonging to ʿAlī al-Murtażā is Ḫaṭāʾī.

3 He has come out to the field out of love of al-Ḥasan,
One belonging to al-Ḥusayn of Kerbela is Ḫaṭāʾī.

4 One belonging to ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn,[54] Bāḳir, Caʿfar,
Kāẓim, Mūsā and Riḍā is Ḫaṭāʾī.

5 Having his face turned towards[55] Muḥammad Taḳī, ʿAlī Naḳī and
Ḥasan ʿAskarī is Ḫaṭāʾī.

6 At the gate of Muḥammad Mahdī, the ruler of the time,
A beggar is Ḫaṭāʾī.

49 The word *Əli* does not fit into the metrical structure.

50 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 378. The metre is (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – – -).

51 Muḥammad Muṣṭafā: The Prophet Muḥammad.

52 This is a reference to Ṣayḫ Ṣafī ad-Din Isḥāḳ (1252–1334), the founder of the Safavid order.

53 "Son of Cunayd and Ḥaydar": This translates the emended reading Az. *Cüneyd ü Heydər*, Owo. *Cüneyd ü Ḥayder* (see footnote 47). Relating to Cunayd, the word (Az.) *oğul* should then be understood to mean not "son," as is its primary sense, but "ancestor." Alternatively, if Məhəmmədov's original reading is kept, the *iżāfe* construction *Cüneydi-Heydər* can be translated as "the Cunayd of Ḥaydar." This seems to be problematic if "Ḥaydar" is assumed to refer to Ḫaṭāʾī's father (ruled 1460–1488) and not somebody else. (The most likely and natural alternative would be ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). For if Cunayd (ruled 1447–1460) was Ḥaydar's father (and Ḫaṭāʾī's grandfather), it is hard to see what "the Cunayd of Ḥaydar" could mean. If one assumes the Ḥaydar mentioned to be ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the result is less problematic ("the Cunayd of/ belonging to Ḥaydar, i. e., to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib"). In any case, the couplet seems to play with the names of Ḫaṭāʾī's father and grandfather and possibly also of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

54 In Məhəmmədov's text, the name of the fourth imam, ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿÂbidīn (A. D. 659–719.) is given in the form (Az.) *Zeynəlibad* (>Owo. *Zeyn el-ʿİbād* "Ornament of the servants/ men").

55 "Having his face turned towards" is a tentative translation. Literally, the expression means "… -faced", with the dots standing for the names of the imams mentioned in the couplet.

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7 My name is Şah İsmāʿīl the sanctified[56] one,
My pen name is Ḫaṭāʾī, [signed:] Ḫaṭāʾī."

Shii Martyrdom, *Ġazā* and Political Mysticism

In addition to the above-mentioned, rather traditional, eulogistic references to Shii martyrdom, there are others in Ḫaṭāʾī's dīvān that seem idiosyncratic. In many of these the term (Az.) *ğazi* (Owo. *ġāzī*) plays an important role.

1. Jihad and *Ġazā:* Some Terminological Clarifications

Before discussing the use of the term *ğazi* in connection with martyrdom in Ḫaṭāʾī's *dīvān*, it is useful to make some clarifications regarding the terminology. This concerns the relationship between the terms "jihad", "martyr" (Arabic *şahīd*, Az. *şəhid*), "martyrdom" (Ar. *şahāda*) on one hand, and (Owo.) *ġāzī*/ *ġazv*, *ġazā* on the other hand. Generally speaking, the Arabic nouns *ġazv* and *ġazā* (and their borrowed forms in Persian and Old Western Oghuz as well as in the Modern Oghuz languages) denote a military raid. Etymologically, these words are connected to the Italian and English words *razzia.* In principle, such a *ġazv* or *ġazā* does not have to be motivated by religion. However, it usually is if the term "jihad" comes into play, as "jihad" in a military sense is almost always related to (Islamic) religion. In this case, *ġazv* or *ġazā* denotes a military action carried out during a military jihad campaign, or even the whole jihad itself. The Arabic word *ġāzī* belongs to the same root as *ġazv* and *ġazā.* Morphologically, it is an active participle. It can therefore be translated by "attacker, participant in a military raid," or "participant in (a) jihad (action)," according to the context. If the word *ġāzī* is used in the second particular (jihadist) sense, it refers to a participant in the jihad who fights, but is not killed and so returns home alive. Considering only the meanings relating to jihad, the above terms can be arranged as follows.

Table 1 Terminology of Military Jihad

	Abstract noun	Nomen agentis
If the jihad fighter does not die in the jihad action:	*ġazv*, *ġazā*	*ġāzī*
If the jihad fighter dies in the jihad action:	*şahāda*	*şahīd*

56 The translation "the sanctified one" is based on the assumption that the word *vəli* is to be interpreted as an adjective, and not as a conjunction meaning "but."

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Although the terms in the above table are given in their (original) Arabic forms, they also may serve as an orientation for the analysis of Old Western Oghuz (and Persian) material because the same Arabic (loan) words are normally used.[57]

2. Shii Martyrdom and *Ġazā* in Ḫaṭāʾī's Dīvān

The importance of the term (Az.) *ğazi* (= Ar. *ġāzī*) to Ḫaṭāʾī's interpretation of martyrdom can be illustrated by the next poem. In it the word is used four times (couplets 2, 4, 8 and 14), whereas the word "martyr" (Owo. *şehīd*) does not appear at all. In the text the word *ğazi* typically appears in the plural; thus three uses in the plural (2, 8, 14) stand against one occurrence in the singular (4). However, even the grammatical singular use of *ğazi* in couplet 4 denotes a referential plurality of *ğazi*s taking part in a battle. That the term *ğazi* appears mostly with plural referents can be explained as a consequence of real *ğazi*s practically always appearing in masses – the same way as battlefield martyrs. Apart from the term *ğazi*, which is inherently linked to (battlefield) martyrdom, the below poem contains other hints to martyrdom as well. The readiness to die for the cause advocated is articulated in other ways, as well, for instance, in the last couplet. The particular stress laid on the term *ġāzī* in the poem is probably to be explained by Şāh İsmāʿīl's intention to motivate his fighters: although (battlefield) martyrdom was always a realistic possibility, the use of the word *ġāzī* seems to emphasise the more optimistic outcome of the religious war, i. e., to return alive. If this interpretation is true, this would amount to a secular or utilitarian motive amid all the religious rhetoric.

1 "*Bu şahi-pürkərəm, sahibnəzərdir*
Vilayətdir, yəqin nuri-bəsərdir.

2 *Quşanə ğazilər seyfü silahi,*
Münafiq caninə xovfü xətərdir.

3 *Yəzidin ləşkəri yüz min olursa*
Vilayət ləşkərindən bir yetərdir.

4 *Münafiq ləşgəri bir ğazi görsə,*
Qoyun ki, qurd toxur ondan bətərdir.

5 *İşarət qıldığunca bir nəzər şah,*
Önündə Şümrü Mərvan dərbədərdir.

57 For a further discussion of the terminology See Michael Reinhard Heß, "SUBVERSIVE EULOGIES: A *Medḥīye* about the Prophet and the Twelve Imams by ʿİmād ed-Dīn Nesīmī." *Turcica* 38 (2006). 3–45 and Michael Reinhard Heß, "Alevi martyr figures." In *Turcica* 39 (2007). 253–290.

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6 *Nişanı ol günəş təl'ətli şahın*
Başında tacü belində kəmərdir.

7 *Olar kim, cəhli-təndir, sirri-qüdrət,*
Onu arif bilür, incə xəbərdir.

8 *Cahangir ğazilər meydanə girsə,*
Xəvariclər əyağda payisərdir.

9 *Çü rəhmət yağmuri irdi zəminə,*
Ki hər bir ğazinin yüz namvərdir.[58]

10 *Yezidə zəxmi-seyfü tirü xəncər,*
Başından getməsin ticü təbərdir.

11 *Əli bəhri-həqiqətdir, yəqin bil,*
Həyati-cavidani mö'təbərdir.

12 *Vilayət bəhrinə yol bulmayanlar,*
Gözü ə'mavü əhməq bixəbərdir.

13 *Nəfəs göhərdir anu bir bilənlər,*
Sözün bir söyləyənlər, gərçək ərdir.

14 *Qızıl ələm,*[59] *qızıl bayraq, qızıl tac,*
Geyinsə ğazilər, ol gün həzərdir.

15 *Xətai şah yolunda can fədadır,*
Çe cahi-mülkü malü simü zərdür."[60]

1 "This is the shah full of munificence, is the possessor of insight,
Is sanctity,[61] is clearly the light of discernment.

58 The metre requires the word *namvərdir* to be read with a *Nīm-Fatḥa* after the first syllable (> Owo. *Nām^{v}-vərdir*).

59 The word *ələm* does not fit into the metre without problems. Perhaps the word is to be read *əl-əm*, which would give the two required long syllables.

60 By reading *çe* the editor Əzizağa Məhəmmədov seems to suggest that this line could be read in Persian. If so, the vocals of the rest of the line might also have to be read according to a (reconstructed) Persian pronunciation. – In accordance with the other verses, the last word should rather be read *zərdir*, to preserve the rhyme. – The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai. Vol. 1. 80f. The metre is (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – –).

61 "Sanctity" translates Owo. *vilāyet*, which is a highly polysemic term. Belonging to an Arabic root which means "to be close to," it is an abstract noun related to the Owo. noun *velī*. *Velī* can mean "friend" or denote a person who is supposed to be closer to God than others (a friend of God). Therefore, *vilāyet* can be translated as "spiritual nearness to God." In addition, *vilāyet* has the meanings "sovereignty" and "rule" (quotes in the last two sentences are from Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon.* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1987). [Reprint of the 1890 edition]. 2148, s. v. *vilāyet*). The association of the term *vilāyet* with "insight" and "discernment" in the present couplet seems to indicate that the spiritual meanings are intended here. However, the political meanings are also fitting. The couplet probably refers to ʿAlī (see couplets 11, 12 and 15), who is also associated with "sanctity" in the poem.

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2 If the ġāzīs gird[62] themselves with swords and weapons
This puts fear and danger[63] into the souls of the hypocrites.

3 If[64] Yazīd's[65] army is a hundred thousand,
One[66] from the army of sanctity is enough.

4 If the army of the hypocrites sees even one ġāzī,
A sheep that meets a wolf is worse.[67]

5 At every sign that the shah gives with his look,[68]
Şimr[69] and Marvān[70] are panic-stricken in front of him.

6 The mark of that sun-faced shah
Is the crown on his head and the belt around his waist.[71]

62 The mood of the form *quşanə* is not clear, as the Old Western Oghuz tense in *-a/ -e* sometimes had indicative and sometimes optative meaning (on the diachronic development of the tense form see Milan Adamovic, Konjugationsgeschichte der türkischen Sprache. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985) and Milan Adamovic, Das Türkische des 16. Jahrhunderts. Nach den Aufzeichnungen des Florentiners Filippo Argenti (1533). (Göttingen: Pontus, 2001).) In the present context it seems to belong to the conditional mood. A translation for the indicative interpretation would be "The gazis gird themselves with swords and weapons."

63 Perhaps "danger" (Owo. *ḫaṭar*) is to be understood as "fear (resulting from danger)." Apart from "danger," "peril," "hazard," etc., the word also means "a suggestion to the mind, by Satan" (Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon.* 855, s. v. *ḫaṭar*), which would rather well suit the designation "hypocrites" used in the couplet.

64 In the Turkic languages including Old Western Oghuz, conditional constructions frequently have an adversative meaning. In an adversative reading, the line would mean "Whereas Yazīd's army is a hundred thousand (strong)."

65 Historically, this is a reference to Yazīd b. Muʿāviya (A. D. 644–683). He was the Umayyad caliph who ruled at the time of the battle of Kerbela. In Shii narratives, his name is as good as an incarnation of evil.

66 "One" could of course mean "one soldier," in which case the expression would compare the numerical strength of the two armies. However, it may also refer to the One God, suggesting mockingly that God was on the side of Ḫaṭāʾī's army, and not of that of his opponents. Finally, "one" could in theory also be a reference to Ḫaṭāʾī/the shah himself, as the "one" leader of his army.

67 The line probably is derogatory and describes the alleged reaction of the enemy army at the sight of the *ġāzīs.* For the special meaning of *toxu-* as "to hit, to meet", see Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri.* Vol. 1. 393.

68 For this translation *bir nəzər* is interpreted as an adverb "with one look." Approximately the same meaning obtains if one considers *bir nəzər* to be an accusative object and *işarət* a predicative complement (>"As often as the shah turns a look into a sign"). Alternatively, one could read *bir-nəzər*, which could then be understood as an attribute of *şah:* "the Shah whose look/insight is one/the One/inspired by the One".

69 In Shia tradition, Şimr (Arabic *Şimr*, Persian *Şemr*, Az. *Şümr*) is represented as the murderer who beheaded al-Ḥusayn during the battle of Kerbela.

70 This is probably a reference to the Umayyad caliph Marvān b. al-Ḥakam (A. D. 623–685), who ruled A. D. 684–685. As with all of the members of the Umayyad dynasty, his rule is considered illegitimate by the Shiis.

71 Again, this can be interpreted both as a general statement and as an aide-mémoire for battle. Read as a general statement, it describes attributes of the Persian shah. Recalled during

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7 It sometimes happens that it is ignorance of the body and the secret of the power [of God] –
This is known by people with mystical insight, it is subtle news.[72]

8 If the world-conquering ġāzīs enter the battlefield,
The Ḫāricites[73] are defeated while still standing.

9 They[74] reached the earth just as the rain of mercy,[75]
As every ġāzī has a hundred famous ones.[76]

10 Blows of swords, arrows and daggers for Yazīd!
Battleaxes and blades must not go away from his head!

11 ʿAlī is the ocean of truthfulness, be sure of that!
His eternal life is authentic.[77]

12 Those who do not find the way to the ocean of sanctity
Are blind, stupid, and without knowledge.

13 The soul is a jewel. Those who know it as one,
Those who give their word as one are the real men.

14 The red standard, the red flag, the red crown[78] –
If the ġāzīs wear these, then it's "be on your guard"!

15 Ḫaṭāʾī sacrifices his soul on the path of the shah.
What does he care about rank, possession, riches, gold, and silver?!"

The final couplet (15) of this *ġazel* contains some of the keywords that are directly or indirectly characteristic of martyrdom, namely "sacrificing one's

action, the verse might help soldiers to locate the shah in order to see, understand, and follow his signs and orders (cf. couplet 5).

72 It is not fully clear what the couplet means. Perhaps it is an allusion to acts of cowardice or desertion during battle. In this case, the lines would offer a rationalization, ascribing those acts to the alleged influence of God.

73 The Ḫāricites (Az. *Xəvariclər*, Owo. *Ḫevāric*) were a group of opponents to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who manifested their opposition to the Shiis after the battle of Ṣiffīn (A.D. 657). Metonymically, they represent enemies of the Shii cause.

74 The sentence does not have a subject. The reference is probably to the "world-conquering ġāzīs" mentioned in couplet 8.

75 The word "mercy" (Az. *rəhmət*, Owo. *raḥmet*) insinuates closeness to God, as the word is etymologically connected to (Ar.) *Raḥmān* "the Merciful," which is one of the names of Allah.

76 The expression in the second line is obscure. Perhaps it means that every ġāzī from the army of Ḫaṭāʾī is worth a hundred enemies, or perhaps, that he is able to kill a hundred enemies.

77 Or "honoured." In the variant with "authentic" the line could mean that ʿAlī (b. Abī Ṭālib) was immortal.

78 This might be an allusion to the characteristic red headgear used by the Safavids, the so-called "crown of Ḥaydar" (Owo. *Tāc-i Ḥayderī*), with twelve folds representing the Twelve Imams. This headgear has gained the Safavids the name (Az.) *Qızılbaş*, "(those wearing) red head(gear)."

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soul" (*can fəda*),[79] "on the path of …/for the sake of …" (*yolunda*). Even though the words "martyr" or "martyrdom" do not appear in the poem it is therefore quite safe to say that the lyrical ego aspires to the role of martyr, in the sense of a person who sacrifices his life for a cause. This confirms the above theory, according to which being a *ġāzī* and a martyr are two sides of one medal.

A key to understanding how Ḫaṭāʾī fills this interpretation of martyrdom with meaning is the word *şah*, meaning "king." It appears in 15a, as well as in several other places of the poem. In the final two lines, nothing is said about this "king" except that he probably is not very attached to earthly possessions. This lack of information pushes the reader or listener to ask questions like: "Who is this king whom Ḫaṭāʾī speaks about supposed to be?" If such a question appears in the mind of the reader/ listener, he is almost automatically guided back to the very first couplet of the poem. For it is this initial couplet that gives a description of the *şah*, almost in the style of a dictionary definition: *Bu şahi-*… "this is the king, who…". Interestingly, this backlink gives the act of reading or hearing the *ġazel* a potentially cyclic structure, so one can read the poem over and over again and is always guided from the end back to the beginning. This structure might be a kind of an iconic reference to the idea of *devir*.[80]

In contradistinction to couplet 15, the initial couplet does contain more details about the *şah*. In couplet 1, his person is associated with the primarily (although not exclusively) religious notion *vilayət* (translated here as "sanctity"). He is also described as having the qualities of *kərəm* ("munificence"), *nəzər* ("insight"), and *nuri-bəsər* "the light of discernment," qualities which also have religious meaning. All of these attributes might indicate that the *şah* meant here was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

However, the details given about the *şah* in the first couplet are still not sufficient in order to get a clear and concrete picture of him, let alone to identify the bearer of the title. Therefore, in order to understand the meaning of *şah* fully, it is necessary to follow some more textual signals within the poem. Towards these signals the reader is guided by the word *vilayət*, which constitutes a central term of Shii theology. After being introduced so prominently in 1b, this word is resumed in couplet 12. Here, the poet uses the metaphor "ocean of sanctity" (*vilayət bəhri*). The word "ocean" (*bəhr*) in turn creates a bridge to the preceding couplet (11). In this couplet we finally receive a concrete interpretation of the *şah*. For the "ocean of truthfulness" is revealed to be no other than the paramount Shii figure of ʿAlī (11a). Thus, through a system of textual markings that spans to and

79 Although *can* and *fəda* are written as two words in Əzizağa Məhəmmədov's text, the meaning of the line suggests that an interpretation as one word/determinative compound (> Owo. *can-fedā* "sacrificing one's soul") is more fitting.

80 See p. 214.

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fro across the poem, the reader is allowed to discern that the *şah* may indeed be identified as ʿAlī.

As a consequence of these indirect references, one can decipher the martyrdom Ḫaṭāʾī apparently aspires to in couplet 15 as martyrdom on the path/for the sake of ʿAlī. In this context, it is not without interest that line 11b might even be interpreted as an apotheosis of ʿAlī. If this interpretation (which is, as the text shows, dependent on the meaning of the word *mö'təbər*) is followed, then Ḫaṭāʾī's martyrdom remains congruent with the original meaning of Islamic martyrdom, i. e., martyrdom for the sake of Allah, as ʿAlī would be equalized with Allah. In fact, similar tendencies to identify ʿAlī with Allah have been present from very early times on in the Islamic world.[81] They became especially strong in the Shii, Safavid/(Owo.) Ḳızılbaş (Ttü.) Qızılbaş, and Alevi cultural spheres.[82]

However, the possible identification with ʿAlī is not the only dimension of the term *şah* in the above poem. This is due to the way the word *şah* is used in couplet 5. For in contrast to couplet 11, the *şah* mentioned here can hardly be identified with ʿAlī: historically, Marvān and Şimr clearly belong to the period after A.D. 680, i. e., long after the death of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The whole passage that comprises couplets 2 to 10 therefore seems to belong to another *şah* and another battle. The present or future tenses that are used in couplets 2–11 suggest that the whole passage is also about the age of the lyrical ego, i. e., Ḫaṭāʾī. Probably the clearest indication that the poem not only speaks about theological figures or the 7th century A. D., but also the present of the poet is the mention of the "red crown" in couplet 14. Given the notoriety of the Ḳızılbaş headgear at that time, it must have come to the mind of anyone reading the words *qızıl tac*. From the fact that Şāh İsmāʿīl/ Ḫaṭāʾī was the shah of the Ḳızılbaş, one can then infer that in using the word *şah*, Ḫaṭāʾī not only means ʿAlī, but also himself.

In fact, both figures, Ḫaṭāʾī and ʿAlī, come very close to each other in the poem. Apart from the title *şah* itself, this is suggested by the word *nəzər*, which is used in two places in the *ġazel* (1a and 5a). It seems to belong more strongly to the theological or mystical sphere in 1a, whereas it can be understood in the concrete, non-religious sense of "look(ing) towards" in 5a. As we have seen, *nəzər* is more likely to be ascribed to ʿAlī in 1a, but the word probably better befits Ḫaṭāʾī in 5a. Nevertheless, a crucial feature of the uses of *nəzər* seems to be that the possible denotations of the term are not clearly separated from each other. This seems to insinuate that ʿAlī and Ḫaṭāʾī, as well as the levels of optical vision and spiritual

81 See Veccia L. Vaglieri, "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New edition.* Vol. 1. Ed. H. A. R. Gibb (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986). 386.

82 See Irène Mélikoff, *Hadji Bektach, Un mythe et ses avatars.* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). 22; İlyas Üzüm, *Günümüz Aleviliği* [Modern Alevism]. (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi. 2000). 81.

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insight, are inseparable. Ḫaṭāʾī might even be interpreted as presenting himself as an incarnation of ʿAlī.

To summarize, the *ġazel* comes up with a special kind of martyrdom that unites religious and military or political aspects into a holistic picture. In this context it is also useful to keep in mind that the word *şah* is an inherently Iranian term. The Modern Persian *şāh* is akin to the Old Persian *xşāyaϑiya*,[83] which belongs to an IE root denoting possession. From this root the Sanskrit क्षेत्र् *kṣetra* "field, dominion," the Ancient Greek κτάομαι "to acquire," and the German *Schatz* ("treasure") are derived.[84] According to the word history, the Modern Persian *şāh* primarily denotes rulers of Persia. This means that already by using this term, Ḫaṭāʾī articulates his self-image as an Iranian ruler, as opposed to, for instance, the Ottoman sultan. At the same time Ḫaṭāʾī's self-image as the ruler of Iran merges with a spiritual dimension in which ʿAlī plays a central, perhaps deified role.

Although the poem does not contain direct references to historical events and is not dated, it is tempting to read it as an invective against Ḫaṭāʾī's political enemies, notably the Ottomans. Many of the military details mentioned in the poem probably correspond to the way open battles were fought by the Safavids. "The army of Yazīd" could easily refer to the Ottoman army, and its hypothetical exaggerated strength of 100.000 fits quite well with the dimensions of historical armies from the medieval period. The identification of the Ottomans or the Ottoman sultan with Yazīd is also plausible, as the Ottomans in Ḫaṭāʾī's times were anti-Shii as was Yazīd b. Muʿāviya. Another realistic detail given in the poem is the physical description of the shah and the way he gives signs in lines 10–14. These signs (Az. *işarət*) could be orders that were issued before or during an open field battle, and the lines might even have been designed to be learnt by heart by the soldiers in order for them to be able to spot their shah and follow his orders in the turmoil of war. Finally, if one seeks to apply the poem to the context of Safavid wars against the Ottomans (and perhaps other political rivals), the expression "world-conquering gazis" (*cahangir ğazilər*) in couplet 8 also assumes particular importance, for it might be understood as an allusion to Safavid plans to dominate the world.

The above poem is not the only one in which Ḫaṭāʾī makes use of the term *ġāzī*. Mass appearance of *ġāzī*s is also clearly shown in the following couplets from another two of Ḫaṭāʾīs *ġazels*. In the first one, Ḫaṭāʾī demands that the *ġāzī*s should engage in a battle for the Shii cause. In this case, the Shii character of the

83 See Rüdiger Schmitt, Altpersisch. in: Idem: (Ed.): *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum.* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989). 82.

84 See Wilhelm Gemoll, *Griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch.* Ed. Karl Vretska. (Munich: G. Freytag, 1988). 455, s. v. *κτάομαι.*

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fight is known indirectly, by way of mentioning some arch-enemies of the Shiis, namely Yazīd and Marvān:

"*Yezidü kafirü Mərvanə hər dəm,*
Ğazilərdən ğəza istər Xətai."[85]

"Always[86] to fight a ġazā against Yazīd[87] and Marvān[88]
Is what is demanded from the ġāzīs Ḫaṭāʾī."

In the second couplet, the *ġāzīs* are likened to a caravan, which symbolizes a great multitude of men, but also the ability to travel far, as well as riches and strength:

"*Ögüş*[89] *xof eyləmən eşqin yolunda,*
Rəfiqim ğazilərdən karivan var."[90]

"Do not have too great fear on the path of love –
There is a caravan of *ġāzīs*, who are my comrades."[91]

For Ḫaṭāʾī, the *ġāzīs* are not ordinary soldiers, but part of a religiously motivated army. This is shown by the following couplet, where they appear side by side with ordinary soldiers (Az. *ləşkər*), but also with members of a religious order (Az. *sufilər*, *pirlər*). This image recalls the history of the Safavids, who were both a mystic order and a dynasty endowed with political and military power.

"*Ləşgərim, ğazilərim, sufilərim, pirlərim,*
Can ilə baş bu yolda mənə inkar degil."[92]

"My soldiers, my *ġāzīs*, my sufis, my pirs[93] –
With their lives and heads they do not refuse (themselves) to me."

85 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 379. Every line of the ġazel from which this couplet is taken can be read according to the metre (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – –), except for the line beginning with *Ğazilərdən*. Perhaps this irregularity can be removed by assuming that the first syllable of this word is to be read shortened. Such a shortening could be the result of either poetical freedom or the word being treated as a naturally or naturalized Turkic one, in which case the difference between a long and short vowel would be irrelevant.

86 According to the polysemy of the word *dəm* ("breath", "moment") the expression *hər dəm* "always, at every moment" could also be understood as "with every breath, with all their might".

87 On Yazīd, see footnote 65.

88 On Marvān, see footnote 70.

89 Məhəmmədov explicitly reads *ögüş*, although *öküş* would seem to be the expected form.

90 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 167. The metre is (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – –).

91 In theory, the word *rəfiqim* could also be interpreted as a vocative form. In this case the meaning of the line would change to "My comrade, there is a caravan of *ġāzīs*."

92 See Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 219. The couplet can be read according to the metre (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – – / v v – – / v v – – / v v –).

93 Az. *pir* (Owo. *pīr*) denotes a spiritual leader, in particular the leader of a religious order or similar group.

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A similar interpretation of martyrdom, as in the poem quoted in full above, is also given in the following one. This time the idea of "martyrdom" (Az. *şəhidlik*) is expressed directly. An important difference between the two poems is that the one below is written from the perspective the *şah's* (or of Ḫaṭāʾī) followers, rather than from the sah himself.

1 "*Əzəldən şah bizim sultanımızdır*
Pirimiz,[94] *mürşidimiz, xanımızdır.*

2 *Şaha*[95] *qurban gətirdik biz bu canı*
Şahın sözü bizim imanımızdır.

3 *Həsudə yoxdurur, yalançıya mərg,*
Ki, gerçək söhbəti bürhanımızdır.

4 *Şahi həq deyüben girdik bu yola*
Hüseyniyüz, bu gün dövranımızdır.

5 *Biz imam qullarıyüz sadiqana,*
Şəhidlik, ğazilik nişanımızdır.

6 *Yolumuz incədir, incədən incə,*
Bu yolda baş verək ərkanımızdır.

7 *Xətai der: məvali-sirri-Heydər,*[96]
Şahi həq bilməyən düşmanımızdır."[97]

1 "From time immemorial the shah is our sultan,[98]
He is our pir,[99] our guide,[100] our khan.[101]

94 The word *pir* is a Persian loanword with an etymologically long vowel. In order to fit into the metre assumed for this poem the vowel /i/ has to be read short. This could be possible by assuming that the originally Persian loan was already regarded as an authentically Oghuz Turkic word, for in Oghuz Turkic vowels can be either long or short.

95 The vowel of the word *şah* is etymologically long, too. However, one might assume that the word was already regarded as a purely Oghuz Turkic lexeme in Ḫaṭāʾī's times, in which case the vowel could also be regarded as metrically short.

96 Əzizağa Məhəmmədov writes *heydər* (with a small *h*). However, the word is very probably (also) to be understood as a proper name.

97 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 83. The metre seems to be (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – –).

98 "Sultan" (Arabic, Owo. *sulṭān*, Pers. *solṭān*) is a title used by secular rulers throughout the Islamic world. Here it seems to be endowed with a spiritual meaning.

99 The word (Owo., Persian) *pīr* originally means "old man, senior" (etymologically, it is related to Russian *staryj* "old", etc.). In particular, it denotes the spiritual leader of a religious order as the Safavids were before they founded the Safavid dynasty.

100 The word translated as "guide" (Owo. *mürşid*) comes from the Arabic language. It frequently denotes a person who gives spiritual guidance.

101 "Khan" (Owo. *ḫān*) is a title of rulers in the Turkic and Mongolian world that derives from the Old Turkic title *ḳaġan*. The title *ḳaġan* was already used by the rulers of the first Türk

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2 We have brought these lives[102] as a sacrifice[103] for[104] our shah.
The shah's word is our belief.

3 Death is not for the envious ones, but for the liars!
For his[105] true speech is our proof.

4 Assuming that the shah is God[106] we have entered on this path.
We are the ones belonging to al-Ḥusayn, today it's our turn.[107]

5 We are the slaves of the imam, sincerely.
Martyrdom and being ġāzīs are our marks.

6 Our path[108] is fine, finer than fine,
Let us do everything we can[109] on this path, these are our principles![110]

---

empire (founded in A. D. 551 or 552.). As is the case with the word *sulṭān*, Owo *ḫān* was frequently applied to secular rulers.

102 Or "souls". Grammatically, the word *can* is not marked as plural. I have translated according to the grammatical number of the predicate. Perhaps one could assume, in a spiritual interpretation, that a singular is intended; this would amount to the statement that there was only *one* soul/ life (no matter how many individual existences there may be).

103 Or "as sacrificial animals," as they are used at the time of the Muslim Eid al-Adha.

104 Or "to."

105 Logically, the reference seems to be to the "shah" mentioned in couplets 1 and 2.

106 Or "the truth" (Owo. *həq*). – Məhəmmədov's reading *ṣahi* (with "I," i. e., assuming a front vowel in the last syllable) leaves room for interpretation. *Ṣahi* corresponds to Owo. *ṣāhī*/ *Ṣāhī*. Therefore, it could mean "(someone or something) belonging to the shah," or (less likely) "the quality of being a shah." If one reads *ṣāhī* and assumes this word to denote "a follower of the shah", (see F. A. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*. (London: Routledge, 1998). 728, s. v. *shāhī*, where it is translated as "the followers of the sect of ʿAlī"), the initial part of the line could mean something like "the followers of the shah are God/the truth". Alternatively, it could mean "the quality of being a shah is God/the truth". However, these readings do not seem to be very idiomatic. As is well known, the Arabic script used for Old Western Oghuz did not distinguish between front /i/ and back /ı/ (if the sound was represented by a letter at all), writing both of these sounds using the letter *Ye*, if necessary. On this basis one may argue that Məhəmmədov's reading could be replaced by *ṣahı*. On this reading the translation given in the main text obtains. Perhaps several of the above readings were intended, as Old Western Oghuz might not have sharply distinguished between the front and back variants of the unrounded narrow vowel phonemes.

107 The word used for "turn(ing)" (Az. *dövran* = Owo. *devrān*) is etymologically and semantically related to (Az.) *dövr* = (Ttü.) *devir*. Therefore, the expression could contain a reference to the theory of *devir* and/or a cyclical understanding of life and/or the cosmos.

108 The image of the "path" is potentially multi-layered. The primary sense is applicable, because the *ġāzīs* mentioned in the *ġazel* are indeed 'on their way' to war. In this interpretation, a "fine path" could perhaps be a narrow road through the mountains or any other difficult terrain towards the battlefield. *Yol* also means "method, manner" both in Old Western Oghuz, Modern Turkish and Azerbaijani. Hence, the first line can be understood as "our method is subtle" or "our manner is subtle." Incidentally, both a primary and a figurative meaning can be given to the predicate in the first line, (Az.) *incə*/ Owo. *ince*, as it means both "thin" and "subtle, difficult to grasp" or "elegant." In a figurative reading, the "thin path" is probably a distant echo of the New Testament "narrow door" (Mt 7: 14), as both may be taken to represent a differentiated spiritual approach to life. Against the backdrop of the

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7 Ḫaṭāʾī sings a sad ballad about the secret of Ḥaydar[111]
Those who do not realize that the shah is God[112] are our enemies."

As the examples before it, this poem manifestly belongs to the Shii tradition. This is rendered explicit by the mention of and declaration of attachment to al-Ḥusayn in couplet 4. Moreover, the poem is authored by Ḫaṭāʾī, who from 1501

Islamic tradition, the "thin path" can furthermore be associated with the "road" (Owo. *ṣırāṭ*, an Arabic loanword that eventually goes back to Latin *strata* and is related to the English *street*), which according to post-Koranic traditions spans across the abyss of hell (see Pala, *Ansiklopedik divān şiiri sözlüğü.* 352, s. v. *Sırāt*). This aspect of the image of *yol* is perhaps linked to the horrors of war the *ġāzīs* are expected to live through. Finally, if one wanted to give a Hurufi reading to the image, *incə yol* could refer to the imaginary *istivā* line, which divides the human and therefore divine face into two symmetrical halves. Given the direct influence of Hurufism on Safavid culture and more concretely of Nesīmī on Ḫaṭāʾī, such an interpretation cannot be categorically excluded. The expression *ince yol* is still popular in the Turkish Alevi tradition, which historically is closely related to the Safavids. For instance, it figures prominently in one of the most popular stanzas by the great Alevi singer Aşık Veysel (1894–1973): *Uzun ince bir yoldayım/ Gidiyorum gündüz gece/ Bilmiyorum ne haldayım/ Gidiyorum gündüz gece* "I am on a long, fine path/ I am going, day and night/ I don't know what state I am in/ I am going, day and night (quoted from Erdal Öz, *Gülünün solduğu akşam* [The evening his rose faded away]. (İstanbul: Can, 1988)[13]. 80.

109 "Do everything we can." The translation is based on the explanation given in Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon.* 324, who explains the expression *baş vér-* for Ottoman as "to give a horse his head" and "for a boil to come to a head." From this, it may be deduced that the phrase denotes the peak of an activity. However, it can also be understood literally, i. e., "to give heads" in the sense of being decapitated.

110 The word (Owo.) *erkān* translated as "principles" also means "pillars," and it occurs in the current expression "the pillars of Islam" (Arabic *arkān al-Islām*, i. e., confession of faith, ritual prayer, charity, pilgrimage to Mecca, fasting). Probably, the word *erkān* is used purposefully here in order to oppose the *ġāzīs'* (and Ḫaṭāʾī's) special "principles" to the attitude of their Sunni Islamic political opponents (such as the Ottomans).

111 On one hand, this is likely to be a reference to Ḫaṭāʾī's father Ḥaydar (1460–1488). He was the leader of the Safavids before 1501, when they were already a military and religious organization, but not yet the ruling dynasty of Iran. Ḥaydar was killed in battle, which is probably one of the reasons why he figures in this *ġazel.* On the other hand, Ḥaydar (the lexical meaning of which is "lion") is also one of the names of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. – "Ḫaṭāʾī sings a sad ballad about the secret of Ḥaydar" translates *der məvali-sirri-hejdər* in Əzizağa Məhəmmədov's text. In modern Azerbaijani spelling, the hyphen without space represents the *izāfe.* Hence, *der məvali-sirri-hejdər* could stand for Owo. *dèr mevāl-i: sirr-i Ḥayder.* The lengthening of the *izāfe-i* in *mevāl-i:* can be explained as secondary (due to the metre). According to Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon.* 2020, s. v. *mevāl*, this word means "An Arabian ballad" and is read with a short first syllable, despite the original Arabic form being *mavvāl* (See Hans Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart. Arabisch-Deutsch.* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985). 1234, s. v. *mawwāl*). Wehr describes *mavvāl* as "kurzes volkstümliches Liebesgedicht, in klagendem Ton von e-r Einzelstimme vorgesungen". 1234, s. v. *mawwāl*). If the quality of being sung by a single voice also holds for the Owo. version, this solo voice can probably be identified as Ḫaṭāʾī's. In theory, the sequence *dèr mevāl-i: sirr-i Ḥayder* has other readings as well. For instance, one might read it without the *izāfe* as *mevālī sirr-i Ḥayder* "the patrons/ clients/ friends/ comrades are the secret of Ḥaydar."

112 Or "the truth." – "That the shah is God" (*Şahi həq*) literally repeats the beginning of line 4.

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was an overtly Shii ruler. Another similarity between the two poems quoted above is that the political, military, and spiritual dimensions are inextricably linked to each other.

As to the second poem, the importance of the military aspect already results from the perspective taken. The plural of referents representing the lyrical ego is identifiable as the multitude of religious fighters (*ġāzī*s) who vow to "bring their lives/ souls to the shah (or for the shah)" (l. 2a). The image evoked in this line is very likely that of sacrificial animals offered during the Muslim Eid al-Adha. Such sacrificial animals are frequently denoted by the word *qurban*, which is used in line 2a. Hence, the speakers seem to identify with sacrificial animals. Even ahead of the actual mention of the word "martyrdom" (Az. *şəhidlik*) in couplet 5, this religious image emphasizes the readiness of the *ġāzī*s to sacrifice their lives, if necessary. Also, their likening themselves to cattle is an expression of devotion and self-abasement, and therefore of humility. Incidentally, the fact that both *qurban* and *şəhidlik* are applied to the same group of referents who are willing to die for a higher cause shows the semantic affinity of the two notions.

The second *ġazel* also gives evidence of the close relationship between martyrdom (Az. *şəhidlik*) and "the quality of being a *ġāzī*" (Az. *ğazilik*), which has been postulated above.[113] The similar, or perhaps equal, value assigned to these two abstract nouns can be deduced from their being used as subjects of the same predicate in couplet 5. That they appear in asyndetic combination further emphasizes the close relationship between them.[114] "Martyrdom" (*şəhidlik*) and the "quality of being a gazi" (*ğazilik*) as illustrated in the poem are in fact two features of one activity. It is probably this activity which is subsumed in the immediately following line by means of the polyvalent image of "the path" (Az. *yol*, couplet 6).

As in the first poem, the whole interpretation of martyrdom and *ġāzī* fighting in the second poem orbits around the pivotal figure of "the king" (Az. *şah*). Again, the use made of this word is highly ambiguous. On one hand, the "king" mentioned in the very first line of the second *ġazel* might be understood as a political term. Seen from this angle, it could be a reference to the shah of Persia, i. e., Ḫaṭāʾī himself. The fact that the particular *şah* mentioned in the first couplet is also given the titles of (Az.) *sultan, xan* and *pir* speaks in favor of such a political interpretation, for these were titles held by the Safavid ruler and by the *şah* himself.[115] In addition, in the second poem the word *şah* may have a religious denotation, for the *şah* appearing in the very last line may be ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. At least this seems to be the case if one understands the expression *şahi həq bil-* in 7b

113 See p. 219ff.

114 The comma used by Məhəmmədov in "*şəhidlik, ğazilik*" very likely does not belong to the original text, as such texts usually did not use commas or similar marks between words belonging to identical syntactical categories.

115 See footnotes 94, 95, 98, 101.

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(and the similar *şahi həq de-* in 4a) as a direct or indirect reference to the doctrine about the divinity of ʿAlī. Similarly, the word *Heydər* (7a) may also refer to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, as Az. *Heydər* (Owo. *Ḥaydar*) is an epithet often used for him. However, the word *Heydər* also potentially brings Ḫaṭāʾī's father into the associative game, whose name was *Heydər*. Therefore, there are at least three concrete figures that might be identified as the *şah:* ʿAlī, Ḫaṭāʾī's father, and Ḫaṭāʾī himself. A fourth, imaginary figure could, of course, be God. Taken together, the reader/listener of the poem might identify the *şah* mentioned in 1a, 2a, 2b, 4a, and 7b, as any one of these political or spiritual figures, or he might assume that more than one figure could be meant by one and the same occurrence of the word *şah*. This multiplicity of possible referents of *şah* in the poem does not necessarily constitute an obstacle to its interpretation. For if it is read from a *devir* perspective,[116] all of these figures might be regarded as being essentially identical, i. e., divine or of divine origin. In fact, linking the spiritual level (God, ʿAlī) to the political one (Ḫaṭāʾī and his father) seems to precisely the intention of the *ġazel*. The linking of the two dimensions underscores both the Safavids' aspiration to be a religiously legitimate dynasty and their historical origin as a religious order.

This inseparable connection between martyrdom, the *ġāzī*s, ʿAlī, and the "shah" is summarized in an almost formulaic fashion in the following lines. Here ʿAlī appears as the "shah of the *ġāzī*s":

"*Əli oldur ki, cənnətdə olubdur saqiyi-kövsər,*
Budur saqi, budur cənnət, şərabi abi-kövsərdir.

Əlində badeyi-gülrəng, içər ğazilərin şahı,
Nə hacət nəql üçün şəkkər sözün qəndi-mükərrərdir."[117]

"ʿAlī is the one who is the cup-bearer of (the water of) *Kauṣar*[118] in paradise,
This[119] is the cup-bearer, this is paradise, it is the wine of *Kauṣar*.

With the rose-coloured wine in his hand,[120] the shah of the *ġāzī*s drinks,
What need is there to report his sugar-sweet words? They are doubly refined rock sugar!"[121]

116 See p. 214.

117 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. 169. The metre is (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – – -).

118 *Kauṣar* is one of the waters of paradise in Muslim mythology.

119 For "this" the original text uses in both places the pronoun of proximal deixis *bu*. Therefore, *bu* may refer both to the figure of ʿAlī mentioned in the first line and to something immediately before the eyes of the speaker. Perhaps both meanings converge, in which case the couplet would indicate that ʿAlī was right before the eyes of the speaker' (and potentially also of the hearer).

120 "In his hand" (Az. *əlində*) creates an assonance with "ʿAlī" (Az. *Əli*), at least in the modern Azerbaijiani pronunciation.

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In contrast to the sometimes ambiguous scope of reference of the word *şah* in the above poems, there are places in Ḫaṭāʾī's Turkic poetry where the word clearly denotes ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. For instance, in the following ending section of a *ġazel*, Ḫaṭāʾī's lyrical ego expresses his desire to become a martyr for the sake of ʿAlī:

8[122] "*Şahi-Mərdanın-Əlinin aliyəm, övladiyəm,*
Zülfüqarü tacü Düldül, uş[123] *nişanı məndədir.*

9 *Açarım dini-Məhəmməd, məzhəbi-Cə'fər yəqin,*
La fəta illa Əli, bu sirri-pünhan məndədir.

10 *Mən şəha bu canımı sidqilə qurban qılmışam,*
Gər qəbul qılsa vilayət, eydi-qurban məndədir.

11 *Çün Xətaiyəm şahın*[124] *vəsfini daim söylərəm,*
Eşgilə bel bağlaram, dəftərlə divan məndədir."[125]

8 "I am an offspring and a child of ʿAlī, the Shah of the Brave Ones,[126]
I am Ẕülfiḳār,[127] the crown[128] and Düldül.[129] Here, its sign is in me![130]

9 I explain[131] the religion of Muḥammad, the confession of Caʿfar,[132] without ambiguity,
ʿThere is no hero except ʿAlīʾ,[133] this inaccessible secret is in me.

121 I.e., top quality sugar of the highest, most concentrated quality. Metaphorically understood: the best of the best.

122 This counting takes into account the first seven couplets, which are not presented here.

123 Məhəmmədov's text reads *uç*, which is likely to be a misprint.

124 Metrically, the first syllable should be read short (> Owo. *şehiŋ*).

125 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri.* Vol. 1. 88 f. The metre is (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –).

126 "The Shah of the Brave Ones" (Az. *Şah-i Mərdan*) is a fixed epithet of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Although Məhəmmədov writes *Şahi-Mərdanın-Əlinin*, i. e., with the same orthographical convention that would be used if all three elements of this segment were linked by *izāfe*, it probably is more convincing to interpret the last element as an apposition. In this case a comma might or might not have been placed between the last two elements (>**Şahi-Mərdanın Əlinin* or >**Şahi-Mərdanın, Əlinin*).

127 (Owo.) *Ẕülfiḳār*, (Az.) *Zülfüqar*, (Ar.) *Ḏūʾl-Fiḳār* is the name of a sword that is believed to have been bestowed upon ʿAlī by the Prophet Muḥammad. Originally, the sword was part of the booty the Muslims took in the battle of Badr (A. D. 624), which was one of the important early military victories of the Muslims (See Pala, *Ansiklopedik divān şiiri sözlüğü.* 427, s. v. *Zülfekar*).

128 "Crown" (Az. *tac*) might be a reference to the Safavid headgear.

129 (Az., Owo.) *Düldül*, (Ar. *Duldul*) is the name of the animal (probably a horse) on which the Prophet Muḥammad rode during his campaigns of conquest. As the sword *Zülfüqar*, the Prophet Muḥammad later gave it as a present to ʿAlī. See Pala, *Ansiklopedik divān şiiri sözlüğü.* 116, s. v. *Düldül*).

130 "… Is in me" (Az. *məndədir*): This phrase does not necessarily mean "is in me" in the sense of "is inside of me", it can also mean "on me", "with me" or "attached to me".

131 "Explain": The word used here (Owo. *aç-*) also means "to open".

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10 Oh shah, I have turned this soul[134] of mine into a sacrifice[135] in sincerity,[136]
If the sanctity[137] accepts it, the Eid al-Adha is in me.[138]

11 As I am Ḫaṭāʾī, I am incessantly enunciating the properties of the shah,
I am girding my waist with love,[139] the booklet and the dīvān[140] is in me."

The lyrical ego's willingness to sacrifice himself for the sake of ʿAlī is expressed by means of the phraseological verb *qurban qıl-* (10a). The element *qurban* of this phraseological verb may on one hand refer to the "act of sacrificing" in general. On the other hand, *qurban* may once more convey the concrete sense of "sacrificial animal" (as used in the Muslim sacrificial cult).[141] This second meaning is of course emphasised due to the explicit mention of the Muslim Sacrificial Holiday (Eid al-Adha) in 10b. Probably, the two meanings can be applied at the same time. At least, the difference between them is of no great consequence to the interpretation of couplet 10, which primarily serves to underscore the speaker's readiness to sacrifice.

It is true that couplet 10 does not unambiguously identify ʿAlī as the beneficiary of the promised sacrifice. The reference might be unambiguous if one argues that the vocative reading *şəha* of Məhəmmədov's text should be replaced by a dative case reading (**şaha:*, *şəhə*). However, to argue in favor of such an alternative reading would necessitate the consulting of an original text written in the Arabic alphabet, which is not available in Məhəmmədov's edition. Even so,

132 I.e., Caʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiḳ, the sixth Shii imam (A. D. 699–765, see Esat Korkmaz, *Ansiklopedik Alevilik Bektaşilik terimleri sözlüğü [An encyclopedic dictionary of Alevi and Bektashi technical terms]*. Revised edition. (Istanbul: Kaynak yayınları, 2003)[3]. 35.

133 "There is no hero except ʿAlī": The saying is given in Arabic in the original text.

134 Or "life."

135 Or "sacrificial animal" (Owo. *ḳurbān*).

136 "Sincerity" (Az. *sidq*): The word is etymologically related to *aṣ-Ṣādiḳ*. Hence, it may be read as an allusion to Caʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiḳ (cf. footnote 133).

137 Perhaps the notion is personified here, in which case it could refer to ʿAlī.

138 "The Eid al-Adha is in me" (or "… with me"): On one hand, this continues the image begun in the first line, which compares the sacrifice of the speaker to the sacrificial animals that are offered during Eid al-Adha. On the other hand, it can also be read as a metaphor for being merry or happy, as Eid al-Adha is one of the most important Muslim holidays.

139 The sentence "I am girding my waist with love" can have various meanings. It can mean that the speaker girds his waists with a sword while he is full of love (in this case, "with love", Az. *eşqilə*, is given a comitative interpretation). This sword could be any sword used for battle but also *Zülfüqar*. Also, the sentence can mean "With love, I am full of hope", as "to gird one's waist" (Az. *bel bağla-*) metaphorically means "to be full of hope."

140 The word "divan" (Az. *dīvān*) also has a number of meanings, including "law tribunal," "supreme council (of a state), government council, government," "alphabetical collection of poems" (such as the divan of Ḫaṭāʾī), and "register." In this last meaning it might refer to the traditional Islamic idea that the destiny of the world is already kept in some kind of writing known only to God himself.

141 See footnote 103 and p. 228.

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even with the vocative reading (*şəha*), ʿAlī is imagined as being present during the act of self-sacrifice, for ʿAlī is directly introduced in the preceding couplets 9 and 10. This indirectly leads the reader to assume that ʿAlī is probably also the beneficiary of the action. In this context it is interesting that the word "sanctity" (Az. *vilayət*, 10b) seems to be used in a personalized way. For *vilayət* is probably[142] the subject of the verb *qəbul qıl-* "to accept." We have already seen that the term *vilayət* is closely associated with ʿAlī in Ḫaṭāʾī's Turkic poetry. Therefore, the person imagined here may well be him. Furthermore, in the context of sacrifice, the word "to accept" often has Allah as its subject, for it is He who decides whether anything offered by human beings is acceptable or not. This could once more mean that Allah and ʿAlī are not viewed as separated entities.

As in the poem *Bu şahi-pürkərəm*, the military/jihadist aspect of martyrdom is crucial to the narrative presented in the above *ġazel*. This dimension is introduced into the passage by the mention of Ẕülfiḳār and Düldül. For these were used by the Prophet Muḥammad in military jihads before being passed on as presents to ʿAlī. The fact that the "crown" (Az. *tac*) stands directly in between the words *Zülfüqar* and *Düldül* in 8b could further strengthen the attachment of Ḫaṭāʾī to this jihadist interpretation of martyrdom, at least if one sees this *tac* as a possible reference to the characteristic Safavid headgear.

Given this strong military (as well as religious) imagery, the mention of 'love' (Az. *eşq*) in the final couplet seems at first sight surprising. This 'love' is even embedded in a potentially military expression (or metaphor), namely that of "girding one's loins." This seems to suggest that love was part of the preparations for military battle. The linking of 'love' to military preparations seems, on the one hand, to be an oxymoron: the contrast between the two spheres of eroticism and war creates surprise and therefore attention. On the other hand, love does not necessarily have to be read as a term that stands in contrast to warlike preparations. For it may not be human love, i. e., eroticism, but a metaphorical kind of love. This could be the love of the cause that Ḫaṭāʾī fights for, of ʿAlī, or of God (which may be the same thing).

In addition, even erotic attributes are compatible with jihadist and military interpretations in Ḫaṭāʾī's Turkic dīvān, as the next example illustrates. It centers around the martyr figure of (Owo.) Veys-i Ḳarenī (= Arabic. Uvays al-Ḳāranī, Az. Veysi-Qərin), who is probably closely linked to Ḫaṭāʾī's self-image as spiritual and political leader. Veys-i Ḳarenī is a historical figure and lived from around A. D. 594 to A. D. 657, when he died a martyr's death in the battle of Ṣiffīn that

142 Theoretically, *vilayət* could also function as an unmarked direct object of the same verb. However, this would either necessitate considering ʿAlī as its subject, in which case the meaning of the whole phrase would be dubious, or assuming no subject referent at all, which is also a problematic assumption.

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same year.[143] Veys-i Ḳarenī is particularly important to the Shii martyrdom tradition because he fought and died on ʿAlī's side.[144] Apart from the figure of Veys-i Ḳarenī, the idea of martyrdom is also represented lexically in line 4a. Here, some of the formulae characteristic of martyrdom are used, i. e. *canımı qurban qıl-* and *yoluna*.

Apart from the political and military interpretation of martyrdom introduced by way of the figure of Veys-i Ḳarenī, the *ġazel* also has a strong erotic dimension. As a result of the combination of these spheres, it remains unclear whether the military and political aspects associated with Veys-i Ḳarenī are used metaphorically, or whether the erotic expressions are used metaphorically. In fact, the poet seems to use this ambiguity in order to create poetic suspense:

1 "*Hər zaman kim, qarşuma ol dilbər-i məhru gəlür,*
Canimə bir od düşür, bu dilimə yahu gəlür.

2 *Sinəmi qarşu tutaram, kuyinə ol dilbərin,*
Sağınuram dəmbədəm Veysi-Qərindən bu gəlür.

3 *Həsrətindən dilbərin düşdüm Sərəndib kuhinə.*
Aşiqi-dilxəstəni hərdəm sorur ahu gəlür.

4 *Canımı qurban qılardım,*[145] *yoluna ol dilbərin,*
Ol zəmandan kim, deyərlər ol büti-məhru gəlür.

5 *Ey Xətai, sən vücudun cuyini pak eylə gəl,*[146]
Çünki, pak olsa ona sərçeşmədən bir su gəlür."[147]

1 "Whenever this moon-faced darling[148] comes to me,
A fire falls into my soul, and *Yahu*[149] comes to this tongue of mine.[150]

2 I hold my breast in the direction of that darling's street,
Every moment[151] I am yearning that a scent[152] may come from Veys-i Ḳarenī.

143 On Veys-i Ḳarenī, See Pala, *Ansiklopedik divān şiiri sözlüğü.* 410, s. v. *Veyse'l-Karenî.*
144 See Pala, *Ansiklopedik divān şiiri sözlüğü.* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1998). 410, s. v. *Veyse'l-Karenî.*
145 Məhəmmədov writes *qalardım*, which seems to be a misprint.
146 Perhaps to be read as **eyləgil.*
147 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. 86. The metre is (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –).
148 "Darling": literally "the one who carries (my) heart away" (Az. *dilbər*).
149 (Az.) *Yahu* represents Arabic *Yā Hū*, which is the Arabic vocative particle (*yā*) followed by the third person singular masculine personal pronoun (Arabic *hū*) and usually understood as an invocation of Allah ("He"). Hence, the phrase can be understood as akin to "oh my God!"
150 "To this tongue of mine" can also be understood as "to this heart of mine" as the word *dil* is a homonym (homograph and homophone), both meaning "tongue" (< Turkic) and "heart" (< Persian).
151 "Every moment" (Az. *dəmbədəm*) is an adverbial expression that twice contains the word

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3 Out of longing for the darling I have been cast[153] to the mountains of Ceylon,
Every moment a gazelle comes and inquires about the lover with the sick heart.[154]

4 I would sacrifice my life[155] to the path of that darling,
In that moment when they would say: 'That moon-faced idol comes'.

5 Ḫaṭāʾī, purify the stream of your body![156]
For if it is pure a water will come to her[157] from the fountainhead."

To the sexual metaphors and images presented in the *ġazel* belongs the "gazelle" (Az. *ahu*, couplet 3). This is a firmly established metaphor for a beautiful and usually young beloved one. As the gazelle is an animal of prey, the image is not so commonly used to represent the divine beloved one, i. e., God. This seems to make an erotic or sexual interpretation of *ahu* more likely than a Platonic or religious one. The fact that Ḫaṭāʾī places this beautiful animal in a mountain on the distant island of Ceylon (az. *Sərəndib*) gives the image an additional realistic touch: Ceylon is a place on this earth, and not some mythological location. This realism reinforces the sexual connotation. In addition, the "moon-faced idol" (Az. *büti-məhru*) of couplet 4 is more apt to be interpreted as a profane lover than a spiritual one, as it emphasizes an outward quality. Also, Az. *büt* is a term with an "infidel" etymology, as it eventually goes back to the name of the Buddha. The strongest erotic or sexual connotation of all is contained in the final couplet, almost all the words used in this couplet can be ascribed to the sphere of sexuality. For instance, the poet uses "the (human) body" (Az. *vücud*), the "stream" (Az.

dəm. As *dəm* not only means "moment" but also "breath," the meaning of this expression might also be "with every breath (I take)."

152 There are several legends and sayings which associate Veys-i Ḳarenī with "scent." According to a famous narrative, Veys-i Ḳarenī went to Medina in order to see the Prophet Muḥammad. However, when he arrived there the Prophet was not in his house. Upon this, Veys-i Ḳarenī returned to his home, following an instruction from Muḥammad's mother. When the Prophet, who is known for his love of perfumes, eventually came back to his house at Medina, he was able to smell that Veys-i Ḳarenī had been there. In order to reward Veys-i Ḳarenī's attachment to him, he bestowed his cloak upon him. See Pala, *Ansiklopedik divān şiiri sözlüğü*. 410, s. v. *Veyse'l-Karenî*. Ḫaṭāʾī apparently uses this or a similar legend in order to emphasize his attachment to an absent beloved one. The lyrical ego hopes that he might at least catch a scent of him or her, just as the Prophet had done with Veys-i Ḳarenī in Medina. Ḫaṭāʾī seems to express an attachment similar to that felt by the Prophet for Veys-i Ḳarenī.

153 "I have been cast": *düşdüm*. This form is the preterite of the verb *düş*-, which has both a volitional ("to set off, to go") and a non-volitional ("to fall") meaning. Hence, the form leaves open whether the lyrical ego says that he went to Ceylon on his own initiative or not.

154 "The lover with the sick heart": the lyrical ego.

155 Or "soul" (Az. *can*).

156 Of course, one could also translate this with "existence" instead of "body," as Az. *vücud* (< Owo. *vücūd*) has both meanings.

157 "To her": (Az. *ona*). The translation assumes the reference to be to the "darling." As *ona* is not marked in grammatical gender, one could of course also assume the "darling" to be a male. Also, *ona* might in theory refer to "the body."

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cu), which might represent any kind of liquid outflow from the human body, "water" (Az. *su*), which may concretely represent male semen, and the "fountainhead" (Az. *sərçeşmə*), which is perhaps the most explicit sexual symbol of the whole poem. The adjective "pure" (Az. *pak*) can also refer to the bodily and sexual sphere, for as in many religiously dominated traditions including some cultures of Islam, purity and sexuality are closely related categories.

While the sexual imagery dominates the final two couplets, the initial two couplets are less obviously sexual (with the possible exception of *məhru*, which already appears in 1a and is resumed in 4b). Above all, in verse 2 Veys-i Ḳarenī dominates as a political, military, and religious figure. In fact, the mention of Veys-i Ḳarenī at the end of line 2b is the turning point of the whole poem, which links and separates the two semantic spheres. The choice of precisely this figure as a bridge between the profane/erotic and the heroic levels is very apt. This is largely due to the important place played by "scent" (Az. *bu*) in traditional narratives about the martyr Veys-i Ḳarenī. By using the noun *bu*, which appears in a quite prominent place as a rhyming word, both the scent in the stories about Veys-i Ḳarenī and the perfume of a (perhaps female) darling can be evoked. Thus, Veys-i Ḳarenī becomes a figure that inherently serves to link eroticism to martyrdom in its more violent, political, and military aspects.

The last martyr figure from the Turkic dīvān of Ḫaṭāʾī to be treated here is (Az.) Qənbər (Owo. Ḳanber). Historically, Ḳanber was a black slave who served as a chamberlain to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib during his caliphate (A. D. 665–661). Later on Ḳanber was freed from slavery. Finally, under the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marvān (ruled A. D. 685–705) he was executed on behalf of the military commander al-Ḥaccāc, who was known for his particularly bloodthirsty despotism. Like Veys-i Ḳarenī, Ḳanber is regarded as a martyr by many Muslims, particularly amongst the Shiis.[158] One of Ḫaṭāʾī's couplets in which the virtues of Qənbər are extolled is the following:

Ki Həqdən Zülfüqar oldu Əliyə,
Əli qulluğuna Qənbər gəlübdür.[159]

"Just as Ẕülfiḳār became ʿAlī's from God,
Ḳanber came to the bondservice of ʿAlī."

This couplet presents a similar version of battlefield martyrdom and of ʿAlī as the verses discussed above. In it Ḳanber is directly integrated into the imagery about ʿAlī as a fighter for God's cause who is endowed with the sword Ẕülfiḳār. Ḳanber's status as slave (Az. *qulluq*) mentioned in the second line above is a crucial

158 See Pala, *Ansiklopedik divān şiiri sözlüğü.* 163, s. v. *Haccāc* and p. 229, s. v. *Kanber.*

159 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri.* Vol. 1. 91. The metre seems to be (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – –).

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element in Ḫaṭāʾī's interpretation of the Ḳanber tradition. For Ḫaṭāʾī views himself in a similar position vis-à-vis ʿAlī as the legendary black slave. In several couplets from his Turkic dīvān, he directly identifies himself with Ḳanber, as, for instance, in the following:[160]

"*Bəzl edər bəzmin Xətai abi-kövsərdən müdam*
Şahi-mərdanə Əlinin Qənbəri nisbətlidir."[161]

"Ḫaṭāʾī always[162] provides his feast from the Water of Kauṯar,[163]
He can be compared to the Ḳanber of the Shah of the Brave Ones."[164]

"*Bu Xətainin məqamı asitanındır müdam,*
Çün səni şahi-kərəm, özümni Qənbər görmüşəm."[165]

"The place of this Ḫaṭāʾī is always your threshold,[166]
For I have seen that you are the shah of grace and I am Ḳanber."

In the next couplet, Ḫaṭāʾī, out of modesty, puts himself on a rank that is even lower than that of Ḳanber:

"*Xətai, şahi-aləm eşigində,*
Qulami-kəmtər əz Qənbər degilmi?"[167]

"At the door of the world's shah, is Ḫaṭāʾī
Not a slave even lower than Ḳanber?"

160 In addition to the following couplets, Ḳanber also appears in Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. 241, couplet 2; 254, couplet 5.

161 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 105. The couplet can be read according to the – v – – / – v – – / – v – pattern of the (Ttü.) *remel* metre. For a similar reference to Ḳanber in the divan of Ḫaṭāʾī, see also Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 144, fourth couplet.

162 The adverb *müdām* "always" is at the same time a noun meaning "wine" or "old wine". Accordingly, the first line may also be translated as "Ḫaṭāʾī provides his feast as old wine from the Water of Kauṯar." Due to the abundance of direct objects in this second interpretation, the first, adverbial, one seems to be more convincing.

163 *Kauṯar:* see footnote 118.

164 "Shah of the Brave Ones": ʿAlī (see footnote 126).

165 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 227. The metre is (Ttü.) *remel* (– v – – / – v – – / – v –).

166 Or "abode," "palace," etc.

167 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 375. The metre is (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – – -).

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Martyrdom in Ḫaṭāʾī's Turkic Dīvān: A Conclusion

Generally speaking, central to Ḫaṭāʾīs interpretation of martyrdom is its political and military dimension. This is quite natural given his role as ruler of Iran. This political and military dimension can, to a large degree, be described as a variant of the classical Islamic battlefield martyrdom model, as it is frequently directed against outer enemies.

Inseparably joined to this military and political interpretation of martyrdom is a spiritual dimension, which is both markedly Shii and mystical. The Shii aspect of this dimension is discernible in the multiple references to the Shii martyrs and the battle of Kerbela. The mystical aspect is more difficult to grasp but seems to center around the figure of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The combination of these outward (i. e., military and political) and internal (i. e., spiritual and religious) aspects of martyrdom is acknowledged by Ḫaṭāʾī himself in the following couplet:

"*Öküş canlar üçün can almağa mən,*
Xətai canfədayəm, gəldim imdi."[168]

"To take lives/ souls for many animate individuals
I, the soul-sacrificing Ḫaṭāʾī, have come now."

Rhetorically, the couplet presents a threefold use of the word *can.* This polysemic term means "soul," "life," or "individual, individual human being." This last meaning seems to be actualized in the first occurrence of the word, *canlar*, for this word appears in the plural, which would be rather surprising if one presumed the meanings "soul" or "life." The expression *can al-* "to take lives/ souls" could be interpreted as an allusion to the aggressive aspect of battlefield martyrdom, as the verb may mean "to kill." Finally, the expression *canfəda* (which the editor Məhəmmədov apparently understands to be a single lexeme, corresponding to Owo. **cān-fedā*) could be understood as an expression of Ḫaṭāʾī's own readiness to die or become a martyr. This means that the couplet poignantly summarizes the active and the passive aspects of martyrdom, which can be related to the battlefield martyrdom tradition and the more or less suffering, oppressed and wronged Shii martyr figures. As to the spiritual dimension, the fact that at least one of the uses of *can* in this couplet probably has the meaning "soul" (since the same meaning "life" is not supposed to be used twice in the same couplet), can be taken as an indication of its importance. Incidentally, the very last word of the couplet, (Az.) *imdi* "now," which is the rhyme-word (Ttü. *redif*) of the poem, also seems to be meaningful from the spiritual point of view. For "now" could mean that the divine power is actually present in the person of Ḫaṭāʾī the very moment

168 The text of the poem is taken from Şah İsmayıl Xətai, *Şah İsmayıl Xətai: Əsərləri*. Vol. 1. 349. The metre is (Ttü.) *hezeç* (v – – – / v – – – / v – – -).

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he utters these lines. An additional component in the complex political and spiritual references to martyrdom in Ḫaṭāʾī's Turkic dīvān is the special attention given to historical or legendary martyr figures like Veys-i Ḳarenī and Ḳanber. Like the great martyrs such as al-Ḥusayn and ʿAlī, they serve as models. However, they are less famous. Therefore, Ḫaṭāʾī's quoting them as figures to emulate expresses a degree of humility.

An interesting additional feature of Ḫaṭāʾī's interpretation of the Islamic martyrdom tradition pertains to the erotic elements appearing in some of the verses discussed above. On one hand, these erotic aspects could be explained as metaphoric or rhetorical means. Ḫaṭāʾī might use them in order to enhance the attractiveness of the political and spiritual aspects of martyrdom. On the other hand, they may also be encoded allusions to Ḫaṭāʾī's personal emotional life. Alternatively, one may explain them as means to address an audience that was less interested in the spiritual and political side of martyrdom – and life in general – than in the erotic ones.

Ḫaṭāʾī's interpretation of martyrdom thus combines traditional elements with his own personal elements. In his poems the martyr is both a figure that determines his own view of himself and his spiritual and political stance and a figure which he uses in order to promote his own interests. By identifying his own actions with martyrdom, he was able to appeal to the feelings and beliefs of many people who adhered to the Islamic martyrdom tradition. On the other hand, the figure is flexible enough to be formed according to Ḫaṭāʾī's personal interests and preferences (such as the erotic ones). In sum, martyrdom proves to be an instrument for the communication of messages that are not necessarily congruent with tradition, although in many cases they seem to be.

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Hatice Aynur*

Representations of Istanbul as a Literary and Cultural Space in Ottoman Texts (1520–1566)

The production, circulation, and collection of literary works in different genres increased significantly during the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent.[1] Poetry, especially lyric piety, was the dominant form in Ottoman literature during this period, as it was elsewhere in the pre-modern world. Poetry was an integral part of social occasions; it was used in the paying of compliments, epistolary communications, witty extemporaneous performances, congratulations on births, and condolences on deaths. Despite the significant place poetry held in the social life of the period, we know quite little about the 'significance of place' in the period's poetry. Were there particular venues where people met to share and read poetry, exchange ideas, and socialize? If so, what were they, and where? And what can they tell us about literary and cultural production in the period and about social life more broadly?

The most important sources for answers to these questions are *teẕkire*s, which narrate the life stories of poets, and *meṣnevīs*, which depict certain themes in verse. Among the *teẕkires*, those of ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi (d. 1572)[2] and Laṭīfī (d. 1582)[3] – written in 1568 and 1546, respectively – are particularly informative sources. Among the *meṣnevīs*, Taşlıcalı Yaḥyā's (d. 1582) *Şāh u Gedā*,[4] written around 1537, and Fikrī's (d. 1575) *Ebkār-ı efkār*,[5] written around 1565, stand out as love

* İstanbul Şehir University.

1 This article is based on my ongoing project "Istanbul in Ottoman Texts," a study of Ottoman-Turkish literary texts written between the second half of the fifteenth century and the early nineteenth century in Istanbul. This article summarises my initial findings on the spaces and settings of literary and cultural productions in Istanbul during the reign of Süleymân the Magnificent.

2 For the edition of his *teẕkire* (*Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ*) used here, see Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâirü'ş-Şuʿarâ: İnceleme – Metin.* Ed. Filiz Kılıç. 3 Vols. (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010).

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4 See Kazım Yoldaş, "Taşlıcalı Yahya Bey, Şah u Geda: İnceleme-Metin." (master's thesis, İnönü Üniversitesi, 1993).

5 See Ali Emre Özyıldırım, *Mâşî-zâde Fikrî Çelebi ve Ebkâr-ı Efkâr'ı: On Altıncı Yüzyıldan Sıradışı Bir Aşk Hikâyesi.* (Istanbul: Dergah, 2017).

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narratives set in Istanbul. Although other earlier meṣnevīs had been written in the same style and had sometimes mentioned Istanbul, usually to praise it or its governor, these two were the first to actually use the city as a narrative setting.[6] Earlier treatments of the city often had more to do with its mythical narration in Islamic literature than they did with the city itself.[7] Thus, the four sources I single out here have the potential to shed a great deal of light on the literary and cultural setting of the period. Of them, ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi's *teẕkire* is the most detailed in terms of the information it offers. I will therefore use it as my main source here, referring to the others only for purposes of comparison or to supply missing information.

ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi was a young student in the early period of Süleymān I's reign.[8] In his *teẕkire*, he writes of youthful strolls around the city of Istanbul with his friend Celāl Beg (d. 1574?) and of the places they would visit. He writes of the city's rose gardens and parks, of its taverns and shops, and of social gatherings in fall and spring at the Hippodrome. He writes of how he would go to *ḥamāms* (bathhouses) to see beautiful young men bathe and to the Hippodrome to see the beauties promenade, and of how he would visit the Davut Paşa pier to watch people swim and dervish lodges to see them whirl.

When we look at the places ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi mentions on a sixteenth-century map of Istanbul, we find that these spaces were within walking distance of one another and at the center of the city's residential area. This would have been rather unremarkable for cities at the start of the early modern period and before. As urban scholar Lewis Mumford once wrote, "*Even at its widest, no medieval town usually extended more than half a mile from the center; that is, every necessary*

6 For instance, the *meṣnevī* called *Hevesnāme* – written by Tācīzāde Caʿfer Çelebi (d. 1515) and completed in 1493 – mentions certain districts and architectural works in Istanbul. However, these spaces are neither part of the setting nor related to the plot. Tâcî-zâde Cafer Çelebi, *Heves-nâme: İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin.* Ed. Necati Sungur (Ankara: TDK, 2006).

7 For a survey of the literary themes and sources on Istanbul, see my article "Şehri Sözle Resmetmek: Osmanlı Edebî Metinlerinde İstanbul, XV–XVIII. Yüzyıllar," In *Antik Çağ'dan XX. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi: Edebiyat, Kültür, Sanat.* Ed. Hatice Aynur. Vol. 7 of *Antik Çağ'dan XX. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, project director M. Âkif Aydın and ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İBB Kültür AŞ, İSAM, 2015). 128–45. An English version of the article, entitled "Portraying the City with Words: Istanbul in Ottoman Literary Texts." is forthcoming as part of the Center for Islamic Studies (ISAM)'s *History of Istanbul* project.

8 For a detailed account of ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi's life story, see my article "Kurgusu ve Vurgusuyla Kendi Kaleminden Âşık Çelebi'nin Yaşamöyküsü." In *Âşık Çelebi ve Şairler Tezkiresi Üzerine Yazılar.* Ed. Hatice Aynur, Aslı Niyazioğlu (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi, 2011). 19–55. For an earlier version of this article in English, see my "Autobiographical Elements in Aşık Çelebi's Dictionary of Poets." In *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th –20th Century).* Ed. Ralph Elger, Yavuz Köse. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010). 17–26.

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institution, every friend, relative, associate, was in effect a close neighbor, within easy walking distance."[9]

Within this relatively small space, ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi describes a rich variety of socializing spaces. These can be grouped into seven broad categories: elite courts and households, gardens, religious colleges (*medreses*) and dervish lodges (*ḫānḳāhs*), shops, taverns (*meyḫāne*s), bathhouses (*ḥamāms*), and fountains. I will discuss each in turn, describing the spaces and their locations in the city where possible. I will then address one important social space that ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi does not mention – coffee houses – before concluding with a few words on the significance of these spaces for our understanding of literary and cultural production and social life in the period.

Elite Courts and Households

Thanks to these *teẕkires* and the *İnamat Defterleri* published by İsmail Erünsal,[10] we know that many poets appeared in *meclis*es organized by Süleymān the Magnificent in the Ottoman court.[11] This made the court a place where poems were read and shared, and thus a central space for literary and cultural production frequented by such poets as Ḫayālī Beg (d. 1557), Şehnāmeci ʿĀrif Feṭḥullāh Çelebi (d. 1562), Ġazālī (d. 1534/36), Taşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg (d. 1582), Naḳḳāş Bālīzāde Raḥmī (d. 1567/68), Şerīfezāde Edāyī (d. 1574), and Bāḳī (d. 1600). Based on the same sources, we are able to determine that the sultan also patronized many poets (e.g., Ẕātī [d. 1546]) who were not a part of the inner circle of the court, but who still presented poems to the sultan. Süleymān the Magnificent himself also wrote around three thousand lyric poems and formed a *dīvān* under the pen name of Muḥibbī.[12]

9 See Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects.* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt, 1961). 313.

10 See İsmail E. Erünsal, "Kanunî Sultan Süleymân Devrine Ait Bir İn'âmât Defteri," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları = Journal of Ottoman Studies* 4. (1984). 1–17.

11 Meclis was a type of social gathering held in elite courts, households, and gardens in Muslim society. The history, form, and rules of meclis in society in different periods are a topic which merits separate treatment, and which I thus do not address here. For a survey of meclises in the Ottoman context, see Halil İnalcık, *Has-bağçede 'Ayş u Tarab: Nedîmler Şâirler Mutribler.* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2011). For meclises in Abbasid Bagdad and medieval Iran, see Dominic P. Brookshaw, "Palaces, Pavilions and Pleasure-gardens: The Context and Setting of the Medieval Majlis." In *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6. Vol. 2. (2003). 199–223.

12 For Muḥibbī's poetry, see Christiane Czygan, "A Device of Communication: The Third Divan of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1529–1566) and its Political Context." In *Islamic Perspectives.* Vol. 15. (2016). 77–90; Christiane Czygan, "Power and Poetry: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's Third Divan." In *Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II. Turkey Transformed? Power History, Culture.* Eds. Meltem Ersoy, Esra Özyürek. (Wiesbaden: Springer VS., 2017). 101–

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In addition to the court, the ruling elites of the given period were also known for holding their own meclises in their homes for those they patronized. Aside from Süleymān the Magnificent, the best-known patrons of the period were the Chief Treasurer (*defterdār*) İskender Çelebi[13] (d. 1535) and the Grand Vizier İbrāhīm Paşa[14] (d. 1536). Many anecdotes describe how these two people used to gather poets in their courts, which effectively became literary salons. The longevity of tales of their patronage and courts surpassed that of all others.

Of the various figures the teẕkires describe as having transformed their houses and mansions into literary salons, it is important to mention Ḳaptan-ı Deryā Seydī ʿAlī Çelebi (d. 1563). ʿAlī Çelebi used to write poetry under the pen name of Kātibī when he was not at sea, and his mansion in Galata became a meclis that many poets participated in.[15] Other important meclises included those of Ḥayātī Meḥmed and Ḳara Bālīzāde[16] (d. 1537/38), the *nedīm* of Süleymān the Magnificent. ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi also refers to Aḥmed Çelebi – the son of Agaççı İskender – who was not a poet himself but whose room became a gathering place for poets. ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi speaks highly of the conversations that took place there and of his generosity.[17]

Gardens

Teẕkires show the importance of gardens in the social, cultural, and literary lives of Istanbulites. Gardens were important socializing spaces for meclis where poets, ulema, and elites gathered.[18] In fact, there was a rapid increase in the

112. For Muḥibbī's meclises, see Haluk İpekten, *Divan Edebiyatında Edebî Muhitler.* (Istanbul: MEB, 1996). 80–118.

13 For the life of İskender Çelebi, see Ali Yıldırım, "16. Yüzyılda Büyük Bir Devlet Adamı ve Edebiyat Hâmîsi Defterdar İskender Çelebi," *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 1 (2000). 217–233.

14 For İbrāhīm Paşa's life story and his relation with the sultan, see Ebru Turan, *The Sultan's Favorite: İbrahim Pasha and The Making of the Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516–1526).* (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2007).

15 See *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ*, Vol. 2. 694.

16 ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi devoted a long passage to Bâlîzâde's meclis and said that one of its distinctive features was its flexible rules: "*Meclisi şöyle bî-tekellüf idi ki isteyen şemʿ gibi turur isteyen yatuk gibi yatur isteyen sagar gibi yürürdi.*" *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ*, vol. 2, 1204–7. In her article on the dream of the executed poet Fiġānī, who dreamed of Ḳara Bālīzāde's meclis in his garden, Aslı Niyazioğlu evaluates ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi's account and other sources for Bālīzāde's life and his garden and meclis; see her "How to Read an Ottoman Poet's Dream? Friends, Patrons and The Execution of Figânî (d. 938/1532)," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 16, no. 1 (2013): 4–6, especially footnotes 15–16. doi:10.1080/175262X.2013.775855.

17 *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ.* Vol. 2. 703.

18 Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı use selected anecdotes from ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi's *teẕkire* to show the close connection between garden, poetry and *sohbet* in their book *The Age of*

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number of gardens during the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. Nevertheless, Gülru Necipoğlu indicates that none of these Ottoman gardens from the sixteenth century have survived to the present day. Consequently, studies on these gardens are condemned to be limited to texts and pictures.[19] Gardens also used to bring prestige to their owners. However, an in-depth discussion of the features of these gardens, the events held in them, and their owners would go beyond the limits of this article. For this reason, I will discuss the most important gardens in more detail, but mention the others only briefly.

ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi indicates that the most famous and beautiful garden belonged to Efṣāncı Meḥmed Çelebi (d. 1534).[20] This garden, which was visited by Süleymān the Magnificent and his vizier İbrāhīm Paşa, was also a gathering space for ulema, poets, bureaucrats, and the ruling elite. Another important garden was called Ḳarabālīzāde after its eponymous owner, and was the only garden built in the Persian sixteenth-century style with four gardens (*çehārbāġ*).[21] It was located on the European side of the Bosporus around Kabataş. Necipoğlu states that this garden held great importance during the reign of Selīm II (1566–74) due to its proximity to Topkapı Palace.[22] Other noteworthy gardens ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi mentions include: Defterdar İskender Paşa's garden in Galata, where today there is a lodge used by Mevlevī dervishes; the gardens of Nişāncı Muṣṭafā Çelebi (d. 1567) and his brother Celālzāde Ṣāliḥ (d. 1565) in Eyüp and Nişanca; the gardens of Seydīoğlu Dervīş Çelebi and Sirkeci Baḫşī in Beşiktaş; and two gardens of ʿIşḳī-yi Ṣāliṣ (d. 1576/77), one of which was close to Istanbul near the town of Yenihisar (today Rumelihisar), and the other of which was in Üsküdar.

ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi informs us in detail that Meḥmed Çelebi Ḥayātī 's houses, initially built close to Sultan Selīm's *ḥamām*, became a place where poets used to gather.[23] After serving in Damascus and Aleppo, Meḥmed Çelebi Ḥayātī 's economic situation improved and he built paradisal gardens and elegant houses near Eyyub Sultan Mosque where he held meclises and social events throughout the year.[24]

Beloveds: Love and The Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005). 106–112.

19 See Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century in Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture." In *Gardens in the Time of Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). 32.

20 *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ.* Vol. 2. 998–1000.

21 For literature on this garden, see Niyazioğlu, "How to Read an Ottoman Poet's Dream? Friends, Patrons and The Execution of Figânî (d. 938/1532)." Footnote 16.

22 See Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century in Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture." 32–33.

23 *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ.* Vol. 2. 637–638: *"…Sultân hammâmı kurbında bir latîf ü nâzük hâne peydâ itdiler, hânelerin mecma'-i şu'arâ ve zürefâ itdiler. Andan vilâyet-i 'Arab'a ve cânib-i Şâm u Haleb'e varup haylî meblaga kâdir olup…."*

24 He eventually sold his land to the famous high-ranking bureaucrat (*nişāncı*), historian, and

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Along the same lines, Mūhyiddīn Efendi (d. 1548), after his retirement as *şeyḫ u'l-islām*, would gather poets and scholars twice a week in his garden and host poetry readings and social events.[25]

Gardens were often built in neighborhoods close to the sea – like Eyüp, Beşiktaş, Galata, Hasköy and Üsküdar – where proximity to the water facilitated transportation. Others were built within the city, inside people's winter residences. One noteworthy garden was that of Muṣṭafā Ağa (d. 1525), the agha of Janissaries. Though its location remains unclear, we know from the details ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi offers on Ferdī's (d. 1555) life story that it was accessible by boat and that it had a residence on its grounds which enabled visitors to spend the night.[26] In the same way, Ferdī's life story also tells us that the area around the Şeyh Sinan Türbesi, near the present borders of Çatalca, was a space for leisure walks.[27]

Religious Colleges (*medreses*) and Dervish Lodges (*ḫānḳāhs*)

Until the establishment of Süleymān's mosque complex, Istanbul's most prominent *madrasas* were part of the complexes of Meḥmed the Conqueror and Bāyezīd II. These were the most important institutions for higher education, and would receive many students who came from the different regions of the empire to study theology and (canon and civil) law. ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi tells us that his friend Selīkī, the poet, used to visit Aydınlı Bālī Çelebi (d. 1572/73) – who wrote under the pen name of Cevherī – at his cell in the medrese and had conversations with him.[28]

Although *teẕkires* mention poets who used to spend a night or visit their friends at dervish lodges, the only such place mentioned by name is the Vefa Hankah. ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi indicates that the poet Ṣānī lived in the Galata district and spent his time with wandering dervishes in *ḫānḳāhs*. However, he does not specify the names of these *ḫānḳāhs* either. By the same token, ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi describes the room of Ḥaydar Çelebi (d. 1573) – Niġārī was his pen name – around Tophane as a meeting place for poets and elites. ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi describes another place in Eyüp also owned by Ḥaydar Çelebi as a place for drinking (*ʿişret-ābād*). He adds that this place was a *ḫānḳāh* and *Ḥaydarḫāne* for many dervishes.[29]

patron Nişāncı Celālzāde Muṣṭafâ Çelebi, who built a mosque, a bathhouse, and a mausoleum for himself there, and after whom the district takes its current name: Nişanca Mahallesi.

25 *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ*. Vol. 2. 792: "*Bâgçesi haftada iki gün mecma'-ı fuzelâ ve erbâb-ı 'irfân idi.*"

26 *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ*. Vol. 3. 1169.

27 *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ*. Vol. 3. 1170.

28 *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ*. Vol. 1. 500.

29 See *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ*, vol. 2. 893: "*Evvel Galata'da Tophâne cânibinde olup hücresi mecma'-i*

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Shops

Shops of various sorts served as gathering spaces for many people, especially poets, in the sixteenth century. Among the shops about which we have some information, the most famous belonged to Ẕātī, who passed away in 1546. His fortune-telling shop was a meeting space for poets and aspiring poets. Located in the courtyard of the complex of Bāyezīd II for many years, Ẕātī moved it in his old age to the bazaar of the İbrahim Paşa Hammam around the Sarı Gürz neighborhood in Fatih. In this shop, apart from telling fortunes, he used to write poems on commission.[30] Another important shop was Subūtī's herbal shop in Karaman Bazaar, also located in the Fatih district. The shop was opened around the 1540s and operated for twenty years. Apart from medication, Subūtī used to sell pleasure-inducing substances, including opium. Poets used to gather there to read poetry and socialize, as well as avail themselves of the shop's wares. Other shops that served as gathering places for poets were Raḥīḳī's (d. 1546) herbal shop in Mahmudpaşa, Enverī's (d. 1547) ink shop in the flea market, Zeynī's bookshop neighboring Subūtī's herbal shop in Karaman Bazaar, and Ḳandī's (d. 1555) candy store in the courtyard of the complex of Bāyezīd II.

Taverns (*meyḫānes*)

ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi describes the Galata district as a place where entertainment and drinking events took place and non-Muslim beauties used to gather. These features of Galata can be also found in the poetry of Sultan Meḥmed the Conqueror. Galata taverns are mentioned in both poetry and prose. Nevertheless, the names of the specific places where Ottomans would go for entertainment and libation remain largely unknown. *Teẕkires* indicate that the Yani and Efe taverns date back to the reign of Bāyezīd II. Although primary sources do not reveal when and where the Yani tavern operated, *teẕkires* suggest that the Efe tavern was in Tahtakale (in the district of Eminönü) and was a meeting point for Istanbulites during the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. The poets who frequented the Efe tavern wrote lengthy accounts of the interesting incidents they witnessed there.[31]

şuʿarâ ve zürefâ idi. Hâlâ cânib-i Eyyûb'de bir 'işret-âbâd peydâ idüp niçe dervîş ü kalendere tekyegâh ve süfre vü çerâgı maʿmûr bir Haydar-hâne vü hânkâhdur."

30 In his dissertation on Ẕātī, Kim Sooyong elaborates on the networks that developed around his shop. See his *Minding the Shop: Zati and the Making of Ottoman Poetry in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century.* (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2005).

31 For example, see Āhī's life story as a regular of Efe Tavern in *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ*, Vol. 1. 394.

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Bathhouses (*ḥamāms*)

Bathhouses (*ḥamāms*) were also important spaces for socializing and for the production and sharing of literature. One of the most famous was built by Ġazālī (d. 1535) – also known as Deli Birader – in Beşiktaş. As Selim S. Kuru has examined Ġazālī, his works, and his bathhouse in detail, I will not dwell on it here.[32]

Apart from being gathering spaces, bathhouses were also spaces where poetry was read. An incident involving the two poets Subūtī and Zeynī – whose shops I mention above – illustrates this point nicely. Both Subūtī and Zeynī were in love with a man named Fındıḳ Memi, who was famous for his beauty. One day, by chance, all three ran into one another at the Nişancı *ḥamām*, whereupon the rival lovers launched into poetic diatribes against each another. ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi narrates this story in detail, and relates that Subūtī came out the winner.[33]

Fountains

We know that waterways and fountains were built in Istanbul during the reigns of Meḥmed the Conqueror and Süleymān the Magnificent. However, because these public fountains were changed and transformed over time, it is hard to make any definitive statement about their functions in the everyday life of the period. The general assumption is that fountains were first transformed into spaces for gathering and socializing in the eighteenth century, when public squares were built around them. Thanks to Ali Emre Özyıldırm's work on Fikrī's *meşnevī Ebkār-ı efkār*, we know that this is not entirely accurate, and that there was a large fountain between the Haghia Sophia and Grand Bazaar that served as a place for meclis gatherings. In his *meşnevī*, Fikrī describes the fountain in detail and talks about the beautiful people sitting around it.[34] For now, this is the only such example we have. However, even this single example is enough to show the way in which architectural works built in open spaces, such as public fountains, became gathering spaces in the given period.

32 See Selim Sırrı Kuru, "A Sixteenth-Century Scholar: Deli Birader and his Dafi'ü'l-Gumûm ve Rafi'ü'l-Humûm." (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000).

33 *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ.* Vol. 1. 589.

34 See Ali Emre Özyıldırım, Mâşî-zâde Fikrî Çelebi ve Ebkâr-ı Efkâr'ı: *On Altıncı Yüzyıldan Sıradışı Bir Aşk Hikâyesi.* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2017). 241.

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Coffee Houses

As this article draws primarily on the information ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi provides in his *teẕkire*, it is worth noting another significant space that the author is curiously silent about: coffee houses.[35] According to Kātib Çelebi[36] (d. 1657) and historian Peçevī (d. 1651), coffee was first imported to Istanbul in 1543.[37] Ġelibolulu ʿĀlī (d. 1600) and Peçevī remark that the first coffee houses were opened after 1552 in Tahtakale by Ḥekīm from Aleppo and Şems from Damascus.[38] ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi even includes a poem on coffee by the poet Beliğī (d. 1572/73?) in his *teẕkire,* which indicates that coffee was a widely consumed drink at the time he was writing.[39] Now, the question is: Why did ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi not mention coffee houses as a site for poet gatherings?

The answer seems to be that coffee houses rose to popularity slightly after his time. ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi came to Istanbul in 1535 when he was fourteen or fifteen years old. Apart from living in Bursa for five years – between 1541 and 1546 – he remained in Istanbul until 1550. It was during this period that he started work on and likely wrote the majority of his *teẕkire.* Though we know that ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi visited Istanbul again prior to completing his *teẕkire* in 1568, we do not know whether he stayed for any length of time.[40] Based on this limited information, what we can conclude is that in the eighteen years between ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi's departure from Istanbul and his completion of his *teẕkire*, he did not have the opportunity to observe the changes that were taking place in Istanbul's literary and cultural socializing spaces. He was thus unable to include them in his teẕkire, despite their growing importance to the rising generation of poets.[41]

35 For a very interesting collection of articles and the latest scholarship on the story and history of Turkish coffee and coffee houses, see *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, Ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği, 2015).

36 Kâtib Çelebi, *Mîzanü'l-Hak fi İhtiyâri'l-Ehak.* Ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay. (Ankara: MEB, 1972). 39.

37 *Târîh-i Peçevî.* Vol. 1. (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1283 [1866]). 363–364.

38 See Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis fî Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis.* Ed. Mehmet Şeker. (Ankara: TTK, 1997). 363–364.

39 *Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ.* Vol. 1. 427.

40 For a chronology of ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi's life, see my article "Meşâʿirü'ş-Şuʿarâ ve Hadâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik'e Göre Âşık Çelebi'nin Yaşamının Kronolojisi." In *Âşık Çelebi ve Şairler Tezkiresi Üzerine Yazılar* ed. Hatice Aynur and Aslı Niyazioğlu. (Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi, 2011). 167–170.

41 For example, Ġelibolulu ʿĀlī, who is more or less one generation younger than ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi's, criticizes the atmosphere of the coffee shops of Istanbul in his 1587 book *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis fî Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis.* See *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis fî Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis.* 363–364.

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Conclusion

These, then, were the most significant spaces for poets and poetry during the time of Süleymān the Magnificent, spaces where poets shared their literary culture, socialized, and increased their cultural and symbolic capital. ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi's account tells us much about the nature of such spaces, how they were used, and where they were located, as do the accounts contained in other *teẕkires* and *meṣnevīs* from the period.

Although some scholarly work has addressed these spaces, very little research has been done on their place in the cultural and literary world of the period as expressed in contemporary sources. This essay stands as an initial step toward this broader goal, focusing on sixteenth-century *teẕkires* and *meṣnevīs*, particularly the *teẕkire* of ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi.

These accounts suggest that many prominent sites of literary production date back at least to the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. The palaces of the court and ruling elites, private dwellings, shops, gardens, dervish lodges, and bathhouses – all were sites of literary production during the period. Based on this, we can conclude that poets did not write and read their poems only when they were alone or solely in the company of their immediate fellows. Poetry was a part of everyday life.

Such accounts also suggest that many of these sites actually emerged for the first time during the period, and that the social and architectural changes that took place within the city during the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent contributed to an increase in spaces – especially in the number of gardens – where literature and culture were performed. This is borne out by a remark ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi makes about the poet Ṣafāyī, who died in the 1510's during the first years of the reign of Selīm I. According to ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi, Ṣafāyī's *zāvīyye* (a convent of dervishes) – built in the neighborhood of Atıcılar Altı in the Galata district by İskender Paşa – was a place where people used to gather because there were few other excursion spots, promenades, *zāvīyye*, or *ḫānḳāhs* around Istanbul at the time.[42] He describes it as having been an important socializing space where the notables, distinctive personas, and divan poets of those years could stroll and eat or drink together. ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi's remark on how few venues there had been for such socialization a half-century earlier, coupled with the sheer number of such venues he describes in his own time, indicates that their number had significantly increased by the later years of Süleymān's reign.

In addition to the light these accounts shed on the spaces of literary and cultural production during the period, they also have the potential to offer important correctives to certain assumptions in Ottoman historiography, especially

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concerning the nature of social life in the early-modern period. Fikrī's newly discovered *meṣnevī*, for example, shows that fountains served as a meeting place some two centuries earlier than was previously thought. ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi's silence on the matter of coffee shops, too, says a great deal about the sheer dynamism of social life in the sixteenth century. Within the space of a single generation, an entirely new social space had emerged, one that ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi was not a part of. What else such sources might reveal, only future research will tell.

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Authors

Edith G. Ambros (Ph.D. in Arabic philology, Vienna, 1975; Habilitation in Turcology, Vienna 1997), Univ.-Doz. lecturing at the Institut für Orientalistik of the University of Vienna since her student days. Her research interests are Ottoman literature, especially poetry, with special attention to humour and satire, and reflections of social and historical phenomena in literature (including folk literature, recently also Karamanlı literature). She is the section editor for Turkic languages and literatures of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three* (*EI Three*). Her latest publications include her collective volume *Life, Love and Laughter: In Search of the Ottomans' Lost Poetic Language: A collective volume in memory of Arne A. Ambros* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2015); "Frivolity and Flirtation" in *Ottoman Women in Public Space*, eds. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016: 150–186); "Tracing the changes in the representation of the Jew in Ottoman-Turkish folk theatre (from *Karagöz* to *Ortaoyunu*)", in *Turcica* 48/2017, 157–185.

Hatice Aynur (Ph.D. İstanbul, 1993) is a Professor of Turkish Language and Literature at Istanbul Şehir University, and specialises in Ottoman literary history (1300–1850). Her particular focus is Ottoman literature (1300–1850); İstanbul in Ottoman literary texts; Ottoman epigraphy; Reading and writing culture in Ottoman world; History of printing in Ottoman Empire. She is one of the editors of *Studies in Classical Turkish Literature* and *Database for Ottoman Inscriptions* (http://www.ottomaninscriptions.com/). Her latest publications are *icve revâ, Mizaha Mâyil: Güldürücü Metinleri Anlamak* [Toleration of Satire, Inclination to Wit: Understanding Humorous Texts]. Edited by Hatice Aynur et al. (İstanbul: Klasik, 2018); *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi'nin Hâtırasına Osmanlı Mimarlık Kültürü* [Ottoman Architectual Culture in Memory of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi]. Edited by Hatice Aynur, A. Hilâl Uğurlu (İstanbul: Kubbealtı, 2016).

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Hülya Çelik (Dr. Vienna, 2016) is lecturer for Ottoman and Turkish at the Asia-Africa Department of the University of Hamburg. Since 2017 she works in the recently granted project "The Oriental Outpost of the Republic of Letters. Sebastian Tengnagel (d. 1636), the Imperial Library in Vienna, and Knowledge about the Orient." From 2011 to 2015 she was a co-worker at the research project *Early Modern Ottoman Culture of Learning: Popular Learning between Poetic Ambitions and Pragmatic Concerns* (Co-written with Gisela Procházka-Eisl: *Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times.* 2 vols. (*Hidden Treasures; Selected Texts from Ottoman Mecmūʿas (Miscellanies)* & *"The Yield of the Disciplines and the Merits of the Texts": Nevʿī Efendi's Encyclopaedia Netāyic el-Fünūn.*) In 2016 she finished her doctoral thesis in the field of Ottoman *Dīvān* poetry of the 16th century (*Lobgedichte und andere Gedichte des osmanischen Dichters Keşfī (m. 1538–9): Versuch der Bestimmung eines 'unpopulären' Stils*).

Christiane Czygan (Ph.D. Hamburg, 2012) is lecturer at the Federal Forces University of Munich. She is interested in dynamics and concepts of rulership and modes of communicating power. Her fields of research are premodern Ottoman ruler poetry, premodern history, and history of the press. She published *Zur Ordnung des Staates. Jungosmanische Intellektuelle und ihre Konzepte in der Zeitung Hürriyet.* (Klaus Schwarz 2012). Her last publication is "Power and Poetry: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's Third Divan." *Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II. Turkey Transformed? Power History, Culture.* Eds Meltem Ersoy, Esra Özyürek. (Wiesbaden: Springer VS., 2017). 101–112.

Michael Reinhard Hess (Ph.D. Mainz, 1997) is private lecturer at the Institute of Turcology at Freie Universität Berlin. His research interest includes Ottoman foreign relations, Turkish, Classical Ottoman and Azerbaijani poetry, modern Turkish literature, Turkish, Bashkir, and Ottoman syntax theory, Uyghur and Kazakh bilingualism, and martyrdom in the Turkic world. Recent publications include "Blätter aus dem Rosengarten. Beiträge zum deutsch-türkischen Kulturaustausch." (ed. mit Thomas Weiberg. Berlin: MRH, 2018), "Panzer im Paradies: der Berg-Karabach-Konflikt zwischen Armenien und Aserbaidschan" (Berlin: Dr. Köster, 2016.).

Ali Emre Özyildirim (Ph.D. Ankara, 2002) is assistant professor in the Turkish Language and Literature Department at Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul, since 2007. His main area of research and teaching focus on Ottoman Turkish literary history, especially the pre-Tanzimat period. His latest publication is *Mâşî-zâde Fikrî Çelebi ve Ebkâr-ı Efkâr'ı* (İstanbul: Dergâh, 2017)

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Benedek Péri (Ph. D. Budapest, 2000) is head of department at the Department of Turkic Studies at Eötvös Lorán University, Budapest and vice-chairman of the Committee on Oriental Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His research interests include the history of classical Persian and Turkish (Azeri, Chaghatay, Ottoman) literary traditions with a special focus on the 15th and 16th centuries. He is the co-editor of *Keletkutatás* ('Oriental Studies') a scientific journal published by the Kőrösi Csoma Society, Budapest. His latest publications include a series of articles on the poetry of Sultan Selim I (1512–1520) and the critical edition of the Budapest manuscript of Meḥmed Fużūlī's (d. 1556) narrative poem *Beng ü Bāde* ('Weed and Wine'; Budapest: MTA Könyvtár és Információs Központ–Jaffa Kiadó, 2016).

Gisela Procházka-Eisl (Mag. Dr., Vienna, 1992) is head of the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Vienna, where she has been associated professor of Turkish Studies since 2001. Her research includes Ottoman press, Ottoman poetry and cultural history. Recent publications are *The Plain of Saints and Prophets. The Nusayri-Alawi Community of Cilicia (southern Turkey) and its Sacred Places* (Wiesbaden 2012) and *Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times: Part I: Hidden Treasures: Selected Texts from Ottoman Mecmūʿas (Miscellanies)* and *Part II: "The Yield of the Disciplines and the Merits of the Texts". Nevʿī Efendi's Encyclopaedia Netāyic el-Fünūn* (Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2015).

Jan Schmidt was until his retirement in 2016 lecturer in Turkish language and culture at the University of Leiden (Netherlands). After having studied History and, later, Arabic, Persian and Turkish at the same university, he obtained his doctorate in 1992 with a thesis entitled 'Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims; A Study of Mustafa Ali of Gallipoli's *Künhül-ahbar*. His scholarly interests have been primarily focused on the history and literature of the Ottoman Empire, on various aspects of which he published a great number of articles and some books. He also compiled a catalogue in four volumes of the Turkish manuscripts preserved in Dutch public collections (published in Leiden between 2000 and 2012). His latest research concerns the second volume of the diary in Italian and Turkish of Karl Süssheim (1878–1946), recently discovered in the holdings of the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. (USA). An edition of the text with additional materials will be published later this year (2018).

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Gül Şen (Ph.D. Bonn, 2012) is research associate at the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies (IOA) at the University of Bonn. In her research, she focuses on the narrative strategies in Ottoman historiography (16th–18th centuries), legitimacy of rule, Arab provinces, and forms of dependencies. She is co-editor of the series Ottoman Studies (Bonn University Press at V&R unipress), and the Otto Spies Memorial Lecture Series (EB-Verlag Berlin). She is currently preparing a monograph in the framework of a German Research Foundation (DFG) grant project: "Naʿīmā's (1655–1716) Court Chronicle: A Narratological Analysis of the Significative Function of Ottoman Historiography."

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